OXIII·C·16B

CALENDAR

OF

LETTERS, DESPATCHES, AND STATE PAPERS,

RELATING TO

THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND SPAIN,

PRESERVED IN

THE ARCHIVES AT SIMANCAS AND ELSEWHERE.

VOL. I.

HENRY VII.

1485-1509.

EDITED BY

G. A. BERGENROTH.

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

LONDON:
LONGMAN, GREEN, LONGMAN, & ROBERTS.
1862.

The Commission on the Anglo-Indian Records.

Transmitted by direction of the
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20 Oct. 1863.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

S. *for* Archivo General en Simancas.

E. *for* Estado, or Foreign Affairs.

T. c. I. *for* Tratados con Inglaterra.

E. I. *for* Estado. Inglaterra.

E. C. d. C. *for* Estado. Corona de Castilla.

L. d. B. *for* Libros de Berzosa.

L. *for* Legajo, *or* Bundle.

B. *for* Archivo General de la Corona de Arragon en Barcelona.

R. *for* Registros.

A. d. E. *for* Archives de l'Empire in Paris.

B. I. *for* Bibliotheque Imperiale in Paris.

A. d. D. d. N. *for* Archives du Département du Nord in Lille.

K. H. A. *for* Kaiserliches Hof-Archiv in Vienna.

P. R. O. *for* Public Record Office in London.

Fr. R. *for* French Rolls.

Aut. *for* Autograph.

B. *for* Bundle.

NOTE.—The papers of the 1° and 2° *Legajo* of the ***Tratados con Inglaterra*** in the Archives at Simancas are not numbered. The documents contained in the other *Legajos* of the same Archives are numbered.

GOVERNMENT OF

INTRODUCTION.

This volume contains abstracts or translations of all such letters, despatches, and State Papers as relate to the negotiations between England and Spain during the reign of Henry VII.

The originals are preserved in :—

1, the General Archives at Simancas ;

2, the General Archives of the Crown of Arragon at Barcelona ;

3, the Archives de France in Paris ;

4, the Bibliothèque Impériale in Paris ;

5, the Archives Générales du Département du Nord in Lille ;

6, the Geheime *Haus-Hof-und Staats-Archiv* in Vienna ; and in some other places,—as, for instance, the Library of the Cardinal Granvella at Besançon, &c. ;

7, the Public Record Office in London ;

8, the British Museum.

The researches at Simancas, Barcelona, the Archives de France, the Bibliothèque Impériale, the Public Record Office, and the British Museum have been made by myself. I have not been able to proceed to Lille and Vienna. A publication on a large scale of the historical documents preserved in the Imperial Archives at Vienna is now in progress, under the title of *Monumenta Habsburgica.* It has, however, not yet reached the time of Henry VII., and therefore the letters found in this volume have been taken from the smaller publication in the *Bibliothek des Literärischen Vereins in Stuttgart.* The editor is the late keeper of the Archives, Dr. Chmel, a scholar whose high reputation removes all doubt as to the accuracy of his work.

A portion of the Papers, found in the *Archives du Département du Nord*, was published anonymously as early as the year 1712, under the title of *Lettres du Roy Louis XII. et du Cardinal d'Amboise.* Another portion has since been edited by M. Le Glay, and printed by the Société de l'Histoire de France. Doubts have been cast, in former times, on the authenticity of these letters; but it is now known that the publisher was no other than Jean Godefroy; and the originals still exist in the above-mentioned archives. The printed letters have been compared by modern scholars with the manuscripts, and the only reproach to their editor is, that he did not publish thirty volumes instead of four. The book is correct, but incomplete. The documents preserved at Lille, and noticed in this volume, are taken on the authority of Godefroy and Le Glay.

But of all the materials, which I have mentioned, those preserved at Simancas are by far the most numerous, and the most important. They throw a broader light upon the negotiations of Henry VII. with continental governments than all the documents of any other archives, with which I am acquainted. Simancas is a small village in Old Castile, about eight miles distant from Valladolid. The country is barren and treeless. For nine months out of the twelve it is destitute of verdure, and the climate, in consequence of the great elevation of the land, is very trying. The sun is as burning as in Africa, and the winds are as cold as on the plains of northern Asia. No hotel, even of the most moderate description, in which a traveller could find accommodation, is to be found in the place. The student who wishes to consult the archives is obliged to live in the house of some poor peasant; for the pride of the few wealthy persons among the villagers, would not permit them to receive lodgers. Excellent, and in many respects, comparatively refined as are the peasants of Old Castile, it is very difficult to be satisfied with the scanty accommodation which it is in their power to offer. The rooms in their houses are very small, the windows, doors, and roof are of such inferior workman-

ship that bitter blasts, glaring sunlight, and pelting rain easily find admittance. The occupant of such a dwelling suffers by turns from cold, heat, and wet. The food is worse than the lodgings. No social intercourse, no books, not even the commonest works of reference, are to be had.

The old crenellated castle, formerly a strong fortress belonging to the admirals of Castile, in which the State Papers are contained, was confiscated to the Crown by Queen Isabella. It now contains forty-eight rooms, of different sizes, filled with papers, and one large chamber in which the officers and literary readers are accommodated. This room has a northern aspect, and, as no fires are allowed in the building, so bitter is the cold in winter that the thermometer frequently sinks almost to freezing point, and the ink becomes congealed.

It is generally supposed that in an age so remote as the fifteenth century, the Secretaries of State were accustomed to keep public documents in their houses, and to treat them as private property. This was undoubtedly the case to some extent, not, however, because the minister had an acknowledged right so to do, but on account of the frequent inadvertences which occurred at a time when the conduct of business had not attained its present regularity. In Spain, at any rate, in the fifteenth century it seems to have been a rule for ministers to retain such papers only as were necessary for the despatch of current business. When they were no longer needed for that purpose, the Secretaries consigned them to certain repositories, set apart for their reception. If a minister died, or retired from office, an inventory was made in the presence of a commissioner appointed by the Government and two notaries, in which every public document was carefully noted and delivered to the Government. Such inventories are still extant; one, for example, made in 1500 at Toledo, when Fernand Alvarez had resigned office, and another taken at Burgos after the death of Doctor De Puebla. In both cases the number of documents found in the houses of the ministers was so

exceedingly small as to refute the notion that it was customary for ministers to retain possession of official papers.

As far as that portion of Spain which was subject to the Kings of Arragon is concerned, the official correspondence, when no longer wanted for immediate use, was deposited in archives which date from very ancient times. In the Castilian dominions the custom was different. It is true that John II., who died in the year 1454, and his successor Henry IV., are said to have ordered all State Papers to be collected in the Castle of La Mota at Medina del Campo. Notwithstanding, in the time of Ferdinand and Isabella the practice still prevailed of having *arcas*, or chests, placed in the various royal palaces scattered over the broad surface of Spain. Some of the *arcas* with their contents have been preserved to the present day. They are wooden chests of moderate size and exquisite workmanship, enriched with carving and gilding, provided, moreover, with excellent locks. Great political personages, such as governors of provinces and ambassadors, seem to have had an *arca* in every palace, destined to receive their correspondence. There are letters still extant at Simancas in which the Secretaries of State inform their diplomatic agents that they cannot forward the documents desired, on account of their being deposited at a distance in the *arcas* at Granada or Segovia. It would scarcely be believed, if the proofs were not in existence, that King Ferdinand deposited State Papers even in foreign countries when travelling. In a letter, dated 14th September 1509,[1] he informed King Louis of France that on his return from Naples he had left a box of papers in the charge of Juan Fabro, a Catalonian merchant at Genoa; and as he was in want of these documents, he begged Louis to send them. The inconveniences attendant upon the dispersion of papers

[1] Archives of the Crown of Arragon in Barcelona. Registros Itinerum Sigilli secreti. Vol. 3672, f. 89.

must have been very great. A flagrant example will be found amongst the despatches contained in the present volume. Ferdinand and Isabella had concluded and ratified the second marriage treaty between Prince Arthur and the Princess Katherine on less favourable terms than had been already agreed upon, for no other reason than because they had not had the correspondence at hand. Towards the end of his life, Almazan, the chief secretary of Ferdinand, placed all the papers belonging to his department in a chronological order and endorsed them, but there is no evidence that he deposited them in one place.

The death of Ferdinand the Catholic was followed by the rebellion, known under the name of the Comuneros. Peasant and citizen rose up in arms against their master and his Flemish followers. Many monuments of former ages were destroyed. But the peasants had special reasons for singling out the public records for destruction. They imagined that they would thereby be free from rents and taxes. A great many papers were thus lost, while others were saved only because they had found their way into convents, or private houses.

One of the first acts of Charles V., after he had re-established order in Spain, was to collect all such papers as had escaped destruction. He even induced the Pope to grant him a brief enjoining all persons who had in their possession any portions of official correspondence to deliver them to the Government. They were also commanded, if they knew of any places in which State Papers had been hidden, to give information to the public officers. At last, on the 19th of February 1543, the Emperor selected the Castle of Simancas as the general depository of Castilian State Papers. The work, thus begun by his father Philip II., continued as a labour of love. He devoted his energies so successfully to the undertaking, and the regulations he made for the preservation of the papers were so complete, that he is generally looked upon as the founder of the archives. Not content with placing the papers in order, and pre-

serving them from dust and worms, he endeavoured to make the collection as full and as valuable as possible. In the year 1562 he sent Juan Berzosa, a native of Zaragoza, to Rome, for the purpose of collecting, or copying, all such papers as could be found in Italy which had relation to " himself, to his father the Emperor, to his dominions, " or to the world in general, and the decay of which " would prove an irreparable loss to posterity."[1] Philip granted Berzosa, by a decree dated the 16th of August of the same year, 500 gold scudos annually, a splendid salary for that time. A few years later, in the year 1567, he commissioned Geronimo Zurita, the well-known historian of the kingdom of Arragon, and one of the most learned men of the day, to make a new search throughout Spain for such State Papers as might have been previously overlooked. He alleged as a reason for this proceeding, that " chroniclers and historians were ill " informed on matters of state, and that it was therefore " desirable, in order to obviate that defect, to collect all such " materials as might prove serviceable for historical purposes " in the archives of Simancas." Such language sounds now like that of a modern liberal Government. Yet it would be a great mistake to suppose that Philip was liberal even in this respect. Whilst he dwelt with fondness on his daily increasing collections, they were hermetically closed to all persons, excepting such as, for the purposes of absolutism, he empowered by a mandate, signed by his own hand, to see and make use of them.

Subsequent governments have often entertained the idea of transplanting the archives of Simancas to some more convenient place. The only alterations, however, which hitherto have occurred were brought about by the French spoliation, the removal of the papers concerning Spanish discoveries and colonies to Seville, and the transfer to Barcelona of such documents as relate to the history

[1] Libros de Berzosa, Vol. xi.

of the Crown of Arragon. Even the old regulations of Philip II. remained unaltered in substance until the year 1844, when M. Gachard, commissioner of the Belgian Government, and M. Tiran, deputed by France, were first admitted, in the quality of literary readers, within the precincts of the Castle of Simancas.[1]

It is generally believed that the French, during the Peninsular war, destroyed a large portion of the archives, and this notion has found its way into popular works. Many persons in Spain will go so far as to describe minutely how the French soldiers lit their pipes with Spanish State Papers. But during my long stay at Simancas I took a special interest in clearing up this matter; and I could find no satisfactory evidence of this report. I was only told by two old peasants that one day, when a high wind was prevailing, some French soldiers threw down papers belonging to the archives from the upper balconies of the castle. The wind carried them away, and they were strewed over the neighbouring fields. The commanding officer on being informed of what was going on, hastened immediately to the spot, and not only stopped this very novel amusement of his subordinates, but also had all the papers carefully collected and restored to their former places. I cannot, however, guarantee the accuracy of even this story. On meeting afterwards with persons who were living at the time, and who would have known if such a circumstance had it occurred, they confessed their utter ignorance of it.

If documentary evidence may be trusted, the French were far from treating the archives of Simancas with neglect. They erred on the other side. In the first place, the French garrison was not quartered in the rooms in which the State Papers are deposited. Out of nearly 50 rooms only 29 were then filled with documents; the other apartments appropriated to different purposes. The French garrison, consisting of 80 men and the governor, were lodged in the latter. It is thus also to be borne in mind

[1] For further information the reader may consult the able and laborious preface of M. Gachard, prefixed to the correspondence of Philip II.

that the Emperor Napoleon had, as early as the year 1809, formed the scheme of bringing together all the archives of Europe, and uniting them in the capital of France, in order to form one vast repository of historical documents. He had had a plan drawn of a building for their reception; and but for the sudden fall of the First Empire this would have been one of the most splendid palaces in existence.

Three thousand one hundred and thirty-nine heavy chests filled with German records found their way from Vienna to Paris. The expense of transport from Vienna to Strasburg alone amounted to the sum of 400,000 francs. One hundred and two thousand four hundred and thirty-five bundles, amongst which were forty-three bundles filled with the correspondence of the Papal Nuncio in England, were taken from the Vatican and sent over to Paris. The archives of Piedmont, Belgium, Holland, &c., shared the same fate. Thus the spoliation of the archives of Simancas only formed a part of the gigantic plan devised by Napoleon. How well aware the French Government was of the value of these documents is evident from a passage in a letter of General Kellermann to the Prince of Neufchatel. "Je m'empresse de lui annoncer que cet important dépôt "est intact, et a été soigneusement conservé dans le même "ordre où je l'ai trouvé établi." Under the superintendence of M. Guiter, the imperial commissioner appointed for that purpose, seven thousand eight hundred and sixty-one *legajos* were taken from Simancas. As the Emperor and his government paid such attention to the State Papers contained in the archives of Europe, it is not at all probable that his soldiers and subordinates would be allowed to destroy them. After the Allies entered Paris in 1814, one of their first acts was a decree ordering the restoration to their rightful owners of all the State Papers which France had taken by force. France, however, retained twenty-five to thirty thousand documents out of the whole number of which she had formerly possessed herself. They are now most carefully preserved in the Archives de l'Empire in three hundred and twenty-seven cases.

Besides, if the French soldiers had burnt or torn any considerable number of State Papers at Simancas, the blanks thus occasioned would have been discovered long ago. It is true that the indexes now used in the archives were made by Don Thomas Gonzalez, who superintended the arrangement of the State Papers after their restoration by France. But in former times each series of papers had a separate index. These old indexes are still in existence, and Gonzalez made extensive use of them, when occupied in his laborious work. But neither Gonzalez, nor the present keeper of the archives, who has been engaged upon them for nearly fifty years, nor M. Gachard, M. Tiran, or myself, have been able to detect any loss which could be attributed to such wanton spoliation.

At present the archives at Simancas contain, according to information I received from the officials, considerably more than 100,000 *legajos*. The average number of papers contained in one *legajo* may be estimated at about 100, so that the whole number of documents of various sizes exceeds ten millions. This vast collection is divided into series, as, for instance, finance, war, &c. The series which has more especial interest for the student of English history is that of the *Estado*, or foreign affairs.

It contains,—

	Legajos.
1. In the Patronato Real - - -	117
2. In the series properly called Estado -	4,300
3. In the collection of the Secretarias -	2,796
Together - - -	7,213
Belonging to a period anterior to the year 1700.	
To this number are to be added the documents of the 18th and 19th centuries, forming - - - -	4,031
The whole collection of Estado amounts, therefore, to - - - -	11,244

England is represented in the archives of Simancas,—

	Legajos.
1. In the Patronato Real by - - -	7
2. Collection Estado - - -	160
	167
Belonging to the 15th and 16th centuries.	
The 18th and 19th centuries are represented by	420
Total - - -	587

The documents relating to foreign affairs before the year 1700 may be estimated at rather more than 800,000. If they were equally divided amongst the days of the two centuries to which they relate, there would be about ten State Papers for every day, elucidating the affairs of Europe. But it is scarcely necessary to add, that the division is not equal, and that many blanks occur. The documents in the series "England," amount to about 20,000 prior to the beginning of the 18th century, and 50,000 posterior to that date.

But though the series *Estado* be the principal one, the student must, nevertheless, not omit to consult those relating to the Navy and to War. Commanders of fleets or armies frequently acted as political agents. Besides, the separation of the various documents is not so complete but that a paper belonging to one series may occasionally be found in another.

The oldest record preserved at Simancas is a kind of Land Book of Peter the Cruel. In form and contents it is very similar to Doomsday Book, only that it enters more into details. But, until a hundred and fifty years later, the information to be obtained at Simancas is scanty. It is only when we enter upon the second decade of the sixteenth century that the collections in general become rich, full, and continuous. Fortunately, England forms an exception to this rule. The papers which relate to her history commence more than twenty years earlier than those

of any other country. This, according to tradition, is to be ascribed to accident merely. During the wars of the Comuneros certain royal *arcas* were hastily conveyed for concealment to a convent at Zaragoza. The monks having been popular, the multitude respected their property, and the *arcas*, together with the convent, escaped destruction. On being opened they were found to contain the correspondence with England.

In the month of August 1860 I found myself duly installed in the Reading Room of the Archives at Simancas. I did not go to Spain quite unprepared for my work. I had carefully studied the Paleographie of Christoval Rodriguez; I had also spent much time in deciphering such old Spanish documents as were to be found in the libraries of London and Paris. But when the first legajo was placed before me I almost despaired. I can imagine a man, who has navigated a little river, all at once finding himself in mid ocean, bewildered by the waves running mountains high. The specimens given by Rodriguez contain all the principal features characteristic of the Spanish writing of that period. But they are neat and clean engravings, whilst the papers with which I had to do were the rough drafts of Ferdnan Alvarez, Secretary of State to Ferdinand and Isabella. They are incoherent and confused, portions are blotted out, and marginal additions are written in such small characters as scarcely to be discernible. In fact, the writing is more difficult than any which I subsequently met with. I passed whole days at first over a few lines. I can never be grateful enough to the Archivero, Don Manuel Garcia Gonzalez, who, with ever ready courtesy, assisted me in making out the characters with which he had become intimately acquainted during a time extending beyond the general average of human life.

As soon as the conduct of the business passed from the hands of the aged and mentally exhausted Alvarez into those of Miguel Perez Almazan, a very great improvement in style and writing is observable. Had all the State Papers

been composed by Almazan, the reading of them would have become comparatively easy. But as the change was only in one, though a very important statesman, the improvement could not be otherwise than partial. If, on the one hand, however, I had reason to be grateful to Almazan, on the other, I soon found that he had put greater difficulties in my way than even Alvarez himself. Almazan was, if not the inventor, at any rate the person who introduced cipher into Spain. The whole history of ciphered writing, from its rudest beginnings until it had become so complicated a system that even those statesmen who were the most thoroughly initiated into the art were unable to make use of it, may be studied in the papers belonging to a period of about fifteen years. On some of the deciphered despatches marginal notes such as the following may be found. "Nonsense," "Impossible," "Cannot be understood," or, "Order the ambassador to send another despatch." After the year 1504, in which year Queen Isabella died, it was found necessary to return to a more simple system of cipher. Some hundreds of ciphered despatches, in the greater part of which not a word of common writing occurred, were before me. In what language were they written? On what subjects did they treat? Were they only copies put in cipher, or drafts which I had already read in common writing? I was unable to answer these questions. I inquired for the keys to the ciphers, but received for answer that there was not any key extant to ciphers of so early a date.

I had never in my life occupied myself with endeavouring to decipher any despatch. Nothing but sheer necessity would have forced me to attempt such a task, which, I think, is one of the most laborious that any man could undertake. Encouraged by my friends in England, I did not, however, despair; and the final result of my labours was that I discovered the keys to all the ciphers excepting one. It is employed in a short letter of Ferdinand and Isabella to Ferdinand Duke de Estrada, their ambassador in England,

dated Segovia, 20th Aug. 1503. It is the only paper extant in that cipher, and it is easy to understand that the shorter the letter is the more difficult is the discovery of the key. I have formed twenty keys; but I will not insist upon that number, as some keys so nearly resemble one another that it is difficult to determine whether they are the same keys, with some alterations, or new ones. In most cases, however, they differ so far that one key does not afford the least help towards finding out another. Some of the keys were of use to me in deciphering page after page; others were useful only for reading a few lines or sentences.

When I had nearly completed all my keys, doubts arose in the Archives whether I could be permitted to copy the ciphered documents. As I was the only man living who was able to interpret them, the control to be exercised by the Archivero was impossible. The ciphered despatches were actually taken from me, and all my labour seemed destined to be fruitless. I went to Madrid. The result of my appeals to the ministry showed that the whole affair had simply been due to a misunderstanding. The Spanish Government, treating me with the greatest liberality, imposed only one condition; namely, that I should leave copies of all my decipherings and keys in the archives, to which I gladly consented. When I returned to Simancas the ciphered documents were not only restored to me, but another search for keys to the ciphers was made, and resulted in the discovery of one complete key and the fragments of two others. The complete key was the one which had been the most used in the extensive correspondence of Doctor De Puebla with the Spanish Government. It contains two thousand four hundred signs. Had it been found some months earlier, when I first asked for it, it would have saved me immense labour, injurious to my health. As it was, it only served to confirm me in the conviction I had entertained that my discoveries were real, and to fill up some blanks occasioned by the circumstance that certain signs had never been made use of in the correspondence.

When I began to read the despatches I found that, fortunately for me, the same ciphered despatch very often existed in four, five, and even six copies. This circumstance reduced their number from some hundreds to about forty-five or fifty, varying in extent from less than half a page to 27 folio pages of writing. Copying and deciphering such complicated ciphers, especially before the keys are complete, requires such a constant concentration of thought, and such uninterrupted attention, that if I had had to decipher some hundreds of despatches I believe it would have impaired my mental faculties.[1]

In addition to the Archives at Simancas, Spain possesses two other great repositories of State Papers of general historical interest, namely, the Archives of the Crown of Arragon at Barcelona, and the Indian Archives at Seville. A fourth collection, under the name of the Central and General Archives of Spain, is now in course of formation in the splendid old archi-episcopal palace at Alcalá de Hénares.

When I had finished my work at Simancas, so far as the reign of Henry VII. is concerned, I went to Barcelona. My reasons for going there were twofold. One portion of the Simancas papers, as already mentioned, had been transported to the archives of the Crown of Arragon. Moreover, observing that many blanks occurred in the papers at Simancas, I conjectured that King Ferdinand might have deposited them in the archives of Barcelona, which were more properly his own, than the *arcas* of Castile.

As long as the Crown of Arragon and its dependencies formed an independent state, the archives were well cared for. In later times, they were so much neglected that in 1802, when Charles IV., during his visit to Barcelona, wished to see them, he could not obtain admission, because

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[1] As the trustworthiness of a considerable portion of the documents contained in this volume depends on my method of deciphering them, I will add to this preface a separate chapter, in which I shall more fully explain the way in which I have interpreted the ciphered despatches.

it was said that the keys could not be found. A new period of improvement began soon afterwards with the appointment of Don Prospero de Bofarull to the keepership of the institution. He devoted his time and energies to render the documents serviceable for the purposes of science. After his death, he was succeeded in his office by his son Don Manuel de Bofarull. Don Manuel and his assistant officers, Don Antonio de Bofarull and Flotaz, would be an honour to any archives in Europe. The courtesy and assistance I received from them, even at the expense of their comfort, calls for the highest acknowledgment on my part.

The State Papers are at present preserved in a palace near the cathedral, built on the ground where formerly stood the residence of the old Counts of Arragon. They contain a great number of curious old manuscript books, eighteen thousand six hundred and twenty-six documents on parchment, six thousand three hundred and eighty-eight volumes of *Registros*, and a copious collection of papers of different kinds. The *Registros* are in substance similar to the Rolls of the English Chancery. All orders and letters emanating from the King were entered upon them, and they have the same authority as the Rolls. In their exterior, however, they are different; for, while in England the Rolls are written on pieces of parchment sewed together and forming long narrow strips, the Registros are written on paper bound up in volumes. They are much easier to use than the Rolls, and are in an equally good state of preservation. Corresponding to the different branches of the administration, three hundred and forty-eight volumes belong to the reign of Ferdinand the Catholic. I examined more than eighty of them in which any information concerning England might be expected to occur. I found them full of curious matter about Sicily and Naples, at that time dependencies of Arragon; the other Italian States, France, the Government of Arragon, and especially the Inquisition. I derived great advantage from them, so far as the general policy of Europe is concerned. But of papers relating to

England I found only a few, and those of subordinate importance. The *legajos* brought over to Barcelona from Simancas concern merely the interior administration of Arragon.

Among the papers of various kinds already referred to is one collection bearing the name of *Royal Letters*. It raised my highest expectations. When, however, I came examine it, I found that, with a single exception, the letters were orders of the King requiring the *Archiveros* to make copies of, or deliver up some of the papers in their charge.

The Indian archives of Seville contain no papers excepting those which relate to Spanish discoveries and the colonies. As far as the time of Henry VII. is concerned, the most important of them have been published by Don Martin Fernandez Navarrete. I did not think it necessary to examine the archives myself. I was the more confirmed in my opinion because England at that time possessed no colonies. America could not, therefore, as in later times, influence to any considerable amount the political relations between England and Spain.

It has been already mentioned that a very important portion of the Spanish records were retained in France. I therefore thought it my duty to go to Paris in order to inspect them. Of the Spanish documents taken from Simancas five boxes belong to the reign of Henry VII. A few documents of an earlier, and a great many of a later period are however intermixed with them. I found nothing in them which served my immediate purpose. The Spanish-French correspondence, which had formerly been preserved at Simancas, only becomes copious, like the other series, about the year 1512.

§

Of the chief agents in the correspondence, now submitted to the public, very little is known. The secretaries of Ferdinand and Isabella, who composed the Royal despatches and letters to England, were Fernan Alvarez, Juan Coloma, De la Para, and Miguel Perez Almazan.

Fernan Alvarez had been for at least thirty years Secretary of State, when he makes his appearance in this volume. He does not seem to have been a man of great capacity or large attainments. It gives us a poor idea of his scholarship when we find that he was unable to write Latin, at that time the diplomatic language. Towards the year 1500 he retired from office, and seems to have ended his days in the town of Toledo, his native place.

Coloma is supposed to have been an Italian, or, at any rate, of Italian extraction. His spelling often betrays an intimate acquaintance with the Italian language, but nothing certain is known of his origin. He was mainly employed in the correspondence with France, and conducted the negotiations that led to the Treaty of Barcelona, by which the counties of Roussillon and Cerdaña were ceded to Spain. In his more advanced years, before the war with France broke out, in 1511, he was taken prisoner in his country-house, and carried off by some partizans of France. He was liberated near the frontier, and a short time later countersigned not only the amnesty, but the letters patent by which the King granted honours to the perpetrators of the crime. He seems to have fully understood that policy is to be preferred by a statesman to the gratification of private vengeance. At the time of Ferdinand the Catholic, Johannes Carbonellus, a man of great literary fame, but a dry pedant, was the keeper of the Archives at Barcelona. To his propensity for making Latin distichs we are indebted for the knowledge that Coloma brought up Almazan as his pupil, and introduced him to King Ferdinand.

Miguel Perez Almazan was certainly the most accomplished and most able secretary in the service of Ferdinand the Catholic. He was born in the town of Calatayud. We first meet with him in the State Papers of Spain when he was assistant secretary to Fernan Alvarez. Soon afterwards he rose to the place of Secretary, and then to that

of First Secretary, of State. Almazan was not a Richelieu. He was not the originator of the policy of his country, the guide of his King. Ferdinand would not have tolerated such a minister. But Almazan was his most intimate friend and loyal counsellor. The principal advantage, however, which the King derived from Almazan was not in regard to his advice, but the execution of the orders with which he was entrusted. Ferdinand, able to decide by his own judgment on great questions of policy, could not have a better servant. Intelligent, discreet, and industrious, Almazan accomplished an amount of business that is scarcely credible. When he was elevated by letters patent to the rank of a nobleman, it was stated that it was for the almost superhuman work he had achieved. This expression will hardly seem too strong to any one who knows his handwriting, and has examined the State Papers of that period at Simancas, Barcelona, and Paris. The duties of a minister, in the time of Ferdinand the Catholic, were of a very different character from what they are now. He had not only to confer with his monarch and give orders to his subordinates, but he was obliged to compose and write, with his own hand, the great mass of despatches to be signed by the King, and even the treaties inscribed on the immense sheets of parchment, which drive the historian almost to despair. If a despatch was to be ciphered Almazan had to perform *the task himself, and if letters* had to be deciphered from diplomatic agents Almazan was the interpreter. The State Papers drawn up by him are in general excellently composed, and some of them are masterpieces. I need only point out, as examples of the latter, the instructions to Luis Ferrer and those to the Spanish Ambassador at Venice at the time that King Ferdinand proceeded to Naples. This minister died at Madrid on Monday the 10th of April 1514. His funeral was splendid, and a Latin epitaph, full of the highest eulogium, was inscribed on his tomb. But Ferdinand died within twenty months after him. Scarcely had the King closed his eyes, when the brother and the children of Alma-

zan were robbed of their offices, dignities, and property. A letter is still extant at Simancas in which a friend of the family informs the Archbishop of Toledo that the sons of Almazan had been turned out of even the servants' rooms at the palace, and could not obtain in the kitchen a meal or a crust of bread, whilst those whom Almazan had raised to greatness were living in splendour and luxury.

Of De la Para, who was seldom employed in the negotiations with England, I know nothing.

Of the Spanish Ambassadors employed by Ferdinand and Isabella in England the most prominent were De Puebla, Don Pedro de Ayala, the Duke de Estrada, Fuensalida, and Katharine, Princess of Wales.

Roderigo Gondesalvi de Puebla was doctor of civil and canon law. His name first occurs in Spanish State Papers when he was Corregidor of the town of Ecija in Andalusia. He seems to have attracted the attention of the King by a memorial concerning certain sums due to that town. Late in the year 1487, or early in the year 1488, he was sent to England with Juan de Sepulveda, to negotiate the marriage between the Princess Katharine of Spain and Arthur, Prince of Wales. Henry VII., who greatly desired to establish a closer alliance with Spain, and a nearer relationship to Ferdinand and Isabella, well knew how to flatter Ambassadors for the purpose of rendering them subservient to his interests, and as De Puebla was a vain man, Henry succeeded with him from the first. Everything belonging to the King and his family was magnified by him, and regarded with admiration. When Sepulveda was to return to Spain he and De Puebla had an audience of the Queen. Henry, who wished to impress the Ambassadors with an idea of his grandeur, most probably made arrangements for them to be received in great state. But De Puebla wrote as if he imagined they had taken the Queen at unawares, and that she had always in her state apartments thirty-two ladies attending upon her. Every one of them was, moreover, in the eyes of De Puebla, of angelic

beauty. It is said that he was chosen as ambassador because he was so uncommonly honest a man. His honesty, however, was of very doubtful character. One of the first exploits which he performed on his own responsibility showed not only great inexperience in diplomatic affairs, but a shameless indifference to truth. It is not clear from the papers now extant, whether De Puebla was also accredited to the Court of Scotland; but, whether accredited or not, he tried to arrange a marriage between the King of Scots and Doña Juana, not the legitimate daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, but an illegitimate child of Ferdinand. As he was quite persuaded that the King of Scots would never agree to the marriage if he knew who the lady was, he told him the positive untruth that she was the offspring of a clandestine marriage of Ferdinand before his marriage to Queen Isabella. James listened favourably to his proposals. As soon, however, as Ferdinand heard what was going on in Scotland, he wrote to his ambassador, not reprimanding him, indeed, for the lie, but because the lie was foolish. The truth, he said, could not fail to be detected.

In 1489 De Puebla returned to Spain.

In the year 1494 it was intended to send a new ambassador to England, and Sasiola was selected for the post. As, however, he either did not like to go to England, or was really ill, De Puebla went in his stead. The position which De Puebla occupied was as great as ever has been attained by any ambassador. He not only represented the crowns of Castile and Arragon, but also the Pope and the German Empire. Nevertheless, his partiality to the interests of England soon became so apparent, that grave doubts were entertained by Ferdinand and Isabella whether it were safe to entrust him with the management of their affairs. Moreover, serious complaints made by Spanish subjects, resident in England, against De Puebla, seem to have been frequently sent to his masters. When, in the year 1498, the Knight Commander Londoño and the Sub-Prior of Santa Cruz were sent

as ambassadors to Flanders, they were commissioned to inquire, on their way, into the manner in which De Puebla transacted his business. To put him off his guard Ferdinand and Isabella wrote to him, at the same time, the most gracious letter he had ever received. On the arrival of the commissioners in England, they carefully concealed the real object of their mission while they carried on their investigations with great vigour. Witnesses, selected without distinction as to nationality or social position, were heard. We meet amongst them with a privy counsellor and a porter, with Spaniards and with Englishmen. All agreed in depicting De Puebla as not a very amiable character, or as a faithful ambassador. They said he was a great partizan of England. He magnified everything that related to Henry VII., who, on his part, was quite satisfied; not, however, because he thought De Puebla a good ambassador for Spain, but a good servant to himself. His nomination as ambassador had been a failure; Henry VII. had himself acknowledged it, and expressed his astonishment when he heard that De Puebla was to return to England. Aware of of his true character, Henry was certain that Ferdinand and Isabella had been mistaken in their appreciation of his qualities. De Puebla was dependent on the King of England, and did not dare to say a word except what he thought would be agreeable to Henry. This dependence was so visible that people sneeringly asked whether De Puebla was sent to England to superintend the affairs of Spain, or to do the business of the King of England; and the Spanish merchants gave him the nickname of agent of King Henry's exchequer. Notwithstanding all his servility, however, he could be spiteful to Henry if he thought that his services were not sufficiently remunerated. He was continually telling Ferdinand and Isabella that the affairs he had to transact were enormously difficult, when in fact they were perfectly easy. He went even so far in his faithlessness, that he decided against Spain in matters that were left by the English entirely to his discretion. Flagrant instances

of this occurred when he was negotiating the conditions of the marriage treaty. He was often glad at the bad success of Spain. He was in a state of constant irritation against Don Pedro de Ayala, his co-ambassador. He could not conceal it, and thereby caused many scandalous scenes. From spite against Don Pedro he falsified one of his letters which had been given him to translate, and so delayed the peace with Scotland. So jealous was he and suspicious of other ambassadors, that when Londoño and the Sub-Prior of Santa Cruz were speaking with the King he went "prowling about like a wolf." In a word, De Puebla was a liar, flatterer, calumniator, beggar, spy, secret informer, enemy of truth, full of lies, vainglorious, ostentatious, a quarrelsome intriguer, and moreover a bad Christian, who had said that the Jews were the only merchants in Spain.

Such accusations seem tolerably to exhaust the catalogue of everything bad which can be said of a man. But the commissioners protested that "they could not bear to relate "all the blasphemous things that had been said of De "Puebla by even the very servants of the King."

Whilst ambassador in England, De Puebla still exercised his profession of a lawyer, and of his extortion the following incidents are narrated. A merchant of Genoa, who had incurred a penalty, was obliged to pay him 500 crowns, and a new suit of velvet for the wedding of the Princess, in order to obtain his pardon from King of England. Not a Spanish captain, or a single sailor, had anything to do in England, whom he did not fleece. He took money from both parties. By the judges, lawyers, and merchants he was most heartily hated. His trade of an usurer was notorious in London. When the Court was staying in the country he went to dine there every day for four or five months together. He does not seem always to have been a welcome guest. The Queen, and the mother of the King, asked him in seeming compassion whether his masters did not provide him with food. Once Henry asked his courtiers if they knew the reason why De Puebla was coming. They answered, "To

eat," and the King laughed. But to dine at the palace was not enough for him. He begged wine and bread for his own and his servants' supper. When the King's servants saw him coming up towards the palace, they said to one another "Here comes the old Doctor a begging!"

His life in town was not very dignified. Once, according to his own account, he lived at the Convent of the Augustine Friars, a place where the great men of England came to confer with him, and where all the spies of Europe were trying to find out what he did. If that were true, he must afterwards have greatly retrenched his expenditure. For when the Sub-Prior of Santa Cruz came to London he found that he had been living, for three years already, in the house of a mason who made money by keeping disreputable women under his roof. He took his dinner at the same table with them and the apprentices. The price charged him was not high; — twopence a day. But the landlord robbed other gentlemen who went to the house, and De Puebla protected him against the agents of the law.

All these are only a few specimens. A privy counsellor said that "all the paper in England would not suffice to "describe the character of *that* man."*

Such was the information which Ferdinand and Isabella received, not from the enemies of De Puebla, but from men who had every reason to be impartial, and in whose veracity they placed the utmost confidence. The King and Queen had no personal predilection for De Puebla; the Queen could not endure his self sufficiency, and by the King he was merely regarded as an instrument to be thrown away when no longer of any use. How, then, did Ferdinand and Isabella act when they had received the report of the commissioners? Did they recall their ambassador? No, they

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* Letter of the Knight Commander Londoño and the Sub-Prior of Santa Cruz, dated 18th July 1498; the Information of the Spaniards in England, and the Information of Doctor Breton.

retained him. Their reasons for doing so were entirely of a political nature. De Puebla had acquired a very intimate acquaintance with the way in which business had to be transacted in England. It was therefore not easy to find an efficient substitute for him. But this was only a subordinate consideration. Henry, in gaining over the affections of De Puebla, became attached to him in a degree uncommonly high for his character. There were sufficient indications that Henry trusted to De Puebla more than he would confide to any other ambassador. It is even probable that at that time there was not a single Englishman who shared the confidence of the King to so great an extent. What could be more convenient for Ferdinand and Isabella than to have a man who had such intimate relations with the King, subject to their orders? Besides, although De Puebla might occasionally prefer the interests of England to those of Spain, they could rest assured that he would never betray them to France. The doctrine held by De Puebla, that it was the chief duty of a Spanish ambassador to raise as many obstacles as possible in the way of the policy of France and to bring her into bad repute, was not mere theory but the principle on which he constantly acted. The King of France was the chief adversary of Ferdinand and Isabella, whose constant policy it was to separate England from France. To obtain this object no man could have been more useful than De Puebla. This advantage formed a complete counterpoise in the estimation of the King of Spain to any inconvenience occasioned by the partiality of De Puebla towards England, and outweighed all the blemishes of his character. But in order that the interests of Spain should not suffer, they always kept another ambassador in England in addition to De Puebla, who by degrees, though to all appearance the Spanish ambassador, really became the English minister for foreign affairs as far as Spain and Flanders were concerned. De Puebla not only conferred with the King in his private closet, when no English subject was present, but assisted

in the deliberations of the Privy Council. The management of the diplomatic relations with France, however, Henry kept entirely in his own hands. At all events De Puebla had nothing to do with them.

It might seem as if the same reasons which induced Ferdinand and Isabella to leave De Puebla at his post would have led Henry to with-hold his confidence. It was indeed a strange thing that the man, who in many important matters had so often to perform the duties of an English minister for foreign affairs, should have been at the same time the subject and the servant of the very Princes with whom he had to carry on negotiations. But on the other hand, it must be remembered that excepting the last few years of his reign, Henry had no resident ambassador in Spain. Even then, John Stile acted more in the capacity of a subordinate agent than in that of a representative of the King. Ferdinand always threw great difficulties in the way of resident ambassadors remaining for any length of time at his court, as he regarded them in the light of spies and intriguers. If Henry had thought it absolutely necessary to have an ambassador in Spain he would have overcome these obstacles. But he also thought that it was more convenient for him to make use of a Spanish ambassador who was entirely devoted to his interests, than have a diplomatic agent of his own. France and Spain were constant antagonists, while the King of England wished to remain the friend of both. He was therefore obliged to use very different language to Spain from that which he addressed to France. Had he employed his own minister for that purpose he would have been fully responsible for all that was said. Ferdinand would have been quite diplomatic enough, in such a case, to have communicated Henry's correspondence to France on the first convenient opportunity. He would thereby have raised at any rate suspicions in the mind of the King of France, or perhaps have caused a breach between him and the King of England. If however, as was the fact, the correspondence with the Court

of Spain was to be carried on by means of the Spanish ambassador, Henry would then be at full liberty to disavow whatever might be contained in his letters to the prejudice of France. He could not be made formally responsible for the correspondence of a Spanish servant with the Spanish King.

If De Puebla be regarded, not as the Spanish ambassador, but as an English minister, his official conduct affords less ground for censure. His letters to Spain were highly coloured in favour of England. But was an English minister to be blamed for that? All the promises which Henry made, only to gain time, were reported by De Puebla as if their sincerity could not be doubted, while an independent ambassador would have seen through them at once and advised his King not to put any trust in them. But would it have been the duty of an English minister to betray the real intentions of his master?

When the Cornish insurgents marched against London, De Puebla did not write a word about the matter to Spain. As soon, however, as the insurrection was suppressed and Perkin Warbeck made prisoner, Henry sent one of his chamberlains post haste to De Puebla, whose letter, containing the intelligence, was sent off, not only that very day, but the very same hour to Spain. Ferdinand demanded explanations for the suppression of so important a fact as the revolt, on which De Puebla made the clumsy excuse that the news had been known sooner in Spain than in England. Again, when Perkin Warbeck escaped out of prison, De Puebla remained silent; but the very day that he was recaptured he despatched the tidings to Spain, remarking that others might have written informing Ferdinand of the escape, but not of the circumstance of his having been once more arrested. The office occupied by De Puebla was quite irregular, and both Henry and Ferdinand had so good an opinion of their own diplomatic powers that each imagined he would be able to secure to himself the full advantage of this irregularity.

Queen Isabella treated him in a manner in accordance

with her character. She cajoled and flattered him, constantly holding up before his eyes the most brilliant prospects, and telling him that if he performed just what was required of him, he should attain all he had ever desired. Her language is that of a Queen who does her best to corrupt the servant of a foreign prince. On the other hand, she threatened him with her severest displeasure if he did not obtain whatever she asked. De Puebla had not only sold all his possessions in Spain, but had also caused his son to come over to England. Ferdinand and Isabella had it in their power, however, to punish and even to ruin him. There still remained in Spain members of his family who were dear to him, and amongst them an only daughter, who had had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the Inquisition. It may be imagined that a man like De Puebla could not have cared much for his family. But in a country such as Spain, where social life was almost patriarchal, the head of a family was dishonoured if any member of it was brought to shame. Besides, if his office as ambassador had been taken from him he would no longer have been of any use to Henry, and nothing would have been left for him but to retire from the political life to which he was so much attached. The most dreadful threat, therefore, which Queen Isabella could employ was to recall him to Spain.

Whether the material advantages which De Puebla derived from his devotedness to Henry consisted only in gains from his illegal practice as a lawyer, the sale of testimonials, &c., or whether he received money directly from the King, I am unable to state. In the year 1508 he was made Master of Sherbourne Hospital, which office he was to hold during the King's pleasure. But the revenues, I should think, could not have been very great. Besides, this grant was made only a short time before the death of Henry and of De Puebla. After the conclusion of the marriage treaty between the Princess Katharine and Arthur, Prince of Wales, the King offered De Puebla a bishopric. He was crippled. I do not know what his defect was; it seems

to have been so obvious that though it is often alluded to, it is never stated in what it consisted ; only from one expression which is used it may be inferred that a limb was wanting. Henry undertook to procure a dispensation from the Pope for this, and all other canonical disabilities. Although the affair seemed one which it would be very easy to arrange at Rome, there were serious difficulties to contend with in Spain. Without the permission of Ferdinand and Isabella nothing could be done. Henry therefore wrote a letter speaking in the highest terms of De Puebla, and recommended him as their most faithful servant. While saying that De Puebla deserved a liberal recompense from them, and that he did not doubt they would bestow it upon him, he begged their permission to be associated in this work of royal grace and favour. As a bishopric was vacant it was, he said, his intention to bestow it upon De Puebla who, in point of character and dignity of presence, had no equal. The letter remained without response. De Puebla, while anxiously awaiting the reply, hinted more than once at this letter of King Henry in the despatches he sent to Spain. But when month after month passed, and all his expedients were fruitless to obtain an answer, it became clear that the King and Queen of Spain did not wish to see their ambassador preferred to an English bishopric, which would have rendered him comparatively independent. De Puebla, therefore, made a virtue of necessity, and declared that on no condition would he accept such a dignity. In the year 1500 De Puebla was spending the eve of Twelfth-day with the King and Queen of England. The poverty in which he lived, and his disinterested refusal of a bishopric, formed the subject of their talk. In the course of this conversation De Puebla was agreeably surprised by an offer made by the Queen of a rich marriage in England. His modesty would not, however, permit him for a moment to entertain such an idea. At last the persuasions of the Queen, in which the King took part, prevailed over his scruples. He promised to accept from their hands a wife

if his masters would give him permission. In this way, at any rate, the story is told by himself and the King. Henry again wrote to Ferdinand and Isabella asking their consent The King and Queen of Spain followed once more their old policy, and made no more reply concerning the marriage than they had done about the bishopric. Five months having elapsed De Puebla wrote to Almazan. Almazan emulated his masters. As a second letter of Henry received no attention, the marriage fell to the ground. His salary as ambassador was considerable; he could have lived very well upon it, if it had been regularly paid, but such was never the case; and after the death of Queen Isabella he could not count upon the smallest amount being sent to him. It did not seem to produce any effect upon the mind of Ferdinand, who himself was in want of money, when De Puebla told him that he was in debt, and that the ambassador of the King of the Romans, being in a similar predicament, had had an execution put into his house and had narrowly escaped imprisonment. Besides, De Puebla, from his desire always to show Henry in the light of a good brother of other princes, missed his mark by adding that the King, as soon as he heard of the affair, was very angry and treated the creditor so unceremoniously as to deter others from attempting the same thing towards ambassadors. If, therefore, Henry screened ambassadors who were in debt, there was the less reason to send them money.

Notwithstanding the treatment he received, De Puebla felt a certain attachment for Queen Isabella, and even after her death he was faithful to Ferdinand in his quarrel with the Archduke Philip.

De Puebla dragged on a miserable existence in England, always complaining of ill health, the bad climate, and the enormous fees to be paid to English physicians. There are quite reasons enough for believing that his complaints were well founded. Nevertheless, this decrepid old man, who was sometimes so ill as to be obliged to be conveyed in a litter to court, could, when occasion required it, display an

amount of physical energy that was quite surprising. For instance, when on his way to the King who was then staying in the country, he was overtaken by a messenger of his brother ambassador, Fuensalida, bearing despatches to Henry about the same business as that on which he was going himself, in order not to be forestalled, he spurred on his horse, and riding day and night actually reached his destination a day earlier than the professional courier.

King Henry died on the 21st of April 1509. De Puebla seems to have outlived him but a very short time. In the autumn of the same year we find his son, who was a canon of St. Paul's, going to Spain in order to settle the affairs of his deceased father. Both Henry and De Puebla had few, if any real friends, but they were attached to each other to a degree rarely seen among better men. The letters of De Puebla are very numerous, and it is scarcely necessary to add that they form the most important part of the present collection.

Don Pedro de Ayala formed a great contrast to De Puebla. He was Apostolic and Imperial Prothonotary. He was not a great scholar; the Latin he wrote was bad, and even his Spanish spelling was indifferent. But there was nothing of the pedant about him. Of agreeable manners, genial and light hearted, he made friends wherever he went. While De Puebla led the life of a beggar, Don Pedro lived like a gentleman, rented a good house, and took especial care to have his cellar well stocked. Though raised to the rank of a bishop, he remained a man of the world. Possessed of keen determination, he had a thorough insight into the characters of those with whom he had to deal. Not indifferent to money, and in the habit of frequently asking for his salary and for preferment, he did ~~so in~~ a manner quite different from De Puebla. Whilst the requests of the latter were made in such a tone as to render those to whom he addressed himself more inclined to with-

hold than to grant his demands, Ayala preferred his solicitations in so gentle a way as to make it difficult to refuse him.

Don Pedro was first nominated ambassador to the King of Scots, but afterwards while retaining his post in Scotland he was likewise accredited to the King of England. He had a marked predilection for James, who on his part was so attached to him that he called him his father, and did not venture to decide on any great question of state without asking his advice. Henry was perfectly aware of Don Pedro's amiable disposition and great capacity for business. He flattered him and tried to win him over, but never succeeded. When the Princess Katharine was about to come to England, Henry asked as a special favour of Ferdinand and Isabella, that Don Pedro might remain in this country for there was no one, he said, so well calculated as he to make the Princess feel less a stranger in her new home on her first arrival.

His clerical character did not prevent him, during his frequent travels between Edinburgh and London, from occasionally taking part in a little fighting on the Borders. Even in the streets of London he sometimes indulged in similar exploits. In one of these brawls, he had a brick thrown at him, and an Englishman was carried away dead from the scene of action. While Ayala had participated in the slaying of the Englishman, De Puebla decorously went to see him buried and to pay him the last honours. So great was the scandal that the officers of the law took occasion to proceed against Don Pedro's servants. The one most deeply incriminated was his chaplain, a Scotchman by birth. Ayala was obliged to use all his influence to save him from execution. The most serious part of the affair, however, was, that it cost more than 200*l.* to secure the escape of the offender. The brother of the chaplain could not refrain from expressing his vehement indignation at the cupidity of the English myrmidons of the law.

To be a servant of Don Pedro was a dangerous post. He had brought over with him from Spain, six servants

and his brother ambassador, Don Martin, had left him six more at his death. By the year 1498 only three of them had escaped death or mutilation. Two had been slain on the road and were buried in Scotland, four had fallen in the wars, and three more were invalided in consequence of wounds.

De Puebla hated Don Pedro more than any man living. His letters are full of the bitterest invectives against him. The influence of Don Pedro over De Puebla was so strong as to occasion the latter to exclaim, that in the presence of Don Pedro he felt utterly unable to transact any business, and lost all command over his moral and intellectual faculties. On the other hand, Don Pedro never mentions even De Puebla's name.

Don Pedro exchanged his embassy to Scotland and England for Flanders, where, however, he did not remain long. His letters are not confined to political subjects. They contain little essays on the customs of the people, the constitution of the government, and other similar matters; and often descend to notice the most trifling occurrences of the day. Unfortunately they seem to have been almost all lost. We only possess one long letter, and a few short ones, of this interesting correspondent.

Londoño and the Sub-Prior of Santa Cruz stayed a very short time in England. Most of their letters, which are not without value to English history, were written from Flanders. The Sub-Prior of Santa Cruz belonged to the same convent as Tomas Torquemada, Grand Inquisitor of Spain. His letters are animated by the pious feeling of a Dominican friar of that time.

The Duke de Estrada was not only a courtier, but an officer in the royal household. The Princess of Wales calls him a mediocre man, who had not even sufficient means to support the dignity of an ambassador. There is nothing in his correspondence tending to make us imagine that the Princess was mistaken.

Of the private life of the Knight Commander of Haro, and afterwards of Membrilla, I know nothing; and the principal part which he played in his capacity of ambassador, belongs to the reign of Henry VIII.

Katharine, Princess of Wales, was herself one of the more prominent characters in the political drama of the day. In that quality I shall have to mention her more than once hereafter. She was, however, formally accredited by King Ferdinand to the King of England as his diplomatic agent. Her letters were, therefore, not only private communications of a daughter to her father, but official documents. When she first came to England she was a mere child, and certainly had no experience of the world. But the intrigues into which she was constantly dragged very soon opened her eyes. Too great confidence in men, or their promises, was not her foible, and she could not be easily duped. Her letters are very numerous, and though the spelling is sometimes incorrect, and the style heavy, they are always clear and decided.

The few notices I have been able to gather concerning the principal persons employed in the diplomatic correspondence between England and Spain at the time of Henry VII. are not of a kind to induce us to place much reliance on their love of truth. Are their letters then to be received as unexceptionable evidence? As far as their communications relate to the business on which they themselves are employed not the least doubt can be raised. If Ferdinand, for instance, writes to Henry telling him he is thoroughly prepared to make war on France, and to reconquer Normandy and Brittany for England, whilst in reality he only wishes to embroil England with France, and thereby to obtain better conditions for the treaty of peace which he is already negotiating, his want of truth is so flagrant that it is seen through in a moment. But the value of the document is not the least impaired in consequence, for, we learn by it the real fact that the negotiation was

carried on by falsehood. The State Papers of a first-rate power are in this respect much superior to those of a second-rate state. If the agents of a leading government make false statements, these false statements influence the course of political events, and it is indispensable for the historian to know them in order to understand the history of the time. Even with respect to intelligence which does not form the subject of their negotiations, diplomatists, however great their propensity to tell untruths, must be more guarded than private persons. Whilst the latter may generally gratify their animosities or predilections to any extent without fear of evil consequences, the diplomatist must be aware that untrue statements, if continued, would raise political questions on matters which have no foundation, and would fall back on his own head.

§

I come next to Ferdinand and Isabella. Ferdinand was married to Isabella at Valladolid on the 14th of October 1469. He was then 17 years of age, and Isabella about one year older. After having succeeded to the crown of Castile on the 15th December 1474, they came into possession of the crown of Arragon some five years later. Many portraits of them are still extant in Spain; but they are all by bad masters, and do not resemble one another.

The Queen often spoke of her dress. She dwelt much upon her simplicity, and laid great stress on the circumstance that she had been obliged to receive the French ambassadors twice in the same costume, whilst she spent large sums to the glory of God and the good of the world. These kind of letters have often been published, and have not a little contributed to exalt her as a pious character. But such persons as had opportunities of seeing her, and of judging by their own observations, could not find words expressive enough to describe the splendour of her attire. We have in the journals of Machado[1], who accompanied the

[1] Printed in Gairdner's Memorials of Henry VII.

English ambassadors as king-at-arms to Spain in the year 1489, a relation of her toilette worthy a court milliner. He declares that he never beheld such magnificence, and the description of the velvet, gold, and pearls which she wore is so minute that it leaves us no room to doubt of his being a connoisseur. When he, therefore, assured the King of England that a single toilette of Queen Isabella amounted in value to 200,000 scudos, and that he never saw her twice, even on the same day, whether it were at an audience, a bull fight, or a ball, in the same costume, we may conjecture that she carried on her person the greater portion of the contents of the Royal Exchequer.

Ferdinand, at least on state occasions, was also addicted to similar magnificence. John Stile, the English ambassador, describes him in the year 1509 as squinting with the left eye, and lisping in consequence of the loss of a front tooth, but for the rest a right hearty Prince, of a robust constitution, and smiling countenance.

Neither Ferdinand nor Isabella were scholars. They spoke and wrote Spanish well, but seem to have been unable to understand any other language. A great distinction is generally made between the writing of Ferdinand and that of Isabella Ferdinand we are told, if he were able to write at all, wrote so badly, that he could scarcely express himself. Even Lafuente, not Modesto Lafuente the author of the Political History of Spain, but the modern ecclesiastical historian of that country, thinks it necessary to defend Ferdinand in his Church History against the reproach of not having been able to sign his letters. He shows that Ferdinand was really able to sign, but adds, that the writing was very bad, and we should infer from his words that he believed Ferdinand was unable to write more than his name. It is strange how long such prejudices may exist in spite of the clearest evidence to the contrary. Holographs of Ferdinand are by no means rare. Many exist at Simancas and elsewhere. In the archives of the Duke of Frias in Madrid I have seen five

very long letters written entirely by the King. I subjoin a specimen addressed to Isabella, the original of which is now in the collection of autographs in Madrid, but an authenticated copy remains at Simancas in *Estado, Castile, legajo* 1 *and* 2, *f.* 177.

Mi Señora,—"Now at least it is clear which of us two
" loves best. Judging by what you have ordered should be
" written to me, I see that you can be happy while I lose
" my sleep, because messenger comes after messenger and
" brings me no letters from you. The reason why you do
" not write is not because there is no paper to be had, or
" that you do not know how to write, but because you do
" not love me, and because you are proud. You are living
" at Toledo, I am living in small villages. Well! one day
" you will return to your old affection. If you do not I
" shall die, and the guilt will be yours.
" Write to me and let me know how you are. There is
" nothing to be said about the affairs which keep me here,
" except what Silva will communicate to you, and what
" Ferdinand Pulgar has told you. I beg you to believe
" Silva. Do write to me.
" The affairs of the Princess must not be forgotten. For
" God's sake, remember her, as well as her father, who kisses
" your hands, and is your servant THE KING."

While Ferdinand was able to express himself perfectly well in writing, Queen Isabella was not inferior to him in this respect. The handwritings of the King and the Queen are so alike that it requires an intimate acquaintance with them not to mistake the one for the other. The characters are large and bold, but already old-fashioned for the time. Holographs of the Queen are exceedingly rare, and therefore very highly valued. In the Egerton MSS., No. 616, there is a short note written entirely by her. The person who sold the volume does not seem to have been aware of the fact.

With regard to their moral character, the Queen has been extolled as simple-hearted and pious, whilst a large amount

of opprobrium has been cast upon the King. But it is very difficult, where two persons are so intimately united as Ferdinand and Isabella, to decide what measure of praise or blame attaches to the one or the other. They quarrelled sometimes about their private concerns. It could scarcely be otherwise, when we remember that Ferdinand had four illegitimate children by different mothers. But in their aggressive foreign policy, and in their measures of oppression at home, they were always agreed. The praise bestowed upon the character of Isabella is, to no small amount, due to the chivalrous character of the Spaniards, who never forgot that the Queen was a lady. Another reason was the old and still-continued strife between the *Corona* and *Coronilla*. Queen Isabella represented the *Corona*, in other words, the great kingdom of Castile; whilst Ferdinand was only the representative of the *Coronilla*, that is to say, the small crown of Arragon. In Castile he has always been regarded as an intruder; and as Castile was the leading portion of Spain, its opinion has generally been received as expressing that of the whole country. Such judgments, when once established, influence even the most clear-sighted historian, and the only means of divesting himself of prejudice is to read the original letters and papers. Some of them have been published, but the great mass still remain undisturbed in the archives.

Neither Isabella nor Ferdinand scrupled to tell direct untruths, and make false promises, whenever they thought it expedient to their policy. But if any distinction is to be made, certainly Queen Isabella excelled her husband in disregard to veracity. It even seems to have been a matter of understanding between the two, that whenever any very flagrant falsehood was to be uttered, she should be the one to do it. I will merely allude, as examples of this, to two instances of which I shall here after have to make fuller mention; namely, her letter to the Pope in which she solemnly declared that she derived no pecuniary advantage from the Inquisition, and her despatches respecting the second marriage of the Princess Katharine.

Suffering from ill health, she seems to have been of a highly nervous temperament. She wrote much with her own hand, but she generally had her letters translated into cipher, most probably destroying the originals. Whilst writing, she worked herself up into a state of excitement, and her expressions grow by degrees stronger and stronger, while her protestations sometimes contain so much warmth that, most probably, she herself, for the moment, believed in the truth of them. She appears to have been very liable to mistake her own interests for those of God, whose name she constantly had on her lips, or to substitute self-gratification for real love of the people. For instance, in her letter to Henry VII., dated the 15th September 1496, she enlarged, in the most touching terms, on the blessings of peace, and concluded by saying that, if it were possible to avoid thereby the calamities of war, she would not only send one, and more than one embassy, to the King of France, but that she would go to him in her own person, and ask him to make peace, not sparing herself any trouble or pains whatever. No words can be more becoming a great and pious Queen. It is to be regretted that, in the same letter, she urged the King of England to declare war upon France and thereby to render the bloodshed and slaughter more general even than it was.

Ferdinand had not the reputation, among the princes of his time, of being a very untruthful man. Still his double dealings were endless. In addition to his duplicity, he was characterised by cold, pitiless sternness, hidden below a smiling surface. The only excuse that can be made for him, if excuse it be, is that he was a man of large grasp of mind, and that he had great plans to carry out. Whoever has been seriously engaged in vast enterprises will have found that it was impossible for him to be equally just to all interests. To gain the principal object in view he will have had to neglect and even disregard other duties. The political views of Ferdinand embraced the whole of Europe. I am not able to state at what period his plans arrived at ripeness. A man like him was not likely to

make proclamation of his intentions from the housetops. They came to light when the time for action had arrived, and most probably their growth only kept pace with the march of events.

Ferdinand had great confidence in his family relationships, and thought the world was to be governed by means of marriages and family connexions. That was not an opinion peculiar to him. The whole age might be called a dynastic age, and marriages have never assumed so much importance since, as they did then. The reason was that treaties did not offer any security, but were broken as soon as they were negotiated and sworn. There seemed really to be no lasting bond between man and man except the sacrament of marriage. In one respect, however, Ferdinand differed widely from the kings of his time. In his opinion the family connexions of the reigning houses ought to be subordinated to higher principles of policy. He was most probably the first statesman of the middle ages who saw that a strong government must not be based upon heterogenous national elements and disjointed provinces. Had not events, beyond the control of man, prevented him from carrying out his plans, the map of Europe would have been constituted three hundred and fifty years ago almost as it now stands.

Spain, there can be no doubt, was the inheritance of his only legitimate son, Don Juan. When he married his second daughter, Doña Juana, to the son of the King of the Romans, no human foresight could have predicted that from this marriage would spring the unnatural union of Germany and Spain. To bring about such an event it was necessary that four deaths should occur; that of the Prince Don Juan himself, of his son, of his elder sister, Doña Isabella, and of her son Don Miguel. While Ferdinand, therefore, is not morally responsible for the union of these two empires, much less can he be accused of having wished to divide the kingdom of Spain. It is true he married Germaine de Foix; but an exchange or barter of kingdoms, was, in his time, by no means unusual;

and as it was his intention to form Italy into a kingdom, a son of Germaine de Foïx might easily be provided for there. The only son of his second wife died so soon after his birth that there was no opportunity afforded him of carrying this plan into effect. But when Maximilian proposed that his grandson, Prince Ferdinand, should be made King of Arragon, Ferdinand rejected the proposal at once, and in the most determined way declared he would not suffer any one to speak even of such a subject. Castile and Arragon, he said, were united, and must remain united for ever.[1]

Ferdinand entered into long negotiations with the King of France in the latter part of his life respecting Italy. A treaty was actually concluded, by which Renée, the second daughter of the King of France, was to be married to Prince Ferdinand. The King of France was to give up as dowry to his daughter his claims on Northern Italy, and to cede his rights on Naples to King Ferdinand, so that he might dispose of that kingdom as he liked. Nor are we left to guess at his intentions. He declared, in a letter to the King of France, that he had entered into negotiations with the King of the Romans, the object of which was to exchange the kingdom of Naples for the inheritance of Prince Ferdinand in Germany.[2] If the north and the south of Italy, Ferdinand said, were formed into one powerful state, the remainder would not be able long to withstand it. Even the union of Scotland with England occupied the mind of Ferdinand. In the archives in Paris there is a letter extant in which he admonishes King Louis not to raise any difficulties if the King of England should "take upon himself the "government of Scotland."[3]

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[1] Simancas, Estado; Tratados con Inglatterra; legajo 4. f. 87. Instruction to Pedro de Quintana.

[2] Archives de France, IX.; Negot. France–Espagne, B. 1638. Instruction which begins, *Lo que vos haveys de dezir de mi parte al Rey de Francia, &c.*

[3] Archives de France, IX.; Negot. France–Espagne, B. 1638. Draft of an instruction of Ferdinand to his ambassador in France, without date.

Ambitious as he was, and entertaining the largest plans, Ferdinand never liked to wage a great war. There is still a curious memoir extant at Simancas, which gives a clear insight into his manner of proceeding. When Francis I. had been made prisoner by Charles V., the Emperor asked the advice of an ancient counsellor of Ferdinand who had retired from official life many years before. The old man advised him not to insist on too hard conditions, holding up to him the policy of Ferdinand as an example. King Ferdinand, he said, always made peace with France on easy terms when he had been prosperous in the field. But he made use of the peace which he had negotiated only to prepare himself anew for war. Thus he obtained a two-fold advantage. As countries may be conquered by arms, but cannot be held by force, he gained time to consolidate his new acquisitions; and, in the second place, while he might in the end gain the whole, he never exposed himself to the danger of a great loss.[1]

Ferdinand and Isabella fill such an important place in the correspondence contained in this collection, that I must not omit anything likely to elucidate their personal character. I think there is nothing better calculated for that purpose than to place the King and Queen before the reader in such a light as to enable him to judge for himself of their actions. I will select some circumstances which are but little known, and which are connected with the introduction of the Inquisition into Spain. The line of conduct pursued by Ferdinand and Isabella is not only characteristic of them, but was also connected with the negotiations between Spain and England. It belongs, therefore, indirectly to the subject of this work.

Before Ferdinand could occupy himself with his great European policy he was obliged first to arrange his affairs at

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[1] The document referred to is not contained in the present collection as it belongs to the reign of Henry VIII. It is preserved at Simancas. E. T. I. No. 806, f. 25.

home. The wars against the Moors were to be carried on, and the coffers of the state were empty. To make state loans had not at that time become a scientific art. The only expedient was to increase the taxes. One of the principal sources of the public revenue was derived from the confiscation of the property of criminals. To find out a new class of wealthy criminals was an idea which, provided it were not in contradiction to popular feeling, might enter the mind of a financier. Religion seemed to offer such an opportunity. Two very different classes of opinions were then entertained in Spain. Many who were disinclined to narrow-minded orthodoxy had, from their daily intercourse with Moors and Jews, imbibed latitudinarian doctrines. Zealots, on the other hand, were exasperated by that very fact. Interposed between these two extremes was the great mass of the nation, who, it was to be imagined, might be easily gained over to the policy of the Government. The persecution of the Jews and those who held friendly intercourse with them, would, consequently, at once be a means of gratifying the wants of the minister of finance and the feelings of orthodox Christians. Queen Isabella, who always shared the harsh doctrines of the Dominicans, could not have felt any great objections against carrying such a project into execution. If religious motives had less weight with Ferdinand, the deficiency was amply compensated for by political reasons in addition to those of finance. He saw that uniformity in religion and a strong ecclesiastical rule were good preparatives for a concentrated and powerful political government.

In the year 1478 Ferdinand and Isabella were staying at Seville. At the same place a small assembly of priests and laymen were gathered together to consider how the evil influence exercised by the Jews over Christians could be prevented. The King and Queen took part in the deliberations, the result of which was, that all priests in towns and villages were instructed to use their earnest endeavours to bring back the erring sheep into the true fold. It was easy to predict that this measure would

produce no effect.[1] The next step taken by Ferdinand and Isabella was to request of the Pope a bull, by which the reverend father, Friar Tomas de Torquemada, or as he is styled in Latin documents, Turrecremata, should be confirmed as Inquisitor General in Spain, with power to nominate his agents. This bull was granted in the year 1481. Torquemada was the confessor, not, as it is sometimes believed, of the Queen, but of King Ferdinand, and he was Prior of the convent of Santa Cruz in Segovia. The first act performed by Torquemada, on his elevation to his new dignity, was what he called an act of grace. He published an edict, which was placarded on all the church doors throughout Spain, by which sinners were commanded to confess and repent within a certain number of days. Fifteen thousand persons obeyed his behest. Penances, differing in degree, according to the guilt of the offenders, were imposed. As soon as the period of grace had terminated, the Inquisition began its reign of terror. It must not be imagined that it had to take cognizance of religious dogmas alone; morality in general, and matrimonial causes, were also subject to its jurisdiction. The punishments inflicted by the inquisitors were, death by fire, imprisonment for life, or for a certain term of years. Those who were restored to liberty were obliged constantly to wear red crosses outside their clothes, one on their back and one on their breast, for the remainder of their days. The use of gold, silk, and camlet, was, moreover, forbidden them. They and their children were declared incapable of holding any office or trust. The whole of Spain from one end to the other was startled by the flames of the *autos da fé*. Towns, provinces, and kingdoms sent deputations to Ferdinand and Isabella declaring that it was impossible to submit to such cruelty. In some of the pro-

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[1] See *Memoria de los Primeros Inquisidores, que ubo en Espãna, &c.*, now preserved in the Archives de l'Empire in Paris IX.; Negociations. This portion of the Simancas papers in Paris has not been perfectly arranged as yet, and the box has not been numbered.

vinces there still remained officers of the former Inquisition. They had become harmless, and their very existence almost forgotten. On this occasion they again showed signs of life by protesting in stronger terms than the rest of the Spanish people against the new institution. The storm was so general that it seemed almost impossible to withstand it, but Ferdinand and Isabella bore the brunt of it immoveably. They sent commissioners with secret instructions to their governors of provinces and kingdoms, who had also begun to waver, threatening them, on the one hand, with the most terrible punishments, and on the other, luring them to their cause by promises of riches and greatness.

Notwithstanding all the measures taken by Government the inquisitors did not enter into peaceful possession of their offices. They were no sooner installed into them by the help of an armed force than they were driven out again and hunted down by the populace. The utmost that could be obtained was, the prevention of the complete downfall of the Inquisition. This critical state of things was rendered all the more dangerous by the opposition against the Inquisition having extended to Rome itself. The Pope modified the bull which he had given, deposed the most cruel among the inquisitors, and ordered that an appeal to Rome should be opened. Ferdinand responded by sending the Pope a minatory letter.[1]

The Pope was intimidated. On the 3d of August 1483 he wrote that he intended to reconsider his last resolution in favour of the heretics, and until then he would leave the matter in suspense. As nevertheless papal remissions of penalties were obtained, Ferdinand promulgated an ordinance stating that in the kingdoms of Arragon and Valentia any person, whether ecclesiastical or secular, and without any

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[1] Letter of King Ferdinand, dated Cordova, xiii. die Maii 1482, "Hæc concessiones sunt importunæ et eis nunquam locum dare intendo. Caveat igitur Sanctitas Vestra impedimenta saneto officio concedere, etc."—*Arch. Gen. de la Corona de Aragon in Barcelona.* Registros, vol. 3684, f. 7.

distinction of class or sex, who should make use of a papal indulgence, should be put to death on the spot.[1]

Not only living heretics, but those who had died, were persecuted. They were cited before the tribunals, and if found guilty their bones were exhumed and solemnly burnt. So far the whole procedure looks like a hideous farce; but there was also a serious element in it. The goods that the heretics had left to their heirs were confiscated, and filled the coffers of Queen Isabella and King Ferdinand, Amongst the many dead who were destined to undergo judgment after burial were the father, the mother, and the grandmother of Don Juan Arias de Avila, Bishop of Segovia. As soon as he heard what was in prospect, he drove out from his diocese all the inquisitors, and remonstrated with the King and Queen. When he found that all was in vain, he went in the dead of night to the churchyard of the Convent de la Merced, dug up the bones of his ancestors, and hid them in a place where they could not be found. He himself proceeded to Rome. As soon as Queen Isabella was informed of his journey, she wrote a long letter to her ambassadors at the papal court giving them instructions what they were to say to the Pope and the Cardinals. The Bishop of Segovia, she said, had exhumed the bones only in order to deprive the Inquisition of proof that they had been buried after the Jewish fashion. "I have," she said, "caused great calamities, and depopulated towns, lands, "provinces, and kingdoms," but she protested that she had acted thus from love of Christ and his Holy Mother. Those were liars and calumniators who said she had done so from love of money, for she had never herself touched a maravedi proceeding from the confiscated goods of the dead. On the contrary, she had employed the money, she asseverated, in educating and giving marriage portions to the children of

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[1] "Encorra en la misma hora pena de muerte y confiscacion de todos sus bienes." *Pragmatica que no se presenten bullas apostolicas contra la Ynquisicion.—Arch. Gen. de la Coron. de Aragon.* Registros, vol. 3684, f. 33v.

the condemned.[1] So solemn a declaration of the Queen seems to demand respect. If, however, we turn over the leaves of the State Papers, we find orders emanating from her which very strongly impeach her veracity. Amongst many instances I will quote one. A certain Pecho of Xerez had been condemned for heresy, and his property, to the amount of 200,000 maravedis, was confiscated. 20,000 maravedis was the portion of the widow, who with her children remained in utter destitution. The Queen granted them, as a special favour, 30,000 maravedis, and the rest went into her own coffers.[2] There is a great number of similar cases to be found; and as the registers speak only of her bounties, the instances in which she took possession of all the confiscated goods remain unnoticed.[3]

The Pope determined to send a legate to Spain in order to inquire into the proceedings of the Inquisition. Isabella did all in her power to prevent it. She used corruption on a large scale, larger even, as she declared, than was agreeable to herself. The final result was that the Courts of Spain and Rome came to an understanding respecting the person who was to be sent as legate. He received rich donations in Spain, and his inquiry was reduced to a mere form. It is characteristic of the Queen that the only condition she made was, that his Holiness shall absolve her from simony.[4] We are indebted to the Archivero of Barcelona

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[1] Archivo General de la Corona de Aragon. Registros; Varia. II. Ferdin. II.; vol. 3686, f. 105

[2] Archiv. Gen. de la Corona de Aragon. Registros, vol. 3686. f. 1v.

[3] In the memorial preserved among the papers taken from Simancas and now in the Archives de l'Empire at Paris, it is simply stated that the children of those who were condemned after death became incapable of holding any office, and that their goods were confiscated to the King and the Queen.

[4] Letter of Queen Isabella to the Bishop of Badajoz, her ambassador in Rome, dated Cordova, 7th September 1490, in Arch. Gen. de la Corona de Aragon. Registros; Varia. II., Ferdin. II.; vol. 3686, ff. 111, 112. "*Dezirle heys que ofrezco de nuestra parte al que hoviere de yr* (al legado) *mercedes y que en nuestros reynos sera bien colocado, haviendose el bien en el cargo que le sera encommendado. Esto se intienda despensando en ello su Santidad si en algo interviniesse simonia.*"

who lived at that time for many lists of *autos da fé*. We find among the sufferers men of all classes,—clergymen, officers in the army, tailors, and cobblers; but the number of widows of merchants occupies a disproportionately large space in the different lists. Were they really more inclined to heresy, or were they only rich and comparatively defenceless?

From this time forth the Inquisition was established on solid foundations. Two thousand men and women were burned, and a still greater number condemned to perpetual imprisonment, while immense numbers fled to France, Italy, and other countries. In Xerez, Seville, and Cordova alone, 4,000 homesteads were deserted. The Queen was implored to relent. But she answered that it was better for the service of God and herself to have the country depopulated than to have it polluted by heresy. Persecution even hunted the fugitives in foreign countries. The King of Naples, for instance, was requested, in a tone of command, to torture and put to death all those who would not at once deliver the small remnants of the fortune they had saved.

The heretics were not safe even in England. Ferdinand and Isabella, in their letter of the 18th August 1494, asked Henry, as a special favour, to prevent the courts of law from condemning Diego de Soria, a Spanish merchant in London, to pay back to the fugitive Jews such sums of money as they had confided to him on leaving Spain. In the year 1498, when Londoño and the Sub-Prior of Santa Cruz were sent to England, the Sub-Prior had a secret mission to Henry. The instructions relating to it are not extant, but there is no doubt that they were connected with religious persecution. The Sub-Prior gives a short sketch in his letter of the 18th of July of his conversation with the King of England, from which it is perfectly clear that certain demands respecting the Inquisition were made. Ferdinand and Isabella had expressed their sorrow that, whilst Spain had been purged of infidelity, Flanders and

England were infected by that scourge. Henry laying both hands on his breast swore that he would persecute without mercy any "cursed" Jew or heretic that the Queen of Spain could point out in his dominions. Much more, however, must have been said on both sides, as the Sub-Prior writes he spoke to the King for a long while on the subject. We know from other sources that soon afterwards new processes against heretics were begun in England. But the proceedings were not very severe, and nothing like the Inquisition was ever attempted by Henry.

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Of the personal appearance of Henry VII. little is to be learnt. He was of middle height, and had by no means a robust constitution. All foreign diplomatists who had any business to transact with him mention the vivacity of his expression, and especially the liveliness of his eyes. He liked to speak French, of which language he retained a perfect command to the end of his life. On the whole, he looked more like a Frenchman than an Englishman. He did not sympathise with the peculiarly national mode of thinking, and had imbibed so little of English prejudice, that he did not even hate the Scots. Henry would have very much liked to employ foreigners as his servants, but was afraid of hurting the feelings of his subjects.

He looked old for his years, but, as Pedro de Ayala observes, not older than might have been expected, considering the cares and troubles he had undergone. In the middle of his career, when not occupied with affairs of state, it was his custom to retire to his closet and employ himself in settling his accounts. During the last years of his life, and especially after the death of Queen Elizabeth, his habits altered to a considerable extent. When he was not confined by illness to his apartments, he went, for weeks and months together, from one hunting place to another, to enjoy the pleasures of hawking and the chase. He spent, moreover, a great deal of time in devotional exercises. The

popular tradition respecting his avarice, which has descended to us, seems only too well founded. It is quite the characteristic of a usurer to have a fondness for gold. We are informed that whenever a gold coin entered the chests of Henry it never found its way out again. But whenever he appeared before the agents of foreign princes nothing of meanness was discernible about him; on the contrary, his magnificence is often alluded to.

Henry wished very much to be considered by other princes as a great man, and he possessed in fact, as the most judicious observer of his character remarked,[1] many of the qualities which constitute greatness, but he had one characteristic which spoilt all the rest, his love of money.

The supposed harsh treatment of his Queen has often afforded subject for comment. That he felt no very warm attachment for her is very probable; but I have met with no instance of harshness or ill treatment. On all public occasions he showed her much consideration. Sometimes even, scenes occur which prove that they were not wanting in cordiality towards each other. The impression that Queen Elizabeth made upon the Prior of Santa Cruz was that she was the most noble woman in England. He thought that she suffered under great oppression, and led a miserable, cheerless life. The oppressor, however, was not the King, but the Countess of Richmond. He begs Ferdinand and Isabella to write a letter to the poor Queen sometimes, for charity's sake.

Henry was not an unfeeling father. He educated his children with great care. The death of Prince Arthur was a heavy blow to him. During the latter part of his life he kept Prince Henry constantly with him. Though he might have had political reasons for doing so, namely, to prevent any communications taking place between him and the Spanish party, there is no doubt that he was also actuated

[1] See the letter of Don Pedro de Ayala of the 25th of July 1498.

by another and nobler motive,—the wish to form the character and sharpen the intelligence of his son.

Besides Henry, there were no political personages in England of any great importance. Even Cardinal Morton, who had great ability in finding out small expedients, seems to have been only an instrument in the hands of the King. After the death of Morton, Richard Fox, the Earl of Oxford, the mother of the King, and other persons are sometimes mentioned as possessed of some weight. But it is always added that their influence was restricted to affairs of small moment. The Countess of Richmond appears to have been of a decided and even imperious character. Her regulations respecting the hangings of the chamber in which the Queen was to be confined, and similar directions of hers, show that she was not without talent in her domestic capacity; but between a housewife and a politician there is a great difference.

From the moment when Henry VII. landed at Milford Haven, and before the crown was placed on his head at the battle of Bosworth, he considered himself King of England by the grace of God. The story so often repeated that he submitted to the decision of the Court of King's Bench the question whether an attainted person could sit upon the throne, and attainted members take their places in Parliament, is entirely without foundation. It seems to have been the invention of a constitutional lawyer.

Neither Polydore Vergil, nor Hall, nor the Chronicler of England, who speaks very fully respecting the first Parliament of Henry, make any mention of such a proceeding. The simple reason is, that the story was not circulated until later times. It first appears in a copy of the Year Books, printed by Robert Redman[1]. As the first book of Redman was printed in the year 1525, the mention of the alleged fact does not takes place until forty years after the time at

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[1] There is a copy of this book preserved in the Library of Lincoln's Inn.

which it is said to have happened.[1] The late mention of it would not be a proof in itself that the relation was false, but it is directly contradicted by the authentic Rolls of Parliament and by the Judgment Rolls. According to the Rolls the first Parliament of Henry assembled on Monday, 7th November 1485. On that same day the King himself nominated the Receivers and Triers of Petitions. At the head of them is Sir John Morton of Exeter, attainted in the first Parliament of Richard III. The Speaker of the House was nominated the following day. He was Thomas Lovell, attainted in the same Parliament. The reversal of the attainder took place after the subsidy had been granted, and the succession to the crown settled; that is to say, not until all the other important affairs of Parliament had been concluded.[2] It is therefore clear that the attainted members participated in business before the reversal.

The Judgment Rolls of the King's Bench of Michaelmas Term, 1485, mention Thomas Lovell, but not in the capacity of an indicted person. He came to the court in order to propose different persons as candidates for certain vacant places. On the 7th of November, the day in which the question was, according to the notice contained in the Year Books, submitted to the King's Bench, the court really sat at Westminster and received a message from the King. But the subject of it was nothing less than an order issued by Henry VII., "grace de Dieu," King of England, &c., to enter upon the records certain grants he had made. Thus the official documents of the Parliament and the King's Court not only fail to contain the least mention of a fact which certainly would have been recorded had it taken place, but state circumstances which contradict it. Be-

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[1] A MS. copy of the Year Books of Henry VII. is preserved in the British Museum, Hargravian MSS. 105. The report on the first year of Henry VII. is in the handwriting of the very period, but the appeal said to have been made to the King's Bench is not mentioned in it.

[2] See Rolls of Parliament, vi., 268

sides, it would have argued but little intelligence on the part of Henry if he had excluded his adherents who were all of them attainted, from Parliament, and then had submitted a question of such transcendent importance to members who were either indifferent to him, or his enemies. The doctrine of Universal Suffrage, as lately exercised in France, had not then been invented. But the principles on which Henry VII. acted come very near to those of Napoleon. Both of them first rendered themselves masters of the country by force, and then, without entering into any question about right, obtained,—the one from the people, the other from the Parliament,—the declaration that they were King, or Emperor, by the grace of God.

Sir John Fortescue is generally celebrated by Liberals as a partizan of the rights of the people. It is true that in the theoretical part of his books he speaks with even exaggerated praise of a limited monarchy, and heaps contumely on an absolute government. But when he comes to devise measures to be carried out his language is entirely changed. His theory was not in favour of strengthening popular rights, but of adding more power to the Crown. In his book entitled "The Difference between Absolute and Limited Monarchy," he points out to King Edward IV. that he had been too liberal in the grants he had made to the lords of the realm. The royal power had been too much weakened in consequence, and that of the lords increased. There were peers who had revenues as large and vassals as numerous almost as the King himself. As often as two of the great lords combined together, the Crown was in danger. The only effectual remedy would, therefore, be to make no new grants to the nobles, and to prevent them from adding to their possessions by great marriages. If that were done, the domains belonging to the Crown would, by degrees, be so much increased that the King would be stronger than any three of the most

powerful men united. Sir John further proposed that the servants of the Crown should not be the nobles but men who depended upon the King entirely, and who would be nothing more than servants. If these servants and vassals, and especially foresters, were formed into an organized body the King would have a considerable force, at once, at his disposal, and with it would be able to put down any rebellion which might arise in his kingdom.

King Richard III. was but a poor politician. He thought that he could corrupt the people by extravagant liberality, and win thousands over to his cause. Sir Harris Nicolas has made a list of the grants of Richard, which is contained in the Public Record Office, and the mere enumeration of the grants fills 108 folio pages. Richard III. acted the part of King Lear, and was, like him, forsaken.

The character of Henry VII. is very repugnant to us because of his avarice. He carried economy too far, and grew mean in consequence. But the very quality, the excess of which became a matter of severe and deserved reproach to him, added, at first, materially to secure him in the possession of the Crown. Henry was just the man to profit by the advice of Sir John Fortescue.

Availing himself of every opportunity at home of strengthening his government, he pursued a policy of peace abroad. He wished to be the friend of all the Princes of Europe. In a letter to the Pope[1] he dwells much at length on his pacific disposition. Whatever his rights on the former possessions of England in France might have been, it had never entered his mind, he said, to insist upon them. He valued the peace of Christendom far more than any conquest; besides he had a natural abhorrence to the shedding of blood. However disinclined we may be to accept similar professions, and especially when made by Henry VII., in this case his assertions are fully borne out by facts.

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[1] Dated Greenwich, 15th May 1507.

§

When the Knight Commander Londoño and the Sub-Prior of Santa Cruz visited England in the year 1498, they found it utterly impossible to speak with any Englishman, or even with a foreigner who had for some time resided in England, about matters concerning Scotland and the Scots. As soon as such a subject was mentioned, the English flew into a passion. The only person, the ambassadors added, who knew Scotland well, and spoke calmly and reasonably about the Scotch, was Don Pedro de Ayala. The materials of the following description are principally borrowed from his long letter dated the 25th July 1498. But I must not omit to remind the reader that Don Pedro was a personal friend of King James.

James was of middle height; his features were handsome. He never cut his hair or his beard, and it became him well. He expressed himself gracefully in Latin, French, German, Flemish, Italian, and Spanish. His pronunciation of Spanish was clearer than that of other foreigners. In addition to his own and the above-mentioned languages, he spoke that of the "savages who lived on the mountains and on "the islands." The books which he read most were the Bible and other devout works, with French and Latin Chronicles.

He was very devout. He never ate flesh on Wednesdays and Fridays, and on Sundays he would not, for any consideration, mount on horseback, "not even to go to mass." Before transacting any business he heard two masses; the second mass was generally followed by a cantata, during which he despatched urgent business. In the smallest things, and even when indulging in a joke, he always spoke the truth. He was very proud of his veracity, and often reprehended the custom which had then become usual among kings of swearing to their treaties. The royal word, he said, ought to suffice.

James was courageous, but a bad captain. Often before he had given the word of command he had already personally

engaged in the battle. His subjects, he said, served him with their persons and goods in just and unjust wars exactly as he commanded; therefore he did not think it right to begin any warlike enterprise without being himself the first in danger. He was active and hard working. When he was not occupied by wars he hunted in the mountains. He was moderate in his eating and drinking. "God has almost "worked a wonder in him," exclaimed Don Pedro, "for out "of Spain a temperate man, and especially in Scotland, is "something nearly superhuman."

When still very young he was guilty of some dishonourable acts, but it was less his fault than that of those who were his guides. They favoured his amorous connexions with their relatives in order to keep him in subjection. When the Spanish ambassador arrived in Scotland, he found that the King had a fair lady in a castle, whom he kept in great state, and visited from time to time. He afterwards sent her home to her father, and married her to one of his nobles. Not long afterwards he did the same with another lady by whom he had had a son. As soon, however, as his judgment was formed, he gave up his love intrigues, as well from fear of God as from fear of being unfavourably talked of: for, the love of scandal was rife in Scotland, and James estimated his own reputation as highly as "though he were lord of the world."

Although liberal and humane, he was a severe judge, especially in cases of murder. It had been the custom in Scotland to farm the administration of justice; but James IV. discontinued this practice. He himself went on the circuits, even to the small islands. The inhabitants of them had been warlike and rebellious, but under his reign, while they remained warlike, they became in addition loyal. He was revered by the islanders as a god.

The government was principally in the hands of priests. Spiritual as well as secular lords belonged to the great council. The counsellors, when they were at court, had their meals in the palace. The persons selected by the

King for his Privy Council always accompanied him wherever he went. They received no salary, and the only advantage they enjoyed was, that they and their servants had lodging and board at the expense of the King.

James seldom resided in towns. He never remained long in one place, but was always travelling from one part of the kingdom to another. The reason was twofold. In the first place, to administer justice; and, in the second, to consume such revenues of the Crown as were paid in kind. The journey was not expensive. The Court and all the officers went from one abbey, or one manor, to another; and the great families in the country regarded it as the highest honour that could be done them if the King accepted their hospitality. The Crown revenues were considerable, but a small portion only was paid in money.

The army which the King of Scots was able to call into the field was very considerable; it was estimated at 120,000 men,[1] exclusive of the contingent of the islands. When only a third of the army was assembled, 12,000 tents were pitched, with banners flying, and made a splendid appearance. There was great emulation among the different lords as to who should be the most magnificent. The Scotch considered themselves to be the greatest military power in the world as far as land armies were concerned. On the sea, they allowed that other nations were stronger.

The Scotch were often considered by foreigners to be a handsomer people than the English. The women were very free, even bold, in their manners, and very courteous. Though appearances were against them, Don Pedro believed that they were as virtuous as women in other countries. They dressed better than the English, and the national head-dress was thought especially becoming. The Scotch ladies reigned as absolute mistresses in their houses, and the

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[1] "*Ciento y veinte mill hombres*," in the original. The responsibility for the statement rests on Don Pedro de Ayala, who, however, adds that he had never himself seen the whole army assembled.

men, in all domestic matters, were subject to them. On the whole, dress was much thought of in Scotland, even by the men. They were very ostentatious by nature, and were accustomed to spend all they had only for the sake of keeping up appearances.

French education was very prevalent in Scotland. The young men of the better classes, who had no property, went to France, and were well received there. The French were consequently much liked in Scotland. The Scotch were hospitable, and often quarreled with one another as to who should have a foreigner in his house. Envious to excess, they showed great jealousy of those who happened to have a foreigner of importance staying with them.

De Puebla, when he first came to England, thought the Scotch were such a simple-minded people that they might be easily duped. Soon, however, he found that he had been entirely mistaken, and declared that they were astute to the highest degree.

The towns and villages were populous. The houses were good, built of hewn stone, and provided with doors, glass windows, and a great number of chimneys. The furniture was rich and abundant; every convenience which was known in Italy, Spain, or France, was to be found in Scotch dwellings. This, moreover, was not a modern improvement, but the inheritance of preceding ages.

The progress of the people had been remarkable; Scotland, under James IV., was no longer the Scotland of James III. The enmity between England and Flanders had much contributed to increase the commerce of the country, as captains of Scotch vessels and Scottish merchants were carrying on a great portion of the trade in Flanders, which had formerly belonged to their southern neighbours. Nevertheless, the nation was not rich, because the people were not industrious. Even the land was carelessly cultivated, although the produce was comparatively great for the small population. The Scotch had plenty of flesh, of fish, and of fruit for food. They lived better, in

many respects, than other and richer nations. The greatest inconvenience was, that they did not lay by any money for a time of necessity.

§

There will be found in this collection the abstract of a document drawn up in the Secret Consistory in which Pope Pius III. was elected. It is dated on the 21st September 1503, and we are indebted for our knowledge of it to the industry of Philip II. in collecting State Papers. Ferdinand had entered into negotiations with Henry respecting this election, but I have given the document, not so much because it is mentioned in the correspondence between England and Spain as on account of the curious insight it affords into the state of morals of the Papal Court. It is the more important, as belonging to a time so closely preceding the Reformation. Ferdinand had expressed his apprehension that the cardinals would not dare to state their opinions freely. He was mistaken. The cardinals showed even a greater spirit of independence than was desirable. They all swore that whoever might be elected Pope should directly sign and swear a book of articles made in their secret conclave. The first clause stipulated that the new Pope should pay 200 gold florins monthly to all the cardinals participating in the election whose ecclesiastical income did not amount to 6,000 gold florins a year. They were also to remain in the undisturbed possession of all the property they had acquired, however ill gotten. Further, the Pope was to swear that he would absolve all the cardinals present at the election, and every one of them, from all past crimes and offences "however "exorbitant, enormous, and great they might be, and under "whatever circumstances they might have been perpe- "trated."[1] The absolution was to have effect in both

[1] Et insuper puritati cardinalium consulere volentes, prout optare videntur, eos et quemlibet eorum a quibuscumque criminibus excessivis et delictis quantumcumque enormibus et gravibus per eos hactenus quomodolibet commissis et perpetratis, etiam si talia forent, etc.

the spiritual and secular courts, and all the cardinals were to be made as "innocent as when they came from the "baptismal font." To obtain this absolute innocence it was not necessary to confess to the Pope, not even in such cases as by the statutes of the Church required the cognizance of the Holy Father. They might choose any confessor they pleased, down to a simple mendicant friar, who was to be invested with all the power and prerogatives of the Vicar of Christ and successor of Saint Peter, and absolve them from all and every kind of sin. The future Pope, on the other hand, was forbidden to choose a confessor after his own liking. If he committed any act contrary to this statute he incurred the penalty of anathema and eternal damnation, and every servant of the Church was bound to oppose him. Not trusting, however, to the most solemn oaths of the future head of the Church, the cardinals added material guarantees to his moral obligations. The future Pope was to deliver to each of them a fortified castle in the neighbourhood of Rome, which, after the death of the cardinal who held it, was to be delivered to his successor. The articles enter into even such details as the restitution of furniture which had been stolen by Pope Alexander, and of the dresses, ornaments, and jewels of the ladies which he had appropriated to himself in the house of the Cardinal of St. Angelo.

The document fills forty-eight pages. It is in substance an attempt at reforming the Church, a thing which was so much spoken of in those days. But this reform would not have benefited Christendom. Transforming the Church almost into a republic, it would have substituted the corruption of thirty or forty cardinals for that of one sole head.

§

The illustrations of personal character are few; and the principal merit of the State Papers in the archives at Simancas consists in the information they afford in regard to matters of state. They not only elucidate dark passages

in contemporary annals, but throw a new aspect over the history. Modern historians have sometimes expressed their contempt for the official acts of diplomatists; but in the time of the Tudors, measures of state depended to so great an extent on the personal views of the kings that it is impossible to understand their history without being acquainted with the papers which were intended to be seen only by them and their few confidential advisers. The diplomatic correspondence between England and Spain is not complete. Many important dispatches are lost. Still so much has been preserved that the historian may compose a tolerably complete narrative out of the materials placed at his disposal. How greatly such a narrative, based on unimpeachable documents, would differ from the history of Henry VII., as hitherto written, will best be seen by a few examples.

Henry never entertained any personal predilection for Ferdinand and Isabella. The King and Queen of Spain had lived on friendly terms with Richard III., and it may even be suspected that they had supported the measures taken against Henry when he was an exile in Brittany. But neither Ferdinand nor Henry permitted personal feeling to interfere with their measures of policy. Thus Henry soon endeavoured to become the most intimate ally of the former friends of Richard, while Ferdinand and Isabella made the same offers to Henry which they had made a short time previously to his mortal enemy.

The reason which led Ferdinand to wish for a union with Henry was his fear of the growing power of France, which had already, under the reign of Louis XI., united all the dismembered provinces, with one exception, under the crown, and had thereby become the first power in Europe. Ferdinand, as he himself confessed, was afraid that France might render herself mistress of the world; to prevent this was the chief object of his life. Two ways lay open before him. Charles VIII. was a mere youth, and at the head of the French government was a woman. Ferdinand might

marry Charles to a daughter of his, and win over by artifice the Duchess of Bourbon. If he succeeded in this project he might then hope to exercise influence enough over the destinies of the neighbouring country to hinder France in her ambitious designs. Should he, on the contrary, be unsuccessful, there remained nothing but force.

In the year 1486 Ferdinand offered to the young King of France his eldest daughter Isabella, afterwards married to Don Alfonso of Portugal.[1] In spite of all the flattery lavished on Madame de Bourbon he did not succeed in overcoming the obstacles in the way of the marriage, and on the 29th July 1487,[2] he recalled his ambassadors. Though Queen Isabella openly declared that it was against her honour to insist any longer on the marriage, she had by no means given up all hopes of eventual success; for, in a secret letter to the ambassador Fray Bernard Boyl, prior of Monserrat, she told him to make new offers to Madame de Bourbon. They consisted, first, in the promise to assist her if she wished to render herself perpetual Regent of France. Secondly, Queen Isabella declared herself ready to give security, that, if the King of France were to marry her daughter, she would, notwithstanding, never send her to France without the consent of Madame de Bourbon. The third offer was to pay her 400,000 francs.[3] I have not been able to discover all the letters relating to this subject, and it is beyond my power to say how far Madame de Bourbon acceded to the Spanish proposals. Judging by the wording of the despatch from Queen Isabella she had accepted them. If this supposition be right she must either have been prevented by other influences from carrying out her designs, or must have only been deceiving

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[1] Barcelona; Arch. Gen. de la Corona de Aragon. Reg. 3686, fol. 92.

[2] Barcelona; Arch. Gen. de la Corona de Aragon. Reg. 3686, fol. 93.

[3] Barcelona; Arch. Gen. de la Corona de Aragon. Reg. 3686, fol. 93v.

Spain. Whatever may have been the truth, the marriage never took place.

Ferdinand was therefore forced to enter into that long contest between the houses of Spain and Austria, on the one hand, and France, on the other, which has given its political character to the history of Europe during the last three centuries, and which does not seem to be ended even yet.

As France, was so strong a power, it was necessary that the pressure brought to bear upon her should be strong likewise. A general coalition in which England also had to play her part, became consequently a necessity. From her geographical position, England had it always in her power to make a diversion which would prevent France from employing the whole of her forces on the frontiers of Germany or in the South. Switzerland enjoyed similar opportunities. Whenever, therefore, Ferdinand contemplated making war upon France he tried to disunite her on the one side from England, on the other from Switzerland. In conformity with his general policy he did not unveil his large plans all at once and asked for nothing beyond the restitution of Roussillon and Cerdaña, a comparatively small strip of mountain land which had been pledged by his father to Louis XI. for the expenses of the very expedition which had saved the life and crown of Ferdinand.

Both policy and inclination absolutely forbade Henry to enter upon a war with France. But, on the other hand, he had already learnt that his subjects were only too ready to espouse the cause of a pretender who, if effectually assisted by foreign princes, might become as dangerous to him as he had been dangerous to his predecessor. He could rest tolerably assured of the friendship of France. But that was not sufficient If Charles VIII. were occupied with his own enterprises, a pretender, supported by the King of the Romans and by Spain, might invade England, and perhaps be successful. The best way to obviate such peril was evidently to secure the good will of Ferdinand and Isabella. As they were already intending

to form matrimonial alliances with the House of Austria, their friendship would prevent the King of the Romans and the Archduke from taking part against him. A marriage between the Houses of Spain and England would effectually prevent assistance from being given in any quarter to English rebels.

The first offer seems to have been made by Henry, who sent agents to Spain, most probably in the year 1487, to make proposals for a marriage between Prince Arthur and the Princess Katharine. Preliminary discussions on the marriage and alliance took place, and in the result it was agreed that Spain should send ambassadors to England, formally and definitely to settle the affair. De Puebla arrived in London late in the year 1487 or early in 1488. Juan de Sepulveda followed him in the spring of 1488 to act in the capacity of joint ambassador. Soon afterwards the negotiations began. The English commissioners endeavoured from the first to keep the subject of the alliance as much in the back ground a spossible, pretending that it was only a subordinate affair. The marriage would decide all questions. But, although Henry was most desirous to conclude the marriage, his commissioners asked a marriage portion five times greater than the English ambassadors had asked in Spain. The money, they said, would not come from the strong boxes of Ferdinand and Isabella, but out of the pockets of their subjects. Why should not the King and Queen be liberal? The Spanish ambassadors, on the contrary, offered only one fourth of the sum demanded. They pretended that the English ought to be content with whatever marriage portion Ferdinand and Isabella might think fit to give, for it was an unusual thing that the King and Queen of Spain should condescend to allow their daughter to enter into a family which any day might be driven out of England. This remark, says De Puebla, was made in the most smiling and courteous manner, in order not to offend and "enrage" the English.

After long discussions of no very dignified character the English commissioners abated their demands, and the sum was eventually fixed at 200,000 scudos.

The negotiations for the alliance, though they might be delayed for a few days, could not be avoided. All the other clauses were of small importance in comparison to the one respecting France. The demands of Ferdinand were in truth very explicit and imperious. He asked nothing less than "that the King of England should bind himself not to "assist France, or conclude peace or truce with France, "except in case Ferdinand and Isabella should do the "same. Moreover, the King of England was to oblige him-"self to make war upon France as often and whenever "Ferdinand and Isabella found it convenient to engage "in such a war." The King and Queen of Spain promised, on the other hand, no more than to "include the "King of England in any peace which they should "make with the King of France." Henry might have treated the very demand as an insult. Quite irrespective of his own wishes to remain at peace with France, this clause would have degraded him into a mere instrument of a foreign prince. But he knew that if he had indignantly rejected this proposal, or declared that for his people's sake he would not accede to it, the marriage would not be agreed upon. He therefore sought for means to evade the difficulty, and by a cunning policy to overreach his exacting friend and intended brother. The English commissioners had recourse to flattery and false promises. They lauded Ferdinand and Isabella in the most extravagant terms, and said that as soon as the marriage was concluded, the whole of England would be at the disposal of Ferdinand and Isabella, who might then dispose of it as though it were their own country. Henry, owing a debt of gratitude to the King of France, would act dishonourably if he were to conclude a treaty to the direct prejudice of Charles. But things which could not be justified when clearly stated, might be excuseable

when actually done. The Spanish ambassadors were not satisfied with this answer, and De Puebla even declared that he was scandalized. The English commissioners then took a mass book, and in the most solemn way swore before a crucifix that "it was the will of the King of England first "to conclude the alliance and the marriage, and afterwards "to make war upon the King of France, at the bidding of "Ferdinand and Isabella."

The negotiations did not end here. Sepulveda was to return to Spain, and went to the King in order to take leave. De Puebla accompanied him. The King took off his bonnet, and said the most flattering things of Ferdinand and Isabella, every time that he pronounced their names, making a reverential gesture with his bonnet. He then declared that he knew of the oath which had been made by his commissioners, and "that it must be accepted for plain "truth, without double dealing or falsehood."

Henry thought he could win over the Spanish ambassadors still more by introducing them to his family. Both, De Puebla and Sepulveda, went to see the Prince of Wales and the Queen, who were staying in the country. The Prince of Wales had, at that time, attained the venerable age of twenty months. He was first shown to the ambassadors dressed, then naked, and afterwards asleep. He was, most probably, a handsome child. But the praise in which De Puebla indulged was unmeasured. Whatever flattery could invent would only be truth, he said, when applied to the Prince of Wales. Henry, we are further informed, being well aware of the extraordinary qualities of his son, wished that Sepulveda should take his portrait to Spain, in order that Ferdinand and Isabella might also admire their future son-in-law.

He seemed to have attained his object. The draft of the treaty of alliance and matrimony, which was signed on the 7th July 1488 by the Spanish ambassadors and his commissioners, contained nothing that could compromise his interests. The assistance to be given by the allies to

each other was restricted to the case of their respective countries being invaded by a foreign enemy. As France had not the least intention of invading Spain, Ferdinand could not, according to the clause as it stood in the draft, make any use of Henry for his aggressive plans.

Still, he had overlooked one circumstance. The final decision did not depend on the ambassadors, but on the King and Queen. When Sepulveda arrived in Spain, Ferdinand was quite unable to understand how he could have acted so indiscreetly. He asked explanations from Sepulveda, who being a simple-minded knight, was unable to give them. Ferdinand, therefore, wrote a letter to De Puebla, which was marked by bad humour. The marriage portion, he said, was to consist of nothing more than 100,000 scudos, to be paid in Spanish money, because otherwise the King of England might "cheat" him. With regard to the clause which related to France, Ferdinand made some concessions respecting the form, but none in the essentials. If King Henry were afraid to incorporate the clause in the principal treaty, it might be signed without that clause, but only on condition that he first signed, sealed, and swore, and made his vassals also swear, an additional treaty by which he was to bind himself to request the King of France to restore to Ferdinand and Isabella the counties of Roussillon and Cerdaña. In case the King of France should not comply within a certain number of days, Henry was to bind himself to make war upon France at the bidding of Spain.

To accept the proposals of Ferdinand was impossible, but the counter proposals of Henry came very near to the demands of the King of Spain. He consented "to bind himself to make war with France every time and whenever Ferdinand and Isabella should be at war with that country. He was not to be at liberty to conclude peace or truce without the consent of Spain, except in case the King of France should restore to him *de facto* the duchies of Normandy and Guienne. Ferdinand and Isabella, on the

" other hand, were to bind themselves, likewise, to make " war upon France, as often and whenever England should " be at war with that country. The King and Queen of " Spain were, moreover, not to make peace or truce without " the consent of the King of England, except in case the " King of France should restore to them the counties of " Roussillon and Cerdaña."

The treaty containing this clause was concluded on the 27th March 1489.

The reader may be surprised to find that Henry did not only assent to, but propose such a treaty. It must have been clear to any one who had but a limited knowledge of politics that the clause respecting France was entirely in favour of Spain. Had the King of France been placed in difficulties by the alliance between Spain and England, he would most certainly have preferred satisfying the smaller demands of Ferdinand and Isabella, and thereby have dissolved the alliance. There was no probability that in any circumstances whatever Henry would derive benefit from the alliance of Spain for recovering any portion of the former English possessions in France. In fact, that cannot have been his intention. He must have looked upon this treaty only as the best that could be made under the circumstances.

At the beginning of the negotiations between France and England, Ferdinand had required Henry to conclude a similar alliance with the King of the Romans and the Archduke Philip, under his superintendence. Henry at first made out a long list of grievances against the King of the Romans, but finally declared that he would leave the matter entirely in the hands of Ferdinand and Isabella. The treaty was soon afterwards concluded and, thus, Ferdinand succeeded in making Henry a member of the league against France.

Whilst Spain, England, and the King of the Romans were carrying on these negotiations, France had not been inactive. She had concluded a treaty with Scotland, according to

which the King of Scots had bound himself to make war on England whenever France should be at war with Henry. Besides, France had invaded Brittany, and in the battle of St. Aubin scattered the small forces that had opposed her. Brittany, especially after the death of Duke Francis, on the 9th September 1488, was split into a great number of political parties. Each of the great powers had its partisans, whilst the peasants attempted to drive out of the country their own chiefs and nobles, together with all foreigners, without distinction. The pretenders to the hand of the young Duchess were not less than six in number at one and the same time. The Duke of Buckingham was the suitor countenanced by Henry. The Gascon party, strongly represented in Brittany, supported the pretensions of the Count D'Albret. The Duke of Gueldres was another aspirant, and was at one time favoured by the King of the Romans. Maximilian, however, soon afterwards thought fit himself to enter the ranks of the suitors in Brittany. He was a widower of about thirty years of age, handsome and distinguished-looking. Don Juan, the son and heir apparent of Ferdinand and Isabella, was but ten years old; nevertheless, his parents endeavoured to win for him the fair heiress. Last came Charles King of France. He was between boyhood and manhood, ugly, but his ugliness somewhat tempered by a pair of fine eyes.

The Duchess Anne had by no means a bad opinion of herself. Heiress of a great duchy, and sought by so many suitors, it could not well have been otherwise. She would not content herself with a petty prince, but looked for a very brilliant match.[1] The small princes, such as the Duke of Buckingham, the Duke of Gueldres, and Count D'Albret, had consequently but little chance. Moreover, as difficulties were soon thrown in their way by their more powerful

[1] ". . . . la Duquesa avia pensamiento de casar con gran principe." Letter of Ferdinand and Isabella to Don Diego de Guevara and Doctor De Puebla, without date.

rivals, they retired from the contest in a short time. Ferdinand likewise declared to the King of England that he had not been in earnest when seeking the hand of the Duchess for his son. He had made the proposal, he said, only with the intention of diverting the mind of the Duchess from the King of France. There are, however, good reasons for doubting the veracity of this assertion. Ferdinand thought that he might, perhaps, easily win, not only Roussillon and Cerdaña, but also the duchy of Brittany. His intentions respecting Brittany were so earnest that more than a year later, on the 4th July 1490, he instructed his ambassador Rojas to persuade Maximilian to relinquish his pretensions to Anne in favour of the Infante Don Juan.

Both Ferdinand and Maximilian had their personal views. Henry, after having abandoned his plan of marrying the Duke of Buckingham to the Duchess, had no interest of his own respecting Brittany, and served Spain only in order to gain the Infanta for the Prince of Wales. In the spring of 1489 English and Spanish troops were sent over to the duchy to expel the French. The captains of both forces were instructed to act in combination on every occasion, as though they were serving the same prince. The first intelligence we find in this collection with regard to the combined movements of the English and Spaniards is in a joint letter of the commissioner and the Spanish captains in Brittany, in which they declare that the intentions of the English are much suspected by the Bretons. It was, they said, impossible for them to act in concert, lest they should become as unpopular as their allies. This letter was not addressed to Ferdinand and Isabella, but to Henry VII., who was even asked to exculpate them to their masters. It is easy to imagine the joy Henry felt at receiving these welcome tidings; a weight must have been removed from his mind. The consequences of the combined action of both armies might have been a great battle, perhaps a great victory over the French, which Charles would have deeply resented. On the other hand, the want of union between the allies left

him master of his own actions. He, therefore, wrote back on the 13th of August a most gracious letter in which he not only entirely excused the Spanish captains, but promised to write to Ferdinand and Isabella in their favour.

Maximilian did not send a single soldier to Brittany, but endeavoured to overreach the Kings of England, France, and Spain. He married the young Duchess by proxy, without the consent of either England or Spain. Christopher Mosquera, the Spanish commissioner in Brittany, as soon as he heard what was in contemplation, remonstrated with the Duchess. He spoke to an unwilling listener. The young princess, seeing before her in imagination the imperial purple, answered shortly either that she had or that she did not want (the words are not clear) the consent of Spain and England. Henry took the ingratitude of the Duchess very quietly. But Ferdinand and Isabella entertained very different feelings. They were unwilling to acknowledge the marriage of Maximilian, and made proposals to Henry to take the Duchess under their joint protection, and dispose of her hand; no doubt, with the intention of marrying her to the Infante Don Juan. The King of the Romans, when he saw that his marriage was opposed by Spain, thought he should best secure his interests by making a separate peace with France. After short negotiations the treaty between him and Charles was signed at Frankfort on the 22d of July 1489, and the Duchess became soon afterwards a party to it. The stipulations seem at first to have been kept secret, but whether the King of France played into the hands of Henry, and indirectly allowed him to have a copy of the treaty, or whether Henry procured it in another way, certain it is that Henry shortly afterwards had it in his possession. He showed it to the Spanish ambassadors, who immediately sent an abstract of it to Spain. The King of the Romans and the Duchess had, amongst other things, openly and clearly promised to drive out the English from Brittany, and to force them, even before they left, to make restitution of the places which they held.

In this conjuncture Ferdinand and Isabella seem to

have been afraid lest they should become the victims of their honesty, if they did not conduct themselves as faithlessly as the King of the Romans. In conformity with their old policy, they renewed secret negotiations with France and declared themselves ready to abandon the Duchess entirely. France, they promised, should obtain what she wished without risking the life of a single soldier, if Charles would marry a Spanish Infanta. They offered him this time their second daughter Juana. The friar, Juan Manleon, the ambassador, Juan Dalbion, and the French Court baker, Charles Daucezune, were continually on the road between the one and the other court, bearing and receiving ciphered messages.[1] But while Ferdinand and Isabella employed all their energies in negotiating a separate peace with France for themselves, they opposed a reconciliation betwen England and France with all their might. The Pope had sent a legate to France and England in order to renew the old friendship which formerly existed between the two countries. He was accompanied by the Prothonotary Flores, who entered heartily into the work of reconciliation; but Ferdinand and Isabella declared, in their letters of the 6th of May and 7th of September 1490, directed to their ambassador in Rome and to the Cardinal of Valencia, that they considered Flores as their most implacable enemy. The Pope, they said, must recall him. For, if peace between France and England were of some moment to the welfare of Christendom, peace between Spain and France was incomparably of higher importance. To make peace with France before Roussillon and Cerdaña were restored to them was a thing not to be thought of.[2] At the same time Queen Isabella wrote to De Puebla in the most flattering terms, calling him her "virtuous and intimate friend," and entreating him to persuade the King of England by all means to enter into a new war with France.

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1 Archivo de la Corona de Aragon. Reg. 3686, ff. 101 and 104.

2 Archivos General de la Corona de Aragon. Reg. 3686, ff. 104 and 108.

Every fresh instance of bad faith practised by his allies was an advantage to Henry. The alliance forced upon him was falling to pieces. Brittany remained unprotected, and Charles VIII. married, on the 13th December 1491, the Duchess Anne.

Henry had strictly fulfilled his treaties. He had left his forces in Brittany for as long a time as he had promised the duchess, although she had not fulfilled even that part of the contract by which she had agreed to supply the English troops with sufficient provisions. Ferdinand and Isabella had likewise nothing wherewith to reproach him. Henry was not, according to the treaty, obliged to continue his hostilities against France a single day longer than Spain. The English and Spanish troops left Brittany at the same time. He had not, it is true, carried on a vigorous war, but neither had Ferdinand. Of all the allies Henry was the person who had least betrayed his friends. The King of the Romans, the Duchess of Brittany, and Ferdinand were either really guilty of treachery towards him or had declared themselves ready to betray him.

But Ferdinand had been entirely foiled. Therefore, however right and equity might have been on the side of Henry, if he wished to marry the Prince of Wales to the Princess Katharine, he must continue to serve Spain. Ferdinand intended to form a new coalition, and Henry objected a second time, and in even stronger terms than on the first occasion, to an alliance with the King of the Romans. Nevertheless, the King of Spain again succeeded in forming a coalition against France. Henry landed at Calais in the beginning of October, and marched to Boulogne. Scarcely had he pitched his camp when he called a council of all the captains of his army, and submitted to them the question whether peace should not be preferred to war. They decided in favour of peace. The French commissioners were near at hand. Henry signed the power for his ambassadors to treat for a peace on the 30th of October, and on the 3d of November the treaty was concluded.

The most commonly received opinion is that the whole expedition to Boulogne was a sham. Nevertheless, it was not so entirely devoid of reality as not to exercise a considerable influence on the question then pending. Henry positively declared that the restitution of Roussillon and Cerdaña to Spain was the consequence of his invasion of France. Ferdinand, in his answer to England, would not allow that he had incurred any obligation to Henry in respect of his last expedition. Nevertheless, there is a Spanish memoir directed to the other European courts and preserved in the archives of France, in which Ferdinand and Isabella confess that the restoration of Rousillon and Cerdaña was partly the consequence of the enterprise undertaken by Henry against Boulogne.[1] However that may be, France had acquired Brittany, and Ferdinand and Isabella had regained their counties. The chief actors were satisfied, and this most complicated affair was concluded. But the ratifications of the treaty of the 27th of March 1489 were not yet exchanged. Fresh alterations had been proposed by both parties. Now that the services of Henry were no longer needed by Ferdinand, Spain broke off all further negotiations with England, and the signatures of Ferdinand and Isabella, affixed to the treaty, were cut out, apparently with a pair of scissors. Thus, Henry did not obtain the desired marriage between the Prince of Wales and the Princess Katharine. He had served Spain and received no recompense.

§

At the time when the treaty of Estaples was concluded, a solemn agreement was entered into, by which Charles promised to pay to Henry the sum of 745,000 crowns in half-yearly instalments of 25,000 livres. There is a great number of receipts still extant. But in political circles it was always

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[1] Paris. Archives de l'Empire; IX. Negociations; France—Espagne; K. 1638.

suspected that Henry did not receive the money. Ferdinand reproached him with his weakness in not resenting the non-fulfilment of the promises of France. Pedro de Ayala gives very intelligible hints that the receipts were only feigned, and the ostentatious manner in which Henry declared that one instalment had really been sent serves only to confirm the suspicion. In fact we learn, from a document preserved amongst the Cottonian MSS.,[1] that Charles, instead of paying Henry, asked him for money when he was making preparations for his expedition to Italy. Henry showed great unwillingness to comply with this request, and said that the receipt he had sent him, without obtaining the payment, was more advantageous to France than a loan which would have to be immediately repaid. If any doubt still remains, it will be removed by a reference to the treaty concluded after the death of Charles between Henry and Louis XII. The sum then due by France to England is stated to be 745,000 crowns, which is exactly the amount mentioned in the first agreement.

This was not the only payment, however, which Charles had promised to England. He took it upon himself to give large and numerous pensions to English subjects; and it is most probable that these pensions were always punctually paid whenever they became due. He seems even to have often exceeded his obligations. De Puebla at least more than once complains that he could not prevail with the French party in England, adding that the King of France not only sent fair words, but showed his good will towards the principal subjects of England by "deeds."[2] The reason which induced Henry to connive at the corruption of his nobles and officers was because he did not wish to be forced by means of the intrigues of other foreign courts with his subjects to enter again into a confederation against France.

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[1] Cott. MSS. Cal, D. vi. f. 22.

[2] "Per obras de fecho."

It was at that time a general rule for all princes of any importance to have a party of their own in the dominions of other princes whether they were their friends or enemies. Henry VII. had his partisans in France, and it was one of his chief endeavours during the latter years of his reign to form a strong English faction in Spain. Ferdinand was particularly able in finding out means which cost him little, but which gained him devoted friends in foreign countries. We see him, for instance, ordering his viceroy to procure a number of Neapolitan horses and to send them to Genoa as a present to the Genoese nobles.[1] Marino Georgio, ambassador of the Republic of Venice, was a doctor of law. Ferdinand intended to make him a Spanish knight. As the doctor objected to becoming the member of a military order, he made him Spanish privy counsellor, whilst he still remained Venetian ambassador. Francesco Capello, the well known diplomatist, was ennobled by Ferdinand. When Ferdinand had reconquered the island of Teneriffe, he sent Capello one of the nine petty kings whom he had captured there as a present, in order that the whole of Venice might see how much he honoured her ambassador. Yet even this was not enough. One of the islands discovered by Columbus was made over to Capello. The choice was a curious one; the gift was the island of the Roses, better known under the designation of the island of the Cannibals. Capello was created Count of the Cannibals, which title was to remain in his family for ever. Where Ferdinand, however, could not expect to buy foreign statesmen with trifles, he sacrificed immense sums of money, the value of which he so well knew. For instance, on a single day, the 16th Dec. 1506, he granted to ten officers and counsellors of the Archduke Philip not less than 7,100 gold ducats yearly as pensions for life. His mode of treating the English was of a much less expensive character. He sent

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[1] Despatch of the 3rd February 1496. Archivo General de la Corona de Aragon. Reg. 3669, f. 21v.

letters, sometimes by the dozen, through his ambassadors, to be distributed amongst English noblemen and the great officers of state. They all resembled each other closely. Ferdinand and Isabella expressed their satisfaction at hearing that the receiver of the letter was such a faithful servant of theirs, and hoped he would continue as he had begun. These letters were generally not even addressed, and it was left to the ambassador to write the direction. De Puebla said they produced great effect It was almost incredible, he added, in what high estimation the English held the most insignificant letter of a foreign prince, and especially of such great princes as the King and Queen of Spain. The only officer of Henry who seems to have received pecuniary rewards from Spain was Petrus Carmelianus, his Latin secretary. He was not an Englishman by birth. The partisanship was carried to such an extent that when the King of Scots and Perkin Warbeck threatened Henry, Ferdinand could dare promise as a special favour that he would instruct the English subjects who were dependent upon him to espouse the royal cause against the Pretender.

Maximilian, King of the Romans, was the only prince who had scarcely ever a party in foreign countries. It is a pity, writes De Puebla, that he not only does not pay the English a single penny, but treats them discourteously.

§

The King of France had undertaken his expedition to Italy. At first Ferdinand showed not the least jealousy. The expedition appeared to be badly framed, and a great defeat seemed in the eyes of statesmen more probable than a success. But the undertaking of Charles proved against all expectation to be more like a triumphal progress than a war, and Ferdinand saw that his calculations had been entirely false. He was afraid that Charles would render himself master of the whole of Italy, and that the Pope would become his "sacristan."

Pope Alexander the Sixth was a Spaniard by birth, and Ferdinand always called him his "*natural*," that is to say, a man who had been born his subject. Though he certainly could not pretend to exercise the rights of a sovereign over the Pope, he made a show of patronizing him. There might have been vanity in it. Still the patronage was not entirely devoid of reality, and in certain circumstances gave great power to Ferdinand.

The objects which Ferdinand and Henry respectively entertained, in the year 1495, were the same as they had been in the year 1485, but the manner in which the negotiations were carried on was essentially altered. Ferdinand had seen that he had underrated the character of Henry VII. and found himself obliged to treat him as a captain treats a besieged enemy, endeavouring to cut off his supplies, and to prevent his escape. In order to effect this, he tried to get into his hands all the diplomatic relations between Henry and foreign powers, and make it dependent on himself whether Henry was to be on friendly terms with his neighbours and to be assisted by them, or to be left friendless and exposed to destruction. He succeeded in doing so as far as the negotiations of England with Scotland, with the King of the Romans and the Archduke Philip were concerned, and almost accomplished his design of bringing under his control the relations between England and France. Henry defended himself against the schemes of Ferdinand. He lost ground, but his resistance was so courageous that the conditions offered to him became more advantageous in proportion as the siege was protracted. The contest would have been worthy of two great men, had there not been so much faithlessness in the means of which they made use. At last Henry was reduced to the necessity of entering the league, but its conditions were materially altered in his favour. The clauses, according to which each member of the league was obliged to have a certain number of troops always in readiness, and to attack France when required to do so, were declared not to be binding upon Henry.

The principal means employed by Ferdinand in order to make Henry bow to his will were, on the one hand, the promise to assist him against Perkin Warbeck, if he yielded to his wishes, and, on the other hand, a threat to abandon the cause of Henry if he did not perform what was expected from him. The menaces of Ferdinand were carried so far that De Puebla openly declared to Henry, in the presence of his council, that emperors and kings had been deposed for not obeying the behests of the Pope. If Henry did not accede to the demands of Ferdinand and the Pope a similar fate might be in reserve for him.

When we hear the name of Perkin Warbeck pronounced, we think of a poor impostor and nothing else. But in the days of Henry VII., the person, now designated by that appellation, was generally believed to be the son of King Edward IV. Wherever he was mentioned in whisper or aloud, the idea of rebellion represented itself to the mind of the hearer. The Duchess Margaret acknowleged him as her nephew. The King of the Romans and the Archduke Philip had received him at their courts, and treated him as the rightful heir to the crown of England. Intriguing with English subjects was continually carried on.

Most of the courts of Europe were wavering in their affection to the two parties at that time competitors for the crown of England. The King of the Romans had received Perkin at his court and treated him as the rightful heir. He had promised Warbeck he would make him king. At any rate Henry himself confessed it to the King of France. When the King of the Romans was induced by Ferdinand to send away Perkin, he insisted that a clause in favour of him should be inserted in the treaty of the league. In common with the other members of the league Maximilian was obliged to assist Henry against all aggressors as soon as the King of England had joined that confederacy. Maximilian, however, objected and desired to be exempted from the obligation so far as the Duke of York (Perkin Warbeck) was concerned. Long negotiations were necessary to dissuade him from insisting on this clause.

The King of France treated Henry exactly in the same way as Henry behaved towards him. When the King of England made concessions to the demands of Spain, the King of France made preparations for injuring Henry. If the King of England had made a serious war upon France, there is no doubt that the King of France would have immediately assisted Perkin Warbeck.

Ferdinand seems really to have preferred Henry to the Pretender. Whatever his opinion as to the claims of Henry and Perkin may have been, he had a strong political reason for his preference. Ferdinand and Isabella wanted to make immediate use of England. As a change of dynasty would of necessity occasion great troubles, and England would thereby be rendered quite incapable for a time of undertaking any foreign war, he tried as much as possible to avoid so untoward an occurrence. But that Ferdinand and Isabella were not very zealous partisans is clear from their frequently hinting at depriving Henry of his crown if he did not do their bidding. When the King of England complained that the King of the Romans wished to introduce the clause in favour of the so-called Duke of York into the treaty of alliance, Ferdinand remarked that the King of the Romans was bound in honour not to declare himself an enemy of a person whom he had received into his family circle and treated as a friend.

The neutral position which Henry occupied between Spain and France contributed in a great measure to free him from the danger by which he was threatened. France offered him her services against Perkin in order that he might not be obliged to have recourse to the protection of Spain. Ferdinand assisted Henry with the intention of making use of him against France as soon as the fear of a rebellion in England should have passed away.

Charles sent a paper to England under the seal of his council, in which it was stated, on the authority of a king-at-arms of Portugal, that the so-called Duke of York was the son of a barber. He even promised to send his father

and mother for the purpose of giving their evidence. As soon as Ferdinand was informed of this offer, he declared the French testimonies to be worthless, and said that he could send much better witnesses, amongst whom was a knight of the name of Ruy de Sosa, who had been Portuguese ambassador to England in the reign of Edward IV. He had seen the real Duke of York, and would swear that the Pretender was a different person. This offer was repeated, and Queen Isabella had actually a testimonial drawn up by two notaries. But Henry did not like either the French or the Spanish proffers. He did not wish for false witnesses; it was the Pretender himself that he wanted.

As Perkin Warbeck was then in Scotland, the King of Scots became a very important personage. The question whether Perkin was to be delivered into the hands of Henry, or not depended in the first place upon him. Ferdinand tried to gain influence over the King of Scots. He based his political plans on the vanity of the Scotch, of which he had already had some experience. For, when De Puebla intended to marry James IV. to the illegitimate daughter of Ferdinand instead of the Infanta Juana, the Scotch had boasted they could force the King of France to do whatever they liked. Ferdinand ridiculed their vanity, but was politician enough to avail himself of it. He instructed De Puebla to inform the King of Scots that he should have one of his legitimate daughters as soon as he should have fulfilled his promises and forced France to restore the counties of Roussillon and Cerdaña. On this occasion Ferdinand decided to flatter the vanity of the Scotch by maintaining a standing embassy in Scotland. It was quite a new thing for a great power to have a resident ambassador in Scotland, and the Scotch were delighted with the honour. This was not enough. Although Ferdinand and Isabella, on the 1st of January 1497, had ratified the marriage treaty between the Princess Katharine and the Prince of Wales, they kept the marriage strictly secret, and promised the same princess to

the King of Scots. Henry was not quite satisfied. Ferdinand, it is true, declared repeatedly that he only duped the King of Scotland in order to prevent him from assisting the Duke of York. But Henry was not sure who was to be the victim of the false play of Ferdinand, he or the King of Scots. Unhappily the letters of Don Pedro de Ayala, who conducted this affair, are not extant. If, however, we may judge from the partiality of the ambassador in favour of James, the fears entertained by Henry do not appear to have been entirely groundless. The King of France intended likewise to send an embassy to Scotland, in order to obtain possession of the person of Perkin Warbeck. Henry had asked him to do so. On second thoughts, however, he seems to have been afraid of the result. Ferdinand would never have consented that so important a person as Perkin Warbeck should be in the power of France. He would therefore have used all his influence in Scotland to prevent James from acceding to the demands of King Charles. Henry, accordingly, told Ferdinand that he disliked the interference of the French in this matter. Should the ambassador to Scotland, he said, come to England he would detain him for a year or longer. At the same time he besought Ferdinand to obtain possession of Perkin Warbeck. The gratitude which he told Ferdinand he should feel for such a service goes far beyond the limits of what a king owes to himself and to his country. Almost every day Henry assured De Puebla that Spain should absolutely command England in all things (in omnibus et per omnia) if Ferdinand would keep Perkin Warbeck as his prisoner. Ferdinand gave evasive answers. He would do nothing, he said, to obtain possession of the Duke of York; but would keep him should he fall into his power. On another occasion, Ferdinand gave De Puebla permission to make arrangements to obtain the person of the Duke of York. That concession was entirely illusory. De Puebla had no influence whatever in Scotland. When Henry repeated his demands, Ferdinand even openly declared that he could not accede to them. For, he said, if he had the Duke of York in his power,

Henry would next ask for him to be sent prisoner to England, and he would not for any earthly consideration commit so mean an action. Meanwhile, the French Ambassador Concressault was not arrested in England, but safely arrived in Scotland. He offered 100,000 crowns for the delivery of Perkin. But, as Henry had foreseen, James refused the proposal. The King of England, not succeeding in his plans by the help of either Spain or France, became exasperated, and decided upon declaring war against Scotland. Ferdinand dissuaded him. Henry, he said, must well know by experience how little reliance kings can have on their armies in such wars; a battle lost would cost him his crown. Continued negotiations afford a better course. Henry followed the advice of his Mentor. The influence of Spain, France, and of the Pope, was brought to bear upon James, the Scotch nobility, and the King of the Romans. It was only natural that the unhappy Pretender should be unable to withstand such a combination for any length of time. Perkin Warbeck was obliged to leave Scotland, and sailed to Cornwall to place himself at the head of the insurgents. De Puebla gives a circumstantial anecdote respecting his voyage. Perkin had sailed from Scotland in a Biscayan ship. On the high seas his ship fell in with an English cruiser, and was stopped by her. When the Biscayan master and crew were called into the presence of the English captain, they were asked by him whether Perkin Warbeck was on board their ship. He told them that the friendship between Spain and England was of so intimate a nature, that they were obliged by the terms of it to deliver up the rebel. He showed them, moreover, letters patent under the royal signature, by which Henry promised 2,000 nobles and other favours to any one who would arrest the person of Perkin Warbeck. All, however, was in vain. The "obstinate" Biscayans swore that they had never seen such a man, or even heard of him. Yet all the time the Pretender was hidden in a pipe in the bows of the ship.

As soon as Henry had the Pretender in his power,

he asked the advice of Ferdinand as to what was to be done with him. Ferdinand did not answer. The letters of Henry or De Puebla in which the request was made are not extant, but there is a holograph of De Puebla, from which we learn the fact, and also that no reply was made. "I besought your Highnesses a long while ago," said the doctor, "to write your opinion and advice how the "King of England ought to deal with Perkin. Your "Highnesses have to this day, no doubt from some just "reasons and impediments, never sent a word in answer nor "written any other thing. Your silence causes me much "pain, because I am sure the King of England would do "what ever your Highnesses might direct."

In June 1498 Perkin escaped, as De Puebla adds, "without any reason." He was recaptured and his execution decided upon. De Puebla writes, at the very time of his arrest, that this measure was in contemplation. The common report that he was pardoned, and executed only in consequence of a subsequent conspiracy, deserves therefore little credit. There can be no doubt that Henry construed the silence of Ferdinand as implying his assent to a sentence of death. The prisoner was kept in the Tower, in a cell where neither sun nor moon could reach him. He was very soon so altered in his appearance, that it was generally believed he could not live long. The Bishop of Cambray, who was at that time Flemish ambassador to England, wished to see Perkin. Henry sent for him, and made him confess in presence of the Bishop and De Puebla that he was an impostor, and that the Duchess Margaret knew it. A few days later Perkin was hanged.

Who was Perkin Warbeck? Was he the son of Edward IV.? I cannot answer the question. It is not even probable that Henry VII. himself knew or cared to learn. On the whole, it is not easy to prove the identity of a person who has left his home and friends in childhood. His appearance changes, and resemblance is not conclusive. How much greater must be the difficulty when

thousands of persons who declare themselves in favour of his identity are not believed, because they are said to be biassed by political partisanship. The testimonials of France and of Spain, on the other hand, only show how many were ready to make false statements in favour of Henry. It is clear why Henry preferred the version that Perkin was a Fleming. It would have been much more difficult to pass off an Englishman as a Spaniard, Portuguese, or Frenchman, than as a native of the Low Countries.

But however great may be the personal interest with which this question is fraught, it is of little political significance. Perkin was believed by all the princes of his time to be the real Duke of York. Of this we have the certainly unexceptionable evidence of Henry VII. himself. On the occasion when he saw Perkin Warbeck in the presence of the Bishop of Cambray and De Puebla, he said to both ambassadors, in order to prove the great perversity of Perkin, that he had succeeded in persuading the Pope, the King of the Romans, the King of France, and, in fact, all the princes of Christendom, with the exception of Ferdinand and Isabella, that he was the son of King Edward. He thus confirmed the assertion of Perkin in his letter to Queen Isabella that the King of the Romans, the Archduke Philip, the Duke of Saxony, and the Kings of Denmark and Scotland had honoured him with embassies and treated him as their equal. Even the single exception which Henry made with regard to Ferdinand and Isabella will not bear investigation. For, if documents which are destined to remain in the hands of the most confidential servants, and which have no political object in view, deserve greater reliance than declarations of ambassadors made for certain purposes, Ferdinand andIsabella also considered Perkin Warbeck to be the Duke of York. The document to which I refer is the original of a key to the cipher in Latin numbers, used by De Puebla and preserved at Simancas. One chapter of it is headed "The Pope, the Emperor, Kings, and other persons of the Blood Royal."

There is even the direction added, that persons who do not belong to royal families must be looked for in other places. Perkin Warbeck, not under this name, but under that of the Duke of York, is to be found in the chapter of royal personages; his cipher is DCCCCCVII, and his neighbours on either side are the Duchess Margaret and King Alfonso of Naples. Even to those who firmly believe that Perkin Warbeck was an impostor, it must at least be clear that he was treated by the continental princes just as the real Duke of York would have been treated.

Should the letter contained in this volume, at the end of the year 1495, be really a copy of a love letter of Perkin Warbeck to Lady Katharine Gordon, it would show that, as regards refinement and chivalrous feeling, the Pretender had few, if any, equals among the princes and nobles of his time.

Henry had now rid himself of his most formidable enemy. The consequences were visible even in matters of external form. Ferdinand had never condescended hitherto to address him as "Brother," according to the style usual between kings. He only called him "My Cousin." When Perkin ceased to be dangerous, Henry asked the King of Spain whether he would not henceforth give him also the title of "Brother," a demand to which Ferdinand graciously acceded. But however great the advantages which Henry had obtained might have been, he had dearly purchased them. Don Pedro de Ayala found that he had grown twenty years older in a few weeks. Ill-omened prophecies were rife in the country. Henry was in such a state of nervous excitement that he secretly ordered a Welsh priest into his presence and desired him to tell him his fortune. When the priest hinted at dangers that were still threatening him, Henry commanded him to keep the secret. The King grew devout. He heard a sermon every morning, and for a long period continued his devotions during the rest of the day. He seems to have regained his mental health by degrees, but his bodily strength appears never to have been entirely restored. At any rate, henceforth we hear of continual illnesses.

§

When Perkin Warbeck was still in Flanders and was treated there as the rightful King of England, Ferdinand told Henry that the surest way to prevent the Pretender from being assisted by the houses of Austria and Burgundy would be to marry the Archduke Philip to the Infanta Juana. The presence of the young Archduchess in the Flemish Court would reduce the Dowager Duchess Margaret to insignificance. Doña Juana having been taught to regard Henry as her second father, her influence would be used entirely in his favour. Besides, she would have another reason for serving the cause of Henry. As she was to be married in Flanders and her sister in England, she could not but wish that both countries might be at peace. Though Henry had at first objected to the marriage, he soon adopted the views of Ferdinand, and was thenceforth perhaps more impatient to see Doña Juana in Flanders than the Archduke Philip himself. He wrote over and over again to Ferdinand, asking him not to delay her departure.

In August 1496 a numerous fleet sailed from Laredo to convey Doña Juana to Flanders, and to carry back the Archduchess Margaret who was betrothed to the heir apparent of Spain. The Spanish princess was accompanied by a numerous suite of officers and servants. Ferdinand had calculated that the more Spaniards that accompanied his daughter to Flanders the greater would be the Spanish influence there.

As soon as the Archduchess Juana had arrived at her new home, Henry wrote her letter after letter, but received no answer. When his third letter remained without effect, he sent complaints to Spain. The Archduchess had, however, not treated Henry worse than her own mother. Queen Isabella had not received the least token of affection from her since she had left her native shores. Other persons who wrote from Flanders to Castile darkly hinted that the Archduchess had changed her devotional habits, and was on the way to become a free thinker.

In March 1497 two ambassadors, the Knight Commander

Londoño and the Friar Thomas de Matienzo, Sub-Prior of Santa Cruz, were sent to Flanders in order to inquire into the manner in which the Archduchess lived. The ambassadors, and especially the friar, were received by her with great distrust. She suspected that the latter was intended for her confessor. The report sent by the ambassadors to Spain was by no means encouraging. The Archduchess, they said, was in perfect health, and looked handsomer than ever. She had, moreover, not become quite an infidel, as she kept up devotional exercises with great regularity in her house; still, on Ascension Day, she would not confess, though her two confessors were in attendance. The friar believed that his presence at the court prevented the princess from performing her customary religious duty. When Matienzo saw her, she did not ask for news of any one in Spain. He inquired whether she had any message to send to her father and mother. She said, No. He asked whether she would like to see him again, and she replied that if he wished to come he might. On the whole the Archduchess does not seem to have entertained the least attachment for Spain.

As for the Spanish servants, who were destined to influence to such an extent the politics of Flanders, nothing more hopeless than their position can be imagined. The court camarilla consisted of the Provost of Liege, a certain Muxica, most probably a Spaniard, and a Madame de Aloyne. They had driven the Spanish servants away, and deprived them of even their pensions which were sent from Spain. The Bastard, for instance, who seems to have occupied a high position, was to have 4,000 crowns salary. "He had been deprived of 2,000, and the other 2,000 he "could not get." He was not able to go to court because he could not pay for his meals. As for the other Spaniards, they all lived in such utter destitution that it was pitiful to see them. Numbers of them died from starvation. Even the pious Sub-Prior had to suffer, and was outraged that the Flemings did not give him food, while they themselves

preferred "good eating to righteous living." The whole was misery, disunion, and intrigue. There was no doubt left that the plans of Ferdinand and the hopes of Henry were miserably wrecked.

§

After the execution of Perkin Warbeck and the Earl of Warwick the affairs of Henry took a more prosperous turn. The only remaining difficulty concerned the King of Scots. He had been persuaded to abandon the cause of the Pretender, under the promise that he should become the son-in-law of Ferdinand and Isabella, and he was now to learn that he had only been their dupe. Ferdinand, however, had already found an expedient. He had proposed to Henry, as early as the 26th April 1496, that he should give one of his daughters in marriage to the King of Scots. Henry objected, and declared that James would scarcely be inclined to wait until the Princess Mary should be of marriageable age. He and the Queen, moreover, thought it inconsistent with their duty as parents to confide so young a princess, to a man like James. It would, they said, be tantamount to delivering her to destruction. But as Ferdinand was not to be persuaded to give the King of Scots another of his daughters as wife, Henry, with a heavy heart, at last acceded to his proposal. The Bishop of Durham was commissioned to treat with James concerning the peace and the marriage. On the 24th of March 1500, however, Don Pedro de Ayala informed Ferdinand that all the endeavours of the Bishop of Durham had been fruitless. The King of Scots had grown more suspicious than ever that he had been overreached, if not by Henry himself, at any rate by those in his interest, and he threatened an open rupture. The manner in which he was prevented from doing this is characteristic. It was known that he would not decide upon any great measure without first consulting Don Pedro de Ayala. Thus it was important to prevent any interview between them. Don Pedro was in London,

and though James repeatedly wrote that he wanted to see him, the Spanish ambassador always returned evasive answers, pretending ill health, or a despatch which he was awaiting, or some similar excuse. In this way month after month passed away, during which affairs were settled between Spain and England. At last, when all the details had been definitely arranged between Henry and Ferdinand, Don Pedro proceeded to Scotland, and the treaty of Stirling was concluded.

The treaty of marriage between the Prince of Wales and the Princess Katharine had been concluded, for the second time, on the 1st October 1497. It had been ratified by both parties over and over again and the marriage ceremonies had been more than once performed by proxy, the last time secretly, from fear of the King of Scots, in the chapel of the royal manor at Bewdley. The Bishop of Lincoln had scrupled to officiate on that occasion, because dignitaries of the church were forbidden to sanction clandestine marriages; his objections, however, were overruled by De Puebla. After all had been done, and great sums had been spent in order that a splendid reception might be given to the Princess, her departure from Spain was still postponed. There were more reasons than one for the delay. Ferdinand, on closer examination of the treaty, found that he had been deceived by Henry in regard to the dowry to be given with his daughter. The treaty of alliance, too, offered occasion for very unpleasant correspondence. Even such a trifle as the title to be given to the King of England was earnestly debated. At one time the dispute assumed so unfriendly a character that the marriage seemed in danger of being broken off.

In the year 1500, when Henry had an interview with the Archduke Philip, it was suspected that he intended to marry the Prince of Wales to the Archduchess Margaret, whose first husband, the Infante of Spain, had lately died. To allay their apprehensions, Ferdinand and Isabella sent Fuensalida, Knight Commander of Haro, to Calais. In

his despatch of the 29th June 1500 the ambassador described how greatly he was mortified during his journey by hearing everywhere that the marriage had been concluded. However, on his arrival at Calais he found the rumours to be false.

Among the political affairs domestic matters were sometimes introduced. The Queen and the mother of the King, for example, asked Ferdinand and Isabella to allow the Princess Katharine to begin to take wine, because the water in England was not drinkable. On another occasion the wish was expressed that the Princess should profit by the presence of the Archduchess Margaret in Spain and learn to speak French. The question about the servants who were to accompany her to England gave no little trouble. Ferdinand and Isabella desired to send as many, and Henry to accept as few as possible. On one thing Henry insisted much. He wished that the Spanish ladies who were to remain in England should be all of them beautiful, or at any rate not ugly. This was a matter of some political importance. If the Spanish ladies in the service of the Princess could be married into noble English houses, the new Tudor dynasty might in future count upon greater support in the country.

An English ecclesiastic, nephew of one of the secretaries of Henry VII., had given up his living in England, amounting to more than 300 nobles, and emigrated to Spain. He seems to have been well received at first, but after fourteen years' residence there he found himself reduced to misery, and was without food, without clothing, without money, and without a living. If we may judge from the manner in which he wrote Spanish, he does not seem to have been a man of great attainments. His letters certainly contain more grammatical errors than words. Still he was made a means of semi-official communication. His uncle forwarded news to him from England, and he communicated it to Queen Isabella. The great love which the English bore to the King and Queen of Spain, and especially to the Princess Katharine, was dwelt

upon at much length. Had the Spaniards been gluttons, the tidings from the secretary of Henry would have induced them to come over with the Princess as soon as possible. In Flanders, the secretary wrote that many Spaniards had died of starvation. But he protested that as many as liked might come with the Princess of Wales, and none of them would die of hunger. If they died it would be from eating too much; such a stock of provisions had been laid in.

It was a matter of serious consideration to Ferdinand and Isabella whether it would be well for the morals of the Princess that she should go early to England. Don Pedro de Ayala was of opinion that the Court of Henry VII. was not a fit place for a young princess. On the other hand, it might be advisable, he thought, that her going to England should not be delayed, because if she remained longer in Spain she would in future always remember the happier life she had led there, and be rendered miserable for the rest of her days. The delay before the Princess went to England gave Queen Isabella the opportunity of writing a letter full of fine sentiment. She had been informed of the great expenditure that had been incurred for the reception of the Princess, and for her wedding. "I am pleased to hear it," she wrote, from Granada, on the 23rd of March 1501, "because it shows the magnificent "grandeur of my brother the King of England, and because "demonstrations of joy at the reception of my daughter are "naturally agreeable to me. Nevertheless, it would be "more in accordance with my feelings, and with the wishes "of my lord the King, that the expenses should be "moderate. We do not wish our daughter to be the cause "of any loss to England, either in money or in any other "respect. On the contrary, we desire that she should be "the source of all kinds of happiness, as we hope she will "be, with the help of God. We, therefore, beg the King "our brother to moderate the expenses. Rejoicings may "be held, but we ardently implore him that the substantial

" part of the festival should be his love, that the Princess
" should be treated by him and the Queen as their daughter,
" and by the Prince of Wales as we feel he will treat her.
" Say this to the King of England."

At last, on Sunday the 2d of October, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, the Princess entered the harbour of Plymouth. Directly on leaving the ship she went to mass. The Licentiate Alcarez, who accompanied her, wrote on the 4th to the Queen of Spain that "the Princess could not have been " received with greater rejoicings had she been the Saviour " of the world."

§

On the 2d of April 1502 Prince Arthur died. When the sad tidings reached Henry and Elizabeth, their grief was overwhelming. A touching description of it has come down to us.[1] There is no reason to doubt that their sorrow was genuine, but it had no chastening effect upon the King. Scarcely had his tears time to dry, when he began to act in an avaricious and unkingly manner respecting money matters, and showed a most ungenerous harshness towards the young Princess of Wales, whom he had hitherto always proclaimed to be his beloved daughter. She was not even removed from the infected place where Prince Arthur died, though she was herself ill and suffering. Ferdinand and Isabella were twice obliged to insist on her removal.

The whole of the correspondence, from the death of Prince Arthur to the marriage of the Princess Katharine with Prince Henry, was carried on in cipher which, with the exception of a single short letter, I have been successful enough to decipher. Not all the despatches are extant, however, and almost all the letters of the Duke de Estrada to Spain are lost. But, as the custom prevailed of repeating in one letter what had been said in another, we can form a tolerably accurate idea of the course of the negotiations.

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[1] Leland's Coll., v. 373.

When the news of the death of Arthur reached Ferdinand and Isabella, they sent, without delay, Fernand Duke de Estrada to England as their ambassador.

He received two commissions, both dated on the 10th of May 1502. By the first he was commanded,—

1st. To reclaim from the King of England the 100,000 scudos which had been paid as an instalment of the marriage portion of the Princess.

2d. To demand that the King of England should deliver to her the towns, manors, lands, &c., which had been assigned as her dowry.

3d. To beg Henry to send the Princess of Wales to Spain, in the best manner and in the shortest time possible.

4th. To superintend himself, if necessary, the preparations for her departure.

By the second commission he was authorized to conclude a marriage betwen the Princess Katharine and Henry Prince of Wales.

The power to conclude a marriage had not been given without meaning to the Duke de Estrada. Ferdinand and Isabella really wished that the new marriage of their daughter should be concluded in England. The ambassador had been instructed to employ the greatest cunning and flattery in order to get at the truth, whether the first marriage had been really consummated. Doña Elvira, who was the first Lady of the Bedchamber, had written that the Princess Katharine and the late Prince of Wales had never lived together as man and wife. This letter of Doña Elvira is not extant, but Queen Isabella informed the Duke de Estrada of its contents in her despatch of the 12th of July 1502. Besides, "she," most probably the same Doña Elvira Manuel, had informed the Queen that Henry desired the marriage, but did not wish it to be known. Estrada was, therefore, instructed to act with the greatest circumspection, lest Henry, on finding that the King and Queen of Spain entertained the same views, should drive too hard a bargain. Queen Isabella, who calculated that Henry would betray his real

intentions as soon as he saw that the Princess was to leave England, ordered the Duke de Estrada to make preparations for her departure.

Another letter of the Queen to the Duke de Estrada, dated the 10th of August 1502, is a masterpiece of its kind. It displays such deep maternal feeling and high moral sentiment, that it might be held up as an example to all good Christians. "I therefore," she wrote, "command "you that you shall press much for the departure of the "Princess of Wales, my daughter, so that she may come "here immediately. The greater her loss and affliction, "the more reason is there that she should come and be near "her parents. Moreover, the Princess of Wales can show "more unrestrainedly the sense she entertains of her loss, "and give freer vent to her grief in Spain, because the "customs of this country permit it better than do those of "England. And you shall say that we cannot endure that "a daughter whom we love should be so far from us when "she is in affliction, and that she should not have us at "hand to console her. It would also be more suitable for "her to be with us than in any other place." In order to make a still stronger impression upon the mind of Henry, she directed the ambassador to make all necessary preparations for the departure of the Princess. Ships were to be freighted, the silver and plate to be packed, and some of the household were really to embark. But all these fine sentiments and all these preparations were a mere stratagem. Queen Isabella desired now as little as formerly that her daughter should return to Spain. She instructed Estrada to avail himself of the fear with which Henry would be inspired, to obtain the best possible conditions for the marriage settlement.

Isabella had not miscalculated the effect which her letter was likely to produce on the King of England. Henry made overtures through Doctor De Puebla for the marriage between the Princess Katharine and Henry, Prince of Wales, and even promised that the conditions, especially as regarded

the dower, should be satisfactory to Spain. Negotiations were carried on down to the death of Queen Elizabeth, without having at that time arrived at any definite conclusion.

As soon as the Queen was dead, Henry changed his plans. The same letter which announced the decease of Elizabeth, brought the intelligence that the King himself was not disinclined to marry the Princess Katharine. This letter is lost, but we learn its contents at great length from the answer of Queen Isabella, dated Alcala, 11th April 1503. When I deciphered the despatch, I could scarcely at first persuade myself that immediately after his bereavement Henry could dare to think of a marriage with so young a princess, who was at the same time the widow of one son and the destined bride of another. But there is not the least doubt about it. The new aspirant to the hand of the Princess Katharine was King Henry himself, and no other. The cipher in which the despatch of the 11th of April 1503 is written occurs so often in this correspondence, that any one who has mastered the key can read it with as much certainty as if it were print. There being no abbreviation in cipher, and every sign being clearly put, ciphered correspondence leaves less doubt about the meaning than attaches to bad handwriting. Moreover, finding such unexpected tidings, I examined the despatch over and over again, and the more closely I analysed it the surer I became of the fact. Besides, it does not rest upon the interpretation of a single word only. The whole sense of the letter shows that no other person than the King of England can have been meant. Queen Isabella instructs the Duke de Estrada to offer Henry her sympathy for the loss of the Queen, her sister. She then continues, that Doctor De Puebla had written to her concerning the marriage of King Henry with the Princess of Wales, "saying, "that this marriage was spoken of in England. But as "it would be a very evil thing, the very mention of which "offends the ears, she would not for anything in the world "that it should take place." Therefore, if anything were

said about it, he was to speak of it as a thing not to be endured, in order that the King of England might lose all hope of marrying her daughter. In another place, Queen Isabella added, that the King of England must be told that there were two things about which she and her husband were firmly resolved. The first was, that the Princess Katharine should never marry King Henry, and the second, that she was immediately to return to Spain.

If the King of England was so much in want of a second wife, Queen Isabella told him, he might, instead of her daughter, marry the young Queen Dowager of Naples, who " was particularly well calculated to console him in his " deep affliction." The young Queen Dowager being her niece the friendship between England and Spain would be as much strengthened by this marriage as by one with her daughter.

It is true, De Puebla seems to have only written that " the English said " a marriage between King Henry and the Princess of Wales might be contracted. The words " the English " might mean the Privy Council, according to the manner in which De Puebla was accustomed to express himself. But there is little doubt that it meant here the King himself. If the very confidential intimacy existing between Henry and De Puebla be borne in mind, and if it be considered how little De Puebla wished or dared to say anything which might be prejudicial to Henry, it is clear that his letter cannot have been composed without the consent of the King of England.

The decided refusal of Queen Isabella arrived in London on the 14th of May, and produced the desired effect. Henry was, perhaps, not yet incapable of feeling the emotion of shame. He may also have been allured by the new proposal, and the prospect of a double dower. The Queen Dowager of Naples had already a rich marriage settlement in that kingdom, and Ferdinand promised to give her 200,000 ducats if she married Henry. However that may be, we hear nothing more of a marriage between

the Princess Katharine and Henry VII.; on the contrary, her marriage with the Prince of Wales was soon afterwards determined upon. The contract was concluded at Richmond on the 23d of June 1503.

§.

Marriages between royal houses are at all times of political importance; but in the days of the Tudors, as I have already remarked, they were the only reliable bonds. The marriage schemes of Henry, which at this period began to enter into the foreground, deserve, therefore, our fullest attention. The principal marriageable princes and princesses on the Continent were the following:—in France there were three princesses, the sister of Francis, Duke of Angoulême, afterwards Francis I., and Claude and Renée, the two daughters of King Louis, who were mere children. Of Spanish princesses there was, besides the Princess Katharine, the young Queen Dowager of Naples. She was the daughter of the sister of Ferdinand, about twenty-six years old, and when she married her first husband, she had the reputation of being a very amiable lady. The King of the Romans had to dispose of his daughter Margaret, and of his grandson Charles, Duke of Luxemburgh. Margaret had scarcely accomplished the twenty-fourth year of her age. Nevertheless she had been once divorced and had twice become a widow. This was no disadvantage to her. On the contrary, it was a recommendation, for, she had two dowers, one in Spain and one in Savoy.

After the death of Queen Elizabeth, there were, in the royal family of England, three candidates for marriage, the King himself, the Prince of Wales, and his daughter Mary. If they chose judiciously, they might enter into matrimonial alliances with all the three great reigning houses of Europe; namely those of France, Spain, and Austria. The advantage, in the estimation of Henry, would be incalculable. Who would dare to attack a Tudor if the family were allied with Scotland, France, Spain, and

Austria? But safety was not the only thing Henry might attain if he carried out his plan. England might become the natural mediator between the contending parties in Europe, and thus restore peace to Christendom. As, however, there was no other prince to be married of the continental houses, the Princess Mary would have to become the wife of the Duke of Luxemburgh. It is true, in the treaty of Blois it had been arranged that he was to marry the Princess Claude of France. But were not such treaties oftener broken than kept? Henry, at all events, did not regard the obstacle as insurmountable. Ferdinand was in the highest degree dissatisfied with the treaty. Henry, therefore, addressed himself to the King of Spain. Though it had been the policy of his whole life to live on friendly terms with France, he now promised to go to war immediately and with all his forces if Ferdinand in return would arrange a marriage between the Princess Mary and the Duke of Luxemburgh. A few weeks later, on the 5th December, he even offered Ferdinand to make over to him his claims on the duchy of Guienne. Whatever prospect of success Henry might have had reason to entertain in respect of this marriage, there was an obstacle to his other plans which it was very difficult to overcome. The Prince of Wales was already betrothed to a Spanish princess. If this union was to hold good, King Henry must then marry a French princess in order to complete his projected alliances with the three great powers. This was not easy. The three French princesses were children, and Henry could but little afford to wait. Thus, it would have suited his plans much better that the Prince of Wales should marry a French princess, and himself a Spanish. But Ferdinand would, on no account, permit the marriage between the Prince of Wales and the Princess Katharine to be annulled. If Henry had ventured openly to declare his plans, it would have produced an immediate rupture with Spain. The only expedient left him was not to show any disinclination to marry his son to the Princess Katharine, and

meantime to conclude his own marriage with the Queen Dowager of Naples. He might hope, after having concluded his own alliance, to dispose differently of the hand of his son.

These plans demanded some time for ripening, and consequently more than a year and a half elapsed before Henry showed any earnest desire to accept the offer made him by Queen Isabella. But when the Duke de Estrada, in the month of August 1504, returned to Spain, Henry asked him to speak about his marriage to King Ferdinand. Before he had received any answer to these communications, he declared through De Puebla, in the month of October 1504, that, hitherto, he had not decided on taking a wife. Nevertheless, as it would please Ferdinand and Isabella, he would confer with his council about his marriage with the Queen Dowager of Naples. Meantime, added the ambassador, the King of England would be very glad to have a picture of his intended bride. If it were not considered an improper thing, Henry begged that a portrait of the said Queen, delineating her figure and the features of her face and painted on canvas, should be sent to him. This matter was to be kept most secret, and the portrait to be placed in a well-closed case, so that there might be no risk of its being seen by any one. Moreover, it was very desirable that neither the young Queen nor her mother should know for whom the portrait was destined. For, "if she proved to be ugly and not handsome," the ambassador wrote a few days later,[1] "the King of England "would not have her for all the treasures in the world; nor "would he dare to take her, as the English think so much "about personal appearance." He also informed Ferdinand that the King of England was entirely absorbed with the idea of his new matrimonial alliance, and spoke almost daily of it; sometimes in private interviews, and on other occasions in the presence of his council. All the

[1] 5th December 1504.

counsellors were of the same mind, and said that Henry could not find a better match, "search all the world over." The King, in particular, "lauded Ferdinand and Isabella above "the cherubim" for their kindness in offering him such a wife.

Ferdinand had given his consent in general terms,[1] and Henry determined to send his "servants," Francis Marsin, James Braybrooke, and John Stile, to Valencia, where the Queen Dowager of Naples was living. Her mother was Governess and Viceregent of that kingdom. The ambassadors left in June 1505. The instructions, given to them, and their answers have been repeatedly printed, and are tolerably well known. The whole document is not merely indelicate; it also exhibits a great amount of coarseness.

When the marriage of Henry with the Queen Dowager of Naples was first proposed, the political state of Europe rendered the friendship of Henry highly desirable to Ferdinand, while the good will of Ferdinand was equally valuable to Henry. Ferdinand was involved in a war with France, in consequence of quarrels which had arisen respecting the partition of the kingdom of Naples; and Henry wished to make use of Ferdinand in order to obtain, through his influence, possession of the Earl of Suffolk. But as soon as Ferdinand entered into negotiations of peace with France, the alliance with Henry became a subordinate consideration, and he accordingly proposed to France to marry the intended bride of Henry to King Alfonso of Naples. Henry complained in a tone of deep resentment of the faithless behaviour of Ferdinand. It is true that Ferdinand assured him his jealous fears were unfounded. But the King of France had concealed nothing from Henry, who knew full well that if the marriage between the young Queen Dowager and King Alfonso did not take place, it would only be because France had not approved of the Spanish proposal.

[1] The document has no date.

Soon after Queen Isabella had died, and as Ferdinand was again a marriageable man, it was proposed that the long disputes between France and Spain should be settled by a marriage between him and Germaine de Foix the niece of King Louis. Each step which brought Spain and France nearer together lowered the value of the offers which had been made by Henry.

One of the articles of the instructions given to the ambassadors who went to Valencia was to engage a good painter to take the portrait of the intended bride. If the first painter should not succeed, another was to be engaged, and the commissioners were told not to rest satisfied until they had succeeded in procuring a perfect likeness. But the talent of the Spanish artists was not put to the test. The young Queen Dowager would not allow any portrait of herself to be taken. Ferdinand had, in fact, a conference with the mother of the young Queen respecting his marriage. But when he found that his sister and niece were averse from it, he did not think it necessary to press them any further, and the affair was at an end.

§

As soon as Ferdinand became an enemy of the House of Austria, Henry, on his part, also cared less for the alliance with Spain. Ferdinand was no longer in a position to mediate between him and the King of the Romans respecting the delivery of the Earl of Suffolk. As Ferdinand had shown himself to be a lukewarm friend of Henry when he was not in want of his services, Henry retaliated upon him now and became his opponent.

In order to make the reader fully understand the conduct of Henry, I must add a few words respecting the disputes between King Ferdinand and King Philip. During the lifetime of Perkin Warbeck Henry looked upon Philip as one of his most determined enemies. The animosity existing between Henry and the Archduke soon communicated itself to the two nations. The English were treated badly in Flanders,

and the Flemings had much to suffer in England. But from the time that Philip leant more towards the policy of France the relations between him and England sensibly improved. The beginning of a much more intimate friendship between Henry and Philip is to be dated from their interview near Calais on Whit-Tuesday, in the year 1500. Henry seems to have appreciated the confidence placed in him by Philip who came to the meeting without ceremony and without protection. Nor was he the only person on whom the behaviour of the young Archduke produced a favourable impression. He became popular with all the English who were present, and even De Puebla wrote that he was a much better prince than he was generally reported. The vanity of Henry must moreover have been flattered to a considerable extent, when he overheard the Archduke telling the Spanish ambassador that he regarded the King of England as his natural protector. On the whole, they behaved to one another like father and son. Although Henry had afterwards occasionally to complain of the Archduke, they never ceased to call one another father and son down to the death of the latter. In the summer of 1504, Philip and the Archduchess Juana were in Spain. They had gone there in order to be sworn as Prince and Princess of Castile and Arragon, a ceremony that was customary in Spain, in order to place the succession beyond all doubt. Queen Isabella fell dangerously ill, and the French threatened the frontiers of Perpignan and Fuenterabia. At this conjuncture, Philip declared his intention to return to Flanders by way of France. His journey taken at such a time was in truth scarcely becoming. He not only showed great want of feeling towards the suffering lady, his mother-in-law, but also placed himself in the power of the enemy of the very country the succession to which had just been secured to him. All remonstrances remained fruitless. Philip went to France, and soon afterwards concluded the treaty of Blois which was not favourable to Spanish interests. To take the crown from

Queen Isabella and place it on his own head was out of his power, while she was still alive. However, his conduct was little short of it. Before the Queen was dead, he had already assumed her title, and styled himself King of Castile and Granada. On the 26th November 1504 Isabella died at Medina del Campo. Immediately afterwards, Ferdinand went to the market place, mounted a platform, and renounced, in presence of the assembled people, his title as King of Castile. He did so in conformity with the will made by the Queen. This will is preserved at Simancas, and shown as one of the greatest curiosities of the archives. In it she directs that her daughter Juana shall be her successor and govern in conjunction with her husband. But whenever Juana and Philip are absent from Spain, or Juana is prevented from attending to public business, Ferdinand is empowered to act as governor of the kingdom in her name and authority. This governorship of Ferdinand was not to cease until the eldest son of Juana and Philip had attained the age of twenty years.

During the illness of the Queen, and after her death, Ferdinand wrote most loving letters to Philip, who did not greatly value them. A quarrel between the father and son-in-law very soon broke out. If we are to believe Ferdinand he acted in the most disinterested manner imaginable. If, on the other hand, we are to credit Philip, Ferdinand was the most detestable character possible. The fact seems to have been that both of them acted with equal selfishness.

With the Princess of Wales, Philip had always entertained the most intimate relations. She was so young and inexperienced that she little suspected she should do harm to her father by communicating all the secrets which she happened to learn to her first Lady of the Bedchamber, Doña Elvira Manuel. Doña Elvira, in her turn, imparted them immediately to her brother Don Juan Manuel, who, though ambassador of Ferdinand, had betrayed his master and espoused the cause of Philip. Thus, Philip was generally well informed of all that was going on at the court of Eng-

land. As soon as he had obtained possession of the Earl of Suffolk, he and the King of the Romans sent an embassy to Henry who was staying at Cranbourne. When the ambassadors arrived in London they went to pay their respects to the Princess of Wales. While they were waiting, De Puebla went accidentally to Durham House. At the door he was told by one Lebron that the ambassadors were in the antechamber. De Puebla introduced them to the Princess, who received them with great courtesy. When asked what the object of their coming was, they declared that their mission was secret. Nevertheless, in the course of conversation it transpired that Philip was intending to deliver the Earl of Suffolk to Henry and to offer him the Archduchess Margaret in marriage. They added that they had brought with them two portraits of the Archduchess; one on canvas, and one on wood. Philip intended to go to Spain, they said, with the Queen Juana as soon as she had recovered from her confinement, which was expected to take place in five or six weeks. The Princess was much pleased to hear these good tidings, as she thought, and wished to see the portraits of the Archduchess, which, by the way, she thought by no means well executed.

De Puebla was amazed at the indiscretion of the ambassadors, and he immediately wrote every word that he had heard to Ferdinand.

The ambassadors frequently repeated their visits to the Princess Katharine. It even seems that De Puebla had been a little mistaken in his judgment of their indiscretion; for though they had made blunders, they had not betrayed the most essential part of their mission. Philip wished above all things to have a personal interview with Henry at Calais. In order to obtain a plausible pretext, Doña Elvira, who favoured the ambassadors and their master, used her influence over the Princess, and made her write letters to her sister Juana and to Philip, expressing her delight at the prospect of seeing them. In the shortest time possible, the answers of the King and Queen of Castile arrived.

They said they wished for nothing so much as to see her and the King of England. The Princess of Wales, still unconscious of what she was doing, had a pair of horses saddled directly after the receipt of these letters, in order to send them to the King of England without losing an hour. When her Maestre-sala and Don Alonzo de Esquivel, were ready to start, De Puebla entered the palace of the Princess. Full of delight, she told him what had happened, and what she intended to do. De Puebla saw at a glance that the interview between Henry and Philip signified nothing less than an alliance between them against the King of Spain. He therefore, offered to ride over to the King and to deliver the letters himself, hoping to counteract, by his representations, the effect which they might produce on Henry. An old, infirm doctor of law may not have seemed to the Princess to be a very proper sort of courier, especially where great speed was desired. But De Puebla avowed that her distrust of him was the principal reason why she rejected his offer. He then begged her, at least, to wait a few moments while he spoke with Doña Elvira respecting some household matters. He took that lady into an adjoining room, explained to her the meaning of the whole affair, and reminded her of what she owed to King Ferdinand. Doña Elvira, however, refused to listen to his advice, till he threatened to expose her faithlessness. She then promised that the messengers should not be sent.

De Puebla, satisfied with this assurance, returned to his house and sat down to dinner. Scarcely had he begun to eat when he was informed that the Maestre-sala and Don Alonzo had started with the letters in spite of the promises which had been made him. Without touching another morsel, he set off with great speed to Durham House. With tears running down his cheeks, he made the Princess swear she would not betray anything of what he was going to communicate to her. After she had sworn he explained to her the meaning of the intended meeting, and, telling her that

it was in prejudice of her father and of her sister, asked her to write another letter to the King of England. The Princess, who, as the doctor said, had an excellent heart, and loved her father more than herself, wrote, at his dictation, a short note to Henry, asking him to value the interests of King Ferdinand above those of any prince upon earth; adding, that if she had earlier known what De Puebla had communicated to her under oath, she would never have sent her first letter, and the letter of the Archduke.

The letter was sent off at once by a courier, who was strictly enjoined to ride at full speed, and to overtake the Maestre-sala. This scene happened on the 17th August 1505. Next day the Princess wrote another short note, in the same tone as the last, and De Puebla proceeded with it to the King of England. He seems to have been, to a certain extent, successful. Henry, on the 13th of September, wrote a letter to Ferdinand, in which he expressed himself in strong terms respecting the ingratitude of Philip, and promised to do all in his power to assist the King of Spain. Philip, notwithstanding, seems to have gained some advantage; for, the proposal of an interview had been made, and some wish for it may have lingered in the mind of the King of England. Whether a correspondence between Henry and Philip respecting their meeting may have taken place, or of what kind it may have been, is not known. I have not found any traces of it; except that Doña Elvira, as one of the servants said, went "in an evil hour" to Flanders on the pretence of consulting a physician about her eyes.

On the 7th January 1506 Philip embarked from Zealand, accompanied by a fleet of fifty sail. He was overtaken by a storm, and ran for shelter to Melcombe in Dorsetshire. Philip disembarked, and sent immediately a message to the King expressing his desire to see him. His messengers were very graciously received, and on the 21st of January he met Henry at Windsor, the Kings saluting each other with "glad and loving countenances." Pre-

cautions were taken to prevent the Princess Katharine and her sister Juana from meeting. According to the minute narrative of the reception of King Philip, which is preserved in the Cottonian MSS., Queen Juana did not see her sister until just before her departure. They were not even then more than an hour together, and were never left alone. The reasons are obvious. The Princess Katharine knew the whole meaning of the interview, and if she had seen her sister without witnesses she would have informed her of what was in progress. Ferdinand had always asserted that Queen Juana was not an undutiful daughter, and Philip seems to have shared the opinion. If, therefore, she had been made aware by the Princess of Wales of the real intentions of her husband, she might have withheld her sanction; and as the crown of Castile belonged to her she might have counteracted all his plans.

A few days later, on the 9th of February, a new alliance between the two Kings was concluded. Henry bound himself to assist Philip in the defence of his present states and of all those to which he might have a claim; further, to take care of the person, estate, honour, dignities, concerns and affairs in general of Philip in the same manner as a good father would take care of a beloved son. As soon as ever Philip required material assistance against his opponent, Henry was to send him as much succour as he could spare, without considering whether the enemy were an ally of England or not. Further, Henry promised to deliver to Philip all his exiles and rebels to be found in England, and as the promises of the King of Castile were almost verbatim the same as those of Henry, the King of England thereby acquired the right to demand the immediate delivery of Suffolk.

When this treaty had been concluded, Philip sent one Laxao with a message to Ferdinand, who answered by the same messenger that he expected Philip in Spain, and would receive him as his beloved son.[1]

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[1] Despatch of Ferdinand to Don Gonzalo Ruiz de Figuera as his ambassador at Venice. Dated 1st July 1506.

Later in the month of May two other treaties were concluded, one of them concerning the marriage between Henry and the Archduchess Margaret, and the other respecting commerce between England and Flanders.

Whilst Henry was still hoping for the hand of the Queen Dowager of Naples, the King of the Romans had offered him another wife. Of the documents which relate to this proposal, only one is in existence. It is a kind of memoir composed in cipher and in Latin by Thomas Savage and Don Pedro de Ayala. According to it, Maximilian had sent a private messenger, Herman Rimbre to tell the King of England that he would give his daughter Margaret to him in marriage if he would lend him as equivalent a considerable sum of money and military succour for his intended journey to Rome, and his undertaking in Hungary. Henry distrusted the sincerity of the King of the Romans, and wished to avail himself of the advice of Don Pedro de Ayala, who was then staying in Flanders. The message was thought so important and so delicate that Thomas Savage was ordered to learn it by heart. To confide it to writing seemed too dangerous. It appears, however, that Don Pedro de Ayala, who had not the same reason for keeping the negotiation so entirely secret, insisted on having it put into writing.

Henry did not, at that time, accept the proposal of Maximilian. As Prince Charles was, according to the plans of Henry, to marry the Princess Mary, his own union with the Archduchess would have allied the royal Houses of England and Austria by two marriages, while he would have remained unconnected with either France or Spain by matrimonial bonds. But now that Philip was on his way to Spain and that Henry had entered into such an intimate alliance with him, circumstances had entirely changed. If Philip became King of Castile, the Archduchess Margaret would no longer be an Austrian Archduchess only, but a Spanish Infanta also. After Henry had allied himself with her nothing would remain for him to do, in order to accomplish his plans of forming matrimonial alliances with the three great reigning houses of Europe, but to dissolve the marriage between

the Princess Katharine and the Prince of Wales, and to marry him to a French princess. Philip, it was to be expected, would easily consent to the dissolution of the marriage. He had no special reason to favour the Princess Katharine, who had sided with her father against him.

The old plan of Henry to marry the Princess Mary to Prince Charles was revived and made a subject of negotiation during the stay of Philip in England. The result of the conferences was certainly committed to writing; but I have not been able to meet with it. The only information about the affair is contained in occasional remarks occurring in later despatches. Thus, for instance, Jehan le Sauvaige wrote on the 30th July 1506 to Maximilian, mentioning the marriage between the Princess Mary and Prince Charles. Maximilian himself declared, in his letter to Henry of the 14th of September of the same year, that he had advised Philip to conclude the marriage in question. However, the most direct proof of all is afforded by Henry himself who declared in October 1507 [1] to De Puebla that the marriage between his daughter and Prince Charles was not only spoken of during the stay of Philip in England, but actually concluded.

The treaties were most advantageous to Philip. The alliance was levelled directly against Ferdinand. He was not mentioned by name, it is true; but as Henry bound himself to defend the present possessions as well as the claims of Philip against all and every person without any exception, it was quite superfluous to name Ferdinand or any other of Philip's adversaries. The promises which Philip made in return may at first sight appear more than equivalent for the services Henry undertook to render him. But on closer examination they dwindle down almost to insignificance. Suffolk was to be delivered to Henry; this however, was scarcely a gain, for, the King of the Romans and Philip had offered him to Henry before the

[1] Despatch of De Puebla. 5th October 1507.

treaty had been made. Besides Suffolk was a very unimportant person when compared with Ferdinand; a few agents of police and a few soldiers sufficed to transport him to Calais and to hand him over to the commissioners of Henry. A prison or an execution was the only alternative that he had to expect; he had, therefore no means wherewith to revenge himself on Philip for his extradition. Ferdinand, on the other hand, even after the loss of the government of Castile, remained a powerful prince. His hereditary dominions, that is to say, Arragon, with Barcelona, Roussillon and Cerdaña, the kingdom of Valencia, the Balearic Islands, Sicily and Naples, provided him with material power which, in the hands of so gifted and experienced a king as he was, might become dangerous.

The marriage of Henry with the Archduchess Margaret and that of the Princess Mary with Prince Charles, might have been an additional and no small advantage to England. But the marriage of the Archduchess Margaret did not depend on Philip, who was only her brother and had certainly no right to dispose of her hand so long as her father was alive; and even if the King of the Romans gave his consent, there still remained the Archduchess, who was perfectly able to take care of herself. The treaty concluded with Philip was therefore of little avail so far as regarded the marriage of the Princess Margaret. Charles was a mere child, and Philip, as his natural guardian, might have disposed of his hand. But as Charles was only six years old, eight years would still have to elapse, before a valid marriage could take place. There was ample room for contingencies to arise which might prevent the carrying out of the project. In fact, neither one marriage nor the other ever took place.

Another advantage is said to have been obtained by Henry through the commercial treaty with Flanders. But isolated commercial treaties were of little worth, especially in those times when alliances were continually changing. There could be no doubt that commercial concessions, however great, would be revoked as soon as Philip wished

to form some other alliance. The whole result, then, of the treaties concluded during Philip's stay in England was, that Philip gained the immediate assistance of Henry in the most important enterprise of his life, and which he was on the very point of carrying out, while the greater portion of the advantages obtained by Henry consisted in promises which were either beyond the power of Philip to fulfil or which could be executed only at a distant period.

Philip went to Spain. His companions warned him against the treachery of Ferdinand. Great precautions were intended to be taken at the interview with his father-in-law. As soon as Ferdinand was informed of it, he went, without weapon "in his hand, and with love in his heart," to see Philip. The two Kings met not far from Astorga. They embraced one another, and behaved thenceforth as father and son.

The love professed by Ferdinand was not sincere. Even after the death of Philip he could not forgive him. He designated him, in a letter to the Princess Katharine, as the implacable enemy of his whole house, of himself, Queen Juana, and the Princess Katharine. That Ferdinand had not given up all his plans on Castile must be concluded, from various circumstances. When he proceeded to Naples, he left his chamberlain, Lewis Ferrer, in charge of his interests in Castile, and corrupted the most influential counsellors of Philip, granting to ten of them considerable pensions for life. Don Manuel, the traitor, was among them. The document is signed by Ferdinand and Almazan, and dated the 16th December 1506. The date is decidedly an error. Ferdinand had already, on the 4th of September, embarked at Barcelona for Italy, and did not return until 1507. I have so often seen the writing of Ferdinand, that I can positively assert the signature to be his. Besides, it would not help to clear up the matter if it were supposed that "Yo el Rey" meant King Philip. Philip, on the 16th of December 1506, had been dead for twenty-two days. Either the year or the place must, therefore, be

an error. But whether the date or the place be an error, one fact is clear, that Ferdinand bought the men who were nearest to the person of Philip. What the services expected from them might have been is left in darkness.

Before Ferdinand had reached Naples, Philip was dead. The common report was, that he had been poisoned by the partisans of Ferdinand. Mariana defends Ferdinand against any such suspicion, and attributes the sudden death of Philip to his excesses. Peter Martyr is of opinion that the King of Castile caught a bad cold, and was killed by the blundering treatment of his physicians. It is not probable that this matter will ever be fully cleared up; but whatever were the causes of Philip's death, the plans which Henry had built upon him fell at once to the ground.

§

The life of the Princess Katharine was not ameliorated by her betrothal to the new Prince of Wales. The harsh and unfeeling behaviour of Henry was mitigated only when he expected to obtain advantages from altering his general conduct. Thus, when he thought that Ferdinand would render him services in the affair of Suffolk, and when he imagined that he should win the hand of the Queen of Naples, he became almost humane. We find, for instance, that on the 4th July 1504, he ordered John Heron to pay 300*l.* to William Holibrand, who was charged to defray therewith the expenses of the Princess for the months of July, August, and September. This sum was not great, especially as Henry retained the large dowry of the Princess. Still it was an immense effort for him to make. We find De Puebla, writing a little later, that Henry kept the Princess at court, and treated her like his own daughter. De Puebla generally exaggerated the good actions of Henry, still there must have been some truth in his report. But, however great the friendliness which Henry occasionally displayed towards the Princess he never entirely abandoned his intention

of dissolving the marriage whenever circumstances should permit. The protestation against the marriage which the Prince of Wales made at his command before the Bishop of Winchester on the 27th June 1505, admits of no other explanation. The document is printed by Collier, and in Lord Herbert's history of Henry VIII. Collier quotes the Cottonian MSS., Vitell. D. xii., as the source from which he took it. The document is no longer there. But that is no reason for distrusting Collier and Lord Herbert, as it may have been destroyed by the fire.

The few signs of sympathy and the little assistance rendered by Henry to the Princess of Wales entirely disappeared whenever he thought that Ferdinand did not enter into his projects, or that he could carry them out better with the assistance of other persons. Thus, when the interview between Henry and Philip was in contemplation, the Princess of Wales wrote that the behaviour of the King towards her was continually becoming worse, that her household was broken up, and she was living in utter destitution. There are a great number of similar letters still extant, from which we learn that she was reduced to such extremities as to be unable to pay for her food, and the clothing of herself and her ladies. Though the principal blame lies with Henry, who had twice bound himself to provide for her, still Ferdinand and Isabella cannot be exculpated. Katharine was placed between a harsh father-in-law and hard parents. I cannot even except Queen Isabella from the reproach. Although during the lifetime of her mother the misery which the Princess endured had not attained the height which it did in after years, it was well known in Spain that she was suffering from want. Isabella, however, not only did not assist her daughter, but, on the contrary, wished to deprive her of the few jewels that were left to her. In the year 1503 the Queen of Spain wanted to enlist 2,000 English soldiers against France, and told the Duke de Estrada to persuade the Princess of Wales to sell

her personal ornaments, and pay the soldiers out of the proceeds.

Poverty, however, was not the only evil with which the Princess of Wales had to contend. She could not bear the climate of England, and during the earlier years of her residence in this country was almost always ill, constantly suffering from severe colds, coughs, and attacks of fever. In August 1504 she was very ill, and her life seemed to be in danger. Fever and cough were her complaints. I must leave it to physicians to decide on the propriety of the treatment administered. It consisted in purging her soundly, and afterwards in attempts at bleeding. Blood, however, would not come, though her Spanish physician tried the operation twice, once in the arm and once in the ankle. As the physicians could not induce the blood to flow, they had again recourse to purgatives, and reserved their ultimate decision as to the use of further means to a future time.

In spite of illnesses and doctors, her youth carried her through all. But it was not until the 5th of April 1507 that her physician wrote she had at last entirely recovered from the long malady from which she had suffered ever since her arrival in England. The only sufferings she had now to endure, he added, were mental afflictions, beyond the reach of medical skill. Notwithstanding the straits to which the Princess and her household were reduced, we frequently hear of marriages projected between Spanish ladies and gentlemen who waited upon her and members of noble English houses. They must therefore, still have been held in some consideration. The hard treatment to which the Princess was subjected could not fail to produce its effect upon her. In a daughter who, so long as she had been under her parents' roof, had never known suffering, it was only natural that she should disbelieve her father had any share in inflicting unhappiness upon her. She looked upon the King of England as

the only author of all her misery, although she occasionally accused the Spanish ambassadors of not fulfilling the intentions of Ferdinand.

§

With the death of Philip a new period in the policy of Henry VII. commenced. As regarded the government of Castile, one pretender had made way for another. Maximilian, in his character of guardian of Prince Charles, claimed the regency in opposition to Ferdinand. The untrustworthiness of the King of the Romans was proverbial. Of no other prince in Christendom did Henry entertain so low an opinion. He had ridiculed him in former times when Maximilian had desired to become his ally against France. He wished, he said, that Maximilian would make good his boastful promises; not, however, in order to participate in his great feats as an ally, but only to see him fight against the French. Philip, as the husband of Queen Juana, had undoubtedly an interest in the government of Spain. It was, moreover, fully acknowledged in the will of Queen Isabella. But the case of Maximilian was very different. Although he was the guardian of Prince Charles, his guardianship was restricted to the affairs of Germany. He had no authority in Spain, and Queen Isabella had, very naturally, not even alluded to him in her will. Moreover, the relations between Maximilian and France were much more embarrassing than those that had subsisted between Philip and King Louis. Philip had been on good terms with him, whilst Maximilian was his declared enemy. Since Louis had dissolved the marriage between the Princess Claude and Prince Charles, Maximilian had with great ostentation asserted that he would punish the "French foxes" for the slight they had put upon him.

No alliance could be less desirable than that of the King of the Romans. Yet the ill-advised political plans of Henry reduced him to the necessity of seeking the friendship of such a worthless ally; and the treaties concluded with

Philip during his stay in England, were renewed with Maximilian. It was, however, very soon known that the Archduchess had resolutely refused to marry Henry. She was much pressed for more than a year by the agents of Henry, as well as by her father, but remained firm to her resolution. The utmost that could be obtained was to prevail on her to write from time to time flattering letters to Henry in order to secure some advantages for her father. But Maximilian himself was not sincere. He wanted soldiers and money from Henry. The dower of the Archduchess Margaret was to consist of 300,000 crowns, and that of the Princess Mary of 250,000 crowns. Thus the balance in Henry's favour was 50,000 crowns. Besides, as the marriage of the Archduchess Margaret was to take place earlier than that of Prince Charles, the King of the Romans would have to be the first to make the payments. Nevertheless, he asked Henry to pay him at once 100,000 crowns as an instalment of the dower of his daughter. It is true that he offered bonds on certain Flemish towns as security. The revenues of the towns must, there is no doubt, have been much greater than the sum demanded. But if Maximilian should not fulfil his obligations, how would it be possible, in such a case, for Henry to obtain possession of the Flemish towns? To involve the nation in a war for the sake of 100,000 crowns, which regarded him only personally, would have been an unprofitable affair. And yet Maximilian declared that unless he received the 100,000 crowns, no marriage should take place.[1] How little value he attached to an alliance with England is evident from another fact. He told Margaret, through whose hands all the negotiations passed, that the marriage between the Princess Mary and Prince Charles should be null and void if the King of France were, within a year, to declare himself willing to marry his daughter to the young Archduke.

Whilst Henry was countenancing the plans of Maxmilian respecting the regency of Castile, he also entered into nego-

[1] See his letter to Margaret of the 23d of July 1508.

tiations with France with regard to a marriage of the Prince of Wales to a French princess. But he told Ferdinand that the French, and not he, were making the offers, and even claimed the merit of not accepting the French proposals, though Louis was willing to pay him a marriage portion twice as great as that of the Princess Katharine. The assertion that all the offers proceeded solely from France is not probable. France was then the ally of Ferdinand, and since Ferdinand had as strong and even a stronger interest than France in opposing Maximilian, the Spanish alliance could be relied upon by Louis. Henry, on the other hand, was negotiating with Maximilian respecting his own marriage to the Archduchess Margaret, and that of his daughter to Prince Charles. He could not, therefore, be expected to lend any effectual assistance against the very person on whom the fulfilment of his wishes depended. Besides, the direct testimony of the King of France was against Henry. Louis not only positively denied that he had offered a French princess to the Prince of Wales in marriage, but declared himself ready to send ambassadors to England in order to urge, conjointly with the Spanish ambassador, the marriage of the Prince of Wales with the Princess Katharine.

In spite of the treaties concluded with Philip during his stay in England, and the negotiations with the King of the Romans and the King of France, the correspondence between Henry and Ferdinand was never interrupted. It is probable that Ferdinand was only informed of such clauses of the treaty as directly affected the regency of Castile. Even De Puebla seems to have been left in the dark. At least as late as the month of October 1507, he asked Henry what the nature of the treaties with Philip had been. At all events, if Ferdinand was aware of what had passed, he dissimulated.

Ferdinand had not sent, at the time which had been fixed upon, the 100,000 crowns that still remained to be paid of the marriage portion of the Princess Katharine His reasons

were many. The troubles which had arisen after the death of Queen Isabella, and the coming of Philip to Spain, had brought him into difficulties. When he left the government of Castile to Philip, he demanded that he should pay the dower of the Princess out of the revenues of that kingdom. Philip, however, would not acknowledge his obligation, and a faint attempt to persuade the executors of Queen Isabella to sell her jewels, and send the proceeds over to England, remained without effect. Henry gave way to a "fit of fury," and the poor Princess was the principal sufferer. Even De Puebla, who, as the Princess said, "sugared over" everything, confesses that the behaviour of Henry was "very unpleasant" on this occasion. What right, however, had Henry to expect payment? He had made the Prince of Wales renounce the marriage with the Princess Katharine, and was continually negotiating with France for the purpose of obtaining a French princess for his son.

His fury was allayed by a letter of Ferdinand. As soon as Henry had heard of the death of Philip, he directed the Princess of Wales to write to Ferdinand, who was then at Naples, and ask the hand of her sister for her father-in-law. Ferdinand answered that he would try to persuade Doña Juana to take a second husband, and that if she were not disinclined to a second marriage, she should marry no one else but Henry. He made it a condition, however, that the whole matter should be kept secret, and that nothing should be done in it until his return to Castile. This answer of Ferdinand was not candid. He had just proved by experience how prejudicial to him the husband of his insane daughter could be. If there were any difference between Philip and Henry, it was not in favour of the King of England, who would most probably prove a much more inconvenient son-in-law than Philip. Had Ferdinand gained thereby any great advantages, he would, perhaps, have wavered. But the idea of committing such an unheard-of act, only to injure himself, could not

for a moment have presented itself to his mind. The reason why he did not reject from the beginning the offer of Henry is very clearly given by himself. He did not wish that the marriage of the Princess Katharine with the Prince of Wales should be broken off.

The correspondence which followed fills the reader with disgust. The manner in which the matter was discussed is almost worse than the object which was in view. But that which most offends our feelings is, that the person to whom the correspondence was principally intrusted was the young Princess herself. She not only performed at this period, and with remarkable skill, the office of ambassador, but was formally accredited in that capacity at the court of Henry. When the reply of Ferdinand arrived in England, Henry had just been at the point of death. He had suffered from quinsy, and his life had been despaired of. He still kept his chamber, and none of his privy counsellors were admitted to his presence. When, however, it became known that news had arrived from Spain, De Puebla was instantly admitted. Although the King was in a state of exhaustion, the interview lasted two hours; and the next day but one the Spanish ambassador spent the whole day with him in his closet. The first letters of Henry to Ferdinand are a curious compound of deep annoyance that he had not got the money which he expected, and of covetous longing after the crown of Castile. The prospect of obtaining the hand of Juana filled him, to use his own expression, with "rapturous joy." De Puebla and the Princess Katharine were instructed to communicate to Ferdinand in detail the views of the King of England respecting the marriage. Henry promised to make so good a husband to Queen Juana, whether she were sane or insane, that it would be impossible to find a better. If married to him she would be sure to recover her health; but even were her mental disease to continue, Henry's counsellors added, it would not signify much, as "the English do not mind insanity;" especially if the Queen were able to bear children. Being afraid that this declaration might not be strong enough,

the privy counsellors protested a few months later that it would not deter them though worse things were true than had been said of her insanity. As for the conditions of the marriage, Henry would like Queen Juana to come to England. But if she could not be persuaded to do this, he would go to Castile, and spend some time there. The presence of Henry, however, should not interfere with the regency of Ferdinand. On the contrary, Ferdinand would remain in undisputed possession of the government during his life. Philip had been a bad son, but Henry would prove a model of filial affection. De Puebla added, in a letter to Almazan, that Henry had become "as docile as a child." The King of England further promised that he would not only place his person, but also his kingdom, with all its power and riches, at the absolute disposal of his father-in-law. Ferdinand had a real political interest, if not to conquer, at least to overawe the Moors on the coast of Africa. Henry, therefore, offered him his services in an African war. The English bowmen, it was said, were so particularly adapted to fight against the Infidels that in a few years the whole of Africa would be conquered. Henry, drawing upon his imagination, held up before the eyes of Ferdinand a picture painted in dazzling colours. Ferdinand was to make a progress as "a conqueror and a father through Africa," whilst the Kings of England and Portugal would follow him as his sons. Henry was fifty-one years of age, and, consequently, only by a few years the junior of the King of Spain.

To these magnificent promises and anticipations were added some much smaller concessions, which nevertheless were most probably more appreciated by Ferdinand. Such were the prorogation of the payment of the dowry; the promise to accept the plate at the price at which it was valued; and the notice that Henry had countermanded the departure of the ambassadors, who were ready to start for France in order to conclude the marriage of the Prince of Wales with a French princess.

The money affairs relating to the marriage of Henry with

Doña Juana were to be settled in the following manner. Out of the revenues of Castile the expenses of the government were first to be defrayed. Next, Ferdinand was to pay out of them all his personal charges; and from the remainder a fixed pension was to be allotted to Henry. The amount was not fixed at first, but according to a later letter it appears that Henry expected to receive as much as had been offered to King Philip when he intended to go to Spain.

As soon as Ferdinand might deem it the right moment, Henry promised to send his ambassadors, with full power to conclude the marriage treaty, and perform the marriage ceremonies by proxy. There were only two things which the King of England begged might not be inflicted upon him; that is to say, either a refusal of Queen Juana to receive his ambassadors when they had arrived in Spain, or a refusal of the Queen to marry him, which, he said, would reflect dishonour on his character. When the Princess of Wales wrote these words, she could not refrain from adding, that in that respect she disagreed with the King. She was right. The refusal of such a disreputable proposal could not reflect any fresh dishonour on the man who had made it. It was well known that the health of Henry was giving way at this time, and that he was verging on the grave. He seems to have felt that that was not in favour of a man who was striving to win the hearts of two ladies. He attempted, therefore, to give himself the appearance of youth. In the month of September 1507, he wrote to the Princess Katherine that he was leading a pleasant life, surrounded by the nobility of England, and going from one hunting place to another.[1] A month later, his ever ready friend De Puebla, told Ferdinand that the last illness of Henry had done wonders for him; he had become quite strong and stout, and looked twenty years younger.[2]

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[1] Henry to the Princess Katharine, 7th Sept. 1507.

[2] De Puebla to Ferdinand, 5th Oct. 1507.

Many letters were written at this period. But they all resemble each other, and the only differences to be found consist in minor incidents. For instance, when the Archduchess Margaret had returned from her journey to Savoy, Henry was "perplexed." He wanted a decisive answer to be sent him, because, he said, "Margaret was already waiting for him in Flanders." If he could obtain the hand of Juana he would reject the Archduchess; but if not, he would marry her, as "she would certainly make him a good wife."

Ferdinand was not the only person with whom Henry had to reckon for his marriage with Juana. The King of Spain, if he ever consented, would, it was clear, only give his consent on the condition that the marriage between the Princess Katharine and Prince Henry were likewise concluded. On this account, and for other reasons a Papal dispensation was necessary. Julius II., warrior Pope though he was, might nevertheless have some scruples in sanctioning such an unnatural marriage. At all events it was requisite to gain his good graces beforehand. Henry accordingly became at once a zealous enemy to the Infidels. He wrote letters so full of Christian devotedness, and exaltation of the Church, that they were read in the Public Consistory of the Cardinals in Rome, and Henry was lauded by them all as the model of a Christian king.

The overflowing expressions of affection used by Henry met with a full response from the King of Spain. "Love begets love," he wrote, and therefore he loved his good brother and son Henry above all mortal men. He was so much delighted, he told him, with the idea of Henry marrying his daughter, that it would be a consolation to him on his death-bed. Could there be any more comforting reflection than the knowledge that he should leave his daughters, his grandchildren, and his kingdoms under the care of so virtuous a prince? His heart, he said, was never at rest until he had heard some good tidings of his dear son. But

however great his love might be, it was easily to be understood, he added, that he could not give an answer in such an important affair before he had returned to Castile, and seen his daughter.

Month after month passed away. The voyage of Ferdinand from Naples to Spain was retarded, and the impatience of Henry was daily on the increase. He began to have evil forebodings. He had waited so long, and the Archduchess Margaret, he told the Princess Katharine, was waiting for him, and yet in the end he might meet with a refusal, and then all his sacrifices would have been made in vain. He asked her to write to the Cardinal Ximenes, and beg his good offices. Katharine objected, while she exhorted him not to be impatient, saying that the matter was to be kept secret, and that she could not make any one acquainted with it unless she had permission from her father. At last an expedient was adopted. She wrote to the Cardinal, and recommended to him the King of England in general terms with respect to a matter concerning which King Ferdinand would speak to him. But instead of sending the letter direct to the Cardinal, she addressed it to the King, and asked him to destroy it, if he did not think it advisable to deliver it. What Ferdinand did with the letter is not known. At all events Henry gained nothing by it. He then made up his mind to have the lady addressed directly. But he did not dare to write to her himself, and the Princess Katharine had again to do his work. The letter, most probably written at the dictation of Henry, is a strange one. Henry, it stated, had already been in love with Juana when she visited England with her husband. It had even been his intention to retain her longer in the country, for, her departure weighed greatly on his heart. But his Privy Council had strongly admonished him to let the Queen go. They had good reason for that, as the King of England was such a passionate man, and would have quarrelled on her behalf with her husband. Following the advice of his friends,

he had concealed his feelings and affection. The King of England, the Princess was obliged to write, was a prince full of the noblest virtues, and possessed of immense treasures. If Doña Juana would hearken to the communications of King Ferdinand she would become the greatest Queen in Christendom. If, on the other hand, she refused to listen she would commit a great sin against her God, her father, and herself.

All was in vain. In January 1508 Ferdinand had seen his daughter, and wrote that the lady whom Henry was wooing was still carrying about with her the corpse of her deceased husband. Every attempt at persuading her to consent to its burial had been fruitless. On New Year's Day she had even demanded that royal honours should be paid to the dead body. Ferdinand said he did not think it proper to speak of a new marriage until the strange ceremony to take place on New Year's Day had passed over. When, at a later date, he mentioned the subject, she answered that she would do his will in all things, but begged him not to press her for an answer until her husband had been laid in his grave. A few faint attempts were made afterwards for the sake of appearances. But Henry at last perceived that he must give up the hope of gaining Ferdinand's consent to marry his insane daughter.

§

It is scarcely necessary to say how bad was the influence exercised by these negotiations on the Princess Katharine. A more degrading position than the one she had to occupy, when she was obliged to write a love letter from Henry to her sister, it is hardly possible to imagine. She was no longer such a child as not to be fully aware of what she was doing, and of what was passing around her. She frequently makes remarks from which we can judge that she perfectly understood the whole baseness of the transactions. Besides, she was treated with cruelty. Her misery and her poverty were daily on the increase. The King of England

told her that he was not obliged to give her the smallest sum of money, not even for food; and she deeply resented having to live upon alms. It is true that her father once sent her 2,000 ducats. But the clamour of those who demanded payment only became all the greater in consequence. Shortly before Henry asked her to write a letter to Juana, he sent her two hundred pounds, and promised more. But his liberality ceased very soon. He told the Princess, in a brutal manner, that her marriage to the Prince of Wales was not valid. She spoke to De Puebla and her confessor on the subject. Both of them gave unfavorable answers to her inquiries. Ferdinand was equally unable to comfort her. He bade her have courage, and not despair. But the utmost he could say concerning the validity of the marriage was to tell her she should never allow any doubts to escape her before Henry. That the marriage was really a valid one, even her father could not assure her. It was in fact no marriage, as the Prince of Wales had been under age, and this defect had not been dispensed with. The heaviest weight on her mind, she said, was the cruelty of not permitting her to see the Prince, though she was living with him in the same house. When she complained to Henry of all she had to endure, he had the barefacedness to tell her that he was making her suffer in order to induce her father the sooner to send her marriage portion. Nor was Henry the only author of her misery. De Puebla was quite as bad, if not worse. He was the most confidential adviser of Henry in all matters concerning Spain. When he was consulted by the Princess he did nothing but betray her, and defend every act of Henry. Besides, he had already become quite decrepid in body and mind. When he was pressed he gave no other answer than that he was "doing wonders," and begged her to say so to King Ferdinand. The Princess replied he need be under no uneasiness; she would always write the truth. In fact, she did not disguise his unworthiness. Harshness succeeded to flattery, whenever Henry or De Puebla thought they should thereby

gain something from her. But she saw through the King and the ambassador, and despised them only the more. Their words are kind now, she writes, but their actions are as bad as ever.

The Princess Katharine would have lost all belief in the goodness of human nature, had there not been one exception from the general corruption. The servants she had brought with her from Spain, and above all her confessor, behaved to her with exemplary devotion. They had not received a single crown as salary since they had come over to England. Instead of the promised splendour they had found nothing but poverty and misery. Yet not one of them reproached the Princess with it. On the contrary, they vied with one another who should serve her best, as though, said the Princess, they were every day receiving fresh favours at her hands. She felt the misery to which her servants were reduced, more keenly than her own sufferings, and considered herself as more miserable than any woman in England, of whatever condition she might be.

The Princess early learned to dissemble. "I bait the King," she writes, "with the hope of marrying Doña Juana, "and I flatter him and his counsellors." But, on the whole, it was much more the spirit of resistance which was raised in her. She was, she said, submissive, but she could not forget that she was the daughter of the King of Spain. She would not give way, even though she should die for it. It is true, that sometimes her energies failed her. She had moments of deep dejection, and hinted very clearly to Ferdinand, that she would become a nun if he did not soon release her from her intolerable humiliations.

The treatment of the Princess of Wales had become so cruel, that it was impossible for Ferdinand to permit it to continue. He consequently despatched in the summer of 1508, Gutier Gomez de Fuensalida, Knight Commander of Haro and Membrilla, as ambassador to England. The Princess had urged strongly that a man should be sent over who would dare to speak an "honest word." Neither De

Puebla nor the Duke de Estrada had ever done so. She wished for Don Pedro de Ayala; but if he could not be induced to come, she would most desire to have Fuensalida. Don Pedro excused himself on the plea of his bad health; Fuensalida was therefore sent. At the same time, the banking house of Grimaldi, in London, undertook to pay the sum that was still deficient in the dower of the Princess Katharine.

Neither the instructions which Fuensalida took from Spain, nor the letters which he wrote from England, are extant. We learn what passed between him and Henry only from the letters of the Princess Katharine, and the despatches which Ferdinand sent him when he was in England. Whilst De Puebla had been a flatterer of Henry, and the Duke de Estrada a weak man, more fit to preside over the ceremonies at the palace than to conduct business of state, Fuensalida displayed perhaps too much energy. The fact was, he spoke to Henry in such a tone, that the King soon refused to see him. With the privy councillors the ambassador had stormy scenes.

The Princess of Wales thought his behaviour impolitic, but Ferdinand thoroughly approved it. In August 1508 he wrote that Henry was a man of no honour and of bad character. He had shown extreme covetousness and little love, not only with regard to the Princess, but also in other respects. Ferdinand said he would break immediately with such a King, were it not for the sake of the Princess of Wales. If Henry could be induced to have the marriage ceremonies immediately performed, the whole remainder of the portion might be paid in money. But it must be kept secret that it was to be paid by Grimaldi, for, if the King of England were to know it, he would raise the rate of exchange in order to profit by it. Besides, the ambassador was directed to employ the greatest precaution lest Henry should make vain promises, in order to get possession of the money, and then "make off with it." Precaution, Ferdinand said, was necessary, as he had to deal with a man of no virtue, whose

thoughts were bent on cheating. The demand of the King of England, that in case of the death of the Princess her dowry should be settled upon him, was thought by Ferdinand to be dangerous, since Henry might be induced by his covetousness to poison her. If Henry continued his evil behaviour, Ferdinand added, he would learn by experience that he, and not Ferdinand, would be the loser.

Henry had founded great expectations on the expedition of Maximilian to Italy; calculating that if Maximilian rendered himself master of Italy he would become strong enough to be able easily to expel Ferdinand from Castile. When the Imperial forces were annihilated at the battle of Cadoro, Henry bethought himself of another expedient to injure Ferdinand.

The league of Cambray was then contemplated by the great powers of Europe. Two subjects were to be negotiated there; the one consisted in the reconciliation of the Duke of Gueldres with the government of the Archduke Charles, and the other was to form a league against the Venetians. The princes who were to take part in it were, the Pope, the King of France, the King of the Romans, and Ferdinand. As the affairs of the Archduke Charles, who was then son-in-law of Henry, formed, ostensibly at least, the principal subject of the deliberations, Henry had a direct interest in the congress. But he does not seem to have been invited to join it. Had he possessed the penetration for which he was formerly distinguished, he would have seen how much he had sunk in the estimation of the continental powers; but he was blinded to such an extent by his hatred of Ferdinand, his covetous desire to secure the hand of Queen Juana, and most probably his wish to obtain the regency of Castile, that he formed a scheme which was perhaps the most impolitic of any he had ever entertained. He begged the Archduchess Margaret, through Edmund Wingfield, to combine with the Cardinal of Amboise, in order that the King of Spain might be excluded from the negotiations and from the intended treaty. If Ferdinand

were thus isolated, he might, Henry said, easily be deprived of the regency of Castile. The consequences of this pusillanimous policy of endeavouring to make others perform the part which he ought to have taken upon himself, if it were to be performed at all, were such as might have been anticipated. Henry did not exclude Ferdinand from the league, but Ferdinand excluded Henry. This exclusion was so complete that whilst the King of Hungary, the Duke of Milan, the Dukes of Savoy and Ferrara, and even the Marquis of Mantua, were invited to join it, Henry was not mentioned by a single word. Moreover, the King of the Romans and Ferdinand were reconciled, and postponed their differences concerning the regency of Spain until the war against Venice should be concluded.

The marriage schemes of Henry had now led just to the contrary of what he had expected. Instead of being allied with all the great houses of Europe, the King of England was isolated from every one of them.

Ferdinand resolved to discontinue all intercourse with Henry, and demanded that the Princess of Wales should be sent back to him; but Henry declared that even if she did not marry the Prince of Wales, he would not permit her to return to Spain. What had been so long suspected became clear. Henry intended to keep the Princess as a hostage. Ferdinand could not brook such an affront. In order to rescue her, he declared, he would risk his person and his kingdom, and make "worse war upon "Henry than upon the Turks." The King of England, he said, must keep faith in that matter, or if not, "the "world might perish." War would have been immediately declared if the King of France had not persuaded Ferdinand to wait, observing that Henry was in the last stage of consumption, and the differences could be peaceably arranged with his successor.

Already for a long time past Ferdinand had made a marked distinction between King Henry and the Prince of Wales. The Princess Katharine seems really to have

liked her future husband, and the Spanish ambassadors always spoke of him in a tone of praise, each according to what he most valued. De Puebla, a frail and infirm man, praised his stature and his gigantic limbs. The Duke de Estrada, a poor and insignificant man, spoke of his prudence, and the immense riches he was to inherit. Even Fuensalida, who was on such bad terms with Henry, seems to have had no complaints to make against the Prince of Wales. Whilst Ferdinand threatened the King of England with war and vengeance, he assured the Prince of Wales of his paternal love, and told him that he might dispose of himself and of his realm in everything.

The death of Henry VII. ended all these dangerous complications. He died unlamented. His behaviour to the Princess Katharine, and his ill-advised foreign policy during the latter years of his reign, contributed, probably, very little to render him unpopular. The English people had other reasons for their dislike. But, even viewed only from the point of his foreign policy, we can scarcely regret that his life was not longer protracted. On the contrary, had he died earlier he would have descended with more honour and fewer blemishes to the grave. He had worked himself upward from a very unfavourable position to that of one of the most respected princes in Europe. At the beginning of his reign it seemed doubtful whether he would be able to retain the crown for a day. By the incessant labour and prudence of fifteen years he inspired the continental princes with so much confidence that Ferdinand and Isabella confided to him their daughter, and he was selected as guardian of the peace between Spain and France. He was one of the umpires chosen to decide upon the disputes between Ferdinand on the one part, and Philip and Maximilian on the other. But he was not able to retain that elevated place. His behaviour became a scandal to the courts of Europe, at a time when ideas about honour were by no means nice. He was excluded from the league of Cambray, and England was threatened with a

war, and with fresh internal disunion, by a prince whose power was certainly not despicable, and from whom Henry had received signal services.

There is no doubt that Ferdinand had been the principal instrument to free him from Perkin Warbeck. If we should be inclined to distrust the language of Spanish statesmen, we cannot reject the witness of the Imperial ambassador at the court of the Duke of Milan. Maximilian sided, he wrote, with the Duke of York, and Ferdinand with the King of England against the Pretender. The King of Spain, it must be confessed, had committed one great error. He had, during the lapse of many years, continually humiliated the man whom he was assisting. It would have been wiser either to have made common cause with the House of Austria, and tried to deprive Henry of his kingdom, or if Ferdinand lent him his aid he should have treated him as a king. This may to some extent be an excuse for, but it is not a justification to Henry. In his earlier period Henry had had a friend in the King of France. This friendship was not of such a nature as to satisfy our ideas of what that relation ought to be, but it went much farther than was the common rule in those corrupt times. He died friendless. The King of the Romans was not his friend.

Even stranger than the spectacle exhibited by the life of Henry is the circumstance that there is not a single statesman to be found, to whatever country we look, who was not utterly unscrupulous in the choice of means wherewith to attain his ends; utterly regardless of truth, and utterly indifferent to treaties which he had sworn to maintain under the most sacred and formidable oaths. It would not exhaust the question if we were to content ourselves with the remark that the age was one of corruption. For the principal question is not, whether some hundreds or some thousands of statesmen entertained such low ideas of public morality as to be unable to distinguish right from wrong. What interests us much more is to see with how small an amount of morality public affairs can be

carried on. But this is not the place to enter on such a subject.

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With a few remarks on the commerce and discoveries of the time, I will conclude this preface.

The commercial relations between England and Spain were by no means neglected at that period. We find them continually mentioned in this correspondence. But even the action exercised by commercial affairs on the countries concerned in it was better known than might generally be supposed. For instance, when Ferdinand complained of the high duties imposed on goods imported from foreign countries to England, Henry replied that in the end the duties were not paid by the merchants who imported foreign goods, but by the English who consumed them. The foreign merchant, if his goods were highly taxed, at any rate sold them at a proportionably high price, and enjoyed in addition the advantage of buying English produce cheaper than if commerce had been free. The theory of blockading the coast of a country which was at war with another was not then a general rule. Merchants of neutral states were at liberty to enter the ports of the belligerents, and to export goods thence to whatever port they liked. Ferdinand found this theory inconvenient during his second war with France. He desired that England should enter as his ally into the war. As, however, the English derived great advantage by carrying on commerce between Spain and France, from which the Spaniards and the French were excluded, he feared that the English would become thereby the more disinclined to participate in the contest. He consequently prohibited neutrals from transporting Spanish goods to France.

This was, however, not the most important change which took place at that time concerning commerce. The merchants who carried on trade with foreign countries were

exposed to a twofold risk. If their own government concluded a treaty of peace and alliance with the country to which they traded, they were obliged to be security for the strict fulfilment of the stipulations. In case that the government did not keep its promises, their goods were confiscated. The other danger arose from the insecurity of the seas. Pirates were to be met with everywhere. Piracy was not restricted to Moors and Infidels. When Christians of one nation fell in with a ship belonging to another nation, a fight generally ensued. The only difference between Infidels and Christians consisted in the treatment of the prisoners. The Infidels made slaves of them. The Christians, who were forbidden by religion and conscience to sell other Christians as slaves, regarded them as incumbrances, and threw them overboard.

Ferdinand attempted to put a stop to both sources of vexation. He declared the obligation imposed on merchants to answer with their private property for the acts of their governments was dishonest and useless. But Henry could not be prevailed upon to join in Ferdinand's views, and the old custom to make the merchants responsible for the fulfilment of treaties was continued. But with regard to piracy a general measure was concerted. Each ship, on leaving port was obliged to give security for her good behaviour towards any vessel of a friendly nation she might meet at sea.

One more particular deserves mention. After the betrothal of the Princess Katharine to Henry, Prince of Wales, it had been arranged that English vessels should be treated in Spain on the same footing as Spanish ships, and Spanish ships in England as English vessels. As soon as this arrangement was made public, a great number of English captains sailed to the port of Seville. They were permitted to import their goods, consisting of cloths and other merchandise, without difficulty. But when they intended to freight their vessels with oil and wine, the Spanish law, according to which foreign ships were only to be employed

when there were no Spanish ones in the port, was enforced against them. Not less than 800 captains and sailors were thereby ruined. They stated their loss to amount to a large sum. After their return to England they went with great clamour to Richmond, where Henry then resided. As soon as the King was informed of the case, he fell into a fit of rage. He sent directly for De Puebla, and addressed to him a great many reproaches full of venom, not only on account of what had just happened, but raking up all kinds of grievances which had long been forgotten. "The words "which came from his mouth were vipers," said De Puebla, "and he indulged in every kind of passion." De Puebla, however, bore all patiently, and made as good or as bad excuses as he could. This scene took place on a Friday. On the following Monday the rage of Henry had calmed down. He sent De Puebla a buck as a present, without, however, making any further direct apology. The ambassador, after receiving the present, went to the King, and the affair was settled without allusion to the scene of Friday.

I come to the discovery of America. The papers relating to it are preserved at Seville, and are most conscientiously edited by Navarete. But a few stray papers have remained at Simancas. One of them is a contemporary copy of a letter of Columbus written to a friend of his, when he was returning to Europe from his first voyage. It is dated Calavera, on the Canary Islands, 15th February 1493, and has a postscript from Lisbon of the 14th of March. It contains some inaccuracies respecting the duration of the voyage, and scarcely any facts which are not given more in detail in his great report to the King and the Queen. Still it is curious, especially on account of the freshness and vividness with which the discoverer describes the new countries he had seen. Another letter is signed Luys. It is dated Cogolludo, the 29th March 1493, that is to say, a few weeks after the return of Columbus, and is directed to the Archbishop of Toledo. We learn from it that the writer of this letter had

become acquainted with Columbus before his enterprise, when he was on his way from Portugal to France, in order to request assistance from Charles VIII. Luys, who is most probably the person to whom the other letter is directed, and who was Escribano de Racion for the new discoveries, that is to say, Secretary for India, kept Columbus a long time in his house, and introduced him to the court of Spain. In the archives of Barcelona there is a passport and credentials of Ferdinand and Isabella for Columbus to the Kings in the parts of the world to which Columbus was to sail. The names of the kings are naturally left in blank. But Ferdinand and Isabella addressed them as friends, who had signified to them their wish to become better acquainted with them. The passport is written in Latin.[1] Another paper contains the grant to Columbus in reference to the discoveries which he had made and was to make. It is dated the 17th April 1492, and it positively states that the favours were granted to him in recompense of the discoveries "which "he has already made in the oceanic seas, and which "he is to make on this voyage." An error is scarcely possible.[2] The document is written in the hand of Almazan himself, who was very accurate. Besides, it coincides entirely with the document printed by Navarete from another source.

The Spanish discoveries naturally lead us to English enterprises in a similar field. Don Pedro de Ayala wrote on the 25th July 1498, to Ferdinand and Isabella, that merchants of Bristol had for the last seven years sent out annually some ships in search of the Island of Brazil and the Seven Cities. The enterprise of the merchants of Bristol therefore dates as far back as the year 1491, that is to say, one year before Columbus undertook his first voyage. The whole, said Pedro de Ayala, was a fancy of another Genoese,

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1 Arch. Gen. de la Corona de Aragon. Reg., vol. 3569, f. 336.
2 Arch. Gen. de la Corona de Aragon. Reg. vol. 3569. f. 136.

who had before then been in Seville and Lisbon asking assistance. In the year 1497 they had found land. Henry determined therefore, in 1498, to send five vessels, provided with provisions for one year, in search of the unknown land. One ship, in which sailed Friar Buil, was driven back by a storm on the coast of Ireland and wrecked. The Genoese, however, who by the way was no other than Caboto the Venetian, continued his voyage, and was soon expected to return to England. Ferdinand does not seem to have liked the English enterprise. He wrote to Henry that it was an uncertain affair, and that the King of France had induced him to undertake it with the intention of diverting him from more serious matters.

In collecting, deciphering, and arranging the documents contained in this volume I have bestowed two years' incessant labour. I can positively state that I have left no paper unexamined which belongs to the subject in question. I must refer all those who take a deeper interest in the history of the times to the abstracts contained in this volume, or, much better, to the full copies of the documents themselves, which will be shortly deposited in the Public Record Office. I have a firm belief that my collection is complete. If any document not mentioned by me should hereafter be found, it can only be because it has got into some collection entirely unconnected with my subject, or because, from certain reasons, of which I am not aware, it has been withheld from me.

An index will be given in the succeeding volume.

REMARKS ON THE CIPHERED DESPATCHES IN THE ARCHIVES AT SIMANCAS.

There are different essays on the art of deciphering. In almost all of them the reader is directed, first to discover what signs occur the most frequently, and to judge thereby whether they represent vowels or consonants. This method, if it be useful for discovering any other cipher, is certainly useless to any one who wishes to discover the ciphers of Almazan. Where each letter of the alphabet can be rendered in fifty different ways it is quite impossible to say which letter occurs oftenest. Besides, where one sign represents a whole word, or a whole phrase, letters cannot be counted.

The ciphers which occur in Spanish despatches during the time of Ferdinand and Isabella are of very different kinds. The most simple is the one where Arabic numerals are interspersed with common writing. As they were not intended to supersede common writing entirely, they were restricted in number. I do not think that any key to this kind of cipher contained more than about fifty to a hundred signs. Another kind of cipher soon followed, which closely resembled the former one, differing from it only in the circumstance that Roman numerals were employed. But the number of signs belonging to this system was, from the first, much greater than that of the former, and soon increased from some hundreds to some thousands. The key to a cipher which contains two or three thousand signs is a little dictionary. If each sign represent a whole word, or even a whole phrase, it is not difficult to compose a letter without having recourse to a single word in plain writing. Letters written entirely in

cipher first occur in the year 1495, and are composed of Roman numerals. In the papers of the succeeding year a new system of cipher is already introduced. Whilst the Roman numerals are still retained, an alphabet is added in which each letter of the alphabet can be expressed by a certain sign. In the first key to an alphabet of this kind, each vowel is represented by five different signs, and each consonant by four. The number of signs for each letter was, however, very soon increased to thirteen and fourteen, and even to much more; so that between four and five hundred signs, and more, corresponded to the twenty-one letters of the Spanish alphabet. To this already complicated cipher was added a third kind. Certain significations were attached to monosyllabic words. For instance, "*bax*" signified "*ciertamente*," "*dem*" meant "*gente de armes*," "*ham*," "*Yo, el Rey Catolico*," and so on. To render the deciphering still more difficult, signs without meaning, *nichil importantia*, as they were termed, were intermixed with the cipher. They might, in appearance, be similar either to the signs for letters, or to the monosyllables, or they might be words in plain writing, such as "*Semper ille Cesar*," or "*Je vous prie*," or any other word of any other language, but generally one in which the letter itself was not written. These different signs were constantly mixed up not only in the same letter, or on the same page, but in the same sentence, and, it might be, even in one word. I will give one example. "DCCCCLXVIIII *le* N o γ *malus* ζ" may signify nothing more than the single word *enviando* (sending). The manner in which it is composed is the following:

DCCCCLXVIIII	signifies	*en* (in)
le	,,	*vi* (I have seen)
N	,,	*a*
o	,,	*n*
γ	,,	*d*
malus	,,	nichil importans
ζ	,,	*o*

It is, I think, not to be wondered at if many hundreds of pages covered with signs of such a kind, and continued without any interruption indicating a paragraph or a word, bewildered me. The letters of Almazan in plain writing were, moreover, by no means consolatory in this respect. I found, far oftener than I wished, a sentence in which he told an ambassador that he had changed the cipher, and that the old one was no longer to be used.

The first thing I considered it necessary to do was to study most carefully, not only the Spanish orthography of the period, but that of each statesman in particular who could be supposed to have written any of these letters. Even this was not sufficient. I had to study the turns of thought, and the favourite words and expressions of each statesman. Long and curious lists, covering many sheets of paper, lay during many months on my writing table, and were stuck up against the wall of my room.

I did not discover any of the keys to the ciphers in a methodical manner. Whilst engaged in copying I was constantly on the watch for a weak point, convinced that no man can for any length of time succeed in so completely disguising his thoughts but that he will occasionally betray himself to a close observer. Wherever I thought that that was the case, I tried to guess the meaning of the signs. A hundred times I may have done so in vain, but at last I triumphed. For instance: once while copying a despatch in a cipher then unknown to me, I found two signs with marks of abbreviation. What words, I asked myself, can be abbreviated in cipher? Only the most common ones. From many circumstances I inferred, that the abbreviated signs must signify n. f. (nuestra fija). If I were right in this supposition, it would be more than probable that the antecedent signs signified *Princesa de Gales*. On closer inspection I found five signs, generally signifying letters. The five letters I took to be G. a. l. e. s. I had not been mistaken, and at three o'clock in the morning of the next day I had discovered the key so far that no serious difficulties remained.

Another time, when copying a despatch, I remarked that three lines contained each twenty-one signs, which correspond to the number of the letters of the alphabet that were then in use, whilst the other lines contained generally from twenty-two to twenty-three. Suspecting that these lines, in all other respects looking exactly like the rest of the writing, concealed the key, I did nothing more than place the letters, A, B, C, and so on, over the signs. I was in the right. This time I had at once the whole key. But generally I had to proceed from small beginnings. Had the discovery of all the subsequent signs of a system of cipher been as difficult as the beginning, I should, most probably, have never been able to conclude my work. But however man may strive to act incoherently, he will not be able to free himself from certain rules. There never has been even a poet who, in the boundless exercise of his imagination, has succeeded in creating the character of a madman whose words and thoughts have not been subjected to certain, albeit unsound, laws.

The cipher used in the time of Ferdinand and Isabella was, as I have already hinted, of a two-fold character. In one kind of keys each sign expressed only one letter of the alphabet, and in the other each sign represented a whole word, or even a whole phrase. The writing in cipher which signifies letters, is so far like common writing, that all the signs for the letters which form the word must be put in their natural order. The only difference consists in the circumstance that each letter may have an unlimited number of signs to represent it. The signs may be of the most fanciful character. In the key of Don Pedro de Ayala, for instance, *etiam* signified *ll* and *malus rr*. A further circumstance that deserves mention is, that in this kind of cipher, all the signs follow in an uninterrupted string from the beginning of the despatch to the end. After the decipherer has substituted letters for the signs, he must then divide them into words and periods. In this kind of cipher, as the same sign is continually occurring in new combinations, I feel perfectly sure I have not been mistaken in a single case.

Had I, for instance, confounded the sign for d with that for h, I should have discovered my error while deciphering the first page. Even such signs as signify nothing, and are used only in order to render the discovery of the key more difficult, will soon be found out. Thus, if between the signs signifying *Yngla* and *terra* any number of strange characters are introduced, the decipherer may rest assured that they are *nichil importantia*. For there can be no doubt that the word is *Ynglaterra* and that the intervening signs mean nothing.

The cipher in which each sign represents a whole word presents greater difficulties. The signs are not so often repeated as in the other system. Besides, the signs for letters form words in their combination, and the words of a language are known. The signs are therefore perfectly under control. Words, on the other hand, form sentences when they are combined, and the sentences of a writer are unlimited. Such control cannot consequently be exercised over them; still they are discoverable. The first thing to be done is to bring all the signs of such a cipher into their order. The signs are before our eyes, and we shall, therefore, be enabled by close observation to discover the rule according to which they have been framed. This rule, in any extensive key, must either have relation to the natural order of numbers or to the alphabetical order of the arbitrary sounds which have been chosen for the cipher. It is true that the natural order of the numbers or the alphabetical order of the arbitrary sounds may be reversed, or begin in the middle of the alphabet, or the numbers, or at any other place, and be counted forwards or backwards. The decisive letter of the alphabet may not be, as in a dictionary, the first letter of the word but the last, or the first letter of the second syllable, or any other. Still the order of signs must have some relation to the natural order of numbers and letters which is so deeply impressed on the human mind that it is impossible entirely to ignore it. When the order of signs is found out, the words which correspond to them have next

to be discovered. Here, again, the alphabetical order must form the ground work on which all the alterations have been based. The words may be arranged from A to Z, or from Z to A, or fractions of the alphabet may have been made. But here also the order must have some relation to the alphabet. If the reader be only fortunate enough to discover the meaning of a moderate number of signs, say ten or twenty, which are distributed over the different portions of the key, he will find it much easier to fill up the intervening spaces.

Numbers are easily rendered by alphabetical cipher. If the cipherer has to write *seven hundred*, he has nothing to do but substitute twelve signs for twelve letters. Moreover, Latin numbers are represented by letters. Thus, i signifies 1 in cipher: y, u and n signify 2, and m 3. Only the strokes are counted. y m consequently signifies 5, x is 10, L 50, C 100, &c. A third manner of writing numbers is as follows. In the great key of Latin numbers used by De Puebla MMCCCLXXIII up to MMCCCLXXXI, signify the units, thus :—

MMCCCLXXIII is 1,
MMCCCLXXIV is 2 etc.

The numbers from MMCCCLXXXII up to MMCCCCXC correspond to the tens—

MMCCCLXXXII is 10
MMCCCLXXXIII is 20 and so on,
MMCCCCXCI is 100
MMMCCCCC is 1,000

This system may be continued, and any number, however great, may be expressed in the same way.

If a man had to read a book in a language of which he knew nothing, and had to consult the dictionary for every word, he would certainly find his task a tedious one. Yet that would give but a faint idea of what I had to go through. For I had not only to consult my keys for every word, but for every letter. The labour entailed upon me, was

rendered all the greater, as in the magniloquent language of Spain many words contain ten and more letters.

The question may be asked, whether my decipherings are trustworthy? I answer with full confidence in the affirmative. I have more reasons than one for doing so. After I had deciphered the despatches I found, in some instances, that they were only ciphered copies of drafts in plain writing. Thus I had an opportunity of comparing my interpretations with the originals, and found that in all essential points they were identical. The key of De Puebla and the fragments of the two other keys, which were given to me after my return from Madrid, provided me with an additional test. The keys which I had already formed before seeing them coincided perfectly with them. As I was correct so far, there was no reason why I should not have been equally so in the rest. But the general and most decisive proof consists in the circumstance that my keys disclosed the meaning of the despatches, concealed behind the cipher. Keys to cipher are real keys, and though, in the estimation of the statesmen of that time, I should have been considered as a thief, still, so far as the keys are concerned, they must have been like the original ones, or they would not have corresponded to the wards of the lock.

To explain my meaning more fully, I will make one short observation on the difference between the manner of putting letters in cipher and deciphering them. One word, or one letter of the alphabet may have ten, or a hundred signs corresponding to it. Those, therefore, who are engaged in putting a despatch into cipher have great power of choice, and may use, for the same word or the same letter, continually differing signs. But the decipherer is in a very different position. Although any word, or any letter, may be expressed by many different signs, each sign of the cipher expresses invariably the same word or letter, and nothing else. Thus, nothing is left to the discretion of the decipherer. For the same sign he must always substitute

the same letter. Is it to be imagined that, if the same letter or word be always substituted for the same sign in the hundreds or thousands of combinations in which it occurs, that sense would be the result unless the interpretation were the right one? The decipherer must be immediately aware of it, if he be mistaken. He is either an impostor or he is right. The more complicated the cipher, the greater is the certainty to be attained. This will be rendered clear by an illustration.

The signs in cipher signifying words mean, more properly speaking, only a certain number of letters in a certain order. They may either form one word, or be portions of two words, or be merely an integral part of one larger word. Suppose, now, that it is already known that the sign *cox* signifies a river, but that it is not plain whether it is the Rhine or the Tiber, the Garonne or the Po. Suppose, further, that the number MDCIX means some great personage, but that it cannot be discovered whether it is the king, the prince, or the duke. Suppose, again, that these signs occur in the following combination: CoxΩMDCIXΔ. If Ω signifies *d*, according to a key already known, and Δ *s*, all doubts will be solved. The river will be the river Po, and the personage the King, the whole word reading *podreys* [you will be able]. No other interpretation is possible.

I have brought over to England exact copies of all the ciphered despatches. Anyone who takes an interest in the matter may see them in the Public Record Office, and examine my method of interpretation. Small errors may have been made, but only in cases where a word has no essential signification, and rarely occurs. Words which are not essential do not alter the sense, and their exact meaning is therefore not so clearly discernible. Whether a word means *ilustre* or *ilustrisimo*, can scarcely be found out if it be expressed by a single sign. If it be written in a cipher representing letters, the number of signs will of itself be a clue. But even these insignificant errors will, I think, be very seldom met with. I have corrected my decipherings

over and over again, and the last time with the assistance of Don Nemesio Alday, who, being one of the principal officers of the archives, an intelligent man, and perfectly conversant with the state papers of that date, was commissioned to make the copies for the Spanish Government. The only request I have to make with regard to such persons as desire to judge for themselves is, not to test the accuracy of my decipherings by the English translations. It is often necessary to render the same Spanish word in several different ways when translating into another language.

The decipherings of the ministers and ambassadors of the time are not perfectly correct in matters of detail. From the proceedings taken against Antonio Perez, it is well known, that in the time of Philip II., the Secretaries of State were instructed to suppress, in their decipherings, all such matters as were too secret to be communicated to the Council. In the papers belonging to the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella no such suppressions for political purposes are observable. Still, omissions occur which have rather a suspicious appearance. If an ambassador asked for the payment of his salary, or solicited a bishopric, and the deciphering secretary was not his friend, such a passage might remain undeciphered, and thus have no more effect than if it had never been written. Moreover, if a matter were already known by means of other despatches, not now in existence, the deciphering secretary may have thought it sufficient to give only a short abstract. Again, owing to the pressure of business, it is not surprising that some mistakes have occured. These errors are sometimes so great that the King of England s confounded with the King of France, or the Emperor. To the statesmen of the time it was so easy mentally to correct such flagrant errors that they did not consider it necessary to make corrections in the decipherings. But now, after the lapse of three hundred and fifty years, serious misunderstandings may arise in consequence. On the whole, I have observed that two classes of mistakes constantly occur, as well in

ciphering as in deciphering. If the key be new to the secretary, he is very liable to confound one column of signs with another. For instance, he may mistake the column containing the signs expressing c for those expressing d or b. If, on the other hand, the secretary, through long continued use, has become well acquainted with the key to the cipher, he will trust to his memory, and thus be exposed to the risk of confounding similarly sounding signs; as for instance, *hep* and *hip*, though the one may mean *Dios* and the other *Diablo*. I had to correct all such omissions and errors.

HENRY VII.

1485.
25 Sept. **1.** HENRY VII. to DIEGO DE CASTRO AND OTHERS.

P. R. O.
Fr. R.
1 Hen. VII.
m. 13. (3.)

Licence to Diego de Castro, Fernando di Caryon, and Pedro de Miranda, merchants of Spain, to freight the following vessels, viz., the Sancta Maria, of Bilbao, of 80 tons; the Sanctus Jacobus, of Bilbao, of 140 tons; the Sancta Maria, of Summaya, of 150 tons; the Sancta Maria, of San Sebastian, of 80 tons; the Sancta Maria, of Fuentarabia, of 200 tons; and to send them from Bordeaux to London. The relations between England and Spain are of a friendly nature.—Westminster, 25th September.

Latin. *p.* ½.

5 Nov. **2.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to [* *]* KING OF ENGLAND.

B. R.
3565, fol. 34.

Columbus, vice-admiral and commander of the fleet of the King of France, has captured, off the coast of Portugal, four Venetian vessels, laden with a great quantity of merchandise belonging to Spanish subjects. As the capture is contrary to the treaties with France, Columbus has preferred to go to an English port in order to divide the booty there. The King is requested to arrest the said Columbus, and to restore the goods to their owners.—Alcala de Henares (Compluti). 5th November, 1485.

Latin. *pp.* 1½.

14 Nov. **3.** HENRY VII. to DIEGO DE CADAGUA.

P. R. O.
Fr. R.
1 Hen. VII.
m. 14. (2.)

Licence to Diego de Cadagua, merchant of Spain, to load a ship, called the Sancta Maria, of 150 tons, with wines, &c., at Bordeaux, and to bring the same into England.—Westminster, 14th of November.

Latin. *p.* ¼.

1486.
20 Jan. **4.** HENRY VII. to ANTONIO DOLAICIOLA.

P. R. O.
Fr. R.
1 Hen. VII.
m. 14. (2.)

Licence to Antonio Dolaiciola, merchant of Spain, to export wine out of the Duchy of Gascony, in a ship called the Sanctus Spiritus, of 80 tons.—Westminster, 20th January.

Latin. *p.*

* The name of the King of England is left blank in the original.

1486.

5 March. **5.** HENRY VII. to FERDINAND and ISABELLA OF SPAIN.

S. E. I. L. 806, f. 3.

Recommends Henry de Croy, a relation of Ferdinand and Isabella, who intends to fight against the Infidels in Spain. —St. John's, near London, 5th March 1486.*

Indorsed: "To Ferdinand and Isabella, &c."

Latin. pp. 2.

8 March. **6.** HENRY VII. to JOHN PARDO AND OTHERS.

P. R. O. Fr. R. 1 Hen. VII. m. 7. (9.)

Licence to John Pardo, Sanchez de Agurto and Pablo Pedrosa, merchants of Spain, to export 103 pieces of tin. —Westminster, 8th March.

Latin. p. ¼.

1487.

22 Feb. **7.** HENRY VII. to JOHN COTTON.

P. R. O. Fr. R. 2 Hen. VII. m. 3. (16.)

Licence to John Cotton, merchant of London, to export out of England into Spain and Portugal 1,000 quarters of wheat.—Westminster, 22nd February.

Latin. p. ¼.

25 Feb. **8.** HENRY VII. to ALL PERSONS.

P. R. O. Fr. R. 2 Hen. VII m. 4. (15.)

Letters of protection to Antonio de la Sola, of the province of Guypuscoa, in Spain, possessor of a ship called le Holy Ghost, of 180 tons, to come to England with a freight of goods, and to return into Spain.—Westminster, the 25th of February.

Latin. p. ¼.

8 March. **9.** KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN.

B. R. 3550. f. 9.

Passport and recommendation in favour of Ubertus Stantum [Staunton], an Irishman, who has distinguished himself by his valour against the Moors in the town of Loja, and on a former occasion in Tangiers.—Cordoba, 8th March 1487.

Latin. pp. 2½.

10 March. **10.** HENRY VII. to RICHARD PUDDESSEY.

P. R. O. Fr. R. 2 Hen. VII. m 3 (16.)

Licence to Richard Puddessey, Esq., to export out of England into Spain 500 quarters of wheat.—Westminster, the 10th of March.

Latin. p. ½.

2 Oct. **11.** HENRY VII. to ALL PERSONS.

P. R. O. Fr. R. 3 Hen. VII. m. 8. (11.)

Letters of safe conduct and protection granted to Alvarez de Cisneros, merchant of Spain, and his men, &c.—Westminster, the 2nd of October.

Latin. p. ¼.

* Although the English commenced the year on the 25th of March, their foreign correspondence at this time is generally dated according to the Roman style, in which the year commences on the 1st of January.

1488.

31 Jan. **12.** HENRY VII. to DIEGO DE CASTRO AND OTHERS.

P. R. O. Fr. R. 3 Hen. VII. m. 5. (14.)

Licence granted to Diego de Castro and Martin de Malverida, merchants of Spain, that certain fellow merchants of theirs may dispose of some goods they have brought from Spain to England, &c. &c.—Westminster, the 31st of January.

Latin. *p.* ¼.

10 March. **13.** HENRY VII. to JOHN WESTON AND OTHERS.

P. R. O. Fr. R. 3. Hen. VII. m. 7. (12.)

Commission to John Weston, Prior of St. John of Jerusalem in England, John Gunthorpe, Dean of Wells, Christopher Urswik, Great Almoner, Thomas Savage, Doctor of Law, and Henry Ainsworth, Doctor of Law, to conclude a treaty of alliance with Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, to settle all pending subjects of dispute, and to confer on the articles regarding the assistance to be given to one another by the contending powers.—Westminster, 10th March.

Printed in Rymer.

Latin.

30 April. **14.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 1.

Commission to De Puebla,—1, to conclude a treaty of marriage between the Princess Katharine and Arthur, Prince of Wales. 2, to concert with the commissioners of Henry the amount of the marriage portion, and the conditions of its payment and repayment in case of the dissolution of the marriage. 3, to concert the amount and conditions of the jointure to be given by Henry to the Princess Katharine.—No date.

Spanish. Draft. pp. 6.

30 April. **15.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA and JUAN DE SEPULVEDA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 1.

Commission to conclude with the commissioners of Henry VII. a marriage between the Infanta Katharine and Arthur Prince of Wales.—Murcia, 30th April 1488.

Contemporary copy. Latin.

30 April. **16.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA and JUAN DE SEPULVEDA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 1.

Commission to treat and to conclude with the commissioners of Henry VII. whatever is necessary for the renewal, interpretation, and reformation of the treaties concluded between their predecessors.—Murcia, 30th April 1488.

Contemporary copy. Latin.

[A note in Spanish is annexed to this paper, stating that similar powers were despatched for De Puebla solely, in order that, if necessary, he alone should conclude the said treaties. Two copies were made of each power, one being sent by sea and the other by land, and confided to special messengers.]

1488.
2 July. **17.** HENRY VII. to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Letters of marque.

Is informed by merchants of Bristol that a treaty was concluded between England and Spain, 21st of Edward IV. which was to last ten years. By it English merchants were entitled to carry on commerce in all parts of Spain; the old letters of marque and reprisal were declared to be null and void, and new letters of marque were to be issued, but not until after six months had been allowed to all English subjects to send away their goods and to leave the country. This treaty being still in force, Johan de Arremonendy, master of a Spanish vessel, the *Sanctus Stephanus*, had sailed on the 5th of February last from Bristol to Spain. She had scarcely reached the high seas, when she was attacked and run into Gattare in Brittany. When she arrived in Spain, Martin de Miranda and other Spaniards, who had obtained letters of marque against English subjects, caused the Governor of Guypuzcoa to detain her and her freight for the sum of 2006 gold crowns. Henry demands redress, and has instructed De Puebla to explain the matter more fully in his name.—Windsor Castle, 2nd July 1488.

Indorsed: "To Ferdinand and Isabella, &c."
Latin. pp. 4.

6 July. **18.** HENRY VII. to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Congratulates them, in the most flattering terms, on their success against the Moors. Hopes the friendship already existing between them will soon be rendered stronger by the ties of blood.—Windsor Castle, 6th July 1488.

Indorsed: "To Ferdinand and Isabella, &c."
Latin. pp. 2.

6 July. **19.** DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Marriage portion of the Princess Katharine.

Richard, Bishop of Exeter, and [Giles] Daubney, of Daubney, in their quality of commissioners of Henry VII., declare to Roderigo Gundisalvi de Puebla and Juan de Sepulveda, ambassadors of Ferdinand and Isabella, that the marriage portion of the Princess Katharine is expected to be 200,000 gold scudos, every scudo to be of the value of 4*s.* 2*d.*—London, 6th of July 1488.

This memorandum is made and signed in order that the Spanish ambassadors may consult Ferdinand and Isabella on this subject, and inform the English commissioners of their decision before Easter next.

Signed: "Doctor de Puebla."
Latin. pp. 2.

[A note in Spanish is added in the hand of De Puebla, stating that the last portion of the above memorandum was subjoined at the instance of xxxv (De Puebla), who refused to sign without such addition.]

1488.
7 July. **20.** INDENTURE between DE PUEBLA and SEPULVEDA, Ambassadors of FERDINAND and ISABELLA, on the one part, and RICHARD, BISHOP of EXETER, and GILES DAUBNEY, of DAUBNEY, Commissioners of HENRY VII., on the other part.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 1.

Marriage of the Princess Katharine.

1. The ambassadors and commissioners have agreed that the Princess Katharine of Spain shall marry Arthur, Prince of Wales. The marriage portion of Katharine is to consist of a sum of money, the amount of which the commissioners of Henry VII. have made known to the ambassadors of Spain in a separate paper. One half of it is to be paid as soon as the Princess arrives in England, the other half on the day of the solemnization of her marriage. All such Spanish subjects as reside in London are to be security for the punctual payment of it. The Princess is to be endowed with the third part of the revenues of Wales, Cornwall, and Chester.

2. Ferdinand and Isabella are to send the Princess, in a decent manner, and at their own expense, to London.

3. They are to dress their daughter suitably to her rank (honorifice), and to give her as many jewels, &c., for her personal use, as becomes her position.

4. The Princess is to succeed to all property that may descend to her in Spain.

Treaties.

5. Treaties of peace, commerce, and alliance to be what they were thirty years ago.

6. Either of the contracting parties is to assist the other when attacked by an enemy; the party who demands assistance to pay the expenses. Rebels of one contracting party are not to be permitted to stay in the dominions of the other contracting party. If one of the contracting parties conclude a treaty with other princes, the other party is to be included in the nomination.

7. The King of England is to send ambassadors to Spain, to treat more fully respecting this treaty of peace and alliance.

8. The Spanish ambassadors and the English commissioners are to consult with their respective sovereigns, and to assemble again, before Easter next, in London.

Latin. pp. 7.

[Annexed to this document is a copy of the memorandum of the 6th of the same month.]

15 July. **21.** DE PUEBLA to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Johan de Sepulveda arrived in London on Trinity Sunday. He delivered letters from the King and Queen of Spain to De Puebla, and circumstantially explained the subject of his mission. De Puebla, on the other hand, informed him of the state of things in England.

Affairs of Brittany.

As to affairs in xx (Brittany), nothing can be done until the courier has returned whom xxxv (De Puebla) is expecting. It

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is impossible to effect what Ferdinand and Isabella desire without previously coming to an understanding about the matter of which xxxv (De Puebla) has spoken. xj (the King of England) has sent messengers to xvij (the King of France) about the affair of xx (Brittany).

xj (the King of England) is very angry with certain personages from xx (Brittany), who have wormed his secrets out of one of his Privy Council "(De Puebla says he is the person " who went to Spain to wait upon the King and the Queen), " and he has promised to give him a younger xxviij " (daughter) of xx (Brittany) in xxij in (marriage)."*

After the expiration of the time agreed to with De Puebla, Henry sent another officer to the King of France to clear his honour. All remonstrances had been useless.

Audience of Henry.

Three days after the arrival of the courier, De Puebla and Sepulveda went together to xj (the King of England). Sepulveda delivered his message to the satisfaction of De Puebla. De Puebla afterwards told the King that he was now at liberty to show his power and to conclude the business. "The King of England opened his eyes wide " with joy, and most cheerfully answered one and the other " matter in great detail."

King of France.

The King of England gave a full account of the present state of xx (Brittany), which did not differ in one single point from what had already been stated. He called De Puebla to witness to what he said. More than this, the King of England affirmed that three days before he had had letters from his ambassadors to the King of France, who was ready to leave the whole business in his hands. Although xxvj (war) had been thus deferred, and negotiations for peace were going on, "Sepulveda, as being a man who had recently " come thither, spoke with much more warmth on this subject " than was agreeable to De Puebla."

When speaking of xxj (the alliance) and xxij (the marriage) the King broke out into a *Te Deum laudamus*.

Next day he appointed the same three commissioners (two ecclesiastics and one layman), who had been his former commissioners.

The powers were shown.

Marriage of the Princess Katharine.

The *English Commissioners* declared that with regard to the *alliance* there was not much to confer about, and began directly to speak of the *marriage*. They were exceedingly civil, and said a great many things in praise of Ferdinand and Isabella. That being done, they asked the Spaniards to name the sum for *the marriage portion*.

Discussions on the amount of the marriage portion.

The *Spanish Ambassadors* replied that it would be more becoming for the English to name the marriage portion, because they had first solicited this xxij (marriage), and their party is a xxvij (son).†

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* Sic. The original is not clear.

† The meaning is *bridegroom*, for which word there does not seem to have been a cipher.

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The *English Commissioners* asked five times as much as they had asked in Spain.

The *Spanish Ambassadors* proposed to refer this matter to vij (Ferdinand) and viij (Isabella), who would act liberally in proportion to the confidence shown them.

The *English Commissioners* said that such a proceeding would be inconvenient for both parties, and that Ferdinand and Isabella would not agree to it.

The *Spanish Ambassadors* complained that the English were unreasonable in their demands. "Bearing in mind "what happens every day to the Kings of England, it is "surprising that Ferdinand and Isabella should dare to give "their xxviij (daughter) at all. This was said with great "courtesy, in order that they might not feel displeasure or be "enraged."

The *English Commissioners* abated one third.

The Spaniards proposed that, as there was sufficient time for it, two or four persons should be selected as umpires.

The *English Commissioners* declined it, and gave their reasons.

The Spaniards desired the English to name the lowest price.

The English abated one half.

The Spaniards said that this marriage would be so advantageous to the King of England that he ought to content himself with what is generally given with Princesses of Spain.

The English desired to have everything defined in order to avoid disputes after the conclusion of the marriage. They asked twice as much as they had asked in Spain.

The *Spanish Ambassadors* offered one fourth.

The English asked why, as the money was not to come out of the strong boxes of the King and the Queen, but out of the pockets of their subjects, they should not be more liberal? They referred to old treaties with France, Burgundy, and Scotland, proving by them that even higher marriage portions were given.

They also urged that England is a very dear place, the smallest coin being worth eight Spanish maravedis, and that the great men spend large sums. The English aristocracy is rich and prosperous in the Dukedoms of Clarence, Lancaster, Buckingham, Somerset, Norfolk, York, the counties of Warwick, Salisbury, and Lincoln, and the Marquisate of Dorset. Such being the case, and there not being "a drop of blood" in existence from which any danger might arise, the English saw no reason to lessen their demands.

The dowry.

xxviij (the daughter) of vij (Ferdinand) and viij (Isabella) "is to receive the third part of the revenue of Wales, Corn-"wall, and Chester, which is equivalent to eighty thousand "gold crowns a year." The best towns, villages, and castles are to be selected for her The said principality, duchy, and county contain 30,000 vassals, hundreds of villages and castles,some towns, and many seaports. Nothing more can be obtained.

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The Spaniards asked a higher dowry, in case the Princess should become xij (Queen of England). But the English Commissioners refused. There is no country (they said) in the world where Queens live with greater pomp than in England, where they have as many court officers as the King. The English dislike novelties.

Alliances. The old treaties were read in regard to alliances.

The Spaniards observed that these treaties were concluded in time of need. The world had changed much since then. The said treaties were copied by De Puebla and sent to Spain.

The English insisted that their full right of inheritance has always been reserved to Princesses married into England. That is the reason why alliances are made.

As to further conversation on important business no details are given.

King of Portugal. xix (*the King of Portugal*). The friendship between England and Portugal dates from very old times. In case of xxvi (war) between Spain and Portugal, England is to remain neutral. In case of renewal of the treaties between England and Portugal, Spain is to be excepted. De Puebla thought that "this was sufficient and even better than if "more had been obtained. For in this manner the friendship "of both England and Portugal could be preserved. If more "were said the King of Portugal would look out for other "alliances." It would be best not to speak of this matter at all. At all events, the substantial article ought not to be explained, because it would exasperate the King of Portugal.

King of France. xvij (*the King of France*). De Puebla translated the clause in his instructions which had respect to France, because the English cannot understand, or read, or speak Spanish. "(Quod xj (Rex Angliæ) non debeat adjutorium prestare a xvij * (Regi Franciæ) neque pacem nec treugas cum eo facere, nisi quando predicti vij et viij (Rex et Regina Hispaniarum) eas fecerint, et predictus xj (Rex Angliæ) promittit xxvj (bellum) cum eo rrumpere, quando predicti vij et viij (Rex et Regina Hispaniarum) xxvj (bellum) adversus eum disposuerint, et quod dicti vij et viij (Rex et Regina Hispaniarum), non poterint auxilium prestare nec 25 (pacem) facere cum dicto xvij (Rege Franciæ), nisi adjecerint et inserant in ea dictum xj (Regem Angliæ), vel ipsum in ea expresse esceperint† et eceptaverint.†"

Eng. Com. Why mention the King of France? As soon as the treaties of alliance and matrimony are concluded, Henry will do whatever Ferdinand and Isabella like, especially as the friendship between England and Spain is of such long standing.

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* "xvij" signifies *el Rey de Francia*; "a xvij," therefore, *á el Rey de Francia*, or in Latin, *Regi Franciæ*.

† Sic.

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Span. Amb. The greater the friendship, the easier it will be to do what Ferdinand and Isabella ask.

Eng. Com. It is not advisable to put such things in writing, for—1, treaties, signed, sealed and sworn to, are everlasting, and ought to contain nothing except such clauses as are most easily justified;—2, such a clause would be against the common custom;—3, there would be no equality between the contracting parties. Ferdinand and Isabella would be at perfect liberty to do what they liked in every emergency, whilst Henry would not even be permitted to abandon his claim to Guienne and Normandy. The most learned men and the highest dignitaries, after conferring together every day, have given their opinion that to accept such a clause is not "permissible, just, or honest," but, on the contrary, is "against justice, God, and conscience."

War against France.

There is much discussion on this subject.

At last the English pretend to have regard only to justice and conscience.

De Puebla shows them from books, that according "to civil "and canon law, and according to justice, God, and con- "science," war against the King of France is justifiable. Whatever France has taken from England and Spain must be recovered.

Eng. Com. It is notorious that the King of England has received many great services from the King of France, and it would not be honest to insert a clause against France in the treaty of alliance. "Such things are more justifiable "and honest when done, than when written. As the English "find that De Puebla is scandalized and discontented with "this answer, they take a massbook, and swear in the most "solemn way, before a crucifix, that it is the will of the "King of England, first to conclude the alliance and the "marriage, and afterwards to make war upon the King of "France, according to the bidding of Ferdinand and "Isabella." The King of England also promises to send ambassadors to Spain, to inquire the wishes of Ferdinand and Isabella. A war with France is a serious affair, and demands much preparation.

Span. Amb. The power of Spain on land and by sea is very great; she is therefore a most useful ally. When the King of Naples, for instance, was in danger of losing his kingdom, he asked Ferdinand and Isabella to help him; and though they were then engaged in a war against the Moors, they sent him twenty ships, with a great number of soldiers, and also a great embassy to the Pope, asking him to make peace with Naples. In consequence of this, the affairs of Naples took so prosperous a turn, that the Duke of Calabria pitched his tent on the heights overlooking Rome, and took vengeance on his adversaries, making daily excursions to the gates of Rome, and even burning one of them. The fleet and army remained there a long time. Ferdinand and Isabella refused to yield

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obedience to the Pope until the Count Tendilla had concluded peace between Rome and Naples. The greatness and prosperity of Spain would contribute much "to make that impossible "which has happened so often, and which still happens to "the Kings of England." If the treaty of alliance were to be made public, tranquillity and order would be secured. Other reasons, *either true* or *plausible*, are added.

It is finally decided first to consult Ferdinand and Isabella.

Advises them to conclude the treaty of alliance and matrimony; the consequence of which would be that France would restore what she has taken from Spain, and the King of Spain would be able to make an alliance between England, the King of the Romans, and Brittany.

The treaty would be so disadvantageous to the King of France, that he could not do otherwise than become a suppliant to the King and Queen of Spain, because then their friendship would be worth more to him "than that of the "King of England, or of the King of the Romans, or of the "Duke of Brittany." It would be even more easy to arrange affairs with the King of France than with others. The father of the present King of France, though much more warlike, had demanded peace, under similar circumstances, of the predecessor of the present King of England. Even supposing there were no real advantages, "the mere appearance would do "much. How much more a real alliance and marriage!"

Second audience.

"After this had been written, Doctor De Puebla and "Sepulvéda went to Henry, and asked if he wanted any-"thing more, as Sepulveda was to return to Spain.

The King of England.

"The King, according to his usual manner, took his "bonnet off his head, and said the most flattering things "of Ferdinand and Isabella,* every time he pronounced their "names taking the measure of his bonnet, and after some "flourishes and compliments, entering upon the essential "points respecting the alliance and the marriage. He said "he knew the oath which had been made to us (as I "have already mentioned in the chapter respecting France), "and he was very glad that this oath had been made, adding "that we must accept it for plain truth unmingled with "double dealing or falsehood."

King of the Romans.

De Puebla, seeing that the "speech of the King was like "precious jewels," and that he wanted to confide to him his innermost secrets, touched upon the affair with the King of the Romans. Henry enumerated all the ill turns the King of the Romans had done him. He said, that the King of the Romans had sent some officers to him ten days before his [the King of the Romans] imprisonment.† They were made prisoners, and their letters taken from them. One only escaped

* In the original: Of the masters of xxxv (De Puebla), or, in other words, Ferdinand and Isabella.

† In Ghent.

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and went to the King of England to tell him the substance of the embassy, which was that the King of the Romans sent his excuses for what had happened, and threw all the fault on his quasi* mother-in-law. He then asked the King of England to make friendship and peace with him, and to assist him in taking measures against the ugly deed done to him. The answer of Henry was, according to what he said, that he had not accepted their excuses. Nevertheless, although very angry with the King of the Romans, he will not refuse to assist him in this case. The King of England declines to enter into negotiations on the treaty of xxi, xxv, and xxxi (alliance, peace, and amity), because so much evil has been done him, and also because the stipulations would not be valid, the King of the Romans not being at liberty, and the ambassador having no powers.

After the ambassador of the King of the Romans had come, ambassadors from Archduke Philip arrived. They were not more successful, Henry affirming that they were not provided with sufficient power.

Henry wishes to conclude the treaty of alliance, peace, and amity with the King of the Romans through the interposition of Ferdinand and Isabella. De Puebla is "the " heart of the King of England," and knows that all will be concluded in the manner Ferdinand and Isabella wish. Their mutual friendship was profitable to both parties, to the King of England and to Ferdinand and Isabella. De Puebla was asked whether Ferdinand and Isabella would like to give one of their daughters to the King of the Romans in marriage.

Prince of Wales.

Henry desired De Puebla and Sepulveda to go and see the Prince of Wales, who was staying twelve miles from London. "On our arrival we discovered such excellent " qualities in the Prince as to be incredible." They were invited to see the Prince asked, and after look at him asleep. "He appeared to us so admirable that what- " ever praise, commendation, or flattery any one could be " capable of speaking or writing would only fall short in " this case. As he (the King) was aware of this, he desired " that Sepulveda should take his figure, image, and appear- " ance to Spain, because the English most strongly desire to " see the Princess from there,† and much more to have the " Infanta in England without delay, saying that it is an " old custom of the country to do this, and that the same " thing has been done at different times before the age of " puberty, naming xxx (one daughter) of the King Don " Pedro, and many others."

The Queen of England.

"We also went at an unexpected hour to the Queen, whom " we found with two and thirty companions of angelical " appearance, and all we saw there seemed very magnificent, " and in splendid style, as was suitable for the occasion."

* Sic. Stepmother ?

† "There" signifies Spain.

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The King requests that from time to time Latin letters should be written to him from Spain, since he writes Latin letters to Spain. Neither the King, nor the Queen, are able to understand Spanish letters. De Puebla objects that it is an old custom in Spain to write only in Spanish, even to the Pope. Henry remarks that sometimes Latin letters have been written.

Spanish privateers.

The English complain very much of the prizes taken by Spanish privateers. De Puebla states that when he was at Coruña he saw Pedro de Segura capture two English vessels. Although this was done in the midst of forty Spanish vessels, not a single ship stirred to oppose the capture. No redress can be obtained, and letters of marque and reprisal have even been given in the name of Ferdinand and Isabella. De Puebla prays that this matter may be reconsidered in the Privy Council, the same thing having been done in England.

Count de Scalas.

Count de Scalas * had gone to Brittany without permission from Henry. As he is a faithful servant of Ferdinand and Isabella, they beg the King to grant forgiveness to the Count.

Sepulveda will give all necessary explanations by word of mouth.—London, 15th July 1488.

Jhesus.

Addressed: "To the very high and very mighty Princes the King and the Queen, our Lords."

pp. 20.

The letter is written in Spanish, intermixed with cipher, to which no key is known to exist. It has been deciphered by the Editor.

S. E. T. L.

FERDIN. and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

Have received the letters, treaties, and other papers which were sent by Juan de Sepulveda and by a courier after the departure of Sepulveda. His letters do not agree with the documents signed and sealed by the English commissioners. Sepulveda, when called upon to explain this, was unable to do so. Everything must be clearly defined.

Marriage portion of the Princess Katharine.

The English ask at least 200,000 crowns, saying that the King, Don Enrique, on another occasion had offered 200,000 ducats, besides which the money is only to come out of [illegible]kets of the subjects. Don Enrique had one daughter o[illegible]ile they have four daughters to marry. They cannot, at the [illegible]ost, give more than 100,000 ducats of gold of the standar[illegible]astile, or 100,000 gold florins of Arragon. It must not be set down in the treaty that this sum is to be paid in English money, because in that case it would be subject to fluctuation, and there would be much cheating.

The draught of the treaty says that one half of the money

* Sic.

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is to be paid when the Princess comes to England, and the other half at the conclusion of the marriage. In other words, that would be at the same time; for the marriage must take place as soon as the Princess arrives in England. Offer to pay one half on the day of the consummation of the marriage, and the other half in the course of the two following years, one fourth every year.

The security of the dowry is to be their signs manual, their seals, and nothing else. To agree to the demand of King Henry that the Spanish merchants in London should become security would not be honest, or of any advantage. For it might happen that none of the merchants who had become security would be in England at the time of the payment falling due.

Her bridal dress.

King Henry asks them to bind themselves to give their daughter ornaments and apparel, without deducting the amount from the marriage portion. Such a proceeding is against custom. Husbands provide the dresses of their wives. They are willing to buy as many dresses and ornaments for the Princess Katharine as the English wish, provided the cost of them be deducted from the marriage portion, and if not they will give what *they* think proper.

Her dowry.

King Henry has not said what the dowry will be when Princess Katharine becomes Queen of England, nor has he mentioned at all the earnest money (arrha) which is generally given in such cases, and which amounts to one half, or at least one third, of the marriage portion. The dowry of the Princess must be equal to the third part of her marriage portion, or at least 50,000 gold crowns. He must give security for it in towns and villages. If the third part of the revenues of Wales, Cornwall, and Chester do not amount to 25,000 crowns, this sum must be made up from other rents. The towns, villages, castles, and rents destined to form the dowry of the Princess must be chosen and assigned directly, and it must be stated that the Princess is to hold them for life, in the event of the marriage being dissolved from any cause. It may be that when the Princess becomes Queen of England the third part of the revenues of Wales, Cornwall, and Chester would have to be given up to the lady who would then be Princess of Wales. He is to inform himself what the dowry of the Queen would be, in such a case, and to secure to the Princess Katharine a somewhat larger dowry than other Queens of England have enjoyed.

As to the obligation they are under to *send the Princess Katharine at their own expense to London*, nothing further is to be said.

Her right of succession.

The right of succession to the throne of Spain, but no other inheritance whatever, can be reserved to the Princess.

Alliances.

Are surprised to find nothing in the draft of the treaty of alliance respecting the *King of Portugal*. All that has been negotiated and concluded must be set down in writing. The

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King of Portugal is to be excepted by both parties. If Henry conclude new treaties with Portugal, Spain is to be excepted.

France.

The drafts of the treaty with France do not contain what De Puebla states in his letter. As, however, Henry objects to incorporating into the treaty the point which he and his commissioners have promised and sworn to, the alliance and marriage may be concluded without that clause; but Henry must secretly sign, seal, and swear a separate treaty, and his vassals must swear also, to the effect that "after the "alliance and marriage between our children have been "concluded, he shall bind himself every time and whenever "he is requested by us within [*blank*] days to request the "King of France to restore to us our counties of Roussillon "and Cerdaña, which he holds from us; and if within "[*blank*] days after that time the King of France has not "restored to us the said counties, every time and whenever "he be requested by us, he shall without delay make war "against the King of France according to our bidding." If Henry deliver to him such a separate treaty, De Puebla is to sign the treaty of alliance in conformity with what is contained in the draft. The principal reason why they decide to conclude the treaty of alliance with Henry is in order that they may get back from the King of France the said counties.

If Henry do not like to intrust De Puebla with the said secret treaty he may send it by his own ambassadors, or give them power to conclude it in Spain. But the other treaties must be first arranged, chapter for chapter, according to the instructions, so that the English ambassadors may have nothing to do in Spain, but to give and to receive the signed copies. De Puebla is not to deliver any copy.

If Henry do not like to send his ambassadors unless he is sure that Ferdinand and Isabella will sign the treaties of alliance and matrimony, De Puebla may sign them in England. But below the documents and above his signature he must write a note, declaring "that these treaties are not to "be considered as binding on Ferdinand and Isabella until "they have received the copies signed by Henry, and the "separate treaty respecting France. There will be nothing "inconvenient in this, as the copies will remain in the posses-"sion of Henry, and the note may be afterwards cancelled."*

King of the Romans.
Duke of Brittany.

Respecting the King of the Romans and the Duke of Brittany, Henry must be desired to sign a paper promising to make arrangements with them under the direction and according to the wishes of Ferdinand and Isabella, as soon

* Here follows a paragraph which is blotted out, and in which it is said that De Puebla must prevent the coming of the ambassadors unless they bring with them the said treaties of alliance and matrimony and the separate treaty, regarding France, ready for signature, so that no further negotiations may be necessary in Spain.

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as the treaties of alliance between England and Spain, and of the marriage between Katharine and Arthur, shall have been concluded. If, however, he do not like to give such a promise, the treaties must nevertheless be concluded.

The *marriages of the King of the Romans* and of the *Duke* of Brittany* will meet with no obstacles in Spain. As soon as Ferdinand and Isabella know for whom the said marriages are intended they will assist in concluding them. —No date.†

Spanish. Draft written by Fern: Alvarez, Secretary of State. pp. 14.

15 July (?) **23.** SEPULVEDA to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Has been well received by Henry VII., who intends to assemble Parliament on the 9th of November, and to communicate to it the offers of France. It is hoped that the decision of Parliament will be in favour of Spain.

The letter is lost. The extract is by Fern: Alvarez, Secretary of State.

25 July. **24.** HENRY VII. to JOHN DE SCOVER.

P. R. O. Fr. R. 3 Hen. VII. m. 4. (15.)

Licence granted at the instance of the King's beloved Doctor de Puebla, staying at the present time with the King about some affairs respecting his cousin the King of Spain, to John de Scover, merchant of Spain, to export from Bordeaux two hundred tuns of wine of Gascony, and to bring them to England.—Westminster, the 25th of July.

Latin. $p. \frac{1}{2}$.

11 Oct. **25.** DE PUEBLA to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

The affair of the Count Penamoco.

The ambassadors from Flanders and the answer which De Puebla advises to be given them.

Duke of Brittany.

Ambassadors from the persons who keep the daughters of the Duke of Brittany. Henry wishes the eldest daughter of the Duke of Brittany to be given in marriage to the Duke of Buckingham, and has sent an ambassador to Brittany to conclude the business, offering to assist the Duke of Brittany, and even to take the field in person, if necessary. Henry asks them to write to the Duke of Brittany in favour of his projects, and hopes that the French will be easily expelled.

King of France.

As to the clause in the treaty of alliance respecting the King of France, Henry makes new proposals, and urges an immediate answer, since the affair cannot be delayed. The offers of France must be accepted or rejected without loss of time.

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* Sic. "Duque" in the original, not "Duquesa."

† As this letter is an answer to the letter of De Puebla of the 15th July 1488, it is most probable that it was written towards the end of the year 1488, and before Sepulveda returned to England. Francis, Duke of Brittany, whose intended marriage is mentioned, died on the 9th of September 1488. His death must have been unknown in Spain at the date of this letter.

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As Henry delays to give an answer it is probable that the King of France will send an embassy to Spain, making many either certain or uncertain offers.

Wishes that Sepulveda should be instructed to follow the advice of De Puebla in all matters, and do nothing against it.

The clause respecting the King of Portugal will be inserted in the treaty as desired.

Respecting the marriage (between Katharine and Arthur), there seem to be no difficulties. One half, one third, or at any rate one fourth, may be paid in ornaments, jewels, &c., of the Princess.

Writes about the Council.

Sends a bird.—11th October 1488.

The letter itself is not extant. The extract is made by Fern: Alvarez, Secretary of State to Ferdinand and Isabella. Spanish. pp. 1½.

30 Oct. **26.** DE PUEBLA to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

* S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Sepulveda has arrived.

Wonders that Sepulveda did not explain the clause respecting the King of France.

Had not dared to make known their demands to Henry. Thinks it impossible they can be granted. Continues the negotiations in the same manner as he had begun them, and asks a longer time for the accomplishment of what he is ordered to do in England.

Has written to Fonseca, whose answer is enclosed.

Has seen the treaties of alliance between France and Scotland. If either of the parties makes war or peace with England, the other is bound to do the same.—30th October.

The letter is no longer extant. The extract is made by Fern: Alvarez, Secretary of State. Spanish. p. 1.

11 Dec. **27.** DE PUEBLA to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Brittany.

Henry had sent for him, and had had a long conversation with him respecting Brittany. He said that on account of the Duchess of Brittany being so nearly related to the King of Spain, it is to be expected that Spain will do something in her behalf.

De Puebla said he was unable to give any answer.

Henry. If he should succour the Duchess, can De Puebla promise that Spain would likewise send succour?

De Puebla answered that it was most probable, but he did not know in what manner or at what time.

Wishes to be informed on this subject.

The Lord Privy Seal had sent him a paper containing the offers of Henry. Was unable to give any answer. Sends the paper, and awaits further instructions.

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The King of France has proclaimed that it is in his power to make peace with Spain, even without the restoration of Roussillon and Cerdaña.—11th December.

The letter is no longer extant. The extract is made by Fern: Alvarez, Secretary of State. Spanish. p. 1.

11 Dec. **28.** HENRY VII. to THOMAS SAVAGE and RICHARD NANFAN.

P. R. O. Fr. R. 4 Hen. VII. m. 20. (2.)

Commission to Thomas Savage and Richard Nanfan, to conclude with the ambassadors of Ferdinand and Isabella, 1, a treaty of peace and alliance; 2, a treaty of marriage between Arthur, Prince of Wales, and Katharine, Princess of Spain.—Westminster, 11th December 1488.

Latin.

Printed in Rymer.

17 Dec. **29.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Have received his letters (which came by way of La Rochelle and Burgos) of the 11th and 31st of October and 11th of November. Letters of importance must henceforth be sent by special couriers.

France.

De Puebla has written that their demands respecting the King of France involve an inequality in the conditions of the contracting parties, and even a contradiction. Such is not the case. Henry has promised and sworn that, after the conclusion of the treaty of alliance and matrimony, he will make war or peace with the king of France, according to their bidding. They ask nothing more than that he should promise in writing what he has promised and sworn to by word of mouth. The enclosed memorial of Fernan Alvarez which Sepulveda has taken back to England, contains all their reasons for making this request. De Puebla must procure a favourable answer.

If it be impossible to obtain it, the treaty of alliance may be concluded according to what De Puebla has written; that is to say, that "After the conclusion of the alliances, the "King of England shall bind himself to make war upon the "King of France every time and whenever Spain is at war "with France, and whenever he is requested to do so; also "he shall not be at liberty to make peace or alliance with "France, or any truce, without our express consent, *except* "the King of France do *really* give back to the King of "England the Duchies of Guienne and Normandy. In that "case the said King of England is at liberty to conclude peace "and alliance with the King of France. In the same way "we bind ourselves to make war on the said King of France "every time and whenever the said King of England is at war "with France, and we are requested by him to do so, and will "make no peace or alliance with the King of France, or "assent to any truce, without his (King of England) con-"sent, *except* the said King of France give back to us our

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" counties of Roussillon and Cerdaña, in which case we shall " be at liberty to conclude peace and alliance with France." These conditions are the same for both parties.*

Marriage portion of the Princess Katharine.

Concerning the *marriage* nothing is to be said for the present, except that the marriage portion must be as small as possible, and on no condition exceed the sum named in the instructions. One half or one third, or, at any rate, the fourth part, must be accepted in ornament and apparel for the person and the household of the Infanta.

King of Portugal.

The *King of Portugal*, as being the friend of both contracting parties, may be excepted.

Brittany.

The King of France will offer Henry anything to let him take Brittany. Henry ought to consider the great disadvantage it will be to England if France should have Brittany in her power. As England is a neighbour of Brittany, she is best qualified to assist her. The King of France is trying to put off Henry with fine words in order that the Duchess may be without assistance in the summer. If Henry aid the Duchess of Brittany, Ferdinand and Isabella will engage to do the same.†

Duke of Buckingham.

As to the marriage of the Duke of Buckingham with the Duchess of Brittany, Ferdinand and Isabella would wish to favour it, in order to please Henry, who ought, however, to consider well whether this marriage will not damage the interests of the Duchess. The Count Labrit‡ desires to marry her. He and the Marshal of Brittany are of the same mind, and are very powerful in the country. If, from resentment, they espoused the cause of France, all would be lost. Every means must be used to prevent Brittany from falling into the power of France. Unless it were the King of France, whoever became Duke of Brittany would be obliged to befriend England.

King of the Romans.

Ferdinand and Isabella approve of what De Puebla has negotiated with the ambassadors of the King of the Romans. Fonseca has returned to Spain, accompanied by the ambassadors of the King of the Romans, the Bastard of Burgundy, Bawduyn and Petit Salazar. Ferdinand and Isabella intend to assist the King of the Romans. De Puebla is to prevent the King of England from aiding the Flemish against the King of the Romans, who ought to be included in the treaty between Spain and England. Henry must consider that

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* Here follows a paragraph which is blotted out. It contains the injunction to De Puebla to get the above clause inserted into the principal treaty, and if that be impossible, to have it written on a separate paper signed and sealed.

† Here a paragraph is blotted out, in which it is said that Ferdinand and Isabella cannot do as much as they wish, because they are occupied in the war against the Moors. They are ready to give any security to the King of England, that they will assist the Duchess of Brittany. The King of England wishes the Duke of Buckingham to marry the Duchess of Brittany. Francisco de Rojas, who is Spanish ambassador in Brittany at present, is instructed to use all his influence in favour of the Duke of Buckingham.

‡ D'Albret.

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danger would accrue to England if France were to conquer the states of the Duke of Burgundy.

De Puebla and Sepulveda are warned not to exceed their instructions.

As soon as everything has been arranged, ambassadors must be sent to Spain in order that the treaties may be signed there. If that be impossible, the treaties may be privately signed in England, and afterwards publicly in Spain.

Above all, Brittany must be assisted.—From Valladolid, 17th December '88.

Spanish. pp. 10. *Draft by Fern: Alvarez, Secretary of State.*

21st Dec.? **30.** DE PUEBLA to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Henry VII. has spoken of his obligations to the King of France, and of the many friends he is losing because he is not acting in concert with France. Nevertheless, he says, he is prepared to abandon them all, and to come to an understanding with Spain, by which he will force the King of France to do the will of Spain, or even to conclude a general peace.

A note for Queen Isabella is included, which treats of the Scottish marriage.

The letter is not extant. The extract is made by Fern: Alvarez, Secretary of State. Spanish. p. 1.

21st Dec.? **31.** DE PUEBLA to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

King of the Romans.

The ambassadors of the King of the Romans have arrived, and communicated to him all the business for which they had been sent. The King of the Romans is ready to conclude a treaty of peace with Henry on whatever conditions he likes, provided he will bind himself to succour Brittany with a powerful army. Told them that his instructions oblige him to assist in concluding peace between Henry and the King of the Romans; but that the marriage of the Duchess of Brittany must remain at the option of Henry. The ambassadors asked him to give his declarations in writing. Promised to do so when the other matters were concluded.

Is afraid that the English, although they made every concession by word of mouth regarding the clause which relates to the King of France, will cause delays and raise difficulties, as soon as they come to put down their obligations in writing. The whole affair might be broken off by them. Asks very clear instructions, and promises not to exceed them in any respect.

War with France.

In appearance, the conditions may be very hard that Spain must make war against France as soon as England undertakes such a war; but in reality there is no danger in it. England is at profound peace, and will not readily begin hostilities with France. There is, therefore, no reason to reject the proposals of Henry on this account.

The letter is not extant. The extract is by Fern: Alvarez, Secretary of State. Spanish. p. 1.

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15 Feb. **32.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Have received various letters from De Puebla, the last of the 21st December ult.

Have not written for a long time, because they were told that he was on his way to Spain with the English ambassadors.

Duchess of Brittany.

Ambassadors and gentlemen from the Duchess of Brittany have arrived, demanding assistance against France, and the sooner the better. Ferdinand will go directly to Andalusia, and provide for the frontier war against the Moors. He will then return, and get the expedition to Brittany ready. The inundations of the rivers delay his departure. Meanwhile ambassadors have been sent to Brittany to pacify those who are living at the Court of the Duchess, and who are said to be quarrelling with one another. It is rumoured that Henry has already sent troops to Brittany. De Puebla is ordered to procure speedy and effectual assistance from him. Henry has the best opportunity for it, considering the dispositions of his troops and the close vicinity.

As to the marriage of the Duchess of Brittany, the ambassadors told her that Henry wished her to marry the Duke of Buckingham, and to have certain fortresses delivered to him, as security for the pay of his troops. The fortresses are given as security, but the answer respecting the marriage is evasive. Want to know in what state the affair is now. It may be that the Duchess wishes to make another marriage. Would Henry resent it, provided the husband to be chosen were a friend of his own? On all these points De Puebla must inform himself very minutely, but without letting Henry know anything that might induce him not to assist Brittany, or to put off the conclusion of the treaties with Spain.

In the other negotiations with England De Puebla has done perfectly well. The ambassadors ought to come as soon as possible that Ferdinand may see them before his departure for Andalusia.

King of the Romans.

Ambassadors from the King of the Romans have arrived and returned in company with ambassadors from Ferdinand and Isabella to the said King. If Henry and the King of the Romans are not yet reconciled, De Puebla is to procure their reconciliation.

Draft. Spanish. pp. 4.

Indorsed: "A copy of this in cipher is sent from Medina by a courier to Diego de Soria in Burgos, the 15*th of February* 1489, *in order to be forwarded to De Puebla."*

The despatch went in cipher, but the ciphered copy of it is no longer extant.

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33. ROGER MACHADOS' relation of the ENGLISH EMBASSY to SPAIN and PORTUGAL.

Arundel Coll. Coll. of Arms.

The King of England sent Dr. Thomas Salvage and Richard Nanfan, accompanied by Roger Machado, Richmond King-at-arms, on an embassy to Spain and Portugal. After relating the occurrences of their voyage, and their journey from Laredo to Medina del Campo, they give an account of their first audience of the King and Queen, which took place on the 14th March. On delivering their letters Doctor Salvage made a long oration in Latin, to which the Bishop of CiudadRodrigo replied, but "le bon evesque estoit si viel, et avoyt perd "tous ses dens, que a grant payne on peult entendre ce qu'il "dissoit." The second audience took place the next day, when they conferred with the King and Queen about the matters respecting which they had come, and afterwards were introduced to the Prince and Infanta. On the 22nd and 25th jousts and bull fights were held in their honour. Machado adds, "On parle de l'onner que en fait es enbassadeurs en "Angleterre ; certes ce n'est pas à comparer à l'onner que on fait "aulx enbassadeurs au royaulme de Castille." On the 27th they concluded all their negotiations, the King and Queen swearing to do and keep all that had been agreed upon between them and the King of England; after which the ambassadors took leave, and, laden with rich presents, pursued their journey towards Portugal.

French, 42 *pages of print.*

Printed in Gairdner's Memorials of Henry VII.

27–28 Mar. 34. TREATY between ENGLAND and SPAIN, ratified by FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 1.

Proem.

Commission of Ferdinand and Isabella to Didacus de Guevara, Doctor de Puebla, and Sepulveda, dated Medina del Campo, 26th of March 1489 :

Commission of Henry VII. to Richard Nanfan and Thomas Salvage, dated Westminster, 11th of December, 4th year of his reign (1488) :

Treaty between England and Spain.

1. A true friendship and alliance shall be observed henceforth between Ferdinand and Isabella, their heirs and subjects, on the one part, and Henry, his heirs and subjects, on the other part. They promise to assist one another in defending their present and future dominions against any enemy whatsoever.

The subjects of one of the contracting parties are allowed to travel, stay and carry on commerce in the dominions of the other contracting party, without general or special passport, and will be treated on the same footing as the citizens of the country in which they temporarily reside.

The customs are to be reduced to what they were in time of peace thirty years ago.

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2. Neither party shall in any way favour the rebels of the other party, nor permit them to be favoured or stay in his dominions.

3. Mutual assistance to be given against all aggressors within three months after the assistance has been requested. The assisted party to pay the expenses, which are to be fixed by four knights, two from each side.

4. Henry is not permitted to assist Charles, King of France, or any other prince at war with Spain. Ferdinand and Isabella promise the same to Henry.

5. Henry is not to conclude peace, alliance, or treaties with France without the sanction of Ferdinand and Isabella, who, on their side, bind themselves to the same effect with respect to Henry.

6. As often as and whenever Ferdinand and Isabella make war with France, Henry shall do the same, and conversely.

France.

7. As Henry, however, has concluded a truce with France till the 17th of January next, he is not to call upon Spain, during this truce, to undertake a war with France. For the term of one year after the expiration of the said truce either party shall be at liberty to conclude a new truce with the King of France, but the other contracting party must be included in it. Should actual war, however, break out "this very day" between England and France, neither Henry nor Ferdinand and Isabella shall conclude a truce without the express sanction of all parties to this treaty, except,—

8. In case the King of France voluntarily restore Normandy and Aquitaine to England, Henry shall be at liberty to conclude peace with him without the consent of Spain; or in case the King of France restore Roussillon and Cerdaña to Spain, then Ferdinand and Isabella shall be at liberty to make peace with him without the consent of England, all other clauses of this treaty remaining in full force.

9. Either of the contracting parties shall include the other in all leagues, treaties, &c., with other princes or republics.

10. The Pope and the Kings of Naples and Portugal are excepted from this treaty. The King of the Romans shall be excepted as soon as he shall conclude an alliance with both contracting parties.

12. The Duchess of Brittany and her future husband are likewise excepted.

Letters of marque.

13. All letters of marque and reprisal are revoked. Any Spanish or English vessel sailing from a Spanish or English port is to give security for good behaviour at sea, to the amount of double the value of the vessel, its equipment, and provisions. If during the voyage it causes damage to Spanish or English vessels, the injured party shall be indemnified from the said security. Should justice be denied, the King of the injured party must twice demand redress from the sovereign

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of the party which has done the damage before he deliver letters of marque and reprisal.

14. Infractions by the subjects of either of the contracting parties are not to dissolve the treaty.

15. In case a subject of one of the countries in question is injured by a subject of the other country, and redress cannot be obtained, after it has been demanded by the government of the injured party, letters of marque and reprisal may be issued.

16. The treaty is to be proclaimed within six months after its signature in all towns and seaports of Spain and England.

Marriage of the Princess Katharine.

17. In order to strengthen this alliance the Princess Katharine is to marry Prince Arthur. The marriage is to be contracted *per verba de futuro* as soon as Katharine and Arthur attain the necessary age.

18. The marriage shall be contracted *per verba de præsenti* and consummated as soon as the Prince and the Princess attain the necessary age for it. Henry and Ferdinand and Isabella shall swear to employ all their influence with their children that the marriage be contracted as stipulated.

Marriage portion.

19. The marriage portion is to be 200,000 scudos, each scudo in value 4*s*. 2*d*. sterling. One half to be paid when the Princess comes to England, and the other half within two years after.

Dowry.

20. De Puebla states that it has been agreed between him, the Bishop of Exeter, and the Lord Privy Seal that one fourth of the marriage portion shall be payable in ornaments, jewels, &c. belonging to the Princess. The English ambassadors, on the contrary, deny that such an arrangement has been made. The word of honour, and the oath, of the Bishop of Exeter and the Lord Privy Seal are to be given on this question.

20. The dowry is to consist of a third part of the revenues of the duchies of Wales, Cornwall, and Chester, which is warranted to amount to no less than 25,000 or at least 23,000 crowns. In case the Princess become Queen of England, she is to enjoy a greater dowry, in the same way as other Queens have done before her.

21. Ferdinand and Isabella pledge all their goods and revenues, and all the goods and revenues of their subjects, for payment of the marriage portion.

22. Henry pledges all his and his subjects' goods and revenues for the dowry.

23. The right of succession to the crown of Castile and Arragon is reserved to the Princess Katharine.

24. Ferdinand and Isabella promise to send the Princess to England decently apparelled and provided with ornaments and jewels becoming her rank. Her marriage must take place within one month after her arrival in England.

1489.

25. The time when the Princess is to go to England shall be fixed hereafter.

Medina del Campo, 27th of March 1489.

Signatures of the Spanish commissioners and English ambassadors.

Ratification of Ferdinand and Isabella, Medina del Campo, 28th of March 1489.*

Latin. On parchment. pp. 43.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 91. **35.** MEMORIAL of the CLAUSES contained in the TREATY with the KING OF ENGLAND, and not contained in the TREATY with the KING OF THE ROMANS.

"Among the clauses omitted in the treaty with the King of "the Romans are the following:—Neither of the contracting "parties to be allowed to receive the enemies or rebels of the "other party in his dominions, or to give them advice and "assistance.

"2. The clause respecting the army to be sent in assistance.

King of France. "3. Neither of the contracting parties to be allowed to assist "the King of France.

"4. Either of the contracting parties not to be at liberty to "conclude peace with the King of France without the express "sanction of the other party.

"5. If one party make war upon France, the other party "is bound to do the same. [This clause in the other treaty is "limited to the case in which each of the parties consent to "recover what has been taken from him.] As soon as either "of them obtain his rights, he is no longer bound to con-"tinue the war."

[Then follows an abstract of the seventh clause of the treaty of the 27th of March, containing the modalities of the war against France.]

"Neither of the contracting parties is at liberty to conclude "peace and alliance with any other prince or republic without "including the other party. [This clause is not in the treaty "with the King of the Romans.]

"It is necessary to bear in mind the manner in which the "King of the Romans, the Duchess of Brittany and her future "husband are excepted.

"There is no clause in the treaty with the King of the "Romans which binds him, in case he make peace with "France, to ask Charles to give back to Ferdinand the counties "of Rousillon and Cerdaña."—No date.†

Spanish. pp. 3.

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* The signatures of Ferdinand and Isabella are cut out, apparently with a pair of scissors. So much of the letters, however, forming their names remain, that it cannot be doubted but that the ratification of the treaty had been signed by them.

† There are several other papers at Simancas written in the same hand, but not signed. When Francis I. became a prisoner of Charles V., the writer of this memoir was asked to give his opinion on the best policy to be followed. In the paper containing his answer, he calls himself an *old counsellor* of Ferdinand, who had retired from active business a long time ago.

1489.
22 July. **36.**

S. E. T. c. I.
L. 3. f. 1.

Treaty between the King of France and the King of the Romans.

Duchess of Brittany.

TREATY between the KING OF FRANCE and the KING OF THE ROMANS, the substance of which is as follows:—

1. They have made perpetual peace, which has been publicly proclaimed.

2. As for the other business of the Duchess, who is not called *Duchess* but *Madame Anne*, "as she was styled in "the treaty which the King of England* gave me to read "with his own hand," it is agreed that, of the four places which the King of France has conquered, two are to be given to Monsieur de Bourbon, and two to the Prince of Orange. The King of the Romans promises that the Duchess shall turn the English out of her dominions.

3. With regard to the duchy of Burgundy and the two seignories (señorios) which the King of France has taken, it is said that, at the meeting of the Kings, Charles will act liberally to the King of the Romans, and has promised to do the same with respect to St. Omer.

4. Both parties have included their friends in this treaty without naming them. They intend to give the names of their friends at their intended interview, neither the time nor the place of which is as yet agreed upon.

The treaty of 1482 is to be revived. It is agreed that they shall give back their lands to Monsieur D'Albret, to Monsieur Philip, and to the old Duchess.—No date.†

Spanish, of which the preceding is a literal translation. *p.* 1.

27 May. **37.**

B. R.
V. 3653. f. 135.

Duties on Spanish goods.

FERDINAND to HENRY VII.

Juan Albanel and Miguel Casaldaguila, Spanish merchants, residing in England, have complained that they are forced to pay higher duties on goods imported into England than they have hitherto paid. The Custom House officers protest that they are not subjects of the Crown of Castile. According to the treaty of peace between Spain and England, all Spanish subjects, without distinction, are to be on the same footing as Englishmen. Hopes Henry will do them justice.—Jaen, 27th of May 1489.

Spanish. *pp.* 2.

18 Oct. **38.**

Fr. R.
5 & 6 Hen. VII.
m. 38. (7).

HENRY VII. to ALL PERSONS.

Letters of safe conduct and protection to John Lopes and Gomes de Soria, merchants of Spain, and residents of Bruges in Flanders, to come into England, &c.—Westminster, the 18th of October.

Latin. *p.* ¼.

* In the original document it is written "El Rey de Inglaterra," which is scratched out, and a cipher put in its stead.

† This is an extract, made by De Puebla, from the treaty concluded at Frankfort on the 22nd July 1489.

1489.
29 Nov. **39.**

P. R. O.
Fr. R.
5 & 6 Hen. VII.
m. 8. (27.)

HENRY VII.

Licence to Sanchio de Vilbao, John de Bassesavall, John de Mondake, John de Arechega, John Ochoa de Arresticita, Myngot de Fawtys, John de Arbiet, Martin de Geldo, Stephen de Argundegi, Ocheo de Gronde, Spanish Merchants, to trade with their ships in England.—Windsor, the 29th of November.

Latin. *p.* ½.

4 Dec. **40.**

B. R.
V. 3565. f. 241.

FERDINAND to ELIZABETH, QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

Ferdinand has conquered the town of Baca, in the kingdom of Granada, and has made great progress in the war against the Moors. As his victory must interest all the Christian world, he thinks it his duty to inform the Queen of England of it. —Baca, 4th of December 1489.

Latin. *pp.* 2.

There are several letters to the same effect to different princes, but not one to Henry VII.

1490.
Jan. (?) **41.**

S. E. T. c. I.
L. 2.

Proposed marriage of the King of Scots to an illegitimate daughter of Ferdinand.

FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DIEGO DE GUEVARA and DOCTOR DE PUEBLA.

Have received all their letters up to the 23d of November.

Respecting the *Scotch marriage* De Puebla has certainly acted with the best intentions, but it was not wise to say that Doña Juana was a legitimate daughter (of Ferdinand) by a clandestine marriage. The consequences might be very serious. He must tell the Scotch ambassadors the truth before they leave, because it would be better that they should learn it from him than from stangers. "Considering the route by "which you say they are to come, it is impossible that some one "should not tell them the truth; and even we would do so." Doña Juana is a natural daughter born before marriage.* If the King of Scots know this, and nevertheless likes to marry her, her marriage portion might be doubled. But the Scottish embassy must come for *this* Doña Juana alone, and not for any other of their daughters. If the Scots wish to have one of the Infantas of Spain they must be put off with false hopes, because if a plain refusal were given them they might be induced to reconcile themselves with the King of France. The Scots have such a very good opinion of themselves as to pretend that they can induce the King of France to restore the counties of Roussillon and Cerdaña to Spain. Puebla can therefore say that

* Doña Juana (not to be confounded with the Infanta Doña Juana, daughter of Ferdinand and *Isabella*,) was the daughter of Ferdinand and a lady from Tárega in Catalonia. She afterwards married D. Bernardino Fernandez de Velasco, Constable of Castile, generally called the Great. Four illegitimate children of Ferdinand the Catholic are known; viz., a son, who was Archbishop of Taragoza, the said Juana, and two other daughters, who both died as prioresses of Sta. Clara de Madrigal.

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they shall have an Infanta of Spain as soon as they effect the restoration of the said counties. They will not be able to do it, and will lose much time in unpleasant negotiations, which perhaps might end in a quarrel with France. At all events, pending the negotiations, they would not assist France against Spain.

The demands made by Henry respecting the Princess Katharine.

Have been already beseeched by the ambassadors of the King of England, who have been in Spain for the signature of the treaty, to *send the Princess Katharine to England* before the time of her marriage, and to pay one-half of her marriage portion within the space of four years. These demands were denied for many good reasons. As Henry makes the same proposals again, he must again be refused. Can give no further security for the marriage portion than their word, their signatures, and their oaths. Are induced to consent to the marriage, and to conclude the alliance, because they know "who Henry is, how many "virtues he possesses, and for what reasons he seeks their "friendship and kinsmanship." Their good opinion of him is a better security than all the pledges they could give. Henry must sign the marriage treaty without any alteration, even of a single word.

If, however, he is very determined to have more security, the intervention of the Pope might be stipulated.

Proposed marriage of the Infant Don Juan to the Duchess of Brittany.

The King of England consents to the *marriage between their son Don Juan and the Duchess of Brittany*, as an act of great kindness and friendship. But they do not like to part with their only son, and to send him to a foreign country. Must confess that De Puebla was ordered to speak to Henry about this marriage. The reason, however, was that it was said that the Duchess was bent on making a "brilliant match with a great Prince," and some persons had proposed one who could not be agreeable either to Henry or to them. Other people had proposed their son Don Juan in order to draw off the Princess from the personage referred to. Wished, therefore, to know the views of Henry on this subject. But now, as Spain and England have done so much for the Duchess of Brittany, she ought to accept a husband from them. The best thing will be to give, without delay, a master to Brittany. Are willing to assist in Brittany any person named by Henry with their influence, provided he be a friend to both countries, England and Spain. Promise to see that the future husband of the Duchess fulfil the treaty between her and Henry. Would directly rectify the paper which Henry has sent, if Don Juan were to marry the Duchess. But Henry ought to continue to assist Brittany, as it is for his own interest that France should not conquer it. He holds security for his expenses, whilst Spain, being much less interested in this matter, has spent as much as he, and holds no security at all. Their honour forbids them to abandon the Duchess.

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Embassy from the King of France to England.

An ambassador from France has been in England. Are pleased to hear that Henry had been so very civil to him in presence of the French ambassadors, and had afterwards communicated to him all his negotiations with France, saying that the French had proposed *perpetual peace*, but that he, though commending the peace, had asked first for the restitution of Normandy and Guienne. Think that England and France will go to war, or, at least, that the war will be only postponed for one year, that is to say, if France does not threaten Brittany.

It would be superfluous to say anything about the perpetual peace, as Henry is not likely to conclude it.

Do not object to a truce with France for one year, provided that they are included in it, and that the party which the King of the Romans has formed remain in favour with the Duchess; that England retain the fortresses in Brittany which she holds; and Spain be permitted to have as many troops in the duchy as are necessary for the defence of the Duchess.

The English army in Brittany has occasioned so much fear to the King of France that he has made humble requests to the King of the Romans, his old enemy, and would have done the same to Spain if desired to do so. The truce may, therefore, be kept as long as Charles keeps his promises respecting the Duchess of Brittany. Nevertheless Henry ought first to communicate the conditions of the truce to them, and wait for their answer.

Meeting between Henry VII. and the King of the Romans.

The meeting between Henry and the King of the Romans, before the King of the Romans goes to see the King of France, can be nothing but profitable to all parties. The King of the Romans, however, has not mentioned this interview in any of his letters, or spoken of it to their ambassadors, or to the Archdeacon Fonseca, who has been sent to him since. Nor have his ambassadors in Spain alluded in a single word to this affair. The interview seems, therefore, to be a very uncertain thing. If, he, however, should be desired by Henry to accompany him to the interview, he must go.

The King of France has made a communication to Henry, pointing out that the *alliance with Spain is of little value*, because she is fully occupied by the war against the Moors, and almost impenetrable mountains separate her from France. As for the impenetrable mountains, the answer of De Puebla is exhaustive; in fact, Spain is very well situated for a war against France by land and by sea. The war against the Moors is almost finished.

Letters for Henry and for the *Lord Privy Seal* are enclosed.

He must, at all events, remain in England till the interviews of the King of the Romans with Henry and with the King of France shall have taken place. Will send further instructions.

Complaints of Spanish merchants.

Spanish merchants have complained that they are obliged

1490.

to pay higher duties than before. Laboured under the false impression that all imports had been increased during the civil wars in England, when they signed the clause stating that the customs were to be what they were thirty years ago. Ask Henry to interpret the clause in question according to the true intention, which was to diminish and not increase the imposts on Spanish commerce.

English troops in Brittany.

Have inquired into the matter respecting the *English troops in Brittany.* They are sorry to say that the Duchess, who is in the power of Frenchmen, and dares not say what she wishes, but speaks in the interest of the King of France, desires that the English army should leave Brittany.

Marriage of the Princess Katharine.

After this had been written, the letter of De Puebla dated the 25th of October had arrived. Learn by it that the English Commissioners no longer insist on having the Princess (Katharine) sent to England, and one half of the marriage portion paid within four years. Nevertheless, the English think that some more favour ought to be shown to them for their generous consent to the marriage between the Infante Juan and the Duchess of Brittany. Have already written that it was never intended to conclude such a marriage, which was only proposed in order to divert the Duchess from marrying a person who would have been distasteful both to Spain and to England. He must conclude the treaty of alliance and marriage as it had been agreed to at Medina del Campo.

Duchess of Brittany.

When the dispatch had been written as far as this, letters arrived from the *Spanish ambassadors in Brittany. The ambassadors of the Duchess to the King of France* have returned, and persuaded her to sign the treaty between the King of the Romans and the King of France without any alteration. It contains a clause, according to which the English are immediately to be turned out of Brittany; and the Duchess desires them to give up the fortresses they hold, even before they leave the country. The whole business is to be definitively settled when the Kings of France and of the Romans meet. The intention of the King of France is to disunite the Duchess from her friends, in order to take her duchy. This new friendship must be disturbed for the honour of Spain and England.

Have instructed their ambassadors in Brittany to persuade the Duchess not to dismiss the English, but to reconcile them with the Marshal and the other Bretons. Have often written to their captains, who are in Brittany, asking them to be on good terms with the English. But the reply was, that the captains did not think it advisable to show much friendship to the English, lest the Duchess should suspect them, as she already suspects the English, of too great partiality for D'Albret and the Marshal, and of acting in the interest of France. Have now given imperative orders to their captains to concert everything with the English. The greatest efforts must be made to prevent the Duchess from being influenced by France. A

Efforts to be used with the Duchess to disunite her from France.

1490.

truce may be concluded, but only for one year, on conditions that France respect the frontier of the duchy, that the English retain the fortresses they hold, and that the Spanish do not leave Brittany.

All the aforesaid had already been written in cipher; but as Don Martin is so trustworthy a servant, he will take this paper, written by Fernan Alvarez in common writing.

There are *different parties in the court of Brittany* contending with each other. The Duchess is now on the side of *D'Albret* and the *Marshal*, who have made peace with, and are in the interest of France. The *Prince of Orange* and the *Count Dunoys* exercise too much influence over her. They are decided partisans of France, and it might even happen that the Duchess would put herself under the protection of Charles. Have written to the Count Salinas and to Rojas to counteract the French intrigues. Henry is desired to order his ambassadors in Spain to combine their efforts with those of Salinas and Rojas.

Have told the ambassador of the Duchess, who has lately come to Spain, how little the party of D'Albret and the Marshal can be trusted seeing that they entirely depend on the Prince of Orange and the Count Dunoys. The ambassador proposed, not in the name of the Duchess, but on his own account, that she should place herself under the protection of Salinas and Rojas. Have introduced their ambassadors into Brittany to induce the Duchess by all the means in their power to place herself under the joint protection of Spain and England; or, if that meets with difficulties, under the sole protection of either England or Spain. Promise that, in case she should choose their protection, they will not permit her to marry a person who is disagreeable to Henry, and ask Henry to give a similar promise to them. These reciprocal promises must be put immediately into writing, and signed by both parties . . . .

Spanish ambassadors in Brittany.

Written by Fernan. Alvarez, Secretary of State. Incomplete.

Spanish. Draft. pp. 22.

25 Feb. **42.** HENRY VII. to S. DUARTE.

Fr. R. 5 & 6 Hen. VII. m. 16. (29.)

Licence to Saubát Duarte, merchant of Fontraby, in Spain, to trade between Gascony and England.—Westminster, the 25th of February.

Latin. *p.* $\frac{1}{4}$.

6 March. **43.** HENRY VII. to ALL PERSONS.

Fr. R. 5 & 6 Hen. VII. m. 8. (37.)

Letter of safe conduct and protection to Fernando de calante, of Saint Andere* in Spain.—Westminster, the 6th of March.

Latin. *p.* $\frac{1}{4}$.

* Santander.

1490.
13 March. **44.** HENRY VII. to JOHN BELTRAN.

Fr. R.
5 & 6 Hen. VII.
m. 40. (5).

The King (at the request of Diego de Guejoara, ambassador from the King of Spain to him) takes under his protection and safe conduct John Beltran, of Rentery, in Biscay, a subject of the King of Spain.—Dated at Westminster, the 13th March.

[*A repetition of this document on mem.* 41. (4.) *Westminster, the 6th of November.*]

Latin. p. ¼.

6 May. **45.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to the BISHOP OF BADAJOZ, their AMBASSADOR in ROME.

B. R.
3686. f. 108.

Have heard that the Prothonotary Flores accompanies the Legate whom the Pope has sent to the Kings of France and England. This Flores is the most implacable enemy of Spain. He endeavours to reconcile the King of France with the King of England, not because he is a friend of peace, but because he thinks that peace between England and France would be prejudicial to the interests of Spain.

Intentions of the Pope with regard to a peace between France and England.

Believe that the intention of the Pope has been good, and do not object to peace being made by his intervention. But the Pope ought to consider well whether the peace between France and Spain, or between France and England, is of greater importance. If France and Spain were reconciled, peace between France and England would be the natural consequence thereof. But, on the other hand, a peace between France and England would not bring the war between Spain and France to a conclusion. It is quite out of the question that Spain should make peace before France has restored to her the counties of Cerdaña and Roussillon.

The Bishop of Badajoz is to tell the Pope, in as strong language as he thinks fit, that they resent very much the negotiations carried on by the Pope with respect to a peace between England and France.

Indorsed: "This letter was sent in cipher to the Bishop of Badajoz from Seville, on the 6th of May 1490."

Draft. Spanish. pp. 2½.

4 July. **46.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to ROJAS, their AMBASSADOR in BRITANY.

B. R. V. 3686.
f. 111.

Proposed marriage of the Duchess of Brittany.

Have received the sealed letters of the Duchess of Brittany and of the Prince of Orange concerning their consent to the marriage of the Duchess. Have afterwards received his letter of the 2d of June, and learn by it that the Duchess wishes to be married to their son (Infante Juan). Are pleased to hear it, and will, without loss of time, procure the consent of the King of the Romans to the marriage. Meanwhile he must continually speak to the Duchess and to the Prince of Orange of this affair, and remove (sanear) all the doubts they

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may have. Intend, if the marriage between their son and the Duchess should prove to be impossible, to marry her to the King of the Romans. Know it from a very reliable person that, although the King of the Romans is publicly treating this marriage for himself, secret negociations are being carried on to marry her to the Duke of Gueldres.—Cordova, 4th July 1490.

Spanish. *p.* 1.

11 July. **47.** HENRY VII. to B. DE LA FORSE.

Fr. R.
5 & 6 Hen. VII.
m. 8. (37.)

Licence to Barnard de la Forse, of Spain, to ship goods in Spanish ships to England, and that the same ships, having discharged their cargoes, may return in safety.—Westminster, the 11th of July.

Latin. *p.* ½.

July & Aug. **48.** HENRY VII. to SPANISH MERCHANTS.

P. R. O.
Fr. R.
5 & 6 Hen. VII.
m. 3. (42.)

Three licences granted to Spanish merchants to come over to England with Spanish ships laden with cargoes of different kinds, unload, and return, &c.—July and August, 6 Henry VII.

Latin. *p.* ½.

15 Aug. **49.** HENRY VII. to F. ROJAS, AMBASSADOR; COUNT DE SALINAS, CAPTAIN-GENERAL OF SPAIN; and PETER CARILLO in BRITTANY.

B. M.
MS. E. 616. f. 2.

Brittany.

Has received their letter of the 17th of July, through the Spanish ambassadors in England, who have informed him that they had been ordered by Ferdinand and Isabella to combine their forces with those of England as soon as they arrived in Brittany. For certain reasons they have not executed this command. Is not offended at their disobedience, because he loves their King and Queen so much, and because their reasons have been explained to him. Is ready to write to this effect to Ferdinand and Isabella. The captains must act to the best of their judgment.—Eltham, 15th August 1490.

Indorsed: "To the magnificent and excellent Lords, Francisco de Rojas, Ambassador; Count de Salinas, Captain-General; and Peter Carillo, Commissioners of the King and Queen of Spain in Brittany."

Latin. *pp.* 1½ *in print.*

Printed in Gairdner's Letters, &c. of Richard III. and Henry VII.; vol. I. p. 97.

25 Aug. **50.** HENRY VII. to A. DELATORRE.

Fr. R.
5 & 6 Hen. VII.
m. 29. (16.)

Licence to Alonso Delatorre, merchant of Spain, to trade in England.—Westminster, the 25th of August, 6 Hen. VII.

Latin. *p.* ¼.

1490.
7 Sept. **51.** QUEEN ISABELLA to the CARDINAL OF VALENCIA in Rome.

B. R. 3686. f. 112.

Has sent, in conjunction with King Ferdinand, instructions to the Bishop of Badajoz (6th May 1490) respecting the negotiations of peace carried on by the Pope. The Bishop of Badajoz will communicate them to him. Begs him to regard the said instruction as if the despatch were written to him.—Cordova, 7th September 1490.

Draft. Spanish. pp. 1½.

12 Sept. **52.** HENRY VII. to R. MAHEWE and R. RYDON.

P. R. O. Fr. R. 5 & 6 Hen. VII. m. 22. (23.)

Appointment of Richard Mahewe and Rob. Rydon, to treat with the King and Queen of Castile on behalf of the King of England.—Okyng, the 12th of September, 6 Hen. VII.

20 Sept. **53.** HENRY VII.

P. R. O. Fr.R. 6 Hen. VII. m. 21. (24.)

Ratification of the treaty with Ferdinand and Isabella of 27th March 1489.—Okyng, 20th of September 1490.

Latin.

20 Sept. **54.** HENRY VII.—ADDITIONAL CLAUSES to his TREATY with FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

P. R. O. Fr. R. 6 Hen. VII. m. 17. (28.)

1. In the treaty of the 27th of March 1489, a clause is contained that, in case of a common war against France, the King and Queen of Spain are at liberty to conclude a peace with the King of France if he restore to them the counties of Roussillon and Cerdaña. This clause is to be altered, and neither party is to make peace with the King of France in any circumstance whatever without the consent of the other party.

2. In the treaty of the 27th of March the time is not specified when the Princess Katharine is to be sent to England. It is, therefore, agreed upon by both parties that she is to be sent to England as soon as she has completed the twelfth year of her age, and the Prince of Wales the fourteenth year of his age. Of the marriage portion of the Princess 100,000 crowns will be paid within four days after the marriage, and of the remaining 100,000 crowns 50,000 crowns will be paid during each of th two following years.

3. The Princess of Wales shall have the third part of Wales, Cornwall, and Chester, as her dowry.

4. The treaty of the 27th of March 1489 remains in full force, excepting in such respects as are altered by this convention.—Given at Okyng, 20th September 1490.

Latin. pp. 2, *in print.*

Printed in Rymer.

1490.
20 Sept.

P. R. O.
Fr. R.
5 & 6 Hen. VII.
m. 27. (28.)

55. HENRY VII.

Ratifies the treaty between England and Spain, concluded in Medina del Campo on the 27th of March 1489, concerning the marriage of Prince Arthur with the Princess Katharine and the war against France.—Okyng, 20th of September 1490.

Latin. pp. 12.

Printed in Rymer.

23 Sept.

P. R. O.
Fr. R.
6 Hen. VII.
m. 29. (16.)

56. HENRY VII. to R. MAHEWE and R. RYDON.

Commission to Richard Mahewe, Master of Magdalen College at Oxford, Robert Rydon, Doctor of Law and Vice-Admiral, to convey the ratified treaties to Ferdinand and Isabella, and to receive from them similar ratifications.—Okyng, 23rd September 1490.

Printed in Rymer.

Latin. pp. 1, *in print.*

1490 (?).
(Winter.)

S. E. T. c. I.
L. 4.

Marriage of the Duchess of Brittany.

57. CHRISTOPHER MOSQUERA, SPANISH AMBASSADOR in BRITTANY, to HENRY VII.

Thanks for the letters he has received from Henry.

The Duchess of Brittany has concluded a marriage with the King of the Romans. Had always urged the Duchess first to ask the advice of Ferdinand and Isabella and of Henry; to which she had answered that she had their consent. It is not necessary to say much of the behaviour of the Duchess. Her marriage would not have been long delayed (if she had asked the consent of Ferdinand and Isabella and Henry VII.), for they would not have raised any difficulties.

Ferdinand and Isabella are recalling their troops from Brittany, because there is a truce now with the King of France, and winter has begun. They intend to send them back next spring. As Henry thinks that it would be dangerous to recall all the Spanish troops from Brittany, one portion of them, picked men from the whole army, is to remain in the town of Redon, on condition that the Duchess pays the expense.—From the town of Redon. No date.

Indorsed : "Copy of the letter which was written to the King of England."

Latin. Copy. pp. $5\frac{1}{2}$.

(Winter.)

S. E. T. c. I.
L. 2.

Spanish troops recalled from Brittany.

58. CHRISTOPHER MOSQUERA to the GRAND MASTER OF ENGLAND (Magno Magistro Angliæ).

Ferdinand and Isabella have ordered a portion of their troops in Brittany to be sent back to Spain, because a truce has been concluded with France for the space of six months.

It is intended to equip them in better style, and send them back next spring.

According to the wish of Henry a considerable number of picked men are to remain in Redon, if the Duchess will pay the expenses.—From Redon. No date.

The same letter to the Queen of the Romans, Count D'Albret, Countess Naval (Laval?), and Prince of Orange.

Latin. Copy. pp. 2.

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26 May. **59.** ISABELLA to DOCTOR DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Affairs in Brittany.

Virtuous and intimate friend. When 3 (their Highnesses)* ordered their 87 (troops) to leave 136 (Brittany), 81 (the treaty) of 64 (peace) was concluded and proclaimed between 8 (the King of France) and 188 (the King of the Romans). It seemed, therefore, well that they should come and repose here, since they were not wanted 82 (in Brittany). 97 (the troops) were no longer able to sustain themselves, being entirely unprovided. The contrary winds at 162 (sea) had 39 (not) permitted their Highnesses to send them the money, which was ready in Bilboa. As they were 39 (no) longer able to support themselves, it was necessary that they should return, and 3 (their Highnesses) gave the orders, of which you have been informed by Don Martin, their chaplain. They were persuaded that they should be able to send in the present 72 (month) more 114 (succour), and had already decided to send 74 (additional) 97 (troops). It would not have been difficult to do so if 97 (the troops), when recalled, had returned without loss of time. But the Bretons had so long delayed giving them the necessary transports, that they arrived 156 (just) at the moment when it was time for them to return with other (troops). They were in so wretched a condition that it was necessary to spend, on their equipment, a great part of the money destined for the said 74 (additional) 97 (troops).

Recall of Spanish troops.

Such being the state of things, events have happened, of which you are acquainted, and for which 3 (their Highnesses) are very sorry, but which they intend to remedy as though the affair were their own. Great preparations are necessary, for 97 (troops) must 39 (not) only be sent to those places where they are wanted, but war must also be made against the 163 (armies) of 8 (the King of France) in the other parts of his 171 (dominions). Moreover, the state of things in 102 (Granada) must be well considered, since they can 39 (not) leave the places there unprovided for, without evident danger of 91 (losing) all they have 92 (gained) in 102 (Granada). 232. (But) although 439 (aid) was formerly promised, after

Granada.

* It is very common, when writing in cipher, for the writer to speak of himself in the third person. "Their Highnesses" always mean "King and Queen of Spain."

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the business of 102 (Granada) had been provided for in the usual manner, their Highnesses intend 146 (now), in consequence of what has happened, to occupy themselves without loss of time with this matter. In order to be at liberty to do what is necessary, without considering the question whether the towns of 102 (Granada) be 90 (conquered) or 39 (not) 90 (conquered), they are constructing a 88 (fortress) there*, in which they intend to have good 97 (troops), and all that is necessary to 94 (besiege) 102 (Granada), or at least to watch her so closely that it shall 39 (not) be necessary to 94 (besiege) her now. The edifice is already in such a state, and the work is being carried on with such expedition, that within one 72 (month) and a half it will be finished, with the help of God; and no further danger need be feared; so that 4 (the King) (as abovesaid) will be at liberty to occupy himself with what is of more importance, without being in future detained by the business of 102 (Granada), as he has been hitherto.

Of all this you must 89 (give) a full account to 10 (the King of England) in order that he may see how great has been the zeal of 3 (their Highnesses) for 178 (Brittany) and .....†, and that he may know why their 97 (troops) can 39 (not) 42 (at present) enter on the campaign, and also that he may be made aware of the great efforts 3 (their Highnesses) are now making and intend to make in order that, the business of 102 (Granada) once settled, nothing may prevent them in future, by the blessing of God, from doing what they have to do for the 29 (good) of all. You must likewise beseech the said 10 (King of England) to consider .....‡, and to all, and how necessary to 3 (their Highnesses) it is, first to provide for this (which is of so much importance to them) in order to be at liberty 147 (hereafter). You must ask him to send such 114 (succour) and such forces, where they are necessary, as that 78 (the Duchess of Brittany) be 39 (not) 91 (lost), but guarded from all losses and inconveniences, till he (Ferdinand) come in person or send succour, and their Highnesses be at liberty to occupy themselves with all that is necessary in this affair. You must further inform him of the manner in which 8 (the King of France) and 9 (Madame de Bourbon?) are accustomed to make those, whom they wish to disunite, suspicious of one another. For this purpose they do not cease sending 40 (ambassadors) to 3 (their Highnesses) who can 39 (not) help [it], and must return an answer. Even 146 (now), it is said, he is sending an 40 (embassy) consisting of a prelate and a knight, and 3 (their Highnesses) are sure he does 39 (not) do it 38 (if) 39 (not) for 78 (the Duchess of Brittany), and to entertain them, and also to sow suspicion and 64 (distrust) between 3 (their High-

King of France, his machinations.

* Santa Fé.
† One number which is illegible.
‡ Two numbers illegible.

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nesses) and their friends. They believe that he does the same with 10 (the King of England) in respect to 3 (their Highnesses). Tell him all this, and send his answers directly to 3 (their Highnesses) by the bearer of this letter, who is sent for no other purpose.—26th May 1491.

Addressed: "To my special friend, Doctor De Puebla, ambassador in England."

Indorsed: "Ad literam in verbis Latinis explanavi et significavi à·10 (à el Rey de Inglaterra—Regi Angliæ.)"

*Spanish and Arabic numbers used as cipher.** *pp.* 5.

12 Sept. **60.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to the ARCHDEACON OF ZAMORA and the BACHELOR SASIOLA.

B. R. V. 3686. ff. 119, 120.

There is a difference between the treaties which have been concluded and the instructions they have now taken with them. If, as is probable, Henry VII. be inclined to accept the stipulations of the former treaty, Ferdinand and Isabella would much prefer it.

They must take the greatest care to amend the clause respecting the merchants.

They will find a cipher alphabet in this letter, of which they may make use, if anything important occurs.

From the Royal Camp before Granada, 12th of September 1491.

Spanish. p. 1.

25 Oct. **61.** HENRY VII. to D. DE CASTRO.

Fr. R. 7 Hen. VII. m. 16. (13.)

Licence to Didaco de Castro, merchant, of Spain, to trade in all places in amity with England.—Westminster, 25th October.

Latin. p. ¼.

S. E. T. c. L. L. 1. **62.** PROJECTED TREATY between ENGLAND and SPAIN.

Treaty between England and Spain.

A treaty has been concluded on the 27th of March between England and Spain respecting the marriage of Katharine and Prince Arthur, and mutual war against "the Prince "of the French, who styles himself King of France." The exact time when the war is to begin—the manner in which it is to be conducted—the time at which the Princess is to be sent to England, and the first instalment of her marriage portion paid, — and the question whether her

* The cipher, to which no key has been communicated to me, does not occur in any other document still extant. As it is impossible to reconstruct the key to it from this short letter, my interpretation of the cipher is based only on the general meaning of the sentences in which it is employed. For these reasons I considered it my duty to translate the letter at full length, in order to enable the reader to form his own opinion. I may remark that some numbers are so badly written that they are illegible.

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ornaments and jewels are to be deducted from the portion, remain unsettled. Ferdinand and Isabella on the one part, and Henry VII. on the other part, have therefore agreed upon the following clauses :—

1. As Henry, after the 27th of March, has concluded an alliance with the King of the Romans against the "Prince of the French," it is thought desirable that the clauses of both treaties, in so far as the war against France is concerned, should agree together. It is therefore concluded, that—

King of France.

2. If Charles invade any territory belonging to England or Spain,—or undertake war by land or sea against either of the said countries,—or if any French subject make such war, and adequate reparation cannot be obtained from Charles,—or if the duchy of Brittany be attacked by France, the injured party may declare war against France, and formally make known his declaration of war to the other uninjured party. If, moreover, within one year after the said announcement, the injured party personally invade France at the head of an army sufficiently strong to sustain itself and to carry on the war in France, the other shall do the like at the same time, each party paying his own expenses.

Duchess of Brittany.

If the Duchess of Britany be attacked, it is sufficient that she make war against France to the best of her power.

Either of the contracting powers is excused from continuing the war, if Charles restore to Spain her counties of Roussillon and Cerdaña, and to England the duchies of Normandy and Aquitaine.

3. Charles has offended all his neighbours, despoiled many of their patrimony, and even usurped territories belonging to Spain, England, and Brittany. Ferdinand and Henry, therefore, bind themselves, directly after the lapse of three years, or earlier if convenient, to declare war against Charles, and in their own persons to invade France with an army sufficiently strong to sustain itself, to repel the enemy, and to conquer the territories which Charles has taken from them. This war is to be carried on by land and by sea for the space of two years without interruption, unless England conquers earlier, and obtains possession of Normandy and Aquitaine; and Spain of the countries of Roussillon and Cerdaña.

If Ferdinand or Henry should be prevented by insuperable impediments, such, for instance, as severe illness, from invading France in his own person, he is to send an army as strong as it would have been had he commanded it in person, and to select an able captain for it.

4. If the war against France should, for any reason, be put off to a later time, all the other clauses of this treaty are to remain in full force, even if the prorogation shall be agreed upon by simple letters which do not bear the great seal.

5. During the space of three years from the date of this treaty either of the contracting parties is at liberty to conclude truce with France, except in case war has really begun.

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6. Conquered towns, &c. are to be restored to their rightful proprietors.

Marriage of the Princess Katharine.

7. As soon as Prince Arthur shall have completed his fourteenth, and the Princess Katherine her twelfth year, she is to be sent to England at the expense of her parents, in order that their marriage may take place.

The marriage portion is to consist of 200,000 scudos (4*s*. 2*d*. each), of which sum 100,000 scudos are to be paid within four days before or after the celebration of the marriage, 50,000 scudos within the next, and the remaining 50,000 within the second year. The payments must be made in England either in coin or vessels; and ornaments of gold and silver must be estimated according to their value in England at the time of payment.

8. All these clauses to have full force notwithstanding all stipulations to the contrary in former treaties; but such clauses of the former treaty are to remain in force as are not abrogated by this treaty.—No date.

Indorsed: "The treaty which the King of England asked and desired to conclude with my sovereign Lords, the King and the Queen of Spain."

Draft. Latin. pp. 19.

22 Nov. P. R. O. Fr. R. 7 Hen. VII. m. 26. (3.)

63. HENRY VII.—ARTICLES respecting a WAR with FRANCE.

1. The King of England and the King and Queen of Spain bind themselves to declare war upon France before the 15th day of April next ensuing. King Ferdinand and King Henry promise to invade France in their own persons, at the head of an army sufficiently strong to withstand the enemy, and to conquer all the provinces usurped by the King of France. The campaign is to begin before the 15th of May, or at least before the 15th of June next ensuing.

2. Should any difficulties arise, the term for the invasion of France may be postponed.

3. In all other respects the treaty of the 27th March 1489 remains unaltered.

4. Henry binds himself punctually to fulfil all his obligations arising out of this agreement.

Westminster, 22nd November.

Latin. p. 1, *in print.*

Printed in Rymer.

S.L. de B. Vol. xiii. f. 155.

64. POPE INNOCENT VIII. to PETER HUSA, ARCHDEACON OF NORTHAMPTON.

Greeting and benediction to the King of England. He is to show the brief.

The finances of the Apostolic See are in a very low state. Has, therefore, as in other kingdoms, for instance, in France,

Impositions to be levied by the Pope.

already levied a tenth on the clergy. Wishes to do the same in England, and asks the permission of Henry. He must inquire with great subtlety and great secrecy (so that no one else may know of it) whether Henry be inclined to permit the imposition.

He must afterwards go to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, give them the papal benediction, and explain the whole matter to them, saying that His Holiness hopes they will assist him.—No date.

Latin. *pp.* 2.

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17 March. **65.** HENRY VII. to F. DE LERMA.

Fr. R. 7 Hen. VII. m. 17. (14.)

License to Francisco de Lerma, of Spain, to trade in England.—Westminster, 17th March.

Latin. *p.* ¼.

22 March. **66.** HENRY VII. to P. DE LATUR AND OTHERS.

Fr. R. 7 Hen. VII. m. 22. (7.)

A license to Peter de Latur and Alonso de Burgos, merchants of Spain, to trade, dated at Westminster, the 19th of March; and a license to John de Billorado, Lanchio Ymbito, and Alonso de Compludo, merchants of Spain, to trade. —Westminster, 22nd March.

Latin. *p.* ¼.

31 March. **67.** FERDINAND to ALL PERSONS.

B. R. V. 3569. f. 122.

Passport and letter of recommendation in favour of John Mortimer, in holy orders and bachelor of arts, resident in Northampton, who had come to Spain in order to fight against the Moors of Granada.—Granada, 31st March 1492.

[*There are many similar letters in favour of Germans, and also of some Frenchmen.*]

Latin. *p.* 1.

3 March. **68.** HENRY VII. to ALL PERSONS.

Fr. R. 7 Hen. VII. m. 7. (22.)

Letters of protection to John Beltram, of Rentery, in Biscay, a subject of the King and Queen of Castile, &c., who is about to go with the King in his army to France for the recovery of the King's rights there, &c.—Westminster, 3rd March.

Latin. *p.* ¼.

Printed in Rymer.

15 April. **69.** HENRY VII. to JOHN CHECHELAY AND OTHERS.

Fr. R. 7 Hen. VII. m. 8. (21.)

License to John Checkelay, Thomas Spens, George Hunte, William Scalder, and John Balle, merchants, of London, to ship certain woollen cloths of English manufacture, in Spanish ships, and send the same to Spain.—Canterbury, the 15th April.

Latin. *p.* ¼.

1492.
17 April. **70.** COLUMBUS.

B. R.
3569. f. 136.

The favours which Christopher Columbus has asked from the King and Queen of Spain in recompense of the discoveries which he has made in the Ocean seas, and as recompense for the voyage which he is about to undertake, are the following :—

1. He wishes to be made Admiral of the seas and countries which he is about to discover. He desires to hold this dignity during his life, and that it should descend to his heirs.

This request is granted by the King and Queen.

2. Christopher Columbus wishes to be made Viceroy of all the continents and islands.

Granted by the King and Queen.

3. He wishes to have a share, amounting to a tenth part, of the profits of all merchandise, be it pearls, jewels, or any other things, that may be found, gained, bought, or exported from the countries which he is to discover.

Granted by the King and Queen.

4. He wishes, in his quality of Admiral, to be made sole judge of all mercantile matters that may be the occasion of dispute in the countries which he is to discover.

Granted by the King and Queen, on the condition, however, that this jurisdiction belonged to the office of Admiral, as held by Don Enriquez and other Admirals.

5. Christopher Columbus wishes to have the right to contribute the eighth part of the expenses of all ships which traffic with the new countries, and in return to earn the eighth part of the profits.

Granted by the King and Queen.—Santa Fé, in the Vega of Granada, 17th April 1492.

The document is signed by Coloma, and written by Almazan.

Printed in the "Coleccion de Viages y discubrimientos que hizieron por mar los Espanoles" by Don Martin Fernandez de Navarrete from another document, which is preserved in the archives of the Duke de Veraguas.

Spanish. pp. 3.

17 April. **71.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to ALL PERSONS.

Arch. Gen.
d. C. d. A.
Reg. 3569. f. 136.

Passport for Christopher Columbus, who is to undertake his voyage of discovery.—Granada, 17th April 1492.

Latin. pp. 3.

26 April. **72.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to GEOFFREY DE SASIOLA.

S. E. T. c. I.
L. 3. f. 18.

Treaties have been concluded between England and Spain respecting their alliance, and the marriage between the Princess Katharine and Arthur, Prince of Wales. The King of England has, however, expressed a wish to have certain

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clauses altered, and Ferdinand and Isabella desire the same. Sasiola is therefore empowered to amend, alter, and explain the said treaties.—At the Palace Alhambra, in Granada, 26th April 1492.

Latin. On parchment. pp. 5.

30 April. **73.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to KING [*blank*].

Arch. Gen. d. C. d. A. Reg. 3569. f. 136.

Has heard that he and his subjects entertain great love for them and for Spain. Are, moreover, informed that he and his subjects very much wish to hear news from Spain; send, therefore, their Admiral, Christopher Columbus, who will tell him that they are in good health and perfect prosperity. —Granada, 30th April 1492.

Latin. p. 1.

14 July. **74.** HENRY VII. to ALL PERSONS.

Fr. R. 7 Hen. VII. m. 7. (23.)

Grant of protection and safe conduct to Antonio de Laysola, of Spain, his ships, &c. to come into England, &c.—Westminster, 14th July.

Latin. p. $\frac{1}{4}$.

30 July. **75.** HENRY VII. to DIEGO DE CASTRO.

P. R. O. Fr. R. 7 Hen. VII. m. 1. (26.)

The King, for certain reasons, approved by himself and his Council, remits to Diego de Castro and Diego de los Arcos, merchants of Spain, or their representatives, the sum of 100*l.* out of any customs which shall become chargeable upon them for goods imported by them into England, or exported out of England from the port of London, in any ships whatever. —Dated at Knoll, 30th July.

Latin. p. $\frac{1}{2}$.

20 Sept. **76.** HENRY VII. to F. DE ARBIETE.

P. R. O. Fr. R. 8 Hen. VII. m. 17. (2.)

Licence to Francis de Arbiete, merchant of Spain, to trade in England.—Canterbury, the 20th of September.

Latin. p. $\frac{1}{4}$.

4 Oct. **77.** PETER MARTYR to COUNT TENDILLA and the ARCHBISHOP OF GRANADA.

The King of France protracts the negotiations respecting the counties of Roussillon and Cerdaña. King Ferdinand, therefore, endeavours to reconcile the King of the Romans and the King of Spain, in order that they may make war conjointly on France, and force her to restore Perpignan to Spain.

King Ferdinand is said to be instigating the King of France, in order that he may declare himself against Ludovico, Duke of Milan. The Duke of Milan, on his part, has sent ambassa-

dors to the King of France, and asked him to undertake, together with Milan, a war against King Ferdinand.—Zaragoza, 4th October 1492.

Printed in Petri Martyris Anglerii Epistolarum, lib. 5. *epist.* 120.

Latin. *p.* ½, *in print.*

1493.

8 Jan. **78.** TREATY of FERDINAND and ISABELLA with CHARLES VIII. KING OF FRANCE.

Arch. de France.

1. The old alliances between Spain and France are renewed.

2. Ferdinand and Isabella bind themselves to assist the King of France against all his enemies, without exception, and in particular against the English, who are old foes of the French, and the King of the Romans and the Archduke Philip, as long as they shall be at war with the said King Charles, who, on his part, promises to succour Spain in a similar way.

3. Ferdinand and Isabella engage their royal word and faith as Christians not to conclude, or permit to be concluded, any marriage of their children with any member of the Royal family of England, or of the King of the Romans, or in general with any enemy of France, without previously obtaining the express permission and consent of the King of France.

4. Charles VIII. restores the counties of Roussillon and Cerdaña to King Ferdinand.—Narbonne, 8th January 1493.

Latin.

The treaty is printed in Du Mont, Corps Universel, &c., III. 297.

19 Jan. **79.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

Arch. de France.

Ratify the treaty concluded with Charles VIII. of France, in Narbonne, on the 8th of January 1493. — Barcelona, 19th January 1493.

Latin.

15 Feb. **80.** CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS to the ESCRIBANO DE RACION, OF THE ISLANDS IN THE INDIES.*

S. E. C. d. C. L. 1. & 2. 163. 165.

Praises God for the signal triumph he has vouchsafed to him in his great enterprise. Has discovered numerous islands inhabited by people without number. Has taken possession of them all, with sound of trumpet, and the Royal banners displayed, without any opposition.

Gave the first island the name of San Salvador, in com-

* Although the material portion of this letter is contained in the great report written by Columbus for the King and Queen of Spain, and printed in Navarrete's collection, I think it my duty to give a full abstract of it.

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memoration of the mighty Lord who has bestowed all this, according to His wondrous working. The Indians call this island Guanabam. Called the second island Santa Maria de Concepcion; the third, Ferdinanda; the fourth, Isabella; the fifth, Juana, &c. Coasted along the island Juana towards the west. It was so large that he imagined it to be the main land of Cathay. Did not find cities and towns near the coast, but only small hamlets, with the inhabitants of which he could have no intercourse, for they fled as soon as he approached. Continued his voyage, thinking he would not miss large towns. At last, after he had sailed a great number of leagues, found that the coast trended to the north. Did not wish to go towards the north, because winter was at hand. Moreover, the wind was contrary. Turned, therefore, again towards the south, and proceeded to a certain point where he sent two men ashore in order to find out whether there was a king or any great towns there. They made a three days' journey, and found an indescribable number of hamlets, and multitudes of people, but no government. They therefore returned. Heard very soon from Indians, whom he had already taken, that the land before him was an island.

Coasted now one hundred and seven leagues towards the east.

Eighteen leagues distant from the former island there was another island lying east, and which he called Hispañiola. Coasted along that island, towards the north, one hundred and seventy-eight leagues in a direct line.

This and the other islands are all very large, and have a great number of harbours, which are better than any other harbours with which he is acquainted in Christendom. There are such good and large rivers that it is a wonder to see them. The land is high, and there are many mountains and high mountain ranges, all very beautiful, and of a thousand different forms, all accessible, and covered with trees of innumerable different kinds. The trees are so high that they seem to reach the sky, and it is said that they never lose their leaves. Believes it is the fact, because he found them as fresh and green and beautiful as they are during the month of May in Spain. Some were in flower, some bearing fruit, and some again in bud, others bearing fruit, as yet unripe, according to their nature. The nightingale and a thousand other species of birds were singing in the middle of November. There are palm trees of six or eight kinds, which are admirable in their beautiful deformity. There are also pine forests. There were very large open fields. There are beasts and large birds. There are fruits and vegetables. There are mines of metals. The island of Hispañiola, with its mountains and plains and fields, is perfectly beautiful. The soil is rich, and well adapted for fruit and vegetables. The timber is excellent for building houses and towns, and the ports are on such a magni-

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ficent scale as is difficult to believe without se eing them. There are many rivers of excellent water; gold is carried down by most of them. The trees and vegetable and plants are very different from those on the island of Ju ana. There are many rich mines of gold and other metals.

The people of this island, and of all the others which he has seen and heard of, walk about naked, just as when they were born. Some of them cover themselves a little with leaves, or with some cotton. They do not possess any iron or steel, or any arms; nor are they well calculated for the use of arms. Not that they are badly formed; on the contrary, they have fine figures; but they are very timid. The only weapons they have are reeds, which are cut when the seed is ripe. They insert into the end of them a small piece of sharp wood. But they do not dare to use even these weapons. Has often sent two or three men to a hamlet, in order to speak to the inhabitants, who came out in great multitudes, but fled in such a way that neither father nor son took heed of one another, as soon as they saw the white men approaching. They had not been ill treated; on the contrary, had given those whom he could get near, all kinds of things which he had, clothing as well as other things, without asking any equivalent from them. They are timid by nature. It is true that they lose their timorousness as soon as they become accustomed to the white men. They are not false, and are very liberal. When asked for anything which they have, they never say, No; on the contrary, they offer all they have, and show so much love that they would willingly give their hearts. Whether it be a thing of great value or nothing worth which is given them, they are equally contented. Had forbidden his men to give them vile things, such, for instance, as pieces of broken glass, broken needles, and so on. It is true, if they could get them they would think they had obtained possession of the finest jewels in the world. One sailor got gold of the weight of two castillanos and a half for one needle. Others had given things of even less worth, and had received in return great quantities of fruit. For the smallest coin, if it were only new and shining, they gave all they had, even great quantities of gold. For broken iron hoops of casks they gave all their property, cattle, and whatever they possessed. Thought it was wrong to cheat them. Gave them a hundred different nice things in order that they might be the more easily disposed to become good Christians and devoted subjects of the King and Queen of Spain, and that they might love the whole Castilian nation. Had done this also that they might give him all that was necessary for the voyage.

They do not profess any kind of idolatry. They only believe that "the good, the power, and the might is in Heaven." They were firmly persuaded that Columbus and the ships had come from Heaven. Was received as a mes-

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senger from Heaven in all places where they had had any intercourse with the natives. The reason of their belief was not because they are stupid; on the contrary, they are very subtle; they navigate all the adjacent seas, and the information they give is wonderfully exact. The reason of their belief was simply because they had never before beheld men who wore clothing. Moreover, they had never seen ships. Directly after his arrival in the Indies he took some Indians by force, in order that their fear of them might be dispelled, and that they might give him information about the islands. They very soon became able to make themselves understood, and to understand the Spaniards, by means of words and of signs. They had been of great advantage to him. Is still carrying them about with him, and they still believe that the Spaniards have come from Heaven, in spite of all the conversations he has had with them. When he arrived at a new place, the Indians immediately told the natives that the men from Heaven were there. As soon as that was known, the people ran from house to house to announce the news, and they all came skipping and jumping from all sides to see the men from Heaven. Neither small nor great remained at home. Every one of them brought presents of something to eat, and gave them with wonderful love.

They have, all of them, a great number of canoes, like the Spanish *fustas;* some are larger, and some smaller. The largest are quite equal in size to *fustas* of eighteen benches. They would be even larger if they were not all made out of one piece of timber. They go much quicker than the Spanish *fustas.* Has seen canoes with sixty and eighty oarsmen.

Has not observed any great difference in the appearance and the customs of the natives on the various islands. They all understand one another; a circumstance which is very favourable for their conversion to the Holy Faith, to which they are much inclined.

The island of Juana seems to be larger than England and Scotland put together. Has sailed along the coast for sixty leagues, and yet there remained two large provinces, which he has not seen, which cannot contain less than fifty or sixty leagues in length. One of the provinces is called *Cavan.* Men having tails are born there. Hispañiola, according to the reports of the Indians, is larger than the whole of Spain from Coluga to Fuentarabia. Believes it, because he coasted along the island for an extent of one hundred and thirty-eight leagues. It is so beautiful that it is much to be desired, and, when once seen, never to be left.

Has taken possession of all the islands in the name of Ferdinand and Isabella, who can dispose of them as absolutely as of the kingdom of Castile.

Has taken possession of a place in the island of Hispañiola, which is very well situated for commerce with the continent,

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and with the Grand Khan. Has baptized the town Navidad. Has fortified it. The fortification is being finished at the present moment. Has left a garrison there, artillery, and provisions for more than a year, and a boat with sailors. Has made the King his best friend, so that he is very proud of the settlement. But even should the natives change their minds, they would be unable to do any harm to the garrison. The King and his people walk about naked, and have no arms. The garrison would suffice to destroy the whole island. It seems as if all the men were contented with one wife, but they allow their King to have as many as twenty wives. The women appear to work more than the men. It seems that they have no property of their own. What one possesses they all possess, especially with respect to eatables.

Has not found monstrosities among the men, as many have reported there were; on the contrary, they are all very handsome. They are not negroes, as in Guinea; nothing but their hair is black. During the daytime they shut themselves up, and are not brought up in places exposed to the rays of the sun, which are here immensely powerful. That the sun is so powerful is not to be wondered at, as these islands are only twenty-six degrees distant from the line. In such islands as have high mountains the winter is rather severe, but the natives are accustomed to it.

The natives of the second island are believed by the others to be very ferocious. They eat raw flesh. They possess a great number of canoes, in which they go to all the other islands in order to rob and steal whatever they can get. They are not monsters in appearance; they only wear long hair like the women. They use bows and arrows of reeds, with a little stick inserted in the head. They are both ferocious and mean when they have to deal with the other Indians. Thinks no higher of their courage than he does of that of the others. They contract matrimony with the women of the first island, in which there is not a single man. These women do not work, but they use bows and arrows. They cover themselves with wire [*one word unintelligible*] of which they have a great number.

There is another island larger than Hispañiola. The inhabitants are said to have no hair. There is gold in immense quantities. Brings some Indians from there, and from other islands, in order to bear witness.

To judge only from what he has seen in this expedition, made in great haste, it is clear that he is able to give to the King and Queen of Spain as much gold as they want, provided he receives a little assistance, and as much as the ships can contain of cotton and spice and mastics. Mastics have hitherto been found only in Greece, in the island of Chios. The seignoria have sold it at their own prices. Moreover, there are fine qualities of timber, and in great quantities. Slaves might be exported to any extent which might be wanted; that is to

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say, from amongst the idolators. Thinks he has also found rhubarb and cinnamon, and would have found other valuable things if he had had more time. Had remained nowhere when the wind was favourable for sailing. Would have done much more if the ships had been better.

God gives victory to all those who walk in His paths, as is clear in this case. Has now found and seen the islands of which so many fables have been told. Next to God, he is most indebted to the King and Queen of Spain. The discovery is so great that the whole of Christendom ought to keep festival and praise the Holy Trinity.

An immense number of people will be converted to the Christian Faith. Moreover, great material gains will be obtained.

On the 2nd, they had frost and hail storms in the Canary Islands.—Calavera, on the Canary Islands, 15th February.

P.S.—Encountered such a storm on the Spanish seas that he was obliged to lighten the ships by throwing the cargo overboard. Had been fortunate enough to gain the port of Lisbon. Will write to the King and Queen of Castile.—14th March.

Indorsed: "This letter was sent by Columbus to the Escribano de Racion, of the Indies. Another letter came for the King and the Queen."

Spanish. Contemporaneous copy. pp. 22.

[*This letter was discovered by Don Thomas Gonsales in the attics of the archives of Simancas, on the 12th of September* 1818, *when he was occupied in putting in order the documents returned from France.*]

8 March. **81.** TREATY between HENRY VII. and FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

P. R. O. Sp. Bd. 48.

Articles of the treaty for the marriage of the Princess Katharine.

Both parties promise to procure that Prince Arthur shall marry the Princess Katharine of Spain as soon as the Prince reaches his fourteenth and the Princess her twelfth year.

As soon as the Princess shall have attained her twelfth year and the Prince his fourteenth, the Princess shall be sent to England at the expense of her parents.

The marriage portion is to be 200,000 scudos, each scudo worth 4*s.* 2*d.*; of which 100,000 scudos must be paid four days before or after the solemnization of the marriage, 50,000 within the first year, and 50,000 within the second year after the marriage. The payments are to be made in coin, gold, silver, plate, and ornaments of gold and silver.

The dowry of the Princess is to consist of the third part of the revenues of Wales, Cornwall, and Exeter. She is to be endowed with it within four days, before or after, the solemnization of the marriage. In case she become Queen, she is to have as great a dowry as any other Queen of England has had.

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If the brother and the sisters of the Princess Katharine die she is to succeed to the inheritance of the Crown of Spain, just in the same manner as though she had always lived in Spain. —Given under the great seal in the palace of Westminster, 8th of March 1492.

Latin. Copy. pp. 9.

8 March. **81** *a*. HENRY VII.

Fr. R. 8 Hen. VII. m. 9.

The treaty of the 8th March.—Westminster, 8th March.

10 March. **82.** HENRY VII.

Fr. R. 8 Hen. VII. m. 11.

Commission to [*in blank*], his ambassadors, to treat with the ambassadors of the King and Queen of Spain, and to conclude a treaty of alliance and marriage between Prince Arthur and the Princess Katharine.—Westminster, 10th March.

Latin. pp. 1½, *in print.*

Printed in Rymer.

19 March. **83.** LUYS to the ARCHBISHOP OF TOLEDO.

S. E. L. 1. f. 342.

Had kept Christopher Columbus a long time in his house when he came from Portugal on his way to the King of France, in order to ask assistance in his discoveries. Thought that his enterprise would be advantageous to the King and Queen of Spain. Informed them, therefore, of the intentions of Columbus in his letter from Rota. Received the answer that he should send Columbus to them. Did so.

Wrote to them, saying that he could not undertake the enterprise at his own expense, but would prepare it in their name, provided they would give him a share in the profits. The Queen replied that she had given Don Alonso de Quintanilla the superintendence of the enterprise, but she would give him a share in the profits, if there should be any.

Columbus has been perfectly successful. Was the first to know it, and sent the tidings directly by Juarez to the Queen. Begged her to give him a share, or to allow him to send yearly some ships to the Indies. Thinks he is well entitled to it, as he has kept Columbus two years in his house, and introduced him to the Queen.—Cogolludo, 19th March.

Addressed: "To the most Reverend Cardinal of Spain and Archbishop of Toledo."

Spanish. pp. 2.

29 June. **84.** HENRY VII. to ALL PERSONS'

Fr. R. 9 & 10 Hen. VII. m. 3. (15.)

Letters of protection to Alonusus de Cisneres, merchant, of Spain, &c., in the service of Wm. Tyler, Knt., Lieutenant of the castle and town of Berwick.—Westminster, 29th June.

Latin. p. ¼.

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8 Sept. B. M. MS. E. 616. f. 3.

85. RICHARD, DUKE OF YORK, (PERKIN WARBECK,) to QUEEN ISABELLA OF SPAIN.

His elder brother, the Prince of Wales, son of King Edward, had been assassinated. He had himself been delivered to a gentleman who had received orders to destroy him, but who, taking pity on his innocence, had preserved his life, and made him swear on the sacraments not to divulge, for a certain number of years, his name, birth, and lineage. That being done he had sent him away under the care of two persons, who were at once his jailors and governors. Had led a wandering life, in the midst of perils and misery, for the period of nearly eight years, during which time his governors had kept him in concealment in different parts of the world, until at last one of them died, and the other returned to his own country. Was left alone while still almost a child. Passed some time in Portugal, then went to Ireland, where he was recognised and joyfully welcomed by the Earl of Ormond and the Earl of Kildare, his relatives. Was equally well received by many of the chief men.

The King of France then sent for him, promising him aid against Henry Richmond, usurper of the Crown of England. Was shown the greatest honour by the King of France, but the promised aid was not given. Went, therefore, to the Duchess of Burgundy, sister to his father, who, moved by her humanity and virtue, welcomed him with open arms. The King of the Romans, his son, the Duke of Austria, the Duke of Saxony, and the Kings of Denmark and Scotland, received him in the same way, and sent ambassadors to him, proffering him friendship and brotherhood. Many of the chief personages in England, whose indignation had been roused by the iniquitous conduct of the usurper, Henry Richmond, had done the same in secret. Hopes Queen Isabella, who is not only his relative, but also the most just and pious of Princesses, will have pity on him, and intercede on his behalf with her husband, entreating that assistance may be given him. Promises that if he regain his kingdom he will be grateful, and a better ally of theirs than King Richard had been.

From the town of Andermund, 8th Sept. 1493.

(Signed) RICHARD PLANTAGENET,
Second son of the late King Edward and Duke of York.
RICHARD.

Indorsed in another hand: "From Richard Plantagenet, called King of England."

Addressed: "To the most serene and excellent Princess, Isabella Queen of Castile, &c."

Indorsed by Almazan: "To the Queen, our Lady, from Richard, who styles himself King of England."

Latin. p. 1. *Printed in the Archæologia, vol.* 27, *p.* 199.

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27 Sept. **86.** HENRY VII. to OCHOE MARTYNS.

Fr. R.
9 & 10 Hen. VII.
m. 11. (7.)

Licence to Ochoe Martyns, of Spain, to export out of England into Spain 150 broad cloths.—Westminster, 27th September.

Latin. *p.* ½.

28 Nov. **87.** HENRY VII. to ALL PERSONS.

Fr. R.
9 & 10 Hen. VII.
m. 10. (8.)

Letters of protection to Ochoa Martin, John Ruys, and Domyngo de Vidua, subjects of the King and Queen of Castile, coming over to trade in England.—Westminster, 28th November, 9 Hen. VII.

Latin. *p.* ¼.

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8 Aug. **88.** HENRY VII. to ALL PERSONS.

Fr. R.
9 & 10 Hen. VII.
m. 12. (6.)

Letters of protection to Peter de Miranda, merchant, of Spain, in the service of the King, in the company of William Rosse, Esq., victualler, of the town and castle of Calais. —Westminster, 8th August.

Latin. *p.* ½.

18 Aug. **89.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to HENRY VII.*

B. R. V. 357a.
ff. 55, 56.
Conduct of certain Jews.

Certain Jews who have left the dominions of Spain have seized the sum of 428,000 maravedis,† belonging to Diego de Soria, and in the keeping of Fernan Lorenzo, alleging that Diego de Soria owes them certain sums on bills of exchange which were given to them when they were expelled from Spain. These Jews have forfeited their rights, for they had carried away prohibited goods; and Diego de Soria has been ordered to pay the said bills of exchange into the royal exchequer. Request Henry to annul the arrest, for by so doing he will not only act justly, but also render them a "special service." —Segovia, 18th August 1494.

Spanish. *pp.* 2.

3 Nov. **90.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to their AMBASSADOR in ENGLAND.‡

S. E. T. c. I.
L. 2.

Henry VII. had sent an ambassador to Ferdinand and

* The letter is directed only to the "Serenissimo Rey," without stating what king is meant. But there can be little doubt that it was written to Henry VII. According to the then prevalent style in Spain, only the kings of Naples and of England enjoyed the title of "Serenissimo;" the King of the Romans being addressed "Sacratissimo," and the King of France, "Muy Poderoso." As Ferdinand had already written to the King of Naples in an imperious tone to put the Jews into prison, and to force them, under pain of death, to give back the goods they had taken with them, this letter, if directed to Naples, would have been more than useless. Moreover, Diego de Soria was a Spanish merchant established in Burgos, Bristol, and London, as is apparent from other papers in the same collection.

† About 1,230 crowns.

‡ On the superscription of the instruction, Jufre Sasiola was designated as the ambassador. But Sasiola fell ill on his way to England, and De Puebla was sent in his stead. The name of Sasiola is therefore expunged, but that of the new ambassador is not placed in its stead.

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Isabella when they were at Barcelona, and they have promised to send ambassadors to England.

The King of France, their "much beloved and very dear "brother and ally," *restored to them their counties of Roussillon and Cerdaña* soon after the departure of the English ambassador on his way to the King of France.

They had ordered Sasiola to go as ambassador to England; but Sasiola fell ill, and is still unable to undertake the journey. This is the reason why the embassy has been delayed.

King of France.

In the treaty between Spain and England there is a clause by which they are at full liberty to receive from their "beloved brother," the King of France, their counties of Roussillon and Cerdaña, and to conclude with him alliances, fraternity, brotherhood, and confederation, such as have always existed between their predecessors and the predecessors of their "beloved brother, the King of France." Roussillon and Cerdaña having been restored to them, they have concluded their alliances, &c. with France, which they were the more entitled to do as Henry has neither signed nor sworn to nor delivered the treaties.

They intend strictly to fulfil their treaty with France; nevertheless, they are not disinclined to form a new alliance with England if Henry wish it.

The Pope.

The Colonna and Savelli * have rebelled against the Holy Father, and have taken Ostia and other places belonging to the Church. Rome is almost without provisions. The Pope has asked them to assist the Church, and to invite other princes to do the same. They have sent the guard ships of the ports, and 1,000 lances taken from their guards, and intend to continue sending him troops till he has recovered what has been taken from him. They hope that Henry, like a Christian King, will not leave the Pope unassisted. —Madrid, 3rd November 1494.

Indorsed: "To Do . . . ."

Spanish. pp. 6.

3 Nov.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

91. FERDINAND and ISABELLA to the BACHELOR SASIOLA.

Wish that Henry should remove the burdens lately imposed on the commerce of Spanish merchants in England under pretext of the treaty. That treaty, though signed by them, has never been signed, sworn to, or published by Henry. It is, therefore, null and void.

Complaint by Spanish merchants.

The prohibition imposed on Spanish merchants importing woad from Toulouse†, unless it be in English ships, is recent and an infringement of the existing treaties. Meanwhile, English merchants in Spain are treated like Spanish subjects.

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* "Algunos Colunses ysabellos naturales de Roma."

† *Pastel de Tolosa. Pastel* signifies "pastry" as well as "woad;" and *Tolosa* may be Toulouse in France as well as Tolosa in Spain.

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Their subjects ask retaliation, but they are no friends to such measures, and hope that Henry will be persuaded to do justice.—Madrid, 3rd November 1494.

Spanish. *pp.* 3½.

1495.
25 Feb. **92.** SECRET INSTRUCTIONS for DOCTOR DE PUEBLA to take to ENGLAND.
S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

1. Ferdinand and Isabella had promised the English ambassador, who had come to Barcelona, to send an embassy to England, which, however, had been delayed by the illness of Sasiola, who overtook him on his way thither.

De Puebla goes in his place.

Peace with France. Have made peace with France, because their counties of Roussillon and Cerdaña had been restored, and because they knew that Henry had already made peace with the King of France.

The Pope. 2. The Pope is in great difficulties on account of the wars in Italy. He has asked for assistance from Spain, and intends to write to the other Christian Princes on the same subject. Spain has sent to his assistance all the ships in port, and 1,000 lancers from the guards; is now sending 2,000 foot, and intends to send more. Henry is bound to do what every Christian, but much more a Christian Prince, is obliged to do.*

The King of the Romans. Are told that certain movements have taken place in England, likely to produce a quarrel between Henry and the King of the Romans. If Henry wish to make use of their good offices they will reconcile him with the King of the Romans, as they had done already on a former occasion. In case the King of the Romans offers reasonable terms, Henry is advised not to reject them.—Madrid, 25th February 1495.†

Indorsed: "Copy of the instruction which Doctor De Puebla took with him to England, which instruction was to be kept secret."

Spanish. *pp.* 7.

(*Inclosed in the letter of De Puebla of the* 19*th July* 1495. *See that letter.*)

25 Feb. **93.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.
S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Another copy of the same instructions, to which a paragraph is added concerning the Spanish merchants trading

* There is another copy of the same instructions in the same Legajo, but without the clause about the King of the Romans.

† Here follows a paragraph which is cancelled. Its purport is, that if Henry speak about the marriage between the Princess Katharine and Arthur, De Puebla is to hear all, and to report. The old treaties are annulled, because Henry and his ambassadors refused to sign them.

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with England. Henry VII. is desired not to deprive them of the privileges which they have hitherto possessed.—Madrid, 25th February 1495.

Indorsed in the hand of De Puebla: "A copy of the instruction of their Highnesses for the King of England."

"Another instruction which your Highnesses ordered to be given to me concerns the merchants."

Spanish. Copy. pp. 4.

94. HENRY VII. to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

1. Accepts the *excuses for the delay* which has taken place in sending the embassy, though he has been otherwise informed respecting it.

Assistance to be sent to the Pope.

2. As for the *assistance to be sent to the Pope*, there is no more zealous Christian in the world, and no one more disposed to aid the Holy See, than he. But cannot believe that the Pope is really in danger, for he has not told him so, and communication between Rome and England is not obstructed. It would show a great want of respect in the Pope to England, if he required her assistance and yet would not even send a letter. Thinks the Holy Father incapable of doing so.

King of the Romans.

3. Does not remember, during the last three years, to have given the slightest pretext to the King of the Romans for quarrelling with him. On the contrary he has, without regard to trouble, expense, and the odium of the world, done more for the King of the Romans than he was at all bound to do, and more than any other prince has done. In spite of the ingratitude which he has met with, he is not disinclined to reconciliation, if the King of the Romans wish it. Prefers the good offices of Ferdinand and Isabella to those of any other prince.

Spanish merchants.

4. The Spanish merchants have never possessed the privileges which they now claim, nor were they conceded to them by the treaty which King Edward concluded a short time before his death.

[*A postscript in the hand of De Puebla.*]

Henry spoke of the marriage between Katharine and Arthur. He acknowledged that the former treaties no longer existed. Nothing more was said on this subject.

Indorsed: "Secret instruction which Doctor De Puebla took to England, and the answer made to it by the King of England."

Latin. pp. 5½.

(*Inclosed in the letter of De Puebla of the* 19*th of July* 1495.)

1495.
12 March. **95.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Are surprised he has not written since he left for England. He must bring his business to a speedy conclusion and write by this courier.—Madrid, 12th of March 1495.

Indorsed : To " Doctor De Puebla, &c."

Spanish. p. 1.

31 March. **96.** LEAGUE between POPE ALEXANDER VI., MAXIMILIAN I., FERDINAND and ISABELLA, BARBADICO in the name of Venice, and Ludovico Maria Sforza.*

S. E. T. c. I. L. 1.

Articles of the league.

1. A league and alliance is concluded between them, to endure 25 years and longer, for the conservation of all the princes and states in Italy, even of those who are now dispossessed of their dominions.

2. *The Pope* is bound, during the whole period, to keep an army of 4,000 horse and 2,000 foot; the other members of the league, 8,000 horse and 4,000 foot each, in order to assist one another, each party paying his own expenses.

3. If one member of this league be attacked, all the other members are bound to send such assistance as the case requires, or its equivalent in money; that is to say, the Pope 30,000 ducats, and the others 60,000 ducats a year. This sum is neither to be augmented nor diminished by the accession of new members. Assistance by sea is to be reckoned as well as assistance by land. If more than one member of the league be attacked at the same time, the assistance of troops or of money is to be divided between them. The state which receives the assistance is to provide the auxiliary troops with lodgings and food, for which the soldiers, however, are to pay.

4. The Pope and the Dukes of Venice and Milan conclude a special agreement, binding on themselves only, to the effect that if one of them be attacked, the other two shall assist him with all the forces they are bound to keep, according to this treaty.

5. The Pope engages to assist the members of the league, not only with temporal, but with spiritual arms (armis spiritualibus).

6. If war has begun, peace cannot be concluded except with the knowledge of all the members. All the members must be included in the peace. If the offender make acceptable offers to the offended member of the league, and subject himself to the jurisdiction of it, the whole league is to decide whether his offers are to be accepted or not. If the offended member be not satisfied with the verdict of the league, he may continue the war, but the other members are not bound to assist him any longer.

* Henry VII. afterwards joined the league.

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7. After the conclusion of the league no member of it is permitted to conclude alliances with Italian States without the consent of the whole league, which cannot, on any condition, be altered by such alliances.

8. All princes and states to be hereafter admitted into the league on such conditions as the present members of it shall decide.

9. Each member can, within three months, name adherents and clients (adherentes et commendatos) who, however, must be inferior in dignity and power to evèry one of the members of the league. More powerful princes and states can be admitted, but must contribute according to the conditions on which they are admitted (as in Art. 7).

10. The league must be ratified by all the members within three months.

Proclamation of it.

11. It must be published by the Pope and the Dukes of Venice and Milan on Palm Sunday the 12th of April next, "with great solemnities, processions, demonstrations of joy." The Emperor, and King and Queen of Spain, will proclaim it in a similar manner as soon as possible.

12. If the league conquer towns, fortresses, castles, &c., of which one of the present, or future members, or their adherents and clients, have been dispossessed, they are to be restored to the rightful owners.

13. If any member, or his adherents and clients, offend any other member, or adherent and client, the league is not to be regarded as dissolved by such offence, but the offending party is to be forced to make reparation, as though he were not a member of the league.

14. If war break out between two or more members of the league, the other members must not permit the troops of the belligerents to pass through their territories or give them provisions, &c.

15. No member of the league shall take into his service, captains, &c. who have deserted from any other member of the league. If required, he shall arrest and keep them in prison till they have given back the arms, &c. which they had taken with them, or have come to an understanding with the member whom they have deserted.

King of the Romans.

16. The King of the Romans is permitted, on his way to his coronation in Rome, to pass without impediment through the Italian States of the members of the league, paying for provisions for himself, his servants and his soldiers.

17. The Dukes of Venice and Milan shall follow the King of the Romans to his coronation in Rome, and each of them shall send him 40 helmets (elmettos) as a guard of honour.

Venice, at the Ducal Palace, in the bedchamber of the Duke, 30th of March 1495.

Latin. Copy. pp. 14.

1495.
13 May. **97.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DOCTOR DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I L. 2.

After the departure of De Puebla a league was concluded between the Pope, Spain, the King of the Romans, and the Dukes of Venice and Milan, which is now being proclaimed in the states of all the confederates. Each member has the right to name such of his friends as like to enter the league. In case Henry is not yet informed of the league, De Puebla is ordered to make it known to him. Henry can very well enter into it without prejudice to any one. De Puebla is further to inquire whether the King of France has fulfilled all his promises to Henry, though it is very improbable, since he has not been faithful to them and to the King of the Romans. Offer again to reconcile Henry with the King of the Romans. The answer to this letter is expected very shortly by two couriers.

Reconciliation with the King of the Romans.

Though it has been intimated to De Puebla that he must speak to the King of England as though everything came from himself, he may also speak in the name of Ferdinand and Isabella, if he think it convenient, but at all events it must be in secret.

News has arrived of the publication of the league in Rome and Milan, and that it has given universal satisfaction to the people.

The communication with Henry is of most confidential character, and must be kept secret. If Henry be willing to enter the league, he will hereafter be publicly invited to join it.

He is to tell Henry, as though it came from himself, or in any other manner, that the league is very advantageous to him, and will, moreover, do harm to nobody, but be the best means of reconciling him with the King of the Romans.

If Henry resent the alliance, and the relation by the marriage of their children, with the King of the Romans, De Puebla is to tell him that there is no ground for displeasure. They are bent on making Henry and the King of the Romans friends, and averting all danger from England.

Indorsed: "Draft of the letter in cipher to Doctor De Puebla which was sent by Peres, servant of Salvador de Ugarte of Fuentarabia, to Diego de Soria, to be forwarded by him by sea and by land. It was addressed to Doctor Alonso de Compludo, factor of Diego de Soria in London. The letters left Madrid on the 13*th of May* 1496."

Spanish. pp. 3½. *Draft. The despatch went in cipher.*

19 July. **98.** DE PUEBLA to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Wrote to Ferdinand and Isabella, on the 30th of May, through a messenger of Diego de Soria, who promised to be at Burgos on St. John's day. Sent another despatch viâ Bristol.

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The inclosure* of this letter contains a relation of all the essential negotiations in England.

Has spoken quite confidentially with Henry, who had explained his views, sometimes in long speeches, sometimes in few, but always in most bland words. The Latin Secretary afterwards brought a letter from Henry, and the draft of a treaty, declaring and swearing, in the name of the King, that the intentions of Henry were better than those which he had shown in his conversation, and much better than the conditions contained in the treaty. Speaks daily with all the other English statesmen concerned in the negotiation. They give him the same assurances.

Offers of the King of France.

"Your Highnesses may judge for yourselves whether, after the new offers of the King of France to the King of England, of which I spoke in my last letter, and the notorious enmity shown by the King of the Romans to the father of the King of England†, the King of England has given an improper answer, especially if it be considered how badly all things are prepared (as I have written), and how the King of the Romans behaves. He did not say a word of his alliance with your Highnesses, nor did he choose to give a clear answer, or speak of the marriage of the Infanta. Before you sent hither (to England), he did not even mention his alliance with France. For this reason, the Latin Secretary made great difficulties about allowing me to copy the treaty, saying that it would be very unpleasant if the copy were taken, for every day couriers, with letters and other papers, were being intercepted. He gave me to understand that Henry had good reasons (since he was on such bad terms with the King of the Romans, the Archduke, and Flanders,) to wish to be at any rate on good terms with the King of France, the French people, and their adherent the King of Scotland, without concluding any alliance with your Highnesses."‡

Conduct of the King of the Romans.

Sends a copy of the instructions which he brought from Spain, and of the answer of the King of England.

Difficulties in negotiating the treaty.

If they only wish to put off Henry and his council with vain hopes, and not to conclude the treaties with England, the best thing would be to write a letter full of "sweet things" (cosas dulces) to him. He would show it to the English, upon whom such things made a deep impression. The difficulties are very great on account of the continual offers which the King of France makes "by real deeds" (con obra a fecho) to most of the council, whilst the behaviour of the King of the Romans, who is justly disliked, is exactly the reverse.

Duke of York.

"Friday, the 3rd of July, the *so-called Duke of York* came "to England with all the ships and troops he had been able to

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* The inclosure is no longer in existence. † Sic.

‡ This portion of the despatch not being very clear, it seemed best to translate it literally.

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"obtain from the Duchess Margaret, the Archduke, and Flan-
"ders. A portion of his troops disembarked, but the people
"rose up in arms against them without the intervention of a
"single soldier of the King. The peasants of the adjacent
"villages made great havock on the troops who had disem-
"barked, and if the vessels had not been at hand not a single
"man of them would have escaped alive. A hundred and fifty
"were slain, and eighty made prisoners, among whom were
"eight captains, two of them being Spaniards, Don Fulano
"de Guevara (he is said to be a brother or nephew of Don
"Ladron) and Diego el Coxo (the Lame), the name which all
"the villagers gave him, saying, that the *King* came*, and
"that he may go to his father and mother, who still live in
"France, and are well known; and they hold it to be as
"true as Gospel, as it really is, that this affair is like that of
"the Duke of Clarence, who was crowned King of Ireland,
"and afterwards discovered to be the son of a barber. They
"had no great reasons for congratulating themselves, and had
"gone, it is believed, to Ireland or Scotland; for it is not pro-
"bable that they would return to Flanders, because the whole
"of that country is almost ruined, in consequence of their
"staying there, the King of England not having permitted
"any commerce with the Flemings, in which their principal
"riches and their life consists. Doctor De Puebla is very sorry
"for these foolish things, for such are they generally believed
"to be by those who have any knowledge of the affair. Cer-
"tainly, if the King of the Romans uphold the Duke of York
"and xxiiij†, it would be very difficult to conclude what
"your Highnesses wish. I think that all that the King of
"the Romans does is done by the instigation of the King
"of France. If your Highnesses had taken care earlier of
"the matter, all this would have been avoided. Nevertheless,
"it is not too late, even now, if your Highnesses like it."‡

The Pope.

"Your Highnesses may also see whether it will be well to
"inform *the Pope* what they here (the English) will answer,
"in order that he may, without delay, send letters not only
"to Henry, but also to the Cardinal and the Lord Privy
"Seal, that such spoliation of the Church and violence to the
"Pope *in the Cardinal till the restitution to the Pope of
"what belongs to him.* They say he will do his duty."§

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* Sic.

† The cipher xxiiij is not deciphered.

‡ Some portions of this paragraph are very confused. The translation is as literal as possible.

§ Sic. The translation is literal. The Spanish text is: Otro sy vean lvj . cj (vuestras altezas si) sera xcj (bien) ser advertido z (Papa) de lo que ciiij (aca) responden para que cxxvj (prestamente) enbie cxlij (cartas) ciiij (aca) no solo a xvj (el Rey) mas aun a cccxj (el Cardinal) e a cccxij (privasello) que para semejante cccxxiiij(dispojo de la Yglesia) e cccxxv (violencia del Papa) en cccx (el Cardinal) fasta cccxxvj (restituir al Papa lo suyo) dicen que hara su debido. —It seems that the cipher cccx is erroneously translated by *Cardinal*, as the word Cardinal is expressed in the same paragraph by the cipher cccxj. But, if the decipherer of the despatch has committed an error, the person who put it into cipher seems to have erred in more than one respect.

1495.

The succour which the English were to give to the French is delayed, probably for ever, in consequence of his [De Puebla's] arrival in England.

It seems desirable that the person who will bring the letter of the Pope to England should be empowered, at the same time, to procure a reconciliation between Henry and the King of the Romans. The father of the King of the Romans * had already desired this reconciliation, which is now much more desirable. Has seen a letter from the Neapolitan ambassador at the Court of the King of the Romans to the Neapolitan ambassador in England, in which the latter is desired not to leave England, but to remain and to procure the reconciliation. It is certain that the reconciliation can be effected by the Pope, or by Ferdinand and Isabella. Though this reconciliation will not be so great an advantage now as it would have been if effected whilst the "Duke of York" was in Flanders, it may still be concluded, especially if Ferdinand and Isabella are inclined to marry their daughter to Prince Arthur.

King of the Romans.

The English have repeatedly declared that they are at liberty to send succour to the Pope, and to make war against France. Found nothing in Navarre but bad, and in England nothing but good, feeling (towards Spain). The alliance of England in a war with France is worth as much as the friendship of the two most powerful Princes in Christendom, especially as the King of England will never ask Ferdinand and Isabella to begin war. "Such being his "disposition, as I have said, the father of the King of "England will be under an obligation towards your High-"nesses, but not your Highnesses towards the King of "England."†

De Puebla has known the ambassador of Naples very intimately for eight years without betraying any one of his secrets. Henry has communicated to the ambassador of Naples the whole affair. That may prove to have been inconsiderate, because many officers of the King of Naples go over to the King of France. If the King of France should write anything about the matter, Ferdinand and Isabella must not think that he has betrayed them. He is a faithful servant.

This and the other messengers are perfectly trustworthy. —London, 19th of July 1495.

Spanish, intermixed with cipher. pp. 7½. The original deciphering is preserved, but it is rather confused.

20 July. S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

99. FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

Have received his letters of the 30th of May and 22nd of June.

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* The Emperor Frederic III, father of Maximilian King of the Romans, died 1493.

† Such is the reading of the original despatch as it is deciphered by Alvarez, Secretary of State. If the words *father of* are struck out before *King of England*, the meaning of the passage becomes clear.

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Are very glad that he had arrived in such good time, though he had been ill on the road.

Are satisfied with what he did on his way to England.

Have always expected that he would be well received by Henry.

Affairs of Navarre.

If Henry inquires into the affairs of Navarre, he may tell him that the Constable of Navarre has delivered all his towns, villages, and fortresses into their hands, and they have also the Princess of Navarre, the daughter of the King and Queen, in their power.

Perkin Warbeck.

Henry has complained that they correspond with the person who calls himself *Duke of York.* The fact is, the so-called Duke of York and the old Duchess Margaret had written to them once at Barcelona, asking their protection. They had sent no answer to the pretended Duke of York, but only to the Duchess, showing her that the whole affair was an imposture. The Duchess made no reply, nor have they written any other letter to any other person about the Duke.

The observations of Henry respecting the *delay in sending an embassy* to him do not require any answer.

War with France.

Henry says that he is at perfect liberty to make alliances with whom he likes, and to declare war against France. They never had any doubt about it. According to the fashion in which Charles fulfils his obligations towards his friends, Henry must have recovered that liberty long ago. Are likewise free from all obligations towards France because of the manner in which the French kept their promises; of which more in the enclosed memoir.

Marriage of the Princess Katharine.

As to what Henry says of the marriage between the Princess Katharine and the Prince of Wales, they are not disinclined to the marriage, but wish well to all parties, and therefore desire, first, that a reconciliation should take place between Henry and the King of the Romans. Had written to their ambassadors at the Court of Maximilian to try their best with him, and they now send the result to De Puebla. Their intention to marry one of their daughters to a son of Maximilian, and another to a son of Henry, will be the best security that the treaty between Henry and Maximilian will be fulfilled. Neither the King of the Romans, nor his son the Archduke, will assist the person who calls himself *Duke of York.* Nevertheless, if the King of the Romans lend him assistance, then they promise to lend assistance to Henry against the so-called Duke of York.

Respecting the marriage, there will be very little to transact, as the conditions were settled in the former treaty; but he must sign nothing before Henry is reconciled to Maximilian. They will send authority to sign the treaty as soon as the reconciliation has taken place.

The Pope.

Their answer to the observations of Henry, in the matter touching the Pope, is that the Pope was afraid his messenger might be intercepted. He had therefore only

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written to them, asking them to write to the other Christian Princes. But even that was not necessary, as every good Christian would hasten to assist the Pope without being asked to do so, as soon as he knew that the Pope was in danger. The injuries done to the Pope by the King of France are notorious.

Henry has asked whether Ferdinand and Isabella have entered the league. They have not only entered it, but are the principal members of it, in conjunction with the Pope, the King of the Romans, and the Dukes of Venice and Milan. There is time still for Henry to enter into it. If he does, all the other affairs which are pending will soon be satisfactorily arranged.

He has written that the *son of Henry is to be married to the daughter of the King of the Romans.*

"On this subject there is nothing to be said. The said son "of Henry will conclude the marriage with the Princess Ka- "tharine, and the son of the King of the Romans will "marry a daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella."

King of France.

The King of France has asked assistance and money from Henry, offering security for it. But Henry must know best whether it will be to his advantage to make the King of France still greater than he now is. The King of France bides his time, and when an opportunity offers itself he does just what he likes, and as he is acting now, without any regard to friend or foe. He would soon forget the greatest services he had received. Therefore, the English must always be on their guard (estar sobre el aviso) with the King of France, and he must prevent Henry and his council from being deceived by France. Henry should immediately make preparations for war in order to be ready for any emergency. De Puebla must be very careful and diligent, write every day what he has done, and send his letters by special couriers.

A letter for Master Pedro (Peter Carmelianus), the Latin secretary of King Henry, is enclosed. Thank him for his services, and promise him favour and money.*

"After this had been written, it was reported in Spain, that "the person who was staying in Flanders was preparing an "expedition to England, at which we were much astonished. "For we have always written (to the King of the Romans) "and to our ambassadors at his court to prevent such a thing. "As we were told that the Duke of Milan† would be of great "advantage in this matter, we have sent him an ambassador. "We know that the Duke has written to the King of the "Romans, but are not aware of the contents of his letter. "When all this was written, letters from the Spanish ambas- "sadors at the Court of the King of the Romans arrived, by

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* "Merced" in the original despatch. Merced, as used by Ferdinand and Isabella, means always either preferment or money.

† Maxmilian had married the daughter of the Duke of Milan.

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" which we learn that the King (of the Romans) intends " to do right in this matter, and wishes to get rid of *him*, " and the ambassadors believe that this and the importunity " of the Duchess Margaret (who has brought together the " few soldiers who accompany him) were the causes why " *he* left Flanders. It is reported that he has gone to an " island whence, he said, he would embark for England. He " was in such bad condition, and had so few soldiers, that " he did not sail. In fact all the Spaniards who are in " Flanders say they believe the whole fleet will soon be dis- " persed for want of money and men. If, therefore, the " King of the Romans does not lend further help, the whole " affair will come to nothing."

Such being the case, he must do his best to reconcile Henry to the King of the Romans. " On no condition must " the King of England renew his alliance with the King of " France, or lend him money, for that would make him " many enemies in his own kingdom and abroad, from whom " he might receive great inconvenience."

Notwithstanding the answer of Henry, he is to persuade him to treat the Spanish merchants in England in a better manner.

Indorsed: " Copy of the despatch which was written in cipher to Doctor De Puebla and sent by Juan de Santa Gadea, courier, whom he sent, and who left Burgos on the 20th of July '95."

Draught written by Miguel Perez de Almazan, Secretary of State. Spanish. pp. 10.

20 July. S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

100. MEMOIR of what has taken place between FERDINAND and ISABELLA and the KING OF FRANCE.

When the treaty was concluded by which Perpignan was to be delivered to them, the King of France demanded that 20 principal towns of Spain should give security for the fulfilment of it, offering, on his side, that 20 French towns should give the same as security. This clause was incorporated in the treaty, signed and sworn to, with the addition that the securities must be given within three months' time, under threat of heavy penalties, excommunication, and dissolution of the whole treaty. They have rigorously fulfilled all their obligations, but the King of France has not given his securities up to the present day.

They sent their ambassador, Alphonso de Silva, to the King of France when he began to interfere in the affairs of Naples, and asked him to submit his claims to arbitration. In case the decision should be in his favour, they promised to assist him in recovering the kingdom of Naples, and proposed that he should employ his great armaments against the Moors beyond (the Straits). They even offered him a place in Africa which they had conquered, from which to begin his operations. Told

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him, further, he might retain all his conquests, though the conquests (in Africa) belonged by right to them. All this they had done, only "for the glory of God, and the oppression " of the Infidels." There were good prospects of an easy conquest, the Moors being much debilitated by hunger and pestilence. The King of France, however, not only rejected all these proposals, but had also treated their ambassador so badly that he could not have been worse treated by their enemies.

Conduct towards the Pope.

They did not, even then, begin war upon the King of France. Did not even oppose his designs upon Naples, although they had received letters telling them that the least encouragement from them would have rendered the conquest of that realm a very difficult task for the French. At last the King of France went to Ostia, seized upon the property of the Church, went to Rome, and treated the Pope so badly " that " the Turks would not have treated him worse." As all Christian Princes are obliged to assist the Pope and the Church, they might have opposed the French without being unfaithful to their alliance; but they preferred first to send their ambassadors, Antonio de Fonseca, and Juan de Albion, to him, to ask him not to treat the Pope badly, and not to seize upon the patrimony of the Church. Had, in addition to the general obligation laid upon all Christians, special duties to fulfil towards the Pope, who is their countryman*, and included in their alliances.

Must, therefore, declare themselves against the King of France, and consider themselves released from all obligations to him. The King of France not only had not restored anything he had taken from the Pope, but he had not even deigned to give any answer to their ambassadors, excepting that he would send an embassy to Spain. The embassy has never arrived, and the French have behaved as though nothing had passed between them.

Behaviour at Naples.

From Rome the King of France went to Naples. He had repeatedly promised, and even publicly proclaimed, that he would not touch the property of the Queen of Naples, the sister of Ferdinand. Nevertheless the first property he confiscated belonged to the said Queen, and her towns and villages were laid waste on his march.

As soon as the French entered Naples they proclaimed their intention of conquering Sicily also, pretending that there was no difference between Naples and Sicily. For this purpose the King of France had published complaints against them, and proclaimed his enmity against all Spaniards, who were " ill treated and murdered and robbed, wherever they were " found." Yet they had borne all, and kept quiet.

But seeing that the King of France did not make any reparation to the Pope, and behaved as has been described,

* The family of Borja, or, according to the Italian spelling, Borgia, was from Valencia.

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they entered into a league with the Pope, the King of the Romans, and the Dukes of Venice and Milan, without prejudice to any one, and only for the conservation of the patrimony of the Church (which they would have been obliged to defend, even if they had not concluded the league) and of their own states. They, moreover, fixed a time during which all who wished it might become members of the league, and the King of France might enter it without meeting with any opposition, unless his intentions were inimical.

The King of France had made bad worse when he left Naples and returned to Rome. The Pope had requested him not to enter Rome, being afraid that he would do great harm in the city, and that he would keep his promises no better than he had done before. He, moreover, offered him a free passage through his states, together with provisions. But the King of France would enter Rome; and the Pope, in order to avoid danger, fled, and with him the whole College of Cardinals. Such an outrage against the viceregent of God had never before been committed by Christians, or such slaughter, murder, and robbery as had been perpetrated by the French in Rome, especially against the Spaniards, "who were dead as soon as they were seen." The Pope had asked and is continually asking help from Spain. This is the present state of things. They are released from all obligations towards the King of France because he has not fulfilled his duties.

Outrages committed on the Pope.

This memoir is sent in order that the King of England may be aware of all that has happened; that he may excuse them for their dealings with the King of France; also that he may take example, learn what the acts of the King of France are, and see what it will be convenient for him to do.

Indorsed: "A copy of this memoir was sent to Doctor De Puebla by Juan de Santa Gadea, messenger, who left Burgos on the 20th of July 1495."

Spanish. pp. 8.

20 July. **101.** A SHORT RELATION of all that happened between the KING and the QUEEN OF SPAIN and the KING OF FRANCE, with respect to the restoration of the counties of Roussillon and Cerdaña, and the occurrences which afterwards happened in Italy.

Paris. Arch. de l'Empire. IX. Negociations France—Espagne. K. 1638.

The pledge of Roussillon and Cerdaña had been declared by King Louis himself to be null and void. Nevertheless, King Charles had refused to restore them.

When, however, the English invaded France and besieged Boulogne, King Charles solemnly swore to restore the said counties to Ferdinand and Isabella. But as soon as the danger was over, he did not fulfil his obligation.

When the King of the Romans threatened France with an invasion, King Charles again swore to restore Roussillon and

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Cerdaña by the month of February 1493; and again he broke his promise.

At last the King of France, pressed on all sides (*convenido de todas partes*), made the restitution, but in such a way that it was clear from the first that he intended to reconquer the counties as soon as he had finished his Italian enterprise.

[The continuation of this memoir is identical with that of the 20th July 1495.]

Indorsed: "Draft of what passed between the King and Queen, our Lords, and the King of France."

Spanish. Draft. pp. 11.

5 Aug. **102.** BULL of POPE ALEXANDER VI.

S. E. R. L. 847. f. 63.

Bull of the Pope against the king of France.

1. Had often admonished the King of France not to come to Italy.

2. Charles had nevertheless come with a great army, and seized upon the patrimony of Holy Church, while his soldiers had committed many murders, robbed and burnt houses, &c., in Rome and in the neighbourhood.

3. Charles took with him, to the great scandal of the Apostolic Faith, Zizmo, brother of the "tyrant of the Turks," who has died in captivity.

4. Charles occupied Terracina and Civita Vecchia, and entered Sicily on this side the Pharo, which belongs to the Church.

5. He had proposed to Charles to march against the Turks, but this proposal had been rejected. After Charles had taken possession of Naples he returned to France with his great army, committing horrible cruelties, murdering women and children in the churches, and behaving more furiously than even the Turks.

6. Through his entry into Pisa, Sienna, and other towns, he had violated the jurisdiction of the Holy Roman empire, which is under the protection of the Holy Roman Church.

7. Charles had fought a bloody battle against the Venetians and Milanese, who had defended their territory, and

8. Has ordered new levies in the whole of France.

"If I were to remain quiet, I should be like a dumb dog who cannot bark, and I therefore cite thee, Charles, before our Court, together with thy counts and barons, thy captains and knights, and every one of thy soldiers who are with thee in Italy, and all thy abettors and confederates, also all those who, in this affair, are giving or shall give counsel, favour, and assistance to thee, of whatever rank, condition, or dignity they may be, whether ecclesiastics or laymen, to see and hear the pains and penalties pronounced against the disobedient."—Given at Rome in the Palace of St. Peter, 5th of August 1495.

Indorsed: "Translation of the brief of the Pope to the King of France."

Spanish translation. pp. 4.

1495.
22–24 Aug. **103.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Have received his letter of the 21st of July sent through Pedro de Salamanca, merchant, and another letter sent soon afterwards by a servant of his. None of the other letters of which he speaks in his last have arrived. Will, henceforth, always send duplicates of their letters by the next messenger, and continue sending them until it be known that one copy at least has reached his hands. He is to do the same.

Respecting the entry of Henry VII into the league.

Henry wished to have been included as a member of the league. That was impossible, because the Pope, having the King of France before the gates of Rome, had pressed so much for the conclusion of the league that their ambassadors had not had even time to communicate with them; but he may still become a member of the league if he wishes it. Nothing more is necessary except to say so, and to write a simple letter to the Pope declaring his adhesion. A copy of the treaty, by which the league was concluded, is enclosed. Have made marginal notes on it, expressing their opinion with regard to the accession of Henry to the league. The aim of the league is to preserve the patrimony of the Church and the dominions of the confederates. Henry will therefore gain much by entering it, for he will thereby tie the hands of the King of the Romans, so that he will no longer be able to assist the person who calls himself Duke of York, or any other enemy of his.

King of the Romans.

The *King of the Romans* is inclined to be reconciled to Henry, and to turn *him** out. Have written to their ambassadors at the court of Maximilian to use every means in order to procure his reconciliation with Henry, and to inform De Puebla of what they have done. He is to acquaint them also with what he has done. It seems to be a favourable moment for the reconciliation of Henry with the King of the Romans, now that the latter has got rid of the so-called Duke of York, that being a thing which Henry seems to have desired.

Duke of York.

Are very glad to hear that the person *who styles himself Duke of York* had not invaded England, but had gone away. Henry is more at liberty now to do what it becomes him to do, and the so-called Duke of York seems to have turned out to be an impostor (burla).

Marriage of the Princess Katharine.

They are very much pleased with the *marriage between the Princess Katharine and the Prince of Wales.* De Puebla is to put the treaty concerning it in writing, but must not sign it before he has communicated with them. The reconciliation of Henry and the signing of the treaty of marriage must take place at the same time.

King of France.

Have already written that they are much pleased with the *assurance of Henry that he is quite at liberty to make war or peace with the King of France.* Henry must be very

* *Him*, the so-called Duke of York.

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careful that the King of France do not make himself still more powerful than he is, because it is impossible to trust in his friendship, and because he keeps his promises so badly, even to friends. Henry must be on his guard against his enemies in England and abroad. But if he enter into an alliance with Spain, with the King of the Romans, and with the other members of the league, and especially with the Pope, he will have power to do what he likes in England, and even in France. He ought to enter into the league, arm his realm, and be ready to make war upon France as soon as Spain and the King of the Romans begin war. De Puebla is to communicate all Henry does, and all tidings about England and Spain, in common writing, without cipher. Alvarez will communicate the news from Spain and Italy to him. If De Puebla do not think it expedient to speak of the war against France, he may in that case only speak about the entry of Henry into the league.

Respecting the merchants, De Puebla is to do his best.

There is not sufficient time to make a copy of the treaty of the league. It will be sent by the next messenger. The essence of it is that all the members of the league must succour the Pope and the Church, and assist one another in the defence of their states. Henry would be acting wisely by entering into it, and by arming in order to be ready for war, not only with France, but also with the so-called Duke of York.

If Henry be willing to enter the league, he must, in his letter to the Pope, declare his simple adhesion, without adding anything else. In case, however, that he desire to have some of the clauses altered, he may write a separate letter to them about the matter, and they will take care that the conditions on which he is accepted shall be according to his wishes. The Pope, the King of the Romans, Spain, Venice, and Milan represent a great portion of Christendom, and if Henry enter into a league with them, he will have to help them all against France (which in one year has robbed the Pope, the King of the Romans, and Milan,) until his expenses have amounted to 50,000 gold ducats;* on the other hand, he will be assisted by them all to the same amount, if the King of France or the so-called Duke of York should make war upon him. This assistance will prove to be most valuable to him.

Alliance with the King of the Romans.

Besides this general league there ought to be a more *special alliance concluded between them, the King of the Romans and Henry*, in order to provide for the case of *aggressive war* against France. If one of the allies invade France in person, or by a captain, the other allies are bound to do the same, and to make no peace until France shall have restored to them all that she has taken from them, and made amends for all insults offered to them.

* 60,000 gold ducats according to the treaty of the 31st of March 1495.

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(*Marginal note*: This was concluded by the King of the Romans, then by the King of England, and afterwards by Spain.)

Though it is known that the King of the Romans is willing to be reconciled with the King of England, his conditions are not known. The Spanish ambassadors at the court of Maximilian will communicate them to De Puebla. Great despatch is necessary. Henry must write immediately to the Pope, declaring his adhesion to the league. He must also openly proclaim it. The conditions shall be arranged afterwards. His entry into it will give him great advantages as respects the internal affairs of England, and at the same time benefit his allies.

De Puebla must obtain from Henry all that is set down here, and send messengers to Spain daily.

Tarazona, 22nd of August.

Ambassador of the King of Scotland.

After the above despatch had been written, an *ambassador from the King of Scotland* arrived in Spain, and is now only two leagues distant from their residence. Are very glad that this embassy has been sent, because they will induce the King of Scots not to aid the so-called Duke of York. In order to make more sure of him, they will persuade him to enter the league—if Henry should like it. Henry must, without delay, make them acquainted with his wishes.

No date on the draft. On the ciphered despatch: "Tarazona, 24th of August."

Draft. Spanish. pp. 12. *The despatch went in cipher. The ciphered copy is extant.*

12 Sept. **104.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to the POPE.

B. R. V. 3666. f. 98.

Ask him to make the Archbishop of Glasgow a Cardinal.—Tarazona, 12th of September 1495.

Spanish. pp. 1¼.

12 Sept. **105.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to GARZILASO DE LA VEGA, AMBASSADOR at ROME.

B. R. V. 3666. f. 9 8.

Order him to induce the Pope to make the Archbishop of Glasgow a Cardinal. The King of Scotland desires it much, and the Archbishop has rendered signal services.—Tarazona, 12th of September 1495.

Spanish. pp. 1¼.

15 Sept. **106.** POPE ALEXANDER VI. to DOCTOR DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 1.

Brief for the King of England.

Sends a brief for the King of England, which he must deliver. He must do all in his power to obtain the ends expressed in it.

The league is concluded for the benefit of Christendom,

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the safety of the confederates, and the welfare of Italy, but not to the prejudice of any one. Henry may enter it without scruple.

Another brief for the King of Scotland is enclosed, and which he must also deliver. He must, likewise, persuade the King of Scotland to become a member of the league. —Rome, at the palace of St. Peter, under the seal of the Fisherman, 15th of September 1495.

Indorsed: "To our beloved son, Doctor De Puebla, ambassador of the King and Queen of Spain."

pp. 1½.

23 Sept. **107.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Have received the letter sent by him through a Biscayan, who fell ill on the road. His former letters have likewise arrived. Sent answers to them by his servant, and afterwards by Salvador Duarte.

The answers of Henry seem to be very satisfactory.

The Pope solicits aid from Spain.

Are much astonished that His Holiness has not yet written to Henry. The reason probably is the insecurity of the roads. The Holy Father has again solicited them to make war against France on the frontiers of Spain. For, the King of France opposes the Duke of Milan, and it is feared that if he return to Italy he will act worse than he even did the first time. He thinks of nothing but of taking away all the patrimony of the Church, and every thing besides that he can lay hands on, as will appear from the enclosed brief of the Pope. The answer of Henry, in this respect, is very good. They have now written to the Pope, and asked him to write immediately to Henry, if he have not yet done it. He is to persuade Henry to answer not only in words, but by deeds. The Holy Father is in great need of the assistance of all Christian princes.

Reconciliation of Henry VII. with the King of the Romans.

As to the King of the Romans, Henry has justified himself to their entire satisfaction. Nevertheless, he must be reconciled to the King of the Romans. The Spanish ambassadors, who are staying at the Court of the last-mentioned King, have already written, or will soon write to him. He must effect the reconciliation according to the directions which will be given him. Intend again to write to Henry.

Marriage of the Princess Katharine.

The marriage contract between the Princess Katharine and Prince Arthur may be concluded on the conditions which were agreed to by the English ambassadors who came with him to Spain. The shortest way to conclude the *alliance* will be for him to conclude it in England, and for Henry to sign and swear it, on the condition that it is to be valid if they sign and swear it within six or seven months (as the journey would take, at least, four months). But it must be kept secret, since the alliance with the King of the Romans would perhaps take longer time, and cause delay, the roads being so insecure, and the papers having to be sent

Alliance between Spain, England, and the King the Romans.

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by sea. Henry must, however, be bound at once, in order that he may not enter into an alliance with the King of France, who will do all in his power to prevent him, or at all events to delay his accession to the league and alliance. No delay can be permitted; the King of England must invade France in person, or by a captain, as soon as he hears that Ferdinand has invaded it in person, or by his captains. When the letters arrive from the ambassadors at the court of Maximilian he must, without loss of time, act in accordance with them.

Spanish merchants in England.

As to the Spanish merchants in England, the answer of Henry is not satisfactory. He ought to have told the King to retain all the privileges which the merchants can show they possess by right, and which they enjoyed until Henry revoked them in consequence of the last treaty. Wish that this affair of the merchants should be satisfactorily settled, in order that there may remain no subject of dispute after the conclusion of the marriage. Desire to treat the English in Spain in the same way as the Spaniards.

He must continue to communicate all the news from England. Fernando Alvarez will inform him of what happens in Spain.

(*Marginal note:* Something must be said about Brest and Brittany.)

Ambassadors from Scotland.

The ambassadors from Scotland wished to conclude a treaty of amity with Spain. Have answered them very graciously, and sent the Archdeacon Don Martin de Torre, their chaplain, and Garcia de Herera, to the King of Scotland. They travel in company with the Scotch ambassador, and are instructed to procure peace, or at least a long truce, between Scotland and England, in order that Henry may be at liberty to begin war with France. They are to communicate with him.

He must inform Henry of all the proceedings, and ask him how he wishes the peace or truce with Scotland to be concluded.—Tarazona, 23rd of September 1494.*

Indorsed: "Copy of what was written from Tarazona, on the 23rd of September 1495, to Doctor De Puebla, by Pedro de Useda, who carries the letters to Salvador Duarte in Pasage. If Salvador should have already left, the letter must be delivered to Diego Lopez de Ayala, who must send it by the first ship."

Draft. Spanish. pp. 7.

23 Sept. **108.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DOCTOR DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

This is a very bad decipher of the preceding despatch (of the 23rd Sept.) In some parts it is utterly unintelligible, words like "urte leoab" and "costuy" occurring, which evidently are nothing but blunders.

* The date of the despatch "1494" is undoubtedly an error for "1495," as written in the indorsement, is the right year.

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23 Sept.
S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

109. FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

The last letter of De Puebla which they have seen is dated the 19th of July. Have already answered it.

He is to communicate all that he does in England, and to send answers to every point.—Tarazona, 23rd of September.

Indorsed: "To Doctor De Puebla, our ambassador, &c."
Spanish. pp. 1½.

2 Nov.
S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.
Juan de Arbolancha.

110. FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

Juan de Arbolancha has been injured by English subjects. Have written to Henry, and asked him to do justice to the said Juan, but he has not done so. Arbolancha has, consequently, asked for a letter of marque and reprisal. Though he is fully entitled to such a letter, it has not been delivered to him. Prefer asking Henry once more not to refuse justice to their subject, who has rendered them valuable services.—Alfaro, 2nd November 1495.

Spanish. pp. 1½.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.
Good will of Henry VII. towards Spain.

111. FERDINAND and ISABELLA to HENRY VII.

De Puebla has communicated to them all his conversations with him about the pending negotiations. Thank Henry for his good will towards them, and for his desire to bring matters to a satisfactory conclusion. Wish to marry their daughter to Prince Arthur. Have written in detail to De Puebla. Henry may give credit to all he will communicate to him.—No date.

Indorsed: "Letter which their Highnesses have written to the King of England and sent to Doctor De Puebla with another letter of simple credentials."
Draft. Spanish. p. 1.

8 Nov.
S. E. I. L. 806-7.

112. JAMES OF SCOTLAND to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

Sends his ambassadors to confer about the alliance which he hopes Ferdinand and Isabella will condescend to conclude with him.—Edinburgh, 8th of November.

Latin. p. 1.

28 Dec.
S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

113. FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

Have received his letters of 9th of September, and 11th, 17th, and 30th of October.

Have written to him on the 14th of May, 20th of June, 21st of July, 22nd of August, 22nd of September.

King of the Romans.

"You are astonished that the King of the Romans should "have let the person who calls himself Duke of York escape "at such a time out of his power; and you think that we have "arranged the matter badly with the King of the Romans, "because he did so much harm at such a conjuncture.

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" We should have been glad if we had been able to procure " what you had suggested, that is to say, not to let *him* out " of his power. But he was not at liberty to do any other " thing, as he wished to get rid of *him*, as we have already " written to you, and as you have already explained (to " Henry VII). You afterwards wrote to us that Rojas had " sent you a paper of the King of the Romans, in which a " clause is contained, that the King of the Romans shall not " be obliged to assist the King of England against him of " York. In spite of this clause, we think it would be ad- " vantageous to the King of England to enter into the league, " for, if he does, the King of the Romans will at any rate " not be at liberty to assist his adversary. Although the " King of the Romans does not succour the King of " England at present against him of York, he will be per- " suaded by us to do so afterwards. The King of England " must not be offended by this, for it would not be honest of " the King of the Romans if he not only abandoned him of " York, but also declared himself directly against *him* whom " he has kept at his court hitherto and always favoured. It " must be well understood that *we* will help the King of " England against him of York."*

" You say, you wish that *the York* were in our hands, and " that we should keep him. We shall, after the conclusion of " our alliance with the King of England, certainly be obliged " to render him all possible assistance. But if it be true what " you write, that the York is taken prisoner, there is no " longer any necessity for what you desire; write therefore " soon how this affair has ended, and all other news from " England, not in cipher but in common writing.† It was " very right that you did not communicate our offer to the " King of England to be security for the strict fulfilment " by the King of the Romans of the clause concerning the " so-called Duke of York."

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* The following paragraph is cancelled in the original:—" We do not believe " that the demand of the King of the Romans is unreasonable, because *he* " *of York* has lived in his palace and under his protection. Besides, the " King of England, God be thanked, does not need help if the King of " the Romans and the Archduke do not assist him of York. We therefore " think that the King of England ought not to delay the conclusion of the " alliance on account of this clause, especially as the marriages between our " children and the children of the King of the Romans are now concluded."

† The following paragraph is crossed:—" As it would be a very great dis- " advantage to the King of England in his negotiations with us, and a " great security for us that he would fulfill all his promises, we should very well " like that, if possible, our servants should take *him* (the so-called Duke of York) " prisoner, or that others should take *him* and deliver *him* to us. But considering " that, if we had *him* in our power, he would not be a person to be kept by us, " and besides thinking that the King of England would request us to deliver him " into his hands—a thing which we would not do for any consideration whatever— " we are of opinion that it is best only to cut him off from all assistance, and " for the King of England to get him by his own exertions into his hands. " If it is true that on the 30th of October, when you wrote your letter, he " was taken prisoner, there is no longer any necessity to do anything in this " matter."

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Do not send the power for the treaties of alliance and of marriage between the Princess Katharine and Prince Arthur, because the courier goes by land, and the roads are insecure. Promise to send the power by sea with Salvador de Ugarte, or another courier. But he may conclude the treaty of marriage as it was formerly concluded, or, if possible, on better conditions.

Alliances to be concluded.

Henry must conclude his alliances with Spain, Flanders, and the King of the Romans at the same time. If the alliance with the King of the Romans cannot be directly concluded because he is now so far off, the alliance with Spain and England alone may be signed. If Henry prefer to enter the league before he conclude his separate treaties with Spain, the King of the Romans, and the Archduke, his wish may be gratified. But whatever is done, Henry must, without loss of time, make war upon France."*

Henry has asked that the marriage between Doña Juana and the Archduke should be concluded without loss of time. This marriage and the marriage of the Princess Margaret with the Infante of Spain are already concluded. "If the King of "England should now ask for the old Duchess to be sent away "from Flanders, we answer that we also have grave com- "plaints against her. She has never shown friendship to us. "Nevertheless, she is a woman, and it would be mean to ask, "or to grant her banishment. Our daughter is now going "to Flanders, and when she is there the old Duchess will "no longer occupy the same position nor enjoy the same "authority as hitherto. Tell the King of England to desist "from his demands."

Princess Margaret.

Send an answer to the last letter of Henry. Henry has complained of the treaty concluded by Venice and Milan with France. Have already said that the Duke of Milan has made the treaty only in order to obtain Novara, and that Venice has never made peace with France.

Are astonished that the breves of the Pope have not yet arrived in England.

Are pleased that Henry is ready satisfactorily to arrange the business concerning the Spanish merchants in England.

He must never cease to watch the negotiations of France in England. Henry must avoid all appearance even of favouring France. He may rather declare war against the King of France, even if he were not prepared to carry it on.

Henry wishes to know the state of things in Scotland. Have sent their ambassadors to Scotland in order to prevent the King of Scots assisting him of York, or doing harm to Henry. Letters for the ambassadors in Scotland are enclosed.

Are pleased with the answer of Henry to the ambassadors of the Archduke. What he has said is only just. Spain

* A paragraph is cancelled which contains the condition that Henry must invade France whenever Ferdinand invades it.

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has begun the reconciliation between England and Flanders, and must therefore be permitted to carry the negotiations to the end.

Have not received the letter of the Doctor, who is privy counsellor to Henry. He must inquire what has become of that letter. Fernand Alvarez writes more particulars. —Tortosa, 28th December 1496.*

Indorsed: "Draft of the letter to Doctor de Puebla which went from Tortosa by Juan de Valmarada, courier, by sea. He took two other copies to Diego de Soria, to be forwarded by land to Flanders, and from Flanders to England."

Spanish. Draft. pp. 4.

28 Dec. **114.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

The same despatch written in cipher.

There are some alterations in the wording, but the substance is exactly the same.

Spanish. Written in two different keys of cipher, one of which is extant.

28 Dec. **115.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to HENRY VII.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Have sent their instructions to De Puebla, who will make communications concerning the negotiations now pending.—No date.

Spanish. Draft. p. ½.

28 Dec. **116.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Send him a despatch similar to that which was sent with Salvador de Ugarte.

Alvarez will write the news from Spain.—No date.

Draft. Spanish. p. ½.

28 Dec. **117.** MCCCIX. (GUIDE) to ALONZO DE COMPLUDO, Agent of DIEGO DE SORIA in London.†

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

"Sir, I have received your letters directed to me and to the "Directors of the Company, who are much pleased that you "have so ably and so minutely given all the commercial news "from there. For they are disposed to act here (in Spain) accord-

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* It was customary at that time to commence the year in Spain on the 25th of December instead of the 1st of January. Consequently, the 28th of December 1496 is the 28th of December 1495, according to the historical reckoning.

† This paper is undoubtedly an instruction to De Puebla, written in the form of a commercial letter. It is written in the hand of Alvarez, Secretary of State to Ferdinand and Isabella. It is not difficult to guess that the *Directors of the Company* are the King and Queen of Spain, and the *factors* their ambassadors. The cipher used occurs in a great many other documents, and is here deciphered by the editor.

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Tidings to be sent from England.

" ing to the sales there (in England). You must, therefore, " communicate to them the prices of iron and of other mer- " chandize at least once a month, or even every day, in order " that our masters may sell here according to the prices there. " You know that though there are not more than two fairs at " Medina, there is every day and every hour opportunity for " selling as one likes. For this reason our masters have told " me to go to this residence and to open a shop, in order to " receive your letters and to write you what passes here. " There are three copies of the letters which the Directors of " the Company write you. I give two of them to Diego de " Soria. He will send them each separately CCCLXXXVIII " (with) a DLXVIII (courier) by land. The third copy goes " by Juan de Santa Gadea by sea. But I doubt whether he " will be able to sail before the fine weather sets in, for the " sea is so very rough now. I do not, therefore, send you " DCCCCXXXIX (the) MDCCLXXXVII (power) which you " have desired, hoping that a person of trust will soon be " sent MDCCXCIIII (by) MCCCCLXXXVIII (sea). But " you can, in virtue of the letters and instructions which " you have already received, execute the sale of the iron " and the purchase of cloth, just as though you had received " the MDCCLXXXVII (power). I assure you that the " money has been kept back for no other reason but from " fear of the insecurity of the roads. It is hoped that Salvador " de Ugarte will soon come and bring it to you, and if he " delay much another courier will do it. You know money " cannot be confided to all persons. Nevertheless, in order to " enable you to inform us what you have bought I will write " to Diego de Soria to send you one thousand maravedis. " He will send you with this despatch his bill of exchange.

News from Spain.

" The news from Spain is that the King and Queen, our " lords, have been in Arragon, and concluded in person their " parliament of Arragon, which has voted a good number of " troops for three years. They have come to this town of " Tortosa, where they hold the courts of Catalonia; and in " San Mateo, seven leagues from here, sit the courts of " Valencia. It is expected that they will obtain here in a very " short time many more troops than in Arragon, perhaps three " times as many, and likewise for three years. They have " already five thousand lances, most of them men-at-arms. " They will further assemble in the month of March in Castile " twenty thousand lances, ten thousand men-at-arms, ten " thousand horsemen, and one hundred thousand foot. May " God give peace to Christendom, and may these troops be " employed against the Infidels.

King of Portugal.

" You know already that the King of Portugal has died, " which is a fatality in such a time and at such a conjuncture. " The former Duke of Beja, first son of the brother of our " Queen, is now undisputed King of Portugal. The crown " belonged to him by right, and besides the departed King

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" left it to him in his will. He left to Don Georges, his " natural son, to whom it was thought he would leave the " kingdom, nothing, but only recommended him to the new " King. Portugal is now as dependent on the will, and as " obedient to the orders of our lady the Queen, as Andalusia. " If, therefore, the factors of the Company who stay at " Lisbon write to you, you may answer them, and send them " merchandize just as to Burgos.

" If the DCCCCLIII (marriage of Princess Katharine) " and DCCCCLII (the marriage of Prince Arthur) are con- " cluded, you must write it, and I promise you that this " and what DCCCLV (De Puebla)* did in the affair of " DCCCCCXXVII (the Constable of Navarra)† will be paid, " and is much to my taste. Therefore make haste and con- " clude the business, but at the same time must MMXXXIIII " (begin) MCCCVII (war) DCCCXCIIII (between England) " MCCCXXIX (and) DCCCLXXXIIII (France).

" This country is very dear, and it is therefore impossible " to sell as much of the merchandize which was brought as is " desired. Nevertheless, I am pleased to stay here, in order " that you may hear every day from us, and you must like- " wise not be sparing of messengers.

" The enclosed sealed letter is for the factors in " DCCCCXXII (Scotland). As you know their names " write the directions on it, and send it directly. As soon as " you receive an answer from them send it to me. God " preserve your life.—Tortosa, 28th December 1496.

" Your MCCCIX (GUIDE)."

Addressed: " To Alonso de Compludo, factor of Don Diego de Soria in Londres."‡

Spanish, and cipher.

P. R. O. Fr. R. 11 & 12 Hen. VII. m. 16. (15.)

118. HENRY VII. to THOMAS, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

Commissions Thomas, Bishop of Winchester, John Dynham of Dynham, William Warham, Doctor of Law, Robert Middleton, Richard Guildford, and John Rysley, to confer with De Puebla, ambassador of the King and Queen of Spain, and to arrange various particulars respecting the marriage of Princess Katharine with Prince Arthur.—No date.

Latin. pp. 2.

* In ciphered letters the writer generally cannot make use of *I* and *you*, because there are no ciphers for these pronouns. He must consequently speak of himself as of a third person.

† The cipher is DCCCCCXXVII, and signifies Constable de Navarra. But I think that there is a mistake, and the cipher ought to be DCCCCCXXII, which signifies Reyno de Escocia, or Scotland.

‡ Added to the words on the address is a complicated flourish, in the centre of which a D is distinguishable. It is probable that it was concerted with Don Alonso de Compludo not to open letters with this special flourish, but to deliver them to the Doctor De Puebla.

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S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 76.

119. RICHARD, DUKE OF YORK, (PERKIN WARBECK,) to LADY KATHARINE GORDON (?)*

Most noble lady, it is not without reason that all turn their eyes to you; that all admire, love, and obey you. For they

* The indorsement, written in a different hand and in a different language from that of the letter, is decidedly wrong. The letter cannot have been written to the Princess Katharine of Spain. Not to speak of other great improbabilities, this sole reason is quite decisive, that a Princess of Spain who never set foot on Scotch soil cannot be called "the brightest ornament of Scotland." But though the letter was clearly not written by the Prince of Wales to the Princess of Wales, there can be little doubt that it was composed about the time when Prince Arthur, then scarcely 12 years old, penned his love letters to the Princess Katharine, under the dictation of his blind tutor, and the superintendence of sedate bishops. The paper and the writing belong to the same period, and the indorsement is written in the hand of one of the Under Secretaries of Almazan. It is further highly probable that the letter in question was of some political importance, otherwise it would be unintelligible why it was copied, sent to Spain, and there preserved among the State Papers.

Thus far there are no difficulties; but as soon as we come to the question, who wrote the letter, and to whom was it addressed, we can do nothing more than hazard vague guesses.

James IV. had in his younger years many a love intrigue with Scotch ladies, and he seems to have been quite capable of writing a similar letter. At the same time, he was a pretender to the hand of the Princess Katharine of Spain, and Henry VII. even believed that he was preferred to his son. Did King Henry get into his possession the amorous correspondence of the rival of Prince Arthur, and send a copy of it to Spain in order to show Ferdinand and Isabella what kind of husband the King of Scots was likely to prove to their daughter? This supposition, just admissible at first sight, must be rejected on closer consideration. The love letters of James IV. to Scotch ladies were letters from the King to his subjects; and though a King might bend his neck and his knees as low as any mortal before the beauty and loveliness of a lady, he could scarcely speak with such high admiration of her lineage, her riches, and her prosperity, nor would he place himself indiscriminately among her admirers. Besides, although King Henry would have done anything to prevent a marriage of King James with the Infanta Katharine, he most ardently desired to see the King of Scots wedded to the Infanta Mary, the elder sister of the Princess Katharine. How could it have escaped him that if the letter in question should induce the King and Queen of Spain to refuse to James IV. the hand of their daughter Katharine, they would for the same reasons deny him the hand of their daughter Mary?

As far as we can see, there is only one explanation of the letter possible. The person whom we now scarcely know under any other name than that of Perkin Warbeck was then generally believed to be Richard, Duke of York. He arrived on the 20th of November 1495 at the court of Stirling, and was well received by James IV., who offered him Lady Katharine Gordon, the nearest unmarried female relative of the King, in marriage. This match was of the highest political importance: it was equal to a declaration of war to the knife with Henry VII. That the letter in which the real or supposed Duke of York asked the consent of Lady Katharine to her marriage was written with the knowledge and consent of the King cannot, therefore, be doubted. King James, on the other hand, treated the Spanish ambassador in Scotland, Don Pedro de Ayala, with all the confidence and respect of a son. Consequently, it is equally probable that the letter was communicated to Don Pedro. Would it not have been strange if Don Pedro, who took much interest in the person of the young Pretender, and who apologized that he wrote about all, even the most trifling occurrence in Scotland to his masters, had not sent a copy of so important and interesting a letter to Spain? If we admit that the letter in question is a copy of a letter from the supposed Duke of York to Lady Katharine Gordon, all the circumstances mentioned in it serve only to corroborate our conjectures. The Pretender, reduced to an adventurous life, might well have spoken of her "immutable prosperity," and of her riches. As he saw the lady for the first time when he was a young man and she a young woman, he could with truth assure her that he had loved her from the first hour he beheld her. As Lady

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see your two-fold virtues by which you are so much distinguished above all other mortals. Whilst, on the one hand, they admire your riches and immutable prosperity, which secure to you the nobility of your lineage and the loftiness of your rank, they are, on the other hand, struck by your rather divine than human beauty, and believe that you are not born in our days, but descended from Heaven.

All look at your face, so bright and serene that it gives splendour to the cloudy sky; all look at your eyes as brilliant as stars, which make all pain to be forgotten, and turn despair into delight; all look at your neck, which outshines pearls; all look at your fine forehead, your purple light of youth, your fair hair; in one word, at the splendid perfection of your person;—and looking at, they cannot choose but admire you; admiring, they cannot choose but love you; loving, they cannot choose but obey you.

I shall, perhaps, be the happiest of all your admirers, and the happiest man on earth, since I have reason to hope you will think me worthy of your love. If I represent to my mind all your perfections, I am not only compelled to love, to adore, and to worship you, but love makes me your slave. Whether waking or sleeping, I cannot find rest or happiness except in your affection. All my hopes rest in you, and in you alone.

Most noble lady, my soul, look mercifully down upon me your slave, who has ever been devoted to you from the first hour he saw you. Love is not an earthly thing, it is heaven born. Do not think it below yourself to obey love's dictates. Not only kings, but also gods and goddesses have bent their necks beneath its yoke.

I beseech you, most noble lady, to accept for ever one who in all things will cheerfully do your will as long as his days shall last. Farewell, my soul and my consolation. You, the brightest ornament of Scotland, farewell, farewell.

Indorsed in Spanish: "From the Prince of Wales to the Princess of Wales."

Latin. Copy.

Katharine Gordon is reported to have been very handsome, the praise of her beauty appears less exaggerated; and it seems to be only natural that a young wife would passionately love, as we are informed Lady Katharine Gordon loved, the husband who wrote such tender and romantic letters to her. Even the mistake of the indorsement is easier to account for on this supposition. Don Pedro de Ayala, in mentioning this letter in his despatch, could scarcely have called Lady Katharine anything but Doña Catalina, just in the same way as he would have styled the Princess of Wales. As the State Papers in the keeping of Almazan, First Secretary of State in Spain, were arranged and indorsed towards the end of his life (he died in 1514), and more than ten years after the marriage of Lady Katharine Gordon with the supposed Duke of York took place, the Under Secretary who indorsed this letter might easily have mistaken one Doña Catalina for the other. But, however that may be, the letter is a curious specimen of love letters of so remote a period, and forms a strong contrast to the coarse instructions given by Henry VII. to his agents when he intended to marry the young Queen Dowager of Naples.

1496.
9 Jan. **120.** LUPYAN, Imperial AMBASSADOR in SPAIN, to MAXIMILIAN, KING OF THE ROMANS.
G. H. Arch. Vienna.

The King and Queen of Spain do not neglect the war with France. They hope to influence the King of England to do their will and the will of Maximilian. For this purpose it would be well that he should send his power to the Spanish ambassador in England nominating him as his ambassador.

Has often told the King and Queen of Spain what an advantage it would be to engage the English to undertake the conquest of Guienne. If that could be carried out, the French and the English would be so much occupied with one another, that the dominions of the Archduke would be in security, and the King and Queen of Spain and he could do what they liked, and Italy would be at their disposal.—Burgos, 9th January.*

Addressed: "To the King, my dread Lord."

French. 4 *pages, in print.*

Printed in Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, vol. X. p. 166 *seq.*

30 Jan. **121.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DOCTOR DE PUEBLA.
S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Have received the letter of De Puebla dated the 21st of November and sent by Salvador Duarte, who arrived at St. Sebastian on the 20th of December. The letter reached Tortosa on the 14th of January. Wrote to him on the 27th of December, by Johan de Bermeo, courier, who was to go by sea. Sent two more letters for him to Diego de Soria to be forwarded viâ Flanders. Send by this courier a fourth copy of the same despatches.

The Pope. He says that he is astonished the *Pope has sent neither a legate nor a brief to England* to solicit the assistance of England, because the authority of the Pope is very great in England, and his letter would have produced much effect. Even the bull sent from Spain would have created a favourable feeling if the copy had been in Latin instead of Spanish (en Romance). To these observations they reply that the Pope has now sent a brief to England. Have also ordered a Latin copy of the bull to be inclosed, as it had by mistake been sent in Spanish. He must persuade Henry to assist the Pope, and tell him that all Christian Princes ought to be ashamed to look quietly on whilst the King of France seizes upon the property of the Church, and treats the Pope worse than do the Turks.

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* In the document itself, only the day and month, but not the year, are given. The learned editor of the Correspondence of Maximilian I. in the *Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins* assigns to the paper the date of the year 1497. I think he has been mistaken. Maximilian, evidently in consequence of this despatch, had already nominated De Puebla as his ambassador to England on the 8th of April 1496 (not 1497), and he acted in that capacity in the audience he had of Henry in his Privy Council, described in the letter of the 13th June 1496.

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Are glad that the justification of their conduct towards the King of France had been well received in England. Can assure him that they have said nothing but the truth. Henry may judge by his own experience how the King of France keeps his treaties.

Alliance between Henry VII. and the King of the Romans.

" We have seen the clause which you say the King of the " Romans sent, respecting the so-called *Duke of York*, and " which was so hurtful to the King of England. We have " also seen the letter of Rojas on the subject. The clause, " according to information received from there (the Court of " the King of the Romans), effects what you have so often " demanded in your letters, when you asked us to procure " that *he* of York should be kept in the hands of the King of " the Romans. It was inserted in the treaty in order to make " *him* (the so-called Duke of York) secure, and avert his sus- " picions. All this, however, is no longer a matter of dispute, " as Fonseca and Albion have already sent Rojas the consent " given by the King of the Romans to conclude the alliance " without that clause, and Rojas has most probably sent it to " you. The King of England will be satisfied with it." *

The best thing for Henry to do would be to send a trusty person to the King of the Romans to arrange the business there. Wish to be informed in time, as they intend to write to their ambassadors Rojas, Fonseca, and Albion, before the English ambassador arrives.

(*Marginal note:* After this, Rojas wrote to say that the Archduke had sent a personage of great weight to the King of England. The ambassador was expected to arrive on Christmas Day. De Puebla must assist him. Ferdinand and Isabella wish that all their children and relations should be friends with one another.)

Henry wishes to see the treaty of the league before he declares his accession to it. A copy of it is sent by this courier, and would have been sent earlier if it had been asked for. Henry will see that there is not any clause in it (as De Puebla suspected), relating to the so-called Duke of York. If Henry enter the league, all the other members will help him "against all in his kingdom who wish to do him harm." In addition to this, he may count on their assistance, and on the help of the Archduke, their son (in-law) and his neighbour. It is to be hoped, that in this way " many Christians will be induced to remain quiet, and that war in his realms may be averted."

Entry of Hen. VII. into the league.

[On a separate paper there is a very confused paragraph written by the Secretary of State, Fernand Alvarez, the meaning of which seems to be the following :]—It may be that the entry of Henry into the league will encounter some delay,

* Here follows a paragraph which is cancelled and parts of which are illegible. It seems to say that the King of the Romans had not yet quite made up his mind with respect to this clause, but that Rojas hoped it would soon be abandoned. Ferdinand and Isabella believe the same.

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even if he declare his unconditional accession to it, and much more if he make restrictions.

War with the King of France.

The other members of the league must first be consulted on the subject; but what is wanted is his *immediate* declaration of war with the King of France. For this reason De Puebla must, without delay, procure the marriage, and the alliance between Henry and them, and between Henry and the Archduke; that is to say, if the alliance with the King of the Romans cannot be concluded without some loss of time, also if any difficulties should arise in the alliance with the Archduke, the treaty between them and Henry may be concluded separately, but the rights of the King of the Romans and the Archduke must be reserved in it. This alliance must contain the obligations of Henry to make war upon France without loss of time.

He has written that he could have concluded the marriage and the alliance with Henry if he had had the necessary powers. Have not sent the powers before, because the roads are so insecure, but send them now. He must try to get the best possible conditions, and at all events not conclude the marriage between the Princess Katharine and Prince Arthur, if the alliance between Henry and them be not concluded at the same time, in which alliance the King of the Romans and the Archduke must be included.

[The following paragraphs are added by Almazan, Secretary of State:]—The war against France is undertaken from no selfish interest, but only in order to assist the Pope and to defend the patrimony of the Church. The kingdom of Naples is a fee of the Popes, and all Christian Princes are, therefore, obliged to defend it against the French. De Puebla must, by round-about ways (rodeas), and with all the subtlety at his command (maña), manage the King of England, and induce him, step by step, to participate in the war against France. If Henry lend his assistance against France, they will assist him against *him* of York (el de Ayorque). The participation of Henry in the war against France is the principal thing which he has to procure. Next to it comes the clause that, in case of one of the allies being attacked, the other will send him assistance.

If it be not possible to persuade Henry to make common war with France, the war may be considered as a Spanish war only. Henry, however, must at all events assist Spain. Promise, in case there should be an English war with France, to lend Henry the same assistance as he lends them in their present war. Will also succour him against *him* of York (el de Ayorque). If either of the allies should be invaded by an enemy, the other party must send over aid for the defence of the invaded country.

Nothing can be of greater advantage to Henry as regards the pacification of England, than a war with France, and nothing more dangerous than a French alliance. How

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untrustworthy the friendship of the King of France is has been sufficiently proved. Moreover, there is an ancient enmity between the royal houses of France and England. Henry himself acknowledged, on a former occasion, that it would be a great error on his side to permit the power of his enemy to increase. Whatever the King of France might promise, he would turn his power against England as soon as ever he was not occupied with other affairs. Henry is not bound to fulfil his engagements, since France has not fulfilled hers. Of the consequences (de lo otro) he need not be afraid, being their ally, the ally also of the King of the Romans, and of the Archduke.

Marriage portion of the Infantas of Spain.

The marriage portion of the Infantas of Castile is 100,000 doubloons. He must try whether Henry will be content with it. If not, the smallest marriage portion possible beyond that sum must be agreed upon. It must on no condition exceed the sum which was stipulated with the English ambassadors in Spain. A crown is worth 328 maravedis in Spain. That ought to suffice. If Henry, however, should not be content, the crown may be calculated at 350 maravedis, but that must be the utmost.

The ornaments of gold and silver and precious stones, and the pearls of the Princess, are to be deducted from her marriage portion, to the amount of at least one quarter of it, as was settled with the English ambassadors.

As to the rest of the marriage portion, the time of its payment, and the going of the Princess to England, the conditions of the former treaty may remain unaltered, if better ones cannot be obtained.

Alliance with the the King of the Romans.

Are unable to give circumstantial instructions respecting the alliance of Henry with the King of the Romans and the Archduke, as they have not been informed of the particulars of the pending negotiations; "but we order and charge you to "procure, by all the means in your power, conditions such "as will best satisfy the King of the Romans and the Arch-"duke." Rojas is ordered to write continually to him respecting all that passes at the court of the King of the Romans, and he must inform Rojas of all that is going on in England.

He has asked them to write something more to Henry besides simple credentials. Enclose, therefore, a letter to Henry, and promise to write more in future. He is to speak much in detail about all the matters contained in the letter.

Reported marriage of the son of Henry VII.

He has written that some ecclesiastics have gone to England in order secretly to conclude a marriage between the son of the King of England and the daughter of the Duke of Bourbon, the King of France making great offers, and promising to execute them at once. Think that such a marriage would prove nothing else than "a spark to kindle a fire, "which would burn up Henry and his whole kingdom." In addition to the other differences between the Spanish and the

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French marriage there is this, that they keep their engagements, and the King of France does not keep his. No security which the latter could give would be sufficient.

Reported peace between France and Milan.

Letters from France to England state that peace has been concluded between France, Venice, and Milan, in consequence of which the King of France is to keep Genoa. The peace with Milan, however, is only a feint. The French had besieged the town of Novara, and would have taken it, within six days, had not peace been concluded. The Duke of Milan, having regained his town by this contrivance, remains as good a member of the league as Ferdinand himself. The Venetians have not concluded peace at all; on the contrary, they are continuing the war. With respect to Genoa nothing has been agreed, except that the fortresses (castillos) should be delivered to the father-in-law of the Duke of Milan. The King of France wished this, in order that he might make a proclamation that Genoa had been delivered into his hands. He possesses no more power in that city now than he did six months ago. Some Frenchmen, for instance, had gone to Genoa to freight vessels there for the King of France. Though they were entitled to do so according to the treaty of Novara, they went away, leaving behind them their vessels as well as the provisions and stores destined to be shipped in them. The Genoese had taken all, so that the French had not been able to equip a fleet there.

Are informed that Henry has complained, in a long conversation, of the slowness of his negotiations with Spain, pointing out that no alliance has as yet been concluded, and that the difficulties with the King of the Romans and the Archduke do not come to an end, while danger still threatens from Scotland. Under these circumstances, Henry thinks it would be a very ill-advised act to begin war with France. On the contrary, he regrets having denied Charles some things which he had asked.

Delay in the negotiations between Spain and Henry VII.

Their answer is:—With regard to the delay in the first negotiations, all that is necessary has already been said. As to the second negotiations, their friendship with England would be more valuable and more secure if the marriage of their daughter with the Archduke were first concluded. Henry has acknowledged this himself. The marriage has now been agreed upon, and the friendship of the King of the Romans and the Archduke thereby secured. Are therefore ready to conclude the treaty of marriage between Katharine and Arthur. Send their powers. He may bring the whole matter to a speedy conclusion. Wish, however, when Henry has signed the treaties, and proclaimed war with France, to be once more consulted before the treaties are signed in their name. In case, however, that Henry can in no-wise be persuaded to declare war against France without the treaty with Spain being first signed, it may be done without consulting them.

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News from France.

Henry has complained to De Puebla that Ferdinand was not a stranger to the affair of *him of York*. Declare this suspicion to be unfounded. All tidings which come from France are pure inventions. He is ordered to assure him, and to swear that they have known nothing of the doings of *him* (so-called Duke of York). Are not pleased with what has happened. Consider the concerns of Henry as their own, and are persuaded that *he* is an impostor (burla), as they had already told him when he was in Spain.

King of Scotland.

Henry wishes they should "keep in their hands" (tobiesemos a nuestra mano) the King of Scotland, by means of a marriage, as they keep the Archduke Philip. Henry has informed De Puebla of all that has passed between himself and the King of Scotland, respecting a marriage between the latter and a daughter of his (Henry). Answer to this point that they have done all in their power to reconcile the King of Scotland with Henry, wishing to bring to an end the continual robberies and murders on the borders, to assist Henry in the pacification of his realms, and to weaken the cause of France. Have sent instructions, precisely to this effect, to their ambassadors in Scotland. Can do nothing more now.

Duke of York.

It is said in England that *he of York* has sailed from Ireland, and gone either to Scotland or to Spain. He has not come to Spain; and if he has gone to Scotland, the Spanish ambassadors will prevent the King of Scots from assisting or favouring *him*.

King of France.

Merchants have written from France to England that Charles has proclaimed war against Spain in Toulouse. That is true. Have begun war with France. Have collected a numerous army on the frontiers, and have made daily incursions into France. Fernand Alvarez will write the particulars.

Duties levied on Spanish merchants.

Henry has promised to come to an understanding with them respecting the *duties levied on Spanish merchants*, as soon as the alliance and marriage have been concluded. Notwithstanding this promise, the former reasons of Henry for continuing these duties are once more repeated. The conclusions regarding the customs must be agreed upon at the same time as the conclusions of the alliance and marriage. For it would not be becoming in Ferdinand and Isabella to have disputes afterwards with Henry on this subject, or even to retaliate on English merchants in Spain. If Henry declare war with France, and think that higher duties on Spanish merchandize are necessary to meet the expenses of the war, he may continue them as long as hostilities against France last. But they must be taken off as soon as peace is restored, and Henry must give security that he will do this.

He must continually correspond with Rojas.

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He has asked for money. If he execute all that he is ordered to do, his remuneration will be very liberal.—Tortosa, 30th January 1496.

Indorsed: "Draft of the letter of their Highnesses to Doctor De Puebla which went with Salvador de Ugarte, who left Tortosa on the 30th of January."

Spanish. pp. 20.

30 Jan. **122.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to HENRY VII.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

De Puebla has informed them of his good will towards Spain, and of his wish to conclude the alliance and the marriage between their children. Entertain the same sentiments towards England. De Puebla is instructed to speak more circumstantially with him in their names, about the affairs now pending.—Tortosa, 30th January 1496.

Indorsed: "Draft of a letter sent to Doctor de Puebla for the King of England, which Salvador de Ugarte took out when leaving Tortosa on the 30th of January 1496."

Spanish. Draft. pp. 1½.

30 Jan. **123.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DOCTOR DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 1.

Power sent to De Puebla.

De Puebla is empowered to conclude—

1. A league and confederation between Spain and England, excepting, however, from it the Pope, the Church, Maximilian, the King of the Romans, and Philip, Archduke of Austria, and Duke of Burgundy.

2. A treaty of matrimony between Arthur, Prince of Wales, and the Princess Katharine, their fourth daughter.

3. To settle the amount of the marriage portion, dowry, &c. —Tortosa, 30th January.

Indorsed by Secretary Almazan: "Power for the alliance and marriage."

Latin. pp. 5.

30 Jan. **124.** DRAUGHT of the aforesaid, written by ALMAZAN, Secretary of State.

S. E. I. L. 806. f. 6.

Latin. p. 1.

31 Jan. **125.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DOCTOR DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Letters for the Spanish ambassadors in Scotland.

Send him a bundle of letters for the Spanish ambassadors in Scotland, by which the said ambassadors are ordered to procure an alliance between Scotland and England, or at any rate a long truce. The bundle must be sent with the greatest care, because it likewise contains a brief of the Pope to the King of Scotland, similar to that written to the King of England.

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He is to try to do his best to reconcile Henry to the King of Scotland. The ambassadors in Scotland are instructed to inform him of all their proceedings, and he must inform them of what he is doing.

A copy of the brief of the Pope for Henry is enclosed for his information.—Tortosa, 31st January 1496.

Indorsed: "To Doctor De Puebla, of our Council, and our Ambassador."

Spanish. pp. 1½.

31 Jan. **126.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to HENRY VII.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Henry VII. asked to succour the Pope.

The Holy Father has made communications to them, on several occasions, respecting the war which the King of France is carrying on in Italy, especially since the taking of Ostia. His Holiness has asked succour from them, not in one, but in many letters, and has desired them, at the same time, to require similar aid from the other Christian Princes. The Pope has now written in a similar way to Henry, and has sent his brief by land. As he has not been informed whether this brief has reached England, he has sent another copy of it to them, in order that it might be sent from Spain to England. The brief is enclosed. Ask Henry to succour his Holiness in his present great difficulties. It is evident that Henry, as a most Christian Prince, needs scarcely to be asked in such a case as this. Nevertheless, are obliged to do so, in order to fulfil the demands of his Holiness.

De Puebla will make him further and more circumstantial statements in this matter.—No date.

Indorsed: "Copy of the other letter sent to De Puebla for the King of England by Salvador de Ugarte, which is to be given, together with the other letter, to the King."

Draft. Spanish. pp. 2.

5 March. **127.** HENRY VII. to THOMAS, BISHOP OF ROCHESTER, JOHN DYNHAM of Dynham, WILLIAM WARHAM, ROBERT MIDDLETON, RICHARD GULDEFORD, and JOHN RYSLEY.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 1.

Marriage of the Princess Katharine.

The said commissioners are empowered to treat with Doctor De Puebla about the marriage between Prince Arthur and the Princess Katharine, her marriage portion and dowry, the time of her coming to England, the time and mode of the payment of the marriage portion, &c.—Westminster, 5th March, 11 Henry VII

[*The signature of Henry VII. is cut off, apparently with a pair of scissors. In the corner remains the signature, "Clerk."*]

Latin, on parchment. pp. 2.

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28 March. **128.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DOCTOR DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Have received the letter of De Puebla, dated the 21st of January. Have answered all his letters hitherto received. Salvador de Ugarte, who takes their answer, has probably already left Fuentarabia, as his vessel was ready for sailing, and was only waiting for a favourable wind. Send duplicates of the despatches, of the letters for Henry, and of the brief of the Pope.

War with France.

Have reason to believe that he has received other briefs from the Pope for the King of England through Garsilaso and the Spanish ambassador at the court of the King of the Romans. If not, the brief sent with the said Salvador will be found sufficient. As he has written that matters are ready in England for the conclusion of the treaties, as soon as the powers arrive, he must, without loss of time, conclude them in such a manner that Henry may begin war with France directly, and that nothing may remain to be arranged hereafter. A single day, now that the war has actually begun, is of greater moment than a year would have been before hostilities between Spain and France had taken place. The war is a war for the Pope and the Church. He must make haste to conclude the affair, and as soon as he has come to a definite result, write, and send couriers by land and sea; and, if necessary, must even send a ship of any of the Spanish subjects in England.

He has written that he has somewhat retarded the treaty of Henry with the King of the Romans, and with the Archduke, in order that they may be concluded at the same time as the treaties between Spain and Henry. He is ordered to conclude whichever treaty he can first conclude.

Hope that De Puebla has by this time received the brief of the Pope.

The Archduke Philip.

Are glad that the Archduke Philip has sent his ambassadors to Henry, who, according to what Rojas has written, will concert with him what will have to be their line of action.

He has rendered them a signal service by preventing Henry from declaring war with Flanders. There could happen no greater misfortune, in the actual circumstances, than a war between Henry and the Archduke. He must be continually on the watch, as the French do nothing but study how to bring about such, and other like things.

Embassy from France to England.

He has written that an embassy from France has arrived in England for the purpose of reconciling Henry with the King of France, making him great offers respecting the pension, and promising to pay the sums which are already due, or will fall due in future. At the same time, the ambassadors made great complaints against them and against the King of the Romans.

Are astonished that he has not refuted the complaints, being, as he was, so well informed of all the injustice they

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have suffered from Charles. Whenever he hears anything to their prejudice, he must vindicate them on the spot. As for the promise to pay the pension punctually, Charles makes it only because he is in so difficult a position, and wishes to disturb the friendly relations existing between Spain and England. He will not keep his word any longer than is convenient to him. The alliance of England with Spain, the King of the Romans, and the Archduke must be concluded as soon as possible.

The King of the Romans has admitted Henry into the league without any conditions.

The entry of Henry into the league will be a little delayed because all the members of it must first be consulted. He must therefore first conclude the alliances.

Duke of York. Are astonished that it is not known in England where *he of York* is. The same uncertainty prevails in Spain. If he has gone to Scotland, the Spanish ambassadors there will render good service.

Columbus. "You write that a person like Columbus has come to "England for the purpose of persuading the King to enter "into an undertaking similar to that of the Indies, without "prejudice to Spain and Portugal. He is quite at liberty. "But we believe that this undertaking was thrown in the "way of the King of England by the King of France, with "the premeditated intention of distracting him from his "other business. Take care that the King of England be "not deceived in this or in any other matter. The French "will try as hard as they can to lead him into such under-"takings, but they are very uncertain enterprises, and must "not be gone into at present. Besides they cannot be exe-"cuted without prejudice to us and to the King of Portugal."

Archduchess Joana. Intend to send their daughter to Flanders to her husband very soon, and the same fleet is to bring back the Princess Margaret from Flanders to Spain. Should they be forced to land in England, Henry is expected to treat them with the respect which is their due.—Tortosa, 28th of March 1496.

Draft. Spanish. pp. 9.

10 April. 129. POPE ALEXANDER VI. to DOCTOR DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 1. Empowers De Puebla to treat and conclude, in his name, with the ambassadors of the other members of the league, and with those of Henry, this holy alliance for the benefit of God, and perhaps to the detriment of the Turks.—St. Peter's, in Rome, 10th of April 1496.

Latin. pp. 9.

14 April. 130. FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DOCTOR DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2. After finishing their other letter, received the letters of De Puebla, dated the 25th of February and the 3rd of March, which Nicolas Beltram brought from Fuentarabia. Are astonished that their letters, sent by Johan de Bermio, had

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not reached his hands at the last date of his letters, since the said Bermio left Tortosa on the 30th of December, and sailed from Fuentarabia on the 28th of January. Sent two other copies of the same despatches through Diego de Soria to Flanders, whence, most probably, they were forwarded in the vessels which are said to have been driven to Ireland by stress of weather. Had also sent Salvador de Ugarte, on the 30th of January, with a whole bundle of letters, powers, and briefs, and had given orders that a ship of the royal navy should be ready for him. But the sea had been so rough during the last three months, and up to the 26th of March, that few vessels were able to leave port. This circumstance, and not neglect, has been the reason why they have left him for so long a time without instructions. Are very sorry for it; more so than he can be. All the above particulars must be communicated to Henry.

Inactivity of the King of the Romans and the Archduke Philip.

Henry has expressed his astonishment that the King of the Romans and the Archduke Philip, having such just reasons for quarrelling with the King of France, have undertaken nothing against him. Their inaction, he affirms, makes him cautious in his dealings with France, whilst, on the contrary, their activity would spur him on (le pornia espuelas.) Have given the utmost attention to the reconciliation of Henry with the King of the Romans and the Archduke, in order to induce those powers not to favour *him of York*, and to give security to Henry with respect to this matter. Have, since *he of York* rose, always considered it their principal business to deprive him of all assistance. Have thus entirely neglected saying anything to the King of the Romans and the Archduke about the war with the King of France. The King of the Romans and the Archduke are now determined not to favour *him of York*. But if he should obtain assistance in Scotland, it might happen that some person might persuade the King of the Romans, or the Archduke, to espouse his cause. One of their daughters being about to be married to the Archduke, and another to Prince Arthur, it would be a most lamentable misfortune if the husband of one sister were in arms against the husband of the other sister. To avoid such an occurrence, it was most necessary first to conclude the alliances. In order not to delay them the war with France has been thrust quite into the background. But now the marriage with Philip will ere long be concluded; and when that is done he will assist them, because he will be their son, and will aid Henry because he will be bound to do so by his treaties.

Duke of York.

Are glad that De Puebla informs them of everything that occurs in England. He must continue to write all particulars. Are pleased with the gracious behaviour of Henry towards him, and with the desire of the English to conclude the alliances. Hope that all will end well. He must employ the greatest diligence. The speedy conclusion of these negociations is of greater importance than it is possible for him to imagine.

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The means employed by him for the reconciliation of Henry and the Archduke are approved of. This reconciliation will benefit all parties.

The French embassy.

Approve of his remonstrances to Henry in respect to the French embassy. He must take care that no arrangement take place between France and England, and also that it be made apparent that Henry does not wish it. Henry will make no great difficulties, as he knows that France, when involved in war, can give him but little assistance in pacifying England.

Negotiations between Spain and Scotland.

"We have read all that has passed between you and the "King of England with respect to Scotland, and how he has "told you of our ambassadors having offered the King of "Scots our daughter in marriage, &c. If you had received our "letters at the time he told you that, you would have been "able to answer him with more precision. It is as true as "God is truth that we have no other purpose in our negocia-"tions with Scotland than to win over the King of Scots, and "to make him friends with the King of England, so that he "may no longer show favour to *him of York*, or enter into an "alliance with France. At all events, we intend to put him "off some time longer with vain hopes, in order that he may "not begin war with England or join the King of France. "Whatever negociations we have with him are only for this "purpose. The instructions which our ambassadors took "with them were to procure peace, or a long truce, between "Scotland and England. We said the same thing very

Purport of them.

"seriously to the (Scottish) ambassador who came to us. Our "ambassadors in Scotland ought to have written all this to "you, and we are astonished that they have not done it. "Fernandez, one of our ambassadors (in Scotland), is now "returning to us, and says that the Doctor of Glasgow is "accompanying him. He is the same person who has been "already to see us at Tarazona. They are now waiting for "us at Soria, because they know that we are going to that "town. As soon as we see them, we shall know what they "have to say to us, and shall directly inform you of it. "We are very sorry for what the King of Scotland did in "the garden of the Castle, especially as our ambassadors were "present. We shall without loss of time write to Don "Martin, who is remaining in Scotland, telling him to "manage to keep the affairs of Scotland and England in their "present state, and at all events to prevent a war between "them. It is our intention to request the Scottish ambas-"sador to write to the same effect to the King of Scots."

Duke of York.

"With respect to what you say, that we ought to get *him "of York* into our power (aver a nuestras manos), we have "already written our opinion to you, which is, that we shall "not entice him to come to Spain; but if you can bring him "into our power, you may do so, for the reasons which

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" you give. There is, therefore, nothing more to be said in this " matter."

Though Henry has desired him to go in person to Scotland with the brief of the Pope, he must not go before the alliances are concluded, especially since, according to information received from the King of the Romans, the King of Scotland is not requested to enter the league, but only not to give aid to the King of France. The brief must be sent by a messenger to Scotland without any furtner delay. If Henry wish that the King of Scotland should join the league, he may do so.

" With respect to what you write, that the King of France " has sent a paper, with the seal of his council, and a declar- " ation from the King-at-arms of Portugal, stating that *he of* " *York* is the son of a barber, and offering to send over his " father and mother, &c., we have to observe, that if the King " of England wish something of the kind we can do it much " better than the King of France. We can send him the " declarations of many persons who know him, amongst whom " is a Portuguese knight, of the name of Ruy de Sosa. He " is acquainted with the whole matter, and is a person of " authority and good faith. Having been Portuguese ambas- " sador in England, he knows the Duke of York very well, " and has seen him there. Two years later he saw this other " person in Portugal. You must speak of this matter to " the King of England as though it all came from you, and " inform us what he says in reply."

Letters from the King of the Romans.

Have written to their ambassadors at the court of the King of the Romans to soften the language of the letters which are sent to England, in order to render the demands of the King of the Romans, by which Henry was deterred from his good purposes, less hurtful. The new offers which pleased Henry have been made in consequence of these letters.

War against France.

De Puebla has written that it is impossible for Henry to make such demonstrations of war against France as are done by other countries, " for it is an English custom to begin war " in France only with great forces, to conquer or die, &c." That is all very well; but Henry can, at all events, after the conclusion of the alliance, join his fleet with that of Spain, give orders for the Spaniards to receive all possible assistance in English ports, and make proclamation that he will assist the Pope and Spain.

Entry of Hen. VII. into the league.

Are glad that Henry has declared his readiness to enter into the league. As to the conditions, nothing can be said respecting them at present, because the conditions which the King of England makes are not yet known. The principal thing is that he must aid the Pope and Spain. All other points may be conceded.

He must continue to inform Rojas of all that occurs in England, in order that Rojas may know what he is to do in

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Flanders. Rojas is ordered to do all he can to prevent the old Duchess from assisting *him of York*, and doing harm to Henry.

Reports from France.

"The King of England has, so you say, told you that the "King of France pointed out to the English ambassador an "ambassador from me, the Queen, and that he was a clergy- "man, or man of letters, whom I had sent, and that he "had communicated to the said English ambassador the "subject of his mission. This is the greatest piece of humbug "(burla) in the world. I have never sent any such ambassador, "messenger, or letter, or any other thing like it to France, "or since the beginning of the war. You can swear and testify "this in my name. This is like everything that comes from "the King of France."—From Daroca, on the road to Soria, 14th April 1496.

Indorsed: "Copy of what was written by their Highnesses to Doctor De Puebla from Daroca the 14th of April 1496. Fernand Alvarez gave the despatch to the Queen, our Lady, to be forwarded by her."

Draft. Spanish. pp. 10.

18 April. S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

131. MAXIMILIAN, KING OF THE ROMANS, to DOCTOR DE PUEBLA.

Empowers him to treat and conclude, with the commissioners of the other members of the league, the conditions on which Henry VII. is to be admitted.—Augsburg, 18th of April 1496.

The whole document is written by Maximilian himself without a single error.

Latin. pp. 3.

26 April. S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

132. FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

Have received, through Diego Lopez de Ayala, on the 22d of April, his letters of the 11th of March and 7th of April.

Are pleased that Johan de Santa Gadea has arrived, but are astonished that their letters, sent by land, have not reached him, as couriers had gone from Burgos to Flanders. Intend to write to Diego Lopez de Ayala and to Juanoto de Montaner to make ready two light vessels, to sail between Spain and England at least once a month in either direction. The delays hitherto occurring have not been owing to them. Have written many letters, and sent many messengers. Santa Gadea was detained in the port for two months, and Salvador de Ugarte, for three months, without any possibility of leaving. Salvador sailed on the 10th of April from Fuentarabia, and most probably arrived in England four or five days after his letter was written. Salvador is the bearer of most important papers, instructions, powers, of the brief

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of the Pope, &c. Have written four or five times since Salvador left.

Ungracious reception of the French ambassadors by Henry VII.

Are glad to hear that the French ambassadors have been ungraciously received, and have not obtained what they asked. Henry says that he has sent to the King of France, and requested him to leave Naples, to restore Ostia to the Pope, to keep peace, &c., adding that if his demands are not consented to, the King of France must excuse him if he consider himself no longer bound by his promises. Believe that Henry has told the truth.

The King of France has given Henry to understand that they have secretly sent an ambassador to France, in order to renew their alliance, and that they have asked nothing but security for their kingdom of Sicily. The King of France has pointed out their ambassador to the ambassadors of Henry. Repeat, in answer to this accusation, what they have already written in a former letter; that is to say, that since the beginning of the war, especially since Charles returned from Italy, neither a public nor a secret embassy, nor anything of the kind, has been sent from Spain to France. Cannot imagine who the person could have been whom the King of France pointed out to the English ambassadors.

(*Marginal note.*—Do not say that they would not send an embassy if the peace of the Christian world required it. Only that they have not done so.)

Untrustworthiness of the King of France.

Henry must as little believe what the King of France tells him about them, as they believe what the King of France says about Henry. Only a short time ago, there was a proclamation made in Bayonne and Bordeaux that a new peace with England had been concluded.

Approve of his refusal to dine with the French ambassadors.

He must, without loss of time, write them the answer of Henry to the French ambassadors. If Henry do not show "deeds," he must be carefully watched.

Clauses of the league.

Send new powers to him for the acceptance of Henry as a member of the league. Do not quite understand in what the limitations to the second and third clauses of the league consist. If Henry do not like to invade France, it is only necessary to observe that the said clauses do not bind him to do so. If he wish to be exempted from the obligation of always keeping the same number of soldiers ready as the other members of the league, he may be indulged in this demand, provided he keep England continually in such a state as to be able to assemble an army in the shortest time. But whatever his conditions may be, the league will be altered by them, and time will be lost by consulting its different members. The best thing would be for Henry to enter the league as it is at present constituted,

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and then the clauses which he does not like might be altered afterwards.

Alliance between Henry VII. and the Archduke.

Are much pleased with the alliance and friendship concluded between Henry and the Archduke Philip. Are not of opinion that Philip, in the confirmation of his treaty with Henry, ought to include the Pope, Spain, and the King of the Romans. Are, on the contrary, persuaded that the alliance between Spain and England will benefit both parties, and that Henry, in order to make this alliance possible, must first be reconciled to the Archduke. If Henry object to this reconciliation, friendship with the Archduke is preferable to any alliance that could be made with the King of England. Hope they may not be obliged to make a choice between them, but think that the Archduke ought to ratify the treaty with Henry without any addition.

Marriage of the Princess Katharine.

Respecting the marriage between the Princess Katharine and the Prince of Wales, there is nothing more to be said but that the marriage portion must be as small as possible, and the time of its payment as favourable to them as can be.

The alliance and marriage must be directly concluded and proclaimed. It will suffice at present, for Henry to assist Spain on the seas only, and to give a friendly reception to Spanish vessels in English ports. As to the obligation of Henry to invade France in person, when Ferdinand invades it in person it will be time enough to negotiate that matter.

He did quite right not to speak to Henry about the conditions of the King of the Romans respecting *him of Ireland*, and the security they intended to give; for when their letter arrived the King of the Romans had already got rid of *him*.

What are the instructions of the embassy of Henry to the King of the Romans?

What do the ambassadors, whom Henry has sent to the Pope, say? Garsilaso is instructed to induce the Pope to write often to Henry, because he has great influence in England.

De Puebla has been of opinion that Ferdinand and Isabella wished to delay the negotiations with England, as he has received so few letters. Such is, however, not the case. The sea, which never has been so rough as during this winter, prevented the messengers from going by sea, and the messengers by land have not arrived. He has been sent to England in order to conclude the alliance and marriage. If they had changed their mind, would have informed him of it.

Have written twice to Henry, and sent one of the letters by Salvador de Ugarte, and the other by another courier.

The Duke of Milan has already sent his powers for the admittance of Henry VII. into the league. It is, therefore, evident that he is still a member of the league.

Are pleased that Henry has declared his readiness to take off the burdens laid on Spanish merchants in England.

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He may be easy respecting his personal affairs. His demands will be granted, and much greater royal favours bestowed on him. Alvarez has already received orders in this respect.

Affairs of Scotland.

"We have seen all that you wrote about the affairs of "Scotland, and the paper which the King of England gave to "you in order to forward to Don Martin. What you wrote "about it is right. Although we have already often told "you that our intention is to be useful to the King of "England, we will once more briefly state what has occurred, "and in what state the affair now stands. It is of the "utmost importance. We learnt from the Doctor of Glas-"gow, who came to us at Tarazona as ambassador from the "King of Scots, that the King of Scots had some complaints "to make against the King of France, and was therefore "willing to enter into alliance with us. He wished to marry "with (a daughter of) us. It seemed to us that this would "be of great advantage to the King of England, in his diffi-"culties in his kingdom; and we certainly wish that when "our daughter is married to his son, his realms should enjoy "repose. In order that the King of Scots might not assist *him* "*of Ireland*, and that he might set him at variance with "the King of France (which would be equally an advantage "to us and to the King of England), we deigned to send "ambassadors to him, and instructed them that it was their "principal business to procure peace, or at least a long truce, "between Scotland and England, and at the same time to "detach Scotland from France. According to what you wrote "to us, our letters to our ambassadors in Scotland arrived "there before they themselves, and fell into the hands of the "King of Scots, who became suspicious that our embassy "was sent at the instance of the King of England. That "was the reason why our ambassadors in Scotland did not "think it expedient to write much to you, or to receive many "letters from you, for they wished to avoid the appearance "of the negotiations being carried on from that quarter. "But in the affairs between England and Scotland they "never spoke, or demanded or concluded anything, except in "order to induce the King of Scots not to assist *him of*

Duke of York.

"*Ireland*, and the King of Scots gave them his solemn "promise that he would not help *him* of Ireland before the "ambassadors had returned who were coming to us. With "these conditions, and with the intention of asking our "daughter in marriage, the ambassador has arrived in Spain, "but we have not yet seen him. Certainly, if we had a daughter "(not yet engaged) we would gladly marry her to the King "of Scots, since the King of England desires it for the "reasons you state in your letter. In fact, we think that if "we were to marry one daughter to the son of the King of

Marriage of the King of Scotland.

"England, and another daughter to the King of Scots, it "would, with the help of God, be sufficient to preserve

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" peace between the Kings of England and Scotland. But " we have no daughter to marry to him,* as you well " know. We write you all these details that you may com- " municate them to the King of England, and hear his opinion " as to the best way of dealing with the King of Scots. " We shall now do nothing more but keep the negotiation in " suspense till you, or the King of England, answer us. We " shall send back his ambassador without depriving him of " the hope he entertains that the marriage will be arranged. " But this affair could not remain any longer in suspense " if they were to see that we had disposed of our daughter. " Because, if the marriage between our daughter and the son " of the King of England were publicly concluded, the King " of Scots would change his mind, and, we are afraid, give no " longer any credit to us with respect to the concerns of the " King of England. This is the reason why you must find " out in what manner we can gain over the King of Scots, " and entertain him. Write soon, but do not say anything " about this last portion of our communication to the King of " England, lest he delay the conclusion of the alliances and of " the marriage."

" Although we have said that we have no daughter to ' give to the King of Scots, you must tell this to the King " of England alone, and no other person must know it. We " must not deprive the King of Scots of his hope of " having our daughter. On the contrary, we must amuse him " as long as possible. The King of England might, if he likes " it, propose to the King of Scots a marriage with one of " his daughters, and give her such a marriage portion as would " content the King of Scots. We think that would be " very desirable. Our ambassadors in Scotland and ourselves " would lend all our assistance to bring about such an arrange- " ment. Learn what are the wishes of the King of England, " and write soon."

Entry of Henry VII. into the league.

Have thought much on the entry of Henry into the league, and are persuaded that it would assist him materially in arranging his disputes with Scotland. In gaining so many friends he would gain security in his own kingdom. He must induce Henry to enter the league. But the negotiations concerning the league must not interfere with the marriage and the alliance to be concluded between Spain and England.

A letter to Don Martin, and a copy of it for De Puebla, are enclosed. " If we say in it (the letter to Don Martin) that " we are going to marry one of our daughters to the son of " the King of England, and another to the King of Scots, " we do it in order that if the King of Scots should know " what is agreed upon between us and the King of England,

* *Con el* in the original. Though it is not quite clear to whom *el* refers, yet, judging by the whole paragraph, I think the King of Scotland is meant.

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" he should not find fault with it and change his mind. He " must imagine that this (marriage) is concluded in order " that his may likewise be concluded."—**From Almazan,** 26th April 1496.

Indorsed: "Draft of a letter of their Highnesses to Doctor De Puebla, sent by Arnau, courier, who left Almazan on the 17th of April. His salary is 55 ducats. Morales has given him 35 ducats to pay the expenses of the journey, and 20 ducats will be paid him on his return."

Draft. Spanish. pp. 4.

27 April. S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

133. FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

The King and the Queen.

Doctor De Puebla, of our Council. After this courier had been despatched, we were much occupied in our thoughts with the affairs of the King of Scotland, because they are of such great importance, and we wished to get the King of England out of his troubles. Although we have hitherto occupied ourselves with the concerns of Scotland, it has only been to deprive the King of France of assistance, and to help the King of England in the difficulties into which he has been brought by the so-called Duke of York. But now that we consider the marriage as concluded, we regard his affairs as our own. It is, therefore, our wish to get as much influence over the King of Scotland as possible, in order to conclude either peace, or a long truce between Scotland and England. We believe that it would be a great impediment to the accomplishment of our intention, if we were to make the marriage (between Arthur and Katharine) public now. We are persuaded, therefore, that it would be best to conclude a marriage contract now with the King of England, to be kept secret till we see where the affairs of Scotland will stop, or till we send a person of great experience to procure what is necessary, and to liberate the King of England from the danger he is in through the Duke of York. We hope to be able to accomplish this matter, if we do not lose our credit with the King of Scotland. As for the alliance, it may be concluded publicly or secretly, as the King of England prefers. We shall be contented with either. If the alliance were to be made public, there would be no inconvenience in it, as it could be justified by the league. Conclude it without delay in one way or other.—**From Almazan,** 27th of April 1496.

Intentions of Ferdinand and Isabella in their negociations with Scotland.

I, the King. I, the Queen.

By order of the King and the Queen.

FERNAND ALVAREZ.

Indorsed: "By the King and the Queen. To Doctor De Puebla, of their Council, and their ambassador in England."

The whole despatch is written in cipher, the key to which is extant. The deciphering is by the editor.

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[Enclosed in this despatch is a note written in cipher, different from the cipher of the despatch. The key to this very complicated cipher has not been communicated to the editor. According to his own interpretation, the following is a close translation of the note.]

We believe that they already know in England that the state of Genoa, and that of Florence, Lucca, and Sienna, and further the Duke of Ferrara, the Marquis of Mantua, the Duke of Urbino, and Micer Johan de Bentivoglio for the town of Bologna, have come into the obedience of the King of France. For this reason, we do not care to set down here the particulars of these occurrences. But write to us what the King of England, our brother, thinks of it.

I, the King. I, the Queen.

To Doctor De Puebla.

28 April. **134.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

An abstract of the preceding letter. It is included in the despatch from De Puebla, dated the 13th June 1496. There seems to be an error in the dating.

27 April. **135.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DON MARTIN, their ambassador in Scotland.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Entry of the King of Scotland into the league.

The Pope is continually urging them to induce the King of Scots to enter into the league for the defence of the Pope and the Church. All Christian Princes are bound to do so, and it is expected that the King of Scots will do his duty.

He must likewise conclude a peace or a long truce with England. For if one of their daughters should be married in England, and another in Scotland, it would certainly be a misfortune if their husbands were at war with one another.

Indorsed: "This is a draft of a letter written by their Highnesses to Don Martin, who is in Scotland. The letter was sent to De Puebla by Arnau, courier, who left Almazan on the 27th of April."

Draft. Spanish. p. 1.

13 June **136.** DE PUEBLA to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Has received the despatch and the letters sent by Salvador (de Ugarte).

Went directly to the King, and had a very long conversation with him. Has already written the substance of it.

The King held a public sitting of the Council in presence of the ambassadors of Venice and Milan, and of De Puebla in his capacity as ambassador of Spain, of the Pope, and of the King of the Romans. Addressed the King in the following manner:

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Speech of De Puebla to Henry VII. concerning the Pope.

"It is now more than a year that I have been in Your " Majesty's kingdom. The principal object of my mission " was to inform Your Majesty of the great embarrassments of " the Pope. Your Majesty assured me, in reply, that no Prince " could be animated by greater love and devotion (to the " Pope), and no one was more ready to show it by deeds " than yourself. As soon as the Pope had made known (to " you) his wishes, you would not only send him aid and " succour, but also make war upon all his adversaries. Your " Majesty knows that the Pope has communicated his great " necessities to you in four or five briefs; and especially in " his last brief, read in the public sitting of this Council, " he exhorted you for God's sake, and as being your " Sovereign*, and in the name of all the princes of the league, " to be in earnest, and really to execute what you had pro- " mised, in order thereby to serve the cause of God and your " own cause, by preventing your enemy from growing stronger. " He bade you bear in mind that in your time the King of " France had taken Brittany, which once formed a principal " part of the kingdom of England, and had always been her " ally; to remember further that the King and Queen of " Spain, although much occupied with the war against the " Moors, had sent, at his and his ambassador's request, a " succour of one thousand lances, and that one thousand " lances sent then were worth more than ten thousand lances, " could they be sent by you now to help him in his great " embarrassments, and to render a great service to God. " Moreover, your Majesty must not forget that you are " obliged to do it, by respect to God and conscience, and " in accordance to the law of God and the Church, and that " for not doing it some Princes and Emperors have been " deprived of their dignity. (I read the edicts which state " this.) If all Princes are bound to do it, your Majesty is " much more."

(*Marginal note, written by Alvarez, Secretary of State.*— He said this in order that they might not think it was on account of Sicily or of the marriage, but only for the sake of the Vicar of Christ.)

Conduct of Ferdinand and Isabella towards the Pope.

" Your Majesty may call to mind how their Highnesses " have acted in all matters concerning the Church. When " they were engaged in the war of Malaga, Pope Innocent sent " a nuncio complaining of the King of Naples, grandsire of " the present King (who is now with God), and asking " succour and assistance against him. Although their High- " nesses were occupied in such a holy war, they directly sent

* *De parte de Dios e de su Soberano.* The idea was at that time still entertained in Rome that the Pope was the Sovereign Lord of England. In the Libros de Berzosa at Simancas, there is a copy of a Roman state paper of this period, in which England is enumerated among the fees of the Roman see.

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" Count Tendilla with a numerous suite to exhort and request " the King of Naples to fulfil his obligations to the Pope; " and as he did not do so immediately, their Highnesses sent " Don Alonso de Silva and the Licentiate Frias to defy " him, tendering at the same time, to the Pope, all the " favour and assistance he had asked; notwithstanding that " the King of France was encouraged in his designs on the " kingdom of Naples by this policy, and that the Neapolitan " barons became more daring, and raised the rebellion in " which they are now engaged. In that instance, their " Highnesses, being requested by the Pope, sent him directly " a great fleet and 700 lances and 600 foot. In addition " to this, their Highnesses, at the request of the Pope, made " war with France by land, and are still continuing to do so, " taking Brittany as an example, for if the war had been " continued Brittany would never have been lost. All this " being notorious, and your Excellence (Henry) being bound " by so many obligations to do the same for the Vicar of " Christ, you ought, without loss of time, to execute in deed " and in truth what is said above. You would thereby not " only fulfil your obligations, but also confer an obligation " on the King and Queen of Spain, and on all the Princes of " the league. With one drop of water your Majesty could " now effect, and do, and execute what, if the King of France " were to be victorious (which God forbid), could not be done " with a whole ocean, and, if it could be done, would not " be of any profit. The House of England now sees what " never before has been seen, that is to say, that the whole " Christian world unites and allies itself with it. If it let " slip this occasion great danger will accrue to England in " consequence."

Answer of Henry VII.

A long deliberation between Henry and his Council followed. The answer of the King was, that he had shown great contempt for the French ambassadors in the presence of De Puebla; that he had asked a large sum of money from the King of France, and had also sent to exhort and even request him to desist from the war; that if the King of France would not do so he should be obliged to do his duty; that he had likewise sent his ambassadors to the Pope and to the King of the Romans to treat about his entry into the league. The answer must soon arrive, and we might, therefore, have patience and wait for it. He hoped all would end well, and be amicably arranged.

Private audience had by Puebla.

Had, after the public sitting of the Council, a private audience of Henry. They were alone. " The King asked " me, why I had affronted him so much, when I knew that " he would do more from love of your Highnesses than for " all the rest of the world; for your Highnesses are the most " Christian of all the Princes. He esteemed you more than " all the other Princes together. What he is determined to " do at present is the following:—Call together all his soldiers

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" in the kingdom, and review them; at the same time arm " the whole of his navy. That would cause uneasiness and " fear to the King of France. Meanwhile I might wait for " the return of the ambassadors, and arrange the business with " his commissioners. I answered, that he might, to gratify the " ambassadors of Venice and Milan, repeat his statements " before them. He sent for them, and told them the same " thing in my presence."

Conferenes with the English commissioners.

Conferred with the English commissioners. Asked first to see their powers. They showed two powers; one for the alliance, the other for the marriage. Asked for both subjects to be contained in the same powers. New powers were therefore given by Henry, corresponding, word for word, with his powers. Six of the greatest personages in the kingdom were selected as commissioners. They went every day to his lodgings, where the deliberations took place. " These pro- " ceedings were well observed by sharp spies, of whom a great " number assemble here continually from all parts of the world. " I think it was done on purpose to cause more fear and sus- " picion to the King of France, seeing that men of such high " authority, and living in such houses, came to my lodgings, " which are in the monastery of the Augustine Friars, the " most public place in the whole of England, and frequented " by all foreigners."

The marriage.

Marriage contract.

The English Commissioners wish nothing to be altered in the marriage contract concluded in Granada. As Ferdinand and Isabella have obtained their counties of Roussillon and Cerdaña, they ought to be more willing to give a good marriage portion. If the King of France hear that this marriage is concluded, the effect of it will be tantamount to a declaration of war from England.

Roussillon and Cerdaña.

De Puebla.—Ferdinand and Isabella are not indebted to Henry for their counties of Roussillon and Cerdaña. They obtained them from Charles about a year after the peace between France and England.

English Commissioners.—That is true, but the restoration of the counties was agreed upon earlier. At all events, the treaty between France and England has much facilitated the matter. Object, at the instigation of the English merchants, to all the demands respecting the commerce of Spanish merchants in England.

De Puebla.—Even if England were to send aid amounting to 20,000 horsemen, it would be impossible to yield to their pretensions.

King of Scotland.

The negotiations have not yet come to any conclusion The return of the English ambassadors is expected. The same negotiations which the *King of Scots* carries on in Spain are carried on in England,—his marriage, and the extradition of the so-called Duke of York.

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The English Commissioners show no great eagerness in coming to a definite conclusion in the Spanish business, knowing that no treaty will be signed if England do not directly declare war against France.

Spanish couriers imprisoned by the Bretons.

Has meanwhile received their last instructions. The messenger who brought them said that two couriers, sent from Spain to Flanders, were imprisoned by the Bretons, and their despatches taken from them. Those who did so only sent one letter to him, but promised to send the other despatches hereafter. It is a very disagreeable occurrence, but there might be some advantage in it, for the King of France will be afraid, if he should read the letters. He fears a war with England more than with the greater portion of Christendom.

Was much pleased at the news contained in their letters which he had received. They may believe that if they really have the person in their power who says that he is the son of Edward, they are absolute masters of England (de aqui).

Went to the King, who was very angry that the couriers, though they had sailed in English vessels, had been taken. Explained their secret instructions (misteris) to Henry. *Henry* declared "by the faith of his heart" that he recognised in them the greatness and goodness of the King and Queen of Spain. If they would execute their designs soon, they might be sure that he would conclude the treaties with them immediately, and without changing anything in them. But otherwise, having such a "hindrance" in Scotland, how could he undertake a serious war against France? Henry asked him to make haste, and to arrange "both matters" in secret, repeating his assurances that he would do the will of Ferdinand and Isabella if they really effected what they proposed to do.

De Puebla.—They will effect it, but Henry must first declare war with France.

Henry.—At present it is impossible,—explaining the matter very circumstantially.

Duke of York.

Implores them to get the person who calls himself the *son of Edward* into their power. That is the most important point; that is the "whole" thing. That done, and the King of Scotland detached from France, the King of France will be in such a miserable condition that he will accept any conditions imposed on him by Spain, and keep them without disturbance.

The bundle of papers for Don Martin is sent to Scotland. Don Martin has not written, because he says he is unwell. London, 13th June 1496.

Postscript.—Henry esteems Flanders more than any other power. If Rojas had accomplished what he was requested to do, anything whatever might have been obtained from Henry. But Rojas did not only not accomplish it, but did not even prevent the ambassadors of the Archduke from doing everything that was disagreeable in England, giving

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Alliance with the Archduke.

Henry to understand that the marriage was "nichil." They do not believe it even to this day. Has in vain implored the ambassadors of the Archduke, and sworn to them that Ferdinand and Isabella would regard the affairs of Flanders as their own, and not have concluded with England, except for the sake of Flanders. There are very few honest servants in that country. They are all influenced by personal interest. Rojas, too, has not done his duty, since he has not excepted Spain or included her in this treaty. The affairs of Spain are conducted quite differently in England. "Would to "God that the Archduchess (Doña Juana) would soon go "to Flanders. She will be able to do much good in England "and in Flanders, especially if she is as wise as the daughter "of such parents is expected to be. Only a few words more "about Scotland. If your Highnesses have the so-called "Duke of York in your power, and hold him in your Royal "hands, you may be sure, according to what I am told, that "you can absolutely do your will *in omnibus et per omnia* "in England." They are very angry in England with the King of the Romans, for having sent the so-called son of Edward to England.

Archduchess Joana.

If they can now accomplish what is stated above, they will have "all the glory before God and the world" to themselves. But they must be very careful, for the Scotch "are astute "in the highest degree."

Indorsed: "Deciphered from the cipher of Doctor De Puebla."

Received at Laredo, 30th of July 1496.

The letter is written in cipher, and deciphered by Almazan, Secretary of State.

Spanish. pp. 14.

21 June. **137.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DOCTOR DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Have received, on the 31st of May, in the town of Almazan, his letter of the 26th of April, with the circumstantial description of his audience and conferences with Henry after the receipt of his instructions, &c. sent by Salvador de Ugarte.

Treaties with Henry VII. to be concluded.

Cannot reproach him for not having concluded anything, because it was his first audience. But he must now conclude the treaties with Henry without any further delay. With their friendship Henry also gains the friendship of the King of the Romans and of the Archduke; and, on the other hand, he knows the dangers which will accrue to him, in his kingdom and abroad, from his friendship with the King of France, who is always so untrustworthy.

Henry seems to entertain doubts on three subjects, viz.:—

1. Whether the King of the Romans and the Archduke

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are to be excepted in the treaties between Spain and England. As he has already answered this point, there is nothing more to be said.

Doubts expressed by Henry VII.

2. Henry does not like to accept the ornaments, &c. in part payment of the marriage portion. The conclusion of the treaty must not, however, be delayed on that account.

3. Respecting the obligations of Henry to declare war against France without delay, some difficulty prevails. But they have already written that it would be sufficient if Henry were now to proclaim his alliance with Spain, to arm his navy, and form a junction with the Spanish fleet, permitting Spanish vessels to enter English ports, and giving them all assistance there. The invasion of France by Henry in person can be settled hereafter; he must be induced thereto by small degrees. This is the minimum. If possible, more must be gained.

He has not mentioned anything about the entry of Henry into the league. He must soon conclude this negociations, the conditions being so favourable to Henry.

Affairs of Scotland.

Are told that Henry VII. has received good news from Scotland. The reason of it is, that the Spanish ambassadors have obtained a solemn promise from the King of Scots to undertake nothing against England before his embassy has returned from Spain. The Scottish ambassador has much insisted on the marriage of the King of Scots with a Princess of Spain, promising perpetual peace with England, and perfect safety to Henry from *him of York*. Have given only evasive answers, neither granting nor denying the marriage. Have sent a new ambassador to Scotland. He must tell that to Henry. Have no daughter to give to the King of Scots, as they intend to marry one of their daughters to the King of Portugal. Send now their ambassador to Scotland for the purpose of deluding the King of Scots as long as possible, with hopes, and inducing him to conclude a truce with England. Their reasons for doing so are twofold. Henry, during the truce, would be at liberty for his other undertakings; and he could also, during that time, conclude a marriage between one of his daughters and the King of Scotland. Promise to use their influence in Scotland in favour of Henry, provided always that he first conclude his alliance with Spain. Wish to know his opinion.

King of France.

He must directly write in what state the negotiations of Henry with the King of France, the King of the Romans, and the Pope, now are. If Henry has told the King of France to leave the property of the Church alone, threatening him in case of refusal to do what he is bound to do, it is difficult to understand his fear of declaring war, as he gains thereby so many friends.

Spanish privateers.

Are pleased that their privateers have been well received and provisioned in English ports. Wish to know whether that

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has been done because Henry has ordered it, or only because it has not been prohibited?

All that was contained in his letter of the 13th of March is already answered in a former letter sent by Arnao, courier.

French ambassador's departure from Tortosa.

The French ambassadors who had gone to Tortosa have now returned. They make no other offers save those already made on former occasions. The whole is an imposture, in order to gain time and to make them suspected by their friends. Have given an answer only in order to justify themselves before God and the world. The French ambassadors are not satisfied with the answer. Perhaps a different story will be told in France, but this is the true one.

Duke of York.

If Henry conclude the alliances and enter the league, all will assist him against *him of York*. Their assistance is much more powerful than that of France, which country is now engaged in the wars. Promise to induce the Pope to use his authority against *him of York;* but if Henry do not enter the league the Pope will be against him.

Spanish vessels.

Henry must now decide what he will do. The suspense is very prejudicial to Spain, on many accounts, one of which is this: Being at war with France, Spanish vessels cannot enter French ports, and French vessels are not allowed to enter Spanish ports; but the English, being at peace with both countries, carry on a commerce between Spain and France, which is highly detrimental to Spain, but highly profitable to England. If they become accustomed to this kind of commerce they will keep the negotiations in suspense for any length of time. Have therefore sent orders that all vessels leaving Spanish ports, without distinction of nationality, must give security not to carry any merchandize to French ports.

A letter for the King of England is enclosed.—From the town of Almazan, 21st of June 1496.

Indorsed: "Draft of the letter to Doctor de Puebla sent by a courier from Almazan on the 21st of June 1496, to Diego Lopez de Ayala, in Fuentarabia, to be forwarded thence with the greatest care."

"Diego Lopez has written that he has received the despatch, and will send it in a ship which will be ready to sail to London in six days."

Draft. Spanish. pp. 2.

21 June. **138.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

This is a portion of the despatch, dated 21st June 1496, put in cipher. It begins with the words: "y quanto a lo que "dezis que el Rey de Ynglaterre vos dixo que tenia buenas

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"nuevas de los negocios de Escocia," and continues down to the end of that despatch.

Headed: "Ciphering of one article of the despatch, written the 21st June 1496. Doctor de Puebla."

Spanish. Written in the Latin numbers used as cipher. The key is extant.

26 June. **139.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to HENRY VII.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Spanish merchants.

Spain being at war with France, Spanish merchants are not allowed to carry on any commerce with that country, but foreign merchants enter the ports of Spain, and export goods of all descriptions to French ports, to the great prejudice of them and their subjects. Have therefore ordered that this commerce should be discontinued. As among the foreign merchants who export iron, &c. to France, there are many Englishmen, Henry is begged to prohibit, under adequate penalties, the continuation of the said traffic.—No date.

Draft. Spanish. pp. 2.

2 July. **140.** PETRUS CARMELIANUS BRIXIENSIS* to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

MS. Egert. 616. f. 4.

Thanks them for the letters he had received from them years ago, and excuses himself that he has not earlier answered them. Is of opinion that the marriage (*fœdus istud affinitatis*), so long time treated for should soon be concluded.—London, 2nd of July 1496.

Addressed: "To the most serene Princes Ferdinand and Isabella, King and Queen, &c."

Indorsed by Almazan: "Secretarii Regis Angliæ, 2 Julii, anno 1496."

Latin.

Printed in Gairdner's Letters, &c., vol. I., p. 100.

6 July. **141.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

King of France.

Have been informed that the King of France is assembling a great army, in order to return to Italy. The Pope is very much afraid, and has asked them to prevent this expedition. Ferdinand has therefore gone to the frontiers of Catalonia, and there assembled a powerful army. Isabella remains near the frontiers of Navarre, in order there to superintend in person the preparations for war. She likewise intends to send her daughter, the Archduchess,† to Flanders.

Now is the right time for Henry to show his devotion to the Pope.

Henry is asked to give orders that all English vessels which may meet with the fleet of the Archduchess on the

* He was Latin Secretary to Henry VII.

† Juana.

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seas should show her respect, and give her assistance if necessary.—Almazan, 6th July 1496.

Indorsed: "Draft of what was added to the letter to Doctor de Puebla, which was sent in two copies . . . . . by a messenger who left Almazan on the 6th of July. It was directed to Diego Lopez de Ayala, to be forwarded by him in a vessel which he kept ready."*

"This letter was sent in two copies, which makes in all three copies. The third was sent on the 25th of July by Alvarez by a courier from the baths of Cervera to Laredo, where his Highness is staying."

Spanish. Draft. pp. 2½.

10 July. **142.** ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.†

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

✝

This letter is written to Doctor De Puebla by the Queen, with her own hand, because the Pope sent . . . . . that it were written by the Queen with her own hand in cipher . . . . . I am astonished that you . . . . . so much write to us . . . . . in his business . . . . . most serious as you write . . . . .

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Entreaties to be addressed to Henry VII.

speak not only to the King, but also to all Britons,* and instigate and interest them in this matter, showing how much they are obliged to do for the Church, and how unbecoming it is, how derogatory to their honour, and how disgraceful to them it would be, if, being enemies of France, they should permit the French to conquer Italy, and devastate and occupy the States of the Church. If the King of England says that he cannot oppose the King of France because of the boy who is now in Scotland, you must say that just because of that boy he must . . . . . and if he refuse . . . . . taking the Pope, and we are strong enough effectually to assist him, and can send so many Princes to his aid, and if we all press the King of France, as we would do if the King of England declared himself in favour of the Pope, and for the league, he (the King of France) whatever pains he might take, could not assist the so-called Duke of York to do the least harm to the King of England, because as often as he wishes . . . . . send as often assistance as he wants it. If, therefore, he assist the Church, and defend her from the danger in which she now stands, he will have it in his power, with the help of God, to do what he likes with the King of France. He can either make him concede part, if he do not wish to do him more harm, but only to prevent him from taking what belongs to others, and from destroying and setting on fire the whole of Christendom, as he has hitherto done . . . . . the conclusion . . . . . of the King of the Romans and ours, because you have already received the power of the King of the Romans. You have not written to us that . . . . . the embassy of the King of England which went . . . . . because if we had known it we could have procured it to be done. But if all is not yet done, and the embassy is not sure to return with an answer to his taste, let us know it without loss of time, and send in writing what the King of England wishes. We will see it done as though it were our own business. Send us a very long and very clear account of the whole business, and write us such a despatch as we expect from the Doctor De Puebla. We do not expect that you will send us a worse despatch than our other ambassadors, who all send us very good despatches on all things we wish to know. We expect more from you, because we know that you have more capacity than they.

Though this business is the business of God and of the Church, to defend which all we Christian Princes are obliged, there might be mixed in it something of . . . . . our own interest . . . . . and it will be done according to our

* Englishmen?

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will, with the help of God . . . . . the King of England according to . . . . . that . . . . . we have always kept, and we still keep what we have . . . . . that he might know . . . . . February (?) we really so with the King of Scotland during all the time that he kept with him the so-called Duke of York, as now with the King of Scotland, that . . . . . we have already said that we never had negotiations with the King of England for the conservation of his states like our own.—Dated 10th of July 1496.

I, the Queen.

By order of the Queen,
Miguel Perez D'Almazan.

✝

The whole letter is written in Latin numbers used as cipher. The original key to it is in two copies, and is preserved in the Archives of Simancas. All the portions left in blank are utterly illegible.

Spanish.

11 July. **143.** DE PUEBLA to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

The ambassador of Henry to the King of the Romans has returned. He has not observed there the least preparations for war against France, but has seen a great many of the party (secta) of *him of York*, and of the Duchess Margaret, especially an Italian, who is Latin Secretary to the King of the Romans, and who has great influence over him. Don Ladron, whom he met there, has made the same observation. The King of the Romans still seems very ill disposed towards Henry, and is keeping up communications with the King of Scots and *him*, who is now staying there. All this Henry himself told to De Puebla, saying he wished much that the Archduchess (Doña Juana) were already arrived in Flanders, and that the Princess (Margaret of Austria) would soon go to Spain. These marriages would be the only means of bringing the King of the Romans under the influence of Spain, and of securing peace between *him* and Henry, especially as long as the Duchess is living (Margaret of York).

King of the Romans.

Henry added that France is intriguing more than ever now, and that any delay would be dangerous.

The proposals of the ambassador of Henry (to the King of the Romans), and the answers he received, are contained in the enclosed letter of Fonseca and Albion. Lorenzo Juarez has written the same things to Spain direct. Has got precisely the same information from other sources.

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Entry of Henry VII. into the league.

Henry is ready to enter the league, on condition that he be at present exempted from any obligation to make war against France, or to contribute money for that purpose. He is ready to proclaim his entry into the league at Calais and in England, keeping the conditions secret. That would produce great effect. Henry will never go to war against France as long as affairs with Scotland are not satisfactorily arranged.

The King of France, when he saw the illwill of Henry towards him, and the preparations for war in England, had sent all the money due to Henry.

King of France; his embassy to Scotland.

(*Marginal note.*)—He did it during the week in which the couriers to Flanders were taken prisoners. Henry said that the King of France had sent an ambassador to Scotland for no other purpose (no para al, *i.e.* altro) than to get *him* into his power. It will soon be done. The King of France said, as Henry "did not like the testimonies, " stating who *he* is, nor wished that *his* father and mother " should come to England, he (the King of France) will " obtain *him* to be delivered in person." Besides, the King of France offered the daughter of the Duke of Bourbon, with a very great marriage portion, and all her rights to the succession in France, to the Prince (of Wales). Henry swore "by the faith of his heart" that he was very sorry for this French embassy to Scotland. It would not turn out profitably either to England or Spain. " If that ambassador should go " by way of England, he would retain him a whole year, and " not permit him to go to Scotland." Henry made all these communications to him in a park twenty-five miles distant from London, where they resided eight days together. Henry " opened his whole heart." He said that he could not understand why Ferdinand and Isabella should spend such great sums in Flanders, in order to conclude the marriage with the Archduke, and yet refused to marry the Princess Katharine in England, except on conditions. Nowhere in Christendom was she so beloved (as in England). The marriage would be a hard blow to France, since it would oblige Henry to follow Spain in all things. He had added other reasons without end, promising to accept all the conditions of the alliance as it was formerly concluded, with the exception of the clauses respecting France, which are no longer necessary, since the counties of Roussillon and Cerdaña have already been restored to Spain, and he is impeded by Scotland.

Thinks that there is not the least disposition in England to make war against France, and that the treaties must be concluded, either without that condition, or not at all.

The marriage portion.

Respecting the marriage portion, the condition that the fourth part should be given in ornaments will be accepted, but the rest must be paid in ducats, which will certainly be valued at no more than 350 maravedis, perhaps less. A letter of

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Henry on this subject is enclosed, and likewise a letter of the Bishop of Rochester, who is now Bishop of London.

The negotiations are very difficult. It seems impossible to conclude all the treaties at the same time. The marriage would be very advantageous to Spain. Henry wishes not only that a marriage contract between him and them should be concluded, but that, with the consent of Katharine and Arthur, the marriage ceremony should be also performed, which may be done by a dispensation from the Pope. Quotes the authority of Antonio and Juan Miles. The marriage may be concluded publicly or privately, as they prefer.

There were never kings so much praised as they are by Henry, and by the whole English nation; and never was an ambassador so much esteemed and flattered as he is. Nevertheless, it would not be safe to rely on anything except on what Henry himself writes. The fickleness of the court (parliament)* of England before their treaties are signed and sealed is notorious. They would, therefore, do well soon to conclude the treaties. Henry does not want any assistance in England. He only does not like to go to France during his quarrel with Scotland. "As far as his own king-" dom is concerned, he does not esteem Scotch affairs more " than your Highnesses do those of Portugal."

Fickleness of the English parliament.

Spanish merchants.

Has spoken with Henry about the Spanish merchants as much as on all the other subjects together. Has encountered great obstinacy on his part. The Archduke in the last fair at Antwerp, laid a duty of a crown on English cloth, that is to say, ten times more than there.† Henry is suspected by his subjects of having consented to this measure, which has made much noise in England. The kings of England do not conclude treaties with foreign nations except with the consent of the nation, which gives them great firmness.

Those who are best informed say that even if a duty of one ducat were laid on each English cloth in Spain, Henry would demand the same things which he demands now. " But if they get *him of York* into their royal hands, the " affair of the merchants will be nothing." Has done his utmost in this respect.

Thanks for the promised favours, which he deserves by his industry. Other ambassadors have made money, whilst he, though he has a daughter, has spent the little he possessed. Is in great difficulties.

Believes this letter will go by Salvador de Ugarte, who is a very faithful servant; and as the route by Bristol is safe, it is not written in cipher. Salvador is told to throw

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* *Las cortes de las principes de aca* signifies the *courts* as well as the *parliament* of the kings of England.

† *Alla*, Spain?

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the letter into the sea if he should be arrested.—London, 11th July.

*Indorsed: "Copy of the letter of Doctor de Puebla to the King and Queen, our Lords, of the 11th of July 1496."**

Cipher, deciphered. pp. 10.

11 July. **144.** DE PUEBLA to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Has spoken with Henry about the reprisals of Aldenay. Henry has already written on this subject to them and their council.

If the obligation given by King Edward be shown in the original, Henry promises to make reparation, otherwise not. The English suspect that that document is a forgery.

The English are so badly informed in this matter that "if "one were to read the Bible to them, they would think it "was the Alcoran."—London, 11th July 1496.

Indorsed: "To the most high and most powerful Princes, the King and Queen of Spain."

Spanish. pp. 2½.

11 July. **145.** DE PUEBLA to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

After the other letter was written, Richmond (king-at-arms) returned from France, where he had gone to exhort the King to desist from the war against Naples and the Pope. The answer he brings is, that the King of France will send a great embassy to England (aqui), in order not only to arrange the business of Italy, but to conclude all the other negotiations pending. It is to be feared that they will make great progress. They must write directly what they wish to be done.

Indorsed: "Letter of Doctor De Puebla which he sent by Salvador de Ugarte, dated the 11th of July 1496. Received at Medina de Pumar the 30th of August 1496."

Spanish. p. 1.

18 July. 23 Sept. **146.** HENRY VII. TREATY with the POPE, the KING OF THE ROMANS, FERDINAND and ISABELLA OF SPAIN, and the DUKES of VENICE and MILAN.

Rym. XII. p. 638.

Entry of Henry VII. into the league.

The ambassador of Henry is Robert Shirbourne.

Henry VII. declares his entry into the league concluded at Venice on the 31st of March 1495. The old treaty remains unaltered in all respects, as far as the old members of the league are concerned. Henry is, however, exempted from

* In spite of the notice at the end of the letter, and of the endorsement, the letter was sent in cipher, which is, as already noticed, deciphered by Alvarez, Secretary of State.

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the clauses of the treaty which oblige the confederate Princes to succour one another with a fixed number of soldiers, or a fixed sum of money. He is likewise exempted from the obligation of keeping an army always ready to repel attacks on the members of the league. But, in all other respects, he has the same rights and duties as the other confederates.—Rome, in the palace of St. Peter, 18th of July 1496. Ratified by Henry VII. at Windsor, 23rd of September 1496.

Latin. pp. 4.

17 Aug. **147.** ISABELLA to HENRY VII.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Certain English merchants have freighted Spanish vessels. When they were ready to sail the Bishop of Badajoz had detained them and ordered them to sail under convoy of the fleet of Doña Juana, who is going to her husband the Archduke Philip, as the voyage is very dangerous on account of the many French ships now at sea. If the English merchants complain of the delay, Henry is asked to excuse the Spanish captains. —Laredo, 17th of August 1496.

Spanish. pp. 2.

18 Aug. **148.** QUEEN ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Has written to Henry about the Spanish captains whose vessels were freighted by English merchants, but detained some time in order to sail under convoy of the fleet of the Infanta Juana. De Puebla has to take care that they are not made responsible for this delay.—Laredo, 18th of August 1496.

Indorsed: "To Doctor De Puebla, &c."

Spanish. p. 1.

18 Aug. **149.** QUEEN ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Will write to Henry about certain Spanish captains whose vessels have been freighted by English merchants, but kept back by her command in order that they might sail with the fleet of the Archduchess. He must beg the King to excuse the said captains for their delay.—Laredo, 18th of August 1496.

Addressed: "By the Queen to Doctor De Puebla, her ambassador in England."

Spanish. p. 1.

18 Aug. **150.** QUEEN ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

The Queen.

Doctor De Puebla, my counsellor and ambassador.

After it became known that Arnao, the courier, was taken at sea, and all the despatches lost which he was carrying, except the short one which you received through the master

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of the ship, of which you sent the copy, (and I do not know why the others should not have been preserved in the same way,) I ordered a triplicate of the despatch to be made. It will be sent in this letter, the duplicate of which has been already taken by another messenger, whom Diego Lopez Dayala despatched from Fuenterabia, and which was returned for me to look at.

Having read your dispatches of the 13th of June, which I received to-day, some comments have occurred to me upon what has been written. I now give them in order to enlighten you further upon the subject. I also wish to speak to you about some other things respecting which you have written to me.

Proposal made by the King of Scots to Ferdinand and Isabella.

The comments I have to make are these :—You have already seen what was said in the foregoing despatch with regard to the proposition made by the ambassador of the present King of Scots to the King and Queen of Spain. He desires, namely, that we should be pleased to give the said King of Scots one of our daughters, and offers to contract a perpetual alliance with the King of England in such a manner that he may always be sure of him who is called Duke of York. You are also aware of the answer which we gave him, and of our having sent a message to Don Pedro de Ayala by means of our ambassador. Lastly, you know what we wrote to you respecting the terms in which you would have to speak to the King of England.

Their answer.

Now, in order to explain everything to you more fully, we have to tell you that the Princess* our daughter, is very determined not to marry, on which account we are obliged to give the Infanta Doña Maria to the King of Portugal. Of the Infanta Doña Katharine it avails not to speak, seeing that, if God will, her marriage with the Prince of Wales will be concluded by your means. However, if we had had another daughter left us, we would have gladly given her to the King of Scots, in order the more effectually to gain him over to our side. We should, moreover, have been desirous to do a thing which would have been so pleasing to the King of England, whose interests we look upon as identical with our own.

However, considering that in the circumstances such a course will be best, we have adopted the expedient which you will see set down in the above-mentioned triplicate; that is to say, we are resolved to send the King of Scots our said ambassador to keep him in suspense as much as he is able. So that while these matters are in debate some form of truce, as extensive as practicable, may be settled between him and the King of England, the King of Scots giving security for what has to be done.

* Doña Isabella, widow of Don Alfonso, hereditary prince of Portugal, was married a second time to her second cousin, Don Manuel, King of Portugal, in the year 1497.

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Truce between England and Scotland.

Also, in order to settle affairs between us and the King of England, our ambassador will, during this period of the truce, stipulate for the marriage of the King of Scots to the daughter of the King of England, which matter, as is due to the concord and friendship subsisting between them, we will forward as though the business were our own. Moreover, Don Pedro de Ayala takes this express commandment from us, namely, to obtain as much as ever he can, negotiating everything in conformity with the wish and by the advice of the said King of England. Tell him all this from us, and see what he thinks of it; for if it appear to him that we ought to seek and obtain anything more, let him say so, and show how we ourselves may procure it.

To the abovesaid Don Pedro de Ayala you shall give constant information of all that occurs here, as he also shall give to you. Thus you two, having an understanding with one another, and you knowing by his despatches the state in which these affairs of Scotland stand, can either urge or retard the progress of matters, as you shall see is most consonant with the success of the business, and the following out of the objects which you know we have in view.

Alliance between England and Spain.

With regard to the affair of our alliance and amity I have noted all that passed between you and the King of England, and the persons deputed to discuss the affair. We are inclined to think that the reasons why the matter has been so much noised abroad are such as you mentioned. The more, therefore, that this becomes known, the more necessary it is to take care that, at any rate, the conclusion of it should be managed with the greatest secresy. Thus the more credit that can be preserved with the King of Scots, with a view to procuring what is suitable from the King of England, the more secret will be the conclusion of our alliance and amity. To this end I advise that you should continue your negociations with the King of England (since you say that he shows so much inclination thereto), so that he may conclude and confirm the matter without the knowledge of the Commissioners or any one else, excepting some one person in whom he has the utmost confidence, and whose good intention cannot be doubted. Moreover, the business must be carried on in such a way that it may not be known or suspected that anything of the kind has been done.

To be kept secret.

If you cannot improve the conditions of the marriage as regards the point on which I wrote, do not mind it. In that case pass it in the form which has been agreed upon, only take care about what I have written respecting the custom house duties.

The King of the Romans and the Archduke to be excepted in the alliance.

With regard to the affair of our alliance you must not forget to make exceptions of the King of the Romans and of the Archduke, with whom, on account of the relationship subsisting between us, there is nothing further to be done. Above all, I give you strict charge to conduct the affair with

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the utmost possible secresy, as is necessary, for the reasons stated above.

Rupture between England and France.

I noticed all that took place between you and the King of England in presence of his council and of the ambassadors of Venice and Milan, respecting his coming to a rupture with France by sea. Of a truth we were astonished that he should deliberate so much respecting such a matter. For as to the inconveniences caused by his affairs in Scotland, they do not appear to be such but that the advantages to be gained by entering into the league, and by coming to a rupture, are much greater.

Advantages to Henry of entering into the league.

This is more especially seen when the kind of alliance which will subsist between all those belonging to the league is taken into account, in addition to our own relationship. Therefore, taking all this into consideration, there is nothing to be feared from those things which he seems to dread. Moreover, by entering into the league the King of England will gain over the Pope, who is at the head of it, and who will then be favourably disposed to him in his affairs, and especially in the business of the Duke of York, a consideration not to be lightly esteemed. You ought, therefore, to obtain as much as you possibly can, using all the reasons and persuasions stated in the triplicate, so that he may at any rate make war by sea.

I pass over what you wrote to me about the King of England having sent to require the King of France to desist from the enterprise he has in hand; for although it is little to have merely said that unless he would do so, he on his part would not fail to do that whereto he was bound; yet since by this time he ought to have the answer of the King of France, perhaps through that, and by your means, he will have determined to come to a rupture.

Conjointly with this matter you ought to endeavour to come to a conclusion respecting the affair of the league, so that the said King of England may enter into it. With regard to this matter it is occasion of surprise to us that you should not have written what conditions are required in order that he may enter. For there was no reason why you should omit to mention things of so much importance and substance. You ought also to have advised us of all particulars, and of the answer that the ambassador of the King of England, who was with the King of the Romans, brought. For I am told here that it was not couched in such terms as we desired it should be; therefore it may be that it was that which has caused him not to wish to enter into the league upon equal conditions. Perhaps also some of those belonging to the house of the King of the Romans may have put obstructions in the way on account of their being partisans of the Duke of York. If it be something of this kind which has been done, and which is not in conformity with the wishes of the King of England, let us know at once in what the

Unsatisfactory answer of the King of the Romans to Henry.

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difference consists, and what it is that the King of England desires of the King of the Romans or of those of the league. Put the whole in writing, and send it to us, that we may take upon ourselves the task of negociating the business in the same way that we should if it were our own affair.

Duke of York.

Concerning your wish that he of York were in our power you can assure the King of England that we will employ ourselves in the affair as in one that concerns ourselves. What we wrote in the letter of which we sent you a copy was not of such a nature as to furnish you with any reason for understanding it in the manner you did, for there was nothing in it which conveyed any such meaning.

Embassy sent by Spain to France for that purpose.

As to the other affairs mentioned in the aforesaid triplicate, it is not necessary to say anything more respecting them, except that, besides the cause for which I wrote, namely, to inform you what you should say to the King of England, I have also to add this. You must state that, in return for both times that the King of France sent his ambassador to us, we have once more granted the sending of an embassy to him, and that two of our messengers have already departed. The cause whereof is this :—He sent his ambassadors to us twice, as abovesaid ; and although they came about things of little importance and less effect, and in fact to put us off with ridiculous impostures and trivialities ; yet that he might have no grounds for saying it was he who had obtained peace, attributing to himself that which we have desired and procured, and in order that neither by word nor in deed should he take advantage of it, nor have any colour for saying so, we have sent him these messengers to advocate the preservation of the states . . . . . * with God and the world, and so much the more that for a thing concerning so greatly the service of God . . . . . good of Christendom. Moreover, in order, if it were possible, to avoid all the many evils and calamities which follow upon war, not only would we send one and more embassies, but, if necessary, we would even go in our own person, sparing ourselves no trouble whatever. You shall say also to the King of England that, in addition to the other embassies which we have sent to him in times past, we have granted the sending of these messengers for the aforesaid reasons, and to exhort and entreat him to make peace by way of arbitration, or by any other means that can be found. For we only wish that he should be content with his own, and leave what belongs to others, since by not acting thus all the wars, evils, and injuries which have been done, and are doing, and shall be done, will be laid to his charge, as they have been hitherto. Times enough we have sent to him to say this, and to persuade him to this, and the reason why we speak in this manner to the King of England is, that if anything of a different kind should be

* Paper gone.

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said to him, he may know that this is certainly the truth.—Laredo, the 18th August 1496.

I, the Queen.

By command of the Queen.

Johan Coloma.

It is understood that what you will have to write to Don Pedro de Ayala must be done with the greatest secrecy and concealment, in order that the King of Scotland may not know that there is an understanding between you, for it would do great injury to all the negotiations.

Given die, loco, et anno quibus in litera ultima dico novissime confecta.

Ex regnali mandato.

Johan Coloma.

Spanish. Written in two keys of cipher, one of which is extant. Deciphered by the editor.

19 Aug. S. E. T. c. I. L. 2. **151.** QUEEN ISABELLA to HENRY VII.

The Infanta Doña Juana is going to Flanders to her husband the Archduke Philip. Henry is asked to receive her and her fleet well, if she should be obliged to enter an English port.—Laredo, 19th of August 1496.

Addressed: "To the most illustrious King of England."

Spanish. p. 1.

20 Aug. S. E. T. c. I. L. 2. **152.** QUEEN ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

The fleet which is to take her daughter the Archduchess to Flanders, and to bring back her daughter the Infanta (Margaret of Austria) to Spain, will sail the next day. Hopes that they will be treated by English subjects at sea, or, if they should enter an English port, in England, as though they were the daughters of Henry VII. himself.—Laredo, 20th of August 1406.

Addressed: "To Doctor De Puebla."

Spanish. pp. 3.

20 Aug. S. E. T. c. I. L. 2. **153.** QUEEN ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

Has forbidden the exportation of iron and other things to France during the time of war with that country. All captains who sail from Spanish ports must therefore give security that they will not carry their freights to French ports. Certain English captains who have laden their vessels in the port of Laredo with iron, &c. have been retained because they have been unable to find the necessary securities. Has given orders to have them released on their oaths not to carry their merchandize to France. If Henry will promise, in a letter signed by him, and sealed with his seal, that his subjects shall not carry on trade between Spain and France, they may be exempted from the obligation of finding security in Spain.

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Respecting the other negotiations pending in England, he is ordered to bring them to a speedy conclusion.—Laredo, 20th of August 1496.

Addressed : "To Doctor De Puebla, &c."

Spanish. pp. 3.

21 Aug. **154.** QUEEN ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

B. M. MS. Vitell. C. XI. f. 52.

Wrote to him prior to receiving his letter of the 13th of June, desiring him to use more diligence in communicating to her all that occurs.

Has come to Laredo with the Archduchess her daughter, in order that she may embark thence for Flanders. She is already gone on board, and the fleet is ready to set sail. Has written a letter, which he is to deliver to the King of England, asking him to give a cordial reception to the Archduchess and the fleet, in case it should be obliged, by stress of weather, to put into an English port. Also requests Henry to give the like reception to the Princess [Margaret of Austria], who will return in the same fleet from Flanders to Spain.

Henry asked to give a cordial reception to the Archduchess Juana and Princess Margaret in case of need.

Enjoins him to send her a reply by the courier who takes this letter, and who is leaving in a ship despatched solely for the purpose of conveying him to England.

Don Pedro de Ayala and the Scotch ambassador are on the point of embarking for Spain. The latter being afraid of falling into the hands of the English, she has therefore nominated him her own ambassador. Has, however, desired Don Pedro to destroy the document as soon as they have made the passage. Acquaints De Puebla with this order that he may know what the nomination signifies.—Laredo, 21st August 1496.*

Spanish. Copy. pp. 2.

Printed in Gairdner's Memorials.

22 Aug. **155.** QUEEN ISABELLA OF SPAIN to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Doctor de Puebla, my ambassador.

After having written my last letter I found by the letters of some persons who have come from Rome that it has been declared there that the King of England has entered into the league.

Conduct to be pursued by De Puebla should Henry have entered the league.

If it be so, and he has really entered, you must strongly urge the affair of the matrimonial alliance and amity. You must, moreover, do this in such a way as is consonant with the obligation which we have incurred to the King of England through the league, and he to us. We have, in especial, to uphold and aid one another in matters affecting our states against all persons whatsoever, with the exception of the Pope, the King of the Romans, and the Archduke.

* The date is written in the following manner : "xxi. dias de Agusto XDVI. años."

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But if the King of England should not have entered into the league, in that case act in conformity with what was written to you on the subject. At any rate if you should see that he shows any signs of making war upon France, and of coming publicly to a rupture, or at least of permitting and giving permission to his subjects and his ships to treat the French as enemies, then it appears to me that, in order to gain him over more entirely to come to an open rupture, you should speak to him in the following manner. Tell him that matters might be so arranged with the Pope as that he should give him a crusade in his kingdom, he presenting to his Holiness either the half of what it would produce, or perchance he might prevail on the Pope to be content with a third, in which case the larger proportion would be his. Say to him, moreover, that we ourselves would obtain this for him, taking it in hand as though it were our own affair.

Inducements to be held out to Henry in order to persuade him to make war on France.

By means of this, and such other inducements as you may think it well to hold out, you ought, using all the means in your power, to be able to make him adopt the course we wish him to take.

Last night at midnight the armada set sail, the weather, thanks to God, being favourable. May it please Him very quickly to bring it to the desired haven, as He has the power to do.

I have already written to you as to the course you will have to pursue with the King in case the illustrious Archduchess, my daughter, with the armada, should put into an English port, and also as regards the return of the illustrious Princess. See to it with the care that such an important matter demands, and send off this courier immediately with an answer to all that I have written to you, and with a full account of all that may have taken place, in order that the vessel may not be detained. For it is sent for nothing else, excepting to convey the said courier to England, and it is to wait until he returns hither.—Laredo, 22nd August 1496.

I, the Queen.
Johan de Coloma.

Addressed: "By the Queen to Doctor de Puebla, her ambassador and counsellor."

Spanish. Written in two keys of cipher, only one of which (that in Roman numbers) is extant. Deciphered by the editor.

24 Aug. **156.** QUEEN ISABELLA to CARTELLO, Courier.

S. E. Cor. Cast. L. 1 and 2. f. 358.

Orders him to overtake the fleet of the Archduchess, and deliver letters to her chaplain. That done, he must go to Southampton, leave his despatches there, and proceed on his journey, by land or by sea, to the King of the Romans.—Laredo, 24th of August 1496.

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25 Aug. **157.** QUEEN ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.
S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

The Queen.

Doctor de Puebla, my ambassador.

That which follows is the copy of my letter to you which was written thrice by my own hand. Since then we have heard that the ambassador of the King of England, who is at Rome, has made a treaty with the ambassadors of the league, and that the King of England has joined it; also that the publication will take place in December next.

Entry of Henry into the league.

This intelligence has given us much satisfaction; and as we find that the conditions are not quite equal, if he do not give his aid immediately in the war against France, I desire that you should at any rate manage to gain little by little for us in this matter. I also wish that immediately afterwards you should treat for the marriage of our children; for it appears that there is not at present any King in the world who has a daughter to whom he can marry his son excepting ours. Moreover, it will be more advantageous for him than any other alliances could be, on account of our vicinity to him. Thus, whenever he might deem it necessary he could have this fleet, which you may have seen, at his disposal, and even a greater, should it be judged requisite.

De Puebla is to treat about the marriage of the Princess Katharine and the articles to be concluded secretly.

For although such a thing has not been stipulated, certain it is, that the matrimonial alliance having once been agreed upon, we should thenceforth regard his interests as identical with ours.

If the King of England be willing, let the articles of the marriage treaty, as they were first agreed upon, be confirmed. But do not let the clause respecting the customs be incorporated in it. See that the business be immediately concluded, and withal so very secretly that no one in the world may know of it, except some very confidential secretary. Take care also that you except from it the Pope, the King of the Romans, and the Archduke; for it will not be a matter contrary to their interests, for us to defend his kingdom against any one whatever.

Affairs of Scotland.

In the affairs of Scotland take heed that whatever you write to Don Pedro de Ayala it should be with so much secrecy that the King of Scotland may not discover that he holds any communication with you. This is requisite in order to the progress of these affairs. Reply to me immediately; for, in order that I may receive an answer at once, I send this by a special messenger.—Laredo, 25th August 1496.

I, the Queen.

By order of the Queen.

Johan Coloma. Fiat.

Addressed: "By the Queen to Doctor De Puebla, her ambassador and counsellor."

Spanish. The letter is written in two different keys of cipher mixed up with one another. One of the keys (Roman numbers) is preserved, the other is not extant. The deciphering is by the editor.

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12 Sept. **158.** QUEEN ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Has received his letters of the 13th of June and 11th of July.

Entry of Henry VII. into the league.

Approves of the manner in which he carries on his business in England, especially so far as the entry of Henry into the league is concerned. Has received letters from Rome stating that Henry has become a member of the league, but does not yet know the conditions. The entry of the King into the league must be proclaimed in England without loss of time, but the conditions kept secret, as they are probably not favourable.

Marriage of the Princess Katharine.

Has received a letter from Henry concerning the marriage of the Princess Katharine with the Prince of Wales. Is pleased that Henry so much desires the conclusion of that marriage. Has a high opinion of him as a "Prince of great virtue, firmness, and constancy." Loves him very much, and hopes that after the marriage of their children a much more intimate friendship will take place between them than between any other princes. The marriage and alliance are to be concluded at the same time, and on the following conditions :

Articles of the marriage treaty.

The marriage treaty agreed upon with the English ambassadors at Medina del Campo must be renewed, but with the following additions and alterations :—

1. The fourth part of the marriage portion must be payable in ornaments, &c. of the Princess.

2. The scudo, which was calculated at 4*s.* 2*d.*, must be calculated at no more than 350 maravedis.

3. The conclusion of the marriage must be kept most secret, in order that the King of Scotland may not hear of it.

4. The time when the marriage is to be contracted *per verba de futuro* is to be postponed.

5. The Princess must be at liberty to bring 150 persons with her, who are to remain in England.

Treaty of alliance.

The *treaty of alliance* must also, in all clauses, be conformable to the treaty of Medina del Campo, except that the clause concerning the King of France must be left out. It is not necessary to mention the King of France at all in this treaty. The clause respecting the Duchess of Brittany has likewise become obsolete.

The King of the Romans, the Archduke, and the members of the league must be excepted.

Spanish commerce.

The clause respecting Spanish commerce in England must be altered. If Henry cannot be persuaded to take off the extra burdens from the Spanish merchants, it must be stipulated in a separate instrument before a public notary, that it shall not be regarded as an infringement of this treaty if English merchants and merchandize in Spain should be obliged to pay as high customs as Spaniards pay in England. The conclusion of the treaties must not, however, be delayed on account of this difference.

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War with France.

Since Henry delares it to be utterly impossible for him to begin war with France, he is to be no further pressed on that subject. But he must assist Spanish vessels at sea. De Puebla must bide his time, and by degrees obtain further advantages from Henry. The more preparations for war are made in England, the greater will be the offers which the King of France will make to Henry. If war between England and France should be declared, Henry will force the King of France to accept his conditions.

Proposed marriage for the son of Henry VII.

Thinks that a marriage of the son of Henry with the daughter of the Duke of Bourbon would be a misfortune. The English would not like a French woman, and the French would not keep their promises.

Intends nothing else in Scotland but to separate the King of the Scots from France, and to render good service to Henry. Henry must marry one of his daughters to the King of Scots.

King of the Romans.

Is very sorry that the King of the Romans should cause so much trouble to Henry. He has some friends of the Princess Margaret about his person, but their designs will be frustrated. If Henry wish something more to be done by him in this matter, he must say so.

Archduchess Juana.

The Archduchess (Juana) sailed from Laredo on the 22d of August. The admiral who commands her fleet, and who is to bring back the Princess (Margaret of Austria), has orders to request the assistance of England in case of need.

The Archduchess (Juana) goes to Flanders with the best intentions of favouring the interests of Henry. Besides the instructions given to her, she has a particular reason for doing so, as she has been brought up in company with her sister, who is to be married in England, and likes to live in friendship with her. Henry VII. has henceforth a daughter in Flanders.

The King of France knows it, and has made great preparations to intercept the Archduchess. It is expected that Henry will do all in his power to prevent the execution of this design.

A letter for Henry is enclosed.*

Has had no news of the Archduchess since she sailed. If he hear anything about her, he must directly write by an express courier.

Does not think it advisable to ask the Pope to declare the marriage between Katharine and Arthur binding from the beginning, because the King of Scots would hear something of it. After ten or twelve months the Pope might be asked to make such a declaration.—No date. No address.

Written by Fernand Alvarez, Secretary of State.
Spanish. pp. 11½. *Draft.*

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* A ciphered copy of this letter, dated Oña, 12 September 1496, is preserved in the same bundle. It is inserted in the ciphered despatch of the 15th of September of the same year.

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159. FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 1.

Power to conclude, with the commissioners of Henry, a the marriage between Princess Katharine and Prince Arthur, to settle her marriage portion and dower, and to stipulate for the restitution of the marriage portion if the marriage should be dissolved by death or otherwise.—Without date or signature.

Spanish. Draft.

15 Sept. **160.** QUEEN ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

E. T. c. I. L. 2.

The Queen.

Although this letter is a duplicate of that of the 12th of September, conveyed to you by Salvador Duarte, you will have to decipher and read it all, since it contains some additional matter.

Doctor de Puebla, I received a letter of yours, dated the 13th of last June, and which was sent me by Don Diego Lopez de Ayala.—(*See* despatch of the 12th of September.)

[The remainder is put in cipher from the letter written by the hand of our Lady the Queen.]

You will perceive by my former letters, and by the contents of the present despatch, what is the conduct which you have to pursue, as well in the affair of the treaty of amity as in that of the marriage. I desire that you should, with much diligence, hasten to conclude everything, and that you should have it done in the manner the most advantageous for us. If you see that such a proceeding be politic, make very strong representations to the King of England respecting the King of France.

Representations to be made to Henry respecting France.

To this end you shall say to him that he must already be aware that the intention of the King of France is nothing less than that of making himself Lord of Italy. It is for that reason he is holding Milan and Genoa; for he calculates that if he keep those places in his possession the rest of Italy will not be able to defend itself, and that he shall then be able to turn the Pope into his sacristan.

Intentions of the King of France.

You shall therefore endeavour to induce the King of England to prevent him from carrying out this his intention, which, of a truth, rests upon slight foundation, but is nothing less than that of making himself King of Italy. You must also try to make the King of England understand the reasons [that actuate the King of France], so that he may conclude the treaty, which would be of the greatest advantage just at present. For if the King of France see that the King of England does not hold a neutral position, but that he has resolved to support the league, and to cross the Channel, and if he find that he has already entered into the league, and will make war immediately upon France, or at any rate command his subjects to make war (as we hear from other sources he will), then the King of France will entirely lose the hope by which perchance he is still inspired.

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It is certain that there is nothing which would sooner put a stop to his avarice, abate his pride, compel him to desire peace, and to be content with his own, leaving to others what is not his, than such a conviction as this.

Good results that would follow from a war between England and France.

By acting thus the King of England, in addition to his being the cause of restoring peace to Christendom, and of doing such great service to God by delivering his Vicar upon Earth from vexation, would also be the means of preventing the patrimony of the Church from being exposed to tyranny, and its affairs abused. These would indeed be acts worthy of any Catholic Prince whatsoever, and would place the Pope and all the members of the league under such great obligations to him that they would thenceforth do whatever he might desire of them.

It is indeed true that in all the enterprises which he has formerly undertaken against France he has ever reaped honour and advantage. But it is also very certain that, supported as he then would be, he would be able more easily to oblige the King of France to yield to all that it might be deemed right to demand, than he would by remaining on the same footing with him as he has hitherto done, and showing him that he does not wish to do him any injury.

Answers to be made to Henry should he excuse himself from declaring war.

If, however, the King of England should alledge as an excuse for not making war the occurrences that are taking place in Scotland, which is what he always has done, then you can tell him that we quite perceive there is some show of reason in what he says. But you shall say that he can remedy that by hastening and concluding the marriage of his daughter with the King of Scotland. In order to aid the progress of that business, and of all that is connected with it, as also of the negotiations he is carrying on, we have sent our ambassador, as you are aware, with special instructions to do all that he can to bring about the said marriage in the way which the King of England may deem most fitting.

If any difficulty should, however, arise, we desire that our ambassador should, at any rate, obtain an extension of the truce, in order that during that time the King of England there, and ourselves here, may find some suitable expedient to obviate the difficulty. To this matter we will apply our minds with as much affection and good will as though it touched ourselves.

If it should chance that the King of England excuse himself from undertaking the enterprise on account of being under some obligations to the King of France, then you shall say to him that to be aware of, and permit the acts of the King of France is tantamount to his taking upon himself the responsibility of them. To such a course of proceeding might be applied the old saying, which is very much to the purpose here, namely, that he who compels his friend to cease from wrong doing, and hinders him from going along the road to

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ruin, does more for him than if he were to sacrifice his life in his behalf.

Feelings which Queen Isabella says she entertains towards the King of France.

If we ourselves might venture to speak to the King of France, sure it is that we could tell him we were and still are in a position to do him the greatest damage, as is very evident. But our Lord knows that we do not desire injury to his person, and much less do we wish to gain anything from him. For even though we were to gain the half of his kingdom, yet the instant that he, returning to reason, should desire peace, we would restore everything into his hands. Thus as regards this point of not desiring to do him harm, our feelings are in conformity with those of the King of England.

Her reasons for wishing Henry to make war.

There is no doubt whatever that the war, as it is now carried on, is waged with such moderation that nothing is done but what is necessary to prevent the King of France from setting the whole of Christendom on fire. If he, on the other hand, were to make war with the same moderation that we do, there would of a certainty be no war at all. But if the King of France will continue to carry things with a high hand, putting reason entirely out of sight, then it would of a certainty be doing him a good office to prevent him from further following the road to ruin which he is taking. To do this more effectually it should be our endeavour to seek such expedients as would produce so desirable a result. One of these is to prevent him from carrying out his intentions. In order to do this, there does not appear to us to be a better course to take, or one calculated to be more advantageous at present, than that the King of England should make war upon him. For if he were to decide to do this (we of the league doing all that it is our intention to perform), it is very certain that we should then be able both speedily and easily to bring him to such a pass, that, for mercy's sake, he would be forced to see what hitherto he has not liked to comprehend. Thus, by means of the acts of the King of England and the members of the league, the evil would cease, and peace be restored to Christendom without prejudice to any one; in addition to which it would benefit greatly the said King of England our cousin.

Therefore, by means of these and other reasons, upon which you will strongly insist, and which you will well know how to bring forward, you will show the King of England that by declaring war he will put the finishing stroke to a thing of immense and universal good.

[What follows is a copy of a portion of a letter written at Laredo in the Queen our lady's cipher, dated the 18th of August last. You must decipher it all.]

Embassies sent from France to Spain, and from Spain to France.

In addition to the cause about which I wrote to you, you shall also say to the King of England that in return for both times that the King of France sent his ambassadors to us, we have once more granted the sending of an embassy to him, and already two envoys are despatched. The cause whereof is this: he sent his ambassadors twice to us, as

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abovesaid, and although they came about things of little importance and less effect, and in fact to cast dust in our eyes by their fooleries, yet, in order that he may have no grounds for saying it is he who has obtained peace, attributing to himself what we have desired and procured, we have sent him these messengers. Also, in order that neither by word nor in deed should he take advantage of it, nor have any colour for saying so, we have sent the abovesaid ambassadors to bring everything to a conclusion for the service of God and the welfare of the world. For this is an affair which will be of much estimation as regards the service of God and the welfare of the world. Moreover, if it were possible to avoid all the many evils and calamities which follow upon war, not only would we send one and more than one embassy, but if requisite even we would go to him in our own person, sparing ourselves no trouble or pains whatever.

You shall likewise say to the King of England that, in addition to the other embassies which we have sent to him, we have granted the sending of a new one at this present time for the aforesaid reasons, and to exhort him to demand peace, either by way of arbitration, or by any other like means for establishing concord which may be desired, so that he may but be content with his own possessions, and leave to others theirs. For if he do not do this, all the wars, evils, and calamities which have been committed, are committing, and shall be committed, will be laid at his door, as they have been hitherto.

Times enough we have sent to say this to him, and to persuade him to reason, and we speak thus to the King of England, in order that if any one should make him a contrary statement, he may know that this is the truth.—Written at Oña, the 15th September 1496.

I, the Queen.

By command of the Queen,
Johan de Coloma.

Addressed: "By the Queen. To Doctor De Puebla, her ambassador in England, and of her Council."

Written in two different keys of cipher, intermixed with one another. The key of the Latin numbers is preserved in the archives at Simancas. The other key is not extant. The deciphering is by the editor.

Spanish.

22 Sept. **161.** HENRY VII. to THOMAS, BISHOP OF LONDON.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 3. f. 9.

Empowers Thomas, Bishop of London, to conclude with the ambassador of Ferdinand and Isabella a *strict alliance* and a treaty of marriage between Princess Katharine and Prince Arthur. The Pope and the King of Denmark are to

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be excepted in the treaty of alliance.—Windsor, 22nd September 1496.

Latin. pp. 2, in print.
Printed in Rymer.

22 Sept. **162.** HENRY VII.

Fr. R. 12 Hen. VII. m. 13. (18.)

Another copy.

1 Oct. **163.** HENRY VII.—TREATY with FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 3. f. 4.

Power of Ferdinand and Isabella to Doctor De Puebla, dated Tortosa, 30th January 1496.

Power of Henry VII. to Thomas, Bishop of London, dated Windsor, 22nd September 1496.

Conditions of the marriage treaty.

1. Princess Katharine is to be married to Prince Arthur.

2. As soon as Prince Arthur shall have completed his fourteenth year of age, his marriage with the Princess Katharine shall be contracted *per verba de præsenti*, either in person or by proxy. Both contracting parties promise to procure that the marriage be hereafter consummated.

3. In case either of the contracting parties should wish that the marriage should be contracted *per verba de præsenti* after Prince Arthur has completed the twelfth year of his age, the other contracting party promises to do all in his power in order to have the marriage contracted in as complete a manner as though Prince Arthur had completed the fourteenth year of his age.

4. The Princess Katharine is to be sent to London, Gravesend, Southampton, or any other English port, as soon as her marriage is contracted, Ferdinand and Isabella paying the expenses. If the marriage take place before Prince Arthur has completed the fourteenth year of his age, the dispensation of the Pope must be procured.

5. The marriage portion of the Princess Katharine is 200,000 scudos, each scudo 4*s.* 2*d.* sterling. 100;000 scudos must be paid in money within ten days before or after the celebration of the marriage, 50,000 scudos in money within the next year, and 50,000 scudos within the second year. All these payments are to be made in England. The last 50,000 scudos can be paid in the following manner :—

15,000 scudos in gold ;
15,000 scudos in vessels of gold, silver, or gilt silver ;
20,000 scudos in diamonds and other precious stones.

The price of the vessels and precious stones is to be fixed by sworn valuers, according to the price for which such things can be sold in England at the time. All the property of Ferdinand and Isabella and of their subjects is pledged as security for the punctual payments of the said marriage portion.

6. The dower of the Princess Katharine consists of the third

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towns, villages, and cities, the revenues of which amount to the third part of the revenues of Wales, Cornwall, and Chester, will be assigned to the Princess within ten days before or after the solemnization of her marriage.

7. When the Princess Katharine becomes Queen of England her dower will be augmented to the amount of the dower of other Queens of England. Henry VII. pledges all his property and the property of all his subjects as security for the fulfilment of his obligations.

8. If the other children of Ferdinand and Isabella should die without heirs, the Princess Katharine is to succeed to the throne of Castile and Arragon in the same manner as though she had always lived in Spain. But from all other inheritance in Spain she is excluded.—London, 1st October 1496.

Latin on parchment. pp. 16.

1 Oct. **164.** HENRY VII.—TREATY with FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 3. f. 5.

This is either a draft or a simple copy of the treaty of the 1st of October 1496.

Latin. pp. 16.

18 Oct. **165.** RICHARD OF ENGLAND (PERKIN WARBECK) to BERNARD DE LA FORSE.

B.M. Eg. MSS. 616.

Has been credibly informed that he had shown great love, favour, and kindness to King Edward IV., his father, and rendered him signal services. King Edward, on the other hand, had held him in high esteem. Begs him to render him the same services he had rendered to King Edward, and to use his influence with his friends in Spain, in order that the King might favour him. Promises to be grateful to him and to his son Anthony De la Forse, who has accompanied him into different countries, and goes now with this letter to Spain.—From Edinburgh, in Scotland, 18th October.

Addressed: "To our trusty and right entirely beloved Bernard De la Forse, Knight, at Fuentarabia, in Spain."

Indorsed by Almazan: "To their Highnesses, from the Duke of York."

English. pp. 2.

Printed in Archæologia, vol. XXVII., p. 182.

6 Nov. **166.** F. BONTIUS, Chaplain and Imperial Ambassador at Milan, to MAXIMILIAN KING OF THE ROMANS.

G. H. Arch. Vienna.

News has arrived at Milan that it has come to an open conflict between the King of England and the Duke of York. As it is said that he favours the Duke of York, and that the King of Spain aids Henry, the Duke of Milan very much wishes to hear what result has taken place, and to have his

advice as to the part which he must adopt.—Viglebeno, 6th November 1496.

Addressed: "To the most reverend and victorious King of the Romans."

Latin. pp. 2½, *in print.*

Printed in Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, vol. X. p. 147.

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1 Jan. **167.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 3. f. 4.

Ratify the treaty of marriage concluded in London on the 1st October 1496.—Burgos, 1st January 1497.

Latin. pp. 2.

PRINCESS KATHARINE.

1 Jan. **168.** Empowers De Puebla to contract in her name, and as her proxy, a marriage with Prince Arthur, *per verba de præsenti.* —Burgos, 1st January 1497.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 3. N. 10.

Latin.

Jan. 1 (?) **169.** HENRY VII. to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 3. f. 2.

If Arthur, Prince of Wales, should die before his father, and have male issue begotten from his marriage with Princess Katharine, the eldest of his sons shall be created Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester. The succession to the throne of England after the death of the present King of England shall be secured to him, notwithstanding any other sons the King of England has or might have.—No date.*

Addressed: "To the most serene and powerful Princes Ferdinand and Isabella, by the grace of God, King and Queen of Castile, Aragon, &c., my cousins and most beloved friends."

Latin. pp. 1½.

10 Jan. **170.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

The King and Queen.

We have seen your letters in cipher, of the dates of the 7th of October and 7th of November, and all the other despatches and letters which you sent us by Juan Daza, who conveys this letter to your hands.

Having noted the contents of your despatch, we are of

* The letter is written on parchment, and signed by Henry VII. with his own hand. It seems, therefore, to be the original, and the date to have been omitted by mistake. Strange as such a mistake may appear, similar inadvertencies are not of very rare occurrence in the State Papers of that period. As no particular date can be assigned to this letter, I give it in connexion with the ratification of the marriage treaty.

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opinion that you have acted rightly as regards the manner in which you have conducted the affair of the marriage treaty. We also approve of the reasons which moved you to make a speedy conclusion of the whole business. We are well pleased with your management throughout, and look upon it as a service done to ourselves.

Conclusion of the marriage treaty.

Betrothal of the Princess Katharine and the Prince of Wales.

We have, therefore, had the ratification made out in proper form, as you will see, and sent with this despatch. Moreover, we think well of what you have written respecting the Prince of Wales and the Infanta Doña Katharine being betrothed, notwithstanding that they have not as yet arrived at the proper age. We have accordingly sent a form of authority from the said Infanta, drawn up in the best possible manner, in virtue of which you will make the contract of betrothal in her name, at the time, and in the manner which is most agreeable to the King of England. If he approve of it, conduct the affair secretly as you did that of the contract for the marriage, until we see what becomes of the affairs of Scotland. For if you act otherwise no advantage will accrue from the publication of it. Say so to the King our brother.

Supplication to be addressed to the Pope.

We saw the supplication addressed by the King to the Pope to obtain a dispensation for the age of both parties, and the despatch which he wrote, relative to the affair, to his ambassador in Rome, and it has all been done in proper form.

It is our opinion that the same request should be made on the part of the Prince. Therefore, let it be your endeavour to obtain it, and let his supplication be sent to Rome, whilst we also will send ours and that of the Infanta, so that the matter may be done by every one of us conjointly. When the dispensation is procured, then the betrothal may take place. Confer with the King of England about the affair, and come to such an agreement with him respecting it as may seem best.

Affair of the alliance to be insisted upon.

It would be satisfactory to us that the alliance should be strongly insisted upon. As, however, you say that the King of England has agreed to it, you must endeavour to have that business despatched immediately as well as the other. We believe that, in conformity with what you wrote, you will manage the affair well, and that you will improve upon the articles and conditions of the amity and alliance, while you do not exceed, on the other hand, our commission and commandment. Moreover, we trust you will do everything suitable, and with the attention that the importance of the matter in hand necessitates. It likewise appears well to us that at the delivering up of the ratification which we now send you, you should obtain the instrument containing the articles of the friendship and alliance, and send it to us that we may immediately conclude the ratification of that, as well as of the other matter. All this ought to be completed in one instrument, or at any

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rate in two, it does not much signify. Let this be done now, and afterwards what may seem better.

It weighs much upon our minds that, on account of the reasons which you stated to us, there does not subsist between the King of England and the Archduke the harmony which is fitting, and which we desire to see. It imports much to us all to make very sure of the King of England, and not less, but more so, of the Archduke, so that he may be obliged to keep his faith and the word which he has plighted, together with what has been agreed upon and capitulated with him. We have, therefore, ordered letters to be sent immediately by two different routes to Rojas, in order that he may endeavour to obtain what we desire. We have also agreed to send either the one or the other messenger to the Archduke for this sole purpose, desiring him to use his best endeavours that every occasion of difference between them may be taken away, and that he keep, as is reason he should, the agreement he has made with the King of England. For we ourselves, seeing that we are connected with both of them in the bonds of such close amity and kinship, ought to endeavour, as much as we can, to bring about a good understanding, and to establish a conformity of policy between them. All this you can say to the King of England on our part, whilst you endeavour to induce him to be of our opinion.

Measures taken by Ferdinand and Isabella to reconcile the Archduke and Henry.

King of France.

It gives us much pleasure to know that the King of England is so willing to induce the King of France to relinquish his foolish attempts and enterprises. Of a truth we value his willing mind in our behalf, and he may feel sure that we will not deceive him in the matter. For if he were our own brother even, it would not make any difference to us, and so you may say to him.

Resolution of Henry to enter into the league.

You shall also communicate to him the great pleasure it gives us to hear of the good and holy determination and resolution he has made to enter into the league. We are the more gratified as we have heard from Rome that it was without his making any conditions, which confirms what you wrote. For you said that the manner in which it was done would much content him when he saw what good effects would result from it in regard of his advantage and honour, and that of all those of the league. It is not worth while to say that to him, for the thing is self-evident, and therefore you must always insist, in the way that may seem most advantageous, upon his immediately making war upon France. In this affair he ought not to allow himself to be restrained by what his council will cite to him concerning the past, since at this time, and as many times as he may undertake anything against France, he can reap nothing except honour and profit, as has always been abundantly and for a long time past, proved. It will, moreover, be much

Reasons why Henry should make war on France.

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more the case if he make war at a season like this, in which it will be such a worthy proceeding in respect of the Pope, and of the Church of Rome, of which he is so devoted a son. By his entry into the league, he will also oblige those who belong to it to assist him and in such a manner as has never been done before, and will hereby give the enemy so great an overthrow that, of necessity, his pride will be abased for a long time to come.

By means of these and other like arguments you must always endeavour to obtain that, in whatever he may take in hand against France, it may not be with a view of merely inspiring fear, but of obliging the King of France not only to cease to make war on the Pope and the Church, but on all those of the league, forcing him to entreat and desire peace with them all. Moreover, the King of England should always insist upon the King of France ceasing altogether from making war, not only on the Pope and the Church, but on all those belonging to the league.

The King of England is right in considering that not more than the third, or so much as the half of the crusade of his kingdom should be required of him. You must say to him that he ought, at his own pleasure, to send to the Pope on his part, and that we will send to our ambassador, who will request the same thing from his Holiness on our part.

As to what you suggest, that we should give orders respecting the many requisitions sent about grievances of old standing, it is well said; although, as concerns matters of not very old date, every one ought to have it at heart to see that justice be done and administered to the injured parties. In the older cases the custom is, when alliances are made, to constitute judges for the one side and the other, that after the complaints have been heard they should arbitrate upon them among themselves. The like course ought to be followed in this case if it should appear well to them in England.

Alliance with Denmark.

As to the proposition of entering into an alliance with the King of Denmark, he being such a King as he is, and held in such great reputation, it is our pleasure that you should negotiate and confer respecting the matter with his ambassador, in his name, but with the necessary exceptions. Whatever you take in hand, do it immediately, so that we may inform you of our intentions. We will, moreover, send you authority to make the treaty.

We have received the command which the King of England gave to his vassals and his fleet about the business respecting which I, the Queen, wrote to them, and which has been properly arranged.

Duke of York; evidence respecting his birth and parentage.

As to the evidence in the affair of York, we do not send it to you with this despatch, because the copy we have is authenticated by only one notary, and is written in the Castilian

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tongue. For it seems to us that it would cause embarrassment to send such a document in a language which is not understood in England. But we will send immediately to have it translated into Latin, and signed by three notaries. As soon as it arrives we will forward it to you immediately and very carefully.

Archduchess Juana.

We have read the copy of the letter which the King of England wrote to the Archduchess, our daughter; and throughout it all his prudence, together with the love and affection he bears towards us, are clearly seen. We believe what you affirm, that it is not your fault that you have not written to us for so long a time, notwithstanding that so many English ships have arrived by which we have received nothing, nor any answer from you to the many letters which we have written to you. Six or seven months having thus passed away without hearing, we had good reason to think the blame was yours. But now that you have sent us such welcome news everything is right. Still we would that from henceforth you should write to us constantly, and inform us of all that you may hear respecting Flanders. For although you may imagine that we receive in due course intelligence from the Archduke and the Archduchess, our children, you should not on that account delay to write us all that you yourself may know. In point of fact, the latest news we have had from Flanders was contained in the last letter which we received from you.

It is a cause of displeasure to us that our ambassador Don Pedro De Ayala was not in Scotland at the time when his going thither might have been of service in preventing the King of Scots from invading England. Had he been there he might also have endeavoured to reconcile the two Kings, or to bring about some extension of the truce, during which truce the King of England might have made some suitable treaty. As we have been hoping to receive the intelligence we wish to have about the Duke of York, we have again written to him [Don Pedro de Ayala] all that was fitting respecting everything. Write to us yourself particularly, with regard to all which you think ought to be done.

The despatch which Don Juan Daza takes is the ratification of the authority of the Infanta Doña Katharine, our daughter, of which mention has been made above. There is also a letter writen by my hand, I the Queen, for the King of England, about the affair respecting which he wrote to me. A gracious answer is also hereby sent to the Bishop of London, with whom we are much contented, because of the manner in which he has acted in the debates respecting our affairs. Lastly, there is a letter from my ambassador to the Latin secretary of the King of England, thanking him much for his great affection, and for what he has done in our service, and offering him presents. Do what you can to

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further his welfare and his promotion with all good will —Given at Burgos, 10th January 1497.

I, the King. I, the Queen.

By the command of the King and Queen.

Signed: Johan de Coloma.

Indorsed by De Puebla: "From their Highnesses, 10th of January." In cipher:—"I received this and another despatch the last day of Whitsuntide, brought by a servant of De Coloma.

Spanish. The despatch is in two keys of cipher, mixed up with one another. One of the keys (in Latin numbers) is preserved, the other is not extant. The deciphering is by the editor.

10 Jan. **171.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

The same despatch. The only difference consists in the ciphering, which is in some portions different.

Spanish. Written in two keys of cipher. One key of the cipher is extant.

15 Jan. **172.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DOCTOR DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Have seen his letter brought by Juan Daza. Are pleased that the marriage is concluded. The clauses are entirely to their satisfaction.

Send the ratification of the treaty. Have altered nothing in it, except that they have placed their names before that of Henry VII., as it is the custom. Henry must give in exchange for this his ratification of the treaty. Though it is not the custom in England to sign such papers, Henry is expected to do so in this case. The treaty must be kept secret because of Scotland.

Directly after the exchange of this treaty, the treaty of alliance must be concluded.

The customs on Spanish merchandize must be reduced. If that cannot be obtained, will consider themselves at liberty to impose higher duties on English commerce in Spain.

Enclose letters to Henry and to the Bishop of London. Have had no letters from him since the 10th of July. Expect he will write oftener; if possible, every day. A trustworthy person in Bristol may be selected to receive and forward their letters.

He must write all he hears of the Archduchess and the Archduke. He may make an arrangement that the letters from Flanders shall be sent to England, and from England to Spain.

Whatever he can learn about the Spanish ambassadors in Scotland must be communicated directly to them.

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Alvarez will tell him the favours which are granted to him.—Burgos, 15th January 1497.

Indorsed : "Letter of their Highnesses to Doctor de Puebla from Burgos, 15th January 1497."

Spanish. Draft. pp. 5½.

3 Feb. **173.** HENRY VII. to PRINCESS MARGARET OF AUSTRIA.*

S. E. I.
L. 806. f. 4.

Arrival of the Princess Margaret at Southampton.

Most illustrious and most excellent Princess, our dearest and most beloved cousin. With all our heart we send to greet you, and to recommend ourself. We have received through the most renowned, most prudent, and most discreet ambassador of our most beloved cousins the King and Queen of Spain, at our court, the letters of the admiral and ambassador of the said King and Queen, who accompany your Excellence. By them we are informed that your Highness, enjoying the best of health, has entered with your whole fleet and suite our harbour of Southampton. Our subjects of that neighbourhood had already communicated to us the arrival of your Highness. As soon as we heard of it, we sent our well beloved and trustworthy vassals and servants, the Seneschal of our palace, and Sir Charles Somerset, our captain and guardian of our body, and also a doctor *utriusque juris*, and keeper of our Privy Seal, to see, visit, and consult you in our name, and to tell you how agreeable and delightful to us was the arrival of your Excellence in our dominions, especially as it has pleased God to give you and your company (to whom we recommend ourself likewise) good health and cheerful spirits. Our servants are to place at your disposal our person, our realm, and all that is to be found in it. They are to provide you with whatever you wish, and serve and obey you as ourself. You will more fully learn our intentions from them and from the letters of the Spanish ambassador who resides at our court.

The following is written by the King himself :—

Dearest and most beloved cousin. Desirous the more to assure your Excellence that your visit to us and to our realm is so agreeable and delightful to us, that the arrival of our own daughter could not give us greater joy, we write this portion of our letter with our own hand, in order to be able the better to express to you that you are very welcome, and that you may more perfectly understand our good wishes.

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* The fleet, commanded by the admiral of Castile, which carried Doña Juana to Flanders, sailed from Laredo, near Bilboa, on the 21st of August 1496, and brought on its return Margaret of Austria to Spain, where it arrived on the 17th of February 1497. It passed the British Channel at the beginning of that month, and was compelled by stress of weather to run into the harbour of Southampton. (Zurita, Historia del Rey Don Fernando.) As both Princesses were already married, their titles were changed : Archduchess meaning Doña Juana, and Infanta or Princess signifying Margaret of Austria. It can, therefore, scarcely be doubted, that this and the following letter were written in the year 1497, and directed to Margaret of Austria.

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We most earnestly entreat and beseech your Highness from the bottom of our heart, to be as cheerful as though you were with the dearest and most beloved King and Queen of Spain, our cousins, and that you will stay in whatever part of our realms as cheerfully and without fear as though you were in Spain. In all and everything you want, do not spare us and our realms, for you will render us a great and most acceptable service by accepting anything from us. —Palace, Westminster, 3rd February.

Spanish translation.

Feb. **174.** HENRY VII. to PRINCESS MARGARET OF AUSTRIA.

S. E. T. c. I.
L. 806. f. 4.

Proposal of Henry to visit the Princess Margaret.

Most illustrious and most excellent Princess, our most noble and most beloved cousin, we have received to-day the letter of the 2nd inst., which your Highness has written from the harbour of Southampton, and are much pleased with it. We are also very glad to learn the good news contained in your letter and the letter of the illustrious ambassador, whom our dearest cousins, the King and Queen of Spain, your most pious parents, have ordered to accompany you. He informs us of your prosperity and good success. We, on our part, have sent to inform you of our inviolable friendship, and to tell you how agreeable in every respect your arrival in our harbour has been to us. On Friday we sent you our servants and domestics, with injunctions to serve you in the same way as they serve ourselves; and a short time after they had left we wrote to your Excellence a letter with our own hand, to give you a hearty welcome in our harbour. We beseech you to have a cheerful face and a glad heart, to be happy and enjoy yourself as safely as though you were our own daughter, or had already reached the dominions of our said cousins the King and Queen of Spain, your pious parents. We pray your Highness, with all our heart, to dispose of us and of everything that is to be found in our realms, and to spare us in nothing, even if the thing is not to be had in our dominions, and to order any service which we are able to execute. For, by doing so, you will bestow on us a signal and most acceptable favour. As we hear that the wind is contrary to the continuation of your voyage, wishing that your Highness would repose and rest, our advice is, that you take lodgings in our said town of Southampton, and remain there till the wind becomes favourable and the weather clears up. We believe that the movement and the roaring of the sea is disagreeable to your Highness and to the ladies who accompany you. If you accept our proposal, and remain so long in our said town of Southampton that we can be informed of it, and have time to go and to see you before your departure, we certainly will go and pay your Highness a visit. In a personal com-

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munication we could best open our mind to you, and tell you how much we are delighted that you have safely arrived in our port, and how glad we are that the (friendship) with you and our dearest cousins, the King and Queen of Spain, your most benign parents, is increasing from day to day. We desire to communicate to you in the best manner our news, and to hear from you of your welfare. May your Highness be as well and as happy as we wish.—From our Palace at Westminster . . . . of February, in the year ninety-six.

Spanish translation.

28 March. **175.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Have received his letters in cipher and in common writing, of the 14th and 28th of December, and 15th of January. Have received by the same couriers, Juan Aguado and Juan de Obregon, three letters of Henry, a copy of the brief of the Pope to Henry, and the treaty signed by the Bishop of London.

Are pleased with the letter of the Chancellor of Denmark, and with what has been negotiated with him.

King of the Romans.

Have read all the observations of Henry respecting the King of the Romans and the Archduke as to their having been comprehended as well as excepted in the treaty. Have seen also the answer given by him to the King. He must tell him that though in theory there is a difference between excepting and comprehending persons in a treaty, there will be no difference in fact, at least as far as England is concerned. Have not concluded the marriages with the children of the King of the Romans, not because they esteem them more than the marriage with Prince Arthur, but only because one marriage must be concluded before the other. The friendship they feel for Henry is as sincere as though he were their brother.

Marriage treaty.

Agree to the clauses of the treaty of marriage, which, as he writes, are much improved. Are satisfied with the stipulation that the Princess Katharine, when she becomes Queen of England, is to have the third part of the revenues of the kingdom, besides her dowry as Princess of Wales. Henry has been very liberal in all respects. Thank him for having promised to take off all extra burdens from Spanish commerce in England, and even to grant exceptional privileges to Spanish merchants. The King will soon see, by experience, the advantage of his liberal measures. The Spanish people, who believed they had been treated with injustice in England, had hitherto entertained no friendly sentiments towards him. Henceforth all will be altered, and the Spaniards will be his stoutest supporters.

Henry must be dissuaded from making war on Scotland.

Have read his conversation with Henry respecting the affairs of Scotland. He must dissuade the King from making war upon Scotland. It would be well that Henry should once

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more take into consideration the business of the so-called Duke of York. "In feats of arms no one can trust to the number "of his soldiers and followers, since it so often happens that "the few conquer the many. The stronger one is, the more "must one justify one's cause and have God on one's side, as "he may see from our example. We always did what we "now advise him to do, and, God be praised, we have suc- "ceeded. We forbore to begin war upon Portugal as long as "we could avoid it, and perhaps a little longer than was becom- "ing. But we acted in the way we did to justify our cause "before God and the world, and in order to be excused from "shedding the blood of Christians. Though the war seemed "to be an easy undertaking for us, we did not like to employ "all our forces in it, and the result has shown that we were "right. We advise the King of England, our brother, to do "the same. He must not stake his right and his fortune "on so hazardous an enterprise. He knows by experience how "quickly a kingdom may be won and lost. Great as his "power perhaps is, the result of the war is doubtful. It seems "to us that he ought not to let slip the occasion now offered to "him of arranging his affairs. The King of Scots has at "present less to hinder him, and may do what the King of "England desires, with respect to *him* who is now in Scotland. "For the King of Scots seemed formerly to be under some "obligation to *him*,* since *he* had come well recommended "to Scotland. Such obligations no longer exist, since *he* "went away without being advised to do so, and (the King of "Scots) looks upon *him* since his return almost as a prisoner. "Thus the reasons for his having hitherto backed *him* no "longer exist. We therefore think that the King of England "should not reject the offers of the King of Scots, if he wish "to make peace, and, if he will deliver *him* who is now "staying at his court, or will promise to keep him in such a "manner that no danger need any longer be feared from "*him*. The ill-advised affray in England must be forgotten. "Tell all this in our, and also in your, name to the King of "England, and assure him that we would act in the same "way if we were in his place."

Archduchess Juana. Are sorry that the Archduchess has not answered the letter of Henry, and that he is offended. The reason probably is that she has no Latin secretary. Her first chaplain, however, could have written the answer. He must send letters to the chaplain, and not to Rojas, who has nothing to do with this affair.

Send duplicates of the ratifications of the treaty, and of the power of the Princess Katharine.

Henry has promised in his letter that the Princess Katharine shall have the third part of the revenues of the

* *He* and *him*, printed in italics, always signify the so-called Duke of York.

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kingdom when she becomes Queen, and the same has been certified by the Bishop of London. It is, however, utterly impossible to have this promise incorporated in the treaty, because no secretary is at hand who could do it. The addition must therefore be made in England. Promise to ratify it.

As the King wishes to publish the treaty, it may be done two months after the receipt of this letter.

Brief of the Pope.

Have seen the copy of the brief of the Pope to Henry. Are pleased with it, not only on account of the entry of Henry into the league, but also on account of the exhortations of the Pope not to make war upon Scotland. The reasons given by the Pope against the war coincide with their own reasons.

Are pleased that Henry VII. is as virtuous and docile as he writes that he is.

Have seen the letters of the Emperor Georgiano, and of the Danish Ambassador. He may enter into negotiations with the latter.

Archduke.

He must do all in his power to bring to an end the quarrels between the Archduke and Henry.

Are pleased with his industry in sending their letters to Flanders, and to their ambassador in Scotland.

Don Pedro de Ayala.

Since Henry is dissatisfied because their ambassador in Scotland, the Prothonotary Don Pedro de Ayala, has believed what the Scotch have told him, he must appease the King by any reasons he likes to give.

Are pleased that Henry has punished French pirates for their cruel treatment of Spanish subjects. The business of John Bedia will be arranged.

Do not like to write anything respecting the disposition of the King of Scots, or the credulity of which Don Pedro de Ayala is accused. He may say whatever he thinks fit to Henry on this head, or whatever the King likes to hear.—Burgos, 28th of March 1496.*

Heard, after this letter had been written, that Ferdinand de Artiaga (messenger) had been detained because he had found no vessel ready. Have given orders for his speedy departure.

[On the same paper, but written in a different hand (most probably by De Puebla himself, who wrote very seldom, and whose writing is exceedingly difficult to read), are the following notes, which seem to relate to a later period, since Ferdinand Duke (de Estrada), who went to England after the death of Arthur, and negotiated the marriage of Katharine with Henry VII., is mentioned in them :—]

Has received the letters. Would be better pleased if a

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* Sic in the deciphering. But the ciphered original contains the ciphers expressing the following letters: m i l q u a t r o c i e n t o s n o v e n t a s i e t e a n n o s; that is to say, mil quatro cientos noventa siete años, or 1497. The date in the deciphering is, therefore, merely a mistake.

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letter in Latin were inclosed, such as from Master Pedro Santebino from Sicily or from Pasamonte.

Must send directly for the dispensation.

The Archduke has sent to treat for peace.

As with the former messenger about pq'no (perquino?).

The comprehension in the treaty with the Archduke was good.

The letters of Pedro de Ayala which were intercepted by the King. Clauses of the peace with Scotland.

The rings not to be forgotten.

Friar Juan, nephew of Arocas.

Latin.

Three treaties of peace, two in Latin, one in Spanish, were negotiated with Ferdinand, the Duke, the King of the Romans, and the Archduke.

When negotiating with the Council about the third part of the revenues, much esteem was shown him. Has been believed to be of great authority.

Permission to go to Flanders.

Sends the provisions of [*blank*] and about the customs and prices.

News of the Archduke and Archduchess and of Gueldres. Did not like to write. Duke of Saxony, &c.

Indorsed: "I received this letter from Johan Daza on the 22nd of June 1497. The date is the 28th of March of the same year. Came in ciphers and is deciphered, &c."

Spanish. The original is in cipher, and the deciphering by Johan Tomayo, Secretary to De Puebla. pp. 10½.

8 April. **176.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Truce concluded between France and Spain.

After their last letters had left, an embassy had arrived from France with the answer to their proposals of a general peace, or at least a general truce. The King of France accepts a general truce, which is profitable to all the members of the league. As the French ambassadors had no sufficient power, Spanish ambassadors have gone to France. The truce is concluded. It is to last till the 1st of November. Have included Henry in it as their "rela-"tive, friend, and ally." A copy of the treaty is inclosed. It has been stipulated in it that both parties must name their friends and allies, who wish to be included in the truce, before the 15th of May. Their allies and friends, however, live at a great distance. Have, therefore, included them, without previously asking their opinion on the subject.

Inclusion of allies.

He must show the treaty to Henry, and ask him whether he wishes also to be included in the definite peace which

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hereafter will be concluded between Spain and France. —Burgos, 8th April 1497.

Addressed: "To Doctor de Puebla, their ambassador and of their Council."

Spanish. pp. 2½.

8 April. **177.** HENRY VII. to the ARCHDUCHESS (JUANA).

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Letters and messages to the Archduchess.

Has written twice to her concerning his negotiations with the Archduke. Sent his second letter by his French secretary, who was ordered to tell her that she is loved by him as though she were his own daughter. The same secretary was directed to ask her advice respecting all his negotiations, and to do nothing without her approval. 'Although all this was clearly expressed in his instructions, the secretary has not done so, because he is unable to speak either Latin or Spanish. He has returned without concluding his business.

Embassy from the Archduke.

The day after Whitsuntide the ambassadors of the Archduke came to England. Asked them whether they had a letter from her. Received a negative answer, and suspected directly that the negotiations would not end well, a suspicion which has been only too much justified by the event. English subjects, certainly, never before suffered so great and so long continued injustice as they do now in Flanders. The Spanish ambassador in England has persuaded him to delay further measures against Flanders, and to write to her first. Does it now, without the knowledge of his Council, who surely would not have consented to it.—Palace of Shene, 8th April 1497.

Indorsed: "Letter from the King of England to the Archduchess. From Shene, 8th of April 1497."

Spanish translation. pp. 8.

14 June. **178.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Have just received his letters of the 5th of April and 19th of May. Are glad that he has received their letters sent with Fernan de Artiaga. Praise his industry.—Medina del Campo, 14th June 1497.

Addressed: "To Doctor De Puebla, their ambassador, and of their Council."

Spanish. p. ¼.

18 July. **179.** HENRY VII.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 3. f. 7.

Ratification of the treaty, of the 1st of October 1496, between Spain and England.—Shene, 18th July 1497.

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18 July. **180.** HENRY VII.

S. E. T. c. I.
L. 2. f. 9.

Another ratification of the treaty between Spain and England, dated Burgos, 1st of October 1496.—Shene, 18th July 1497.

It is in Latin, signed by Henry VII., and countersigned by Petrus Carmelianus Brixiensis. The great seal is perfectly preserved.

Latin.

18 July. **181.** HENRY VII.

Fr. R.
12 Hen. VII.
m. 3. (28).

Another ratification of the treaty with Ferdinand and Isabella, dated London, 1st October 1496.—Shene, 18th July.

Latin. pp. 9, in print, including the treaty.

Printed in Rymer.

25 July. **182.** HENRY VII. to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I.
L. 2.

Duties on Spanish merchandise.

De Puebla has spoken so often and so much about the duties laid on Spanish merchandise in England, that it seems impossible he can be acting according to their instructions. All his other business together does not occupy him so much as this subordinate subject alone. Thinks that De Puebla does it in order to refute old calumnies against him.

The effect of the duties is, that the Spaniards sell their merchandise much dearer in England, and buy English cloth and other things much cheaper than they otherwise could do. Thus, the duties are paid by the English, and not by the Spaniards.

The French, Flemish, Bretons, Portuguese, Venetians, Florentines, Genoese, Siennese, those of Lucca, and other Lombard merchants, import great quantities of goods into England, and they all pay the same duties as the Spaniards. None of them have complained.

It is true that Edward IV. made special concessions to Henry of Castile. But that was done, as must be well known to them, on account of some secret matter of such great importance that, could it have been attained, a much greater sacrifice would have been justified. Would, although those reasons no longer exist, willingly grant as great and even greater privileges to Spanish subjects, if he were not afraid of the scandal it would create in England and abroad. Promises, nevertheless, in celebration of the happy arrival of the Princess Katharine in England, to lower the duties on Spanish merchandise, in such a manner, that Spaniards will pay less than they do now, and also much less than the other above mentioned nations.

Spanish ships.

Promises, without delay, to order that Spanish ships

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wrecked on the coasts of England shall be better treated. —In our palace, &c.—No place nor date.

Indorsed in the hand of Almazan, in Spanish: "Copy of the letter of the King of England to their Catholic Highnesses, of which Doctor De Puebla has spoken."

Latin. pp. 4.

25 July. **183.** HENRY VII. to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 3. f. 12.

The same letter as before, only signed by Henry VII., and dated from the Palace of Shene, 25th of July 1497.

Address is lost.

Written on the back: "Nichil ad rem presentem."

Latin. pp. 3.

23 Oct. **184.** HENRY VII. to DE PUEBLA.

B. M. Eg. MSS. 616.

Has read his letter dated London, the 16th October, in which he expresses his joy at hearing good news from him.

Has sent the wife of Perkin to the Queen, and holds Perkin in his own keeping.

Has heard that the Scots are sending an embassy to him, although not so honourable a one as had been expected.

The bull is not to be published before his return to London. It must first be carefully examined.—Exeter, 23rd October 1497.

Addressed: "To our most beloved Rodriguez Gundisalvi De Puebla, doctor and ambassador of the King and Queen of Spain."

Latin. p. 1.

3 Dec. **185.** ELIZABETH QUEEN OF ENGLAND to QUEEN ISABELLA OF SPAIN.

B. M. Eg. MS. 616. f. 7.

Though the friendship subsisting between themselves hitherto has been very great, it will be now still more increased by the marriage of Prince Arthur to the Princess Katharine. Begs her to write very often about herself and the Princess, and promises to do the like with respect to the Prince of Wales.—Westminster, 3rd December 1497.

Addressed: "To the most serene and potent Princess, Elizabeth, &c."

Latin. p. 1.

Printed in Wood's Letters of Royal Ladies.

13 Dec. **186.** HENRY VII.

Fr. R. 13 Hen. VII. m. 20.

Promises to submit himself to the arbitration of the King and Queen of Spain with regard to the breach of all treaties between himself and Scotland as to invasion, robberies, &c. committed by either side.—Westminster, 13th December.

Latin. p. $\frac{1}{2}$, *in print.*

Printed in Rymer.

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14 Dec. **187.** HENRY VII. to QUEEN ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Has received her and King Ferdinand's letter.

Thanks them for their love, and loves them so much himself that it is quite impossible to imagine a greater or more sincere affection. The marriage of their children will secure the everlasting continuation of their friendship.

The friendship between them is so intimate that neither letters nor signs can express it. Nevertheless, promises to conclude a more intimate friendship after the marriage.

De Puebla unjustly reproached.

Has heard that De Puebla has been reproached for remissness in his business. Gives his royal word that he has never seen any ambasador "so industrious, vigilant, true, and "adroit in all negotiations entrusted to him," as De Puebla. Begs them not only not to believe the calumnies against De Puebla, but also to reward him by some special and liberal favour.—Westminster, 14th December 1497.

Addressed: "To the most serene and most excellent Princess, Lady Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Queen of Spain, &c."

Latin. pp. $3\frac{1}{2}$.

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3 Feb. **188.** HENRY VII. to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Church preferment offered to De Puebla but refused.

A cathedral church has lately become vacant. Has long considered what person most deserved it, and has come to the conclusion that no man is more meritorious and more worthy of it than De Puebla, "who has been so many years their "ambassador in England, and who is distinguished by the "portliness (dignitate) of his body,* and renowned for his "intelligence, fidelity, knowledge, and industry in the mission "intrusted to him." Has, therefore, offered him the said preferment as a small recompense for the services he had rendered to Spain and England. De Puebla has, however, answered that he could not accept the preferments for reasons well known to himself. All persuasions have remained without effect.

Also an honourable marriage.

Since De Puebla could not be induced to accept a church preferment, he was asked whether he would also refuse an honourable marriage offered to him. After many excuses, he has at last been persuaded, principally by the Queen, to accept the marriage, but under the express condition that his King and Queen must first give him their consent. Wishing to marry De Puebla well in England, he and his Queen beg them to grant their (not De Puebla's) prayers, and to give their consent. The marriage will be of great

* De Puebla was deformed. His deformity was so notorious that it did not seem necessary to describe it. We, therefore, do not know in what it consisted. It is only once mentioned that he had lost one member of his body.

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advantage to the Princess Katharine when she comes to live in England.—Westminster, 3rd February 1498.

Addressed: "*To the most serene and most powerful Princes Ferdinand and Elizabeth, by the grace of God, King and Queen of Spain, &c.*"

Latin. *pp.* 3.

4 Feb. S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

189. FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

Another ratification of the treaty between Spain and England concluded at Burgos on the 1st of October 1496. —Alcalá de Hénares, 4th February 1498.

Latin.

7 March. S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

190. FERDINAND and ISABELLA to LONDOÑO, Knight Commander.

Order him to go, by way of England, to Flanders, and after showing his credentials to Henry to tell him what follows.

Fernan Perez de Ayala sent to the King of Scots.

De Puebla has repeatedly written that King Henry VII. is not content with the manner in which Pedro de Ayala, the Spanish ambassador in Scotland, transacts his business. Have, therefore, sent Fernan Perez de Ayala to the King of Scots. When he was about to leave, news came from England that disturbances had taken place. Did not at first believe it to be true, because De Puebla had not said a single word about it in his letters. Have sent, nevertheless, by the said Fernan Perez, a great number of letters and instructions to Spanish subjects in England to assist the King of England by land and by sea. Have, besides, given their new ambassador credentials to a great number of Englishmen, with instructions to act as a mediator between them and Henry, and to persuade them to remain faithful to their King. Have further desired their said ambassador to tell Henry that if he should wish for succour from Spain, it would be sent without loss of time. Their fleet has been armed and kept ready for sailing.

Perkin Warbeck arrested.

The ambassador had been detained a long time at the seaport by contrary winds. Before he was able to sail, letters from King Henry and from De Puebla arrived, announcing that Perkin* had been taken prisoner, and peace with Scotland concluded by Don Pedro de Ayala. Have prayed to and thanked God for this great victory of their beloved brother Henry. By the confession of Perkin, and the will of God, the truth has now come to light. Have always known that Perkin was an impostor. If anything more can be done in respect to the peace with Scotland, or to Perkin, it will be cheerfully done by them. Fernan Perez de Ayala was drowned on his

* This is the first time that the name Perkin occurs in the correspondence. As long as he was not a prisoner, he was always called "the person who pretended to be the Duke of York."

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way to England, and his instructions have been lost with him.

Are glad to be informed by the King of England and by De Puebla that the marriage between the Princess Katharine and the Prince Arthur has been concluded. Have written to Garsilaso, their ambassador in Rome, to join with the English ambassador in supplicating the Pope to dispense with the age of the Prince and Princess. Are informed that the dispensation has been granted, and will soon be sent to England and to Spain.

Dispensation for the marriage granted.

He must tell Henry VII. all this; but before he goes to the King, he must see De Puebla, and inform him that he has conducted the business to their entire satisfaction, and will soon receive liberal rewards for his services. He must go to the King of England in company with De Puebla.—Alcalá de Hénares, 7th March 1498.

Indorsed: "Instruction of their Catholic Highnesses to the Knight Commander, Sanchez de Londoño. What he must do in England, on his way to Flanders."

Spanish. pp. 5.

7 March. **191.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to the KNIGHT COMMANDER DE LONDOÑO.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

The instructions of the 7th of March copied once more in the hand of Londoño.

Spanish.

7 March. **192.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to the KNIGHT COMMANDER OF LONDONO, and the SUB-PRIOR OF SANTA CRUZ.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

It may be that the King of the Romans wishes to hinder the marriage between the Princess Katharine and the Prince of Wales. In case they hear the matter mentioned they must always say that such a thing is impossible.

They are to inquire into the manner in which De Puebla conducts his business. It is said that he is entirely in the interest of King Henry.

They are to send a detailed report respecting the King and kingdom of Scotland, the revenues, &c.—No date. No signature.

Spanish. Draft. pp. 2.

14 March. **193.** [Unknown] to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

The writer of this letter does not know whether his former letter, containing the news of the French embassy, has arrived Intends to repeat the tidings.

The Spanish ambassadors arrived at the court of the King of France before the English ambassadors. Their instructions were, not to conclude peace with France, if France did not at the same time conclude peace with the Archduke. England

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was not only to be included in this treaty, but a clause was to be added by which Ferdinand and Isabella reserved their liberty to assist Henry. The King of France objected to this condition. Thus the negotiations were interrupted for some days. Meanwhile the Archduke and Henry had concluded their treaties with France. When that was done, Spain likewise concluded her peace, reserving her right to assist Henry, the King of the Romans, and the Archduke. Can it be called breaking the peace and friendship for Ferdinand and Isabella to exhibit so much solicitude for their brothers and for their son?—Madrid, 14th of March.

Treaties with France.

Addressed: "To the very noble and virtuous Lord Doctor De Puebla, of their Highnesses' Council, and their ambassador."

Spanish. Autograph. Not signed. pp. 2.

7 April. S. E. T. c. I. L. 2. **194.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to the KNIGHT COMMANDER LONDOÑO.

A general peace desired by Ferdinand and Isabella.

In addition to their instructions of the 7th of March, order him to tell Henry that they have always wished for universal peace in Christendom. Have been forced to begin war with France by their obligation to defend the Pope. Have brought the war from Italy into their own states. Their object, that is to say, the security of the Pope, being attained, there is not any reason for continuing the war. Are, therefore, desirous to conclude a general peace. Before the beginning of the war in Italy, the Italians had made great offers and great promises, but forgot all as soon as the war between Spain and France began. The Italians are suspicious, dissatisfied with the truce, and ask that the negotiations should be carried on at Turin. They fear that the truce would be prolonged, and, refusing all assistance and all participation in the war, would leave Spain alone to carry it on at her own expense.

Have therefore sent an embassy to France to conclude the peace without asking the consent of the Italians; but have heard nothing of their ambassadors since their departure, except that the King of France would not hear them, but ordered them to be taken prisoners. That was done in order to force them to sign a treaty which would separate Spain from her allies. As soon as fresh news arrive another despatch will be sent.—Alcalá de Hénares, 7th of April 1498.

Indorsed: "Instruction of their Catholic Highnesses to the Knight Commander Londoño. What he has to say to the King of England."

Spanish. The document is written by Almazan. It is not signed either by the King and Queen or by the Secretary. pp. 2.

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7 April. **195.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Have sent their answer to his letters, and the ratification of the treaty. Pedro de Avila is the courier who has gone with these papers.

Wonder that he has not written for so long a time, as ambassadors from France and Italy are in England. He must write without delay respecting what these ambassadors are doing in England, and about all other things that are happening there.

Send the Knight Commander Londoño and the Sub-prior of Santa Cruz to Flanders, and entrust some business in England to them.—Alcalá de Hénares, 7th April 1498.

Indorsed: "*Draft of the letter of their Catholic Highnesses to Doctor De Puebla, 7th of April* 1498."

Spanish. Draft. pp. 1½.

5th June. **196.** "LICENCIATUS ET DECANUS" to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Has received his letters of the 15th and 22nd of May.

Ambassadors to England

The embassy to England is making preparations for leaving, and will probably start after the feast of St. John. The Bishop of Cambray, and a literary man of the name of Thomas, are the ambassadors chosen. Another person is designated, most probably a knight. "A messenger sent by the little duck to the "falcon returned a short time ago much pleased with the "answer of the falcon. The little duck and the fuzarco* are so "contented that they say nothing could better piebald than "the fly with the falcon. Thus everything is going on well "now, and it is in the mar-maid that it will be concluded in "(or by) favour of the cuckoo and the young eagle."

King of France.

The King of France is said to have anointed himself and gone for his nine days' devotion to a convent near Rheims.

The Duke of Naples has gone as ambassador to him, but has been told that he cannot see the King until the nine days' prayers are over. The answer has not been to the taste of the Flemings.

The Spanish ambassadors in France have probably accompanied the King to Rheims.

The German ambassadors are daily expected.

His masters are in good health. The Archduchess is pregnant.—Brussels, 5th of June '98.

Address: "*To*

. . . . . *noble Doctor*
. . . . . *ssador of the King and*
. . . . . *our Sovereign Lords,*
in London."

Spanish. Holograph. Not signed. pp. 2.

* Neither any dictionary, nor any of the learned friends of the editor in Spain, are able to tell what the "fuzarco" is. It seems to be an old, most probably, a provincial expression.

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15 June. **197.** DE PUEBLA to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

I have written much in detail, by many and diverse routes, respecting all that has occurred here, as your Highnesses are aware.

I have already informed you in my other letters that an embassy from France has arrived here. After having given audience to the ambassador the King of England told me that the message he had received was that the King of France wished to conclude a treaty of peace with him, as he already knew and had informed me. The King of France had moreover said that he had not sent an ambassador to any other country but England. The King of England observed that he was going to reply to the King of France this week, and would send an ambassador to him about the matter.

I made the same reply that I have made at other times, namely that he must take heed not to lose such an opportunity as the present, since he would never have a better. For circumstances, I said, had altered now that Perkin was no longer in the hands of the King of France, as had been the case when he had made peace formerly with the King of France. I also reminded him of the prosperity and tranquility which prevailed in his kingdom, and the marriage treaty which he had concluded with your Highnesses, speaking as strongly as I could. I told him, moreover, that he was no longer under any obligation to the King of France as he had been once, but quite the contrary. Then I showed him a letter which I had received from Fuenterabia, in which it was said that an ambassador from France had arrived there on his way to your Highnesses. The King of England was strongly impressed by this, the King of France having told him the contrary as I have stated above.

He told me that the ambassador he is about to send to the King of France is going in order to be on the watch, and to obtain information relative to the affairs of France, and to learn in what state they are. He is also to make the King of France understand, and be aware of what the claims of the King of England are, and the right he has to the kingdom of France and to Guienne and Normandy. But, above all, the ambassador is to acquaint him with the instructions of your Highnesses.

Finally, the King of England said that neither your Highnesses nor he can conclude anything with the King of France, unless it be for the good of both parties, since both must be included in any treaty which may be made. He thinks it is very clear that no treaty can be made without this inclusion.

Since then letters have come from the Seignory of Venice. Amongst them is a copy of one which the new King of France has written to them. They also state in what manner they have decided to reply, and that they intend to send an ambassador to him respecting the contents of the said letter. All

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this was told and shown to the King of England on the part of the Seignory of Venice. As soon as the envoys had spoken with the King they came to tell me what had passed between them and him, saying that it was by command of the Seignory they had come to communicate everything to me.

Spanish. Cipher. Deciphered by the editor. The rest of the letter is deciphered by Almazan. Its contents are as follows:

De Puebla sees letters from Flanders every day, which state that the Archduchess is in good health.

If the present King of France were to come to an understanding with Spain it would be well to find means for reconciling him with the King of England and his kingdom. If he were not reconciled with England, Henry would object to the conclusion of a peace between France and Spain.

They will have already observed how Don Pedro de Ayala, after having been dismissed by the King, has notwithstanding remained in England six months and longer. He styles himself, moreover, the ambassador of their Highnesses to England, as well as, and even more than, to Scotland, and has dared to speak in that capacity to Henry. Has remonstrated with him, but in vain. De Ayala states that he has been furnished with letters and credentials from their Highnesses, and has shown him a letter from the Queen to Henry. Their Highnesses must decide, from what he has written, whether all this be for the good of their service or not.—London, 15th June 1498.

Addressed: "To the very high and mighty . . . . . most Christian . . . . . Queen . . . . . Lords."*

Spanish. pp. 3.

June ? **198.** DE PUEBLA to FERDINAND AND ISABELLA.†

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Perkin Warbeck taken.

"I wrote a long while ago to your Highnesses, supplicating you to give your opinion and advice as to how the King of England ought to deal with Perkin. Your Highnesses have not to this day, no doubt for some just reason and impediments, sent a word in reply, or written any thing. I say this because the said Perkin fled a few days ago, without any reason. Your silence causes much pain to me, because I am sure the King of England would do what your Highnesses might advise. God be thanked! Perkin is already captured. The same hour that he was arrested the King of England sent one of his gentlemen of the bed-

* Paper gone.

† This letter is written on a small piece of paper, enclosed in the letter from Brussels of the 5th of June 1498 to De Puebla. Both papers were most probably enclosed in a longer letter from De Puebla to Ferdinand and Isabella, which is now lost.

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" chamber to bring me the news. I have not yet had time to
" ascertain what will become of Perkin, because I am writing
" these lines at the same hour that the King of England sent
" me the news. I think he will either be executed, or kept,
" with great vigilance, in prison."

Spanish. Holograph. Not signed. p. 1.

27 June. **199.** DE PUEBLA to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. 1. L. 2.

Capture of vessels from Brittany.

The very day of the date of this letter certain vessels from Biscay and Guypuzcoa, laden with iron for England, and wool for Flanders, entered into the harbour of the Danes, captured six vessels from Brittany there, and went in chase of others.

Doubts whether this is according to their wishes.

Londoño has arrived. Has sent his servant to bring him to London.

Encloses a letter from the Dean of Jaen, the contents of which will be found to be agreeable.—London, 27th of June 1498.

Spanish. pp. 1½.

8 July. **200.** HENRY VII. to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Londoño has delivered his message. Thanks them for their good wishes and offers. Great as their friendship towards him may be, his towards them is still greater.—Westminster, 8th of July 1498.

Addressed: "To the most serene Princes, Ferdinand and Elizabeth, King and Queen of Spain."

Latin. pp. 2.

8 July. **201.** HENRY VII. to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

The Sub-prior of Santa Cruz has delivered his message and his credentials. Is pleased with the assurance of their friendship.

Has received the secret message of the Sub-prior, and has had a long conversation on that matter. The Sub-prior will, no doubt, inform them of the result of that conversation.—Westminster, 8th of July 1498.

Addressed: "To the most serene and most powerful Lords, Ferdinand and Hellizabeth, King and Queen of Spain."

Latin. pp. 2.

15 July. **202.** DE PUEBLA to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Arrival of Londono and the Sub-prior of Santa Cruz.

On Monday evening, the 2nd of July, the Commander Londoño and the Sub-prior of Santa Cruz arrived in London, accompanied by two ecclesiastics and one gentleman, sent to them by Henry. Has received two bundles of papers, amongst which is a key to cipher, and two letters of the 4th of

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February and 7th of April. Is very glad that they approve of the treaties concluded by him. God has evidently done it, for there being so many persons in the Council and about the person of Henry who receive pensions from France, it would have been beyond human power to bring the business to a satisfactory conclusion.

Their audience of King Henry.

Henry has been in the country. But in order to see their ambassadors, and to read their letters, (seeing that during a whole year and eleven days he had not received a single letter from them,) he had come directly (on Wednesday) to Westminster. Next day, Thursday, the King sent the Bishop of London, and other great dignitaries, for the said ambassadors, and for him. Had a secret audience of Henry VII., not one Englishman, except the Cardinal, being present. After hearing the message Henry said that it was better calculated for a public than for a private audience, and called into the room all the great men of his kingdom who were in the palace. The speeches of Henry in French, and of the Cardinal in Latin, were remarkably fine. They could not have been better. Did not speak that day, except sometimes when he explained a little more in detail what Londoño and the Sub-prior said.

Conversations between King Henry and De Puebla.

Went next day, Friday, alone to Henry, and had long conversations with him before and after dinner. Delivered their letters and explained them. Henry had enjoyed those letters more than his late victory, though they were not in Latin. The King told him to return the next day, Saturday, to the palace, for he could not hear their letters read often enough. Henry had two other audiences on Saturday, but afterwards passed four hours with him in conversation, at which the Queen and the mother of the King were present. "To hear what they spoke of your Highnesses and of the "Princess of Wales was like hearing the praise of God." Gave the Queen two letters from them, and two letters from the Princess of Wales. The King had a dispute with the Queen because he wanted to have one of the said letters to carry continually about him, but the Queen did not like to part with hers, having sent the other to the Prince of Wales.

Henry invited him to Xin (Shene?) where, undisturbed by daily business, he would speak with him at length about the answer to be sent to Spain. He said that the peace of Christendom, without any doubt, depended, next to God, upon them and on himself. Thinks Henry will go to Xin (Shene?) within three or four days. Will send a relation of their deliberations, by an express courier, to Spain.

Next day, being Sunday, Londoño and the Sub-prior of Santa Cruz went to see the King. Was afterwards told by them that they had repeated in this second audience what they had already said in their first interview with the King.

The King, speaking in French, and the Cardinal in Latin, promised, they said, "wonders to the advantage of your

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Highnesses." They said besides many things which modesty forbids him to repeat.

Londono and the Sub-prior take leave.

Londoño and the Sub-prior took leave this very day. Henry delivered them two letters in answer to the letters which he had just received. The King of England called them his "brother and his sister," and would be glad if they would answer in the same style. But if they prefer another style of address, Henry will conform himself to it.

The King has sent both Londoño and the Sub-prior a purse full of nobles. Could not hear from them how many nobles the purse contained.

Don Pedro de Ayala shows no desire to return to Scotland.

Don Pedro de Ayala left Scotland nine months ago, and still shows as little inclination to return as on the first day, and is continually causing him incredible troubles. It would take long to tell all the acts of Don Pedro. But they will certainly not think that they are well served by Don Pedro. "I "declared, and often said to him that the embassies which your "Highnesses send to all parts of the world are not only for "the purpose which is apparent, but also for your renown, "and in order to know what happens there, and to delude "France, and bring her into bad reputation, and for other "objects, unknown to us." All his remonstrances being of no avail, has asked Londoño and the Sub-prior to speak to Don Pedro. Don Pedro has promised to leave very soon, but delays his departure from one day to another; he took leave a long time ago of the King, and received his purse of nobles. It is therefore scandalous of him to stay longer. Yet Don Pedro, only the other day, in the presence of Londoño and the Sub-prior, took new lodgings and bought provisions of wood and wine. There would be no hope at all of his leaving London, if his officers and servants were not implicated in so many street fights and scuffles. A short time ago Don Pedro himself received a blow from a brick on his arm in a fight of his servants. Last week the servants of Don Pedro attacked some Englishmen, one of whom has since died. Went to see the corpse buried. The police arrested one of the servants of Don Pedro; if the King had not interceded, the man would most probably have been hanged. Afterwards the chaplain of Don Pedro, a Scotchman, was arrested for killing an Englishman, and sent back to Scotland. "It is "as true as God is truth" that it would be of great advantage if Don Pedro de Ayala were sent away.—London, 15th July 1498.

His conduct.

Spanish. Portions in common writing, and portions in cipher, deciphered by Almazan, Secretary of State. pp. $6\frac{1}{2}$.

17 July S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

203. De Puebla to Ferdinand and Isabella.

Has heard, in the Royal Palace, that Don Pedro de Ayala is sending a courier to Spain. Inquired secretly of Londoño,

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and of the Sub-prior, who said that it was true. Intends to send this letter enclosed in the bundle of Londoño and the Sub-prior. It will go by the courier of Don Pedro de Ayala.

Perkin Warbeck.

"I have already written that Perkin had fled, but had been "taken again and exposed two days in the pillory. He is "now secured in such a manner, and in such a prison, "that, with the help of God, he will never be able to play "such a trick again. I say this, because it may be that others, "biassed by party feeling, have written that he had fled, "but not what took place afterwards."

Princess Katharine.

The Queen and the mother of the King wish that the Princess of Wales should always speak French with the Princess Margaret, who is now in Spain, in order to learn the language, and to be able to converse in it when she comes to England. This is necessary, because these ladies do not understand Latin, and much less, Spanish. They also wish that the Princess of Wales should accustom herself to drink wine. The water of England is not drinkable, and even if it were, the climate would not allow the drinking of it.

Death of the King of France.

Henry heard of the death of the King of France, on the Feast of the Resurrection. Was himself informed directly of the event by a gentleman of the bedchamber, sent by the King. Went to Henry, and had a long conversation with him. The King said it was most desirable that either divisions or party quarrels should take place in France or in Brittany, and that he had sent two spies, one of whom had gone to Monsieur de Rohan. He said that, if divisions were to break out in France he would, without loss of time, invade that kingdom in order to reconquer what belongs to him by right. He wished very much to know their intentions.

Shortly after this conversation with Henry had taken place, a king-at-arms came from France, and after him an embassy. The new King of France proposes to renew the friendship of his predecessor with England, and to conclude even a stricter alliance. Spoke much with Henry on this subject. If he tell the truth, all is going on uncommonly well. Confesses that he thinks that what Henry promises is impossible, because the English wish to retain the pensions which they have hitherto received. Has pressed Henry very hard. The King said that there was not the least reason to be afraid, because he would not conclude anything with France without expressly including Spain and the other members of the league. Does not anticipate any danger from the new King of France.

Ambassadors from France, Venice, Milan, and the the King of the Romans.

The ambassadors of Venice and Milan have not obtained the least result in England. The Duke of Milan has sent a messenger to Henry, with sweet words (cosas dulces), and intends soon to send an ambassador. The ambassador has come to ask the King of England to give one of his daughters in marriage to a son of the Duke of Milan. Will hereafter write more on this subject.

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The embassy of the King of the Romans has been expected for a very long time. The English are greatly desirous to conclude a good peace with the King of the Romans, and with the Archduke, in which Spain is to be included. What Gutierre Gomez de Fuensalida says on this matter will be seen by the letter of the Dean of Jaen, "which (I send) by the courier (of Don Pedro)."*

War with France.

Yesterday came a messenger from the King of the Romans with a bundle of letters, which do not agree with what the Dean of Jaen has written, but in which "the King of "England is asked† and entreated not to let such an occa- "sion slip of attacking his old enemy, and reconquering the "provinces of which he has been robbed. The King of "the Romans promises to perform wonders in the war against "France." The King sent a gentleman of his bedchamber, and asked him to come to the palace. Had a long conversation on this subject. Henry was very plain spoken, and gave him the enclosed letter for them.

Henry said among other things that he should like to see the King of the Romans at war with France, but only by way of witnessing his wonderful feats, and not in order to take part himself in the enterprise.

Henry has not forgotten the bad behaviour of the King of the Romans.

The King of England has not forgotten how the King of the Romans has behaved on former occasions, and is very cautious in his dealings with him. King Henry has serious doubts about the constancy, veracity, and perseverance of the King of the Romans, but wishes much to know their intentions. Thinks, in accordance with what he has already written to the chamberlain, Don Alonzo de Silva, that if the King of France were to offer them a true and good peace, they ought to accept it. They would thereby gain a sincere and constant friend in Henry, and at the same time secure the peace of Christendom.

Letters to Henry.

The day that the above-mentioned conference took place, King Henry could not show the letters which he had received, but he sent them the next day. The Latin secretary wrote the note which is enclosed. One of the letters is from the King of the Romans. A transcript of it is enclosed. Had not time to copy the other letters, one of which is from the Legate of the Holy Father, [Episcopus Cordiensis,] another from Gutier Gomez Fuensalida, ambassador of Spain, the third from Franciscus de Montibus, ambassador of the King of Naples, and the fourth from Erasmus Brascha, knight and ambassador of the Duke of Milan. Only the last is signed,—Ambassador of Naples. All these letters agree with what the King of the Romans has sent to ask, and in them Henry is desired to do even a little

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* The words between the brackets are not in the deciphering by Almazan, but they are in the original ciphered despatch.

† In the deciphering by Almazan the word is *rodeo*, that is, a round-about way or shift. In the ciphered original, however, the word is not *rodeo*, but *rogar*, ask.

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more. Is much astonished that Gutier Gomez has sent no letter for him, especially as he had written the contrary to the Dean of Jaen. On account of the embassy from Flanders which is expected to come this week, there is some delay. Makes use of it to write to them, because King Henry wishes that they should be informed of all that passes. Would to God that the King of France would entrust his affairs to them, for they would soon procure universal peace.

De Puebla speaks with Henry at Shene.

After this was written went to Xin (Shene?) to see Henry. Read him all their reasons for excepting the King of the Romans and the Archduke in the peace (with England), which reasons are so good that they would produce an impression even on rocks, not to speak of Henry, who is as he ought to be, and has been entirely satisfied with them. Henry sent for his commissioners to conclude this business without delay at Shene.

Henry asked whether Spain would take part in the war against France, which the King of the Romans urges so much, adding that he would not remain idle in such a case, and much less conclude peace, or truce, or abstinence from war with Louis without their consent. Did not give any decisive answer; thought it safer rather to spur on the King of England than to keep him back. Meanwhile the embassy from Flanders had arrived, whilst that of the King of the Romans was still in England.

Princess Katharine.

Henry said that God alone knows how much, and for how long a time, he has desired the marriage of the Princess Katharine with the Prince of Wales. As soon as the Prince of Wales, who is in Calais, arrives, the marriage ceremony will be performed, and all things will change from good to better.

Don Pedro de Ayala.

Don Pedro De Ayala is making preparations for prolonging his stay in London. King Henry has said that he is much astonished to see Don Pedro remaining so long a time in England without commission from them. It would be best to recall Don Pedro de Ayala, and to send a good Latin scholar to Scotland, telling the King of Scots that it is much against their wishes that Don Pedro is continually absent from his court. By this and by other good means the

King of Scots.

King of Scots could be entirely won and be married to any one they liked.

"It is more difficult to marry such a king as the King " of Scotland than to bring him up."* The King of Scots would be immensely flattered by a resident Spanish embassy at his court, it being an honour done him by no other great powers. That alone would suffice to gratify and to influence him. Besides, other good opportunities for flattering him are not wanting. If the daughter of the King of England

* Sic. "Tal Rey como el Rey de Escocia peor es de casar que de criar."

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were already marriageable, it would be best to marry her to the King of Scots. Henry would be very glad if Pedro de Ayala were to leave the country, although he had written to the contrary, and will even now commend Don Pedro, because he is asked by him to do so. Henry will also write something about Scotland.

From Xin (Shene), 17th July 1498.

Some citizens of San Sebastien who have just arrived say that Vincent de Alduan has not sent the parcel which he received the beginning of May. It contains—

24 blessed (?) rings from Henry, 12 of them being gold, and 12 silver :

A letter from the Prince of Wales :

A copy of the dispensation from the Pope, respecting the age of the Prince and Princess of Wales :

A letter from the Countess of Camin to Ferdinand :

A letter from the ambassador of Naples at the court of the King of the Romans :

Two letters from Don Rodrigo Manrique and the Dean of Jaen.

A letter of Henry to them is not included in the parcel.

*Indorsed : "To their Highnesses, from Doctor De Puebla, 17th July '96."**

"S. R. Majestatibus, 1498."

In cipher, deciphered by Almazan, Secretary of State.

Spanish. pp. 10.

18 July. S. E. T. c. I. L. 2. Their arrival in England.

204. LONDOÑO and the SUB-PRIOR of SANTA CRUZ† to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

Had a very bad voyage, and did not arrive in England until the 27th of June. Travelled sixty leagues by land from their landing place, to London. Henry, on being informed of their arrival, sent two dignitaries of the Church, one of whom is his almoner, and a knight of the name of Duarte, to receive them one day's journey from London. The knight is a brother-in-law of Count Scalas, and had been knighted by Ferdinand with his own hand in the Vega of Granada. Reached London on the 2nd of July. Henry was staying at a palace four leagues distant from London, but came to town on Wednesday the 4th of July, and received them the next Thursday. The Bishop of London and those who had met them on their journey to London, together with a great many other gentlemen, came to accompany them to the palace. Were received by Henry with the greatest imaginable demonstrations of joy. Delivered their credentials and recommendations and communicated to the King the substance of their message. No other persons were present,

First audience of the King.

* Sic. Undoubtedly an error.

† Fray Johannes de Matienzo.

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except the Cardinal who is the chancellor of the kingdom, an old gentleman whom they call the treasurer, and Doctor De Puebla. After delivering their message, were asked by Henry to wait a short time, because he wanted to consult with his Council. The counsellors and many other great dignitaries of the realm were called into the room. Retired to a little distance from them. The King, surrounded by his Council, spoke to them for some time. All of them were highly gratified by what they heard. The deliberation being concluded, King Henry asked them again to come nearer, and gave a very gracious and satisfactory answer with a most cheerful countenance. The Cardinal afterwards made a speech in the presence of the King, and answered every point of their message.

As to the prothonotary, Don Pedro de Ayala, Henry was at first discontented with the manner in which he had carried on his negotiations in Scotland, because he believed him to be partial to the Scotch. But now that Don Pedro has brought the whole affair to a happy conclusion, he and his deeds are highly appreciated by Henry.

King Henry, when told that it was intended to send Fernan Perez (De Ayala) as ambassador to England, was at first concerned about it, because he thought that the present ambassador was to be recalled. When the matter was more fully explained to him, he expressed his warmest thanks.

Friendly offers of Ferdinand and Isabella.

Told the King that as soon as the news of disturbances in England had reached Spain, the Spanish fleet had been armed and kept ready to assist him, although the truth of the tidings was doubted, because De Puebla had not mentioned them. All the Englishmen present, and especially Henry, expressed their thanks. Henry offered to serve Spain with his person and with his army. "He said it in words which manifested "great love and affection."

Princess Katharine.

Henry expressed great satisfaction at the marriage between the Princess Katharine and Prince Arthur, and praised the Princess. The dispensation of the Pope has arrived in England. The King of England approves of their having sent an embassy to France.

Second audience.

Took leave, but were invited to stay over the next day, Sunday. Went on Sunday morning, accompanied by the Bishop of London and other great dignitaries of state, to the palace. The King and Queen heard mass in the chapel, and walked in the procession. The ladies of the Queen went in good order and were much adorned. After mass the King proceeded to dinner. Dined in the palace with the Bishop of London and others. Went after dinner to the chamber of Henry, where they found the King and the Cardinal. Henry spoke of the war in Granada; of the solemn entry of the King and Queen of Portugal into Spain; then asked them abruptly whether the Princess Mary (of Spain) was likely to be

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married, and hinted at a marriage with the King of Scots. Answered that they knew nothing about it.

Marriage between Margaret of Austria and the King of France.

King Henry spoke of Madame Margaret, and asked whether it were true that the King of France intended to marry her. He seemed to be concerned at it, and to wish that the King of France should marry the Queen Dowager (Anne of Brittany).

King of the Romans.

Speaking of the King of the Romans and of the Archduke, the King of England said that he had done much for them in the affairs of Brittany and of Flanders, but that they had repaid him with great ingratitude. English subjects have never been so badly treated in Flanders as at present. He would not bear it so patiently but for his love to the King and Queen of Spain. However that may be, it seems that all will now be soon arranged.

Took leave, and went to kiss the hand of the Queen.

Don Pedro de Ayala.

Could get no information respecting Scotland except from Don Pedro de Ayala, who is staying in London in order to recruit his health. Besides, his being in England is beneficial for the despatch of business. The treaties he has concluded are very profitable to all parties, and Henry is perfectly satisfied with them, for he has said so. Don Pedro is held in much honour, spends much, and has even got into pecuniary difficulties, not having received his salary for the last year. His presence in England is very advantageous, because he is on good terms with the King and the whole Court. He knows England well, but Scotland still better. He is, in fact, the only man who knows Scotland, all others looking on the Scotch only as their enemies, and flying into a passion as soon as the name of Scotland is pronounced.

Have asked Don Pedro to send a detailed description of England and Scotland to Spain.

Doctor De Puebla: His character.

The Doctor (De Puebla) is in such a state of irritation with Don Pedro de Ayala that it has been the cause of many disagreeable scenes which are notorious in England. There is no remedy for it. De Puebla cannot bear any other ambassador. He has been unable to conceal his fear and distrust towards them, though he had been told that his services are fully appreciated in Spain. Have observed that he is a great partizan of the King of England. He magnifies everything that relates to Henry as much as possible. He thinks that the affairs of the King of England are to be considered as more important than those of any other prince. King Henry said that he is very well satisfied with De Puebla, who is a good servant of the King and Queen of Spain, and that no other ambassador could conduct the negotiations so well as he does, adding, that he makes these observations only in order to recommend De Puebla to his masters. Suspect, however, that De Puebla had begged the King to speak of him in that way, as De Puebla had gone alone to the palace the day

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before, and had not liked to accompany them the next day. Moreover, some persons have told them that De Puebla had besought the King to commend him. King Henry is certainly satisfied with De Puebla, not because he thinks him a good man or a good servant of the King and Queen of Spain, but because he carries on negotiations rather in the interest of England than of Spain.

De Puebla is a quarrelsome intriguer. He is disliked by the Spanish merchants in England. They say that he could easily have induced Henry to abolish the extra duties imposed upon them when the last treaty was concluded. The King was then in such difficulties that he would not have refused even the half of his revenues if De Puebla had asked it. But De Puebla is more an agent of the exchequer of the King of England than ambassador of Spain. He is under such subjection to Henry that he dares not say a word, but what he thinks will please the King. The Spanish merchants had told them all this without being asked. Intend to send the complaints of the merchants in writing.

Information of Doctor Panec about Doctor de Puebla.

Doctor Peter Panec, a privy counsellor of Henry, who has transacted business with De Puebla, asked them whether he had been sent to superintend the affairs of the King and Queen of Spain, or those of the King of England and his own? He added that De Puebla had conducted the business of Spain very badly. Many things have been left entirely to his decision, and he has not decided them in favour of Spain. This has especially been the case with respect to the marriage. Henry was then in the midst of his difficulties with Scotland and Perkin. The Cornish rebels were in arms against him, and had even advanced to within a few leagues of London. If any other man had been the ambassador of Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella could, in that conjuncture, have dictated conditions to England. In fact, Doctor Panec says Henry is indebted for his crown to Spain, because, as soon as the marriage was known to be concluded, all became quiet. But De Puebla, during all that time, went from one privy counsellor to another, begging that the marriage might be concluded, as though there were no other means to do it. He had said everywhere that King Henry had made great difficulties about concluding the marriage. If another ambassador had been in the place of De Puebla, Henry would have begged exactly the same things of him which De Puebla has been begging of Henry. The King would have given much money besides. There is only one opinion about these things in England. The same informant said further that the peace with Scotland had been delayed by De Puebla, who had falsified the letters of Don Pedro de Ayala, which the King had asked him to translate from Spanish into French. King Henry was very angry with De Puebla on this account, and De Puebla had the insolence to say that everywhere he regretted he had con-

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cluded the marriage, because Henry had not been so liberal towards him as his services deserved.

De Puebla is a liar, flatterer, &c., and a bad Christian.

"De Puebla is a liar, a flatterer, a calumniator, a beggar, "and does not seem to be a good Christian." He has, for instance, expressed his astonishment that there are no other merchants in Spain besides Jews. He has declared that the King of England holds Spain in little esteem, and that he himself will never return to Castile.

De Puebla is a beggar.

A Spaniard, brought up and married in England, is porter to the Queen of England. He said that some time ago the King was living at a palace about a quarter of a league distant from the town in which De Puebla was staying. De Puebla went every day, with all his servants, to dine at the palace, and continued his unasked-for visits during the space of four or five months. The Queen and the mother of the Queen sometimes asked him whether his masters in Castile did not provide him with food? On another occasion, when the King was staying at another palace, there was a report that Doctor de Puebla was coming. The King asked his courtiers, "For what purpose is he coming?" They answered, "*To eat.*" The King laughed at the answer.

The English discontented with De Puebla.

Duarte, of whom they have already spoken, told them that the English consider themselves a little slighted, because such honourable ambassadors have been sent to Scotland and to other countries, whilst the ambassador to England is such a man as De Puebla. Henry was astonished when it was announced that De Puebla was to return on a second embassy to England. The King had expected a new ambassador, and not a person whom he already knew so thoroughly.

Henry VII. is rich, and keeps the people in subjection.

Henry is rich, has established good order in England, and keeps the people in such subjection as has never been the case before. He is on good terms with the King of France, to whom he has sent an embassy. He is a friend of peace.

Italy.

To the Italian ambassadors he answered that he liked to live on good terms with France, and that Italy is too far distant from England for an alliance. The ambassadors from Milan are expected.

The most influential persons in England.

The persons who have the greatest influence in England are the mother of the King, the Chancellor, Master Bray, the Bishop of Durham, Master Ludel, who is treasurer, the Bishop of London, and the Lord Chamberlain.

A short time ago ambassadors arrived from the King of the Romans. De Puebla says that they have asked Henry to take part in the war against France.

Remained a few days longer in England, because the ambassadors from France were hourly expected. The ambassadors are, the Bishop of Cambray, and two literary men. They say that they are come to conclude peace, and to bring about an understanding respecting English commerce in Flanders. The truce with France, they say, is converted into a perpetual peace. They asked news of the Princess, and

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said that it is time for her to marry, because she is already a young woman. The Archduchess is pregnant.

Bad weather will not permit them to send to Flanders. This letter is taken by the courier of Don Pedro de Ayala. --London, 18th of July 1498.

Addressed: "To the very powerful and very high Lords, the Most Christian King and Queen of Spain."

Spanish. pp. 13.

18 July. **205.** SUB-PRIOR OF SANTA CRUZ to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

According to his instructions, spoke with Henry alone when the audience was over. Henry did not give any positive answer then, but put it off until the next Sunday.

Ingratitude of the Pope.

Henry said that he was very glad to be informed about a case of such great importance as that concerning the Pope. It showed the holy zeal of their most Christian Princes. His opinion is that they have not demanded too much from a Pope for whom they have done so much. He thinks it advisable to send one more person who is exempt from all vice and from all blemish, as ambassador to the Pope, to request him to do what they desire. If he refuse it, they have not only a right to do what they say, but also to convoke a council if necessary.

Spanish Heretics and Jews in England.

Told Henry that there are in England and Flanders many heretics who have come from Spain, and people who have fled from the inquisition, who speak ill of Spain, and wish to excite hatred against her. Henry appreciated this advice much. He laid his hands on his breast and swore, "by the "faith of his heart," that if any one (without mentioning those cursed exiles) of his best beloved subjects should say anything against the King and Queen of Spain, he would not esteem him, or any longer treat him as his friend. He promised to punish soundly any Jew or heretic to be found in his realms. Conversed a long time on this subject.

Princess of Wales.

Henry likes to speak about the Princess of Wales. He said that he would give the half of his kingdom if she were like her mother.

De Puebla.

De Puebla, who did not take part in this conversation, showed great suspicion, standing there and watching them like a wolf. Cannot prevail upon himself to write the blasphemous things that are said of him by the very servants of the King. Henry himself said that he wished the marriage could have been negotiated by a better man.

The Archduchess is pregnant. Monsieur De Bévres is dead.

Queen Elizabeth.

The Queen is a "very noble woman," and much beloved. She is kept in subjection by the mother of the King. It would be a good thing to write often to her, and to show her a little love.

Don Pedro de Ayala.

Don Pedro de Ayala lives like a gentleman, and is much beloved by the King, by the people, and by foreigners, even

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by the King of Scots, who esteems him like a father. No one in England contradicts this, except De Puebla, who wishes to turn him out of England. There is not a single person in England who speaks ill of the one, or well of the other. The quarrels between them are a public scandal. It is time to throw the baton between them.

Doctor Breton has given him this information and a paper which must be destroyed after it is read.

Indorsed: "To their Highnesses from the Sub-prior of Santa."

Cipher. Deciphered by Almazan, First Secretary of State. pp. 4.

18 July. S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

206. The SPANISH MERCHANTS residing in LONDON to SANCHEZ DE LONDOÑO and the SUB-PRIOR OF SANTA CRUZ.

The conclusion of the marriage treaty.

De Puebla had asked Henry to give a bishopric to him, and other good livings to his sons and relatives. On account of the King having refused to do so, he had delayed the conclusion of the treaty of marriage. When Henry was in his greatest difficulties with Scotland and Perkin, De Puebla had repeated his demands. Henry had answered, that he was unfit to become a bishop, because he was a cripple. De Puebla then proposed that the bishopric should be given to a certain procurator of Henry in Rome, from whom he had got 1,000 gold crowns for his promise to procure letters for him from the King and Queen of Spain to the Pope, recommending him for a cardinal's hat. Henry was in such great difficulties then that he had acceded to the proposals of De Puebla, and promised 1,500 crowns a year besides to one of his sons. As soon as De Puebla had obtained what he wanted, he concluded the marriage, which was so advantageous to Henry that, in consequence of it, peace with Scotland was concluded, Perkin turned out of Scotland, and the rebels punished.

De Puebla extorts money.

Some merchants from Genoa had subjected themselves to a penalty in England. They gave 500 crowns and cloth and silk for the marriage to De Puebla, who settled their affair with Henry.

De Puebla had sold two licences of the King for importing wine and woad in Spanish vessels, to Spanish merchants, for 200 crowns.

Francisco de Arvieto of Orduña had paid De Puebla 100 gold crowns for a pardon for perjury. Similar things are done almost daily by De Puebla. When he took part in the negotiations with Flanders, he persuaded the Archduke to impose a duty of one gold florin on every piece of English cloth, the consequences of which have been to cause prolonged debates and great disaster.

There is not a Spanish captain, or even a single sailor, who is not obliged to pay more or less to De Puebla, if he has anything to do in England. De Puebla often takes money

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from both parties, if he has to decide a law suit. He is a spy and secret informer in all kinds of contraventions committed by subjects of any nation, only for the purpose of making money by his information. He and his servants sell testimonials of all kinds.

He lives in a house of bad repute.

De Puebla constantly complains that he is badly paid, and he begs money from the King and the gentlemen of the court. He lives meanly. He has been three years in the house of a mason who keeps dishonest women. He eats with them, and with all the apprentices, at the same table, for 2*d.* a day. His landlord robs men who come to his house, and the ambassador protects him, in his dishonest trade, against the police.

The consequence of all this is that the Spaniards are less esteemed and worse treated in England than other foreigners.

Indorsed: "The information which the Spaniards living in England gave to Londoño and the Sub-prior respecting Doctor De Puebla."

Spanish. pp. 6.

18 July, **207**. S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

DOCTOR BRETON to LONDOÑO and the SUB-PRIOR of SANTA CRUZ.

When it was known that Ferdinand and Isabella intended to send an ambassador to England, the English hoped it would be a bishop, a count or a baron, or at least a person of great authority. Henry, on hearing who was the person selected as ambassador, saw directly that Ferdinand and Isabella did not know him sufficiently, whilst he was thoroughly acquainted with the character of the man. De Puebla was well received on account of the respect due to his masters.

Marriage of the Princess of Wales.

Diffident of himself and doubtful of success, De Puebla did not at first insist on the principal points of his instructions respecting the marriage. He spoke as though the conclusion of it, on any terms whatever, was a most arduous task, and as though it would be difficult to find a husband for the Princess Katharine, causing thereby great injury to Spain. Her dignity had suffered considerably.

When De Puebla concluded the marriage, he intended only to regain the good opinion of his masters.

Had he availed himself of Doctor Breton's advice, the marriage would have been concluded on such conditions as might have been dictated by Spain.

Henry makes use of De Puebla for his purposes.

De Puebla wished to ingratiate himself with Henry. For this reason he told Ferdinand and Isabella that things were very difficult which, in fact, were very easy. Henry makes use of De Puebla for his advantage, but he knows the man.

De Puebla afterwards saw the blunders he had committed, and wished to make amends for them. Endeavouring to make use, for that purpose, of the Venetian ambassador, he had told him the greatest lies, and only rendered things worse.

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De Puebla delayed the peace between England and Flanders; and the peace with Scotland.

Has explained by word of mouth, how De Puebla had delayed the conclusion of peace between Henry and the Archduke for about two years.

In the negotiations carried on between England and Scotland he made use of the most improper means, and occasioned real danger to Henry only because he was jealous of the honour which the peace reflected on Spain.

In the business of the Pope and of the King of the Romans he had behaved carelessly.

De Puebla carries on the business of a lawyer.

De Puebla lives meanly. He is avaricious and a notorious usurer, an enemy of truth, full of lies, a calumniator of all honest men, vain-glorious, and ostentatious. He wishes to make foreign princes and other persons believe that he influences Henry, in order that he may be selected by them as their agent. Under colour of his embassy he goes to the courts of law, and pleads the causes of merchants who pay him. He is hated to the last degree by all lawyers and judges, and by all merchants of whatever nation they may be.

In London he lives in a vile and miserable inn of bad repute. When the Court is staying in the country, he dines every day in the palace of the King, and begs wine and bread for his supper, and for his servants. His servants live in the convent of the Carthusian Friars, or in some similar house, where they pay nothing. It is therefore generally said at court that "De Puebla comes a begging." That is the reputation he has earned for himself and for his masters.

He likes to occupy himself with the business of other people, but never tries to bring it to an end. He is often glad of the bad success of his masters.

It would require all the paper in London to describe the character of the man.

Indorsed: "The paper written by Doctor Breton."

Holograph. Latin. No date nor signature. pp. 6.

24 July. **208.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

S. E T. c. I. L. 2. France.

Have read all his letters up to the 25th of May.

Have offered peace to the new King of France, in which the rights of the King of England are to be reserved in a much more effective manner than has hitherto been usual. The King of France, however, does not seem to care for the peace, yet does not allege any reason. King Henry is most probably right in what he has said respecting Brittany and the other affairs. It would be a good thing to lower a little the pretensions of the King of France, which it would not be difficult to do, if Spain, England, and the King of the Romans were to combine for that purpose. Even Spain and England alone would suffice. Wish to know the opinion of Henry on this subject. Are pleased to hear that Henry will not make peace with France without including

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Spain in it. He must take care that Spain and England always make war or peace together.

After this had been written, the letters of the 1st and 6th of July arrived.

Papal dispensation.

There is no duplicate of the bull dispensing with the consanguinity of the Prince and Princess of Wales. Send a copy. The bull dispensing with the age of the Prince and Princess has likewise arrived. The manner in which the marriage is to be performed, and the Princess to be sent to England, are all the matters that remain to be settled. He must do this, but make no haste.

Will soon satisfy his demands respecting Don Pedro de Ayala.—Zaragoza, 24th July.

Spanish. Cipher. Deciphered by Johan Toyamo, Secretary to De Puebla. pp. 3½.

24 July. **209.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Draft of the treaty of the 10th of July 1498, with a great number of almost illegible corrections.

Latin. pp. 6.

Included in the letter of Ferdinand and Isabella to De Puebla, dated Zaragoza, 24th July 1498.

25 July. **210.** The PROTHONOTARY, DON PEDRO DE AYALA, to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Peace between England and Scotland.

It has been a very difficult task to conclude the peace between Scotland and England, because the old enmity is so great. It is a wonder that the peace is not already broken. The King of Scots has borne the injustice committed by the English only because the peace has been made by Spain. The English have committed new murders and robberies in Scotland, before satisfaction had been given for the former murders. The King of Scots has sent to England, and declared that, if satisfaction be not given without further delay, he will not consider himself any longer bound by the treaty of peace. While things were in this state, Londoño and the Sub-prior arrived, on the 2d of July, with their letters.

Promises to do all that is consistent with honesty to gratify the King of Scots, and meanwhile to reconcile him with the King of England.

Stays in London because his health is bad. Besides, it would not be politic to go to Scotland now; for the King of Scots has repeatedly written to him that he only awaits his return to take some decisive measures. Could not, if he returned to Scotland, prevent the King from doing so.

Has been accused by a certain person of misconduct, but such accusations will fall back on the accuser.

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Intrigues in Catalonia.

Is asked how it came to pass that he had learnt news about Catalonia from a person from Brittany. Said person is an ecclesiastic, a great preacher, and a visitor of the Order of St. Francis. He was, there is no doubt, commissioned to treat with the King of England respecting the affairs of Brittany. The reason why the King of France concluded the truce so soon was, in order to be at liberty to intrigue with the Infants, and to provoke a revolution in those parts of Spain. He would thus have frustrated what they are now going to do. The mediator was a Catalonian general, who is in Brittany. The brother of this general has gone to Catalonia. Could not learn anything more, because his informant had left England. He is, however, expected soon to return. Though Charles VIII. is dead now, it is always useful to know these intrigues.

Obedient to their orders, sends them a description of the King and the kingdom of Scotland.

The King of Scots.

"The King is 25 years and some months old. He is of noble stature, neither tall nor short, and as handsome in complexion and shape as a man can be. His address is very agreeable. He speaks the following foreign languages; Latin, very well; French, German, Flemish, Italian, and Spanish; Spanish as well as the Marquis, but he pronounces it more distinctly. He likes, very much, to receive Spanish letters. His own Scotch language is as different from English as Aragonese from Castilian. The King speaks, besides, the language of the savages who live in some parts of Scotland and on the islands. It is as different from Scotch as Biscayan is from Castilian. His knowledge of languages is wonderful. He is well read in the Bible and in some other devout books. He is a good historian. He has read many Latin and French histories, and profited by them, as he has a very good memory. He never cuts his hair or his beard. It becomes him very well.

His knowledge of languages.

He observes the dictates of the Church.

"He fears God, and observes all the precepts of the Church. He does not eat meat on Wednesdays and Fridays. He would not ride on Sundays for any consideration, not even to mass. He says all his prayers. Before transacting any business he hears two masses. After mass he has a cantata sung, during which he sometimes despatches very urgent business. He gives alms liberally, but is a severe judge, especially in the case of murderers. He has a great predilection for priests, and receives advice from them, especially from the Friars Observant, with whom he confesses. Rarely, even in joking, a word escapes him that is not the truth. He prides himself much upon it, and says it does not seem to him well for Kings to swear their treaties as they do now. The oath of a King should be his royal word, as was the case in bygone ages. He is neither prodigal nor avaricious, but liberal when occasion requires. He is courageous, even more so than a King should be. I am a good witness of

He speaks the truth.

He is liberal and courageous, but

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it. I have seen him often undertake most dangerous things in the last wars. I sometimes clung to his skirts, and succeeded in keeping him back. On such occasions he does not take the least care of himself. He is not a good captain, because he begins to fight before he has given his orders. He said to me that his subjects serve him with their persons and goods, in just and unjust quarrels, exactly as he likes, and that, therefore, he does not think it right to begin any warlike undertaking without being himself the first in danger. His deeds are as good as his words. For this reason, and because he is a very humane prince, he is much loved. He is active, and works hard. When he is not at war he hunts in the mountains. I tell your Highnesses the truth when I say that God has worked a miracle in him, for I have never seen a man so temperate in eating and drinking out of Spain. Indeed such a thing seems to be superhuman in these countries. He lends a willing ear to his counsellors, and decides nothing without asking them; but in great matters he acts according to his own judgment, and, in my opinion, he generally makes a right decision. I recognize him perfectly in the conclusion of the last peace, which was made against the wishes of the majority in his kingdom.

a bad captain.

He hunts in the mountains,

is temperate, and

generally follows the advice of his counsellors.

"When he was a minor he was instigated by those who held the government to do some dishonourable things. They favoured his love intrigues with their relatives, in order to keep him in their subjection. As soon as he came of age, and understood his duties, he gave up these intrigues. When I arrived, he was keeping a lady with great state in a castle. He visited her from time to time. Afterwards he sent her to the house of her father, who is a knight, and married her. He did the same with another lady, by whom he had had a son. It may be about a year since he gave up, so at least it is believed, his lovemaking, as well from fear of God as from fear of scandal in this world, which is thought very much of here. I can say with truth that he esteems himself as much as though he were Lord of the world. He loves war so much that I fear, judging by the provocation he receives, the peace will not last long. War is profitable to him and to the country.

Love intrigues.

He has a high opinion of himself, and likes war.

"I will give an account of his revenues. Although I do not know them to a certainty, I do not think that I shall be far wrong. I shall estimate them a little below their real amount.

Revenues.

"He has a revenue from arable and pasture lands, which are let by leases of three years. The farmers pay a fine upon entry. This rent is said to amount to 50,000 pounds Scotch, each pound Scotch being worth one Castiliano. I rather believe that it amounts to 40,000 ducats.

Crown land.

"Another revenue is that from the customs. The import duties are insignificant, but the exports yield a considerable sum of money, because there are three principal articles of

Customs.

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export, that is to say, wool, hides, and fish. The customs are worth about 25,000 ducats a year. They have much increased, and will continue to increase. Another revenue is that derived from the administration of the law. His predecessors farmed it to certain persons called justices (justiciarios), like our coregidores. This King does not like to farm the administration of the law, because justice is not well administered in that way. It is said that this revenue amounts to more than 30,000 ducats, but I will put it down at only 25,000 ducats.

Administration of justice.

Wardships.

"He has another revenue from his wards, which is very considerable, and which offers good opportunities for rewarding his servants. If lords, or gentlemen of the middle class, in whatever part of the kingdom they may be, die and leave children under 22 years of age, the King is the guardian of them. He receives all their revenues till they come of age. He lets or sells such guardianships. He even sells the marriages of his wards, male and female. When the ward comes of age, and the King gives him the title of his father, or brother, or testator, he pays the amount of one or two years' rent, or any other sum that is agreed upon, into the exchequer of the King. I am told that this is the richest source of revenue, but I will estimate it at only 20,000 ducats.

Vacant bishopries, &c.

"He enjoys one year's revenue from the bishoprics and abbacies for the presentation. He likewise receives all the revenues of them during the vacancy of the see. The same is the case with respect to other livings, for they are all in his gift. I do not know to how much this amounts.

Fisheries.

"He has a rent from the fisheries, not in money, but in kind, for his kitchen, and likewise from meat and poultry, &c. This is his income, according to what I have been able to ascertain, and to what I have seen. He is in want of nothing, judging from the manner in which he lives, but he is not able to put money into his strong boxes. I shall speak hereafter of this.

Scotland.

Its extent.

"The country is large. Your Highnesses know that these kingdoms form an island. Judging by what I have read in books and seen on maps, and also by my own experience, I should think that both kingdoms are of equal extent. In the same proportion that England is longer than Scotland, Scotland is wider than England; thus the quantity of land is the same. Neither is the quality very different in the two countries, but the Scotch are not industrious, and the people are poor. They spend all their time in wars, and when there is no war they fight with one another. It must, however, be observed that since the present King succeeded to the throne they do not dare to quarrel so much with one another as formerly, especially since he came of age. They have learnt by experience that he executes the law without respect to rich or poor. I am told that Scotland has improved so much during his reign that it is worth three times more now than formerly, on account of

The people are not industrious, but have improved.

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foreigners having come to the country, and taught them how to live. They have more meat, in great and small animals, than they want, and plenty of wool and hides.

Commerce. "Spaniards who live in Flanders tell me that the commerce of Scotland is much more considerable now than formerly, and that it is continually increasing.

Fish. "It is impossible to describe the immense quantity of fish. The old proverb says already 'piscinata Scotia.' Great quantities of salmon, herring, and a kind of dried fish, which they call stock fish (stoque fix), are exported. The quantity is so great that it suffices for Italy, France, Flanders, and England. They have so many wild fruits which they eat, that they do not know what to do with them. There are immense flocks of sheep, especially in the savage portions or Scotland. Hides are employed for many purposes. There are

Fruit. all kinds of garden fruits to be found which a cold country can produce. They are very good. Oranges, figs, and other fruits

Corn. of the same kind are not to be found there. The corn is very good, but they do not produce as much as they might, because they do not cultivate the land. Their method is the following: they plough the land only once when it has grass on it, which is as high as a man, then they sow the corn, and cover it by means of a harrow, which makes the land even again. Nothing more is done till they cut the corn. I have seen the straw stand so high after harvest, that it reached to my girdle. Some kind of corn is sown about the Feast of St. John, and is cut in August.

The Scots are hospitable, "The people are handsome. They like foreigners so much that they dispute with one another as to who shall have and treat a foreigner in his house. They are vain and

ostentatious, ostentatious by nature. They spend all they have to keep up appearances. They are as well dressed as it is possible to be in such a country as that in which they live. They are

courageous and envious. courageous, strong, quick, and agile. They are envious to excess.

Four duchies. "There are four duchies in the kingdom. Three of them are in the possession of the King; the fourth is held by the eldest brother of the King, who is Duke of Ross and Archbishop of St. Andrew's. There are fifteen Earls, not counting

Counties. the younger brother of the King, who holds two counties. Nine other counties are in possession of the King. Some of the fifteen Earls are great men. I saw two of them come to serve the King in the last war with more than 30,000 men, all picked soldiers and well-armed. And yet they did not bring more than one half of their men. Many others came with five or six thousand followers; some with more, and some with less. As I have already observed, this army does not cost the King a penny.

Principalities. "There are two principalities; one of them is the *principatus insularum*, and the other the *principatus Gallividiae*."*

* Galloway.

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Both are held by the King. There are five-and-thirty great barons in the kingdom, without counting the smaller ones.

Archbishoprics, &c.

"There are two archbishoprics and eleven bishoprics, 63 monasteries, which they call abbeys, and many other religious houses, which are endowed with property and rents. The abbeys are very magnificent, the buildings fine, and the revenues great. All of them were founded by Kings. There

Seaports.

are seventy seaports. The harbours between the islands are not included in this number, though they are said to be very secure.

Islands.

"Sixty-four of the islands are inhabited. Some of them are 60 miles long, and as many miles in width. Besides, there are the Orcades towards Norway. It is said they are very numerous.

"On the islands there are many flocks, and great quantities of fish and of barley. The inhabitants are very warlike and agile. I saw them in the last war. They do not know what danger is. The present King keeps them in strict subjection. He is feared by the bad, and loved and revered by the good like a god. None of the former Kings have succeeded in bringing the people into such subjection as the present King. He went last summer to many of the islands, and presided at the courts of law.

Government.

"The prelates are very much revered; they have the larger share in the Government. Spiritual as well as secular Lords, if they have a title or a dignity, belong to the General Council. It meets four times a year in order to administer justice. It is a very good institution. All causes are decided after debating them. At the same time the King receives his revenues derived from the administration of the law. Both spiritual and secular lords have a certain number of followers, recorded in the books of the King, who are entitled to have their meals in the palace when they come to court. They have no other advantages. The King selects some of them for his Privy Council, and they always remain at court. They receive, nevertheless, no salary, except for other offices which they may happen to hold. But they and their servants eat in the palace. The reason why they do so is, that the King may be always accompanied by them. It causes great expense.

Court.

"The Kings live little in cities and towns. They pass their time generally in castles and abbeys, where they find lodgings for all their officers. They do not remain long in one place. The reason thereof is twofold. In the first place, they move often about, in order to visit their kingdom, to administer justice, and to establish police where it is wanted. The second reason is, that they have rents in kind in every province, and they wish to consume them. While travelling, neither the King nor any of his officers have any expenses, nor do they carry provisions with them. They go from house to house, to lords, bishops, and abbots, where they receive all that is necessary.

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The greatest favour the King can do to his subjects is to go to their houses.

Women. "The women are courteous in the extreme. I mention this because they are really honest, though very bold. They are absolute mistresses of their houses, and even of their husbands, in all things concerning the administration of their property, income as well as expenditure. They are very graceful and handsome women. They dress much better than here (England), and especially as regards the head-dress, which is, I think, the handsomest in the world.

Houses. "The towns and villages are populous. The houses are good, all built of hewn stone, and provided with excellent doors, glass windows, and a great number of chimneys. All the furniture that is used in Italy, Spain, and France, is to be found in their dwellings. It has not been bought in modern times only, but inherited from preceding ages.

"The Queens possess, besides their baronies and castles, four country seats, situated in the best portions of the kingdom, each of which is worth about fifteen thousand ducats. The King fitted them up anew only three years ago. There

Fortified towns. is not more than one fortified town in Scotland, because the Kings do not allow their subjects to fortify them. The town is a very considerable borough and well armed. The whole soil of Scotland belongs to the King, the landholders being his vassals, or his tenants for life, or for a term of years. They

Army. are obliged to serve him forty days, at their own expense, every time he calls them out. They are very good soldiers. The King can assemble, within thirty days, 120,000 horse. The soldiers from the islands are not counted in this number. The islands are half a league, one, two, three, or four leagues distant from the main land. The inhabitants speak the

French habits and language. language, and have the habits of the Irish. But there is a good deal of French education in Scotland, and many speak the French language. For all the young gentlemen* who have no property go to France, and are well received there,

Army. and therefore the French are liked. Two or three times I have seen, not the whole army, but one-third of it assembled, and counted more than twelve thousand great and small tents. There is much emulation among them as to who shall be best equipped, and they are very ostentatious and pride themselves

Artillery. very much in this respect. They have old and heavy artillery of iron. Besides this, they possess modern French guns of metal, which are very good. King Louis gave them to the father of the present King in payment of what was due to him as co-heir of his sister, the Queen of Scotland.

Geographical position of Scotland. "This is all I am able to tell your Highnesses. Now, I shall describe where Scotland is situated, and by what countries she is surrounded. She borders on England by land, and by sea on Brittany, France, Flanders, Germany,

* "Fijos dalgo, hidalgo," son of somebody, as distinct from the nobodies.

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It is easily defended.

Denmark, Norway, and Ireland. She is surrounded by these countries. Scotland is powerful enough to defend herself against her neighbours should any one of them attack her without fear of God. No King can do her damage without suffering greater damages from her, that is to say, in a war on land; for they know that on the sea there are many Kings more powerful than they are, although they possess many fine vessels. On land they think themselves the most powerful kingdom that exists; for they say the King of Scots has always a hundred thousand men ready to fight, and they are always paid. Towards the west there is no land between Scotland and Spain. Scotland is nearer to Spain than London, and the voyage is not dangerous. Scotland has succoured most of her neighbours. With respect to France and Flanders this is notorious. The Dukes of Burgundy wear the "tan of St. Andrew," in memory of the succour which Scotland sent to Duke [*blank*]. Saint Andrew is the patron saint of Scotland. On the other hand, Scotland has never wanted foreign assistance. There is as great a difference between the Scotland of old time and the Scotland of to-day as there is between bad and good, as I have already written."

Alliance between Spain and Scotland.

Is afraid his description of Scotland may appear partial; his intention, however, is to tell the truth. Feels himself the more obliged to do so when he considers what may happen. If the third daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella* be not yet engaged, it would be a service to God to marry her to the King of Scots. He would be always a faithful ally, near at hand, and ready to assist, without causing any inconvenience to Spain. The kingdom is very old, and very noble, and the King possesses great virtues, and no defects worth mentioning.

The Scots are not rich.

"His kingdom and his subjects are not rich; the fault of which is not owing to the land. But, on the other hand, they are not so poor but that they live as well as others who are much richer; only they have nothing to put into their strong boxes."

Marriage of the King of Scots to the daughter of Henry VII.

King Henry asked Londoño and the Sub-prior of Santa Cruz what instructions they had brought him respecting the affairs of Scotland. Afterwards he addressed the same questions to De Puebla. As none of them were able to give a satisfactory answer, the King at last asked him. Said that he was ordered by all means to bring the marriage of the King of Scots with an English Princess to a speedy conclusion if negotiations respecting such a marriage were pending. The marriage seemed to be necessary for the preservation of peace. Has never seen a man more content and cheerful than the King of England when he heard this communication. After having expressed his thanks, the King said the following

* Doña Maria, afterwards married to Don Manuel the Fortunate, King of Portugal.

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words:—"I am really sorry that I have not a daughter or "a sister for him; for I have loved him most sincerely since the "conclusion of the peace; not to mention that he is my "relative. He has behaved very well towards me. I wish "to see him as prosperous as myself. But I have already "told you, more than once, that a marriage between him and "my daughter has many inconveniences. She has not yet "completed the ninth year of her age, and is so delicate and "weak* that she must be married much later than other "young ladies. Thus it would be necessary to wait at least "another nine years. Besides my own doubts, the Queen "and my mother are very much against this marriage. They "say if the marriage were concluded we should be obliged "to send the Princess directly to Scotland, in which case they "fear the King of Scots would not wait, but injure her, and "endanger her health. Therefore I do not wish you to "trouble yourself about this affair. But if you have power to "do so, you may negotiate the other business, which I have "very much at heart. Indeed, nothing could be more "agreeable to me than it." The King explained to him all the reasons why he wished it so much. "If their Highnesses," he said, "who are already masters of the whole of Spain, "had their three daughters married here near each other, they "would want no other alliance, and would be able always "to preserve peace, which otherwise would not last a single "year, the dispositions of the English and Scots being so "averse from it."

Opinion of Henry respecting it.

The daughter of Henry is, in fact, very young, and very small for her years. There is, therefore, no other means of securing the peace but by the marriage of the Infanta Maria to the King of Scots. The English wish for this marriage; but, on the other hand, they are jealous, and dislike the idea of the Scotch having the same honour as they have. The King alone, as being more intelligent, and not a pure Englishman, does not share this jealousy.

Jealousy of the English.

An answer in the negative would produce a very bad effect in Scotland. Intends, therefore, to remain in London, and to write to the King of Scots that his last instructions from Spain referred him to former instructions sent by the ambassador who was drowned.† That would give him a good pretext for waiting till he receives new instructions. Time would be gained by this, and the whole affair could be reconsidered.

Thanks for the dignity of Segovia conferred upon him, and asks for a new archdeaconry.

Discoveries in America.

"I think your Majesties have already heard that the King of England has equipped a fleet in order to discover certain

* *Feminina* (feminine) in the original.
† Fernan Perez de Ayala.

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islands and continents which he was informed some people from Bristol, who manned a few ships for the same purpose last year, had found. I have seen the map which the discoverer has made, who is another Genoese, like Columbus, and who has been in Seville and in Lisbon, asking assistance for his discoveries. The people of Bristol have, for the last seven years, sent out every year two, three, or four light ships (caravelas), in search of the island of Brazil and the seven cities, according to the fancy of this Genoese. The King determined to send out (ships), because, the year before, they brought certain news that they had found land. His fleet consisted of five vessels, which carried provisions for one year. It is said that one of them, in which one Friar Buil went, has returned to Ireland in great distress, the ship being much damaged. The Genoese has continued his voyage. I have seen, on a chart, the direction which they took, and the distance they sailed; and I think that what they have found, or what they are in search of, is what your Highnesses already possess. It is expected that they will be back in the month of September. I write this because the King of England has often spoken to me on this subject, and he thinks that your Highnesses will take great interest in it. I think it is not further distant than four hundred leagues. I told him that, in my opinion, the land was already in the possession of your Majesties; but though I gave him my reasons, he did not like them. I believe that your Highnesses are already informed of this matter; and I do not now send the chart or *mapa mundi* which that man has made, and which, according to my opinion, is false, since it makes it appear as if the land in question was not the said islands."*

Fleet sent out by Henry.

Riches of the King of England.

"The King of England is less rich than is generally said. He likes to be thought very rich, because such a belief is advantageous to him in many respects. His revenues are considerable, but the custom house revenues, as well as the land rents, diminish every day. As far as the customs are concerned, the reason of their decrease is to be sought in the decay of commerce, caused partly by the wars, but much more by the additional duties imposed by the King. There is, however, another reason for the decrease of trade, that is to say, the impoverishment of the people by the great taxes laid on them. The King himself said to me, that it is his intention to keep his subjects low, because riches would only make them haughty. The rents of the domains which he has confiscated to the Crown have much diminished. The reason is, that the lords had administrations."†

Decrease of commerce.

* This paragraph is so much curtailed in the deciphering made by Almazan, that it was necessary to decipher it again from the original despatch in cipher.

† "Es causa que tenian los Señores administraciones." The meaning does not seem to be clear.

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Character of Henry VII.

His crown is, nevertheless, undisputed, and his government is strong in all respects. He is disliked, but the Queen beloved, because she is powerless. They love the Prince as much as themselves, because he is the grandchild of his grandfather. Those who know him love him also for his own virtues. The King looks old for his years, but young for the sorrowful life he has led. One of the reasons why he leads a good life * is that he has been brought up abroad. He would like to govern England in the French fashion, but he cannot. He is subject to his Council, but has already shaken off some, and got rid of some part of this subjection. Those who have received the greatest favours from him are the most discontented. He knows all that. The King has the greatest desire to employ foreigners in his service. He cannot do so; for the envy of the English is diabolical, and, I think, without equal. He likes to be much spoken of, and to be highly appreciated by the whole world. He fails in this, because he is not a great man. Although he professes many virtues, his love of money is too great."

Princess of Wales.

"He spends all the time he is not in public, or in his Council, in writing the accounts of his expenses with his own hand. He desires nothing more in this world than the arrival of the Princess of Wales in England. Though it is not my business to give advice, I take the liberty to say that it would be a good thing if she were to come soon, in order to accustom herself to the way of life in this country and to learn the language. On the other hand, when one sees and knows the manners and the way of life of this people in this island, one cannot deny the grave inconveniences of her coming to England before she is of age. Your Highnesses know the reasons. They are many. But the Princess can only be expected to lead a happy life through not remembering those things which would make her less enjoy what she will find here. It would, therefore, still be best to send her directly, and before she has learnt fully to appreciate our habits of life and our government."

The mother of the King.

"The King is much influenced by his mother and his followers in affairs of personal interest and in others. The Queen, as is generally the case, does not like it. There are other persons who have much influence in the government, as, for instance, the Lord Privy Seal, the Bishop of Durham, the Chamberlain, and many others."

Scotland.

Thinks that he will be obliged to give a decisive answer to the King of Scots, as soon as he returns to Scotland. Doubts whether Ferdinand and Isabella have treated the affairs of Scotland with their wonted caution. The King of Scots firmly believes that he shall marry one of their daughters.

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* "Tener buena vida" in the original. Is there a "no" omitted? or does "buena vida" mean a sober life conducive to the preservation of health?

1498.

The refusal will most probably offend him. Promises to do his best to influence the King of Scots according to their orders.—London, 25th July.

Indorsed : "To their Highnesses, 1498. *From Don Pedro Ayala, 25th July* '98."

The greater portion of this letter is in cipher, which is deciphered by Almazan, First Secretary of State.

Spanish.

25 July. **211.** PEDRO DE AYALA to MIGUEL PEREZ ALMAZAN, First Secretary of State to Ferdinand and Isabella.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Has received his letter. It is the more welcome, because he has not had from him, during a whole year and one month, more than a single line in writing.

Is very glad that his long letters are so much appreciated in Spain, for he had been afraid of tiring the King and Queen with all the details which he had given them.

Salary. Thanks for his promise to provide him with money. Has kept six servants and eight horses, but this is scarcely sufficient, as he is obliged to go so often from the one kingdom to the other, and to send so many messengers. His salary is $3\frac{2}{3}$ ducats a day. Don Martin* lived for a long time in his house, keeping two horses and six servants. Paid everything for Don Martin, and kept his servants after his death. His salary has not been paid for the last sixteen months.

Don Martin.

Two of his servants were slain on the road, and are buried in Scotland. Four were slain in the wars, and three more are wounded.

Has written very often about everything that has happened in England and Scotland. Does not know whether his letters have been received.

De Ayala expected in Scotland. Does not intend to return to Scotland until he has got an answer from Spain. The King of Scots expects him daily.

Does not ask new favours, but would accept them if conferred upon him. Would like to have the archdeanery which Don Martin formerly held. Begs for a piece of land in the Vega that he may build a hermitage on the spot where his brother was killed. Thanks for the dignity of Segovia, and is astonished that the archdeanery in that town should have been given to another.

Pasamonte has rendered him good services ; wishes to retain him in England.

Has been obliged to buy many things in England. Thinks them very dear. Wishes his outlay to be repaid him.

Sends a present. There are some good things in England. Does not offer him hawks and greyhounds, because he is occupied with

* Spanish ambassador in Scotland, and chaplain to King Ferdinand.

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ciphers, and not with hunting; but will send him "acaneas"* and sprouts.

Is in great want of money. Writes about everything that happens, because sometimes things the most insignificant in appearance are very important in fact. Has done nothing to raise hopes in the King of Scots since the first promises which he had given him. The friendship of the King of Scots is important to England and Spain. Londoño and the Sub-prior have left for Flanders.—London, 25th of July.

Addressed: "To the most noble and virtuous Señor Miguel Perez Almazan, Secretary to the King and Queen of Spain, and of their Council."

Indorsed: "To me, from the Prothonotary, P. de Ayala, 25 July '98."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 10.

July (?) **212.** ANONYMOUS LETTER to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 63.

The proceedings against the Scotch clergyman are continued, not so much in order to punish him for his slaying the Englishman, as in order to obtain money from his brother, who has already paid more than 200*l.* Begs to inform King Ferdinand of the covetousness of the English officers of law.

[*Marginal note, written apparently by De Puebla:*—]

Has done all in his power to prevent the execution of the Scotch clergyman, because it would reflect dishonour on the Spanish embassy if a person belonging to it were executed. The clergyman will be transferred from the secular to the ecclesiastical prison, and means will be found to arrange the whole affair.—No date. No signature.

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

1 Aug. **213.** HENRY VII. and FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 1.

Alliance. 1. The friendship and alliance between them and their successors to last for ever.

Intercourse. 2. Commerce and intercourse between their respective dominions to be free. All general or special passports to be abolished.

Rebels. 3. Notorious enemies and rebels of either of the contracting Princes not to be permitted to stay in the dominions of the other contracting Prince, or to be aided, favoured, or assisted by him.†

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* The editor has not been successful enough to discover the meaning of the word "acaneas." "Acanea" is still used in some parts of Spain in common conversation in a figurative sense. It signifies something unprofitable, empty, &c., as, for instance, acaneas del corte. But the primitive sense in which the word is used here seems to be lost. The Spanish dictionaries do not contain this word at all, neither in the primitive nor in the figurative sense

† This clause is altered three times in the main draft, then cancelled, and written in Spanish by De Puebla on an extra sheet. The writing on this extra sheet is again corrected over and over again, and transcribed into Spanish on another extra sheet, from which it is translated into Latin.

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Treaties.

4. If one of the contracting parties conclude a treaty with a third power, the right of the other contracting power to be reserved to accede to the treaty if it like to do so.

Shipping.

5. All Spanish and English captains, or masters of ships, sailing either from Spanish or English ports, to give security for their good behaviour during the voyage.

Redress of injuries.

6. If subjects of either of the contracting parties commit acts contrary to this treaty, their alliance is not to be considered as dissolved, but the King whose subject has committed such a breach of the peace promises to give full reparation for it.

Special judges.

7. All disputes arising from this treaty between Spanish and English subjects to be settled by special judges.

Promulgation of treaty.

8. The treaty to be promulgated in all principal towns, and especially in all seaports.*

Indorsed : "Simple draft of certain clauses belonging to a treaty of friendship and alliance with the Catholic Kings, concluded on the 1st and 2d of August 1498."

Spanish. pp. 12.

1 Aug. **214.** HENRY VII. and FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 1.

Draft of the same treaty of the 1st and 2nd of August 1498, in Latin, signed by Dr. De Puebla.—No date.

Indorsed : "Clauses in Latin of the treaty of friendship and alliance between the Catholic King and Queen and the King of England."

Latin.

1 Aug. **215.** HENRY VII. and FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 1.

Another Latin draft of the projected treaty of the 1st and 2nd of August 1498.—Neither signed nor dated.

16 Aug. **216.** The SUB-PRIOR OF SANTA CRUZ to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Arrived on Tuesday, 31st of July. Saw the Archduke and the Archduchess on the following Thursday. Both he and Londoño were well received. Told the Archduchess the subject of their mission. She was much pleased with it. She is very handsome and stout. Her pregnancy is much advanced.

Archduchess.

Went to see her on the Friday for the second time. The Archduchess seemed to be a little disturbed when she heard what was said of her in Spain. Told her she had left so good a memory in Castile that her virtues would be always remembered, whatever might be said of her to the contrary. Besides, nothing had been said, except to the King and the Queen, who

* This paper seems to be the project of a treaty between Spain and England, mentioned by De Puebla in his letter of the 25th of August 1498.

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know so well how to excuse her. She explained her conduct, and stated many reasons, which have not been given in writing.

Doña Marina Manuel is not with her.

The Flemings have not given either him or Londoño anything to eat. Wish to be provided with money should they be ordered to stay longer. Has received a present of 53 ducats in nobles from the King of England.

Indorsed: "To their Highnesses, from the Prior of Santa Cruz, 16th of August '98."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 1½.

16 Aug. S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

217. SUB-PRIOR OF SANTA CRUZ to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

Archduchess.

Spoke on Ascension Day, for the third time, with the Archduchess. Asked her whether she had no message to send her father and mother. She answered, she had not, because she had written not long ago. The Archduchess has not made any enquiry concerning either her mother, or any other person in Spain. The Archduchess did not like his presence in Flanders, because some person, most probably the Countess of Camin, had written to her saying that he was coming as her confessor. Declared that he had not come in that quality. The Archduchess said, that she would take his demands into consideration, should he remain some days longer. Answered that he had not come as an inquisitor to inquire into her conduct, and would not write a word except what came from her lips. Would wait upon her often or seldom, just as she liked. The Archduchess answered he might come to see her as often as he liked. She would wish to hear what it was that he thought was not right in her conduct. Does not know whether his embassy will have any result. The Archduchess did not confess on Ascension Day, although her two confessors were in attendance. Does not know whether that was done because she has so little devotion, or because he was present.—16th August.

Her conduct.

Indorsed: "To their Highnesses, from the Sub-prior of Santa Cruz, 16th August '98."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 1½.

17 Aug. S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

218. SANCHEZ LONDOÑA to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

Could not send a courier from England by sea, because the weather was too boisterous. The messenger of Don Pedro de Ayala went with them, first to Calais and Brussels, and then to a seaport in Flanders, whence he embarked for Spain.

Arrival in Brussels.

Arrived at Brussels on the 1st of August. The Archduke and Archduchess received them well. Presented his credentials as ambassador. Don Rodrigo left on the 8th of

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August, with duplicates of the despatches and letters sent with the messenger of Don Pedro.

It was known at that time in Flanders that France had declared war against the King of the Romans and against Spain. England was rendering good services in this war. Advises that a person of great authority should be sent as ambassador to Henry.

Peace with France.

The Count of Nassau returned from his embassy to France two or three days before the Feast of the Blessed Virgin in August,* and has brought the treaty of peace between the Archduke and the King of France. The Archduke has solemnly sworn, on the Feast of the Assumption, in the principal church at Brussels, to observe the peace. The clauses of the treaty are, that the Archduke receives the three towns in Artois, and swears in his quality of Count of Flanders and Artois, obedience to the King of France, binding himself by an oath never to demand the restitution of Burgundy. The three places in Artois are to be given back as soon as the King of the Romans orders his army to leave the territory of France.

Went to the Archduke on the eve of the Feast of the Blessed Virgin in August. Could not see him. Was told to return on the day after the Feast of the Blessed Virgin, when the Archduke had already sworn the treaty. Asked him to communicate to him the contents of the treaty, and to write to Spain. The Archduke answered that he would do so at a later period. It is clear that those who govern Flanders wish to separate the Archduke from them and the King of the Romans.

Those who have come from France said that the truce which has been agreed to between Spain and France, remains unaltered. Under such circumstances, does not dare to do anything.

Monsieur de Bèvres, Prince de Chimay, Monsieur de Berghes.

The first chaplain will write about all this more circumstantially. He is returning to his see. Monsieur de Bèvres is dead. The Prince of Chimay has been created *caballero de honor* in the place of Monsieur de Bèvres. He has spoken like a faithful servant of theirs. Has given him their letter. Has not yet been able to speak to Monsieur de Berghes, because he is in Zeeland. Has given their letter to the Provost of Liége. —Brussels, 17th of August.

P.S.—Has written to the Knight Commander of Haro, and asked what the King of the Romans thinks of the peace between Flanders and France.

Addressed: "To the very high and very powerful Lords, our most Christian King and Queen of Spain."

Spanish. Holograph. Great portions are in cipher deciphered by Almazan. pp. 6.

* 15th of August.

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S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

219. The BISHOP ELECT OF ASTORGA to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

Has written on the 3rd of August by Diego de Valderas, messenger of Don Pedro de Ayala, and on the 7th of the same month by Don Rodrigo Manrique.

The Archduke, and the Archduchess, whose pregnancy is much advanced, are in good health.

Peace with France.

The Archduke has made peace with France.

The ambassadors sent to England have not yet returned. The peace with France is not conducive to a good or speedy settlement of the affairs pending in England. Hopes, nevertheless, that all will end well.

King of the Romans.

The King of the Romans has routed 3,000 Frenchmen.

Sends a copy of the treaty which the Archduke has sworn.

Thanks for his preferment to the dignity of Astorga. Will, before leaving, inform the new ambassador of all the affairs of Flanders.

Monsieur de Bèvres is dead. The Prince of Chimay has obtained his place. His wife is a daughter of Count d'Albret.

The Bastard.

The Bastard and Doña Martina are staying at a country house, two leagues distant from Brussels. Has recommended him for the place of the late Monsieur de Bèvres, but neither the Archduke nor the Archduchess like him.

The Sub-prior of Santa Cruz has had private conversations with the Archduchess.

The Pope has sent the Rose to the Archduke.—Brussels, 17th of August 1498.

Peace with France.

P.S.—The peace with France is very much liked by the people, and by a great portion of the nobility. They say that the King of the Romans has consented to it, and that the French would not permit the Flemish commissioners to make communications to the Spanish ambassadors whilst the negotiations were pending. The King of France has presented to the Flemish commissioners the following sums of money:—To the Count of Nassau 300 marcs; to the President of Flanders 60 marcs; to De Fores 50 marcs; and to the Secretary 40 marcs. They are very well satisfied with the King of France.

The conduct of the Archduchess has improved somewhat in consequence of a letter from her nurse (Aya).

King of the Romans.

The King of the Romans has requested the Archduke to collect an army, and to have an interview with him in Luxemburgh. The Archduke has excused himself. The King of the Romans is still at Friburgh.

Addressed: "To the very high and very powerful Lords, the most Christian King and Queen of Spain."

Spanish. Holograph. The postscript is in cipher, deciphered by Almazan. pp. 4½.

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20 Aug. **220.** ARCHDUKE PHILIP to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Calls him *my beloved and good friend.* Thanks him for his good services, and hopes he will continue to employ his influence to preserve a good understanding between him and Henry VII.—Brussels, 20th August 1498.

Addressed: "To our dear and good friend, ambassador in England to the very powerful, excellent, and high Princes, our dear parents, the King and Queen of Spain."

Indorsed: Copy of a letter from the Archduke, translated from French into Castilian.

Spanish. Copy. p. ½.

25 Aug. **221.** DE PUEBLA to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Has already answered their letters, brought by Londoño and the Sub-prior of Santa Cruz, two or three times.

Marriage of Princess Katharine.

Asks them to send their ratifications of the last treaties. The clause securing to the Princess of Wales one third of the revenues of England in case that she become Queen, is contained only in this last concluded treaty. It is not to be found in the treaty which has already been ratified by them. Henry cannot certainly be expected to deliver his ratification without receiving, at the same time, a copy of the treaty ratified by them. Is of opinion that they should have all the copies of the treaty returned to them in which the said clause is not contained.

The papal dispensation has already arrived in England.

The late disturbances in England.

When the last disturbances took place in England, they were informed of them sooner in Spain than he was in London. Has read to the King the portion of their despatch which refers to it. The King expressed his thanks, and said that he never doubted their readiness to assist him, because England belonged as much to the Princess of Wales, their daughter, as to the Prince of Wales, his son. The late, and also the present King of France, are witness that in all his dealings with France he has continually had in view the advantage of Spain.

Perkin.

"With respect to the observations of your Highnesses on "Perkin, there is nothing to be said, except that he is kept "with the greatest care in a tower, where he sees neither sun "nor moon. The Bishop of Cambray, ambassador of the "Archduke, wished to see Perkin, because he had formerly "transacted business with him. The King, therefore, sent a "few days ago for Perkin, and asked* him in my presence why "he had deceived the Archduke and the whole country. Perkin

Conversation with Perkin.

"answered as he had done before, and solemnly swore to God "that the Duchess, Madame Margaret, knew as well as himself

* It is not clear in the original dispatch, whether Henry VII. or the Bishop of Cambray asked Perkin the reasons of his imposture.

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" that he was not the son of King Edward. The King then " said to the Bishop of Cambray and to me, that Perkin had " deceived the Pope, the King of France, the Archduke, the " King of the Romans, the King of Scotland, and almost all " Princes of Christendom, except your Highnesses. I saw how " much altered Perkin was. He is so much changed that I, and " all other persons here, believe his life will be very short. He " must pay for what he has done. I do not remember whether " I have already written to your Highnesses respecting what " the Biscayans did who brought him from Ireland to Corn- " wall. The ship in which Perkin was, falling in with the

Perkin in the Biscayan ship.

" fleet of the King, was boarded. The commander of the said " fleet called the captain and the crew of the ship into his " presence, and told them, that, as they were aware, the Kings " of Spain and England were living on terms of intimate " friendship, that the Prince of Wales has now married the " Princess Katharine, and that the marriage has been really " contracted, I acting as proxy for the Princess. He then " exhorted them, as faithful subjects of your Highness, to " deliver up Perkin if he were hidden in their ship. The " English did not know him. The commander of the fleet " promised them 2,000 nobles in the name of the King, " besides many other favours, and showed the letters patent " under the royal signature, signed with the royal seal, which " they had on board the fleet. The obstinate Biscayans, how- " ever, swore, in spite of all this, that they had never known " or heard of such a man. Perkin was all this time in the " bows of the ship, hidden in a pipe. He told me all this " himself; and the man who came to ask letters for your " Highnesses, recommending the said Biscayans to mercy, gave " the same relation."

Exception of the King of the Romans and the Archduke in the treaty.

Has read to the King their reasons for excepting the King of the Romans and the Archduke. He declared himself satisfied with them. However, after he had consulted with his Council about this matter, he entirely changed his mind. What the English complain most of is, that the King of the Romans and the Archduke are included and excepted in the copy of the treaty which has been sent to England for ratification. They think it would be enough to include them without excepting them. Informed the King that he could not change a syllable in the treaty without fresh orders from Spain. Had recourse to the expedient which they will see in the draft of the treaty inclosed in this letter. If they approve of it they may ratify it.

Conversation with Henry VII.

King Henry spoke from the innermost of his heart, and said that he could not understand why they did not prefer his friendship to that of the King of the Romans and of the Archduke. It was clear that an alliance with him was worth an hundred times more than an alliance with Maximilian and Philip.

Worth of the alliance of Henry to Spain.

He demanded, therefore, that he might conclude the treaty without excepting them, and added that he had done

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things of greater moment, against his own judgment, only because the King and Queen of Spain had asked him to do so. The house of England has never asked succour from any other Prince. That is the reason why the English do not like to conclude such a treaty. "When the English say that "they never have begged succour from their allies, they speak "truly. The reason thereof is simply because wars in Eng- "land come to a final conclusion within the short space of a "month or two. On the other hand, the English have often "to send succour to their allies. They have frequently done "so,* and are even now ready to do so again, especially "against France." Henry is not disposed to conclude the treaty on the conditions which Spain has proposed. Has done all in his power to get them accepted, but has found it impossible. May God forgive Monsieur de Bèvres if he has caused these difficulties. When Monsieur de Bèvres and the other Flemish ambassadors came to England, they would have been unable to conclude anything but for his intervention and assistance. "The English are of very changeable "character, and it is difficult to negotiate with them. As "soon, however, as they have bound themselves by a treaty, "they keep it and are very reliable." Henry invaded France only because he was requested to do so by the King of the Romans. The enterprise was very inconvenient to himself, and not liked by the people.

Character of the English.

Hopes that the alterations introduced into the draft of the treaty, which is inclosed in this letter, will meet all difficulties with respect to the excepting of the members of the league and the Kings of Portugal, Naples, and Navarre. The alliance is to be concluded between Kings who are friends of the aforesaid Princes, and not between enemies† of them.

Embassy to France.

The ambassadors sent to France have written that the King of France has finally proposed to them to renew the treaty concluded with his predecessor, binding himself, under great penalties, to pay the tribute of 100,000 francs a year besides the pensions. King Henry has, however, sworn that neither himself nor his ambassadors have concluded anything with France, because many things have first to be considered. Asked if Ferdinand and Isabella were to be included in this treaty with the present King of France, as they had been included in the treaty with the late King. King Henry remarked, that he believed so, but could not positively tell before his ambassadors had returned. Said that the King of France had already proclaimed this new treaty of alliance with England. King

* Almazan has translated the cipher, which signifies *lo an fecho* (have done it) by *pareoles feo* (think it ugly). The version of Almazan is not only in contradiction with the ciphered original, but it also renders the whole sentence unintelligible.

† The ciphers, signifying *enemigos* (enemies), are left undeciphered by Almazan.

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Henry answered, that he knew nothing of the kind, and, at all events, he had not consented to it. Knows that the French do sometimes make false proclamations and other similar things. The circumstance of the King of France being requested to bind himself with respect to Henry, whilst Henry will not undertake new obligations towards France, has caused great difficulties. Former Kings of England possessed Brittany and Flanders. The present King of England does not possess either of the said countries, but is in a position to send great armies to succour the enemies of France; a thing which is certainly of considerable importance. But as the King of France is so near and so powerful a neighbour, and yet pays tribute to the King of England, and pensions to the English, Henry esteems his friendship more than the whole of the Indies, especially when he sees that the whole Christian world combined can scarcely resist the King of France.* The new King of France has even gone so far in his desire to oblige Henry as to abandon Scotland. The King of France has acknowledged the obligations of his predecessor towards Henry without demanding the acknowledgment of any obligation from Henry in return. The reason thereof is simply this:—Had the King of England undertaken any engagement towards France, he would have been under the necessity of including in the treaty all the other members of the league; a thing which it is the interest of France to prevent by all means. Hopes, however, this trick will not be applied to Spain. Henry and his whole Council have repeatedly declared that everything else must be postponed to the safety of Spain. The King of France has been informed of this declaration; and the marriage between the Princess Katharine and the Prince of Wales will give greater security to Spain than any treaty could. But if Spain should undertake a war against France in order to assist the other members of the league, Henry declares that he would not be bound to send any succour. The Italians have always tried to divert the war from their own country, and to transport it into Spain. They would, if England openly declared herself against France, soon manage for Italy to remain in perfect peace, whilst war was raging in England, or at least on her coasts. The King of the Romans is a worse ally than the Italians. He showed his true character in his last negotiations with King Henry. He sent his ambassadors to England, and begged the King to invade France. But before his ambassadors had got any answer, news had already arrived that the King of the Romans had made peace with France, or at least recalled his troops from Burgundy. The Cardinal of England, who is more in the interest of Spain than any one else, says that Ferdinand and Isabella must send the Princess Katharine to

Difficulties about the treaty.

Conduct of the King of France.

Behaviour of the King of the Romans.

* The whole paragraph is very obscure in the original despatch.

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England if they wish that King Henry should do what they desire. Her arrival would give so much security and so much courage to the King and the whole kingdom, that a war with France would no longer be feared.

Customs.

Concerning the custom-house duties there is nothing to be said here. Henry has already given the desired promises under his seal and signature. He has not raised any obstacles.

Embassy from Flanders.

The difficulties between England and Flanders have not been settled in the conferences of Bruges. The only conclusion arrived at there was that the negotiations were to be continued in England. The Bishop of Cambray came with three other ambassadors to London for that purpose. They brought letters from the Archduke, the Archduchess, the Dean of Jaen, and Rodrigo Manrique. Was asked by all to assist the Flemish ambassadors in their negotiations. Answered that he intended to do what was asked, for that his orders from Spain obliged him to do so. The ambassadors, however, began their negotiations without telling him anything about their business. They had not obtained the slightest result in their conferences with the Commissioners of Henry, or from their intercourse with the King. When the Bishop of Cambray saw that all their efforts were in vain, he came to his lodgings, and told him, with great sorrow, the whole history of their bad success. The Bishop is a very respectable and noble personage, the most truthful and most honest Fleming he has ever seen. Had a long conversation with him. Promised to go directly to the King, and to arrange the affair to the satisfaction of both Henry and the Archduke. Has more influence over the King of England, in all things which do not relate to Spain, than all his counsellors put together. Henry was very angry at first, and the things he said were by no means sweet. Made the King entirely change his mind, however, and suspend the execution of the bad expedient he had already determined upon. From that day forth the Bishop of Cambray has never been to see the King except in his company, and the King has never deliberated upon the business of Flanders in his Council except in his presence. Made one, or rather two proposals, which satisfied the ambassadors, and met with the approval of the King. The drafts of the new conventions have been sent to Flanders for approval and ratification. Is quite admired by the Flemish ambassadors, who have written to the Archduke and the Archduchess that he has performed miracles. The answer is daily expected.

Intervention of De Puebla.

Denmark.

Respecting Denmark, the arrangements can be made in the manner they like.

Venice and Milan.

The ambassadors of Venice and Milan had no power to conclude anything with Henry. They brought only letters full of compliments and sweet words, in order to raise suspicion in the King of France against the King of

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England. They were recalled by their princes, and went away without any answer from the King of England. The Duke of Milan afterwards sent a messenger, and wrote that an ambassador would soon follow. Is informed by Henry VII. that the object of this mission is to marry the son of the Duke of Milan to one of his daughters. Both children are of the same age.

Conclusion of the war between Spain and France.

Read to the King of England the portion of their despatch in which they thank him for his good wishes respecting the conclusion of the war. Henry was very glad, and said that he had sent his congratulations on this subject from pure love to the King and Queen of Spain, who are now his relatives. Is ordered by the King of England to tell them that, in his opinion, all things have come to a most satisfactory conclusion, for the King of France has restored the property of the Church, and is now leaving Naples in peace. Before the King and Queen of Spain, he said, undertake a new war with France, they ought to consider well what kind of persons the Princes are who ask their assistance. There are in the whole of Christendom no Princes, except him and them, who are faithful and true to their promises. He, at any rate, does not trust in any one except in them, and would be very sorry to see them complicated in a new war with France without previously concerting it with him.

King Henry greatly praised their wisdom and Catholic sentiments as regarded all things, but especially in their last treaties with France. He hopes they will live on better terms with the new King of France.

Princess Katharine.

Thanks them for having approved of the marriage between the Princess Katharine and the Prince of Wales. The marriage ceremony has been performed with great solemnity. Many of the intrigues which have hitherto been carried on about this matter will now cease. The effect of the marriage has been the greater, because the marriage ceremony has been performed in England. Only a few days ago Henry said that he is generally envied on account of this marriage. These are his own words: "He swore by his royal faith "that he and the Queen are more satisfied with this marriage "than they would have been with any great dominions they "might have gained with the daughter of another Prince, even "if they were twice or three times as great as the whole "property of the Duke of Bourbon." Begs that the Princess of Wales may be soon sent to England.

Scotland.

The peace with Scotland is not yet broken; it even seems to improve. "The King of Scots has seen the ears of the wolf, "and is now endeavouring to make a bed of roses for the "King of England." Two or three months ago the English killed a great number of Scots, but King James would not permit the Scots to kill an equal number of English. He only wrote a letter to Henry, full of compliments and courtesy, as though he had been a son writing to his father. The King

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of England, in consequence of it, sent the Bishop of Durham to make reparations. It would be more becoming if Don Pedro de Ayala were there (in Scotland). The King of England thinks that the King of Scots has been persuaded by the said Don Pedro to change his behaviour. But what is the fact? Don Pedro is living in London, styles himself ambassador to England, and openly pretends he has the best credentials to King Henry. The King and the Cardinal have spoken to Londoño and the Sub-Prior of Santa Cruz in such a way about Don Pedro that it would seem as though there were no person more trustworthy in the world than he; but they have done so only from courtesy. It is most desirable that a good Latin scholar and a man of honesty should be sent to Scotland. He could soon marry the King of Scots with whomsoever the King and Queen of Spain might like. It is easier to marry a man like the King of Scots than to guide him. It is true that the new King of France has quite neglected Scotland. He has neither sent an embassy, nor a king-at-arms, nor even a letter. But, for all that, the affairs of Scotland must always come next in their estimation. It would be a great advantage if the King of Scots were married *by them*, and put off with hopes until the daughter of the King of England had arrived at a marriageable age. King Henry, it must be confessed, now declares that he would never consent to such a marriage on any account whatever. But time often changes the minds of men. Begs them to consult Don Pedro de Ayala.

Don Pedro de Ayala.

Kisses their hands for the favours promised him. If they and their council knew with what industry, with what sacrifice of private interests, and with what honesty he has served, they would double the amount of their favours. Is very different from "another of their ambassadors in this part "of the world."* Begs them to give him enough to have always something to eat. Does not wish to save money. Is ready to serve in England, or in the Privy Council of Spain. Wishes to return to Spain, and to explain all he has done in England. His health suffers much, and there is no recovery to be hoped for as long as he remains in England.

Salary.

The King of England calls them *brother* now, because of his being related to them. If they like, he will continue to do so; if not, he will be content with any other manner of addressing them.

Has given their letter, and the letter of the Princess of Wales, to the Queen of England, and explained them. She was overjoyed. "The Queen is the most distinguished and "the most noble lady in the whole of England." She sent for the Latin Secretary, and ordered him to write, in her presence, two letters, one of them to the Queen of Spain, and the other to the Princess of Wales. The Latin Secretary told him afterwards that he was obliged to write the said letters three

Queen of England.

* Don Pedro de Ayala.

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or four times, because the Queen had always found some defects in them. "They are not things of great importance in "themselves, but they show great and cordial love." The letters are enclosed. Hopes the Prince of Wales will also write, though he is on a progress in his principality.

The courier has not yet arrived.

The courier, Pedro de Avila, has not yet arrived. Despatches ought not to be sent by Bilbao; the voyage is too long and too bad. Fuenterabia and San Sebastian are the best ports from which letters can be sent to England. The agents are very careless sometimes.

The Bishop of Cambray has had news that the child with which the Archduchess was pregnant is living.

The Archduke has made peace with France. Ferdinand and Isabella are often mentioned in that peace.

King of the Romans.

Has seen letters from Flanders, in which it is stated that the Count of Nassau has gone from France to the King of the Romans, in order to conclude a peace between that Prince and the King of France.

Margaret of Austria.

It is said that the King of France is to marry the Princess Margaret (of Austria). It seems to him to be a difficult thing for the King of France to marry, since he has a wife living.

Infanta Maria.

If it were possible, however, it would be more advantageous to Spain for the Infanta Doña Maria to become Queen of France. But whatever may be the case, nothing will be done without their consent. The English would prefer a marriage of the King of France with the Infanta Maria rather than a marriage with the Princess Margaret, although she is also their daughter.*

Pope.

Yesterday news arrived that the Pope has concluded a truce with France, which is to last till the end of the year 1500.

The embassy has returned from France.

The English ambassadors have returned from France. Could not learn what they have brought, because the King was on a progress in the country. The ambassadors have gone to the King. Has been informed from a trustworthy source that Spain and France have concluded peace, and that the King of France is to marry the Infanta Maria. Her picture has already been presented to the King of France. The ambassadors of the Pope are remaining in France, and have offered a dispensation for the marriage of the King of France and the Infanta Maria.

Salary

Begs that his salary may be paid him. At the beginning of the year 1497 they promised him a salary of 100,000 maravedis† for life. He has not yet received a penny of this allowance.—London, 25th August 1498.

Addressed: "*To the very high and very powerful Princes, the King and Queen of Spain, our Lords.*"

Indorsed by Almazan: "*To their Highnesses, from Doctor De Puebla, 25th August,* '98."

The greater portion of the original letter is in cipher deciphered by Almazan. pp. 27.

* Daughter-in-law; that is, Margaret of Austria was at that time widow of the Infante Juan, son of Ferdinand and Isabella. She still resided in Spain.

† About 60*l.* sterling.

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25 Aug. **222.** FUENSALIDA* to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

News from the court of the King of the Romans.

Has written about all that has happened (at the court of the King of the Romans) up to the 20th of August. Has already informed them, in his last letter, that a knight, called Tentevilla, has come to the King of the Romans accompanied by another servant of the King of France. The King of the Romans told them that he did not like to conclude a separate peace, and has proposed a truce of one month, during which time his ambassadors should hold a "diet" with the ambassadors of the King of France, and conclude a general peace. Persuaded that his proposal was accepted, he disbanded his army. The French, as soon as they knew it, entered Burgundy and took the fortified town of Vergi, where they killed the whole garrison. The King of the Romans swears that he will go in person to Burgundy and fight the French, who are said to amount to 20,000 men. A French king-at-arms has arrived with letters, not for the King of the Romans, but for the Princes of the Empire.

The Archduke.

The Archduke has concluded peace with the King of France, and sworn the treaty in the cathedral church of Brussels. The conditions are that the King of France shall restore to him three towns in Artois; he, on the other hand, abandoning all his claims on Burgundy, and swearing fealty to the King of France.

King of Poland.

An ambassador from Poland has arrived. The King of Poland asks succour from the King of the Romans and from the Empire. He also wishes to marry Madame Margaret. The Polish ambassador has, however, been told by some people that Madame Margaret is to marry the Duke of Saxony. Though astonished to hear that the daughter of so great a Prince as the King of the Romans will be contented with only a Duke, he does not wish to interfere with the marriage if it be really intended. If, however, the rumour be without foundation, he would be glad if they would employ their good offices in favour of the King of Poland.

King of the Romans.

The King of the Romans is much dissatisfied with the treaty between the Archduke and the King of France. He feigned ignorance of it for a long time, and asked him some days ago what the news were. Answered that His Majesty must know best. "But tell me what you know," replied the King of the Romans, "and I will afterwards communicate my news." Said that, according to common report, the Archduke has sworn a treaty of peace with France. The King of the Romans pretended to be surprised, and said, "I do not be-"lieve it, because I wrote to him not to do it." Observed that he had been very positively informed that the Archduke had sworn the treaty on the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin.† "It may be," replied the King, "that

* Gutier Gomez de Fuensalida, knight commander of Haro, in the province of Logroña.

† The Assumption of the Holy Virgin is the 15th of August.

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" my letters did not arrive in time; but my tidings are " that peace with your King and Queen, and war with me, " have been proclaimed in France. Their reason is clear. " They want to force me to combine with them in their war " against Italy." Assured the King of the Romans that he knew nothing about it, and added that ambassadors from them were, in fact, in France at the time when the peace between the King of France and the Archduke was concerted, as it was said, with his consent. Under such circumstances it may have happened that they have consented to some kind of peace.

The ambassadors of the King of the Romans are making preparations for going to Spain, and for conducting the Princess Margaret back to her father. All is ready except the money. They hope to receive it within a week.—Friburgh, 25th August '98.

Projected interview between Ferdinand and Maximilian.

P.S.—When the King of the Romans was in Italy he wished to return by Aigues Mortes in order to see them. Knows positively that this was the case, because he had had a "fancy" to speak to them about the succession in Portugal, and to go to that kingdom if he had got their permission.

Addressed: "To the Catholic and very powerful Lords, the King and Queen of Spain."

Indorsed: "From Gutier Gomez de Fuensalida, knight commander of Haro."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 7.

25 Aug. **223.** DE PUEBLA to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Commends his pupil and secretary, Johan de Tomayo, and begs that he may be employed in the service of the Princess of Wales. Tomayo has written all his ciphered letters during his embassy in England, and is thoroughly initiated in the affairs of England, Scotland, and Flanders. There are not many such well informed men to be found.—London, 25th August '98.

No address or indorsement.

Spanish. pp. 1½.

27 Aug. **224.** DE PUEBLA to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Sends the treaty of CLXXXV (friendship) and CCCCXX (letters) of DCCCLXXXVIII (the King of England) and DCCCLXXXIX (the Queen of England), and likewise of DCCCXC (the Prince of Wales).* Sent a very long letter a few days ago. Begs an immediate answer.—London, 27th August '98.

P.S.—Received the letter which is enclosed just when he had finished his letter to them. Wishes that the peace now

* The cipher has remained undeciphered in the original. The deciphering is by the editor.

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concluded between them and the King of France may prove advantageous to them.

Addressed: "To the very high and very powerful Princes, the King and Queen of Spain."

Spanish. *p.* 1.

26 Aug. **225.** VALDAURA to DE PUEBLA.*

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

The Spanish ambassadors, sent to the King of France, have concluded peace. As soon as the peace had been publicly proclaimed, they returned to Spain.

Has ordered Tonot Alband, his courier, who is the bearer of this letter, to bring him a horse from England. Begs him to procure a passport for the horse.

Nicolas Beltram has written the news from Brussels.—Bruges, 26th August.

Addressed: "To the very magnificent Doctor De Puebla, ambassador from Spain to England, in London."

Spanish. Holograph. *p.* ½.

7 Sept. **226.** DE PUEBLA to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Wrote a long letter a short time ago. This letter will, therefore, be short.

Henry inquires after news from Spain.

The King has not yet returned from his progress in the country, but has inquired in a letter what news had arrived from Spain, especially respecting the peace with France. Answered him that, as he is aware, Spain has carried on the war against France only for the sake of the Pope and the Church. As all the property of the Pope has been restored to him, there remains no longer any reason for the continuation of the war, except, perhaps, the claim which England has on France, or that of the Archduke on Burgundy. When, therefore, the Spanish ambassadors in France saw that the English ambassadors had concluded peace with the King of France, and that the ambassadors of the Archduke had done the same, they thought it would be entirely unreasonable in them to continue the war. But the peace which they have concluded is different from former treaties of friendship between Spain and France. The clause which has been formerly used, "*friend of his friend, and enemy of his enemy*," is not contained in the last treaty. On the contrary, England is expressly included and excepted. The right to assist England is fully reserved to Spain, and it is expressly said that such assistance is not to be considered as a breach of the treaty. Does not know whether he has told the truth to Henry; but has seen letters to Italian and Catalonian merchants which contain all the particulars. The King has not yet answered.

Peace with France.

Flanders.

Has been asked by the Bishop of Cambray, in the name of

* This letter is enclosed in the letter of De Puebla of the 27th of August 1498.

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the Archduke, to continue his good offices respecting the negotiations between England and Flanders. The English commissioners, and the ambassadors of the Archduke, are unable to conclude anything, when left to themselves. They had come to his lodgings, and asked him to write his opinion respecting the matter in dispute. Did so, and it was directly sent to Henry. His proposal has satisfied both parties. Hopes it will be approved by the King. Has received a letter from the Archduke.* Would accompany the King if he had not been ill during the last thirty days.

Alliance of Spain with England.

Begs their pardon for having exceeded his powers with respect to the conclusions sent by the last messenger. Did so after repeatedly considering the whole case. The conclusions come to are binding on Henry, but are only proposals to them, which they may accept or reject. Has clearly explained this to the King and the Council, and said that he was most strictly ordered not to exceed his instructions in any respect whatever. His powers and his instructions say expressly, "*except and include.*" As neither the one nor the other is done in the last conclusions, it is clear that they are not binding on Ferdinand and Isabella, unless they ratify them. Does not know whether he would have consented to the clauses of the last conclusion, if he had already known of the peace concluded between Spain and England.—London, 7th of September '98.

Duchess Margaret.

P.S.—After this letter had been written, letters arrived from the Duchess Dowager in Flanders to Henry. She asks his pardon, and assures him of her obedience. It is not yet known what the King will answer. Henry wishes the Archduchess (Juana) or her chaplain to write in secret to him (De Puebla). They most probably do not know this, otherwise they would have done it. Thinks that the Duchess Dowager has written to Henry, because Henry has insisted much with the Archduke that the clause against her should be rigorously executed. As the Archduke was unable or unwilling to do it, they adopted this expedient. It seems to be the best way, because the other (to execute the clauses of the treaty against the Duchess Dowager) was decidedly, and moreover most decidedly, rejected by the Archduchess (Juana). The Bishop of Cambray is negotiating the whole affair with great secrecy.

Addressed: "To the very high and powerful Princes, the King and Queen of Spain."

Some portions of the letter are in cipher, which is deciphered by Almazan, Secretary of State. The few words left undeciphered by Almazan are deciphered by the editor.

Spanish. pp. 5.

* Seems to speak of the letter of the 20th August.

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25 Sept. **227.** DE PUEBLA to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. 2.

Henry is in the country.

Has received their letter of the 24th of July, together with a transcript of the papal bull. The King was at that time absent on his progress in the country. The ambassador from Milan has sent a message to the King, begging leave to wait on him during his progress. The King, however, has answered that he does not like to be disturbed, and has asked the ambassador to await his return if the business be not very pressing. Such being the disposition of Henry, would not like to go to him, even if his eyes were entirely healed, especially as the treaty between Spain and France is already known in England.

Alliance against France.

Has sent a letter to Henry respecting the subject which they urge.† The answer which he has received is enclosed. Their letters arrived just at the right moment.

Princess of Wales.

Is glad that they have informed him of their intention not to send the Princess of Wales to England as soon as was expected, because otherwise he would have acted in a different way, and committed an error. The principal reason why he had asked their permission to go to Spain was to urge the speedy sending of the Princess of Wales to England. Will henceforth change his line of conduct as to this matter, although the King and Queen of England and the mother of the King desire much to see the Princess of Wales as soon as possible in England. They flatter themselves that she will come next year, now that the Pope has dispensed with the age of the Prince and Princess of Wales. The earlier she comes, they say, the easier will she learn the language and assume the customs of the country. The King has, besides, another reason of great importance. He wishes, by the arrival of the Princess of Wales, to be entirely secured against troubles in England, so that he may begin war with France. He swears that everything is already prepared for the war in question, and that he has not bound himself in any respect by his recent treaty with France. But they have now made peace with the King of France, and perhaps do not wish Henry to go to war with him. Is, nevertheless, not a little afraid King Henry will do so.

Preparations for war with France.

Pedro de Ayala.

Kisses their hands and feet for the favour they have done him in expressing their intention to recall Don Pedro de Ayala. It is for their own good.

Flanders.

Has already told them that the ambassadors of the Archduke, and the English commissioners, were unable to concert anything between them; that they had, therefore, come to his

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* The letter begins MDLXXXIIII. HEL. left undeciphered. The Roman number signifies "Muy altos y muy poderosos Señors Rey y Reyna, &c." the full title of Ferdinand and Isabella. "Hel" signifies "primera," that is to say, the first copy, in contradistinction to the duplicate and triplicates of the same letter to be sent by other messengers.

† The alliance of Spain, England, and the King of the Romans, against France, proposed in the letter of Ferdinand and Isabella to De Puebla of the 24th July 1498.

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house, and asked him to give his opinion on the subject in writing; that he had done so, and that his opinion was sent to Henry. His proposals have contented the ambassadors and the commissioners, and have been approved by the King, who has made no alteration in them. The King sent two doctors of his Council to him, to say that "since such is the opinion "of De Puebla, it shall be done." Hoping that the Archduchess would hereafter cause an arrangement to be made that would radically cure the evil, Henry dismissed the Bishop of Cambray very graciously, and wrote flattering letters to the Archduchess. Knows that he will soon receive letters from the Archduke, the Archduchess, and even from Henry, urging him to go to Flanders about this business. Is resolved not to do so without express orders from them, especially as the affair can, most probably, be satisfactorily arranged without his leaving England.

Duchess Margaret.

Henry has held a great Council on the subject of the letter of Madame Margaret.* The conclusion that was come to is, "since the Archduchess † and her Council so decidedly reject "the measures which the ambassadors of King Henry demanded "should be taken against Madame Margaret, a courteous "answer must be written to her on the subject." The Bishop of Cambray takes the answer to Flanders, and is very well satisfied.

This messenger will take a letter from Henry to them. Begs them soon to send an answer to it. It would be a great comfort to Henry and to his kingdom to know that he is included and excepted in their treaty with France.

Milan.

Intends to assist the ambassador of the Duke of Milan, as much as possible, in the affair concerning the marriage of the son of the Duke to a daughter of the King of England.—London, 25th of September 1498.

P.S.—Has heard that the Duke of Milan would be content with any of the daughters of the King of England, and that he would make no difficulties respecting the marriage portion. Thinks that, notwithstanding their intimate alliance with France, this marriage would be of considerable advantage to them, especially if concluded through him.

Addressed: "Altissimis potentissimisque Principibus Regi et Regine dominis dominis . . . . Regi et Regine Hispaniarum."

By far the greatest portion is written in cipher, which is deciphered by Almazan, Secretary of State.

Spanish. pp. 5.

25 Sept. **228.** DE PUEBLA to ALMAZAN.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Has received his letter, with a copy of the bull of the Pope. Has received another letter, written on the 8th of August.

* Margaret of York, Duchess Dowager, in Flanders.
† Doña Juana, wife of Archduke Philip.

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Is astonished that his letters to Spain have not arrived. Is always very careful in sending them; and if he be in fault, it is not from carelessness, but from too great zeal.

Begs him to send an answer soon to the letter he despatches by the messenger. Prays God soon to re-establish the health of the Queen.

Is glad that the King and Queen of Portugal are sworn as Infantas of Spain.—London, 25th September 1498.

Addressed: "To the virtuous Miguel Perez D'Almazan, Secretary to their Highnesses."

Indorsed: "To me, from Doctor De Puebla, 25th September '98."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2½.

17 Oct. **229.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

The Countess of Camin is highly gratified by her reception in England. She now sends her son, Don Christoval de Sotomayor, who wishes to enter the service of the Prince of Wales. Recommends the said Don Christoval.—Almunia, 17th October '98.

Addressed: "To Doctor De Puebla, &c."

Spanish. p. 1.

22 Nov. **230.** HENRY VII. to ALL PERSONS.

Fr. R. 14 Hen. VII. m. 27. (3.)

Grant of protection to Alonso Cisneros, merchant of Spain, (with various aliases,) employed in the King's service, in the company of Giles Lord Daubeney, lieutenant of the town and castle and marches of Calais.—Westminster, 22nd of November.

Latin. p. ¼.

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15 Jan. **231.** SUB-PRIOR OF SANTA CRUZ to QUEEN ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Archduchess.

Has written about all that has occurred up to the confinement of the Archduchess. Has spoken with her at different times after she had been to mass. Told her all he was ordered to tell her, and as much more as seemed convenient to him. But all was said in a gentle manner, and by no means in a tone of reproach. She received his observations very well, and thanked him for his kindness in telling her how her mother desired her to live. She would be very happy to hear in what respect her conduct was not as proper as it ought to be. Told her, among other things, that she had a very hard and obdurate heart, and no piety,—as is the truth. She answered that, on the contrary, she had only too soft a heart, and felt so oppressed that she could not think of her mother, and how far she was separated from her for ever, without shedding tears. She passed New Year's eve in such humility that he quite forgot all she had done before. She observes the precepts

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of the Church very strictly in her house, and watches over her servants in all things concerning religion with great vigilance. She merits the highest praise for that, though the Flemings are of an opposite opinion. She has many of the qualities of a good Christian. She is improving in her conduct every day. The two principal complaints made against the Archduchess are, that her servants are badly paid, and that she does not occupy herself with the affairs of her household. She says that she has often expressed her dissatisfaction with the bad pay her servants receive, but the Privy Counsellors have always told her that the born subjects of the Archduke must be preferred to the Spaniards. Asked her why she did not complain to the Archduke. She answered that he would repeat her statements to his counsellors, and that the only consequence would be to cause injury to her. As for the superintendence of her household, she said that the Flemings do not permit her any control over it. The Archduchess is so afraid, and so suspicious of him, that he would never have succeeded in getting a single word written by her to the Queen, her mother, except by "pure importunity." Told her that the Queen, her mother, is very anxious to know all her life, the good as well as the bad, and asked her to communicate something to him, as he intended to write very soon. She replied that she had an earnest desire to improve, and to write a long letter. If she were to tell the occurrences of her life now, she would have nothing to write afterwards.

Spanish servants in Flanders.

Household of the Archduchess.

Doña Marina Manuel.

The Archduchess had, before her confinement, decided that Doña Marina Manuel should be Lady of honour to her child. Had spoken to her as early as the month of August on this subject, and ten or twelve times afterwards. She never changed her mind, and only wished that the King and Queen, her father and mother, should approve her choice, saying that she would keep the bishopric* vacant till the answer from Spain arrived. Wrote to Doña Marina, who, with her husband and her whole household, had come to Brussels in order to attend on the Archduchess. During her delivery the Archduchess gave herself up, body and soul, to Doña Marina, and afterwards would not permit her to be absent "one Ave Maria." When the Archduchess, however, was well again, she did not remember that she had ever promised anything to Doña Marina. Suspects that Muxica has persuaded her to change her mind. He has more influence over her than all her other officers and servants put together. While he was absent she was in favour of Doña Marina. As soon as he returned she no longer thought of her. But Madame de Aloyn is at the bottom of it all. Remonstrated with the Archduchess, and asked her how she could suffer such a one as the "De Aloyn" about her person, when her royal parents wished her to

Muxica.

Madame De Aloyn.

* *Sic*: "obispado." It is most probably an error in the cipher, and the place of lady of honour to the child of the Archduchess is meant.

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to be surrounded by honest people only. She answered that the "De Aloyn" was not so bad, and that she is on good terms with the Archduke and the Privy Counsellors. Then the "De Aloyn," the Privy Counsellors, and Muxica have intimidated the Archduchess so much that she does not dare "to hold "up her head." She has not a maravedi to give in alms, even though she wished to do so. When she was pregnant she asked the Estates to give her what is usually granted under such circumstances. They bestowed on her sixty thousand florins, payable within three years; but she gets nothing of this grant, which is paid into the exchequer of the Archduke,

Prince of Chimay.

and spent in favours. Muxica asked her, a short time ago, for one thousand florins for the Prince of Chimay, her gentleman in waiting, over and above his salary of four thousand florins a year. They have also given the same Prince one thousand ducats which was sent from Spain for the late Monsieur De Bèvres. Has never seen anything more hopeless than the state in which the officers and servants of the Archduchess are. Only on Twelfth-day they had asked her to write to Spain,

Provost of Liege.

and to ask a bishoprick for the Provost of Liege. The avarice of this Provost of Liege is insatiable. The King of the Romans has already given him an archbishopric, only in order not to ruin his masters, and make the children disobedient to their parents. The Archduke would not be a bad son if he dared to act upon his own judgment. The same set of people have sent for Madame Margaret in order to marry her in Germany. Would not be astonished if the Archduke had to pay the expenses of her journey. The King of the Romans does all in his power to get the Archduke and the Archduchess to go to Germany only to get them out of the power of these people. It will be a difficult task.

The Bastard.

Doña Marina, and her husband the Bastard, have the greatest wish to serve their masters faithfully. When they speak of the kindness they have received from them, the tears run down their cheeks. But they are too poor to live in the Residence. They say, if they only received money to pay their meals in addition to what they have, they would always live at court, and render all the services in their power. Of the four thousand florins a year which were promised to him, they have deprived him of two thousand, and the other two thousand they do not pay. The Bastard no longer enjoys his small pension from Spain. It would be a good act to renew it. He really lives in the greatest poverty.

Doña Marina.

It would be a kindness to the Archduchess herself if Doña Marina were to get the place promised to her. The Archduchess likes her, and wants her. Madame de Rebastan would take care of her husband in case he should fall ill. "If the Devil did not oppose it," Doña Marina would be comfortably established in the palace. The Archduchess does not speak or act. Monsieur de Vergas has promised to do his best for Doña Marina when the Archduke returns from his visit to the King

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of the Romans. But there is little hope that he will keep his word.

Doña Aña Beamonte.

Doña Aña Beamonte complains that she gets little honour and less profit. She is a good woman. All the Spaniards who have come with the Archduchess to Flanders live in such misery that it is pitiful to see them.

Want of money.

Is in great want of money. Expected his journey would last six months, and has been already nine months absent. The Flemings do not care whether he has money or not. They think it a greater honour "well to drink than well to live." Living is so dear in Flanders that he could pay all his expenses in Spain with what he spends in Flanders for his lodgings alone. Not only his horses, but also his person, his companion, and his servant, are pledged to his host. Cannot return if money be not sent to him.

There has been a fresh distribution of the money of the Archduchess among the persons around her. She was not asked, and never knew anything of the matter until they sent her the paper to sign. She observed afterwards, that as they had not asked her, they might at least have spared her the trouble of signing the paper. There is no remedy.—Brussels, 15th January 1499.

The letter is written in cipher. The deciphering is by Almazan, Secretary of State.

Spanish. pp. 9½.

27 Jan. **232.** HENRY VII. to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. 806. f. 8.

Asks them to permit De Puebla to accept a rich and honourable marriage in England which he has offered to him.*—From the Palace of Westminster, 27th January 1499.

Indorsed: "This is the draft of the original letters of the King of England. One of them was sent through Diego de Soria, and the other by an English courier."

Latin.

5 March. **233.** DE PUEBLA to QUEEN ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Sends a parcel of letters, among which is a letter of Henry, and a letter of the Prince of Wales to the Princess of Wales. The messenger who carries them, Thomas Buxer, an Englishman and servant to the governor of the Prince of Wales, wishes to enter her service. Recommends him.

The said Thomas was fined last year 150 ducats for a whale and codfish brought in his ship from Iceland to San Sebastian. Begs them to give orders that the fine should not be enforced. —Greenwich, 5th March 1499.

Addressed: "To the very high and powerful Queen of Spain."

Spanish. pp. 2.

* This is almost verbatim the same letter as that of the 3d of February 1498.

1499.
12 March. **234** PRINCESS KATHARINE to DOCTOR DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 3. f. 20.

Ratifies all that has been transacted and concluded by him with Henry VII. concerning her marriage with the Prince of Wales.

Empowers him to repeat and to re-enact, in her name, all he has concluded and done in respect to the said marriage. —Mayorete, 12th March 1499.

Signed by the Princess of Wales, and countersigned by Almazan, but neither addressed nor indorsed.

Latin.

12 March. **235.** KATHARINE, PRINCESS OF WALES.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 3. f. 24.

Another ratification of her marriage, and another power to De Puebla by the Princess of Wales.—Mayorete, 12th March 1499.

Signed by the Princess, and countersigned by Almazan.

Latin.

12 March. **236.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Have received all his letters up to the 21st of December. Have not answered earlier because the Queen has been ill. She has now recovered.

Marriage.

Are glad to hear that their brother King Henry, his Queen, and all their English subjects, rejoice so much at the conclusion of the marriage between the Prince and Princess of Wales. Henry being so valiant and virtuous a King, and the Prince of Wales so worthy a son of such a father, hope that both countries will derive great advantages from this union.

Embassy to be sent to Spain.

Think it is time to conclude the marriage, *per verba de præsenti*, as the dispensation has arrived from Rome. Henry may send an embassy with his power and that of the Prince of Wales, to enable them to contract the marriage in Spain; but if he wishes that the act should be performed in England, it may be done. Their power and the power of the Princess of Wales are enclosed.

Time of sending the Princess Katharine to England.

He is mistaken if he believes that they intend to delay the sending of the Princess to England. That is not their intention. On the contrary, they are prepared to send her as soon as the Prince of Wales shall have completed the fourteenth year of his age, a time which is not far distant.

Alliance.

Have read the clauses of the treaty of alliance concerted by him with Henry. Are glad that the alliance between them and Henry is concluded, because it will perpetuate their love towards each other. But they are very angry and very much astonished to see in what manner he has concluded the treaty, and how much he has transgressed his power and his instructions. He has not reserved the rights of the King of the Romans and of the Archduke in this treaty, though he

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was most positively ordered not to conclude the alliance without excepting and including the said Princes. He could not but have known that the treaty would have been long ago concluded if they had not insisted on this clause.

The Pope, the King of the Romans, and the Archduke.

He must tell Henry, in their name, that they are glad of the conclusion of the alliance, but that they wish some clauses of it to be more in accordance with justice, equity, and good policy. They and Henry must promise to assist each other in defending the dominions which they at present possess against all assailants. In this respect there is no exception whatever to be made. But from all other stipulations of this alliance, the King of the Romans, the Archduke, and the King of France must be excepted. If that were not done, their, and his treaties with the above mentioned Princes would be directly dissolved, and the peace of Christendom endangered. Expect that he will negotiate a new treaty of alliance with Henry without transgressing his instructions by a single word. Will send their ratification of the treaty to Henry as soon as he has signed, sealed, ratified, and delivered the same treaty to them.

Duke of Milan.

Are pleased to hear of the intended marriage between the son of the Duke of Milan and a daughter of the King of England, but he must not meddle in that business.

De Puebla.

Give him the desired permission to go to Spain as soon as he has concluded the alliance and the other negotiations now pending.

Don Pedro de Ayala.

As for Don Pedro de Ayala, he must stay in England till the Scottish business is definitely arranged. In order that his position may be honourable, and that all respect may be shown to him, Don Pedro and he are henceforth to be joint ambassadors at the court of England. He must concert all things with him, except the negotiations respecting the alliance. For, as he alone has made the blunders, he alone must mend them.—Madrid, 12th March '99.

The paper is signed by the King and Queen, but not countersigned by any Secretary. It is written in the hand of Almazan, Secretary of State.

No address, except in the heading. No indorsement.

Spanish. pp. 6.

12 March. **237.** DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

A copy of two paragraphs of the letter from Ferdinand and Isabella to him, dated Madrid, 12th March 1499, in which they reproach him for having concluded the treaty so badly, and order him to mend his blunders.

The copy is written in the hand of De Puebla himself.

Spanish. pp. 2.

1499.
12 March (?) **238.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Project of a treaty of alliance with Henry VII., the clauses of which are:—

1. A true alliance and friendship between Ferdinand and Isabella and their heir Prince Michael,* on the one side, and Henry VII. and Prince Arthur, on the other side, in order to defend the kingdoms and dominions at present possessed by them against all aggressors, without any exception whatever.

2. Each party shall not only not assist or favour any who intend to invade the dominions of the other contracting party, but binds itself to lend all assistance in its power to repel the aggressor, whoever he may be. The party which receives the assistance is to pay the expenses caused by it to its ally.

3. From all other stipulations of this treaty, that is to say, from those which do not concern the defence of the dominions now belonging to the allies, the Pope, the King of the Romans, the King of France, and the Archduke, are to be excepted.

4. Free commerce and intercourse between both kingdoms. —No date.

Draft; often corrected in different hands.

Latin. pp. 5.

26 March. **239.** DON PEDRO DE AYALA to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Wrote on the 18th February, and sent the letter by Alphonso de Lerma.

Queen of England.

The Queen of England was delivered on Friday of a son, whose christening took place on the following Sunday. There had been much fear that the life of the Queen would be in danger, but the delivery, contrary to expectation, has been easy. The christening was very splendid, and the festivities such as though an heir to the Crown had been born.

King of the Romans.

Henry is expecting the return of the ambassadors whom he sent to the King of the Romans. They will be accompanied by ambassadors from the King of the Romans, who would not hear the English ambassadors, except in presence of the ambassadors from Spain. Has this intelligence from a letter sent by the Spanish ambassadors from Antwerp.

King of Scots.

The negotiations with the King of Scots concerning his marriage continue. Has had a letter from the King of Scots, inviting him to come directly to Scotland. Has hitherto always sent excuses, because he has not yet received instructions from Spain. The King of Scots now writes:—"Although

* Prince Michael was sworn as Infante of Castile, in January, 1499, and died on the 20th of July 1500. This treaty must have been projected within the eighteen months between his recognition as presumptive heir to the Crown and his death. In fact, it seems to relate to the letter of Ferdinand and Isabella to De Puebla, dated Madrid, 12th of March 1499.

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" you have not had the answer from your masters, which I " impatiently expect, I ask you to come, because I have ardu- " ous and important business in hand. I have put it off till " I can communicate it to you." Showed this letter to Henry, who thinks that the business of the King of Scots relates to England. Henry says that he is now more disposed to conclude the marriage than ever, but he fears that the negotiations will come to nothing, because the King of Scots will not consent to an alliance from which France is to be excluded. The King asked him to do all in his power to bring the pending negotiations with Spain to a happy conclusion. Answered that the King and Queen of Spain would be very glad to see their treaty with England concluded soon.

Richard Fox, Bishop of Durham.

The Bishop of Durham, who went to Scotland this winter, says that his negotiations have had no result. Has always suspected it, and thinks that if the King of Scots and Henry do not come to an understanding, the consequences will be bad. Temporises as much as he can, while awaiting an answer to his letter to them.

Has on former occasions written that the people of England believe in prophecies. In Wales there are many who tell fortunes. In the same way that people in Galicia tell fortunes from certain signs on the back of a man, they believe here in other signs and ceremonies which they perform. A few days

Prophecy about Henry VII.

ago the King asked a priest, who had foretold the death of King Edward and the end of King Richard, to tell him in what manner his latter end would come. The priest, according to common report, told the King that his life would be in great danger during the whole year, and informed him, in addition to many other unpleasant things, that there are two parties of very different political creeds in his kingdom. The King ordered the priest to speak to nobody about this prophecy. But he could not keep the secret; he told it to a friend of his, and that friend to another friend. Thus the King found out the indiscretion of the priest. The friend of the friend is in prison, but the two other persons have fled. " Henry has

Henry grows old.

" aged so much during the last two weeks that he seems to " be twenty years older." The King is growing very devout. He has heard a sermon every day during Lent, and has continued his devotions during the rest of the day. His riches augment every day. "I think he has no equal in this respect."

Saves money.

If gold coin once enters his strong boxes, it never comes out again. He always pays in depreciated coin. His ordinary expenses for his house, table, kitchen, pension, council, chapel, servants, liveries, hunting, &c., for his own person, the Queen, the Prince of Wales, and all his other children together, is about one hundred thousand scudos* a year. Parliament has lately made him a grant of 300,000 crowns, on condition that he leave the money of the country unaltered. According to

* About 20,880 pounds sterling.

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the laws of England, any person can have his own gold or silver coined in the Mint; he has, nevertheless, altered these laws. He is said to gain, over and above the usual profits, seven reals in the mark of silver. All his servants are like him; they possess quite "a wonderful dexterity in getting "other people's money." A short time ago, a certain Bernay from Avila, a merchant, incurred a penalty. Asked Henry to treat the said Bernay leniently, because he was a Spanish subject, who had failed from ignorance. The King answered, without a moment's hesitation, and very graciously, that he would not be hard on Bernay, in order that they might not be hard on English merchants in Spain. "He is "so clever in all things, and in this matter shows it so much, "that it is a miracle."

France. The King of France has sent an ambassador to Henry, apparently to announce to him his marriage, and to tell him that he loves his brother of England above all the princes in the world. What other business he may have to transact is not yet known. He has sent to Henry two sacres, one hawk, one horse, and one mule.

Ursino of Aragon. About a fortnight ago Johan Jordan Ursino, of Arragon, arrived in London, he having gone to France in company of the late Cardinal of Valencia. The object of his journey was to visit the shrine of St. Thomas and to see King Henry. He has never been in Rome. The King and Queen received him very hospitably, for it was found that he was a relative of the Queen. "It was observed that he never spoke of the King of "France without calling him my master."*

Has already waited ten months for his instructions.—London, 26th of March.

No address.

Indorsed in the hand of the Secretary of State, Almazan:
"To their Highnesses, from Don Pedro de Ayala, 26th of March '99."

All the details respecting Scotland and of Henry are written in cipher. The deciphering is by Almazan.

Spanish. pp. 5½.

30 March. **240.** DE PUEBLA to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Conversations with Henry VII. The same week had written a letter which went by Guypuscoa. Has since written one more letter, and sent it by different messengers.

Has been fifty-one days with Henry at one of the Royal palaces in the country. Has every day had long and confidential conversations with the King, who wishes much to have some letters from them soon. The Prince of Wales desires

* The words are not very clear, but there can be little doubt that *he* who called the King of France his master was no other person than Ursino.

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likewise to have a few lines from the Princess of Wales his wife. Begs them to send the much hoped for letters.

The Pope.

Henry is much astonished that they are not on such good terms with the Pope as they ought to be. He says that the Pope owes them great debts of gratitude. The news he has received from Verona make him sure that the Pope is guilty of great ingratitude. Did not know what answer to give to these observations of the King. Said that he did not believe the news; for it is not credible that the Pope should have forgotten all their great services, not to speak of the circumstance that he is their countryman. It appeared as if Henry wished much to know the truth in this affair, and also what they are willing to do. It seems that he is willing to assist them in every way. In the same proportion that the Flemings were lukewarm respecting the arrival of the Archduchess, the English are impatient to behold the face of the Princess of Wales. Notwithstanding, does not press her coming to England if they do not like to send her directly.

France.

The Archdean of Angers has arrived as ambassador from the King of France. He is an Aragonese or Catalonian. He was accompanied by a gentleman in military dress, who was not an ambassador, but had only brought a horse, a mule, two sacres, and a *nebli*, as presents to the King. The substantial subject of their mission, however, is, as Henry had told him in secret, to deliver the ratification, by the three Estates of France, of the treaty of alliance, and the tribute. They had also brought a letter to the Pope, supplicating him to interpose his censures if the treaty were not strictly fulfilled. The French ambassador said further that the King of France is on very good terms with Spain. France, Spain, and England, if united, could easily reform the Christian world. Henry replied to the French ambassador by saying that the King of France had acted very wisely in coming to terms with them, for they are the most virtuous and most powerful Princes in the world. He said, moreover, that they are his most intimate friends, and that the marriage of the Prince of Wales with the Princess Katharine is now concluded. He added that there can be no doubt that if France, England, and Spain were to unite they could do what they liked, without any resistance to them being possible. As for the rest, Henry has not yet given his answer. Made the observation that King Henry is obliged to include them in any treaty concluded with France. He answered that there is no doubt about it. As soon as the treaty shall be signed, he intends to inform them minutely of its clauses, in order that they may accept it or not, as they like. Henry even manifested his intention to include the members of the league and their other allies, as, for instance, the King of Naples, in his treaty with France. Has had no letters from them since the conclusion of peace between Spain and France. Did not, therefore, like to go further in the business, especially as the French ambassador

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would be staying some days longer in England, during which time he might receive instructions from them.

King of the Romans.

The ambassadors from the King of the Romans are expected to arrive next week, and also ambassadors from the King of Portugal. The results of the conference, which is being held in Calais, between the English ambassadors and the ambassadors of the Archduke, are not yet known.—London, 30th March 1499.

Addressed: "To the very high and very powerful Princes, the King and Queen of Spain."

Indorsed by Almazan: "To their Highnesses, from Doctor De Puebla, 30th March '99."

Spanish. pp. 5.

19th May. **241.** ARTHUR, PRINCE OF WALES, and KATHARINE, PRINCESS OF WALES.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 3. f. 25.

Marriage ceremony.

On the 19th of May 1499, being Whit-Sunday, after the first mass, and at about 9 o'clock in the morning, Arthur Prince of Wales; Doctor De Puebla in his quality of proxy of Katharine, Princess of Wales; William, Bishop of Lincoln; John, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, with many other persons, entered the chapel of the manor of Bewdley, in the diocese of Hertford, in order to perform, and respectively to witness, the nuptial ceremony *per verba de præsenti*, between the said Prince and Princess of Wales.

The Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield said in a clear voice to the Prince of Wales that it was well known how much King Henry wished that the marriage between him and the Princess of Wales should be contracted *per verba de præsenti*, that is to say, that it was to be henceforth indissoluble. Doctor De Puebla, duly authorized by the Princess of Wales, had come to this holy place, in order to perform, in the name and in the stead of the said Princess, the rites prescribed by the Church. Moreover, the Pope had dispensed with all obstacles to this matrimonial union. It was therefore his duty, there to declare his opinion and his will.

After this peroration, the Prince of Wales said in a loud and clear voice to Doctor De Puebla that he was very much rejoiced to contract with Katharine, Princess of Wales, daughter of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain, an indissoluble marriage, not only in obedience to the Pope and to King Henry, but also from his deep and sincere love for the said Princess, his wife.

De Puebla answered the Prince of Wales that he was the more gratified by this declaration, since the marriage was the fruit of his incessant labours. In the name of the Princess Katharine he declared that he was willing to conclude an indissoluble marriage.

The Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield then asked De Puebla whether he had sufficient power to act as proxy of the

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Princess Katharine. The power was delivered by De Puebla to the Bishop, and read in a loud voice by Doctor Richard Nic. [The power of the Princess of Wales to Doctor de Puebla, dated "in the town of Mayorete, 12th March 1499," follows.]

After the power had been read, the Prince of Wales took, with his right hand, the right hand of Doctor De Puebla; and Richard Peel, Lord Chamberlain of the Prince, and Knight of the Garter, held the hands of both in his hands. In this position the Prince declared that he accepted De Puebla in the name and as the proxy of the Princess Katharine, and the Princess Katharine in his person as his lawful and undoubted wife.

The same ceremony was repeated, and De Puebla declared, in the name of the Princess Katharine that she accepted the Prince of Wales as her lawful and undoubted husband.

The signatures of the witnesses follow; among them are to be found those of Bernard André, and the notary Johanne de Tomayo, secretary to De Puebla.

Latin. pp. 18.

15 June. B. M. MS. E. 616. f. 8.

242. HENRY VII. to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

Has been informed that they have included him in a treaty which they have made with the King of France. Thanks them for doing so.

It appears that they have formed an exaggerated opinion with regard to the state of affairs between England and Scotland, which are not so bad as they had imagined. Has spoken to De Puebla on the subject, who will make a true relation to them of what he has said.—Shene, 15th June 1499.

Addressed: "To the most serene and mighty Princes, Ferdinand and Isabella, King and Queen of Castile, &c. &c."

Indorsed: "To their Highnesses, from the King of England, 15*th June* 1499."

Latin. p. 1.

Printed in Gairdner's Letters, vol. I. p. 110.

10 July. P. R. O.

243. TREATY between HENRY VII. and FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

Draft of the treaty of 10th of July 1499, written on a paper which apparently has been a portion of the Privy Council Books.

Latin. pp. 21.

10 July. S. E. T. c. I. L. 3. f. 16.

244. HENRY VII. TREATY with FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

1. A true friendship and alliance for all future times is concluded between Henry VII., his heirs and successors, on the

1499.

Friendship and alliance.

one side, and Ferdinand and Isabella, their heirs and successors, on the other side. The allies are obliged to assist and succour one another, with all their power, against all and every person in the world, without any exception, in the defence of their present dominions.

Mutual services,

2. Neither of the allies shall assist, by deeds or by counsel, the enemies of the other ally who intend to invade the dominions which he at present possesses, without any exception or reservation. They are, on the contrary, obliged to assist one another in such a case with all their power. The ally, however, who requests the other to succour him, must pay the expenses, which will be fixed in accordance with the price of provisions, &c.

Princes excepted.

3. In all the articles which are not contained in this treaty of alliance, and which do not derogate from any clause of it, the Pope, the King of the Romans, the King of France, and the Archduke of Austria, may be excepted. But this exception is of no validity whatever, as regards all and every thing which forms a subject of this treaty.

Commerce.

4. The subjects of either of the allies are at liberty to travel and carry on commerce, or other business, in the dominions of the other ally. Neither general nor special passports are required. They shall be treated like the native-born subjects of the country in which they are staying.

Rebels.

5. Neither of the allies shall permit the rebels of the other ally to stay in his dominions, nor show them favour, nor permit favour to be shown to them by his subjects. If such rebels be found in the dominions of either of the allies, they shall be arrested and delivered to the Prince against whom they have rebelled.

Treaties with other Princes.

6. Either of the allies promises to include, nominally and expressly, the other ally in all treaties, alliances, or truces they may henceforth conclude with other states.

Letters of marque.

7. Prizes, reprisals, and letters of marque shall not be conceded to subjects of either of the allies against subjects of the other ally. Captains and masters of vessels belonging, either to subjects of the Spanish dominions, or to subjects of King Henry, shall, on leaving any port subjected to the jurisdiction of both allies, give sufficient security for their good behaviour during the voyage.

Violations of the treaty.

8. If subjects of either of the allies do anything in contravention of this treaty, reparation shall be made, but the treaty itself shall remain in full force.

Proclamations.

9. This treaty shall be publicly proclaimed, within six months, in all towns and seaports of the dominions of the allies.

Wrecked vessels.

10. If a vessel of any Spanish or English subject is wrecked on the coasts of either Spain and her dependencies, or of England and Ireland, all possible assistance shall be rendered to it. Whatever is saved of the vessel, or of the goods laden in her,

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remains the property of the owners of the ship or goods. Salvage money shall be paid.—London, 10th July 1499.

Signed by Thomas, Bishop of London, and by Doctor De Puebla.

Latin. *pp.* 18½.

1 Aug. B. M. MS. E. 616. f. 9.

245. ELIZABETH, QUEEN OF ENGLAND, to KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN.

King Henry has already written to him in recommendation of Henry Stile, who wishes to go and fight against the Infidels. Though he is a very short man, he has the reputation of being a valiant soldier. Adds, therefore, her recommendation, to that of her husband.—Hampton, 1st August 1499.

Addressed: "To the most serene and powerful Prince Ferdinand, King of Castile, &c."

Indorsed by Almazan: "To the King our Lord, from the Queen of England, 1st August 1499."

Latin. *p.* 1.

Printed in Gairdner's Letters, vol. I. p. 111.

5 Oct. B. M. MS. Eg. 616. f. 10.

246. ARTHUR, PRINCE OF WALES, to KATHARINE, PRINCESS OF WALES.

Has read her sweet letters lately sent. Feels an earnest desire to see her. The delay respecting her coming is very grievous. Begs that it may be hastened. Has done as she had enjoined, in commending her to his parents. Asks her to exercise a similar good office for him, seeing that he looks on her parents as though they were his own. Entreats that he may often and speedily hear from her. Subscribes himself her loving spouse.—Ludlow, iii. nonas mensis Octobris 1499.

Addressed: "To the most illustrious and excellent Princess, the Lady Katharine, Princess of Wales, Duchess of Cornwall, &c., my most entirely beloved spouse."

Indorsed by Almazan: "To the Infanta Katharine, from the Prince of Wales, 5th of October 1499."

Latin. *p.* 1.

A translation printed in Wood's Letters of Royal Ladies.

20 Dec. S. E. T. c. I. L. 3. f. 19.

247. KATHARINE, PRINCESS OF WALES.

Ratifies the act of marriage with Arthur, Prince of Wales, performed in her name by Doctor De Puebla in the chapel of the manor of Bewdley on the 19th of May 1499.—Seville, 20th December 1499

Latin.

1499.
20 Dec. **248.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

E. T. c. I. L. 3. f 23.

Ratify the ratifications made by Katharine, Princess of Wales, of the act of marriage performed in the manor of Bewdley on the 19th of May 1499.—Seville, 20th December 1499.

Latin.

1500.
11 Jan. **249.** DE PUEBLA to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

B. M. MS. Eg. 616.

England has never before been so tranquil and obedient as at present. There have always been pretenders to the crown of England; but now that Perkin and the son of the Duke of Clarence have been executed, there does not remain "a drop of doubtful Royal blood," the only Royal blood being the true blood of the King, the Queen, and, above all, of the Prince of Wales. Must forbear from importuning them any more on this subject, as he has written so often concerning the execution of Perkin, and the son of the Duke o fClarence.

Marriage of the King of Scots.

Has been afraid the King of Scots would not consent to wait four or five years for his marriage, the time which would have to elapse before the daughter of the King of England became marriageable. As however, the King of Scots has declared his readiness to wait, there remains nothing more to be arranged in that affair, except the amount of the dowry. The King of Scots demands as much as DCCCLXXV (Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain) would have* given him. The King of England, on the contrary, offers only twice as much as King Edward IV. had agreed with the father of the present King of Scots to give him, a sum which does not come up to one half of what the King of Scots expects. Does all in his power to promote the conclusion of this marriage, because it is advantageous to all parties. Such marriages are not often broken off on account of the dower to be paid. "Your Highnesses may believe that "if the arrival of MCCXVIII (the Archduchess Margaret of "Austria) does not alter the will of DCCCCXXI (the King "of Scots) the thing is done, especially if your Highnesses "were to write urgently to the King of England and the "King of Scots."

Dowry offered by Henry.

Is afraid the cipher in the other despatch concerning the King of France was false. Is therefore anxiously expecting the return of his servant from Spain, although, according to the instructions shown to him by Don Juan Manuel, the cipher was right, and the treaty has been concluded as desired. Should something have happened since, as well in reference to MDXXXIX (Milan) as to that which DCCCLXXXI (the King of France) constantly solicits, they must not on that

* The reading in the original letter is, *Tanto como DCCCLXXV le davan*, and not *davan*. The meaning is, that the King of Scots asks as high a marriage portion as Ferdinand and Isabella would have given him, in case that his long contemplated marriage with the Princess Katharine of Spain had taken place.

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account postpone sending the despatched (ratified) treaty*; for, after the conclusion of the treaty, and the arrival of the Princess, things will be very different in England. Does not venture this assertion at random (a beneficio de natura), but because he has been informed so by the King of England and those who are most intimate with him. Begs them to send everything without delay and well despatched, as has been explained in a memoir sent to them, and a duplicate of which is enclosed in this letter. Delay would not produce any advantage to them.

Coming of the Princess Katharine to England.

They have written to him that the Princess is to come as soon as the Prince of Wales shall have accomplished the fourteenth year of his age. Afterwards Don Juan Manuel came and told the King that the Princess would be sent next spring to England, without waiting for the accomplishment of the fourteenth year of the age of the Prince of Wales, if the state of health of the Queen would permit it. Don Juan made the same declaration to him in writing. The sums spent in preparation for the reception of the Princess are enormous. Begs them them to write where and in what what month the Princess is to embark.

Sums spent for her reception.

Did not like to accept the bishopric or the marriage offered to him by the King of England, because it seemed to him that a true servant of theirs ought not to do so. Begs them to pay him his salary.—London, 11th January 1500.

Addressed: "To the very high and mighty Princes, the King and Queen, our Lords."

Indorsed by Almazan: "To their Highnesses, by Doctor de Puebla, 11th January 1500."

The few ciphers are deciphered by the editor.

Spanish. pp. 2.

Printed in Gairdner's Letters, &c., vol. I. p. 113.

20 Jan. **250.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Marriage of Princess Katharine.

Have received all his letters and other papers which he sent by his servant. His later letters, in which he describes the marriage ceremonies in the chapel of Bewdley, and announces the conclusion of the treaty of alliance, have likewise come to their hands. Commend his industry and skill. Send a letter for Henry, of which a copy is enclosed for his information.

Hope that great advantages to both countries will flow from this matrimonal union. Send the ratification made by the Princess of Wales of her marriage with the Prince of Wales. He must send a similar ratification made by the Prince of Wales.

* The correct reading in the original letter is, *Ni por aquello vuestras Altezas devrian diferir de me enbiar aquel despacho.*

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Alliance.

Are pleased with the treaty of alliance, and have ratified it without any addition or alteration, except that they have included in it the King of Portugal, who is so nearly related to them that he may be considered to be a part of themselves. In the clause speaking of the Princes who are excepted, the only addition made is, that this exception permits them to assist the said Princes in defending their dominions. That can scarcely be called an alteration, because neither in form nor in substance is anything changed. It is only the same thing a little clearer expressed. Henry must ratify this treaty exactly in the same form, and in the same words, as the clauses now stand. He must not give their ratification out of his hands before he has received the ratification of Henry.

The Turks and Venetians.

Have received news from Italy to the effect that the Turks have destroyed the fleet of the Venetians, taken great portions of their dominions, and even conquered Lepanto. The Venetians are no longer able to withstand the Turks in those parts. Have, therefore, decided to send a fleet in aid of them against the enemies of the Christian Faith. Beg Henry also to send a fleet against the Turks. He must tell him so, and without loss of time write what Henry promises, and what he does.—Seville, 20th January 1500.

Addressed: "To Doctor De Puebla."

Spanish. pp. 3½.

20 Jan. **251.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 3. f. 26.

Ratify the treaty of alliance concluded on the 12th of July 1499,* by their ambassador Doctor De Puebla, with the commissioner of Henry VII., Thomas, Bishop of London. The following paragraph is added:—"It is also our will that "the most Serene Prince, Emanuel, King of Portugal, our "beloved son, shall be included in this treaty."—Seville, 20th January 1500.

Latin. pp. 2.

20 Jan. **252.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

P. R. O.

Ratify the treaty of alliance concluded in London, the 10th July 1499.—Seville, 20th January 1500.

Latin. pp. 5, in print.
Printed in Rymer.

20 Jan. **253.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to HENRY VII.

S. E. T. c. I.

Have received his letter in which he speaks of their alliance and the marriage of their children. De Puebla has also told them of the extraordinary love which he has shown towards them in all things. Hope their friendship will continually

* The treaty is dated 10th of July 1499.

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increase. Have ordered De Puebla to speak to him in their name.—No date. No address.

Inclosed in the letter of Ferdinand and Isabella to De Puebla, of the 20th January 1500.

Spanish. Copy. p. 1.

27 Jan. **254.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DOCTOR DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Send two copies of their ratification of the treaty; the one containing some slight alterations concerning the Princes whom they except, the other in which not a single word is changed or added. He must try his best, and persuade King Henry to accept the first ratification. If that, however, should be impossible he may exchange the treaty with the simple ratification. Are persuaded that if he act with his usual zeal and dexterity he will succeed in persuading Henry to render them a service by which he himself loses nothing. At all events the one or the other treaty must be exchanged without loss of time.

The space of six months stipulated for the promulgation of the treaty seems to be too long. Henry must publish it within one month after the exchange has taken place.—Seville, 27th January 1500.

Addressed: "By the King and the Queen to Doctor De Puebla, of their Council, and their ambassador in England."

pp. 2.

27 Jan. ? **255.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

In order to increase still more the friendship which exists between them and Henry, King of England, they express their entire satisfaction with the treaty which has been concluded, &c.

It is only the beginning of the ratification of a treaty, ending with an "&c." and "inseratur." It is inclosed in the letters of the 20th and 27th of January 1500.

Latin. Draft. p. 1.

5 Feb. **256.** HENRY VII. to FERNANDO DE BERUNY.

Fr. R. 15 Hen. VII. m. 2. (16.)

Licences to Fernando de Beruny and Martin de Gamarache, merchants of Spain, to bring into England divers quantities of Toulouse woad, and dispose of the same, &c.—Westminster, 5th February.

Latin. $p. \frac{1}{4}$.

25 Feb. **257.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DON PEDRO DE AYALA.

S. E. T. c. I. L 2.

Have received all his letters, and are well satisfied with their contents. He must always write all that passes in England.

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The treaties of marriage and of alliance which Doctor De Puebla has concluded are approved by them. Send the ratifications. Have altered nothing in the treaties, except that they have included the King of Portugal in the treaty of alliance. The King of England must include him likewise. Another addition to the treaty of alliance is made by them. Have added that they are at liberty to assist certain Princes in defending their present dominions. As these Princes, however, were already excepted, this addition does not alter the treaty.

[The following paragraph is written in cipher.]

With regard to Scotland, you must do your best to preserve the friendship of the King of Scots, and to know what his intentions are respecting his marriage; whether he still hopes to marry our daughter, or our niece; or whether he is reconciled with England.

We believe it is already known in England that C . . . . and Genoa and Florence, Lucca, Sienna, Milan, the Duke of Urbino, and Micer Juan de Bentivoglio, for the city of Bologna, have surrendered to the King of France. We do not write more on this subject, because we wish first to know the opinion of the King of England, our brother.—No date.—No signature.

Spanish. Written in two keys of cipher, neither of which is extant. Deciphered by the editor.

25 Feb. 258. QUEEN ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

As the marriage of the King of Scots with the daughter of the King of England was not concluded until now, we did not like to mention what follows. But since the Kings of Scots and of England have become such near relations, it is reasonable that the King of Scots should be included in the treaty of alliance between us and England. You must see how that best can be done.—25th of February 1500.

I, the Queen.

Addressed: "By the Queen. To Dr. De Puebla, her ambassador in England."

This note is included in the preceding despatch to Don Pedro de Ayala.

Spanish. Written in two keys of cipher, neither of which is extant. Deciphered by the editor.

24 March. 259. DON PEDRO DE AYALA to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Princess Katharine.

Henry is very sorry that three months of the year should have already passed, and that he should still be uncertain whether, and when, the Princess of Wales will come to England. He has made very great preparations to receive her. If

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she should not come this year he and his whole kingdom will suffer very great losses. He fears that he shall not see the Princess this year, because the answer to his letters is delayed so long, and he hears that they have very great and pressing occupations. Genoese merchants have written from Calais that they have left Seville and gone to Granada, because the Moors of the Alpujaras have rebelled. The Genoese always write bad tidings, as though they rejoiced in them.

Milan. The King of France sent a herald with a letter to Henry as soon as he heard what had happened in Milan. He says that he will punish the Milanese in such a way that they shall never forget it. Even if other Princes combined with them he would not care for it, provided he remained on good terms with England. He wrote many more insolent things.

Henry wishes to receive letters from Spain. Begs them to write soon. The English are suspicious and changeable. They observe that the King of France, who is not a relative of Henry, writes to him oftener, and gives more detailed accounts of all that occurs to him, good or bad. —London, 24th of March 1500.

Indorsed by Almazan: "To their Highnesses, from Pedro de Ayala, 24th of March 1500."

The original letter is in cipher. It is deciphered by Almazan, Secretary of State.

Spanish. pp. 1½.

4 April. **260.** DON PEDRO DE AYALA to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Princess Katharine. After his last letter had left, news came from Zealand that they had arrived at Burgos, and were intending to send the Princess of Wales to England, when they were prevented from doing so by the revolution of the Moors. Letters from Burgos state that they will return as soon as the revolution is suppressed, and then send the Princess. It is said that they intend to engage merchants of Burgos, who have resided in England, for the service of the Princess. It is desirable that these servants should belong to good families, for the English attach great importance to good connexions. Besides, they must not be persons who are hated in England. The sentiments of the King towards a great number of Spaniards are not very friendly, partly on account of their dealings with King Richard, and partly on account of Perkin.

Sister of Monsieur d'Angoulême. The King of France is carrying on negotiations with the King of Hungary. It is said that he has offered them the sister of Monsieur d'Angoulême in marriage to the Prince of Wales, with a marriage portion of 200,000 scudos, and that the Pope will absolve him from the oath sworn to the King of the Romans.

King of Scots. The marriage between the King of Scots and the daughter of Henry has very little prospect of success. Henry is not at all contented with the present state of things.

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The King of Scots is said to hope that the King of the Romans will give him the Princess (Margaret) as wife. Moreover, the King of France is believed to have offered him the same marriage as he has offered to the King of Hungary.

Madame de Bourbon.

Henry and Madame de Bourbon correspond and send messengers in secret to one another. Antonio Spinola, who has been one of their ambassadors, has told him that if the King of France will not allow the Count of Angoulême to marry her daughter, Madame de Bourbon will set the whole of France on fire, and even marry her daughter to the Duke of York. Thinks it more doubtful that Henry would accept this marriage than that she would offer it. The whole is an intricate affair.—London, 4th of April 1500.

Indorsed by Almazan: "To their Highnesses, from Don Pedro de Ayala."

The original letter is written in cipher. It is deciphered by Almazan, Secretary of State.

Spanish. pp. 2.

5 May. **261.** HENRY VII.

Fr. R. 15 Hen. VII. m. 10. (8.)

Ratifies the treaty of alliance concluded on the 10th of July 1499.—Convent of the Augustines, 5th May 1500.

Latin. pp. 2, *in print.*

Printed in Rymer.

25 May. **262.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to FERDINAND ALVAREZ.

S. T. c. I. L. 2.

Order him to send by this courier all documents and papers in his keeping which relate to the treaty of marriage between the Princess Katharine and Prince Arthur concluded at Medina del Campo.—Seville, 25th May 1500.

Addressed: "To Ferdinand Alvarez at Toledo, our Secretary and Counsellor."

Spanish. p. 1.

28 May. **263.** HENRY VII.

Fr. R. 15 Hen. VII. m. 14. (4.)

Ratifies the solemnization of the marriage between Prince Arthur and the Princess Katharine, *per verba de præsenti.* The ceremony was performed in the chapel of the manor of Bewdley on the 19th May 1499.

[Included in the same document is the ratification of Ferdinand and Isabella.]—Calais, 28th May 1500.

Latin. pp. 8, *in print.*

Printed in Rymer.

30 May. **264.** FERDINAND ALVAREZ of TOLEDO.

S. T. c. I. L. 2.

Delivers before Juan Zapata, public notary, and before witnesses, to the courier sent by Ferdinand and Isabella, all

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documents and papers in his keeping which relate to the treaty of marriage between Princess Katharine and Prince Arthur, concluded at Medina del Campo.—Toledo, 30th May 1500.

Spanish. pp. 3.

3 June. **265.** THOMAS, BISHOP OF LONDON, to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

De Puebla has given him a letter from them.

Thanks them for the honour. Promises to be always grateful, and to render them any service he can.

Princess Katharine.

The marriage between the Prince and Princess of Wales is now concluded, and there remains nothing to be done but that the Princess should come to England. It is impossible to describe how much he and the whole nation desire to see her. In all parts of the kingdom preparations are making for her festive reception. Is persuaded that the consequences of the marriage will be most beneficial to both countries.

Alliance.

The treaty of alliance is concluded, signed, and sealed. He and De Puebla have done all in their power to have the clause relating to the exception of the Princes (of the King of the Romans and of the Archduke) more clearly expressed. But it was impossible to prevail on such of the other privy counsellors, as were of a different opinion. De Puebla cannot be reproached with remissness. Nor does he think that anything is lost, because the exception is already contained in the general tenor of the treaty, although not so positively expressed.—Calais, 3rd of June 1500.

Addressed: "Altissimis et potentissimis principus dominis dominis Regi et Regine Hispaniarum, dominis meis observandissimis."

Latin. pp. 3.

6 June. **266.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Treaty of marriage between Princess Katharine and the Prince of Wales.

He has told them in all his letters that the conditions of the treaty, which he has now concluded with Henry, are much more favourable to them than the conditions of the treaty which was concluded some years ago on the same subject. Have believed that he told the truth. Their Secretary of State has been unable to judge of the alleged improvements, because he had never seen the first treaty. They had, therefore, signed the second treaty. But when beginning to execute its stipulations, they sent for a copy of the first treaty; and then, on comparison, found that the second treaty does not only not contain any improvement, but, on the contrary, is much less favourable to them than the first.

Ornaments, jewels, &c.

The first treaty settles that the fourth part of the marriage portion of the Princess of Wales may be paid in dresses, ornaments, &c. of her person and of her house, and that the three other parts of it may be paid in gold, silver, and

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precious stones. Thus, it is clear that, according to this clause at least, the ornaments, the gold, and the silver which the Princess is to take with her were to be received as part of the first instalment of her marriage portion. The second treaty, which he called "improved," says that the above-mentioned ornaments, &c. are to be discounted from the last instalment only, of the marriage portion. Thus, the second treaty is more unfavourable to them, because the Princess of Wales would take those things herself, and a portion of the payment would thereby be made long before it could be accounted for.

Time of payment of the marriage portion.

The second treaty settles that the first instalment of the marriage portion should be paid ten days before, or after, the solemnization of the marriage. This clause must be altered. It must be said, instead of "ten days after the solemnization," "ten days after the consummation of the marriage," for some time might still intervene between the solemnization and the consummation of the said marriage. At all events one half of the first instalment must be made payable only after the consummation of the marriage.

Ornaments.

According to the first treaty, the ornaments, &c. of the Princess, which were to be discounted from her marriage portion, were to remain in her possession. The second treaty leaves this point doubtful, for it is said in it that Henry is to receive the ornaments, &c.

Jointure.

In the first treaty Henry binds himself to give to the Princess of Wales one-third of the revenues of Wales, Cornwall, and Chester in good towns and manors, &c., which third part must amount to 25,000, or, at least, to 23,000 scudos. The second treaty fixes no sum whatever, and it might be that the towns, manors, and rents assigned to her were worth much less. She would thereby suffer great losses.

Wedding.

The first treaty states that the wedding of the Princess of Wales must take place within one month after her arrival in England. The second treaty fixes no time at all for the wedding.

Valuation of the ornaments, &c.

In the first treaty it is agreed that the ornaments, jewels, &c. of the Princess of Wales shall be accepted according to their just value. The second treaty, however, fixes that they are to be taxed by sworn jewellers in London, according to the price current in England, or according to what the said valuers, or other persons, might be prepared to give for them. It is not probable that either these valuers would offer as much as the ornaments and jewels are worth, or that other persons could be found who would be willing and able to pay their just value. Therefore it is better to say that the objects in question must be accepted for their real value.

The treaty must be amended.

As he has pretended that he has introduced many improvements into the second treaty, it is expected of him that he will at least repair the errors which he has made. An additional treaty must be concluded. These demands are so

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just, that no difficulties can be expected from Henry. The Knight Commander of Haro, their new ambassador to England, is instructed to ask the same things from Henry. He must conform his line of conduct to that of the Knight Commander.—Granada, 6th of June 1500.

Addressed: "By the King and Queen, to Doctor De Puebla, of their Council, and their ambassador in England."

Spanish. pp. 4½.

8 June. S. E. T. c. I. L. 2. **267.** HENRY VII. to MIGUEL PEREZ D'ALMAZAN, First Secretary of State to Ferdinand and Isabella.

Has heard from De Puebla how great services he has rendered him with respect, as well to the alliance, as to the marriage now happily concluded. Thanks him, and begs him to continue his friendship towards him. Promises to show his great esteem by deeds, if any occasion to do so should be offered him.—Calais, 8th of June 1500.

Addressed: "To the honourable Miguel Perez D'Almazan, First Secretary, my most beloved friend."

Latin. p. 1.

16 June. S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 19. and f. 21. **268.** DE PUEBLA to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

Has received all their letters and other papers, which they sent him by their servant on Palm-Sunday Eve. Has received the duplicate of the same papers from a servant of Don Pedro de Ayala on the Eve of Whitsunday in Calais.

Is very much rejoiced to hear that they are contented with the conclusion of the marriage. Prefers their good opinion to any advantage in the world. Has deserved it by his disinterested services.

Has delivered to Henry the ratification by the Princess of Wales of her marriage. The King and his Council are satisfied with it. Has asked a similar ratification made by the Prince of Wales, but has been told that such a ratification would be superfluous, because the Prince performed the act of marriage in his own person. This observation of the King of England and his Council is right. Has, nevertheless, pursuaded them to give him a ratification made by the Princeof Wales. The King has added letters, written in his own hand, which are enclosed. Thus, all is concluded in a manner than which nothing could be better. The "glorious marriage" will be of great advantage to the whole of Christendom. "In truth, "if the Princess come to England, and the business is well "managed, your Highnesses can dispose of England as "though it belonged to yourselves. There is no longer any "reason to fear fraud or cheating, or any other kind of "simulation, and the King and the people will have courage "to undertake whatever your Highnesses might order."

Marriage of Princess Katharine.

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Alliance.

The negotiations respecting the alliances met with the greatest obstacles, and seemed as if they would never come to an end. There are many counsellors in the Privy Council, who have taken no part in the former negotiations, and know nothing of the matter. They discovered a thousand difficulties, and vied with one another who should find out most obstacles, especially as often as the King of France was the subject of their conferences. Has often despaired of the possibility of coming to any conclusion. The Bishop of London alone was on his side; all the other members of the Council were against him. They said that Spain has been despoiled of none of her dominions, but England has been deprived of her French provinces. The assistance which these two countries are to give to one another must, therefore, as far as Spain is concerned, be restricted to the defence of what she at present possesses; but with respect to England, it must be extended, and Spain must help her to reconquer what she has lost. On this plea, the Council was unwilling to sanction the treaty as it has been concluded with the Bishop of London, alleging as their excuse that Spain had refused to ratify it in its previous form. The Council also denied that Henry has written anything to Spain regarding the alliances. Assured them that he has received a letter from Henry in which he approved of the second treaty of alliance, as it has been concluded by him with the Bishop of London. Could not show them the letter, because he had sent it to Spain. The Privy Council complained further that the King and Queen of Spain never addressed Henry as "King of England and France." The title given to him in the letters from Spain is not even "King of England" with an "&c." Henry at last told his Council not to continue disputing about words, and to confer only on the material portion of the treaty. The treaty was read. The whole Council and he understood it in the following manner;

Contents of the treaty.

viz. that Ferdinand and Isabella and Henry are bound to assist one another in defending the dominions *which they at present possess* against all and every person who may attack them, without any exception or reservation whatever. But, on the other hand, neither of them is bound to give any aid or assistance to the other in an offensive war. On the contrary, either of them remains at liberty to succour the Prince who is attacked, or the state which is invaded, in such offensive war made by his ally. The Pope, the King of the Romans, the King of France, and the Archduke are, moreover, excepted with respect to all such stipulations of the treaty as do not refer to the defence of the dominions at present possessed. Therefore, the additions to the treaty which they now command him to procure from Henry are in substance nothing more than what he has already obtained from him with so much difficulty. To tell the truth, thinks that the wording of the treaty, as he has

Additions to be made to it.

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concluded it, is clearer than the additions which they now desire to be made. The case is as follows:—They wish to preserve their liberty "to assist the aforesaid Princes in defending "their states, but not in other wars." Those are the words of the desired additions. The title of the King of England, however, is "King of England and France;" and he possesses at all events a very clear right to Guienne and Normandy. As the intended addition to the treaty does not contain the words "in defending the states and dominions which they *at present possess*," the English might say that they have a right to conquer Guienne and Normandy, and that in such a case Spain is not at liberty to assist France in defending these provinces. The treaty, as it now stands, speaks, on the contrary, very clearly, since it limits the obligation to the defence of the states which the parties *at present* possess. They are at liberty to succour the King of France, because they have excepted him as a brother, and even more, because they have excepted him (as a son), together with the Archduke. The privy counsellors said that it would be very inconvenient to make a declaration in a public document which so clearly prejudices their claims on France. They even pretend that their honour and authority, as well as that of the King of England, would thereby suffer. For the nation thinks that the King and Queen of Spain are obliged now to assist England against France, and it would produce a very bad impression if it were positively stated that they bind themselves to help France against England. It is quite enough to reserve this liberty to them, without making a display of it. The King and Privy Council know that they do not ask these additions except for the purpose of framing the treaty with England and the other Princes in the clearest manner possible. But this end was already secured by the treaty as it was first concluded. Thinks it, therefore, advisable to leave it unchanged. Sends the treaty, signed by the King and sealed with his seal. Encloses letters from Henry, the Bishop of London, and the Latin Secretary, on the same subject. If, however, in spite of all that has been said, they insist on having the additions incorporated in the treaty, they must write a courteous letter to Henry, and their demands will be acceded to. Those, at any rate, who oppose them must do so in secret. Has made the greatest exertions of which he is capable in arranging this matter. Is ready to undo his own work if he is commanded to do so, and to "suffer martyrdom."

Ratification of the treaty of alliance.

Henry said that, although they had ratified the treaty in presence of only three great personages, he would send them a ratification of it, made in the presence of his whole Court. As he said, so he has done. This treaty of alliance is a most solemn and important thing, as much so as the treaty of marriage. The clauses of it are a master-piece of diplomacy.

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King of Portugal.

Confesses to have committed an error in not excepting the King of Portugal. The English wished to do it, and he opposed them because the present King of Portugal had not yet entered into an alliance with Spain. Will now include the King of Portugal.

King of Scots.

Told Henry that they wish to include the King of Scots in their alliance, because the marriage between him and the Princess of England is now concluded. The King of England said that he also regarded the marriage as concluded, "if the Princess Doña Margaret* should not, as she has "already done, prove an obstacle to it." The King of Scotland is included.

Henry begs them likewise to include the King of Denmark in their alliance. Entreats them to write a letter to Henry, or to him, on the inclusion of the Kings of Scotland and Denmark. Has written a letter to the King of Scots, by the Doctor now sent from England to Scotland, and informed him that they, as well as the King of England, include him in their alliance like a common son. Told the King of Scots that the Princess Katharine is to come to England towards the end of the summer; and that great festivities are preparing in the whole kingdom for her reception. Wrote finally that they entirely approve of his decision to marry the Princess Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry, and that they are as much, and more, pleased with it than if he had been going to marry their own daughter. Made this observation because the King of Scots suspected him of opposing the marriage.

If the King of Denmark were included in their alliance, it would not be necessary to negotiate another treaty with him. The friendship of Denmark is of some value to them, since it would prevent their subjects from being pillaged at sea by subjects of the King of Denmark.

The final settlement of this business has been somewhat delayed for various reasons; as, for instance, because the Prince of Wales has been absent in the most remote portions of the kingdom; also because the Great Seal is preserved in Westminster; the King and the Queen have gone to Calais; the Latin Secretary was suffering from ague; the third son of the King had died; and he himself was suffering great pain.

The Turks.

Henry greatly praised their intention of sending a fleet against the Turks, but added that, although he was on very intimate terms with Venice, the Venetians had said nothing to him about their great need. Henry does not seem to

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* Princess Doña Margaret is Margaret of Austria, daughter of the King of the Romans. The marriage projected between her and the King of the Romans is occasionally mentioned in this Correspondence, as, for instance, in the letter of De Puebla of the 11th of January 1500.

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be inclined to take part in the expedition against the Turks.

Asked Henry VII. what opinion he had of DCCCLXXXI.* He answered that he disliked his proceedings. All the Princes of Christendom were put to inconvenience by France. As, however, the coming of the Princess of Wales to England is so near at hand, this matter may be settled afterwards.

Coming of the Princess Katharine of England.

Has shown Henry their letter in which they promise soon to send the Princess of Wales to England. The King and the whole nation are delighted at this news. Festivities such as never before were witnessed in England are preparing, not only in England but also in Calais, where a great tournament is announced. The articles for it have been sent to the Kings of France and Scotland. The Cardinal is destined to perform all the marriage ceremony.

Henry begs them to write and say, as soon as the Princess of Wales embarks, what personages of note are to accompany her, and in which port she is to disembark. Southampton seems to be the most suitable for this purpose. They would render a service to Henry if they would send their letters by two couriers, one of whom might travel in the most speedy manner by land, and the other go by sea, in a fast-going vessel of about twenty tons.

The ladies who are to accompany the Princess must be handsome.

" The King and Queen wish very much that the ladies who " are to accompany the Princess of Wales should be of gentle " birth and beautiful, or at least that none of them should " be ugly."

Servants of the Princess.

Has delivered their letters to Henry and to the Queen, who were much flattered by the manner in which they speak of the servants who are to accompany the Princess of Wales. The King had debated the matter in a Great Council. The answer was, that the King and his Council wished them to send as small a number of servants with the Princess of Wales as possible; for she will be attended and obeyed and loved by the first noblemen and ladies of the kingdom. They had sent a great number of servants with the Archduchess to Flanders, and the consequences had been of a very unpleasant character. But whatever they decide in this respect will be approved in England. As far as those persons of high rank are concerned, who are only to accompany the Princess on her voyage to England, and afterwards to return to Spain, there cannot be too many of them. The English will spare no expense in treating them with the greatest hospitality.

Meeting between Henry and the Archduke Philip at Calais.

On Tuesday in Whitsuntide the Archduke had an interview with the King of England at Calais. They met in a church in the fields. The Queen of England also went to see the Archduke. The King and the Archduke had a very

* This cipher is left undeciphered in the original despatch. It signifies *the King of France.*

1500.

long conversation, in which the Queen afterwards joined. The interview was very solemn, and attended with great splendour. Both Princes had great honour shown them. They treated one another like father and son. There could not be a more desirable friendship in the world for both. On his return from the church, Henry promised to communicate very agreeable news to him respecting this meeting. But as the young Prince of England was dead, it might be that these communications would be somewhat delayed. Some French captains had come from the neighbouring towns to Calais, who indulge in all kinds of conjectures about the interview, and the coming of the Princess of Wales to England. Spoke for some time with the Archduke. He is a much more agreeable and discreet Prince than his detractors will allow. The Archduke told him that he considered them as his true father and mother. The King of England had told him to do so. The Archduke said that he loved Henry, and regarded him as his protector. Henry overheard these last words, and, much flattered by them, replied that "he would be for ever the debtor of the "Archduke, who had had so much confidence in him as to "come to a place where he was in his power.

Sentiments of Philip towards Henry.

The internal peace of the kingdom is perfect. It is so great that the King and Queen left England, on Friday the 8th of May, for Calais, and until two days beforehand no one knew of their intended journey. The King and Queen have already stayed thirty-nine days at Calais. It is said that they will return to-morrow to England. "As soon as the King of France "heard that the King of England was in Calais, he sent an "honourable embassy to him. The ambassadors brought "50,000 francs as the first instalment of this year, and besides "these the other pensions which France pays to certain "Englishmen. I can assure your Highness that I write "the truth. It was not a merely simulated payment."

Embassy sent to Henry at Calais by the King of France.

The Archduchess had sent the Bishop of Malaga with courteous letters to Henry before the interview at Calais took place. Received the enclosed letter from the Bishop before he came to the town.* Showed the letter to Henry who sent the Prior of St. John and other personages of authority to receive the Bishop of Malaga. Went with them. The Bishop of Malaga remained four days in the town, and was at liberty to see the King and Queen as often and when ever he liked. Encloses copies of the letters which the Bishop of Malaga took back to the Archduchess, and other letters.

Letters sent from the Archduchess to King Henry.

It is said in England that the King of Navarre is staying with them. Would be sorry if any of the fortresses which they now possess in Navarre were to be given back to the King of Navarre. "These will be places of great importance, as I have

King of Navarre.

* Of Calais.

1500.

" already written more in detail, if your Highnesses can " conclude the CCCCXXIII (marriage) of Spain."*

Henry is very glad to hear that the King of Portugal has come to Spain, in order to marry the Infanta Doña Maria.

Has given their letters which have arrived, addressed in blank, to the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Suffolk, the Earl of Surrey, the Earl of Essex, and the Prior of St. John. The English esteem such letters from them more than the pensions from the King of France. Begs them to send ten or twelve more letters of the same kind. But they must also send him credentials to great personages in England, in order that he may treat with them in their name.

De Puebla's reasons for not accepting the match offered to him.

Thanks them for not having answered the letter of Henry respecting their consent to the marriage which the Queen of England had offered to him. The King will write again on the same subject. Begs them to put off the answer again. Does not like to accept the match, because he fears they would not have so much confidence in him if he were married by the Queen of England to a rich English lady.

Has already asked them to give him a certain power of jurisdiction over Spanish subjects in England. The necessity for such a power will be even greater, as many Spaniards are to come to England in consequence of the marriage of the Princess of Wales.

Begs that at least the third part of his salary may be paid to him in London. In payment of the two other parts of his salary he would be satisfied with some situation for life. Letters of exchange on London can be had from Pantaleon or his brother Agostin, or from Martin Centurion and others.—Calais, 16th June 1500, at the moment of sailing to England.

Marriage of the King of Scots.

P. S. † — The Doctor who was sent as ambassador to Scotland has just returned, and, before he saw the King, told him that the marriage of the King of Scots with the Princess of England is concluded without any condition, and exactly in the manner in which Henry had desired. Has been told by the ambassador that this result is due, in great part, to his advice and to his letter to the King of Scots. Cannot go and see Henry, because he has already taken leave of the King and Queen.

Addressed: " To the very high and very powerful Princes the King and Queen . . . . . ‡ Lords."

Spanish. pp. 23.

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* This paragraph is not clear. The cipher CCCCXXIII, which is left undeciphered in the original, signifies " marriages between Princes and Princesses of Spain, Portugal, Naples, England, Flanders, &c." *Spain* is not directly mentioned in the original letter, the words of which are "el CCCXXIII de alli." "Alli" occurs on almost every page of the Spanish correspondence, and means *there*, where the receiver of the letter or the person which forms the subject of it stays; " de alli" is therefore *of there*, that is to say, in this case, either *of Spain* or *of Navarre*.

† On a loose paper enclosed in the letter. ‡ Paper gone.

1500.
16 June. **269.** DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 26.

The treaty of alliance.

A paper containing two columns, one placed opposite the other. The first column is headed, "This is the clause as I "concluded it. If it be read in connexion with the other "clauses of the treaty, it will be found that it is even better "than what your Highnesses now desire." The text of this column is a literal copy of clause 3 of the treaty of the 10th of July 1499, by which the Pope, the Kings of the Romans and of France, and the Archduke, are excepted.

The second column is headed, "This is what your High-"nesses desire. If you compare the one column with the other, "you will find that they are identical." The text of this column is the same as that of the first column, except that the words are added, "and each of the contracting parties is "at liberty to assist the said Princes in defending their king-"doms and dominions."—No date. No signature.

This paper is now enclosed in the letter of De Puebla of the 11*th of August* 1505. *But it has no relation whatever to that letter. On the contrary it seems to be evident that it belongs to the letter of De Puebla of the* 16*th of June* 1500.

Latin. pp. 2.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 1.

270. DE PUEBLA to HENRY VII.

Sends him an exact copy of two clauses of the treaty of alliance which he has concluded with Ferdinand and Isabella (on the 10th of July 1499), and ratified (on the 10th of May 1500). The copied clauses are clause 4 and clause 9, which settle that free intercourse and commerce are to be allowed between England and Spain, and that the treaty shall be promulgated in all towns and seaports within six months from its date. Signed "De Puebla."—No date.

Latin. pp. 2.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 22.

Requests made by De Puebla.

271. DE PUEBLA to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

What he begs the King and Queen of Spain to do is:—

1. To send the Princess of Wales to England as soon as possible, accompanied by a great many persons of high station and dignity.

2. To do what he has requested concerning Don Pedro de Ayala.

3. To write a letter approving the inclusion of the Kings of Scotland and Denmark in the alliance.

4. To send him a commission to decide the disputes between Spanish subjects in England.

5. To pay him his salary.

Indorsed: "Memoir of what I ask from the King and Queen."

Inclosed in the letter of De Puebla to Ferdinand and Isabella of the 16*th of June* 1500.

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

1500.
S. E. T. c. I.
L. 5. f. 20.

272. The Bishop of Malaga to De Puebla.

Will be in the town at six o'clock in the evening.* Informs him of his coming in order not to appear unpolite, and not with the intention that the King should be acquainted of it. His servant will wait in the inn.—Dunkirch, 1500.

Addressed: "To the illustrious Doctor de Puebla, ambassador of the King and Queen our Lords."

The note is written in a very strange jargon made up of Spanish and corrupt Latin. It is included in the letter of De Puebla to Ferdinand and Isabella, of the 16th of June 1500.

Holograph. 10 *lines.*

June (?)
S. E. T. c. I.
L. 2.

273. De Puebla to Ferdinand and Isabella.

The Spaniards who live in England; their conduct.

The Spaniards who reside in England, and those who come and go, live without law, like people in a castle on the borders of two kingdoms. They acknowledge no authority whatever. His interference in their disputes with one another is therefore of little avail. But their internal disunions would be of no great importance, if they only did their duty in forwarding despatches and messengers, and in other things which it is better not to mention. Henry has asked him to write to them on this subject. Begs them, therefore, to issue a commission to him as their ambassador, intrusting him with criminal and civil jurisdiction over the Spaniards in England. Incloses a draft of the desired commission. Signed "Doctor De Puebla."—No date.

Indorsed: "To their Highnesses."

Spanish. p. 1.

S. E. T. c. I.
L. 2.

274. Ferdinand and Isabella to De Puebla.

De Puebla endowed with jurisdiction over the Spaniards.

Give to De Puebla, their trustworthy and truthful ambassador in England, power to compound or decide according to law, all civil and criminal causes concerning Spanish subjects residing, or staying, in the dominions of King Henry, with all the rights and emoluments that belong to civil and criminal jurisdictions. All Spanish subjects are ordered to obey his orders and decisions under heavy penalties.

Draft written by the Secretary of De Puebla, and inclosed in his letter to Ferdinand and Isabella. No date.

Spanish. p. 1.

S. E. T. c. I.
L. 2.

275. Ferdinand and Isabella to Henry VII.

Have learnt how much he wishes that De Puebla should be entrusted with civil and criminal jurisdiction over Spanish subjects residing in, or coming to, and going from England.

* Seems to be Calais.

1500.

Have, therefore, issued such commission to their said ambassador.

Draft written by the Secretary of De Puebla. Inclosed i the same letter.
Latin. *p.* 1.

FERDINAND and ISABELLA to HENRY VII.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

276. Have been informed by De Puebla of the inconveniences which arise from the circumstance that he has no jurisdiction over the Spanish merchants and other Spaniards residing i n England. Have entrusted to him such jurisdiction, becaus e they believe they shall be rendering thereby a service to King Henry.—No date. No signature. No address.

Draft. Spanish. *p.* 1.

16 June.

277. DE PUEBLA to MIGUEL PEREZ ALMAZAN.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Has received three letters, and two short letters in cipher, from Ferdinand and Isabella, a letter from him to the King of England, a separate copy of the last letter, thirteen letters from Ferdinand and Isabella to English Lords, a power of the Princess of Wales, a ratification by her, approved by Ferdinand and Isabella, two ratifications of the treaty of alliance, and all the other papers mentioned in the letters, except the duplicate of which he speaks in his letter. Has written a long letter to him a few days ago.

Has written a long letter to Ferdinand and Isabella, and has given an account in it of all that has happened during the last few days. The same servant who takes this letter carries the letter to Ferdinand and Isabella, in which are enclosed the treaties of alliance, signed by the King of England and sealed with the Great Seal of the kingdom, together with all the other papers which are necessary for the definite conclusion of the whole business. It has been very difficult to carry on the negociations, because the King and Queen were occupied with preparations for their journey to Calais, and the Prince of Wales was in Wales. He will easily imagine all the delay that has been caused by it, if he consider that it is often impossible to cross the channel for twenty and sometimes for thirty consecutive days.

Preparations making for the reception of the Princess of Wales.

There remains nothing to be done now except that the Princess of Wales should come to England. Great preparations are being made to receive her.

Has seen the articles for the tournament which a French King-at-arms took to the King of France. They are written in the French language. Encloses a copy of them. The same articles written in English have been sent to the King of Scots, and given to the Archduke. They are solemnly proclaimed at Calais. Cannot get copies at Calais of the programme of the other festivities. That of the city of London is in the press.

Has told Henry who he is, how much Ferdinand and

1500.

Isabella confide in him, and what a prominent part he has taken in the last negotiations. Henry has written a letter to him. If he should answer, Henry will be glad to see the letter.

Has seen with great pleasure that Ferdinand and Isabella have ordered the Treasurer Morales to send him a bill of exchange for the sum of 200,000 maravedis* as a portion of the salary due to him. But neither that nor the other bill of exchange for 200,000 maravedis, ordered in Madrid, has come to his hands. Is in great pecuniary difficulties. Begs that his salary may be paid. "When I was corregidor I was "always offered what I had no right to accept, and asked to "do what was forbidden, but I could never obtain what was "due to me by right. The same thing has happened to me in "England. You know already how much the King of Eng- "land urged me to accept a bishopric, offering to procure for "me all such dispensations from the Pope as might be neces- "sary. I could not prevail on myself to accept it. When the "King saw that all his persuasions were in vain, he and the "Queen spoke to me for a long time on Twelfth-tide Eve "about my personal affairs. They asked me to accept a rich "match from them. If I had accepted either of these offers, "it would have placed me in a different condition from that "in which I am at present." Has not thought it right to accept the rich match without the permission of Ferdinand and Isabella. The King of England has written twice to Spain on this subject, but no answer has been sent back to England. Has taken the protracted silence for an answer, and is satisfied with it. For a marriage with an English lady would, to a certain amount, have denaturalized him, and the King and Queen of Spain would no longer have had the same confidence in him. Other Spanish ambassadors have acquired riches; he has been forced to sell his little inheritance. Has been obliged to write to his son Fernan Rodriguez to sell his property for two-thirds of its value. Has had to write to Punthallon to lend him money at any amount of interest. Asks him to speak to Ferdinand and Isabella in his behalf, and to beg that at least one-third of the salary due to him should be paid. This third part amounts to 1,100 ducats.† Instead of the remaining two-thirds he would fain accept a rent for life.

Personal affairs of De Puebla.

It would be convenient to send two couriers to England as soon as the Princess of Wales embarks.

Hopes that he will be treated as he has deserved by his industry and fidelity.—Calais, 16th June 1500.

Indorsed by Almazan: "To me, from Doctor De Puebla, 16th June 1500."

Spanish. pp. 7.

* About 102*l.* sterling.

† About 220*l.* sterling.

1500.
June. **278.** EARL OF SUFFOLK, EARL OF ESSEX, LORD HARINGTON, LORD WILLIAM DEVONSHIRE, SIR JOHN PECHE, and WILLIAM DE LA PENCRE.*

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Beg of Henry VII. permission to hold royal jousts and tournaments, and to perform other feats of arms at Westminster, in honour of the marriage between the Prince of Wales and the Princess Katharine of Spain, which is expected to take place towards the end of August next. Challenge all gentlemen, of whatever nation they may be, and whatever weapon they may use, to answer them in the lists on the fifth day after the solemnization of the said glorious marriage. Only the great coat of mail and buckler are prohibited.

Twenty-three articles containing the regulations of the jousts follow.

No date. No signature.

Indorsed: "These two papers are to be given to the Secretary Almazan."

French. Copy. pp. 11.

20 June. **279.** HENRY VII. to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

B. M. MS. Eg. 616. f. 13.

De Puebla has delivered to him their letters, from which he has learnt how welcome to them had been the intelligence that the nuptials *per verba de præsenti* had been concluded between their children. Has also learnt from De Puebla that they have resolved to send the Lady Katharine to England at the end of the summer, which tidings have been very pleasant to him. Would not conceal that not only would the marriage be a happy thing in itself, but that it would be productive of no ambiguous advantage to his subjects. Has also received the instrument signed by their hands and sealed with their seals, confirming the treaty of peace and amity between him and them. On his part has also given the like confirmatory letters for them to De Puebla in presence of the Cardinal of Canterbury and others of his nobles. Desires to be commended to the Lady Katharine and their Highnesses.—Canterbury, 20th June 1500.

Coming of the Princess Katharine to England.

Addressed: "To the Serene and Mighty Princes Ferdinand and Isabella, by the grace of God, King and Queen of Castile, &c. &c."

Latin. p. 1.

Printed in Gairdner's Letters and Papers, I. 119.

27 June. **280.** DE PUEBLA to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

The Latin Secretary has never been visible since Henry has returned from Calais to England. It has, therefore, been necessary to despatch all the letters which are enclosed

* Sic in the original.

1500.

here during the sittings of the Council. They ought to preserve them together with the treaty of alliance. Has concerted the enclosed letter with the Bishop of London. He is the president of the commission for negotiating the treaty.

Letters of the Prince of Wales.

Has opened the letters of the Prince of Wales. Wished to see whether he had written concerning the ratification as he ought to write. Thinks the letter will be found satisfactory. Expects hourly other letters from the Prince of Wales. Begs they will forgive the opening of the letters, because he had done it with the best intentions.

Interview between King Henry and the Archduke.

Henry told him that the interview with the Archduke had no other object than to show to the world their paternal and filial love, and to give something to guess at to their evil-wishers.

King Henry's intentions respecting the Prince and Princess of Wales.

Henry has intimated to him further that his intention is to keep the Prince and Princess of Wales, during the first year of their marriage, about his person and at his court. The number of persons who are to accompany the Princess may be determined accordingly. The King had spoken once more on this subject just when the courier was ready to leave. The reason why he did so was because the almoner of the Princess had written saying that she would be accompanied by an incredibly large number of servants.

They may order the treaty of alliance to be proclaimed in Spain as soon as they like. Its proclamation will take place in England within six months, or earlier if they like. —Canterbury, 27th June 1500.

Addressed: "To the very high and very powerful Princes, the King and Queen our Lords."

Spanish. pp. 2½.

281. FERDINAND and ISABELLA, Instructions to their Ambassador.*

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

King of the Romans; his plans.

Do not doubt that Henry, in accordance with his virtues, and especially his faithfulness, will fulfill his promises respecting the marriage between the Prince and Princess of Wales. But it may be that the King of the Romans is endeavouring to undo the marriage in order to conclude another marriage for the Prince of Wales; and it is not impossible that the King of England, from certain considerations, might enter into the plans of the King of the Romans. There is nothing positively known on this subject. The King of England has said nothing which could justify the suspicion that he intends to break off the marriage which has been already agreed upon, and the ceremonies of which have been actually performed. Never-

* The name of the ambassador is not mentioned. From the contents of the instruction it is, however, clear that it is directed to Fuensalida, Knight Commander of Haro, who was in England in the year 1500.

1500.

De Puebla's conduct in respect to the marriage of the Princess of Wales to be strictly watched.

theless it is necessary to warn him. Neither Doctor De Puebla, nor any other person in the world, must know anything about their suspicions or about these instructions. He must be continually on the watch. As soon as he hears anything to justify what they suspect, or as soon as he observes that negotiations contrary to the marriage of their daughter with the Prince of Wales are being carried on, he must write to them, and do all in his power to frustrate the negotiations. Are satisfied with what De Puebla has hitherto concluded with Henry. But as De Puebla is said to be entirely under the influence of Henry, and to do nothing but what he wishes, he must watch him also every day during his stay in England, and see whether he does his duty. He must, in all his conversations with the King, with De Puebla, and with all other persons, speak of the marriage as a business perfectly concluded and sure, and say that preparations for the journey of the Princess to England are already making. He must always call her Princess of Wales. If he hear anything implying a doubtful intention on their part to marry their daughter to the Prince of Wales, he must most decidedly contradict it. In a secret letter he must inform them whether there is anything said in England about another marriage, and whether De Puebla be a faithful servant of theirs. He is expected to write the whole truth, without, however, letting De Puebla suspect that he is writing about him. He must, whilst he remains in England, inform himself what kind of person the King of Scots is, to how much his revenues amount, and acquaint himself with all he can about Scotland.

King of Scots.

Neither date nor signature seems to be written in the hand of the Knight Commander of Haro.

Spanish. pp. 2.

29 June. **282.** FUENSALIDA, KNIGHT COMMANDER OF HARO,* to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Meeting between King Henry and the Archduke.

Has been told by Frenchmen, when only two journeys from Paris, that Henry and the Archduke had met at Calais. Travelled therefore as fast as possible in order to overtake the King in that town. Has been by no means easy in his mind; for, whenever he asked the people, whether they knew for what purpose the meeting of Henry and the Archduke had taken place, the unanimous answer had been, "to concert the "marriage between the Prince of Wales and the Princess Margaret." Each time that this distasteful news was told him he made greater haste on his journey. Reached a town which is called Boulogne. It is the last town in the dominions of the King of France, and only ten leagues from Calais. Was there told that the King of England had already crossed the channel, and that the Archduke was staying in a town which

* Haro is a small town in the province of Logroño.

1500.

Report of a marriage between the Prince of Wales and Princess Margaret.

they called St. Omer. The Bastard of Cardona is captain of Boulogne, and some Spaniards live with him. Asked them the news. They answered that, according to common report, the marriage between the Prince of Wales and the Princess Margaret was already concluded. Went to St. Omer, which place was one day's journey out of his way, in order to ask the Archduke whether the said rumours were true. Found, on his arrival at St. Omer, that the Archduke had gone to Bruges. Neither the Castilians whom he met at St. Omer, nor the inhabitants of that town, knew anything of what the Frenchmen had told him. Was, on the contrary, asked by one of them, whether the Princess of Wales would come to England during the course of the summer. The person who asked this question had been in Calais when Henry was staying there, and had heard talk of nothing except of the great festivities and rejoicings which the English were preparing for the reception of the Princess of Wales. The English were exceedingly desirous to see her in their country.

Proceeded, somewhat more at ease, to Calais, where he arrived on the 20th of June. Crossed the channel next day to Dover. Was told there that Henry was staying at a town which the English pronounce Conturbel.* Went there; but heard, on entering the gate of the town, that the King was just leaving it by the opposite gate in the direction of London. Sent to ask whether the Spanish ambassador was with the King. They told him that he was not with the King, but had already gone to London. Continued his journey to London next day in the expectation of finding the King already there. But Henry had not gone the direct way, because he wanted to visit another town near the sea.

Arrived in London on the 25th of June. Pedro de Ayala had gone to Flanders. Went therefore to see De Puebla. Henry, being immediately informed of his arrival, sent word that he would be at Greenwich†, four miles from London, on Friday, the 3rd of July, and would like to hear the message from his beloved brother and sister in Spain.

"That is all that has happened to me to day. I will write to your Highness respecting whatever I may think worthy of notice hereafter."

Conversations with De Puebla.

Has seen De Puebla, who is very suspicious, and has tried in different ways to discover the real object of his mission. Told him that he had come, while on his way to Flanders, to visit the King and Queen of England and the Prince of Wales, in order to tell them, in the name of his sovereigns, what had happened in Granada. De Puebla was not satisfied with this answer, but made a most searching inquiry into his secrets ‡, and asked him directly whether anything touching

* Canterbury. † "Granuche" in the original letter.
‡ No cesó de fazer inquisicion de mis entrañas.

1500.

the marriage was to be transacted. Not wishing to increase the distrust of De Puebla, told him that he was to speak to Henry about the arrangements for the household of the Princess of Wales, because it was desirable to know his wishes concerning the number and quality of the servants who were to remain with the Princess in England. The English had made great difficulties, especially with respect to the male servants. They had even refused to hear mentioned the office of a Lord High Steward, of a Lord High Gentleman-in-Waiting, of a Lord Treasurer, and of many other lower officers of the Princess of Wales. They wished to have as small a number of Spanish servants with the Princess as possible.

Spanish servants of the Princess of Wales.

De Puebla told him at different times that the English especially abhorred a Lord High Steward (mayor-domo mayor), oftentimes repeating the word "High Steward." He had said, in the course of their conversations, "For God's sake "do not mention anything that looks like delay or change "in what has been concluded."

Answered that such was not the intention of the King and Queen of Spain, for their will was to fulfil all that had been concerted when the proper time for its fulfilment should have come.

Begged De Puebla to explain why nothing was to be mentioned that looked like a change in the conditions consented to? Some changes may be reasonable. Had the English changed their mind, or was any such thing likely to happen?

Princess of Wales.

De Puebla said, he did not know whether the English had already changed their mind; but, judging by their national character, such a thing might easily happen. They doubt whether the Princess of Wales will ever come to England. If any new arrangements were proposed to them they would think that it had been done in order to put off the voyage of the Princess to England. The treaties are very well concluded, and all the clauses of them are advantageous to Spain. They must remain as they are, especially as Henry is persuaded that the Princess of Wales will land in England in the course of the summer. Great preparations are making for her reception. But, on account of the slowness with which the preparations for her voyage are made in Spain, it is more probable that she will arrive in November than in the course of the summer. No vessels are as yet retained for her voyage.

Her coming to England.

Has appeased De Puebla in as far as it was reasonable to appease him. Said that they had always intended to fulfil the treaty. His remarks concerning the vessels were unfounded. It is not necessary to retain the fleet which goes to Flanders, because Spain possesses enough vessels to send the Princess of Wales to England without disturbing the commerce of her subjects, especially as they are not obliged to send the Princess

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before the Prince of Wales has completed the fourteenth year of his age. It is not even known in Spain when that will be the case. Supposed that the Prince of Wales completes the fourteenth year of his age towards the end of September. The orders for the departure of the Princess will be given at that time. There would be nothing in the matter to cause surprise, if the Princess did not arrive in England before the end of November. She is not an ambassador or a courier, who must go in full haste.

De Puebla seemed, after this conversation, somewhat, and even much more reasonable, than before; but it is still a difficult thing to do what they want to have done.

Strange behaviour of King Henry.

Asked De Puebla whether he had observed any change of mind in Henry, or whether the King of England suspected them. De Puebla said that he was not aware of it; only on one occasion had the behaviour of the King seemed strange to him. When the marriage was contracted *perverba de presenti*, the King had kept the document relating to it back, and when asked to send it to Spain had always given evasive answers. He did not like to speak out his real meaning. That was when he went to Calais, and during his stay in that town.

De Puebla asked whether they would like Henry to send ambassadors to Spain, in order to accompany the Princess. Answered that they would be pleased with whatever the King of England thought it right to do. De Puebla asked them further, whether they would not be angry if he went together with the English ambassadors. He could best explain the whole matter. Did not like to give him any advice on this subject. De Puebla said that he would go, if the King of England asked him to do so.

Preparations making for the reception of the Princess.

Has spoken with a great many Spanish merchants in London. All say that great preparations are making for the reception of the Princess. The English generally are desirous to see her in England, although there are many who doubt whether she will come so soon. Asked them from what source these doubts sprang. They said because it was believed delay was advantageous to Spain.

As for the interview of Henry and the Archduke at Calais, nobody can tell the subject of it, or what conclusions were arrived at. De Puebla gave only vague answers, saying that both Princes were very well satisfied with one another, and entirely reconciled.—London, 29th June 1500.

Pestilence in London.

P.S.—Many persons are dying in London from a pestilence which has just begun its ravages. The disease is not very severe yet, but it is expected that the mortality will increase. The pestilence might, perhaps, be a good pretext.

Indorsed: "To their Highnesses."

Spanish. pp. 9½.

1500.

24 July. **283.** HENRY VII. to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

B. M. MS. Eg. 616. f. 14.

Has received their letters dated Seville the last day of April, and delivered to him by Gomez de Fuensalida, Knight Commander, their counsellor. Rejoices to hear of their prosperous estate, and of the victory gained by them over the Saracens. Is grieved to find that the Lady Katharine's coming, which he had so ardently desired, is postponed from September until October. Although for many reasons, he had desired that she should come to England by the time first agreed upon; yet, on account of the great perils by sea which she would have to encounter if her journey were not delayed, he would, setting aside all inconveniences, consent that her voyage should be postponed until the Feast of St. John Baptist in the following year. But it must be on this condition, and none other; namely, that they should by the next Christmas send back, signed and sealed by them, the paper now sent to them; for it seemed to his counsellors that otherwise all which had been agreed upon with regard to the coming of the Princess would be rendered uncertain.—Greenwich, 24th July 1500.

Postponement of the coming of the Princess Katharine.

Addressed: "To the serene and mighty Princes, Ferdinand and Isabella, by the grace of God, King and Queen of Castile, &c."

Latin. pp. 2.

Printed in Gairdner's Letters and Papers, I. 121.

25 July. **284.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L 2.

Doctor De Puebla, our ambassador and our counsellor.

We have read your letter dated the 5th and 6th of June. The clause respecting the alliance is to our satisfaction, as it contains what we have desired. We shall send you, by another courier, the letter of which you speak, respecting the inclusion of the King of the Romans, for we approve of it. Your servant who, as you say, brings the ratification of the treaty of alliance, and the other papers, has not yet arrived, nor have we heard of him. When he arrives we shall see the despatch which he brings, and give our orders respecting the publication of the alliance, and whatever else it is incumbent on us to do.

We have read what you and the Knight Commander of Haro have negotiated with the King of England respecting the departure of the Princess of Wales, the English ambassadors, who are to bring the power of the Prince of Wales when he shall have completed the fourteeth year of his age, and with regard to the repetition of the marriage ceremonies immediately before the Princess embarks. You say that the King of England intended to send ambassadors to Spain, but that you advised him not to do it. It is well known to you that you wrote to us that the ambassadors were to come

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at the beginning of this year, and that we answered it would be better if the ambassadors would come when the Prince had accomplished his fourteenth year. We have never said that they should not come. Tell the King of England that our intentions are unchanged. We love him and the Prince of Wales, our son, so much that it would be impossible to love them better. We appreciate the union with him, and his friendship, so much that we wish to see the Princess as soon as possible married and living in the house of her husband the Prince. We would not, for all the riches of the world, be untrue to what we have concluded with the King of England.

When we have accomplished what we have promised, we hope that the King of England will do what we ask him; for the sake of the honour of the Princess, and because it is customary in similar cases. We do not doubt that the marriage which was contracted with the dispensation of the Pope, *per verba de præsenti*, is valid and binding, and that God alone can dissolve it. Nevertheless, as he knows, it is customary for royal personages who have contracted a marriage by proxy (which is perfectly valid) to perform the ceremonies once more when they meet. We wish, therefore, that the Prince and Princess of Wales should go through the ceremony once more when they meet. The marriage would not be rendered more indissoluble thereby, but such ceremonies are generally performed in honour of the sacrament of marriage. If such be the custom amongst persons of a lower degree, how much more necessary is it that Princes should conform to it? Although the marriage between the Prince and Princess of Wales has been concluded with the dispensation of the Pope, and is perfectly valid, it must be celebrated again as soon as the Prince of Wales has completed the fourteenth year of his age. It is especially necessary for the honour of the Princess that the act should be performed before she embarks with the ambassadors whom the King of England is to send with the power of the Prince of Wales. The Prince of Wales will accomplish the fourteenth year of his age at the beginning of winter, and we shall not be breaking the promise we have made if we do not send the Princess earlier.

Tell the King of England that he may send the ambassadors now; and as soon as the Prince of Wales has completed the fourteenth year of his age he may forward to them the power of the Prince by a special courier. We are already preparing the fleet and the other things necessary for the departure of the Princess. When the power of the Prince of Wales has arrived, and the marriage ceremonial has been performed, she may go in the name of God. All she has to take with her is ready, and we have ordered the ships to be in readiness.

Thus, we are fulfilling all our obligations.

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Tell the King of England that we would not in any circumstances, or for any cause, dissolve the union which we have concluded with him. If the Princess of Wales were our only daughter we should still believe, as we believe now, that in no country in the world could she be so well married as in England. The King of England may believe us. Send his answer to us soon.—Granada, 25th July 1500.

Signed by the King. Signed by the Queen.

Post datum. [*In plain writing.*]

He must inform them who the ambassadors are to be. Would have already approached the place where the Princess is to embark if they had not been occupied in the wars with the Moors of Alpajara and Alecrin. Hundreds of them come every day to be baptised. The King of England would excuse the delay occasioned by so holy a work. Promise to hasten the departure of the Princess as much as possible.

The letter is finished the 5th August 1500.

Spanish. Written in two keys of cipher. The cipher is intermixed with some words in plain writing. Deciphered by the editor.

13 Aug. **285.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Marriage of the Princess of Wales.

You will see by the letters which we have already written to you, and by the duplicates which are now despatched, what we wished that you should do in regard to the coming of the ambassadors of the King of England, our brother. We desire, namely, that when the Prince of Wales shall have completed his fourteenth year, the ceremony of marriage shall be performed anew, in his name and by his authority, with the Princess of Wales, our daughter, by proxy, so that she may then depart for England in the name of God.

Ceremony to be performed afresh.

We likewise wrote to the effect that although the marriage had been performed, and so firmly concluded that it could not be undone, yet, notwithstanding, it is usual to perform the said ceremony afresh, and that it is necessary it should be done. It now appears, that in order it may be performed more effectually, it is better it should be arranged by the King of England, our brother, in the manner that we decreed it should be done, So that when the Prince of Wales completes his fourteenth year the said act of matrimony must be done over again with the Prince in person. To facilitate this proceeding, authority is sent to you from the Princess of Wales, our daughter; therefore the coming of the ambassadors may be excused.

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Moreover, when we know that the said Prince of Wales has completed his fourteenth year, which will be on the 22nd of September next ensuing, and when the ceremony of marriage by proxy has taken place, then, as we have said, we will send over the said Princess, our daughter.

Say this to the King of England, our brother; and as soon as the Prince of Wales shall have completed his fourteenth year, let the said ceremony be performed. Send us attestation of it by the courier, as we desired; and on receiving it we will send it to the Princess of Wales, our daughter.—Granada, 13th August 1500.

I, the King. I, the Queen.

Miguel Perez D'Almazan.

Written in two different keys of cipher, constantly mixed up the one with the other. The keys are not extant. The deciphering is by the editor.

Spanish.

26 August. **286.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Postponement of the journey of the Princess of Wales.

Have received his letters of the 21st and 23d of July. Are much pleased with Henry for consenting to the Princess of Wales remaining in Spain till the Feast of St. John next, as her voyage during the stormy season would be dangerous. The negotiations concerning this subject were very well managed by him. Present their thanks to Henry, and promise to send the Princess of Wales earlier, if the weather should be fine.

The letter of the Knight Commander of Haro, together with the letter of Henry, and the paper which they are asked to sign, has not yet arrived. If he had sent them, all these papers would have already been in their hands. He must tell the King of England that they are willing to do all he wishes. As soon as the paper in question arrives, it will be signed by them and sent back to England.

Her marriage.

Desire very much that the Prince of Wales should perform the marriage ceremony once more after he has completed the fourteenth year of his age. Have sent by the Knight Commander of Haro the authority of the Princess of Wales for him to act as her proxy. There is no doubt that the marriage is already indissolubly concluded; but in such cases as this it is the general custom to repeat the marriage ceremonies after the parties have attained the age fixed by the Church for contracting lawful marriages. He is expected to send the attestation of the fresh solemnization of the marriage to them by a special messenger. Intend to show it to their officers of State and other influential men in Spain, in order to satisfy their wishes. Desire that the Prince of Wales should also

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swear the treaty of alliance lately concluded.—Granada, 26th August 1500.

Indorsed by De Puebla: "From Granada in the month of August 1500. *Their Highnesses declare themselves satisfied with the prorogation which I have concluded."*

Another indorsement: "Deciphering of the letter of their Highnesses, which is written in very good cipher. They are contented with the prorogation, &c."

The ciphered original is in existence. The deciphering is in the hand of Johan de Tomayo, Secretary to De Puebla.

Spanish. pp. 3.

3 Oct. **287.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. L. L. 2.

We wrote duplicate letters to you on the 21st of August, by Martin Sanchez de Zamudio, who was to convey them by two different routes. By those letters you will see that we have read the despatches which you sent us respecting the postponement of the departure of the Princess of Wales, our daughter, until the Feast of St. John Baptist next ensuing. We received much gratification from the intelligence, since it will not then be so hazardous a season of the year in which to travel as is the winter.

We sent you a duplicate letter for the King of England in reply to the one he wrote to us respecting the matter; we also wrote similar letters to you, as you will see by the duplicate of the former despatch which is now sent. Since then we have received your letters of the 11th and 13th of August, and likewise those of the Knight Commander of Haro, in which he enclosed (a draft of) the letter which had been asked for by the King of England, and which we sent.

Additions to the marriage articles.

Having reflected upon what you say in your letter, it appears to us that it would be well you should not at present speak to the King of England respecting the matters which we desired you should endeavour to have subjoined to the marriage articles. But the things which we are now about to mention are so reasonable, that they could not be more so, and they are as follows:—

Firstly, since the Princess of Wales had already arrived at the legitimate age, a marriage celebrated by her on the 22d of the present month of September would be valid without dispensation. Nevertheless, though it had already been redered valid as it had been performed by dispensation, still, as you are aware, it is usual, when a marriage takes place by dispensation, on account of the parties not having attained the proper age for contracting it, that it should be performed over again on their attaining the legitimate age. Therefore the Prince and Princess ought to go through the ceremony again as soon as they meet. Consequently, on the arrival of

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the messenger*, you will see that the ceremony be immediately performed afresh by *verba de præsenti*.

Attestation of the marriage ceremony to be sent to Spain.

We sent you, under cover to the Knight Commander of Haro, authority for this from the Princess of Wales, and we have now written to the said Commander to the effect that if he have not sent it you ere this, he shall do so immediately. When the ceremony of the marriage has taken place with the Prince of Wales in person, send us an attestation of it, in which mention shall be made that the said Prince of Wales has arrived at the legitimate age for contracting the said matrimony; and have it signed by his own hand, and sealed with his seal. Let the King also send it to us, and let him state that the ceremony has taken place. The ratification of it, however, by the King is not necessary, when the ceremony shall have been performed afresh, as we have already said. Neither shall you endeavour to obtain any further postponement of the journey of the Princess beyond the term you state. On the contrary, you shall tell the King of England from us, in accordance with the other letters we wrote to you, that if the weather should prove propitious for her journey, we will send the Princess over without waiting for the conclusion of the period of postponement which has been agreed upon. Speak of this to the King.

Marriage portion of the Princess.

The second thing which you have to obtain is, that the King of England should consent that the thirty and five thousand crowns which the Princess is to take with her in jewels and gold and silver, should be received as an instalment of the first payment. It appears to us that this is a very reasonable stipulation. Because, as she takes them immediately, it is but reasonable they should be at once received on account. Moreover, in accordance with the treaty which was made at Medina del Campo, it was understood that they were to be given on account of the first payment.

As you wrote to us that you had improved upon the treaty in our behalf, we did not think it necessary to look over it, believing that it was as you had said, until a little before we wrote to you about it. Carefully, however, as we have examined it, we have not been able to discover whether the said sum will be received on account of the first payment. See, therefore, that, as you wrote, it be looked upon as being an instalment of the first payment, and that the Princess be not despoiled of the said jewels, gold, and plate. And obtain that the rule usual in such cases be adhered to. And if it be agreed that one part of the portion shall be paid in gold, still the plate and jewels must belong to the Princess, who takes them for her own use and enjoyment. Moreover, there is no reason why the King of England should not grant liberally to the Princess of Wales what he grants to his own Princesses.

Jewels and plate to be assigned to the Princess.

* Sic.

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Household of the Princess.

The third thing which you have to obtain is that the King of England should consider it right that the persons whose names are set down in the list sent with this letter, and signed by Almazan, should remain in the household of the Princess, and in her service, and that they should retain the posts and offices assigned them therein. It also seems good to us that the Princess should take the majority of them with her, and the remainder she may send for afterwards as the King of England may wish.

Nuptials between the Prince and Princess of Wales.

The fourth thing which you have to obtain is, that immediately on the said Princes meeting together, the nuptials between the Prince of Wales and the Princess of Wales shall be celebrated. For this, you can say, is a matter very easily to be accomplished; it is, moreover, a reasonable thing, and one which is usual.

We have asked nothing here but what is reasonable, and have put aside the principal matters by which you say the King of England might be scandalised. You must not, therefore, cease to request him to grant his consent to the matters which we have told you to endeavour to obtain, nor is there any reason why the King should deny it. But as you are of yourself sufficient to bring all to a good conclusion, there is no necessity for the Bishop of Galavay to come hither. You must, however, set about the matter with much diligence and care, and do not lift your hand from it until it is fulfilled, and send us word respecting it with the necessary despatch.

We have also sent you, herewith, our letters of credence for the said King of England, that in virtue of them you may speak on the abovesaid matters. You will see that the inclusion of the Kings of Scotland and Denmark is very suitable.

We have sent you the answer of the Princess of Wales to the Prince of Wales, and do you tell him when you see him all that may seem good to you.

You will also send the attestation respecting the said contract of marriage having been performed over again, after the 22nd of September. Obtain that letters be sent from the Prince to the said Princess.

As regards your salary, we have given directions about it, and so the messenger will tell you. Respecting Don Pedro, orders will be given, as you will see.—3rd October 1500.

I, the King. I, the Queen.

Signed by Almazan.

This letter was written in September, and finished the 3rd of October.

Written in two different keys of cipher, neither of which is extant. The deciphering is by the editor.

Spanish.

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3 Oct. **288.** KATHARINE PRINCESS OF WALES.—LIST of the OFFICERS and SERVANTS of her HOUSEHOLD who are to remain with her in England.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

First lady of honour and first lady of the bedchamber:
Doña Elvira Manuel.
To have the direction of her state rooms:
Juan de Cuero and his wife.
To attend on her in her private rooms:
Doña Katharine Cardenas.
Lady of Company to Doña Elvira:
Doña Martina Mudarra.
Two servants of Doña Elvira.

Ladies of Honour.

[*Blank*] the daughter of Don Pedro de Mendoza, brother of the Cardinal.
Doña Francisca de Silva.
Doña Beatriz, daughter of Doña Blanca.
Doña Martina, daughter of Salazar.
Doña Ines, daughter of Doña Ines, the nurse of the Princess of Wales.
Lady of company to the said maids of honour, Katharine de Montoya.
Two slaves to attend on the maids of honour.

Servants in the rooms of the Princess.

[*Blank*] daughter of Ines Dalbornoz.
[*Blank*] niece of the treasurer Morales.

Laundress.

The wife of Andres Martines.

Officers.

Mayor Domo and First Chamberlain:
Pedro Manrique.
Master of the Hall:
The Knight Commander, Alonso de Esquivel.
Master of Ceremonies and Master of the Pages:
The son of Pedro Manrique.
Chief Cup-bearer and Trenchant:
The son of Doña Francisca de Silva.
Secretary:
Pasamonte.

Chapel.

Confessor [*Blank.*]
First Chaplain: Alexander.
Almoner: The Englishman.
Chaplain: Pedro Morales, Chaplain of the Queen our Lady.

Pages.

The son of Pedro Suarez.
The son of Doña Blanca.
The son of Gamarra.
The son of Diego de Vargas of the Chapel.

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Pedro de Velasco.
Juan Sarmiento.
Chief Butler, Marshal, and Warden of the Chapel:
Medina.
Sasedo.
Vadillo.

Gentlemen in Waiting.

Zanquillos, who attends on the Princess.
[*Blank*] the servant of Alexander.
[*Blank*] the nephew of Juan Cuero.

Equerries.

Morales.
Vitoria.
Calderon.
The nephew of Perazcona.

Other Officers.

Comptroller: Sarmiento.
Cupbearer: Salvador.
Keeper of the plate: Saravia and Pedro de Salozano his assistant.
Quartermaster: Lope de Salozano.
Cook: Hieronimo de Vega and two assistants.
Chief waiter at table: The nephew of Juan de Mora.
Clerk of the Household: Francisco de Merueña.
Purser: Juan Daza.
Baker: Ambres Martinez.
Sweeper: [*Blank*].
Two squires to attend on Doña Elvira and the ladies.

No date.* Signed: MIG. P. ALMAZAN.

Spanish.

18 Dec. **289.** HENRY VII. to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

B. M. MS. Eg. 616. f. 15.

Informs them he has learnt that Don Pedro de Ayala has been commanded to take leave immediately, and to return to Spain. Requests that he may remain in England, at any rate for the short time that will have to elapse before the coming of the Lady Katharine. Asks this because it will be very acceptable to him, Don Pedro de Ayala being a personage entirely devoted to their service and to his also. Moreover, being, as he is, of such singular modesty and probity, as well as of affable and cheerful disposition, he is well fitted to adorn the nuptials by his presence and to cheer the spirits of the young Princess. Prays, therefore, that Don Pedro be commanded in no case to take leave until

Don Pedro de Ayala.

* This seems to be the list mentioned in the letter of Ferdinand and Isabella to De Puebla of the 3d of October 1500.

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the said nuptials be solemnized.—Abingdon, 18th December 1500.

Addressed: "To the serene and mighty Princes, Ferdinand and Isabella, by the grace of God, King and Queen of Castile, &c."

Indorsed by Almazan: "To their Highnesses, from the King of England, 18th December 1500."

Latin. p. 1.

Printed in Gairdner's Letters and Papers, I. 124.

20 Dec. **290.** KATHARINE, PRINCESS OF WALES.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 3. f. 27.

Ratifies once more the act performed in the chapel of the manor of Bewdley on the 19th of May 1499.

Orders and empowers, however, De Puebla, as her proxy, to perform once more the marriage ceremonies with the Prince of Wales.—Granada, 20th of December 1500.

Signed by the Princess of Wales. Countersigned by Almazan.

Latin, on parchment.

20 Dec. **291.** KATHARINE, PRINCESS OF WALES.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 3. f. 30.

Another ratification and power, which is verbatim the same as the preceding one.

27 Dec. **292.** DE PUEBLA to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 2.

Has received divers bundles of papers from them through Martin Sanchez de Zamudio. In each of these bundles there had been a Latin letter from them to the King of England.

Decided to go to the King, though the hindrances had been many; and the greatest of them all was the presence of Don Pedro de Ayala at court. Sent a messenger in great haste to Flanders, asking the Knight Commander of Haro to send him the authority of the Princess of Wales mentioned in those letters. The Knight Commander of Haro, however, replied that he did not choose to let the authority of the Princess go out of his hands, adding that nothing must be said of, or done respecting it before the King of England had consented to certain alterations of the treaty which they had demanded. The Knight Commander had given him to understand that he would come to England, and direct the whole business "as though he were a great scholar, "or a person of great importance and much experience in the "affairs of England." Any delay seemed dangerous, especially as some Flemings had spread false news. Resolved, therefore, to go to the King of England, to give him their letters, and to solemnize the marriage in virtue of the former authority sent by the Princess Katharine.

Delay in sending the authority of the Princess for the marriage.

While continuing his journey with great anger and trouble

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because the Knight Commander of Haro had not sent the new authority of the Princess, he received a bundle of letters from them, dated the 3rd of October, and the new power of the Princess of Wales which the Knight Commander of Haro had sent with them. Delivered to Henry his new credentials and their Latin letters. The King was so well satisfied with the contents of them that he summoned all the lords and privy counsellors who were with him. After the letters had been read they greatly praised the wisdom of them. The King and the privy counsellors deliberated on the spot, and it was settled that one of the letters should be sent to the Archuke, another to the King of Scots, and copies of them to the lords and principal towns of the kingdom. Only an eyewitness could believe what immense effect their letters produce in England, especially if they are written in Latin and as well composed as these letters are. The letters of the Princess of Wales and her authority could not have been better. Was not placed in a maze of doubts by them, as he had been by her authority of last year.

Effect produced on King Henry by letters from Spain.

Henry retired with him to his secret chamber, and said he had not expected that they would send such good and frank letters, because he had observed that he (De Puebla), by his shifts and evasions, had raised many obstacles against the execution of the treaties concluded between Spain and England. Seeing that the King was "all sweetness" (todo dulzor), he answered that they wished to have the marriage ceremonies performed afresh, since the Prince of Wales had now completed the fourteenth year of his age. Gave the power of the Princess of Wales to the King, who read it word for word. It was not necessary for him to read and explain it as he had done last year, because this power is so well composed.

Henry objects to a repetition of the marriage ceremony.

Henry said that a repetition of the marriage ceremonies was superfluous, and gave many good reasons for his opinion. Replied to the King that the marriage of the Archduke Philip had also been repeated in a similar way, and that great expenses would be saved by its repetition in England, because if the marriage ceremonies were not repeated in England, ambassadors would be obliged to go to Spain in order to perform them there.

Henry consulted on this subject with his council, and it was at last decided that the marriage ceremonies should be repeated in England. Feared that the King and his counsellors might change their minds; and therefore, chose in great haste those officers of the court and of the council whom he preferred, and went with them to Wales, where Prince Arthur was staying.

The ceremony performed.

There the marriage was once more solemnized with great ceremony. Took the hand of the Prince of Wales in the presence of witnesses and of two notaries. The Bishop of Lincoln, president of the council of the Prince of Wales, officiated. At first the Bishop had some doubts whether it would not be better that a secular lord should officiate, saying

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that the marriage was a clandestine marriage, and therefore he, as a prelate, would incur the danger of being suspended for some years from his bishopric, if he officiated at such a wedding. Explained to the Bishop that the wedding had been already performed twice before, and that the Pope, the King and Queen of Spain, and the King of England approved of it; he would incur, therefore, no danger if he performed the ceremony. Sends the formal instrument of the wedding by a messenger via Bristol.

Honour shown De Puebla.

To describe all the honour shown to him would be impossible. Was, as proxy of the Princess of Wales, placed at table above the Prince of Wales, and at his right hand. All the dishes were presented to him first, and in general more respect was paid to him than he had ever before received in his life.

Had been four months absent from court. His remonstrances would have produced little or no effect if he had gone to the King without bringing any news from Spain. The reason why he makes this observation is, that on his way to the King he had met a messenger of the Knight Commander of Haro taking a letter from them to Henry concerning their request to postpone the voyage of the Princess of Wales to England.

Knight Commander of Haro, his conduct.

The Knight Commander of Haro had not written a single word to him informing him of this message. Had the messenger of the Knight Commander arrived before him, and delivered his letters to the King, the news which he brought would probably have produced little or no effect, and it would have been impossible for him to have arrived at a satisfactory conclusion. Such letters ought not to be delivered to foreign Princes except by the ambassador who has to conduct negotiations with them. The only thing he could do in such circumstances was to push on his journey at full speed in order to overtake the courier of the Knight Commander; and in fact he arrived at court one day and a half before him. Was ever able, when the courier arrived, to persuade the King to send the Knight Commander a gracious answer. Had, moreover, himself composed the letter which the King signed.

Sends them a letter which the Knight Commander of Haro has written. They will learn from it what kind of person the man is whom they had chosen as impartial judge between himself and Don Pedro de Ayala. They will likewise see what objects these two men have in view. If they had had as long an experience of Don Pedro de Ayala and of the Knight Commander of Haro as they have had of him, he would be better esteemed by them, and not have to contend with so many difficulties. Has served them twelve years in England with all honour, and now come men without learning or experience, and do all in their power to deprive him of his good name. They attempt to lead him astray in order that he may commit blunders. To tell all the snares which Don Pedro

Don Pedro de Ayala.

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de Ayala has laid for him, and indefatigably continues to lay for him, would require a long time.

As soon as Don Pedro had come to England, he turned his most intimate friends, and among them the Latin secretary of the King, into his most bitter enemies. Don Pedro told them that he had put into his own pocket the money which had been sent from Spain as presents for them, and other similar bad stories. Sent them a short time ago the letter which Don Pedro had had the impudence to write to him. They will learn by it what the real character of that man is. Hopes they will order him to leave England. The negotiations with Scotland were finished whilst Don Pedro was absent in Flanders. It is not from revenge that he begs for the recall of Don Pedro; he only wishes that the obstacles which his enemy continually throws in his way may be removed in order that he may the more effectually serve them. Promises to do all that is possible in their service, and even "almost the impossible;" which is the more desirable since the Cardinal of England is dead, and has left no statesman behind who can be compared to him.

Begs that he may be recalled.

Don Pedro de Ayala and some of the privy counsellors have said to King Henry that the presence of Don Pedro in England is very useful, because he acts as a counterpoise and a bridle to him (De Puebla). They say the truth. It is impossible for him to act with the energy, cheerfulness, and authority which he would put forth if Don Pedro were not present. Don Pedro has gone so far as to persuade the King of England and the Prince of Wales, behind his back, to write letters to them in his (Don Pedro's) recommendation. They promised him, in their letter of the 3rd of October, to recall Don Pedro. Although Don Pedro had received letters from them, dated the same day, he has not in the least changed his behaviour, or his manner of speaking. Beseeches them to deliver him from his antagonist.

After his return from Wales, settled with King Henry that the wedding of the Princess Katharine should take place with the greatest solemnity within twelve days after her arrival.

Household of the Princess of Wales.

Has likewise settled the business respecting the ladies and officers who are to remain with the Princess of Wales. Has done all in his power. Encloses a list of them, signed by the King of England, who says that he would not make the least objection to any number of Spanish servants remaining with the Princess, if it were his intention to imitate the Archduke, that is to say, to receive them to-day, and to send them away to-morrow. It is his will to keep what he promises, and not to treat the Spanish servants as badly as they have been treated in Flanders. That is the reason why the King begs them to be contented with the number of Spanish servants contained in the said list. The Princess will be better and more respectfully

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attended by English ladies and gentlemen than ever Princess has been served before. Hopes they will grant his prayers, because even the Knight Commander of Haro has asked no more than Henry now offers.

Her marriage portion.

Did not think it a fit moment to speak to the King of England about the jewels, ornaments, &c. of the Princess, especially as the new treaty had been so recently sworn, which settles that the jewels, ornaments, &c. of the Princess are to be discounted from the last instalment of the marriage portion, that is to say, two years after the consummation of the marriage. It has been impossible to obtain more favourable terms, and King Henry has for a long time been utterly unwilling to discount them at all. If they take from him the nightmare which oppresses him, he will be the most zealous servant imaginable to them.

Knight Commander of Haro.

When he received their letters of the 6th of July, in which they ordered him to procure the consent of the King of England to certain additional articles, the Knight Commander of Haro was in England. Without consideration whether it were the right moment or not, he broached the whole matter to the King, only in order to know his will. To speak about these articles before the King of England had consented to prolong the time of the departure of the Princess for England was bad policy. Should any similar thing occur in future, it would be best to intrust the business to him alone, and not to send such a person as the Knight Commander.

Inclusion of the Kings of Scotland and Denmark in the alliance.

Has showed the King of England their letter, in which they express their wish to include the Kings of Scotland and Denmark in their treaty of alliance. King Henry gladly assented to this demand. Intended to send a messenger to Scotland, when a Scotch king-at-arms came to England. Has had many long conversations with him, and told him that they have heard with great pleasure that the King of Scots is reconciled with the King of England, and is to marry one of his daughters. Told him also that they have not only included the King of Scots in their treaty of alliance with England, but likewise his uncle the King of Denmark. Has given a copy of the treaty to the said king-at-arms, who will take it to the King of Scots.

The same week an officer of the King of Denmark came to England, to whom he had given another copy of the same treaty of alliance. Is sure that the King of Denmark will gladly accept the clause by which he is included. The treaty will be published in Flanders and England, as soon as the Kings of Scotland and of Denmark shall have consented to it. It will in future prevent a great number of robberies and murders.

Princess of Wales.

Begs them to write and say who will accompany the Princess of Wales when she sets sail, and at what port she will land. Southampton seems to be the best harbour for her. Wishes to be informed of their intentions twenty or twenty-five days before the Princess sets sail.

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Beseeches them to assign very clearly to each of the ladies who are to come with the Princess, the place which she is to occupy.

Has heard from a servant of Don Pedro de Ayala that they have ordered him to go to Flanders; but he has hitherto not only not obeyed their orders, but stays at the English Court more now than he ever did before. When he had no permission to do so, he went to Flanders, and now that he is bidden to go to Flanders he has the impudence to stay in England. Begs that strict orders be sent to Don Pedro de Ayala.—Westminster, 27th of December 1501.*

P.S.—Encloses a letter of King Henry to the Princess of Wales. The pestilence has entirely disappeared in England.

Addressed: "To the very high and very powerful Princes the King and Queen our Lords."

Spanish. pp. 15.

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23 March. **293.** QUEEN ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 3.

Has received his letters of the 23d of December and 23d of February and the letters of Henry and of the Prince of Wales, together with the attestation that the marriage ceremonies have been once more performed. Although a fresh ratification by the Princess of Wales is not necessary, she ratifies the new act of marriage in a letter to the Prince of Wales.

Writes a letter to Henry, which contains her ratification, and that of King Ferdinand.

Preparations for the reception of the Princess.

The Princess of Wales will go to England as soon as possible, and certainly within the time which has been agreed upon.

"I am told that the King, my brother, has ordered great preparations to be made, and that much money will be spent upon her reception and her wedding.

"I am pleased to hear it, because it shows the magnificent grandeur of my brother, and because demonstrations of joy at the reception of my daughter are naturally agreeable to me. Nevertheless it would be more in accordance with my feelings, and with the wishes of my Lord (King Ferdinand), if the expenses were moderate. We do not wish that our daughter should be the cause of any loss to England, neither in money, nor in any other respect. On the contrary, we desire that she should be the source of all kinds of happiness, as we hope she will be, with the help of God. We, therefore, beg the King, our brother, to moderate the expenses. Rejoicings may be held, but we ardently implore him that the substantial part of the festival should be his love; that the Princess should be treated by him and by the Queen as their true daughter, and by the Prince of Wales as we feel sure he will treat her. Say this to the King of England."

* The new year, according to the Spanish reckoning, began on the 25th of December. The 27th of December is, therefore, according to historical reckoning, the 27th of December 1500.

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Her journey.

Is satisfied with the clause of the last treaty, stating that the wedding shall take place within twelve days after the arrival of the Princess of Wales in England. Would like to send her to London, or to Gravesend, because Henry wishes it. But the most important consideration is the safety of the Princess, and, as all say that Southampton is the safest harbour in England, prefers to send her daughter to that place. No further expenses need be incurred. The Princess and her companions will be accustomed, during her journey through Spain, to stay at inns and in small villages.

Household.

Has seen the memoir concerning the persons who are to remain with the Princess in England. They are very few. She has added the names of some more on the margin of the memoir. Though the Princess will certainly be well attended by the English, still it is desirable for her to have Spaniards about her person.

Spanish merchandize.

Henry is mistaken if he believe that they have issued a warrant prohibiting all foreign vessels to ship merchandise in Spanish ports. Have conceded to Spanish vessels only the right to ship first. Were bound in justice to do so, as Spanish vessels have so many onerous duties to perform. Besides, in all other countries, national shipping enjoys the same privilege.

Kings of Scotland and Denmark.

Is pleased to see that the Kings of Scotland and of Denmark are excepted in the treaty of alliance. If the King of Denmark accepts the clause concerning him, it must be publicly proclaimed in his dominions, in order that Spanish and Danish subjects may treat one another as friends at sea.

Don Pedro de Ayala.

Henry has asked them to let Pedro de Ayala remain in England till the Princess of Wales arrives, and even a little longer. Could not refuse. If Henry wish to keep Don Pedro de Ayala in England, he must remain there; if not, he may leave the country.—Granada, 23rd March 1501.

Addressed: "By the Queen. To Doctor De Puebla, her ambassador in England, and of her Council."

Spanish. pp. 7.

294. ONE OF THE SECRETARIES OF HENRY VII. to HIS NEPHEW, a clergyman in Spain.

S. E. I. L. 806. f. 9.

He must tell the Queen of Spain that the marriage between the Princess Katharine and the Prince Arthur has been again ratified in England.

The King, the Queen, the Prince of Wales, and all the Lords and high dignitaries, are desirous to see the Princess in England.

Festivities preparing for the reception of the Princess.

The King has sent letters to all the Lords in England, Ireland, and Wales, enjoining them to be ready on the 25th of May to receive the Princess of Wales in London. Invitations have been sent to France, Flanders, and Brittany. All foreign

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knights and nobles who wish to take part in the forthcoming festivities will be hospitably received in England, and have to pay nothing for their living.

The Dukes of Northumberland*, Suffolk, and Gloucester, and the three most noble Earls of the kingdom, challenge all comers to break three lances with them, and to exchange three blows with the battle-axe. The jousts are to last forty days, and to be held in London, which place is perfectly healthy at present.

Preparations are making in all towns, villages, and seaports to receive the Princess. As it is said that she will disembark most probably at Southampton, or at Bristol, the Duke of York, and "the Bishop of London, who is now Archbishop of "York," have gone to those places to superintend the preparations for her reception. If the Princess should land at another English seaport, she would find everything ready for her there also. But Bristol and Southampton are the safest harbours.

Thirteen knights of [*blank*] are to be created, twelve by the Prince of Wales, and the thirteenth by the King.

The two hundred and thirty knights of the Round Table will again assemble on this occasion. In olden times King Arthur, on whose soul God have mercy, presided over the Round Table. It would be difficult to describe all the foreigners who have already come to England. The preparations of last year cost more than one hundred thousand nobles, but the English do not mind that; and the expenses of this year will be much greater. The nobles vie with one another in splendour.

Embassy from the King of Scots to King Henry.

The ambassador of the King of Scots is now in England, arranging some things with Henry concerning the marriage which has been concerted between the King of Scots and the Princess Elizabeth.

It is much to be desired that the officers who are to come with the Princess of Wales should be honourable and respectable people. The Spaniards will have no reason to complain of England as they have complained of Flanders. "In "Flanders many a Spaniard has died from starvation. But I "tell you that as many as like may come with the Princess "of Wales, and none of them will die of hunger. If they "die it will be from too much eating. Such a stock of "provisions is laid in, that nothing will be wanting."

The King, the Queen, and the Prince of Wales, are all well, and occupied with nothing else except putting all things in order for the Princess of Wales. They have great pleasure in hearing that the Princess Katharine is beginning to speak French. The Queen especially rejoices at the progress the Princess is making in the French language.

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* "El Duque de Nuestroberlenguen" in the original.

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The writer's private affairs.

The Bishop of London and many other great personages have written to him. But his relatives, and especially his mother, his brothers, and his sisters, have not cared to send him a single line. They are very angry with him, and have good reason to be so. He has already been fourteen years abroad in the service of such great Princes as the King and Queen of Spain, and has not yet obtained a single living. "You "have often written that the Queen and the Princess have "given you a great many church preferments, but we have now "learnt from some Englishmen that all that was a lie. You "are a lost man, you have debts, and nothing to eat. More- "over, the Queen has deprived you of a living,—which circum- "stance does not speak in your favour."

He has given up his friends, and a living in England of more than 300 nobles, and has got no living or friends in Spain. Thus, nothing remains to him but to hope in God.

No date. No signature.

Indorsed: "This is a translation of some letters from an uncle of mine who is secretary to the King of England, and from other relatives in that country."

The paper is written in most barbarous Spanish. There are almost as many grammatical errors as words.

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 7.

295. ENGLISH CLERGYMAN to QUEEN ISABELLA.

S. E. I. L. 806. f. 9.

[Added to the above paper is a letter to Queen Isabella, written in the same hand.] Complains that the Archbishop of Granada has deprived him of his living. Begs he may be paid two years' salary as late chaplain of the Queen, and wishes for a place in the household of the Princess of Wales. "I would rather die, or be the slave of a Turk, than return to "England as a poor man."—No date. No signature.

Indorsed: "Memoir of the English clergyman."

pp. 2.

8 April. **296.** QUEEN ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 6.

Journey of the Princess of Wales.

The shortest passage from Spain to England is that from Coruña in Galicia, where, moreover, the Princess and all her companions can obtain the indulgence of the jubilee. Has, therefore, settled with King Ferdinand, that the Princess shall embark from that port. All the ships and other things necessary for the departure of the Princess are kept in readiness. It had been their intention to accompany their daughter to Coruña, but at the hour of departure the news arrived that the Moors in the Sierra of Ronda had rebelled. The King had, therefore, been obliged to go to Ronda, in order to subdue the rebels, and the departure of the Princess was consequently delayed.

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Rebellion of the Moors.

The rebellion is now at an end, and the King is expected to return in five or six days. Directly after his arrival the Princess will leave, either in their company or alone. It is to be hoped that she will be at Coruña before the stipulated time. But the journey is very long, and the Princess has suffered from a low fever. Though she is better now, it would be imprudent of her to expose herself to the fatigue of quick travelling. She must proceed by easy journeys.

He must tell all this to the King of England, and ask him to forgive it if the Princess of Wales should not arrive until a few days after the stipulated time. A fresh prorogation of one or two months would be the best. Promises, however, that, without regard to any fresh prorogation, the Princess of Wales shall be in England as soon as possible.

Expects a speedy answer.—Granada, 8th of April 1501.

Addressed: "By the Queen. To Doctor De Puebla, her ambassador in England, and of her Council."

Spanish. pp. 2.

8 April. **297.** QUEEN ISABELLA to HENRY VII.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 5.

Repetition of the marriage ceremony.

Has received his letter of the 21st of November, and read with pleasure that the solemnization of the marriage between the Prince and Princess of Wales, their common children, had been repeated after the Prince of Wales had completed the fourteenth year of his age. Has likewise received the public instrument, signed by the Prince of Wales and sealed with his seal, which was drawn up by two apostolic notaries in the chapel of the castle of Ludlow, in the diocese of Hereford, on the 22d of November last year, 1500. Ratifies, in her name and in the name of King Ferdinand, all that De Puebla, as proxy of the Princess of Wales, has done and promised on that occasion, so that the marriage is now to be regarded as undoubtedly lawful and indissoluble.

The Princess of Wales ready to start for England.

The Princess of Wales is ready to leave for England. But as she may not perhaps be able to embark before the Feast of St. John, he is asked to concede a fresh prorogation of her departure. Gives her word as a Queen that the Princess shall embark for England before the time of the fresh prorogation shall be concluded. All other stipulations between them shall remain in full force.—Granada, 8th of April 1501.

Indorsed: "A copy of the letter of the Queen our Lady to the King of England. I have not read it over, and do not know whether there are any errors in it." *.

Latin. Draft or copy. pp. 3.

7 May. **298.** QUEEN ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 7.

Had intended to send her last letter by Alonso de San Juan, her king-at-arms; but, changing her mind, has sent

* Written by Almazan.

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another messenger, in order that her king-at-arms should remain with the Princess of Wales. On account of this other messenger not being very trustworthy, it seems best to send a second letter.

Rebellion of the Moors.

The King has been detained longer than was expected by the rebellion of the Moors of Ronda, who are the last converts to Christianity, and who live in the most inaccessible mountains. Wishing to see his daughter before her departure, the King has accepted the capitulation offered to him by the Moors, and pardoned the rebels. It would have cost him much more time to subdue them by force. The King is, therefore, at liberty to leave Ronda now, and has written that he would start this very day (Friday) for Granada. Has suffered from fever. Her indisposition and the absence of the King are the reasons why the departure of the Princess of Wales has been hitherto delayed. But as soon as the King arrives, the Princess will start by way of Santiago in Galicia, in order to embark at Coruña.

Departure of the Princess of Wales.

Begs Henry to excuse the delay, and promises, on her word as Queen, that the Princess of Wales shall arrive in England as soon as possible.—Granada, 7th May 1501.

Addressed: "By the Queen. To Doctor De Puebla, her ambassador in England, and of her Council."

Spanish. pp. 3.

21 May. **299.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 11.

The Queen has written to say that the Princess of Wales would start as soon as the King had returned from Ronda. The King has arrived on the 15th of May, in Granada; but as the Princess was suffering from ague, her departure has been postponed for a few days. On the 21st of May, however, she has left Granada on her journey to Coruña. Have not accompanied her, because she will travel quicker if left alone. She will most probably arrive by the stipulated time, or at the most a little later.—Santa Fé, 21st May 1501.

Spanish. p. 1.

21 May. **300.** ALMAZAN to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Princess of Wales.

Memoir on the causes which have prevented the Princess of Wales from going to England within the stipulated time.

It had been the intention of Ferdinand and Isabella to send the Princess of Wales to England before the expiration of the time which had been concerted with the King of England. The unexpected news of the rebellion in the Sierra of Ronda, however, has prevented them from executing their design. The indisposition of the Queen and Princess have caused a further delay of seven days. But the Princess is now on her way to England, and the persons who accompany her are instructed to travel as fast as possible. God knows

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best that Ferdinand and Isabella have done all in their power punctually to fulfil all their promises.—No date.

Indorsed: "Draft of the paper concerning the causes which have delayed the departure of the Princess of Wales."

Spanish. pp. 2.

29 May. **301.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

B. M. MS. Vit. C. XI. f. 47.

Twelve days after the disembarkation of the Princess of Wales in England, the nuptials between her and the Prince of Wales are to be solemnized. Ten days before or after the marriage she is to be endowed by the King of England and the Prince of Wales with certain townships and seignories. De Puebla is to see that these two matters be accomplished. The jewels and plate taken by the Princess to be received on account of, and in part payment of her marriage portion. He is to obtain an acknowledgment from the King and the Prince of Wales of the amount received. A list is sent of the persons who are to form the household of the Princess. He is to endeavour to have sufficient salaries assigned them.—Granada, 29th May 1501.

Spanish. Copy. 2 *pages of print.*

Printed in Gairdner's Memorials.

5 July. **302.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 11.

Have had news from the Princess of Wales. She travels as quickly as possible; but the heat is so great that she cannot make long journeys. She will arrive to-day, the 5th of July, at Guadaloupe. If she continue her journey at about the same rate, she may arrive at Coruña between the 15th and 20th of July.—Garnada, 5th July 1501.

Addressed: "By the King and the Queen. To Doctor De Puebla, their ambassador in England, and o. their Council."

Spanish. p. ½.

29 July. **303.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 12.

Seeing that we desire to impart our affairs to the King of England, as to a brother whom we love, and to make him a sharer in them, we give him intelligence, of which, however he must be already aware. It is, that since the time of

King of France;

King Charles of France until the present day, we have done nothing else except endeavour to obtain, as well by deeds of arms, when restitution was made of Naples, as by means of negotiation, to dissuade the said King Charles, and afterwards King Louis, who now is, from his attempts on the kingdom of Naples. But, in spite of it all, we have never had any gratitude shown us by King Fadrique for what we formerly did for him, nor any amity or brotherhood, but quite

his attempts upon Naples.

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the contrary. Notwithstanding, we have not ceased to travail for him, endeavouring by all possible means to bring about a reconciliation between him and the King of France, in order that he might remain secure in his kingdom, and that the King of France might desist from the enterprise he had in hand. Moreover, we negotiated with the Pope and the King of the Romans, and with the Venetians, to drive away the King of France from Naples, but could not succeed in our endeavours.

King Don Fadrique seeks aid from the Turks.

On the contrary, the Pope invited him over and aided him; and the King of the Romans, with the members of the Empire, made a truce with him, and the Venetians took part with him. On the other hand, King Don Fadrique sought aid from the Turks, giving us notice of the same by his ambassadors more than a year ago, and certified us of his determination, notwithstanding that we opposed him, and censured him, and endeavoured to turn him away from his purpose. At last we told him that we should be his chiefest enemies if he should persist in his purpose, but we could never prevail upon him to relinquish it.

Moreover, we concluded no kind of treaty or agreement, or anything that might be construed as such, with King Fadrique, nor in any other manner did we enter into an obligation to give him aid. For even had we desired to aid him, we could not have done it, on account of the peace we had negotiated with the King of France at the beginning of his reign. Besides we had a desire to maintain peace, and also had no need to undertake such a war; King Fadrique himself having no wish that we should. Again, he never even gave us thanks for what we had formerly done for him, nor was there any amity or relation subsisting between us.

Proposal of the King of France.

The Turks, also, having taken part in the matter, that alone would have been cause sufficient for us not only to refuse to aid King Fadrique, but to oppose him. Besides, the King of France justified himself to us, and assured us he had always desired to preserve our friendship. Therefore, that no rupture might take place between us on account of Naples, he said it would be agreeable to him if we would divide that kingdom with him, seeing that it belonged either to us or to him, and to no other person whatever. Being determined, for the causes above mentioned, not to aid King Fadrique in the defence of Naples, we thought it well to accept the offer of the King of France. We were the more moved to do this because we had no desire to take upon ourselves the responsibility of so unjust a proceeding as that of affording succour to one who had no right to the kingdom of Naples. Further, seeing King Fadrique was and still is determined to have recourse to the Turks, it was our duty, for the sake of the Christian Faith, to unite ourselves with Christian Princes. Besides, the King of Naples would not be inconvenienced by this agreement if the King of France should

Acceptance of it by Ferdinand and Isabella.

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afterwards relinquish this enterprise. If, on the other hand, the King of Naples were to lose his kingdom, it would be much better we should take the half of it, (since the better right is ours,) than lose the whole. For King Fadrique has no forces wherewith to defend himself, and we have no right to join ourselves with one who receives aid from the Turks.

The Pope the head of the treaty.

We have lately heard from our ambassador who is in Rome that the Pope desires that a fresh writing should be made, in which it should be stated that he was the head of our treaty with the King of France in the matter of Naples. He also said that since he had part in the affair of Naples, and that no one else had, excepting ourselves, he wished that the writing should be made in the name of all three, and it has accordingly been made and published in that form. Moreover, although our ambassadors had no authority from us for doing this, yet, seeing that we ought always to be confederate with the Pope and the Apostolic Chair, and so much the more in such a cause as that of the Faith, a cause than which there could be none more just, we have thought good to confirm the said treaty. Besides, the affair of Naples is such that it does not and cannot affect any one excepting ourselves and the Pope and the King of France. If there had been anything in it affecting the King of England, we would have communicated it to him before making it.—Granada, 29th July 1501.

Signed by the King. Signed by the Queen.
Signed by Almazan.

Addressed: "By the King and the Queen. To Doctor De Puebla, of their Council, and their ambassador in England."

The despatch is written in two keys of cipher, constantly mixed up the one with the other. No key to this cipher is extant. The deciphering is by the editor.

Spanish.

25 Sept. **304.** HENRY VII. to the ARCHBISHOP OF SANTIAGO and the COUNT DE CABRA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 13.

Princess of Wales; her voyage.

Has seen their letter of the 12th of September, in which they describe the whole progress of the Princess of Wales by land and by sea. Is exceedingly sorry that the voyage has been so bad, and that the Princess has been obliged to return to Spain. Thanks them for having informed him, without loss of time, of what has happened. A short time before the arrival of their letter, it had been known in England that the fleet of the Princess had been obliged to put back on account of storms and hurricanes, but nobody had been able to tell whether it had safely reached a harbour. Has, therefore, sent one of his best captains, Stephen Butt*, to be on the look

* The name may also be read "Stephen Brett."

1501.

out for the Princess, and to convoy her in the best way to England.

Impatiently expected in England.

Hopes the Princess has already resumed her voyage, since the winds have been favourable for some days past. If that, however, should not be the case, no time is to be lost. The later the season, the more stormy will be the weather. As the Princess has disembarked at Laredo, flatters himself that she has already recovered from her fatigue caused by the furious sea. She is impatiently expected by him, by the Queen, by the Prince of Wales, and by the whole nation. All the preparations made for her splendid reception are ready.—Richmond, 25th September 1501.

Addressed: "To the most Reverend Father in Christ, the Archbishop of Santiago, de Compostella, and the illustrious Count de Cabra."

Latin: Written in an exceedingly bad hand. pp. 3.

4 Oct. **305.** The LICENTIATE ALCARES to QUEEN ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I L. 4. f. 14.

Voyage of the Princess of Wales, and arrival in England.

The Princess of Wales embarked* on Monday the 27th of September. At five o'clock in the afternoon the ship weighed anchor, and set sail. The weather was favourable at first, but changed after midnight. Continued their voyage until they were off Ushant, without any great inconvenience. The winds were variable, but the sea was not rough. When they had passed Ushant, however, they were overtaken by a most furious vendabal†, thunderstorms, and immense waves. Had a thunderstorm every four or five hours during the rest of the voyage. "It was impossible not to be frightened."

The following Saturday, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, the Princess entered the harbour of Plymouth, which is the first on the coast of England. "She could not have been received "with greater rejoicings, if she had been the Saviour of the "world." As soon as she left the boat, she went in procession to the church, where, it is to be hoped, God gave her the possession of all these realms for such a period as would be long enough to enable her to enjoy life, and to leave heirs to the throne.—4th of October.

Addressed: "To the very powerful Queen of Spain, our excellent Lady."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

Oct. **306.** THE DEPARTURE OF THE PRINCESS KATHARINE FROM SPAIN, AND HER ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND.

The Princess arrives at Plymouth on the 2nd of October. King Henry leaves Richmond on the 4th of November, in

* In Laredo.

† "Viento de abajo" (wind from below), that is, according to Castilian phraseology, south wind.

1501.

order to meet her on her way to London. Is joined by the Prince of Wales. The Prothonotary of Spain meets the King, and informs him that, according to the orders of Ferdinand and Isabella, the Princess is not to converse with him, or the Prince of Wales, until the day of the solemnization of her marriage.

King Henry overrules this order. Meets the Princess at Dogmerfield. The Prince of Wales arrives there a short time afterwards. Both see the Princess.

The Princess proceeds to Chertsey.

The King returns to Richmond. Goes on the 10th of November to Baynard's Castle, in order to be present at the entry of the Princess into London.

English. pp. 5, *in print.*

Printed in Leland's Collectanea, vol. V. p. 352.

8 Nov. **307.** A NARRATIVE OF THE JOUSTS, BANQUETS, &c. given at the MARRIAGE of the PRINCESS KATHARINE with the PRINCE OF WALES.

English. pp. 17, *in print.*

Printed in Leland's Collectanea, vol. V. p. 356.

14–20 Nov. **308.** ARTHUR, PRINCE OF WALES.

S. E. T. c.I. L. 3. f. 28.

Dowry of the Princess of Wales.

In the treaty concluded between Ferdinand and Isabella on the one side, and Henry VII. on the other, concerning his marriage with the Princess Katharine of Spain, it was stipulated that the dowry of the said Princess shall consist of the third part of the revenues of Wales, Cornwall, and Chester, and that towns, lands, and castles to that amount should be assigned to her within ten days before or after the solemnization of their marriage.

Endows, therefore, the said Princess Katharine, on the day of their wedding, that is to say, on the 14th of November 1501, at the altar of St. Paul's Cathedral in London, and in the presence of an immense multitude of people, with the towns, manors, lands, rents, &c. herein-after enumerated.

[A detailed enumeration of all the property which forms part of the dowry follows.]

King Henry ratifies the endowment of the Prince of Wales. —Westminster, 20th November 1501.

Latin. pp. 12.

12 Nov. **309.** ARTHUR, PRINCE OF WALES.

P. R. O.

Assignment of the dowry of the Princess Katharine.—[*Date left in blank.*]

Latin. pp. 2, *in print.*

It is the draft of the preceding document.

Printed in Rymer.

1501.
28 Nov. **310.** HENRY VII. and ARTHUR, PRINCE OF WALES.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 3. f. 29.

Receipt for the first instalment of the marriage portion.

Acknowledge, in presence of witnesses, and before Johannes Cæsares, apostolic notary, to have received from Alphonso de Fonseca, Archbishop of Santiago, Count de Cabra, and other commissioners of Ferdinand and Isabella, the sum of 100,000 scudos in 92,592½ gold ducats.—Richmond, 28th of November 1501.

Indorsed in Spanish: "*This is a true copy of the original receipt given by King Henry of England and the Prince of Wales of the* 100,000 *gold scudos which Ferdinand and Isabella, King and Queen of Spain, have paid him.*" *The original is written on parchment, signed, sealed, and authenticated by a public notary*:

For the correctness of the copy,
Diego Alvarez, clerigo, public notary, &c.

Latin. pp. 1.

28 Nov. **311.** HENRY VII. to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 15.

Arrival of the Princess of Wales.

Has already told them that the Princess Katharine arrived on the 2nd of October at the port of Plymouth. Is very glad that the Princess and her companions are well. Had felt great anxiety about her during her voyage from Spain to England. Has sent some of his officers to bring her by short and easy journeys to London. Has likewise told them that he and the Prince of Wales went to meet the Princess on her way. Have much admired her beauty, as well as her agreeable and dignified manners. On the 12th of November the Princess made her entry into the capital, accompanied by such a multitude of prelates, high dignitaries, nobles, and knights, and with the acclamation of such masses of people as never before had been seen in England.

Nuptials between the Prince and Princess of Wales solemnized.

On the 14th of November the Princess was conducted, with great splendour, to the Cathedral of St. Paul, where both the primates of England, a great number of Bishops, and the first secular and ecclesiastical Lords of the kingdom were present. The Archbishop of Canterbury said high mass before the principal altar of the church, and the Prince and Princess of Wales were solemnly wedded. Although the friendship between the houses of England and Spain has been most sincere and intimate before this time, it will henceforth be much more intimate and indissoluble.

Rejoicings.

Great and cordial rejoicings have taken place. The whole people have taken part in them. Begs them to banish all sadness from their minds. Though they cannot now see the gentle face of their beloved daughter they may be sure that she has found a second father who will ever watch over her happiness, and never permit her to want anything that he can procure for her. Has already written to them about all this, but such things cannot be too often repeated.

1501.

The Archbishop of Santiago, the Count de Cabra, the Bishop of Majorca, and all the other ambassadors who have accompanied the Princess, have secured for themselves his love and esteem.

The union between the two royal families, and the two kingdoms, is now so complete that it is impossible to make any distinction between the interests of England and Spain. Promises punctually to fulfil all his obligations, and even more if they wish it. Richmond, 28th of November 1501.

Addressed : "To the most serene and most powerful Princes, Ferdinand and Isabella, by the grace of God, King and Queen of Spain."

Latin. pp. 6½.

30th Nov. **312.** ARTHUR, PRINCE OF WALES, to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 16.

Thanks them for their letters which have been delivered to him by the Archbishop of Santiago and the Count de Cabra.

Had never felt so much joy in his life as when he beheld the sweet face of his bride. No woman in the world could be more agreeable to him. Promises to make a good husband. Richmond, 30th of November, MCCCCCI.*

Addressed : "To the most serene and most powerful Princes, Ferdinand and Isabella, &c."

Latin. pp. 2.

1502.

6 Jan. **313.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

B. M. MS. Vit. C. XI. f. 49.

Have seen his letters informing them of the safe arrival of the Princess of Wales in England, which tidings have given them much pleasure. He is to send them a full relation of all that has taken place since the coming of the Princess. Have heard that the King of England does not wish Don Pedro Manrique to retain the office he has hitherto held in the household of the Princess. If it be so, De Puebla is to entreat the King that such an affront should not be offered him.—Seville, 6th January 1502.

Spanish. Copy. 1 *page of print.*

Printed in Gairdner's Memorials.

15 April. **314.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 20.

Have received all his letters up to the 20th of December. Are glad to hear that the King and Queen of England, with the Prince and Princess of Wales, are in good health.

Have received a letter from King Henry in which he has told them all that had happened in England after the arrival of the Princess of Wales.

* Sic. It is clear one C is omitted.

1502.
Marriage of the King of Scots.

Are particularly glad to hear that the marriage between the King of Scots and the daughter of the King of England is concluded. Enclose a letter for the King of England. Promise to write soon again.--Puente del Arzobispo, 15th April 1502.

Addressed: "By the King and Queen. To Doctor De Puebla, of their Council, and their ambassador in England."

Spanish. p. 1.

29 April. **315.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

P. R. O.

Have received his letters, and the letters of the King of England.

Instructions sent to Don Juan Manuel respecting the Earl of Suffolk.

Had already sent instructions to Don Juan Manuel, their ambassador at the court of the King of the Romans, with respect to the affairs of the Earl of Suffolk. But as soon as they received the last letters from England, and more fully learnt by them the wishes of the King of England, they sent new instructions to Don Manuel, requesting the King of the Romans not to permit the Earl of Suffolk to stay in his dominions, and not to allow his subjects to assist or to favour him. Have further requested of the King of the Romans to deliver the Earl of Suffolk to the King of England, who will receive him to mercy. Are ready to render more services to the King of England, in case he should want them.

Forces to be sent against the Turks.

Are of opinion that the army and fleet which the Christian Princes intend to send against the Turks ought to be commanded by one captain or general. Think that the Cardinal and Master of Rhodes would be the best commander of the Christians. Have, therefore, entrusted to him all the forces which they have sent against the Turks.

Application of the money.

The money collected in England for the expedition would be best employed in equipping ships in England, which could be sent to Sicily or Naples, and there be provided with all things necessary. If it should be found impossible to equip ships in England, the money should, in their opinion, be sent to Genoa or to the Master of Rhodes, but not to the Pope. For should the Pope get it into his hands, it would be employed for other purposes.

Are ready to send this year again a fleet against the Turks. —Talavera, 29th April 1502.

Indorsed: "The coppie of a letter from Ferdinando and Isabella, King and Queene of Spaine, to their Ambassador in England, dated the 19th April 1502."*

English. Contemporary translation. pp. 2.

* Sic. The same letter is printed in Gairdner's Memorials of Henry VII. from a later Spanish copy in the Cottonian MSS. It is there dated the 19th of April.

1502.
10 May. **316.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 19.

Send Ferdinand Duke de Estrada as ambassador to the King and Queen of England and to the Princess of Wales. He must obey him in all he may order, as though such orders were given directly by themselves.—Toledo, 10th of May 1502.

Addressed: "By the King and the Queen. To Doctor De Puebla, of their Council, and their ambassador in England."

Spanish. p. 1.

10 May. **317.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 3. f. 17.

Instructions given to the Duke de Estrada.

Empower Ferdinand Duke de Estrada, in their name, and in the name of the Princess of Wales,—

1. To reclaim from the King of England the 100,000 scudos which have been paid as the first instalment of the marriage portion of the said Princess of Wales.
2. To demand that the King of England should deliver to the Princess of Wales those towns, manors, lands, &c. which have been assigned to her as her dowry, which is to amount to one third of the revenues of Wales, Cornwall, and Chester.
3. To beg the King of England to send the Princess Katharine to Spain in the best manner, and in the shortest time possible, and, if necessary, to superintend himself the arrangements for her departure.

Toledo, 10th of May 1502.

Indorsed: "Power for the Duke de Estrada."

Latin, on parchment. pp. 4.

10 May. **318.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 88.

Empower Ferdinand Duke de Estrada,—

1. To conclude with Henry, in their names, and as their ambassador, a marriage between their daughter Katharine and his son Henry, Prince of Wales.
2. To settle the amount, and other terms of the marriage portion, and of the dowry.

Toledo, 10th of May 1502.

This power is inserted in the treaty of the 23rd of June 1503.

Latin. pp. 7.

12 May. **319.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 24

Death of Prince Arthur.

Have read with profound sorrow the news of the death of Prince Arthur. The affliction caused by all their former losses has been revived by it. But the will of God must be obeyed.

1502.

Have heard that the Princess of Wales is suffering. She must be removed, without loss of time, from the unhealthy place where she now is.

He must write and send the fastest messengers by land and by sea.—Toledo, 12th May 1502.

Addressed: "By the King and the Queen. To Doctor De Puebla, of their Council, and their ambassador in England."

Spanish. p. 1.

21 May. **320.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 18.

Is a duplicate of the letter of the 12th of May.

29 May. **321.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 21.

After having answered his first letter which brought the lamentable news of the death of their son, Prince Arthur, have received his second letter of the 17th of April. Have nothing to say in answer to it, because they have sent an officer of their court to England to conduct the business.

Conduct expected from the King of England.

Expect, confidently, that the King of England will lose no time in fulfilling all his obligations towards the Princess of Wales. It is not to be believed that King Henry is capable of exposing the Princess, in this her time of grief, to want and privation. If it be not already done, he must take care that the Princess of Wales should now receive all the revenues of her dowry in order to be able to pay her personal expenses and her household.

The Princess of Wales must not borrow money.

Have been told that some persons in England have advised the Princess of Wales to borrow money, because the King of England would never fulfil his obligations to her. If she really were to do so it would reflect great dishonour on Henry. He must tell the Princess and her advisers not to borrow money. Such a thing is unheard of. When the Queen of Portugal, their daughter, became a widow, she received all she wanted from the new King of Portugal. Have never sent her a single farthing. When the Princess Margaret became a widow, they provided for all her wants in Spain, as though she had been their own daughter. Neither the King of the Romans, nor the Archduke Philip, had sent her the smallest sum of money; and if they had done so, they would have regarded it as an insult, and not accepted it. The Infanta Juana is married to the Archduke. It is true that the Flemings sent away her Spanish servants at first, and refused to give anything towards the expenses of her household. Notwithstanding this refusal, had not paid the expenses of the household of their daughter; and the Flemings, seeing the injustice of their behaviour, had soon provided liberally for her wants and the wants of her servants.

1502.

Obligations of King Henry to Princess of Wales.

The obligation of Henry towards the Princess of Wales is much greater than that of other Princes, who have been placed in similar circumstances. He has solemnly bound himself by a formal treaty to give her a dowry; and towns, manors, lands, &c. have been actually assigned to her as her property for life. It is not to be supposed that such a Prince as the King of England would break his word at any time, and much less at present whilst the Princess is overwhelmed with grief.

Doña Elvira.

He must write directly to Doña Elvira, and tell her that Juan de Cuero must keep all the gold, silver, jewels, &c. of the Princess with the greatest care. Not the smallest portion of them ought to be sold.

No new servants are to be engaged in the household of the Princess. All must remain in the state it is now until the new ambassador shall have arrived.—Toledo, 29th May 1502.

Addressed: "By the King and Queen. To Doctor De Puebla, of our Council, and our ambassador in England."

Spanish. pp. 3½.

14 June. S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 27.

322. FERDINAND and ISABELLA to FERDINAND DUKE DE ESTRADA.

After we had written our other letter, we received letters from the Princess of Wales, and from those who are with her. In them we are told that the King of England has already removed her from the unhealthy situation where she was staying, and that she has come to a place nearer London.

Coming over to Spain of the Princess of Wales.

According to what these letters say, it is very necessary, in order that you may the more successfully negotiate the business, that you should speak immediately to the King of England about her coming over here, as you received directions. Do this in such a way that he may believe we are desirous of it, for in this manner the business may best be furthered.

Letter of recall for De Puebla.

We have seen a letter written by Alexander, the chaplain-in-chief, to Doctor De Puebla, and of which we send you a copy. You will see by it what he says, and the object which it appears that he and the Doctor have in view. Be on your guard about it, in order that they may do no harm when, so please God, the affair of the marriage shall be agreed upon.

There is no reason why such a man as Alexander should remain in England. Give him, therefore, the letter of credence, and tell him that on account of our wishing to make use of him here about another matter, he must come to us immediately. Manage so that he does come, and do not let him see that you know anything of the contents of his letters, or that we do either. Communicate also respecting this matter with Doña Elvira, so that you may do what is

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best, and what seems well to her and to you.—Toledo, 14th June 1502.

Signed: The King. The Queen.

Addressed: "By the King and Queen. To Ferdinand Duke de Estrada, their chamberlain, counsellor, and ambassador in England."

Indorsed by the Duke de Estrada: "Received at Richmond, while going to see the King at Windsor, 14th day of July 1502."

The letter is written in two different keys of eipher, constantly mixed up the one with the other. Only a fragment of one of the keys is extant. The deciphering is by the editor.

Spanish.

14 June. **323.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 23.

Obligations of King Henry to the Princess of Wales.

Some persons have advised the Princess of Wales not to accept what the King of England has offered her. The advice is bad. She must accept whatever she can get.

He must speak to Henry, and take care that the King fulfil all his obligations towards the Princess. As King Henry retains the marriage portion, he is the more bound to provide for all the wants of the Princess of Wales. It is to be hoped that the English will not act dishonestly.—Toledo, 14th June 1502.

Addressed: "By the King and Queen. To Doctor De Puebla, their ambassador, and of their Council."

Spanish. p. 1.

15 June. **324.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 17.

Have just received his letters of the 9th and 11th of May, in which a letter from the King of England was inclosed.

The new ambassador whom they have sent to England will soon arrive there. It is, therefore, unnecessary to write a long letter now. Have begged Henry to remove the Princess of Wales from the place where the Prince died, because the situation is unhealthy. Are pleased to hear that the King of England has already complied with their demands.—Toledo, 15th June 1502.

Addressed: "By the King and Queen. To Doctor De Puebla, their ambassador, and of their Council."

Spanish p. 1.

16 June. **325.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to FERDINAND DUKE DE ESTRADA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 28.

In a letter written to us by the King of England, he says, among other things, that he will do what he has promised us, and the Princess of Wales our daughter. He also regards it as

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certain that we will keep that which we have promised him. Moreover, She* wrote to us that the said King is in haste for the Princess, our daughter, to receive her estates. Don Pedro Ayala likewise believes he will give the estates, because if the Princess of Wales receive them, the King thinks he will not be obliged to make restitution to us of the dowry, whereas we shall be obliged to finish paying him that which is not yet paid of the dowry. There is no right or reason, however, why this should take place. Yet in case they should mention it, we deem it right to advise you as to what you shall say in reply.

Dowry of the Princess of Wales.

Restitution to be made of it.

You shall answer that, the marriage being dissolved, the dowry returns to the father and mother who gave it, and that this is clearly stated both in canon and civil law, and no Doctor can bring forward anything to the contrary. Therefore, not only are we not bound to pay the King of England that which still remains unpaid of the dowry, but he is obliged to pay back to us what he has already received of the dowry.

In order that in all this affair you may be more upon your guard, we must tell you that she wrote to us that it seems the King of England, while wishing for this marriage, is pretending not to care for it. But she says that he is thinking of it, and in fact really wishes that we should first make our proposals to him, and that the King of England should not be the first to move in it. Take care, therefore, not to let out anything that might do harm, now that his intention is known.

Be careful also to get at the truth as regards the fact whether the Prince and Princess of Wales consummated the marriage, since nobody has told us about it. You must, moreover, use all the flattering persuasions you can to prevent them from concealing it from you.—Toledo, 16th June 1502.

Signed: The King. The Queen.

Signed by Almazan.

Addressed: "By the King and Queen. To Ferdinand Duke de Estrada, their maestre sala, lord chamberlain, ambassador, and counsellor."

This letter is written in two different keys of cipher, constantly mixed up the one with the other. Only a fragment of one of the keys is extant. The deciphering is by the editor.

Spanish.

28 June. **326.** HENRY VII. to FRANCISCO DE LERMA.

Fr. R. 17 Hen VII. m. (4.)

Licence to Francisco de Lerma, merchant, of Burgos, to export wools, &c. out of England during a period of five years.—Westminster, 28th June.

Latin. *p.* ½.

* Sic. Doña Elvira?

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12 July. **327.** QUEEN ISABELLA to FERDINAND, DUKE DE ESTRADA.

S. E. T. c. I.
L. 4. f. 29.

Proceedings of the King of France.

Know that the King of France is on his way to Milan with an armed force, and has sent a force against us with the intention, it is said, of endeavouring to take from us our possessions there. He has also sent to the frontier of Perpignan many armed men, foot and horse, and has commanded that ban and reban be proclaimed.*

All the time this was going on we were at ease here, for we did not believe that he would break the agreement which he had made and sworn.

Necessity for the conclusion of the marriage between the Prince and Princess of Wales.

But now you must see of how great importance it is that there should be no delay in making the agreement for the contract of marriage of the Princess of Wales, our daughter, with the Prince of Wales who now is. It is the more necessary, as it is said that the King of France is endeavouring to hinder it, and is intending to obtain the said alliance for his daughter, or for the sister of Monsieur d'Angoulême. Therefore, without saying anything about this, since it is already known for a certainty that the said Princess of Wales, our daughter, remains as she was here (for so Doña Elvira has written to us), endeavour to have the said contract agreed to immediately without consulting us; for any delay that might take place would be dangerous. See also that the articles be made and signed and sworn at once, and if nothing more advantageous can be procured, let it be settled as was proposed. In that case let it be declared that the King of England has already received from us 100,000 scudos in gold, in part payment of the dowry, and let that be made an obligatory article of the contract, with a view to restitution, in accordance with the former directions given you. Let it be likewise stipulated

Payment of the dowry.

that we shall pay the rest of the dowry when the marriage is consummated, so please God; that is, if you should not be able to obtain more time. But take heed, on no account to agree for us to pay what still remains of the dowry until the marriage shall have been consummated. See, moreover, that the King of England give immediately to the Princess of Wales, our daughter, whatever may be necessary for her maintenance and that of her people. Provide also that, in the arrangement of her household, everything should be done to the satisfaction of the King of England. Take care that Doña Elvira remain with her, and any other persons whom she may wish to retain, according to the number which was agreed upon for her service.

Arrangement of the household.

Be very vigilant about this, and endeavour to have the contract made without delay and without consulting us. Do not, however, let them see you have any suspicion of hindrance, or show so much eagerness that it may cause them to cool. But set about it prudently, and in the manner

* "Proclaim ban and reban" is a phrase which often occurs in French and English writings of the Middle Ages.

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which may seem best to you, so that there may be no delay in making the contract, and let us know immediately what you have done in it.

Notwithstanding that a league of amity has been concluded between us and the King of England, binding us to aid each other in the defence of our possessions, yet the treaty says, *in what we possess at present*, that is to say, what we possessed when the treaty was made. According to that treaty, therefore, he is not obliged to aid us in the defence of Apulia and Calabria, because we have obtained those countries since. Consequently, we desire that at the time when the treaty of marriage is made, you should say to the King of England that it is reasonable, since the treaty of kinship is being settled afresh, he should renew the treaty of amity in such a manner that, without altering anything in it except the date, all that we have mentioned may be remedied.

Renewal of the treaty of amity with Henry VII.

The clauses of the treaty are very clear in this respect. If you think well of it, you may make use of the old treaty.

Before you say anything to the King of England respecting the King of France, we desire that the affair of the treaty of marriage should be settled, so that the one matter may not hinder the other. On this account, it would be well that it should be done quickly. In case that you hear anything of the King of France, appear as if you did not believe it, until after the treaty of marriage is concluded. Afterwards you must show to the King of England the relation which we send you herewith of the matters between us and the King of France. Let the King of England know that he is sending against our frontiers of Perpignan a large armed force of infantry and cavalry, and that he has proclaimed throughout all our frontiers ban and reban, and that he is intending to attack us in our possessions.

Rupture with the King of France.

The King of England, our brother, knows that in accordance with the treaty of amity which has been agreed upon between us, we are bound to aid one another in the defence of our possessions. Learn, therefore, what it is which he desires we should do in the matter, and let us know.

Mutual aid to be given.

If by chance the rupture between the King of France and ourselves should be already known in England, and there should be a disposition in the King of England to recover Guienne and Normandy by uniting himself with us, and we with him, in that case the King of the Romans will also be on our side. So, if you see that your negotiation will be benefited by it, and that the state of affairs between us and the King of France renders it necessary, endeavour to get the King of England to take part in it, saying that he will never have such an opportunity of recovering his own possessions. We believe that it would be well to make use of Doctor De Puebla for this negotiation. Therefore, if you think he will be

King Henry to be persuaded to attempt the recovery of Guienne and Normandy.

1502.

of use, impart the business to him, and let him aid you in the way that may seem best. Try to induce the King of England to take part in this matter, and use the skill that we look for from you, and the necessary diligence. If anything be said to you about it, listen and negotiate with prudence, and consult with us. But do not speak of it without being first certified of our rupture with the King of France.—Toledo, 12th July 1502.

Signed: The Queen.

Addressed: "By the Queen. To Ferdinand Duke de Estrada, her maestre sala, counsellor, and ambassador in England."

Written in cipher of two different keys, which are constantly intermixed the one with the other. Only a fragment of one of these keys is extant. The deciphering is by the editor.

Spanish.

12 July. **328.** QUEEN ISABELLA to FERDINAND, DUKE DE ESTRADA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 30.

A duplicate of the same letter, written in the same cipher. There are a great many mistakes in the deciphering of this copy.

12 July. **329.** QUEEN ISABELLA to FERDINAND, DUKE DE ESTRADA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 31.

A triplicate of the same letter, in the same cipher.

12 July. **330.** QUEEN ISABELLA to FERDINAND, DUKE DE ESTRADA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 32.

A fourth copy of the same letter, in the same cipher.

12 July. **331.** QUEEN ISABELLA to FERDINAND, DUKE DE ESTRADA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 33.

A fifth copy of the same letter, in the same cipher.

12 July. **332.** QUEEN ISABELLA to FERDINAND, DUKE DE ESTRADA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 34.

A sixth copy of the same letter, in the same cipher.

18 July. **333.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to FERDINAND, DUKE DE ESTRADA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 40.

Rupture with the King of France.

Since we wrote what is contained in the letters of which the duplicates have been sent to you, you will have been informed of the state of affairs which subsists between us and the King of France; namely, that being, as we were, so at ease about peace, we learnt by sure intelligence that the King of France had sent a great number of armed men against our frontiers, and especially against those of Perpignan, together with the siege trains of all the kingdom, in order to come and make war on our kingdom of Spain.

1502.

Succours demanded from King Henry.

Tell this to the King of England from us and say that, in accordance with the love and amity which subsists between us, whatever touches him affects us, and whatever affects us touches him, and that openly and publicly the King of France wishes to attack us, and to make war upon us and our kingdom, with all his forces, without any cause or reason. Remind him also that, on account of the amity which has been established between us and he is bound to aid us in the defence of our possessions. We, therefore, pray him to fulfil immediately that which he has agreed to with us, and sworn that he will perform, and to get ready an armed force in his kingdom, so that, on our sending for it, it may come quickly to our aid, in the manner which is stipulated in the treaty. Obtain and solicit this with much earnestness, industry, and diligence, in accordance with the importance of the business, not raising your hand from it until the King has made such preparation.

Marriage treaty.

If the marriage treaty be in such a state that it can be settled without much delay, settle it, and afterwards speak of this matter. But if the affair of the marriage be delayed, speak at once of this business, and write to us immediately respecting all that you are doing in it, and about everything else, and inform us of the opinions and intentions of the King of England, our brother.—Toledo, 18th of July 1502.

Signed: The King. The Queen.

Signed by M. P. Almazan.

Addressed: "To Ferdinand, the Duke."

The letter is written in two different keys of cipher. Only a fragment of one of the keys is extant. The deciphering is by the editor.

Spanish.

18 July. S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 41.

334. FERDINAND and ISABELLA to FERDINAND, DUKE DE ESTRADA.

The duplicate of the same letter, written in the same cipher.

18 July. S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 42.

335. FERDINAND and ISABELLA to FERDINAND, DUKE DE ESTRADA.

The triplicate of the same letter, written in the same cipher.

18 July. S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 44.

336. FERDINAND and ISABELLA to FERDINAND, DUKE DE ESTRADA.

A fourth copy of the same letter, with slight variations, not in the words, but in the ciphering.

18 July. S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 37.

337. FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

You have already seen what we have written to you respecting the state of affairs between us and the King of France;

1502.
Rupture with the King of France.

namely, that being, as we were, so at ease about peace with France, we were made to learn by certain messengers that the King of France had sent a great number of armed men against our frontiers, especially against those of Perpignan, and that an army is gathered together from all parts of the kingdom, in order to come and make war upon our country of Spain.

Demand for aid from King Henry.

Tell the King of England this from us, and say that, in accordance with the love and amity subsisting between us, whatever touches him touches us, and whatever affects us affects him, and that the King of France openly and publicly desires to attack us and make war upon us and our kingdom with all his forces, a thing unthought of by us, and without excuse or reason. Say also that, on account of the amity which has been established between us and him, he is bound to aid us in the defence of our possessions. We therefore pray him to fulfil that which he has agreed to, and sworn that he will perform, and immediately to get ready an armed force in his kingdom, in order that, when we send for it, it may be ready to come and aid us in the manner stipulated in the treaty. You shall solicit this with such earnestness and insistance and diligence as the case and the importance of it require, not raising your hand from it until the King of England has made such preparation.—Toledo, 18th July 1502.

Signed: The King. The Queen,

Signed by Almazan.

Addressed: "To Doctor De Puebla, &c."

Written in two different keys of cipher, which are intermixed the one with the other. The keys are not extant. The deciphering is by the editor.

Spanish.

18 July. **338.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.
S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 35.
The same letter, with slight variations in the cipher.

18 July. **339.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.
S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 36.
The same letter, and the same cipher.

18 July. **340.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.
S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 38.
The same letter, and the same cipher.

18 July. **331.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.
S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 39.
The same letter, written in the same cipher.

10 Aug. **342.** QUEEN ISABELLA OF SPAIN to DE PUEBLA.
S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 43.
We have received your letters of the 22d of June, in which you inform us of the course that ought to be pursued in

1502.
Restitution to be made of the dowry of the Princess of Wales.

order to oblige the King of England to make restitution, within the year, of the 100,000 scudos which he has received of the marriage portion of the Princess of Wales, as he is bound to do; also what must be done in order that the Princess may have and hold and enjoy (. . .)* her jointure, as is reason she should. Likewise you have informed us it has been your opinion, from the first, that she was entitled to receive her rents, amounting to 25,000 scudos, immediately; and that you had been given to understand this by the King of England himself, and by the Archbishop of York, his commissioner. All this is very clearly set down, and in conformity with what is settled, and we look upon the means you have employed as a service done to us.

Now, the King of England being willing to fulfil that which is obligatory upon him, as we consider it very certain that he will, we having so speedily and completely fulfilled our obligations towards him, it will not be necessary to seek for other means in order to constrain him to fulfil his obligations to us. Moreover, since Ferdinand, the Duke, is acquainted with our wishes respecting everything, and has been written to afresh respecting matters which he will communicate to you, there is nothing more to be said here, excepting that you must place entire faith in him, and give him credence as to the Queen herself.

Unfavourable report made of De Puebla.

The little favour manifested towards you by the Princess of Wales, our daughter, respecting which you speak, has been caused by some unfavourable report which must have been made to her about you. However, I am writing to her now in accordance with your entreaty, and also to Doña Elvira.

Now that Ferdinand, the Duke, is in England, Don Pedro will not be able to hinder you from creating that "new world" in the affairs of our service respecting which you have written to us so many times. Moreover, as you are aware, when the last treaty was settled, you wrote to tell us it was much to our advantage, and that you had served us greatly in it. Since then, you have made the said treaty, and have given us to understand the same thing. Therefore, you will be obliged to conduct the affair in such a manner that it may be brought to a conclusion in conformity with what you have written.

Conduct expected from him.

Observe always that which I desired you should, namely, to avail yourself of the aid of Ferdinand, the Duke, in whatever may have to be accomplished. If there be any service in the world to be done for us it is surely this; so remember that now that the time is come for you to reap the fruit of your labours, you must not let it pass, according to what will be told you more at length by Ferdinand, the Duke. Give

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* One word unintelligible. As the word is underlined in the cipher, it is probable that De Puebla himself could not make it out, and that it has been an error committed by the transcriber.

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him credence, and place entire faith in him.—Toledo, 10th August 1502.

Signed : I, the Queen.
Signed by Coloma.

Addressed : "To the Doctor."

Written in two different keys of cipher, constantly mixed up the one with the other. The keys are not extant. The deciphering is by the editor.

Spanish.

10 Aug. **343.** QUEEN ISABELLA to FERDINAND, DUKE DE ESTRADA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 44.

Departure of the Princess of Wales for Spain to be urged.

Since we wrote our other letters, which are sent with this letter of the (*blank*) of July, it appears that the negociation is so much damaged that if we were to move in the affair of the bethrothal, or if it were to come to the knowledge of the King of England, it would be attended with very great injury. I, therefore, command you, because it is very necessary, that you press much for the departure of the Princess of Wales, my daughter, so that she may immediately come here. You must say that the greater her loss and affliction, the more reason is there for her to be near her parents, as well for her consolation, as on account of her age. For, you know that no other Princess ever endured more grief than the Queen-Princess* when she was widowed, or led such a sad and such a bitter life on account of the death of her husband as she did. It was on that account that, immediately on our sending for her, she came hither from Portugal, although she had good houses and an estate there, where she might have remained. The King of Portugal likewise greatly desired that she should stay in his kingdom wherever she liked. Besides, the Princess of Wales can show the sense she entertains of her loss better here, and give freer vent to her grief, because the customs of this country better permit it than do those of England.

You shall say to the King of England that we cannot endure that a daughter whom we love should be so far from us when she is in affliction, and that she should not have us at hand to console her; also it would be more suitable for a young girl of her age to be with us than to be in any other place. While telling the King of England that we know very well that where he and the Queen are, she would not lack either father or mother, you shall also add that we greatly desire to have her with us, urging whatever else may seem meet to you with a view to this. You shall request the King of England to give you authority to bring her here, and to appoint some principal person of competent age, who shall be fitted for such an office, to escort her hither.

* Queen of Portugal.

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Ships to be freighted.

You shall, moreover, tell him that you have commandment from us to freight vessels for her voyage. To this end you must make such a show of giving directions and setting about preparations for the journey, that all the persons belonging to the household of the Princess may believe that it is true. Send, also, some of the members of her household on board with the captain I am now sending you, and make arrangements with him about the freight, and show all other signs of approaching departure.

Persons to accompany her.

If the King of England shall say to you that he cannot appoint any principal person to accompany the Princess, you shall tell him that we have desired you immediately to let us know. We will then send competent persons to the sea-side, that they may accompany her from the place where she disembarks; and we will give directions for such persons to depart immediately to be her escort.

Restitution of the marriage portion.

Moreover, you shall speak without delay about the restitution of the 100,000 scudos of the marriage portion. We have now to inform you what the law has decided with regard to the question, in order that you may declare it, although it be a thing so notorious that it was not requisite. You shall say, how much, and with how great reason, we are astonished to learn that the King of England should pretend to say he has any doubt about a matter so clear, and so well known, and so undoubted. For neither the laws, nor reason, nor custom, nor honesty, can endure that after so great a loss as the Princess of Wales has suffered, her marriage portion should be taken away, instead of her jointure given her, as is done in similar cases. Of a truth, a thing of such a kind as is asserted by the King of England was never before seen or heard of, or demanded; and it has excited so much surprise in us that we can hardly believe he has said it. For being, as he is, so virtuous a Prince, so truthful, and such a friend to justice and to reason, and of so honourable a character, we cannot believe that he will refuse to do and perform towards us and the Princess all that he has promised.

If he should refer to the treaty, then you shall say that since all the laws oblige him to make restitution of the marriage portion, and of this there is no doubt, he must point out the article of the treaty which says that, in this case, he is not bound to make restitution of the portion. Such an article is not to be found in it.

Answers to be made if King Henry objects.

If he say that although the laws and universal custom oblige him to the restitution of the portion, yet that, according to the laws of his kingdom, he is not bound to do it, then you shall tell him that we are not acquainted with the laws of his kingdom. But of a truth, in the same way as he is not subject to the laws of our kingdom, as little are we subject to the laws of his kingdom, nor can they, in such a case as

* Sic.

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this, free him from the obligation to do that whereto he is constrained by law. Therefore, tell the King that we pray he will resolve to do this as being a thing which is obligatory upon him. For we never thought, nor do we now think, that it will be necessary to press for the fulfilment of a thing which he has promised to perform, but that he intends and will do it of himself. It would be, in fact, inhuman of us to think otherwise, or to suppose that he can be intending to despoil of the portion which she brought with her, a Princess, the daughter of such monarchs as we are, and who has met with such affliction since her arrival in his kingdom. Even between faithless enemies it is not to be believed that such a thing could be done or thought of; and how much less between Christian Princes, friends and brothers, such as we are. At any rate you shall insist on having the Princess consigned to you, together with the portion that she took with her.

For the present you shall not speak about the affair of the *camera* or *dotalitium*, or *donatio propter nuptias*, in order that the one affair may not cause embarrassment to the other, and that they may the more readily believe we desire the Princess to come to Spain.

Betrothal of the Prince and Princess of Wales.

If, while urging the abovesaid two things, they should speak to you about the betrothal of the Prince of Wales with the Princess, you shall hear what they have to say, and ask how it is to be done, and in what manner, and all the particulars, not showing any desire for it, or any good will towards it. If they merely mention it, however, in order that you should talk about it, then, without going so far as to press it, say that if it be not proposed only in order to delay the departure of the Princess, you will consult us about it. You must, in that case, put down all particulars of the business, so that if we think well of it there may be nothing more left to deliberate upon. In this manner, without showing that you have any wish that the matter should be urged, as soon as you have brought it to the point we have mentioned, you can conclude and agree about it without consulting us any further.

But if the matter should not arrive at that point, then you shall press, at any rate, for the coming hither of the Princess and the restitution of the portion, appearing as if you had nothing else to negotiate, and afterwards consult with us.

Three matters to be obtained in connection with it.

In case the said betrothal be agreed upon, be on your guard to see if you can prevail on them to conclude the three matters about which they are making difficulties.

Firstly, that in case the Prince die before the Princess, the said Princess, with all that belongs to her, and her attendants, may go to Spain, or whither they please, without asking leave of the then King, and that he shall not place any hindrance in her way. Also that she may enjoy and

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carry away with her the jointure she would have had, if she had remained in England.

Secondly, that you make it binding, and settle it very clearly, that in case of the dissolution of the marriage without issue, and in case that one or the other should die before the marriage be consummated, the King of England and his heirs shall restore immediately to us, or to our heirs, all that may have been received of the said portion.

Thirdly, that in case of the dissolution of the marriage as abovesaid, by the death of the Prince, the Princess shall hold and enjoy all that it may be agreed she shall have, in lieu of the third part of the principality and the duchy (of Cornwall) and earldom (of Chester) all the days of her life, wherever it may chance that she desire to be and remain.

But in case that you should not be able to bring about both these two last-mentioned matters of the restitution of the portion, and of the enjoyment of that which may be settled upon her, after having done all you can to obtain them, then you must stipulate that it shall be left to the Princess to choose whichever of these two things she may like best. Namely, either to enjoy that which shall be settled upon her, or to have the portion restored; and thus the matter must be managed.

I have sent hence two of my letters of authority for you: a general one, enabling you to freight ships of any country whatever; the other, to freight those of our own subjects only. Make use of them as may seem best to you for the above-mentioned demonstrations of departure, and for nothing beyond, unless it be in case of necessity.

Course to be pursued with De Puebla.

After having spoken to Doctor De Puebla about the matter respecting which we wrote in our other letter, go with him to the King of England, and if he does not desire to go, on account of Don Pedro being present, let Don Pedro depart. Then ask the Doctor, in the presence of the King of England, if there has been any secret writing, or other thing of which we are not aware, which releases the King of England from the restitution of the portion; because if Doctor De Puebla were to speak, the English would not in such case be able to conceal it.

Having observed the state in which this business stands, and all that passed between you and Don Pedro Ayala, and the great things which the Doctor promised to do as regards the affairs of our Lord the King; having also considered what you say of his interference, and what the Doctor himself writes, telling us that he desires to amend that in which he has failed, we do not know what to say about his vanity. But as you have matters under your own eyes, you will be able to see what is most advantageous for the settlement of affairs, and to know whether the coming of the Doctor to Spain is needful. In virtue of our letter of credence which you have for him, you can say that he is

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to come here because we desire to make use of him about some other matter; or, on the other hand, you can keep him and make use of him. In case the Doctor should come, let him take a bill of exchange for the two thousand ducats which you told us he would be obliged to have, in order to get away.

Importance of bringing the betrothal to a conclusion.

Finally, the one object of this business is to bring the betrothal to a conclusion as soon as you are able, and in conformity with the directions given you respecting it. For then all our anxiety will cease, and we shall be able to seek the aid of England against France; for it is the most efficient help that we can have. It is in my interest that you have to bestir yourself, and you must employ yourself in it in the way that I look for from you; for, if you desire to do me any service, you cannot do me a greater in the world than this.

Post datum.—From the contents of your letter respecting Doña Elvira, and by her letter, I see that she did not understand what you told her respecting the command you had received to confer with her. You know, however, that my intention was that you should protect Doña Elvira as being our deputy. Give your countenance to her in everything she may desire to do, so that every one may obey Doña Elvira. Do not allow her to be forced to give up, by a hair's breadth, the charge held by her and Pedro Manrique. Tell her this, and conciliate her.—Toledo, 10th August 1502.

Signed: I, the Queen.
Signed by Coloma.

Addressed: "To Ferdinand, the Duke."

Indorsed in the hand of the Duke de Estrada: "I received this at Windsor, the 8th of October."

Written in two keys of cipher. Only a fragment of one of these keys is extant. The deciphering is by the editor.

Spanish.

10 Aug. **344.** QUEEN ISABELLA to FERDINAND, DUKE DE ESTRADA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 45.

Since the letters which my lord the King and I wrote to you, dated the 2nd and 14th of the present month, and which you will have seen (the duplicates of them having been sent from here), we have received your letter of the 1st of June. We have learnt by it your arrival in England, and that the Princess of Wales is in good health; both of which circumstances it has given us much pleasure to hear, for of a truth we have been very anxious about her.

To this your letter there is no further anwer to be made than to give thanks to our Lord, and to desire you to use much diligence in all the affairs which have been entrusted to you. Bear especially in mind the matter respecting which we gave you directions in the last letters which we sent to you; for you will see how important it is to our interests.

1502.

Dowry of the Princess of Wales to be restored.

Likewise, we have seen since then, a letter from Doctor De Puebla, dated the 23rd of the present month of June, in which he says that the King of England is obliged to restore to us, within one year, counting from the day when the Prince of Wales died, the 100,000 scudos of the portion which we gave the Princess of Wales. He tells us also, that the King of England is obliged to give the said Princess her jointure and her dowry, in order that she may enjoy the same during her life, as was stipulated. Moreover, the King is bound to provide for the Princess all that may be necessary for her, and even more if she should desire it; all which seems good to us, and in conformity with your instructions.

Having the matter before your eyes, and being best able to judge what will either injure or advantage the business, if you shall see that the Doctor is honest with regard to our affairs, and the things which we desire to have, you shall make use of him. Do the same with Don Pedro in case you can make him useful.

If you should find that the Doctor manages the business well, tell him how great is the service he is rendering us, and that by it he will set the seal to all that he has worked for. But, above all, endeavour, as we have written to you, to have the affair of the marriage settled immediately.

Conduct of the King of France.

We wrote other letters to you on the 10th and 25th of the present month. You will have seen by those letters, and by the memorial which we sent you by the captain of the ship, how great has been the effrontery shown by the King of France in making war upon us, not only in Apulia, but in sending a large body of troops to our frontiers of Perpignan and Fuenterabia with the covetous desire to seize upon our possessions.

Letters from M. Gralla.

Since then we have received letters from Monsieur Gralla, written at Asti on the 3rd of July, in which he says that the King of France does not wish or intend that the differences between us should be submitted to the arbitrament of the Pope and the College of Cardinals, as he had formerly demanded, and to which we, for the sake of the preservation of peace, had consented; nor does he wish they should be placed into the hands of any other person. Neither does he like to enter into negociations respecting the partition of the kingdom; but as to the Capitanate of Apulia there can be no question that it is ours.

The King of France says, however, he will listen to nothing, unless we give him the Capitanate of Apulia, which clearly belongs to us; and unless we pay him the expenses of his army, though we have spent twice as much as he.

All this he proclaims with much pride, and with uplifted voice; and, not content with this, he has commanded an embargo to be laid, and has already laid one, on all merchandize and ships in his kingdom belonging to our subjects. Moreover, before the embargo was carried into effect he had given orders

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that such of his subjects as were trading in our realms and seignories should immediately depart from our coasts; thus showing clearly his evil intentions towards us, and that by no reasoning, or any means whatever, was he to be dissuaded from making war.

King Henry required to prepare troops in aid of Spain.

You shall, therefore, tell the King of England all this, and entreat him, on our part, to fulfil that which, by the treaty of peace and alliance made between us, he is bound to do. And you shall desire him to prepare a goodly number of troops in his kingdom, in order that when we send for them, conformably with the treaty, they may be ready to come over and form a junction with our army. At any rate you shall endeavour to prevail on the King of England to write to the King of France, reproving him soundly for this business, and telling him that if he bring the rupture to pass he will be obliged to come to our aid, seeing he is bound thereto by the treaty of peace and amity which has been made between us.

Guienne and Normandy.

If, by means of the Doctor, or in any other suitable way, you should find that there is a disposition in the King to recover Guienne, tell him that he will never have a better opportunity for doing so. Remind him that the house of France gained it by our means, and it may be that now we might be induced to restore it to the House of England, whose it was. Let him know the power we have to do it by making preparations in Biscay, saying what may seem to you most to the purpose in the matter. If he seem to be willing to enter into it, and if it should be requisite that other and stricter treaties of alliance should be made, confer about it, and consult with us.

De Puebla, his promises.

We believe that in all these matters Doctor de Puebla will be able to aid you much, especially in case the King take in hand the business of Guienne and Normandy. But, on account of his intimate knowledge of the King of England, he may do great injury in the business; therefore take heed not to give him any cause of dissatisfaction, but rather make use of him in all matters in which you may see he is able to advance our interests. Tell him that he must be aware he has written to us many times, saying that if it had not been for Don Pedro he would have already made a new world in England as regards our affairs. By acting thus the Doctor will not dare, nor will he be able, to hinder you, but will rather further the matter as much as he can, because he knows that many times he has written to us that he had much advanced our interests in the last treaty, and had done us much service. Even as late as the 7th of June, he said that we must write desiring him to prevail upon the King to make restitution of the dowry within one year, as by right and reason and universal custom was obligatory upon him. Also that we should instruct him to induce King Henry to give to the Princess the third part of the revenues of the principality, with the dukedom (of Cornwall) and the earldom (of

1502.
Princess of Wales, revenues to be given her.

Chester), in order that she might enjoy them freely. He said, moreover, that they ought to be estimated at the 22 or 23,000 scudos which our ambassadors told us they were worth; the said Doctor presupposing that that would be done which he now desires. Make experience of him, therefore, and see whether he be a good servant; for all that we have asked being so just and reasonable, as well as having been agreed to and sworn, he is bound to bring everything to a happy conclusion. By conducting himself in this matter in the way which we expect, he will receive the fruit of all his labours in time past, and if he do not act in this way, the contrary will certainly be the case.

Therefore, say to him everything that may seem most to the purpose, in order that the said Doctor may do his best to aid you in every way he can, and that the business may be concluded which we have sent you to England to carry out.—Toledo, 10th August, A.D. 1502.

Signed: I, the Queen.

Signed by Coloma.

Addressed: "By the Queen. To Ferdinand, the Duke, her maestre sala, counsellor, and ambassador in England."

Indorsed in the hand of the Duke de Estrada: "Received in London the 14th of September. It came by way of Flanders."

In two different keys of cipher. Only a fragment of one of the keys is extant. The deciphering is by the editor.

Spanish.

21 Aug. **345.** QUEEN ISABELLA to FERDINAND, DUKE DE ESTRADA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 52.

Statement to be made to King Henry concerning Guienne and Normandy.

Since the King of France has broken, and every day is breaking in many ways, the treaty agreed to between us more and more, and because we believe that he cannot find any excuse for the rupture he has made, I command you that, setting aside all other things, you should do your best to bring the marriage to a conclusion, and to induce the King of England to undertake the recovery of Guienne and Normandy. You shall, with this object, ever more and more assure him that we will assist him to the utmost of our power; he on his part promising to do the same for the defence of our possessions. Endeavour to prevail upon him to make as great demonstration of war as you can. By the next post we will write at length to you.— Toledo, 21st of August 1502.

Signed: I, the Queen.

Signed by Coloma.

Addressed: " . . . in and Duke."

Indorsed by the Duke de Estrada: "I received this on Tuesday, 18th of October."

Written in two keys of cipher. Deciphered by the editor.

Spanish.

1502.
25 Aug. S. E. T. c. I. L, 4. f. 52.

Suffolk.

346. QUEEN ISABELLA to FERDINAND, DUKE DE ESTRADA.

On account of this courier setting out with haste, I shall say nothing about the matter respecting which I wrote to you on the 21st of the present month, desiring you to communicate with Don Juan Manuel about the business of Suffolk, that it may be settled as the King of England desires. For, in all the despatches we wrote so earnestly to Don Juan about it that we are astonished it is not concluded. Therefore, inform Don Juan of the conduct he has to pursue, since Suffolk cannot pass into France or any other country without falling into the hands of the King of England. I believe, moreover, that Don Pedro is a man who will serve us well in this affair of the war [against France].

See what will be most suitable for the advancement of the business, and do everything that may seem most fitting to bring it to a conclusion.—Toledo, 25th of August, A.D. 1502.

Signed: I, the Queen.
Signed by Juan Coloma.

Addressed: "To . . . . Duke."*

Written in two keys of cipher. The deciphering is by the editor.

Spanish.

1 Sept. S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 55.

347. KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN to FERDINAND, DUKE DE ESTRADA.

King of France, his proceedings.

We have already written to you in detail by our other letters respecting what passed between us and the King of France. By them you will have learnt how entirely he has broken all that was stipulated between ourselves and him, and which was sworn to and confirmed by the Pope under pain of censure. He has done this, moreover, without any just cause or reason, except a mere covetous desire for what is not his.

Intentions.

Likewise we showed you that he had not even attempted to justify himself, or sought for any means of peace and concord, but that he wished only for war. We, meanwhile, were at ease, and were utterly unprepared for war, especially in the provinces of Calabria and Apulia. For, we had confidence that peace would be maintained, believing that the King of France would keep that which had been stipulated and sworn to between ourselves and him.

Since then, we have learned that the King of France continues to prepare his enterprise at Milan and Florence, which is near to [Naples?], and has gathered together large bodies of troops at Genoa, with the intention to send them to Naples, and that he has already made war upon us there, publicly

* Paper gone.

1502.

and openly, seizing upon and destroying the . . . . . of Asti, where we had no troops. He has, moreover, collected his army together there, with the intention to prosecute his enterprise, and to make an effort not only to obtain possession of our duchies of Apulia and Calabria, but of our kingdom of Sicily. And the French themselves have openly said so.

Preparations for war by Spain.

As for us, we had not made any preparations for war in those parts, on account of the confidence we had that peace would be maintained. For, we could not believe that the King of France would make war upon us so impudently, without just cause or reason. Therefore, we think that before the provision we have made, and which has to be sent by sea, can arrive, there is great danger of a large portion of that kingdom being lost, especially as the ration is of such a temperament that it always declares itself for whoever may be master of the field, which the French now are.

Prospects.

Should the King of France, therefore, gain that kingdom, which God forbid, he would be sole monarch of all Italy; and if Italy were to be joined to France, it is easy to see the peril in which all other Princes would be placed, over and above the injury that would accrue to us from it.

Aid to be sought of Henry VII.

Now this enterprise of the King of France cannot be hindered except by putting him under the necessity of defending his kingdom of France. This, to be of any use, cannot, as you know, be done by means of one King only. But if we and the King of England were to join together to make a descent upon France, each one with all his forces, we might then attack Guienne and Normandy; or we might descend upon Languedoc and the parts about Fuentarabia while the King of England attacked the duchies, in the hope, with God's assistance, that, our army might then effect a junction there with the army of the King of England. For, if we and the King of England could meet in France, he might recover, by God's help, the said duchies of Guienne and Normandy, or a large portion of them. By these means the King of France would be obliged to quit Italy, in order to come to the defence of his own kingdom.

As soon as he had left Italy, having within his kingdom two such Princes as his adversaries, it is very certain that all the people of Italy would join together to take from the King of France and his people that which he holds in Italy, so that he would lose it all. Moreover, it is probable that in order to deliver his kingdom he would, in such a case, consent to all that we and the King of England might require. On the other hand, no great forces being sent against the King of France, the people of Italy would dare to do nothing except what he might command. Therefore, what above all things we now desire is, that the King of England should be induced to take part in the matter in the way we have pointed out.

* Paper gone.

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Message to be given to Henry VII.

Having regard to what we have said, you will on this account give this business precedence of all others, for you must see how much it imports our royal state and service. And you will tell the King of England, immediately, from us, how the King of France, without any just cause or reason, and without wishing to find any means of maintaining peace and concord, has broken all that he had capitulated and sworn to with us, we having kept our faith very entirely with him. You will also say that, after having seized upon our country of Sicily by means of his fleet and army, we being quite at ease the while, confident as we were of peace and unprepared for war, he made war upon us there, saying that he desired to have our duchies of Apulia and Calabria and our kingdom of Sicily, and has already proceeded from words to deeds. Moreover, show him how little security he, or any one, can have that the King of France will keep that which he has confirmed and sworn, after breaking with us in the way he has done. For even if there had been no treaty of amity agreed to and sworn between us and the King of England, by which he would have been bound to take part in this matter, there would still be sufficient reason for him to join with us in remedying the evil. How much the more need then is there for him, being, as he is, obliged thereto on account of the treaty of amity settled between us, to aid us in the defence of our kingdom of Sicily and of those our other realms.

Proposed confederation against the King of France.

We therefore pray him that he will be willing to do this, because, as we said before, the matter requires strong and speedy measures to be speedily taken. For, we are quite determined to aid him, with all our power, God willing, to recover his duchies of Guienne and Normandy, if he will aid us to recover our possessions. You will also tell the King of England that suitable security must be given on the one side and the other, that, God willing, we should not dissolve our confederation against the King of France, or make peace or truce with him without the King of England, or the King of England without us. Above all, give this business precedence of all others, and use your best endeavours in it, making the strongest representations to the King of England respecting it, and endeavouring in all possible ways to get him to take part in it.

Moreover, it is reasonable to suppose that it will tend to make him more in earnest in the matter, if you assure the King of England that henceforth, God willing, we will be confederate together in this business; and that we will give him all the security respecting it which he may desire, he also giving the same to us. But that which you ought to endeavour after very much is, that whatever the King of England resolve to do, it may be done immediately. Make use of the Doctor in this business, and tell him that he may do us the most signal service by carrying it through. Also

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let the King of England see that never will he find a more convenient season, or opportunity in which to recover his possessions, God willing, and to put the King of France to such a strait.

Send letters to us immediately by sea and land, informing us of the decision which the King of England has arrived at, and what assured hope we may have respecting the success of the negotiation.

Importance of the business.

As this is a most important business, and one in which we have much at stake, and as the remedy for it consists in the King of England uniting himself with us and we with him, you must, for the sake of our service, be very vigilant in endeavouring to bring this matter to pass with the King of England. By obtaining it you will relieve us of much anxiety, and do us so signal a service, that you will see by our acts what we think of you, and the remembrance that we will have of this service.—Zaragoza, 1st September 1502.

Signed: I, the King. Signed by Almazan.

Addressed: "By the King. To Ferdinand, Duke de Estrada, his maestre sala, privy counsellor, and ambassador in England."

Indorsed in the hand of the Duke de Estrada: "I received this letter at Durham House, near London, on Sunday, the 14th of May 1503. *It was brought by the courier Pedro de Avila."*

Written in two different keys of cipher, mixed up the one with the other. Only a fragment of one of the keys is extant. The deciphering is by the editor.

Spanish

1 Sept. **348.** KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN to FERDINAND, DUKE DE ESTRADA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 56.

The same letter, written in the same cipher.

Indorsed in the hand of the Duke de Estrada: "I received it at Durham House, near London, on the 14th of February 1503. *Navaro, courier, brought it."*

1 Sept. **349.** KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN to FERDINAND, DUKE DE ESTRADA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 53.

Betrothal of the Princess of Wales.

After having finished our other letter, the contents of which you are acquainted with, the Doctor wrote to tell us that if we desired that the betrothal of the Princess of Wales with the present Prince of Wales should be settled, it would be done. Also, that nothing will be left doubtful as regards the treaty, but, on the contrary, it will be much improved and made much clearer.

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He likewise entreats that we should send for Don Pedro to come hither. We had, however, already sent commandment to Don Pedro to come. But if he do not make haste, conduct yourself in such a way towards him as to oblige him to come immediately.

Conduct to be pursued respecting it.

Tell the Doctor that we have read what he has written to us respecting the matter of the betrothal. He says that it will be attended with much improvement upon the past, and concluded in the way in which he said it would be. He also informs us he is conferring with you, and will act in the manner he spoke of, and that you are following his advice. If what he says be true, agree at once about the said betrothal, obtaining all the advantages that you may be able. But should you not succeed in procuring improved conditions, settle it in the manner you were commanded; and if the terms be what the Doctor says they are, let it be settled at once, because nothing useful can be done in the other business if this should be delayed.

Let this matter, therefore, take precedence of all the affairs we wrote to you about in our other letter, and endeavour to get the King of England to act in concert with us, so that we may speedily make a descent upon France, for the purpose of recovering, if God will, his duchies of Guienne and Normandy. Let this be the principal object of your, and the Doctor's negotiation, as being a matter in which you can serve us more than in all the rest.

Guienne and Normandy.

At the same time see that what the King of England decides to give the Princess of Wales for her expenses be given in the manner in which it was formerly understood it should be. Namely, that she is to have what was promised as *camera* or *donatio propter nuptias*, or that which was assigned her in place of it. But see that it be not stated in such a manner as that they may be able to diminish the payment of it afterwards, in case of the restitution of the marriage portion. For that would be unjust, and such a thing as was never seen, and against the treaty. Act in such a way that they may not fancy we suspect anything of the kind, and send us answers in duplicate of what is done.—Zaragoza, 1st September 1502.

Signed: I, the King.

Addressed: "By the King. To Ferdinand, Duke de Estrada his maestre sala, privy counsellor, and ambassador in England."

Indorsed in the hand of the Duke: "Received at Durham House, near London, on Sunday, 14th of May 1503. Pedro de Avila, who brought it, came by sea."

Written in two keys of cipher. Only a fragment of one of the keys is extant. The deciphering is by the editor.

Spanish.

1502.
1 Sept. **350.** KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN to FERDINAND, DUKE DE ESTRADA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 54.

The same despatch, written in the same cipher.

Indorsed in the hand of the Duke de Estrada : "Received at Durham House, near London, on the 14th of February 1503. *Navaro, who brought it, came by sea."*

24 Sept. **351.** HENRY VII.

B. M. Cott. Vesp. C. XII. f. 218.

Draft of the treaty of marriage between Henry, Prince of Wales, and the Princess Katharine, of the 23rd of June 1503.

[*The paper on which this draft is written was most probably a portion of the Privy Council books. It is in form and character similar to those which are preserved in the Public Record Office. This draft contains, therefore, the treaty in the state in which it issued from the Privy Council.*]

30 Sept. **352.** QUEEN ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 25.

Has ordered Gutier Gomez de Fuensalida, Knight Commander of Haro, to speak to him about certain affairs. He is to give him credence.—Madrid, 30th September 1502.

Addressed : "By the Queen. To Doctor De Puebla, of her council, and her ambassador in England."

Spanish. 7 *lines.*

17 Nov. **353.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to FRANCISCUS DE ROJAS.

S. E. Roma. L. 847. f. 66.

Empower Franciscus de Rojas, their ambassador in Rome, to conclude separate treaties of alliance with all cardinals, dukes, marquises, and other noblemen, gentlemen, or influential persons in Italy, and to promise them their special protection.—Mayorete, 17th November.

Indorsed : "Power to take the Italian friends under the protection of their Highnesses."

Latin, pp. 2.

13 Dec. **334.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to FERDINAND, DUKE DE ESTRADA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 57.

We have read your letters of the 26th of September and the 3rd of October, and have directed the Commander of [*blank*]*, whom we have sent to Flanders by way of England, to speak with you at length. He will inform you of our wishes, as well with regard to the betrothal as with respect to the consent it is necessary to obtain from the King of England that he will aid us in the war. But we do not know if, when you receive this, the Commander will have arrived in England. Desiring, moreover, that on account of the importance of the abovesaid business, there should be no delay,

* Knight Commander of Haro.

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we have determined to tell you, in detail, the conduct which it appears to us you have to pursue in the circumstances, and it is this:—

Betrothal of the Princess of Wales.

You shall not at present say anything to the King of England about the business of Guienne or Normandy, or about anything of the kind, in order that the more pressing affair of the betrothal be not impeded. But by means of the Doctor, or as may seem best to you, you shall speak immediately to the King of England about the betrothal of the Princess of Wales, our daughter, with the Prince of Wales.

Manner in which the negotiation is to be conducted.

In doing so you shall tell him that we are aware he desires it should take place. Moreover, that as well on account of the love which we bear him, as because we know that it is a good thing for both parties, we have decided to conform to his wishes. Likewise, since it is well for him and his realm to be assured of our friendship, and of our children's, and of our kingdom's, in the same way as it might chance that his friendship would prove an advantage to us, and to our kingdom, we are therefore pleased that in the name of our Lord the said betrothal should take place. We also desire that the matters appertaining to it should be settled with all the security that is fitting. To this end you shall say to him whatever you think best; and if, in order to shorten the negotiation and render it more secure, you should see necessary to move in it and to speak of it in some other manner, do as may seem best to you. For, since this affair suits both ourselves and the King of England, no more time ought to pass before speaking about, and settling it.

Moreover, the Doctor has always written to us, saying that if we are desirous of this betrothal, he will conduct the matter in such a way that it will be concluded, and attended with improvement in the articles of the treaty. You must therefore make use of him in the way that may seem best to you, and tell him that he must fulfil that, which in so many of his letters he has assured us of and offered. For by bringing this business to a good conclusion he will set the seal to his services, and will lay us under an obligation to him. But if he do not manage it well, according to what he has written, we cannot be otherwise than displeased and discontented with him.

Improvements to be made in the treaty.

Furthermore, you must endeavour to improve, as much as you can, upon the treaty of the said betrothal; and if you cannot accomplish more, at least let the small emendation which we mentioned to you be inserted in it.

Finally, let your one object be to endeavour to have the betrothal agreed to without delay. But, if after having spoken about it, and used your best endeavours, you should find that the King of England does not seem to wish to settle it, in that case, we are resolved that the Princess of Wales, our daughter, should come here immediately. If you should not be able to get any ships in which she can come, we will send them from here.

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The betrothal being settled, as we trust it may be, you shall, after it is agreed upon, speak to the King of England about Guienne and Normandy, as we directed you.

In order that the Doctor may see the necessity of the case, and that it must take precedence of everything else, give him, as soon as ever this messenger arrives, the letter which we have sent him, and in which we command him to come hither immediately. Do you likewise solicit his leave, for we have already told him, if it be necessary for his coming hither, that he should have a bill of exchange for 2,000 ducats, he must take them, and not make any delay. Moreover, if you see that it will be of use, tell him that, immediately after his arrival here, he will have to return.

As to the affair of Doña Elvira, endeavour to content her, and see that they all obey her, and that she excuse her husband's conduct as well as she can. We will also take care that the persons whom she names shall be provided for. I, the Queen, am writing to the said Doña Elvira respecting the lodging of Don Inigo.—Madrid, 13th December, A.D. 1502.

Signed: I, the King. I, the Queen.

Addressed: "By the King and Queen. To Ferdinand, Duke de Estrada, their maestre sala, privy counsellor, and ambassador in England."

Indorsed in the hand of the Duke de Estrada: "Navaro brought it. Received at Durham House, near London, on the 14th of February 1503."

Spanish.

13 Dec. **355.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to FERDINAND, DUKE DE ESTRADA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 58.

The same despatch, written in the same cipher.

Indorsed by the Duke de Estrada: "I received this letter on the 14th of May 1503, at Durham House, near London. Pedro de Avila, courier, by sea."

13 Dec **356.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to FERDINAND, DUKE DE ESTRADA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 59.

The same despatch, written in the same cipher.

Indorsed in the hand of the Duke de Estrada: "Received on Sunday the 14th of May 1503, at Durham House, near London. It came by Pedro de Avila, courier, by sea."

13 Dec. **357.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I.

The Duke de Estrada will speak with him in their name. He must do what he will tell him.—Madrid, 13th December 1502.

Addressed: "By the King and the Queen. To the Doctor de Puebla, their ambassador, and of their council."

Spanish. 6 lines.

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13 Dec. **358.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to DE PUEBLA.
S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 26.

The same letter as before.

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11 April. **359.** QUEEN ISABELLA OF SPAIN to DE PUEBLA.
S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Doctor De Puebla, my ambassador and counsellor.

I received the letters you sent me up to the . . . . of February, and wrote our wishes respecting everything to Ferdinand, Duke de Estrada, our ambassador. He will communicate with you. It is not necessary, therefore, to repeat anything here, or to say more, excepting with regard to two things, which make us, and not without reason, dissatisfied with you.

Recall of Don Pedro de Ayala.

The one is, that, as you are aware, you wrote to us that if we would command Don Pedro de Ayala to come here, you would take care to conclude this negotiation to our entire satisfaction, and that it should be attended with more advantages to us than in the past. On this account alone we desired him to leave England, but we now find that ever since he came here our affairs have been conducted in a much worse manner than they were before.

Demand made by Henry VII. respecting the Princess of Wales.

The other matter is, that although we placed the most sacred confidence in you as regarded our affairs in the past, and although you were a learned man, you did not take care to arrange matters in such a way as to prevent the King of England, our brother, from demanding that which he now asks, in order to delay the fulfilment of his promise to us and the Princess of Wales, our daughter. For, as he promised he would send back the Princess of Wales, and restore the 100,000 scudos of the dowry, which it is very plain he is bound to do, you should have put the matter in such a way that he could not have demanded what you say he does. Moreover, it being yourself who made the agreement for us, and who knew the truth so well, we are astonished that you have not hit upon some way by which the King of England. our brother, and the members of his council, and the persons who negociated and settled the affair with you, should know and confess the truth. For we clearly cannot patiently suffer anything more to be said about a thing which is so devoid of truth and virtue, of right and reason, and which is so disrespectful to our own persons, and towards the Princess of Wales, our daughter. Therefore, if a remedy be not speedily found for these things, we shall consider that the principal responsibility of the failure rests upon you.

On this account we command you to apply to these affairs all your industry, and skill, and knowledge, and eloquence, so that both the abovesaid things may be done and remedied without any delay, as we have written to Ferdinand, Duke de Estrada. Meanwhile, preparations must be made for the return

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hither of the Princess of Wales, our daughter, for there must be no delay about her departure on account of them. In any case you will come with her, and if you should have served us well you will receive our thanks, and if not, you shall be made to know that you have not served us.

Herewith, we send letters for the Princess of Wales, our daughter, and for Doña Elvira Manual, in recommendation of you, that you may have greater authority for serving her. Likewise, we send a copy of the letter of receipt which the King of England and the Prince of Wales, whose soul is with God, have given of the 100,000 scudos which they have received of the dowry, and the letter about the customs. The others are not sent as yet, because they are in your chests at Granada. However, since you always have, in your keeping, copies of the writings that you send to us, you can by their means do what you would, if you had the originals, which we will send you from here.

Signed: I, the Queen.

Alcala, 11th April.

Indorsed by Almazan: "Doctor De Puebla. Duplicate of that taken by Don Pedro de Ayala."

The whole despatch is written in two keys of cipher, the one intermixed with the other. The keys are no longer extant. The deciphering is by the editor.

Spanish.

11 and 12 April. **360.** QUEEN ISABELLA OF SPAIN to FERDINAND, DUKE DE ESTRADA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. £ 60.

The last letter which we received from you is dated the 24th of December, and previous to that time we had read the letters of which you make mention, and had replied to them.

Death of the Queen of England.

Since then we have received letters in which we are informed of the death of the Queen of England, our sister. These tidings have, of a truth, caused us much grief, as we have declared more at length by our other letter, and in which we have spoken of the audience you are to seek, and the consolation you are to administer, on our part, to the King of England, our brother. Do as we have directed you in the said letter. The Doctor has also written to us concerning the marriage of the King of England with the Princess of Wales, our daughter, saying that it is spoken of in England. But as this would be a very evil thing,—one never before seen, and the mere mention of which offends the ears,—we would not for anything in the world that it should take place. Therefore, if anything be said to you about it, speak of it as a thing not to be endured. You must likewise say very decidedly that on no account would we allow it, or even hear it mentioned, in order that by these means the King of England may lose all hope of bringing it to pass,

Marriage of Henry VII. to the Princess of Wales.

1503.

Opinion entertained of it by Queen Isabella.

if he have any. For, the conclusion of the betrothal of the Princess, our daughter, with the Prince of Wales, his son, would be rendered impossible if he were to nourish any such idea.

If you should find that the King of England wishes to marry, we will tell you, at the end of this letter, the match which we think would be suitable for him, and all that occurs to us relative to it.

Return of the Princess of Wales to Spain.

It now remains for us to speak to you about the other affairs which you have taken in hand. You must have already felt that if, even before this time, in order to hasten the conclusion of the betrothal of the Princess of Wales, our daughter, with the Prince of Wales, it was necessary to hasten the coming hither of the said Princess, our daughter, it has now become a matter of pure necessity that she should depart immediately. For, now the Queen of England is dead, in whose society (the betrothal being concluded) the Princess, our daughter, might have honourably remained as with a mother, and the King being the man he is, even though the betrothal were concluded, it would not be right that the Princess should stay in England during the period of mourning for the Prince of Wales. Much greater also will be the necessity and obligation of her coming hither if the betrothal between her and the Prince of Wales should not be immediately concluded.

On this account, my Lord the King and I have determined that the Princess, our daughter, shall depart and come hither immediately, by the help and under the guidance of God. But, before her departure, you shall endeavour, by all possible ways and means that you can use, to have the betrothal of the Princess of Wales with the Prince of Wales concluded and settled.

Instructions for Dona Elvira.

In order to effect this, it appears to us that the business will have to be conducted in the following manner:—I am writing to Doña Elvira to inform her that we have fully determined that the Princess, our daughter, shall come immediately to us, and that she must therefore make all the preparations needful for such a case. Directly on receiving these despatches you will give my letter to Doña Elvira, and request her at once to prepare all that may be requisite. And do you and she, conjointly, inform immediately the Princess of Wales, our daughter, of our determination with respect to the circumstances in which she is placed, and her coming hither, God willing, so that she may cause all necessary preparations to be made in her household.

Give also our letters of credence to Pedro Manrique, and to Alonso de Esquivel and Juan de Cuero, and inform them of the circumstances in which the Princess, our daughter, is placed. Say likewise, that we command each of them, severally in his office, to cause to be made in all haste the necessary preparations for the Princess, our daughter.

1503.

Vessels to be provided for the return of the Princess.

Moreover, that there may be no delay about her coming hither, it appears to us that she could come very easily, and also without any, or at very small expense, in the fleet belonging to our merchants which has gone to Flanders, when it is on its homeward voyage. We, therefore, send authority to you to take up and agree about the ships that will be necessary for her, as well those of the said fleet, as those of other our subjects, which are in English ports. At any rate it seems to us that she can come very well in the said fleet. In order that you may arrange the matter in her behalf, you shall send a person immediately to Flanders, provided with our letters, for the owners and captains of the ships, and for the consuls of the merchants, our subjects, who are there, and for all other particular persons to whom it may be necessary to give them. In these letters I have said that credit must be given to whatever you shall desire them to do on our part, or shall send to tell them. Then, provided with your letters of credence, the said person shall inform them that we have resolved that the Princess of Wales, our daughter, shall come immediately to Spain. And seeing she can make the voyage in the fleet on its return to Spain with little or no detention caused thereby to them, we pray and command them, in the interests of our service, to arrange that, on the return of the said fleet, it may make the passage by way of that part of England which shall be nearest at hand, and best suited for the embarkation of the Princess of Wales.

You shall likewise say to them that, as soon as they touch upon the coast of England, the Princess, with her attendants, will be prepared and ready to embark for Spain, God willing, without any delay. You shall, moreover, acquaint them that you are furnished with authority from us. to arrange matters with them, and to promise, in our name, whatever it shall be reasonable to give them for bringing hither the Princess of Wales, our daughter. You shall, likewise, settle with them to make the homeward-bound voyage by way of England. The person whom you shall send over must also make the best agreement he can with them, and receive as certain assurance from them as it is possible to have, that on their return voyage hither, they will agree to take and bring in their ships the Princess of Wales, our daughter. As to the pay which you will have to give, make an agreement with them, according as you see whether they will be detained or not detained on this account. But let it be set down at as small a sum as you can manage.

If, by chance, there should be much delay in the return hither of the said fleet, arrange the matter in the best manner you are able with as many other ships of our subjects as may be in port there, and we will give directions for the payment to them of the sum which you shall agree for them to receive.

Betrothal of the Princess of Wales.

Immediately on the arrival of the messenger in England,

1503.

and after you have had an audience of the King of England, and offered him consolation on our part, you must set about bringing to a conclusion the betrothal of the Princess of Wales, our daughter, and of the Prince of Wales. For, it certainly seems a very grievous and strange thing to us that, after having conducted ourselves in this business with so much love and frankness towards the King of England, and with such pure heart and such a good will to preserve and increase the bonds of relationship and amity between ourselves, him, and our successors, he should desire to conclude the negotiation in the manner he does, especially when we consider his former wishes in regard to it. For, what he now requires, is neither that which in reason ought to be between such Princes, nor will our honour, nor that of the Princess of Wales, our daughter, permit that he should make use of such crooked expedients in these negotiations. Most certainly if there had been in our kingdoms a like Princess, the daughter of the King of England, who had come hither in the way that the Princess, our daughter, has gone to England, and if we had had to treat respecting her betrothal with our son, we would have guarded the honour of his daughter more jealously than even if she had been our own. And with much love and a right good will would we have done all that in such a case would have had to be done, without making such turnings and twistings in the business. If, in truth, we had acted otherwise in such a case, the King of England would have had much reason to complain of us; but it seems to us that in this case he does not value the connexion so much as he ought to value it, and that he does not even wish to conclude the business at all. Yet since the King of England, taking example from what we would do, ought to regard the honour of the Princess as identical with his own, you must yourself see what honour would be done to the Princess and to us, if she, being a woman, and such a Princess as she is, should have to stay waiting in England, and be thereby made to appear as if she were asking and wishing for the said marriage.

Conduct of Henry VII.

Therefore, we command you, by all the ways and means that you can use, to endeavour to have the act of the betrothal concluded without delay in the manner which we have directed. You must also add thereto all that may be of advantage, and conduct the affair in such a manner that by means of Doctor Puebla, or in any other way which may seem better to you, the King may know that there are two things respecting which we are firmly resolved.

The first is, that he must be made to know that, if he have any hope of marrying the Princess of Wales, our daughter, on no account whatever can such a thing be. The other is the determination we have taken respecting the coming hither of the Princess of Wales, our daughter. In this way the King will be deprived of the hope of marrying her, if he be thinking of it, and of detaining her longer in

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England, and will then, perchance, at once proceed to do what he has to perform. For, if you make strong representations to him, now that he is suffering from the loss of the Queen his wife, who is in glory, and show him what he will lose if he do not consent to this betrothal, it is probable he will settle it in the manner respecting which we have given you commandment.

Marriage portion.

Moreover, we do not know what reason there is why the King of England should ask for a larger sum, if the Princess of Wales should marry the present Prince of Wales, than he received when she married the late Prince of Wales. For the circumstances are identical; or rather, since the late Prince of Wales was even better suited to the Princess of Wales on account of her age than is the present Prince, there is more reason to give less than more. However, we do not wish to make that a matter of discussion, and will only say, that the sum given now must be the same as was agreed to before.

It is necessary also to say that, to the 100,000 scudos which the King of England has already received, we will add the other 100,000 as soon as the Prince of Wales and the Princess of Wales receive the nuptial benediction, and the marriage, God willing, is consummated.

Letters patent for English ships.

You will likewise tell and assure the King of England, on our part, that if he assent to the betrothal, we desire him and his English subjects to know that in addition to the other advantages which will ensue, we will give letters patent, in which we will declare that English vessels may ship goods from our ports like the ships of our own subjects. For this will be a means of greatly increasing the sentiments of friendship and love between the subjects of both countries.

In effecting the conclusion of the marriage, you shall make use of Doctor Puebla, since he has written many times to us that, if Don Pedro were removed, he would carry out this affair in accordance with our wishes, and that it should be attended with much improvement upon the last treaty. He did this after we had written to him complaining about it, and desiring him to endeavour to obtain what he said he could. We added, moreover, that, if the treaty were not concluded immediately, he must come hither with the said Princess.

Betrothal of the Princess of Wales.

In order, therefore, to have this affair of the betrothal concluded, use all the eloquence that you may see to be requisite, not omitting anything which may prove advantageous to it. Try, moreover, to have it settled at once, in order that when the fleet shall go to England on its return to Spain, the marriage may be settled, and the Princess of Wales ready to come hither in the fleet, if God will. The said betrothal being settled, by the will of God, if the King of England should insist much on the Princess of Wales not going to Spain, on account of its removing a great safeguard

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from his kingdom if she were to do so, and if he should insist upon her remaining in England, then you and Doña Elvira (seeing that the King of England has reason to ask such a thing, and some way being found whereby the Princess may remain in England consistently with our honour and hers,) may relinquish our design respecting her departure. You shall afterwards consult with us as to the manner in which it appears to you that the Princess of Wales may remain where she is.

In that case it will not be necessary that you should make the fleet, or the other ships collected together for her voyage, wait for her. For if, after having seen what you may communicate in such circumstances, we, should resolve that, at any rate, the Princess of Wales shall come to us, we will write and provide ships for her voyage, in case the said fleet have arrived in Spain.

Departure of the Princess of Wales for Spain.

However, should the King of England not be willing immediately to settle the betrothal of the Princess of Wales with the Prince of Wales, as abovesaid, in that case, the Princess of Wales shall depart at once for Spain. She shall do so, moreover, without waiting to recover the 100,000 scudos of the portion of which the King of England has to make restitution, should he not immediately give them. Meantime, you shall justify her departure as much as you possibly can, by means of arguments and by means of the Doctor.

Restitution of the marriage portion.

To show that we have right on our side in what we ask from the King of England, as to the restitution of the 100,000 scudos in gold, we have sent a document to England, signed by some doctors of our council, in which it is made clearly to appear, and to be a thing about which there can be no doubt, that the King of England is bound to restore that sum to us. This document you can show to him, and also the attestation of the doctor who drew it up by our royal command, and who swears that we never gave, or thought of giving him authority to assert that the King of England was not obliged, in case that God took [the Prince of Wales to himself], to restore to us the marriage portion which the Princess of Wales took with her. Nor did he ever agree to such a thing, nor would we have given him permission to do so, on any account in the world. Moreover, not only did he never speak to us about such a thing, but if he had even so much as hinted at it, we should have looked upon it as an insult offered to us, and for the same reason we would not have allowed him to speak about the marriage portion. For such a thing was never known as that the daughters of Castile, after being portioned by their parents, should have to give up the portion they had brought with them, in case of the dissolution of the marriage and their becoming widows. But, that it should be given to the father of the husband, is certainly a thing unheard of, nor has such a thing ever been spoken of, or agreed to. On the contrary, it has

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sometimes happened that they have been taken without any portion, and dowered by their husbands. Because, in addition to being the daughters of such monarchs as they are, respect is likewise had to the fact, that in Spain daughters inherit, which is not the case in France. On that account, if such a thing were asked from any one else, it would not amount to so much as it does when asked from our daughter.

This is so clear and well known to both literate and illiterate persons, that we were with good reason much surprised that the King of England should think of mentioning it.

Conduct of Henry VII.

For it would not be consonant either with reason, or with right, human or divine, but would, on the contrary, be a most barbarous and dishonest proceeding, if the King of England, provided he could, were to keep by force that which the Princess of Wales took with her, and which belongs to her. Likewise, it would be an action the most opposed to virtue that was ever seen, if, over and above the loss and affliction with which God has visited her, and in addition to the great trouble of mind which she had to suffer both on leaving us and on her return, the King of England were to deprive her of whatever consolation and compensation could be given her for her losses.

Of a truth it is a thing which she herself cannot endure to hear spoken of, and we will not believe that the King of England, being so virtuous a Prince as he is, could do a thing so contrary to virtue and to the dignity belonging to royalty.

You shall, therefore, ask for the restitution of the marriage portion, and give a receipt for the 100,000 scudos which you are to receive, since you have already authority to frame the instrument for the payment of the money which you will bring over to us with the said Princess of Wales.

If the King of England should not be inclined to give the money, it will be sufficient on our part that the affair should have received an explanation. But the requisition having been made, do not, on account of the nonpayment, give up, or delay the departure of the Princess of Wales for Spain. If, therefore, you can provide sufficient proof, without the King of England taking it as an affront, do it, and if not, do whatever may seem best to you, so that the King of England may not be annoyed, and that what has been done in England may be shown in Spain. Or rather, we are of opinion that it would not be well that you should say anything on our part, or on yours, because it would lower us more than there is any reason for, if we were to show any desire to give such explanation. Act, therefore, as may seem best, and if you should think that it will be better to manage so that the English may know of the business from others, and not from you, give to those other persons some explanation respecting the affairs of the Princess of

Explanations to be made.

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Wales and the Prince of Wales. With this view, say that, on account of the love which we bear to the King of England and his kingdom, we consented, with much goodwill, to give the Princess of Wales in marriage to the Prince of Wales. But that God having taken the latter to himself before the matrimony was consummated, we find by letters received from England that the King of England desires the Princess of Wales should marry the present Prince of Wales. Tell them we have thought well of the proposal, desiring that on both sides our past loss should be healed and compensated, and that by this connexion, the love and amity subsisting between the two houses should be increased. Also that the subjects of both kingdoms, being thereby made nearer friends, should be able the more freely to traffic in the one kingdom and the other. Say likewise that the Princess of Wales is to come over to us, we, in this matter of the betrothal, having justly performed that which we owed to the affection we bore to the King of England and to his kingdom. But we now deem it right they should know that if she remain in England it is by the wish of the King of England, and not by ours.

Departure of the Princess of Wales.

Having made these two explanations, let the said Princess of Wales, our daughter, depart immediately without any delay, God willing, and without consulting us any more about the matter. Let her also come in the above mentioned merchant fleet, or in some other ships belonging to our subjects, which you shall be assured by the navigation company now established, are seaworthy. When she arrives, God willing, in some part or other of our kingdoms, we will send competent persons to accompany her on her journey to us.

Take care that there be no delay in the betrothal, because, in addition to the injury and shame which might result, it would cause us combined pain and grief to see her remain in the state in which she is. Besides, you must know that proposals have been made to us here, and that great matters, and of much importance, have been imparted to us, more than you can conceive, or than what appears. Therefore, if this betrothal be not concluded at once, in addition to the obligation we have to guard our honour and that of the Princess, it is on these other accounts very important for us to have the Princess in our power.—Alcala, 11th of April 1503.

Signed : I, the Queen.

Herewith we send you a copy of the letter of receipt which the King of England and the late Prince of Wales gave for the 100,000 scudos of the portion that they received. Also we send the letter which the King of England wrote to us about the business of the customs, and in which he promised

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Letters asked for by De Puebla.

that it should be remedied on the arrival of the Princess, our daughter, in England, because the Doctor says these letters will be of use in the negotiation. He has asked us for other letters, but as the chests in which they are contained are at Granada, they cannot now be sent. However, as the said Doctor always has in his keeping copies of all the letters which have been sent him from here, he can by means of his copies do all that he would have done if he had had the original letters. As we have written only briefly to the said Doctor, you will inform him of all that you shall deem necessary, to enable him to aid you in the matters we have in hand.

Marriage of the King of England.

Returning now to the affair of the betrothal of the King of England, it seems to us that it would suit him very well to .....* the Queen of Naples, our niece, because in addition to ..... her much ..... which is suited for the consolation and comfort of the King of England. By this marriage the alliance and friendship subsisting between the two parties would, at any rate, be strengthened. On this account, if you find that the King of England wishes to marry, act in the way and manner which may seem best to you, being careful of the honour of both parties. If the King of England think well of this proposal, confer with him in detail on the conditions, and inform us of them, that we may make such provision as may be requisite, and let what passes in the matter be kept secret. But do not on this account defer the departure of the Princess of Wales, unless it be for the cause, and in the manner, abovesaid.

Queen of Naples.

Don Pedro Manrique.

As to the affair of Don Pedro Manrique, if the marriage of the Princess of Wales with the Prince of Wales be not concluded, he will have to come hither immediately; therefore there is nothing more to say about it. But if the betrothal be concluded, and the Princess should have to remain in England, we wish that he should either consult with her, or that, under colour that he has to come to Spain to inform us about affairs in England, you should find out some way for enabling him to come hither. If by chance, however, he should not come, I have sent a letter for him, in which I command him in no way whatever to meddle with this negotiation* ..... the King of .... by me he be not .... you .... which with the King will have .... to negotiate, make use of this letter when you shall see it is time to do so.

De Puebla.

The Doctor has sent to beg me to write to the Princess of Wales and to Doña Elvira, asking them to regard him favourably. I will write to him, so that, as regards what he has to do in helping on the negotiation, he may not consider it as an affront that he has not had instructions sent to him. You will see that they are given to him, and do as shall

* Paper gone.

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seem best for the negotiation.—Alcala de Henares, 12th April 1503.

Signed: I, the Queen.

Indorsed in the hand of the Duke de Estrada: "I received it at Durham House, near London, on Sunday the 14th of May. Pedro de Avila, courier, brought it."

Written in two different keys of cipher, constantly mixed up the one with the other. Only a fragment of one of the keys is extant. Deciphered by the editor.

Spanish.

12 April. S. E. T. c. L. 4. f. 62.

QUEEN ISABELLA OF SPAIN to FERDINAND, DUKE DE ESTRADA.

The same despatch, written in the same cipher.

12 April. S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 86.

361. The DOCTORS of the UNIVERSITY of SALAMANCA.

Restitution of the marriage portion.

A very diffuse opinion on the obligation of the King of England to return the 100,000 scudos paid as the first instalment of the marriage portion of the Princess Katharine.

The marriage treaty does not mention the restitution of the marriage portion, and it is alleged that, according to the law of England, such restitution cannot be demanded.

But the imperial and canon law dispose differently of this matter, and the King of England is bound, not only to restore the 100,000 scudos given to him in payment of the marriage portion, but also to deliver to the Princess her jointure.*

Indorsed: "Translated from Spanish into (very bad) Latin by Doctor De Puebla, ambassador of Ferdinand and Isabella in England."

Latin. Written in the hand of De Puebla.

pp. 8.

12 April. S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 10.

362. DOCTOR ANGULO.

Opinion respecting the restitution of the marriage portion.

Opinion on the obligation of the King of England to return the 100,000 scudos, paid as the first instalment of the marriage portion of Katharine, Princess of Wales.

If the marriage treaty contain a clause stating that the marriage portion is to be given back to the wife, or to her heirs, within a certain time after the marriage has been dissolved by death, or for other reasons, the clause must be fulfilled, because it is not against law.

If the marriage treaty do not mention the restitution of the marriage portion, and if the wife die before her husband and without issue, the marriage portion is, according to law, to be

* This paper seems to be the document mentioned by Queen Isabella in her despatch to the Duke de Estrada of the 12th of April 1503.

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given back to her father or his heirs, that is to say, if it be a *dos profectitia*, except in the following three cases:—

1. If it be understood that the wife is to have the marriage portion.

2. If the wife have committed adultery.

3. Or if it be the custom of the country that the marriage portion goes to the husband.

If the husband die before his wife, the *dos profectitia* is to be restored to the father, if he be living; but in case that he is dead, the marriage portion remains the widow's, whether she have children or not.

If the marriage portion be a *dos adventitia*, that is to say, if it be given by any other person or persons than the father or grandfather of the wife, it is, after the dissolution of the marriage, to be property of the widow, or her heirs.

If the marriage portion consist in lands and other real estates, the restitution ought to take place immediately after the dissolution of the marriage; if, on the contrary, it has been given in money and other moveable goods, the restitution cannot be enforced, according to law, until one year has elapsed after the dissolution of the marriage.*

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

4 May. **363.** QUEEN ISABELLA OF SPAIN to FERDINAND, DUKE DE ESTRADA.

S. E. T. c. I. L 4. f. 63.

The Archduke and the King of France.

You already know what the King, my lord, and I wrote to you some days ago with regard to the departure of the Archduke, our son, to make . . . . .† against our wishes. The Archduke has since pressed us strongly, whilst on his journey, by means of letters and envoys, to give him authority to conclude a peace between us and the King of France, promising and assuring us that he will not do or go an inch beyond what we shall command him.

Taking this, therefore, for certain, we sent the said Archduke, our son, authority to treat, and afterwards forwarded him our instructions regarding what seemed to us to be the most just and reasonable for both sides, telling him that for nothing in the world was he to exceed our commands by a hair's breadth.

Since he received the said authority and instructions, the Archduke has written to us, saying that he would not go an inch beyond what was contained in the said instructions. But we have now been informed that the King of France is endeavouring by all the means he can use, and is urging the Archduke, to settle the said peace in the manner which best suits him, without consulting us.

* This document seems to be one of the papers mentioned in the despatch of Queen Isabella to the Duke de Estrada of the 12th of April 1503.

† It is clear that one or more words are wanting here, probably "peace with France;" so that the paragraph ought to read, "to make peace with the King of France against our wishes."

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Instructions sent to the Archduke.

Although we consider it as very certain that the Archduke, our son, will not go an inch beyond what we have commanded him, yet it may chance that the King of France, having him in his power, as he has, will force him to make and conclude something to our prejudice, without allowing him to consult us.

On this account I command you to acquaint the King of England, our brother, with the contents of this our letter, and to beg and desire him, on our part, should he be required to do anything which the Archduke, our son, may have agreed upon, or will agree on our part with the said King of France, to do nothing without seeing a duplicate letter, written and signed by our hand.

Signed: I, the Queen.

Alcala de Henares, 4th May. Urgent.

Signed by M. P. De Almazan.

On the address: "To Ferdinand, Duke de Estrada. Received in London, 30th May, by an English merchant."

Written in two different keys of cipher. Deciphered by the editor.

Spanish.

23 June. S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 88.

364. TREATY BETWEEN FERDINAND and ISABELLA and HENRY VII.

Commission of Henry VII. to William, Bishop of London, Keeper of the Great Seal, Richard, Bishop of Winchester, Keeper of the Privy Seal, and Doctor William Barons, Master of the Rolls. Richmond, 20th of June 1503.

Commission of Ferdinand and Isabella to Ferdinand, Duke de Estrada. Toledo, 10th of May 1502.

Dispensation for the marriage.

1. Ferdinand and Isabella, as well as Henry VII., promise to employ all their influence with the Court of Rome, in order to obtain the dispensation of the Pope necessary for the marriage of the Princess Katharine with Henry, Prince of Wales. The Papal dispensation is required, because the said Princess Katharine had on a former occasion contracted a marriage with the late Prince Arthur, brother of the present Prince of Wales, whereby she became related to Henry, Prince of Wales, in the first degree of affinity, and because her marriage with Prince Arthur was solemnised according to the rites of the Catholic Church, and afterwards consummated.

Marriage *per verba de præsenti.*

2. If the aforesaid dispensation be obtained, Ferdinand and Isabella on the one side, and Henry VII. on the other, promise that a marriage *per verba de præsenti* shall be contracted within two months after this treaty shall have been ratified by both the contracting parties.

Marriage portion.

3. When the Princess Katharine contracted her marriage with Prince Arthur, Ferdinand and Isabella promised to give her a marriage portion of 200,000 scudos, each scudo being worth 4*s.* 2*d.* of English money. Of this sum, 100,000 scudos

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were paid into the hands of King Henry VII. at the time when the said marriage was solemnized. Ferdinand and Isabella renounce, in their name, and in the name of the Princess Katharine, all right to demand restitution of this payment.

4. Ferdinand and Isabella promise Henry VII. to pay, on the marriage of their daughter to Henry, Prince of Wales, a marriage portion of 200,000 scudos, each scudo being worth 4*s.* 2*d.* of English money. Henry VII., on the other hand, confesses that he has already received one half of the said 200,000 scudos. The remaining 100,000 scudos are to be paid in the following manner; viz., 65,000 scudos in coined gold, 15,000 scudos in plate, and vessels of gold and silver, according to the valuation of silversmiths in London, 20,000 scudos in jewels, pearls, ornaments, &c. of the Princess of Wales, according to their price in London, which is to be fixed by sworn valuers. All these payments are to be made in London, within ten days before or after the solemnization of the marriage. The marriage is to be solemnized as soon as Prince Henry shall have completed the fourteenth year of his age, and as soon as Ferdinand and Isabella, or their successors, can show that the whole marriage portion is in London, ready for delivery. Ferdinand and Isabella pledge their and their subjects' fortunes as security for the punctual execution of this clause of the treaty.

Dowry to be assigned to the Princess of Wales.

5. Prince Arthur had settled on the Princess of Wales her dowry, consisting of lands, manors, &c., the revenues of which amount to the third part of the revenues of Wales, Cornwall, and Chester. She is to give back, within ten days before or after the solemnization of her new marriage, all documents and title deeds respecting this dowry; and Prince Henry will endow her on the day of the solemnization of the marriage with a new dowry as great and as well secured as her first dowry was. Henry VII. promises to ratify the constitution of the new dowry within one month after the solemnization of the marriage. The Princess Katharine renounces all other claims on the revenues of Wales, Cornwall, and Chester, and promises to be content with her dowry.

Dowry when she becomes Queen.

6. In case the Princess Katharine become Queen of England, she is to have, besides her dowry as Princess of Wales, a dowry as Queen, consisting of the third part of all the revenues of the Crown of England. She is to hold both dowries for life.

Right of succession to Crown of Spain.

7. The right of succession to the Crown of Spain is reserved to the Princess Katharine.

8. If the Princess Katharine become Queen of England, she is to enjoy, during the lifetime of her royal husband, all the privileges and revenues that other Queens of England have enjoyed before her. Henry VII. pledges the whole of his fortune and the fortunes of his subjects as security for the punctual fulfilment of his obligations.

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First born son of the Princess.

9. If Henry, Prince of Wales, should die before his father, and leave a son or sons born of the Princess Katharine during her marriage with him, Henry VII. promises to create such sons or the first-born son, Prince of Wales, and to do all in his power to secure to the said son the succession to the throne after his death.

10. Both contracting parties promise to ratify this treaty within six months after the date of its conclusion.—Richmond, 23rd June 1503.

Latin. *pp.* 47.

23 June. **365.** HENRY VII. TREATY OF PEACE AND ALLIANCE WITH FERDINAND AND ISABELLA.
P. R. O.

[Scarcely a single line of this document is legible. It is written on parchment, the greater portion of which is entirely rotten.]—Dated Richmond, 23rd June 1503.

(Signed) Ferdinand, Dux.
De Puebla.

1 July. **366.** HENRY VII. to FERDINAND DUKE DE ESTRADA.
S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 79.

Capture of a French vessel by Spaniards.

Some Spanish captains have entered the harbour of Winchelsea, and captured a French vessel. This capture is against the treaties concluded between England and France. Requests him to order the Spanish captains directly to liberate the French vessel, and never again to commit a similar breach of the peace.—Manor of Eyton, 1st of July.

Addressed: "*To the most illustrious Ferdinand, the Duke, ambassador of the most serene and powerful Princes the King and Queen of Spain.*"

Indorsed in the hand of the Duke de Estrada: "1st *July* 1503."

Latin. *pp.* 1½.

10 July. **367.** HENRY VII. to FERDINAND, DUKE DE ESTRADA, and DOCTOR DE PUEBLA.
S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 80.

Merchandise exported in Spanish vessels.

Has received their letter concerning the duties imposed on cloth, and other merchandise, to be exported in Spanish vessels, and has learnt that a Spanish captain, Johan Martin, does not venture to take English and foreign cloths, because he has been longer detained than the other Spanish captains, who have already completed their cargo and sailed away. Permits the said Johan Martin, for this time only, to freight his vessel with English and foreign cloth.—Weston Hill, 10th July 1503.

Addressed: "*To the magnificent and excellent Ferdinand the Duke,* and Doctor De Puebla, ambassadors of the most serene King and Queen of Spain.*"

Latin. *pp.* 2½.

* "Fernanduco" in the original.

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13 July. **368.** HENRY VII. to MARTIN DE MALUENDA.

Fr. R. 18 Hen. VII. m. 3. (5.)

Licence to Martin de Maluenda, merchant of Burgos, in Spain, to export wools, &c. out of England during a period of five years.—Westminster, the 13th of July.

Latin. *p.* ¼.

20 Aug. **369.** QUEEN ISABELLA to the DUKE DE ESTRADA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 65, 66, and 67.

A despatch in two keys of cipher, which I have not succeeded in deciphering.—It is dated Segovia, 20th August 1503.

Addressed: "*To Ferdinand the Duke.*"

Indorsed: "*I received it in Richmond on the 20th of January* 1504.

pp. 5, *in cipher.*

23 Aug. **370.** FERDINAND to F. DE ROJAS, his ambassador at Rome.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. 5. 82.

Instructions to De Rojas.

The cause of God and of the Church can be furthered only when Christian Princes are united in friendship and love, and yet there is no end of war and discord among Christians. In order to remedy, to some extent, the evil, he has concluded a perpetual league and friendship with the King of England. As it is his will and the wish of his ally still more to strengthen their friendship, he has decided to marry his daughter, the Princess Katharine, to Henry, Prince of Wales. This marriage requires the dispensation of the Pope.

Dispensation for the marriage.

In the clause of the treaty which mentions the dispensation of the Pope, it is stated that the Princess Katharine consummated her marriage with Prince Arthur. The fact, however, is, that although they were wedded, Prince Arthur and the Princess Katharine never consummated the marriage. It is well known in England that the Princess is still a virgin. But as the English are much disposed to cavil, it has seemed to be more prudent to provide for the case as though the marriage had been consummated, and the dispensation of the Pope must be in perfect keeping with the said clause of the treaty. The right of succession depends on the undoubted legitimacy of the marriage.

League between Spain and England; object of.

The principal object of the league between Spain and England is the welfare and prosperity of the Pope, whom both Princes intend to defend against all aggressors. It is therefore to be hoped that the Pope will readily grant the dispensation.

The ambassador of Henry VII. is likewise instructed to beg the Pope to give the dispensation in question. He ought to go, with the English Ambassador, to the Pope, and to make a joint request. The sooner it is granted the greater will be his obligation towards the Pope. Should the English ambassador say that he cannot go with him to the Pope, because he has not yet received instructions from his King, he must

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procure the dispensation without the assistance of the English ambassador.—Barcelona, 23rd of August 1503.

Addressed: "By the King to Francisco Rojas his Privy Councillor and ambassador at Rome."

Spanish. pp. 4.

21 Sept. **371.** POPE PIUS III.

S E. 2003. Lib. d. B. xiii. f. 87.

The Apostolic See having become vacant, the cardinal bishops, cardinal presbyters, and cardinal deacons, assembled in conclave on the 21st September 1503, and after taking their seats in the usual order, concluded what follows.

Resolutions of the Cardinals in conclave.

As the cardinals have to perform higher duties, so they ought to enjoy greater privileges, than the other servants of Christ. All the cardinals present in this conclave swear, therefore, that whoever of them is elected Pope shall, immediately after his election, bind himself, by oath, strictly to observe the following clauses.

1. The new Pope shall pay out of the revenues of the Holy see, 200 gold florins a month to each cardinal who has not a clear income of 6,000 gold florins a year from his ecclesiastical benefices, and from the revenues of his cardinal's hat. He further promises to maintain all the cardinals in the possession of the benefices they now hold, however contrary to law it may be.

2. The future Pope shall not lay his hand on the person or property of any cardinal, or make alterations in the offices and revenues of any cardinal, without the express consent of two thirds of all the cardinals. The voting is to be by ballot. The Pope will not prosecute any cardinal, or permit any cardinal to be prosecuted, except according to the advice, and with the assistance, of three cardinals, who are to be elected separately by each of the three orders of cardinals as their deputies. No cardinal shall be condemned, unless convicted by the number of witnesses prescribed by the constitution of Sylvester. "*Præsul non damnetur.*" No taxes or burdens, of whatever denomination, shall be laid on the livings and property of the cardinals. The Pope shall not accept gifts from them, even if voluntarily offered.

3. Every cardinal is at full liberty to dispose, at his pleasure, of all monasteries, priories, &c. depending on him. All former promises, titles, &c. granted by the Apostolic See are null and void, in so far as they limit the liberty of the cardinals. If livings become vacant by the death of an officer of the Papal Court, the Pope is not allowed to nominate a successor to them, except with the consent of the cardinal to whose department the vacated office belongs. If a living in the gift of one cardinal, but held by an officer of another cardinal, become vacant, the cardinal, in whose gift it is, may dispose of it at his pleasure.

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4. All cardinals present in this election shall enjoy the privileges contained in this agreement, even if they absent themselves from Rome with the permission of the Pope.

5. The future Pope shall confirm all privileges and prerogatives granted by any of his predecessors to the cardinals.

6. The offices of chancellor, penitentiary, and chamberlain of the Roman See are to be restored to their former state. Cardinal Julius, Bishop of Ostia and Penitentiary, Raphael Cardinal of St. George and Chamberlain, and Cardinal Ascanius, Vice-Chancellor, are henceforth to enjoy all the prerogatives and revenues which formerly have belonged to their offices.

7. The cardinals who assist the Pope in the execution of his sacerdotal duties are not to be censured or punished, except in cases provided for by the *Corpus juris clausum*, and with the consent of two-thirds of all the cardinals.

8. The new Pope will pay all the debts which the Papal See owes to cardinals, and will leave in their keeping all the towns, castles, and other places which they hold as security till he has entirely satisfied them.

9. All Papal briefs, without exception, shall be dispatched in the Papal Chancellery and nowhere else.

10. In order that the Pope may not be able to send away from Rome those cardinals who oppose him, no cardinal is obliged to accept a commission as legate.

11. The Pope shall absolve all cardinals, and every one of them, from all crimes and offences hitherto committed by them, "however exorbitant, enormous, and great they may be." This absolution is to be perfectly valid, even when, according to the precepts of the Church, the case requires a special confession, and the absolution is most specially reserved to the individual cognizance of the Pope. All irregularities committed by the cardinals in administering the sacraments, &c. are to be entirely forgiven. The cardinals are to remain in the undisturbed possession of all the property they may have acquired, however ill-gotten it may be, The absolution is to have effect in both the ecclesiastical and secular courts; and, in fine, "the cardinals and every one of them shall once more "become as innocent as they were when they came from the "baptismal font." If, however, the cardinals, or any one of them, prefer to confess their sins, they are at liberty to choose any suitable person, even from the order of Mendicant Friars, as their private confessor; and such a confessor shall have all the power and prerogatives of the Pope himself, that is to say, as the Vicar of Christ and Successor of St. Peter, to give absolution of all and every kind of sin.

12. The new Pope shall not include the name of any cardinal in the orders and laws which it is usual to publish the day after his inthronization, unless he bestow some favour on the cardinal named. Should the Pope, nevertheless, include the name of any cardinal in such order or law, the chan-

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cellor is bound not to permit such order or law to be published.

13. The new Pope shall grant no special reservations to any persons, except in cases in which such reservations are usual.

14. He shall give to each cardinal a fortified place or castle in the neighbourhood of Rome. After the death of the cardinal to whom the place or castle is given, it is to revert to the Pope.

15. Livings, convents, and other church preferments which have been renounced by cardinals, are to be returned to them without delay.

16. The new Pope shall employ all his influence in order that cardinals and other priests may obtain the revenues of such livings as are conferred upon them, but which have hitherto been withheld from them.

17. All church preferments and other offices in the city of Rome are reserved to Roman citizens only.

18. The cardinals who have business to transact with the Pope have hitherto been sometimes obliged to wait in the antechamber together with other persons who are not cardinals. Henceforth a decent waiting-room shall be kept for the exclusive use of the cardinals in every palace where the Pope may reside. The chamberlain is responsible that no person except the cardinals enter the room.

19. The Pope shall not permit soldiers to walk between himself and the cardinals in public processions.

20. He shall pay 200 gold florins a month to every cardinal who, in consequence of his vote at the election, may be deprived of his revenue by any secular prince.

21. The Pope shall approve all that has been done, during the vacancy of the Papal See, by the College of Cardinals.

22. All privileges conceded to the cardinals by any Pope are to be revived, and never hereafter to be revoked.

23. The governors of the seven legations must be cardinals, and the election of the Pope must be approved by the majority of the Sacred College. The voting is to be by ballot. No legate shall be obliged to hold his office longer than three years, if he does not wish it.

24. The offices of the vice-chancellor, penitentiarius, and chamberlain are henceforth to be held for three years.

25. The conduct of the consistorial affairs is to be committed to the cardinals themselves, who are at the same time entitled to receive the fees.

26. If one of the cardinals die, the oldest cardinals are at liberty to select the bishopric, the livings, houses, castles, &c. of the deceased cardinal. This right of option, however, is restricted to the six first vacancies.

27. Secular princes write oftentimes to cardinals, and ask them things which are dishonest, and reflect unfavourably on the honour of the Pope and the cardinals. Any

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cardinal whatever receiving such a letter from a secular prince, must henceforth communicate it to the Sacred College, and send such an answer as the majority of the cardinals may decide upon.

28. The castles which Pope Alexander took from the bishopric of Bologna are to be re-united to it.

29. Pope Alexander VI. inflicted great losses on Cardinal Julius, Bishop of Ostia, on the Cardinals St. George, Colonna, &c. The new Pope is to indemnify them. All the livings in the gift of cardinals which Pope Alexander VI. sold, are to be returned to the cardinals to whom they belong. The money paid for them is to be given back to the buyers.

30. The new Pope is to pay to the cardinal vice-chancellor 28,000 ducats, lent to the Papal treasury, and 10,000 ducats extorted from him by Pope Alexander VI. Moreover, he shall restore to the said vice-chancellor the town of Nepi and the borough of Anticuli, together with the furniture of which he was robbed by the said Pope Alexander.

31. The new Pope shall return to the Cardinal Colonna all the lands, rents, &c. of which he was deprived by Pope Alexander VI.

32. He shall return to the same Cardinal Colonna the dresses, ornaments, and jewels of his kinswoman, which Pope Alexander VI. appropriated to himself in the house of the Cardinal of St. Angelo.

33. All members of the family of Colonna, Orsino, and Savelli, and all their captains and followers, shall be restored to their former dignities, possessions, and privileges.

34. The lands separated from the church of Rieti shall be restored to it.

35. The new Pope shall administer good justice to the States of the Church.

36. The Pope incurs, *ipso facto*, the punishment of eternal damnation and malediction if he break any of these clauses. He cannot absolve himself, or be absolved by any other person, from such a crime. Any cardinal who obeys an order of the new Pope which is in contradiction to these clauses loses thereby all his revenues, and incurs other punishments.

The signatures of 34 cardinals, and the ratification by Pope Pius III., follow.

Latin. Copy. pp. 48.

24 Sept.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 67.

Conclusion of the marriage treaty.

372. FERDINAND OF SPAIN to FERDINAND, DUKE DE ESTRADA.

We have received your letters, and the treaty which you have settled with the King of England, our brother, and the said treaty for the marriage of the Prince of Wales and the Princess of Wales, our children, has given us much pleasure. May our Lord have them in His keeping, and permit them to consummate the marriage, and bestow children upon

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them, in accordance with our desires and those of the King of England our brother.

Notwithstanding that the articles which have been agreed upon in the marriage treaty are much more to the advantage of the King of England than to ours, yet that he may be aware of the love with which we have entered into the connection, we will allow all to be settled in the manner you agreed upon in England. We have accordingly ratified and signed and sworn the treaty which you sent.

Ratification to be exchanged.

For the greater satisfaction of the King of England, we have ordered the ratification to be despatched in the form which you tell us was agreed upon in England, without omitting or adding one word. Moreover, the Queen has sent it you from here, so that when you have received a similar one from the King of England you may deliver him ours, and send us his.

I send you a letter from me to the King of England, my brother, in which I have expressed the pleasure this connection affords us, and that we have ratified and sworn to the capitulation, together with all that was agreed upon in England, as you will see more at length by the copy of the said letter. Give it to him, and speak to him in conformity with its contents, that he may know how liberally, and with how much good will, we have assented to all that was settled in England, and the pleasure which this connection affords us.

Dispensation for the marriage.

Tell him also that we have already written to Rome in order that our ambassador and his, or both conjointly, may obtain the dispensation for the said marriage. But we believe that some hindrance may have been caused by the death of of the Pope, so that it will not, probably, be immediately despatched. The first thing, however, which we will obtain from the Pope who will succeed, shall be the said dispensation. He (the King of England) ought to follow our example.

Election of a new Pope.

Say likewise from us that he has already witnessed the injuries inflicted of late upon the Church and upon Christendom, on account of there not being a good Pope. He must see how much it imports the Church, and Christendom, that the Pope be righteously elected, and how necessary it is for the service of our Lord, and the wise government of the Church, and for the purpose of making resistance to the Infidels, and securing the peace and welfare of Christendom. We, therefore, entreat him very affectionately that he will be pleased to write to his ambassador, who is at Rome, saying, that if the Pope should not be already elected, he should, conjointly with our ambassador, endeavour to have a good Pope elected as we have said, and that the College of Cardinals should not be deprived of the liberty to make the aforesaid election canonically. Let the ambassador of the King of England, our brother, as well as our ambassador, endeavour to procure this, and do you prevail upon him to send two

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(copies of his instructions) by two several ways, immediately, to Rome.

King of France.

I have written another letter, enclosed in this, to the King of England, informing him that the King of France has made war upon us in our kingdoms of Spain, and that, with all the forces he possesses, he has collected an army together, and has made a descent upon Rousillon, and destroyed our fortress of Salsas. Therefore we pray and require the King of England, our brother, that he aid us in the defence of our kingdoms, as by the confederation made between us he is bound to do. Give him our said letter, and ask him on our part that which we ourselves ask him. For although we have made provision in such a manner that, by the help of God, we hope to drive the French out of our lands, and to pursue them into France, yet still we desire that the King our brother should aid us, as he is bound to do, and as we in like case would do. See what aid he is prepared to give, and if he say that he will consent to furnish the aid which is obligatory upon him, and that he will send his troops, on our sending money to pay them, tell him that the supplies will be sent with our ratification. Say also, that we pray that, as soon as it arrives in England, he will direct 2,000 infantry, picked men and well armed, to be made ready immediately. You will then request him to name the captain who will have to take the command of them, and freight the ships in which they will have to come, in order that when the money arrives they may set off instantly. Spread abroad, moreover, a report that more troops are to come; and, should you see an opportunity, tell the King of England that if he desire to make an effort to recover his duchies of Guienne and Normandy, we will aid him, at our own cost, to recover them. Show him that, if at any time it can be done, now is the best and most favourable opportunity that can ever offer itself. For the King of France has all his forces occupied here, and cannot transport them elsewhere, and such forces as remain occupy the country about Rome.

Succours demanded from Henry VII.

Guienne and Normandy.

Let us know his wishes immediately as to everything, and what assured hope we may entertain of England.—Barcelona, 24th September 1503.

Signed: I, The King. Signed by Almazan.

Addressed: "By the King. To Ferdinand, Duke de Estrada, his Maestra Sala, commander, and ambassador in England."

Written in two different keys of cipher. Only a fragment of one of them is extant. Deciphered by the editor. Spanish.

24 Sept. S. E. T. c. I. L. 4, f. 88.

373. FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

Henry VII. possesses all and every virtue of a great king; his faithfulness especially is so great that he would prefer to die rather than break his word. For this and many other

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Ratification of the treaty.

reasons they ratify the treaty concluded by their ambassador with the commissioners of Henry VII. at Richmond on the 23rd of June 1503.—Barcelona, 24th September 1503.
Latin. pp. 4.

24 Sept. **374.** KING FERDINAND to HENRY VII.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 84.

King of France; his conduct.

Has informed him, through his ambassadors, of his agreement with the King of France, respecting the kingdom of Naples. Has fulfilled, most strictly, all his obligations to the King of France; whilst the King of France, on the contrary, has broken all his promises, and begun war, in order to take by force that which does not belong to him by right. God has hitherto favoured the just cause, and, there is no doubt, will continue to do so in His justice.

Preparations making for war.

The King of France, however, has not contented himself with making war in Italy, but has assembled all his forces, and formed a great army, with which he is now besieging the fortress of Salsas. His intention is to conquer the counties of Roussillon and Cerdaña, and to invade and lay waste as many provinces of Spain as he can. Feels deep sorrow that Christians should destroy Christians instead of turning their arms against the Infidels, but is obliged to defend his dominions. The preparations of Spain are of such a kind that the King of France will regret having begun the war.

Informs him, as his friend and brother, of these occurrences, and begs him to send the assistance which he is bound to give, according to the treaty of alliance concluded between England and Spain. Does not attack France, but only defends his own kingdom. This, therefore, is exactly the case provided for in the said treaty.—Barcelona, 24th September 1503.

Addressed: "To the most illustrious King of England our most beloved brother."
Spanish. pp. 3.

24 Sept. **375.** KING FERDINAND to HENRY VII.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 85.

Marriage treaty.

Has received his letter and the treaty concerning the marriage between Henry, Prince of Wales, and the Princess Katharine. Has, moreover, been informed by his ambassadors that the act of betrothal between the said Prince and Princess has been performed. Is very glad to hear these good news, and to know that henceforth the interests of England are identical with the interests of Spain.

Has ratified, signed, and sworn the treaty of marriage without making any alteration in it. Sends the ratification to his ambassadors in England, in order that they may deliver it into his hands.—24th September 1503.

Addressed: "To the most illustrious King of England, our beloved brother."
Spanish. pp. 2.

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24 Sept. **376.** FERDINAND, KING OF SPAIN.

P. R. O.

Ratifies the treaty of marriage between Henry, Prince of Wales, and Katharine, Princess of Wales.—Barcelona, 24th September.

Latin. pp. 10, *in print. The treaty is included.*

Printed in Rymer.

26 Sept. **377.** HENRY VII. to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 81.

Piracy committed by Spanish captains.

Spanish captains daily commit acts of piracy and robbery in English ports and waters on English subjects, as well as on subjects of friendly powers. It is provided by the treaties between England and Spain, that Spanish captains shall not do any harm to English vessels, whenever they may meet them, and to vessels of friendly Powers as long as they are in English harbours or in English waters. Begs them, therefore, to send orders to their admirals and captains to abstain, in future, from similar acts of violence, and which certainly are not calculated to increase the friendship between England and Spain.

Would write more circumstantially on the subject, if it were not to be expected that they will prohibit such glaring acts of injustice as soon as they shall have been informed of them. The French have been guilty of similar insults to Spanish vessels in English harbours. Has written to King Louis, and there is not the least doubt that he will, without loss of time, make full reparation.—Langley, 26th September 1503.

Latin. pp. 3.

30 Sept. **378.** ISABELLA, QUEEN OF SPAIN.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 88.

Ratifies the treaty of marriage between Henry, Prince of Wales, and Katharine, Princess of Wales, concluded at Richmond on the 23rd of June 1503.—Segovia, 30th September 1503.

Latin. p. 1.

30 Sept. **379.** ISABELLA, QUEEN OF SPAIN.

P. R. O.

The same ratification.

Latin.

Printed in Rymer.

3 Oct. **380.** QUEEN ISABELLA OF SPAIN to FERDNAND, DUKE DE ESTRADA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 68.

Treaty of marriage.

We have read your letters of the 2d of July, in which you inform us that, God be thanked, the treaty of marriage has been concluded between the Princess of Wales, our daughter, and Henry, the present Prince of Wales. These tidings have given us much pleasure on account of the desire we have always had to enter into such a connection.

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Advantages gained by Henry VII.

We are under much obligation to you for the trouble you have taken in the business, which you have conducted with the diligence, care, and prudence that we expected from you. Moreover, although, on account of the importance of the connection to the King of England, it was reasonable to expect that he would have been more liberal in the framing of the treaty, and that the articles would not have been framed so much to his advantage, yet we well know that you have not neglected to do all that was possible, and that the reasons which led you to assent to the treaty were good ones. Besides, as it is already settled, it may remain so; we therefore send the ratification of the treaty which you asked for.

You can, moreover, tell the King of England, our brother, how much pleasure it has given us to be enabled to renew and strengthen the friendship existing between us by means of this new connection. Speak also of the great love which we shall always bear the said King; and say that we pray that our Lord may permit him and us to see the fruit of this union. Tell him with how much good will we have sent you the ratification of the act of the betrothal, in accordance with your request. Also, that he may the more clearly perceive the love we bear him, and that his subjects may begin to experience the advantages which will ensue from our friendship, we have sent him a document, which will enable the ships of his subjects and naturals to traffic in our kingdoms in the same manner as the ships of our own subjects. Say to him all that may seem best to you on this head, in order the more to gain him over to our side, and to strengthen his love and friendship towards us. Let this be, at present, your principal object.

Navigation.

On the King giving you a ratification, similar to that which we have sent you here enclosed, signed with his name, and sealed with his seal, and having such other signatures as are appended to ours, and which are customary for him to affix to similar instruments, give him our ratification; telling him, when you see him, with how much willingness we have done it as abovesaid. Send us the instrument of ratification which he will give you as soon as you can, and let us know particularly what you have done in the business.—Segovia, 3rd October 1503.

Signed: I, the Queen.

Signed by M. P. D'Almazan.

Addressed: "To Ferdinand, the Duke."

Written in the hand of the Duke de Estrada: "Received at Durham House on the day of All Saints of the same year. It came in the ship 'George.'"

Spanish. Written in two different keys of cipher. Only a fragment of one of them is extant. Deciphered by the editor.

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3 Oct. **381.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to FERDINAND, DUKE DE ESTRADA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 69.

The same despatch, written in the same cipher.

Indorsed in the hand of the Duke de Estrada: "Received at Durham House on the 8th of March 1504, *by a messenger from Salisbury."*

3 Oct. **382.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to FERDINAND, DUKE DE ESTRADA.

S. E. T c. I. L. 4. f. 74.

The same despatch, written in the same cipher.

3 Oct. **383.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to FERDINAND, DUKE DE ESTRADA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 75.

The same despatch, written in the same cipher.

3 Oct. **384.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to FERDINAND, DUKE DE ESTRADA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 77.

The same despatch, written in the same cipher.

3 Oct. **385.** QUEEN ISABELLA OF SPAIN to FERDINAND, DUKE DE ESTRADA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 70.

King of France.

You will have seen by our other letters, dated the 20th of August last, that the King of France had begun to make war on our kingdoms, and had collected all his forces in Languedoc to make war upon us there. We also told you of the provision we had commanded to be made, and that we did not wish to force the King of England, our brother, to declare himself for us, as is obligatory upon him, until the French had entered our realms, as more at large is set forth in our said letter. In case you may not have received it, I have ordered that the duplicate of it should be sent to you along with this letter.

The French had, however, already entered our counties of Roussillon on the 16th of the present month, and are now encamped before Salsas. But if the troops which we lately despatched should arrive in good time, we hope, God willing, that all will be effectually remedied through His aid. Still, notwithstanding this, we have resolved to send you a letter from us to the said King, our brother, concerning the matter. We do this, because of the obligation which the said King of England, our brother, is under to help us in the defence of our possessions, for the sake of the love and amity subsisting between us, as well as in virtue of what has been stipulated and sworn to between us and him.

Succours to be sent to Spain from England.

Therefore, on receiving this letter, let the King of England know of the entry made by the French into our kingdom, in the manner that may seem best to you; and if you shall see that it be well, tell him what I wrote to you, namely,

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that our troops have only lately departed, and that, on account of the long journey, we cannot tell whether they will arrive in good time. Say this to him, and give our letter which is sent from hence to the said King, our brother. You shall also pray and require him, on our part, to aid us with all his forces, and see what succour he will give us.

2,000 infantry to be selected.

If the said King of England should not be inclined to afford us further assistance, he must at any rate be pleased to give us the assistance which is obligatory upon him; and upon our forwarding the money, send us troops. Tell him that you have the money, and that we pray and require him to be willing immediately to send 2,000 English infantry, picked men, and well armed, and provide at once a good captain to command them. This being done, you shall endeavour to make them embark instantly, and come direct to Fuente Rabia.

Moreover, we send orders which will enable you to take up, for the passage of the troops, such ships as you may have in England. If you cannot secure any belonging to our own subjects, freight those belonging to the English. Try your utmost to have the troops, you shall thus send, the best chosen and the best armed that it is possible to obtain, and get them to come as soon as ever they can.

You will see how necessary it is they should set off instantly, in order to be of any use. On this account we strictly charge you to use extreme diligence in the business.

Pay of the troops.

As regards the pay that will have to be made to the said troops, endeavour to let it be as little as possible, and not any greater than the English are accustomed to give, or at the most only as much as is given to the Swiss, which is three ducats per month, being the highest pay ever given to infantry. Therefore try to make it as little as you possibly can. Borrow the money that will be required for the above-said pay, agreeing for us to repay it in England on the terms stipulated by you. In case you should not be able to obtain the said money on credit, I send you enclosed in this letter a letter of credit for 10,000 ducats.

Ships for their passage.

In case there should be no ships in which the said 2,000 English can come, and should the ships which are coming from Flanders not be expected shortly to pass by England, let us know immediately by means of letters in triplicate, and tell us what ships will be required, that we may send them to you instantly. But should you not have ships, at present, in which the said infantry can come as abovesaid, you must not give them any pay. Endeavour, however, to find out how many troops are to come, and what captain is appointed to command them, and spread abroad a report in England that there are many more troops going to Spain, because, as you will see, such tidings and rumours will inspire France with fear, and will produce a favourable impression in Italy.

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Guienne and Normandy.

If you should see an opportunity for moving the King of England to attempt the recovery of his duchies of Guienne and Normandy, induce him thereto by all the means in your power, and confer with him as to the course which ought to be pursued. Tell him that if he will but set his hand to the work, as there is reason he should, we will be content to aid him to recover, at our own cost, the duchies of Guienne and Normandy, and that we will make no peace or truce with the King of France without his consent, should he make war upon France; he, on his part, binding himself not to make it without our knowledge and consent.

Obtain all the favour and aid that you can in our affairs, from the King of England, our brother, and if you should not be able to effect more, at least endeavour to have the said troops sent over immediately, and to get all you can in this matter. You shall also speak with the King of England and with the chief men in his kingdom, and try to induce them to take a willing part in the affair. You must, moreover, say and declare, that our desire is to aid him to recover the duchies of Normandy and Guienne for the house of England; and by the colour you give to what you say, and by the reports you spread, you may effect all the abovesaid.

If you should see that it will not annoy the King of England, our brother, and the chief men of his kingdom, and that it can do no harm, make use of the Princess of Wales, our daughter, that is to say, should you not be able to obtain the money necessary for the despatch of the said troops. For it will be a great disservice to us if the coming of the said 2,000 English troops should be deferred.

Princess of Wales to be applied to.

In that case you shall say to her, by virtue of my letter of credence which I will send, that you pray her to raise, upon her jewels and plate, the money which may be necessary for the despatch of the 2,000 infantry, so that, whatever happens, the said English troops may come immediately.

Therefore, if the King of England should excuse himself from sending, or delay the departure of the said 2,000 infantry, which is a thing not to be believed, speak to the Princess, my daughter. And tell her that this is the most important matter we ever had to do with, or looked to have, as well on account of what affects her in it, as our own daughter, as on account of its affecting the Spanish succession. She must, therefore, endeavour to have the said 2,000 infantry immediately enlisted in her name, and appoint a very good captain to come with them. Let her do this with much diligence as above said, and endeavour, above all, to obtain that the troops which shall come should be picked men.

Do you meantime solicit the departure of the abovesaid with the diligence and despatch which we look for from you,

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and immediately let us know by different routes what you have been able to do in the matter.—Segovia, 3rd October 1503.

Signed: I, the Queen.

There is no Secretary's signature.

Addressed: "To his Magnificence, Ferdinand, Duke de Estrada. Duplicate;—must be read."

Indorsed in the hand of the Duke de Estrada: "I received this on the 20th January 1504, *at Richmond. Domingo Carboneza, of the ship William de Ricusta, brought it me. He had received it from Martin Sanchez de Zamudio."*

Spanish. Written in two different keys of cipher. Only a fragment of one of them is extant. Deciphered by the editor.

3 Oct. **386.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to FERDINAND, DUKE DE ESTRADA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 71.

The same despatch as the preceding one, written in the same cipher.

3 Oct. **387.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to FERDINAND, DUKE DE ESTRADA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 72.

The same.

3 Oct. **388.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to FERDINAND, DUKE DE ESTRADA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 73.

The same.

26 Dec. **389.** POPE JULIUS II.

P. R. O.

Has been informed that the Princess Katharine of Spain had contracted a marriage with Arthur, late Prince of Wales, and that this marriage has, perhaps, been consummated.

Notwithstanding this, authorizes, in his quality of the Head of the Church, Henry, Prince of Wales, and the Princess Katharine, to contract a lawful marriage.

Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum anno incarnationis Dominicæ millesimo quingentesimo tertio, septimo calend. Januarii, Pontificatus nostri anno primo.*

Latin. p. 1.

Printed in Rymer.

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24 Jan. **390.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to FERDINAND, DUKE DE ESTRADA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 78.

Pedro Usachi Guerra.

There has been a Neapolitan here, who calls himself Pedro Usachi Guerra, a thin tall man, who, besides speaking

* 7th calend. Januar. 1503 is the 26th December 1503. Pope Julius II. was elected on the 1st of November 1503. See L'Art de verifier les dates. Paris, 1783. vol. i. p. 330.

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the Italian language, speaks French and bad Spanish. He said that he had come from England, and that the King of England was sending him to Portugal, to be employed in a certain business with the Nun. He added that before leaving England, he had told you of it, and that he had showed you a letter [from the King of England] to us. But as he never showed us the said letter, or a letter you gave him, until to-day, and also as he seemed to us to be a frivolous person, we did not put any faith in him. It appeared to us, however, that it would be well to inform you of the circumstance, so that you might examine into it somewhat, and find out the truth covertly, without speaking of it as a matter of business, and let us know what there is in it. He tells us that he shall return here, and that he will tell us of all that he knows with regard to the matter; therefore you will act as we have directed you.

King of France.

You already know what we have written in divers letters as to what you must say to the King of England respecting the state of affairs between us and the King of France. But, notwithstanding this, you have not sent us one word in reply about a business of so great moment. In what respects our royal state and service you certainly ought not to be so forgetful, but always see to it very carefully.

Proposition to be made to Henry VII.

In addition to the instructions we have already given you, you will have to inform the King of England, on our part, of all that has taken place in this matter of France, since the French besieged Salsas up to the present day, as is set down very clearly in a despatch enclosed in this letter. Say also that on account of the weakness and small power of resistance displayed by the French, and in all the marches of Languedoc when our army entered France, if the King of England had at that time been willing to make an attempt to recover his Duchies of Guienne and Normandy with our aid, after that of God, he would have met with no resistance. For seeing that they could not offer any resistance to one power only, much less could they have resisted both. Tell him our desire is that peace should be made with honour, and equal conditions, for both sides, and in such a manner that the King of France may keep it with us, and with our friends. Say, moreover, that if the King of France should agree to this, it will be well; but if not, and if he be still resolved to make war upon us, and to seize the possessions of others, it would be fitting that we and he should join together. We would do this, not only to aid each other in the defence of our realms, as we are obliged, but also to help him to recover, God willing, Guienne and Normandy, he making war with all his forces, and we, on our part, aiding him at our own cost.

Make him, likewise, see that the power of France is not so great as it is said to be, for now that it has been proved by

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experience that he is unable to resist one power, much less will he be able to resist the two powers when united. Show him this, and make him clearly understand that it is much more incumbent on him than even on us to move in the matter, and endeavour to get him to take some active part in it. Afterwards let us know, by several different routes, what you have done in it.

Queen of Naples.

Finally, you are acquainted with what we wrote to you, of late, respecting what you were to say to the King of England about the Queen of Naples, the young lady our niece, but you have not made any reply. In any case speak to him in the best way you can, and endeavour to get to know, completely, the wishes of the King of England. Let us know immediately what has been done, and let the despatches that you shall send be forwarded by three or four different routes. —Torralva, 24th Jan. 1504.

Signed: I, the King. I, the Queen.

Signed by Almazan.

Addressed: "To Ferdinand, Duke de Estrada."

Indorsed in the hand of the Duke de Estrada: "Received from Gutierez, at Durham House, near London, on the 11th of April following."

Spanish. Written in two different keys of cipher; only a fragment of one of which is extant. Deciphered by the editor.

24 Jan. **391.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to FERDINAND, DUKE DE ESTRADA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 17.

Duplicate of the preceding despatch, written in the same cipher.

18 Feb. **392.** HENRY VII.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 64.

Homage to be paid the Pope.

All Kings of England, his predecessors, have given to the Pope and to the Apostolic See their due reverence and obedience (reverentiam et obedientam). Following their example, nominates Adrian, Cardinal of St. Chrysogonus and Bishop of Hereford, William Talbot, Knight of the Garter, Sylvester Bishop of Worcester, the Abbot of Glastonbury, Robert Sherbourn, Dean of St. Paul's, and Edward Scott, custos of the Hospital of St. Thomas in Rome, his ambassadors to congratulate Pope Julius II. on his accession to the Pontifical throne, and to offer him in his (Henry VII.) name, the usual homage.

Empowers them, therefore, in his name to appear before the Roman Court, there to allege and prove the causes which prevent him from making his appearance in person, to excuse his absence, and to give his filial and Catholical homage to the Pope, as has been due and given from olden times by the

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Kings of England, and besides to transact all his other business in the Court of Rome.--Westminster, 18th February 1504.

Indorsed: "Power of the King of England to do homage to the Pope." And in a comparatively modern hand: "A Latin copy of the power of the King of England to swear obedience to Pope Julius II., in the year 1504, on one leaf of paper taken from the drawer of the chest of the negotiations with England in the room containing the papers of the Royal patronate."

Latin. Copy. pp. 3.

3 March. **393.** HENRY VII.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 4. f. 101.

Ratifies the treaty concluded at Richmond on the 23rd of June 1503, by his commissioners, and Ferdnand, Duke, de Estrada, ambassador of Spain.—Westminster, 3rd of March 1503, nineteenth of his reign.

Latin.

26 June. **394.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA to FERDINAND, DUKE DE ESTRADA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 16.

Duke de Estrada to go to Spain.

We have received all the letters you have written to us up to the 21st of April, and we will tell you, when you arrive here, what are our wishes respecting everything. For in order the better to negotiate these matters, we greatly desire to be informed by you, in person, respecting affairs in England. Therefore, leave the negotiations in the best state that you can, commending them to Doctor De Puebla, and, without waiting for him, come immediately hither to us. Take care, moreover, to be very well informed of all that is going on in England, so that, after having been made acquainted with everything, we may be the better able to provide accordingly.

Doña Elvira Manuel.

As regards the ushers, and all the members of the household of the Princess of Wales, our daughter, everything should be left to the discretion of Doña Elvira Manuel, as I, the Queen, wrote to you, by my letters of the 25th of April, the duplicates of which letters are enclosed. For, in a matter of this kind, there ought to be no consultation or delay, I having given such strict command when you departed hence that, in all these things, you should conform to her wishes, and should act in such a manner that the Princess of Wales should be induced to do all that Doña Elvira advised. So that if this be not done, take care that it be seen to immediately, for whatever delay may result from it will cause us much annoyance, and be a great hindrance to us.

Delay in sending the dispensation.

As for the dispensation for the marriage of the Prince of Wales and the Princess of Wales, our children, our ambassador who is at Rome has told us in many of his letters of the representations he made on our part to Pope Pius, and also

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to Pope Julius, who has granted it by word of mouth. But the Pope is delaying to send the despatch in writing, as he is waiting until the embassy which is coming from England to do him homage shall arrive. Our ambassador has therefore written to say he hopes to despatch it, at the latest, immediately on the embassy from England having arrived at Rome.

We have, moreover, written to him, desiring him to urge the Pope to grant it immediately, and have told him not to cease from his endeavours to obtain it until it be despatched. We have also desired him to get the English ambassadors to join with him in this matter, telling him to aid the said ambassadors to obtain all such matters as affect the King of England.

More intimate alliance between Spain and England.

With regard to what the Doctor wrote to us, saying that, during the three years' truce which we have stipulated with the King of France, we should think of what it is fitting for us to do in England, and that it appeared to him it would be well that another and stricter treaty of amity should be concluded, we have to reply that many times before the Princess of Wales, our daughter, went to England, the King of England wrote to us, saying, that on her going there a stricter league of amity should be concluded between us. We, moreover, declare that, in conformity with the great love and union subsisting between us and the said King of England, our brother, we shall be ready to do all things which may be most for the . .* and increase of the said union and amity, with very good will. In order to do this, nothing more is requisite excepting that you should learn what it is the King of England desires with regard to it, because, as soon as we know, we will reply in such a way as will show the King of England what great love we bear towards him, and that we look on his affairs as ours.

Affair of Suffolk.

As to the affair of Suffolk, you shall tell the King of England that we immediately sent to the King of the Romans requiring that he should be delivered up to us. We did this with as much earnestness as though it had been our own business. And thus we are acting and will act, and will let him know all that may be done in the matter.

Document for the lading of ships.

With regard to what you mention, namely, that you believe the King of England desires that the document which we sent for the lading of the ships should be on parchment, and have a leaden seal attached to it, we have to reply that if the King of England say nothing more to you about it, nothing more will be necessary. But if he should mention it to you, give him to understand that it is a document* . . . for . . . our subjects, and that the custom [of our Chancery] is for such documents to be written in our language, and on paper. For

* Paper gone.

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it will be a great advantage for the edict made upon the treaty for lading ships (of which mention was made in the said document) to be written in the Castilian tongue, and on paper, as is the custom and habit here. Therefore, the document which we have sent is amply sufficient.

Queen of Naples.

As to the affair of the match between the Queen of Naples, our niece, and the King of England, we have already written to you what we think should be done. Moreover, although the King of England be a widower, and [has] children, *2,000 dobloons will be given her as a marriage portion. Inform the King of England of this in the way that seems best to you, and learn clearly and decidedly his wishes in regard to it. —Medina del Campo, 26th June 1504.

Signed : I, the King.
Signed : I, the Queen.

Addressed by the King and the Queen to Ferdinand, Duke de Estrada, their counsellor and ambassador in England.

Indorsed in the hand of the Duke de Estrada : "Brought by Lope de San Juan, Doctor De Puebla's courier. I received it at Durham House, near London, on the Eve of the Feast of Our Lady." [14th August.]

Spanish. Written in two keys of cipher. Only a fragment of one of them is extant. Deciphered by the editor.

1 July. **395.** HENRY VII. to FERDINAND, DUKE DE ESTRADA.

S. E. T. c. 1. L. 2.

Thanks for his letter, and is pleased to hear that the Princess of Wales is in such good health.

Letters patent for an indulgence.

Is ready to sign and publish letters patent respecting the indulgence, if the original letters by which the indulgence is granted can be shown, and shall be found valid by his council, and the collector of the revenues of the Pope. In such a case his letters patent may also be communicated to the minister of the order of the Holy Trinity in Spain.

Expenses of the Princess of Wales's household.

Has seen his letter in which he asks money for the household of the Princess of Wales, and wishes that the money should be paid into his own hands. Has ordered John Heron to pay William Holybrand 300*l.*, with which he is to defray all the expenses of the household of the Princess of Wales during the months of July, August, and September. The said Holybrand is to account for the money to the Princess and to him. Whatever may be saved after all expenses have been paid, is to be delivered to the Princess, to spend as she likes.—Eyton, 1st July.

Addressed : "To the illustrious Duke Ferdinand, ambassador of the most serene King and Queen of Spain."

Latin. pp. 3.

* *Sic* in the original cipher.

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6 July. **396.** POPE JULIUS II. to HENRY VII.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 77.

Has received his letters in which he expresses his thanks that the English ambassadors were met outside the gates of Rome by Papal commissioners, and accompanied by them to the city. Has, moreover, read the expression of his gratitude for the gracious reception of his message. But there was, in fact, no reason for thanking him, as the Pope cannot be otherwise than gracious and benevolent.

Cause of the delay in sending the dispensation.

Had never intended to withhold the dispensation, and all that has been said to the contrary is an invention of ill-intentioned persons. Has, it is true, somewhat delayed to dispense with the obstacles to the marriage between the Princess Katharine and Henry, Prince of Wales, but has done so only from the wish to consider the case more maturely. Thinks it advisable to send the dispensation by Robert Sherbourne. There could not be found a safer person to whom to entrust it, and at the same time the life of that excellent man would be preserved by a journey to England, for a longer stay in Rome would prove fatal to him.

Protection of England.

Is pleased to hear that he has chosen his carnal nephew, the Cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula, as Protector of England. This choice will be to his honour and to his advantage. The Cardinal will be absent from Rome three months every year. But the affairs of England will not suffer by this absence. Has taken them under his special protection. Besides the English ambassadors, the Bishop of Worcester, his (Julius II.) carnal relative, and Edward Scot, his master of the bed chamber, will take care of them.

Robert Sherbourne will make some communications to him in his name.—Rome, in the Palace of Saint Peter, 6th of July 1504.*

Indorsed: "Copy of the brief of the Pope which was sent to the King of England concerning the dispensation for the Prince and Princess of Wales. It is dated the 6th of July 1504."

Written in a different hand: "Monday, the 24th of July 1531."

Copy, very incorrectly transcribed.

Latin. pp. 4.

4 Aug. **397.** HENRY VII. to KATHARINE, PRINCESS OF WALES.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Princess of Wales.

As she was not well when he left Greenwich, the time which will have to pass before he receives good news from her will in any case seem too long. Loves her as his own daughter. Sends one of his most trusty servants not only to visit her, but also to do anything for her that may be desirable

* See the letter of the Duke de Estrada to Ferdinand and Isabella of the 10th of August 1504.

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with respect to her health or that may give her some pleasure. Is ready to do all in his power for her.—Sheppy Island, 4th August.

Addressed: "*To the most illustrious Lady Katharine, Princess of Wales, my most beloved daughter.*"

Latin. pp. 1½.

10 Aug. **398.** DUKE DE ESTRADA to QUEEN ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 1.

The King had taken the Princess of Wales to Richmond, and from Richmond to Windsor. There they stayed twelve or thirteen days, going almost every day into the park and the forest to hunt deer and other game. From Windsor they returned to Richmond, where they passed a week.

Illness of Princess of Wales.

The Princess had been unwell for three days, suffering from ague and derangement of the stomach. She soon got better. From Richmond the King proceeded to Westminster, leaving the Prince of Wales behind, but taking the Princess of Wales, the Princess Mary, and all the English ladies with him. A few days later they all went together to Greenwich. After staying six or seven days in Greenwich the Princess fell ill again, and much more seriously than before.

Before she had recovered, King Henry was obliged to leave on a visit to Kent. The Princess of Wales then returned to the house in which she had formerly lived. She had, however, not improved. She is rather worse, for she now suffers every day from cold and heat. The illness seems sometimes serious, for the Princess has no appetite, and her complexion has changed entirely. Nevertheless, the physicians have much confidence, and say that the patient will soon recover. The first attack of ague began four weeks ago. The Princess has had at intervals a bad cold and cough since then. The physicians have twice purged her, and twice attempted to bleed her; but no blood came. It is difficult to say whether it was the fault of the man who bled her. He is the licentiate who resides with the Princess as her physician, and he generally bleeds very well. She* desires, very much, that the operation be repeated, being persuaded that if she were bled she would be well directly. The physicians, however, delay the bleeding, and purge her.

Affection of Henry VII. for the Prince of Wales.

The King left Greenwich the same day on which the Princess of Wales went away. He sends messages to her very often, and offers to visit her. He offers to convoke all the physicians of the kingdom, and is very courteous. The Prince of Wales is with the King. Formerly the King did not like to take the Prince of Wales with him, in order not to interrupt his studies. It is quite wonderful how much the King likes the Prince of Wales. He has good reason to do so, for the Prince deserves all love. But it is not only from love that

* It is not clear in the original whether it is the Princess or her physician who desired the bleeding so much.

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the King takes the Prince with him; he wishes to improve him. Certainly there could be no better school in the world than the society of such a father as Henry VII. He is so wise and so attentive to everything; nothing escapes his attention. There is no doubt the Prince has an excellent governor and steward in his father. If he lives ten years longer he will leave the Prince furnished with good habits, and with immense riches, and in as happy circumstances as man can be.

Wishes, very much, to leave England as soon as possible. Was told last year that there was no money to defray the expenses of his journey. Had, therefore, already remained one year longer in England than was necessary.

Expected the brief of the Pope containing the dispensation would have come a long while ago. As it had not come, doubts arose whether the dispensation would be given at all; and a brief, of which a copy is added, even seemed to confirm these doubts.* Went to King Henry in order to take leave of him. The King was much surprised, and asked him to remain till the dispensation arrived. Promised to stay in England till the end of August. Said that if the dispensation did not arrive during that time it would then be clear that the Pope did not like to give it.

Arrival of the brief for the dispensation.

At last, after the King had left Greenwich, the dispensation arrived. Henry sent it directly to him, in order that he might show it to the Princess. It the Dean, who is ambassador of the King of England in Rome, should have to bring the papal bulls, they will not arrive before the middle of October. The King, wishing to make the marriage very solemn, will communicate the bulls to the principal personages of the kingdom, who usually assemble in Westminster on the Day of All Saints. Thus November will come on before it will be possible for him to leave England, and a voyage in that season is by no means an agreeable thing, especially for so bad a sailor as he is. Begs her to send him money, and a positive order to return to Spain, which, if necessary, he can show the King of England.—London, 10th August 1504.

Spanish. pp. 7.

25 Aug. S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

399. HENRY VII.

Passport for Ferdinand, Duke de Estrada, who intends to return to Spain.—At our Monastery of Lewys, 25th of August, 20th year of our reign.

English. p. 1.

27 Aug. S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

400. HENRY VII. to KATHARINE, PRINCESS OF WALES.

Has received her letter, sent by Ferdinand, Duke de Estrada. Is glad that she wishes to hear from him so greatly. Is well, and rejoices to hear that she has recovered.

* See the brief of the Pope of the 6th of July 1504.

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Quarrels among the household of the Princess of Wales.

Is sorry that the few servants she has cannot live in peace with one another. Cannot consent to her wish that he should settle the quarrels of her servants. If they were English subjects, it would easily be done; but as they are Spanish subjects, and sent with her by her parents, they are not under his jurisdiction. The only thing to be done is that she should herself write to her parents on the subject. Besides, the Duke de Estrada will soon return to Spain, and can therefore best inform the King and Queen of Spain of what it is necessary to do.

Will confer with her after his return to London as to what is to be done in case that her parents are unable to arrange the matter.—Lewys, 27th August.

Addressed: "To the most illustrious Lady Katharine, Princess of Wales."

Latin. pp. 3.

23 Oct. **401.** De Puebla to Ferdinand and Isabella.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 11.

Most high and most mighty Princes, the King and Queen's Majesties.

After kissing the royal feet and hands of your Highnesses, I have to inform you that I had already written much at length to your Highnesses respecting all that had then taken place, sending my letters, as well by way of Calais over land, as by Fuente Rabia. But for the sake of more certainty, I will not only tell you what has occurred here since then, but will also repeat what I wrote in my other letters to your Highnesses.

I have lately been with the King, who was staying at a place 30 miles from here; and will now tell your Highnesses all that passed between myself and him. As he never remained long anywhere, but was travelling nearly every day, I asked him during our journey, it being the first thing which I desired to learn, for what purpose the French ambassador, who had been staying so many days with him, had come. He replied by asking why I wished to know. I answered, that in accordance with the friendship, and amity and brotherhood subsisting between your Highnesses and him, it appeared to me to be a very reasonable thing to ask, and that it was even incumbent upon him to make it known to your Highnesses. Therefore I entreated him to tell me, that I might be able to signify it immediately afterwards to your Highnesses.

Enquiry made by De Puebla respecting the French ambassadors.

Reply of Hen. VII.

He replied that there was much reason in what I said, but that he begged I would write with great secresy about the matter to your Highnesses, which I promised him I would. He then said that the coming of the ambassador was on two accounts; the first was, that the King of France had been informed that the King of England, at the instance of the King of the Romans and your Highnesses, was intending

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to make a descent upon France. Therefore the King of France had sent to him to say he could not credit it, after the treaty which had been sworn to and stipulated between them, but that he desired to be assured of it anew, because many persons had certified him of the contrary.

To this the King of England had replied, after much consultation and deliberation about the matter, that neither the King of the Romans, nor your Highness, had required such a thing from him, and much less was he himself intending to break the treaty sworn to between them, if the King of France kept it. In consequence of this, however, the King of England had talked about many things with the ambassador, wishing to find out and see in what position the King of France stood towards your Highnesses as regarded a perpetual peace. The ambassador had replied to the King much at length, and had given him full information about the matter, having received instructions from his King as to what he should say in such a case, if he were asked. The conclusion which he said he had come to was, that the King of France really desired, and truly wanted, to make a perpetual peace with your Highnesses, if any way could be found which would enable him to do so without prejudice to himself, but that your Highnesses were not willing to give him his share of the kingdom of Naples, or even the least recompense or compensation for it.

King of France desires a perpetual peace with Spain.

The King also said to me that he had held out many incentives for peace to the ambassador, such as the forces by land and by sea which your Highnesses possessed; the treaty which had been made between your Highnesses and him and the King of the Romans; and your Highnesses having as sons the Archduke and the King of Portugal, whom neither he nor they could prohibit from being the defenders of your Highnesses.

Judging, therefore, by what passed between the ambassador and the King of England, it appeared to me that if the latter had desired to mediate this peace, the ambassador would willingly have consented. If, when the ambassador was in England, I had known this, I would, on my own responsibility, have entreated the King to be willing to act as mediator; but as I was not aware of it, and the business had not then been placed in my hands, I could not act, or take more on myself than I did. Moreover, if I had meddled with the affair, Ferdinand, the Duke, would have been ill satisfied with me.

Course to be pursued.

Your Highnesses will judge whether it would be well that he should ask the King, on the part of your Highnesses, to be willing to negociate this peace, so that when the ambassador returns here the peace may be obtained. It appears to me that such a course would not prove impolitic, especially if your Highnesses were to send instructions and means for bringing about the peace. For, by our Lord, I tacitly under-

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stood from the King that the Ambassador was provided with full powers to make it.

Proposed marriage for Prince of Wales.

The other cause for which the ambassador came, was, the King told me, for the purpose of bringing about a match between the sister of the Dauphin d'Angoulême and the Prince of Wales. To which the King had replied, that nothing could be done in that matter, for that a marriage had been concluded with the Princess of Wales, and that they were already wedded.

King of France and King of the Romans.

The King swore to me, on his soul, that the ambassador had acquainted him with nothing of importance excepting those two things; and also that the King of France was endeavouring to conclude a peace with the King of the Romans. The condition proposed was that he should not afford succour to your Highnesses in the matter of Naples, he on his part giving no aid to the Duke of Gueldres, or the Count Palatine. But the King of England had felt certain that such a thing could not be accomplished with the King of the Romans.

After this, he spoke to me about the negociation respecting vessels. Upon which I showed him the resolution, with regard to the document in Latin and French, which had been sent to Ferdinand, the Duke. On his having read it he immediately replied that, in his opinion, your Majesties had only asked what was just and reasonable, and that he did not doubt but that when he was at Richmond, where he was going to stay for fifteen or twenty days, such an expedient would be found, his Council agreeing thereto, as would content me, and with which your Highnesses would also be satisfied. Accordingly, I laid the document, drawn up by your Highnesses, before his Council, assembled at Richmond; and after many conferences, and much debate, the conclusion was arrived at, with which the King acquainted you in his letter sent from here. In my opinion, it differs very slightly from what the King said it was, and from what your Highnesses desired, according to what I have written more plainly and at greater length in another letter to your Highnesses. I entreat you to consider what may be most for your service, and to let me know.

Marriage with the Queen of Naples.

I next spoke to the King, much at length, about his marriage with the Queen of Naples, your Highnesses' niece. With regard to this matter I am perfectly certain he wishes it as much, and even more, perchance, than your Highnesses, judging by what I have observed in him, and the pleasure with which he spoke of it, and which was not occasioned merely by what he heard from me. But, to avoid prolixity, I will say nothing more now, excepting that he desires it, notwithstanding that he told me of the death of the Duke of Savoy, and spoke much of the Duchess and her widowhood. But that will in no wise hinder the marriage, God willing.

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Henry VII.'s wishes respecting it.

The King, moreover, begged me to write to your Highnesses, telling you he had not yet decided to take to himself a wife. Yet, for the sake of your Highnesses, he was inclined to do it; and as he should be at Westminster, which is near London, at the Feast of All Saints, he would then confer about the matter with the chief persons of his kingdom, and would give me such an answer as would content me. Your Highnesses may verily believe that he really wishes the marriage; only it is the habit of this monarch to conduct all his affairs with much gravity and deliberation. And until his answer has been clearly given the terms to be made cannot be entered upon or spoken of, neither can the subject of the dowry be mooted. I will bring him as quickly as ever I can to the point, and will use all diligence in informing your Highnesses immediately of the result. Meantime, I humbly entreat you, if it be possible, and if it should not be considered an improper thing, that you would please to send me, as quickly as may be, a picture of the said Queen, pourtraying her figure and the features of her face, painted on canvas, and put in a case. Let this, moreover, be done very secretly, and the picture sent to me by your Highnesses, without the Queen of Naples, or her Serene Highness, the Queen her mother, knowing or suspecting anything about it. I say and ask this because the King greatly desires it, if I may judge by the very particular questions he asked respecting the Queen. Also let me be informed of her age. If this matter be concluded, as I hope to God it may, the Queen her mother will have to come here to reside.

A picture of the Queen to be sent.

Closer treaty of amity.

Item: With regard to a new and closer treaty of amity, it has not been possible to bring it to such a point as I could rest satisfied with, beyond what the King said to me and to Ferdinand, the Duke, lately, and of which you will have been made aware by my letters. I very much hope to be able to do more. But, if your Highnesses remember, I wrote to you more than once respecting the wish which the King entertains to bring about a marriage between his daughter and the eldest son of their Highnesses the Archduke and Archduchess. I also said that a chief and very principal person at court, very near to the King, assured me that if such a marriage could be arranged, the King of England and his kingdom would make war upon France at the pleasure of your Highnesses. You may likewise remember that although he gave me many assurances, I did not, and would not, believe him at all, and that I had looked upon it merely as talk. I have not, therefore, given up endeavouring to obtain the bringing him to the point, in the matter of defensive, as well as offensive war, and will advise your Highnesses of all that occurs.

Household of the Princess of Wales.

Item: The King told me that, a few days previously, he had been informed of what had lately been done as regarded the office of the ushers, and the government of the Princess

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and her household, and that, in his opinion it had been well arranged. He also said that not, for a great deal, would he have the Princess learn that he had known of, and taken part in this business. Your Highnesses may rest assured that even if I had not found the means I did for accomplishing this matter, the King of England would have had no desire to meddle in it, for it appears to me that in nothing does he wish to cause dissatisfaction to the Princess. The arrangements that have been made are satisfactory, and every day, God willing, will become more so, especially if your Highnesses will send instructions to Juan de Cuero that, as regards the *camera* which he has the charge of, nothing should be done or expended against the wishes and opinion of Doña Elvira, as first Lady of the Bedchamber, being consulted, and that he should account to her for what has been spent. Your Highnesses may be assured the liberality of the Princess is so great, that all that I have mentioned is quite requisite in order that Doña Elvira may hold the reins of government in her hands. Of a truth your Highnesses are right in feeling no anxiety so long as the Princess has such a person near her; and, as far as lies in my power, I will increase her authority. By way of a beginning I took her a head-dress from the King, a St. Peter in gold, which the King never sends excepting to her Highness the Princess, or to her Highness his mother, or to his daughter the Queen of Scotland, or to such like personages. This head-dress was not given her in secret, but in presence of the Princess and of her ladies, in order to invest her with as much authority as I could. If it should be agreeable to your Highnesses, it would also not be impolitic if, in order to recompense Doña Elvira, who would esteem it as a signal favour, your Highnesses were to direct the order of Santiago to be given to Don Inigo Manrique her son, equerry in chief to her Highness the Princess. For, by the faith I owe to God, and to your Highnesses, he is a very excellent person, and honourable, and worthy of such a favour.

Doña Elvira Manuel; present made to her.

Affair of Suffolk.

The King also spoke to me about Suffolk, telling me how the Duke of Gueldres was keeping him imprisoned in a fortress, and had asked a large ransom for him, which he could not think of giving. For, in his opinion, it would be very derogatory to his royal authority, especially as the King of France had a hand in the business. Besides, if he were to give the money he would not even then get possession of him. Moreover, he showed signs of dissatisfaction with the King of the Romans on account of his having driven Suffolk away, and put him in the power of the French and of his enemy the Duke of Gueldres. He said, moreover, that he doubted he would do the same with the other brother who was in his empire; and prayed your Highnesses to write about the matter, and make such provision as would oblige the King of the Romans to give him up for

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the sake of your Highnesses. By thus enabling him to make an example of him to his kingdom, he would esteem it a great matter, in order to be able to make an example of him to his kingdom, he would esteem it a great matter, for to make him an example to his kingdom he would esteem if a great matter, for to make him an example to his kingdom he would esteem it a great matter.*

Dispensation for the marriage.

Item: I heard from the King that, notwithstanding what the Pope had written to him in his brief, the copy of which is enclosed, the dispensation had not yet been despatched. But he cannot tell whether the cause was that his ambassador, by whom the Pope said he would send it, was ill, or whether the delay had been occasioned by the French. He said, moreover, that your Highnesses must not, on your side, neglect so important a business.

I will get her Highness, the Princess, and Doña Elvira also, to write.—London, 23rd of October 1504.

Your Highnesses' humble servant, &c.

De Puebla.

Addressed: "To the very high and mighty Christian Princes, the King and Queen."

Triplicate.

Indorsed in the hand of Almazan: "To their Highnesses, from Doctor De Puebla, 23rd of October 1504."

Spanish. In cipher, the key of which is not extant. Deciphered by the editor.

29 Oct. **402.** ARCHDUKE PHILIP to HENRY VII.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 89.

Duke of Gueldres; his designs.

Has lately received his letters in answer to those which he had written to him about his cousin of Gueldres, begging him not to lend money to his cousin of Gueldres, because the money would be employed against him (the Archduke). Thanks him very much for his promise not to lend money or show favour to his cousin of Gueldres.

His cousin has only one hope, which is to get a large or small sum of money from England, for the delivery of the English rebel.† If he succeed in that, he will make the Flemish rebels believe that he has concluded an alliance with England, and even perhaps an alliance against Flanders.

The rebel, Suffolk.

Thinks that there is no necessity to buy the rebel for money, as he is incapable of doing harm. The brother of the rebel‡ is still at Aix la Chapelle, and has begged a safe conduct in order to come and speak with him. Has not granted the safe conduct, because he does not like to treat with an enemy of the King of England. Thinks that the King of England, in accordance with the alliance between Flanders and England will assist him instead of lending money to the Duke of

* *Sic* in original. † Edmund De la Pole. ‡ Richard De la Pole

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Gueldres. Writes to him like a son to his father. A father will never do harm to his son.

Affairs of France.

Does not write about the affairs of France, which have been much delayed on account of the treaty of peace with Spain. The King and Queen of Spain are at peace with France. Has also concluded peace with France. The marriage of his son of Luxemburgh is safe. The King and Queen of Spain have concluded a truce of three years in the kingdom of Naples which remains theirs.

King of the Romans.

The King of the Romans had written a letter to him (Henry VII.), but received no answer. The King of the Romans, on the 18th of the present month, conquered the town and fortress of Coopstan, and executed the captain and almost the whole of the garrison for the treason they had committed.—Alost, 29th of October 1504.

Addressed: "To the very high, very excellent, and very powerful Prince, my much beloved cousin and father, the King of England."

Indorsed: "Copy of the letter which the King Don Philip wrote to the King of England on the war with Gueldres."*

French. Copy. pp. 5.

29 Oct. **403.** ARCHDUKE PHILIP to HENRY VII.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 88.

This letter is a Spanish translation of the same letter.

29 Oct. **404.** ARCHDUKE PHILIP to HENRY VII.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 90.

Another Spanish translation of the same letter.

16 Nov. **405.** FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

P. R. O.

Export of Spanish goods.

Have prohibited, by letters patent, the export of goods from Spanish ports in foreign vessels, as long as there are any Spanish ships unemployed in the same port in which the said goods can be shipped.

But now that the Princess Katharine has married Henry, Prince of Wales, *per verba de præsenti*, and consequently will be Queen of England after the death of Henry VII., it is just and reasonable to treat English subjects in Spain on the same footing as Spanish subjects. They are, therefore, permitted to export in Spanish, or English vessels, all kinds of merchandize to England which they were in the habit of exporting before the above-mentioned letters patent had been issued,

* Isabella of Spain died on the 26th of November 1504. On the 29th of October, Philip was therefore not as yet King of Castile. But he had already assumed that title in the treaty of Blois, which was concluded on the 22nd of September. He called Ferdinand the King of Spain.

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except, however, such goods as even Spanish subjects are not permitted to export.

This order is to be published in all cities, towns, and seaports.—Medina del Campo, 16th November 1504.

Latin. Copy. pp. 5½.

23 Nov. 406. DE PUEBLA to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 23.

Princess of Wales at Westminster.

The Princess of Wales enjoys perfect health.

She is staying for twenty days at Westminster with the King.. She is treated and attended in the same manner as in her own house. The King has ordered the Princess Mary to be attended in the same way as the Princess of Wales.

Every day good news comes from the Archduke and the Archduchess.

Had prepared a bundle of letters to be sent by a vessel laden with wheat. The vessel had intended to sail from London in ten days, and Henry VII. promised to give a definite answer, within that time, regarding his stricter alliance and his marriage. But has since been informed that the vessel is to sail immediately. Cannot, therefore, send the long letter which he intended to write.—London, 23rd of November 1504.

Addressed: "To their Highnesses."
Spanish. pp. 1½.

24 Nov. 407. KING FERDINAND to HENRY VII.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 91.

Has received his letters, and heard what Ferdinand, Duke de Estrada has communicated to him, by word of mouth, concerning the conclusion of the marriage by which the houses of Spain and England are to be more intimately united. Rejoices very much to hear that he, the Prince and the Princess of Wales, enjoy such perfect health.

More intimate alliance with Spain.

Is exceedingly pleased to find that he wishes to conclude a more intimate alliance with Spain, and to add new family ties to those which already exist between them. Is of opinion that both the new alliance and the new marriage cannot be too soon concluded. Has sent very detailed instructions to De Puebla, who will speak to him on these affairs.

Sends the dispensation of the Pope respecting the marriage of the Princess Katharine with Henry, Prince of Wales.

Export of Spanish goods.

Has received his letters concerning the right of English vessels to freight in, and to export goods from, Spánish ports. Sends him, in answer to his demand, letters patent by which all English vessels are entitled to the same rights and privileges in Spanish ports as the vessels of Spain herself. Hopes he will grant similar privileges to Spanish vessels in England. —Medina del Campo, 24th November 1504.

Indorsed: "Copy of the letter which the King, our Lord, has written to the King of England."

Latin. Copy. pp. 4.

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24 Nov. **408.** KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN to HENRY VII.

P. R. O. The same letter, signed by Ferdinand.—Medina del Campo, 24th November 1504.

Addressed: "To the serene Prince Henry, by the grace of God, King of England, &c. &c."

Indorsed by Sir Thomas Wriothesley: "Ferdinandus King of Castile, to the King's Majesty."

Latin. pp. 2.

Printed in Gairdner's Letters and Papers, vol. I. p. 241.

26 Nov. **409.** KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN to HENRY VII.

B. M. MS. Ves. C. XII. f. 233.

Death of Queen Isabella.

Informs him that that selfsame day it had pleased God to take to Himself Queen Isabella. Her death is the greatest affliction that could have befallen him. Does not doubt but that the King will feel her loss as a brother. Expresses his assurance that she is in glory, and his desire to be resigned to God's will. Acquaints the King that she has ordained by her will that her husband should be administrator and governor of the kingdoms of Castile, Leon, and Granada, &c., as he already is, on behalf of their daughter Queen Juana. On all these matters the King of England will be informed by De Puebla.—Medina del Campo, 26th November 1504.

Spanish. One page of print.

Printed in Gairdner's Memorials.

410. DE PUEBLA to QUEEN ISABELLA OF SPAIN.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Arrest of the daughter of De Puebla.

His only daughter has been arrested by the inquisitors of Seville. Thinks that such an act ought not to have been done without the consent of the Queen, because he, the father, is absent in a foreign country, in the service of his King and Queen. Beseeches her to write two lines recommending that his daughter should not be treated with too great rigour. His daughter might be kept prisoner in her own house, and the whole accusation against her thoroughly investigated to the bottom. Is informed that she has not done or said anything, since she had arrived at years of discretion, that deserves punishment. If, however, his daughter cannot be allowed to remain in her house, she might be kept in prison, but the case might be summarily and leniently disposed of.

Intercedes for her with the Queen.

Reminds her of his old services, and of the important news he has written from Navarre, and how incessantly he has worked in her service, and in the service of the Princess of Wales, since he returned to England. But, if his merits are insufficient to secure a favourable hearing, he appeals to her queenly mercy and clemency. The danger in which his daughter is, deprives him of his tranquillity, of his energy of

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mind, and of his health. "*In manus Tuas, Domina, commendo espiritum meum.*"

Signed: "*Doctor.*" *No date.**

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

411. De Puebla to Queen Isabella of Spain.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Has already written two letters to her on the business which is, above all others, dear to his heart, and yet is still left in ignorance of what she has decided. Beseeches her to think what a life he must lead during the uncertainty. This is a case for her queenly clemency, if there be such a thing at all. Reminds her once more of his sacrifices and martyrdom in her service.

She may send her answer by his servant who is now in Spain, or through Martin Sanchez de Camudio in Bilbao.

No date. No signature.

Spanish. Holograph. p. ½.

26 Nov. **412.** Katharine, Princess of Wales, to King Ferdinand.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 37.

Is very anxious to hear from him, because she is told that his health is suffering, and because she had not received a letter from him the whole of last year.

De Puebla writes more. He will tell all that has happened.—Westminster, 26th November.

Addressed: "*To the very high and very powerful Lord, my Lord.*"

Indorsed: "*To his Highness, from the Princess of Wales, 26th of November* 1504."

Spanish. Holograph. 12 *lines.*

26 Nov. **413.** Katharine, Princess of Wales, to Queen Isabella of Spain.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 39.

Has written three letters to her, and given them to De Puebla to forward with all care. Wishes to know, above all other things, how her health is. Though the Archduchess had written that the daily attacks of ague, and the fever which followed upon the ague, had disappeared, cannot be satisfied or cheerful until she sees a letter from her mother. Has no other hope or comfort than that which comes from knowing that her mother and father are well.

Doña Maria Rojas.

A marriage of Doña Maria Rojas with one of the first lords of the kingdom is much talked of. The marriage cannot be concluded without their consent. Wishes to retain Doña Maria about her person, and Doña Maria also desires to remain

* As it is impossible to assign a more accurate date to this and the following paper, we place them in the year 1504, in which Queen Isabella died.

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with her after her marriage. Begs them to consent to this marriage, which seems to be approved by De Puebla and by Henry VII.—Westminster, 26th November.

Addressed: "To the very high and very powerful Queen, my Lady."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 1½.

28 Nov. **414.** HENRY VII. to POPE JULIUS II.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 78.

Henry VII. begs the Pope to send the dispensation.

Had written to Pope Alexander VI. and Pope Pius III., asking them to grant the dispensation necessary for the marriage of the Princess Katharine of Spain with Henry, Prince of Wales. Both these Popes, his immediate predecessors, had received his demands so favourably that the dispensation would have been given long ago if they had not so suddenly died.

Had repeated his demands afterwards, very often, in his letters, and by his ambassadors. The consequence was, that he (Julius II.) promised in different letters, and by word of mouth, to send the desired dispensation by Robert Sherborne. Robert Sherborne, however, has returned to England without the dispensation, and it even seems as if nothing at all had been done at Rome in this matter. Repeats his former prayers that the dispensation may be granted as soon as possible, and that it may be delivered at once to the English ambassadors who are remaining at Rome.—Westminster, 28th November 1504.

Addressed: "To the Most Holy Father, our Pope."

Indorsed: "Copy of the letter which the King of England has written to the Pope concerning the dispensation."

Written in Spanish by De Puebla: "I have not been able to correct the copy, because the captain of the vessel who takes it to Spain is sailing so soon."

Latin. Copy. pp. 3½.

28 Nov. **415.** HENRY VII. to POPE JULIUS II.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 66.

A copy of the same letter.

Indorsed in the hand of Almazan: "By order of the King, the Latin secretary has sent me this copy, written by himself, of the letter which the King has again written a short time ago to the Pope about the dispensation."

29 Nov. **416.** HENRY VII. to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 65.

Had written two letters a short time ago to them on the subject of the household of the Princess of Wales, and about his two rebels.* Moreover, has opened his mind to their ambassadors, Ferdinand, Duke de Estrada, and De Puebla, on the subject of the papal dispensation.

* Edmund and Richard De la Pole.

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Treaty for a more intimate alliance.

De Puebla had afterwards communicated some secret matter to him with respect not only to the intended still nearer relationship between them, but also with regard to a more intimate alliance. Expresses his "immortal" thanks to them, and esteems them more than any other Princes in Christendom. The two clauses which De Puebla has read to him are of the greatest importance. Has had a long conversation with De Puebla about them.—Westminster, 29th November 1504.

Addressed: "To the most serene and powerful Princes, Ferdinand and Isabella, by the grace of God, King and Queen of Castile, Arragon, &c."

Latin. pp. 3.

4 Dec.
S. E. T. c. I.
L. 5. f. 40.

417. KATHARINE, PRINCESS OF WALES, to QUEEN ISABELLA OF SPAIN.

This is a duplicate of her letter of the 26th of November 1504, to Queen Isabella.—Durham, 4th December.

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 1½.

4 Dec.
S. E. T. c. I.
L. 5. f. 41.

418. KATHARINE, PRINCESS OF WALES, to KING FERDINAND.

This is a duplicate of her letter of the 26th of November 1504 to King Ferdinand.—Durham, 4th December.

Spanish. Holograph. 12 *lines.*

5 Dec.
S. E. T. c. I.
L. 5. f. 14.

419. DE PUEBLA to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

Most high and most mighty Princes, the King and Queen's Majesties.

Framing of the treaty of amity.

The King has had great debates with all his nobles and his Council, and afterwards with me, respecting the treaty for a closer amity. The conclusion he has arrived at is, that according to the enclosed, (as regards what has been agreed to and settled with your Highnesses,) there can be no more intimate treaty of amity framed. For he is bound by it, each time and whenever your Highnesses' rights are invaded, to give you all succour and aid, by sea and by land, against all persons soever, without any exception, and as if it were his own affair. Moreover, he has examined many ancient alliances, and finds none of them promise more as respects defensive war. Also on no account could any assent be given at present to any proposal for defensive war, beyond what has been agreed upon.

As to offensive war there were many opinions expressed. Finally this matter was remitted until the Privy Seal, and the Principal Secretary, should have framed some articles for me to send for your Highnesses' consideration.

Articles to be deliberated upon.

With respect to the preamble we agreed very well. I send it herewith, and I believe you will not think ill of it. But on account of having, according to your wishes, asked the King and his Council to frame the said articles in such

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a manner that your Highnesses should not deem them unjust and unreasonable; also on account of the ship in which these letters are sent having put to sea, and being obliged to start immediately, I have had no time to set about making better articles. The conclusion arrived at by the King and his Council was, therefore, that those articles, with the exception of the preamble, should not be sent or delivered to me without further deliberation being had upon them. They also decided that I should write to inform your Highnesses what terms they would offer, and what they wish for. Namely, that as your Highnesses have the Prince and Princess of Wales, your children, in England, who are destined, God willing, to be King and Queen of this kingdom, and as your Highnesses will have grandsons by them, it is their opinion that when the King of England desires to pass over into France to make war on the King of France, in order to recover what the Crown of England has been despoiled of, your Highnesses should bind yourselves to make war also on the King of France, in order to aid him to recover his rights. Moreover, if, on this account, and to defray your expenses, your Highnesses should desire to have the province of Languedoc, the King, with all his kingdom, would give your Highnesses all the patents and titles which the Crown of England holds in Languedoc. It is said that this province of Languedoc is the best and largest in the kingdom of France, and brings in more revenue (than any other), and that there is little difficulty in collecting it. They likewise say that when the war has begun, neither your Highnesses nor the King of England ought to make truce or peace excepting by mutual consent. They also affirm that by these means, they will inspire your Highnesses with spirit to undertake war with France in a way which, for a long time past, you have not done or thought of.

Wishes of the King of England.

Offer of Languedoc to be given up to Spain by England.

I entreat your Highnesses, even if you should not approve of this proposal, not to blame me; for by our Lord and my salvation, I can only get all that I can for the service and satisfaction of your Highnesses. I cannot do more, for this is the most difficult people to bring to a decision that ever was seen. But as your Highnesses are very wise and enlightened by God, you will be able to provide for all, and to make such answer as may seem to you most for your interests.

Marriage of the King of England.

The King of England has written to your Highnesses, as you will see, about this article, and also about his marriage. I promised him that these his letters, and the preamble, should not be sent by land, but by sea. For the King of England wishes that, on no account whatever, should they run the risk of being seen in France, because the suspicion which the King of France entertains about him would then be confirmed, in accordance with the communication he has lately made to me, with the intention that I should tell your Highnesses what he has only written to you in brief.

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Queen of Naples.

As to the match between the Queen of Naples and the King of England, your Highnesses may rest assured that a business of so much importance has not been allowed to lie dormant. On the contrary, I have spoken many times to the King about it, sometimes in private, and sometimes in presence of the members of the Privy Council. The marriage is much approved by the King and the Privy Council, and is thought a better one than any other which has been or can be offered him, search all the world over. While making this declaration, they lauded your Highnesses, on many accounts, and for many considerations, above the Cherubim.

It is true that the King has had letters from France, which he showed me, and in which he is assured that your Highnesses are going to give this lady, your niece, to the son of Don Fadrique,* should it be agreeable to the King of France. He is also told that the King of France did not wish for the match, and that the ambassadors of your Highnesses, who are in France, had departed, taking this answer with them from the King of France, and without being able to come to any conclusion respecting the peace.

Henry VII. desires further particulars respecting her.

I replied to all this, that I did not believe it, as your Highnesses yourselves had written to make the offer (of the marriage with the Queen Dowager of Naples) to his Highness. He answered, with all respect to your Highnesses, that such a thing might have taken place before your Highnesses made him the offer. Finally, the conclusion arrived at by the King and his Council is, that it seems a thing which ought not to be, and an improper thing, for the King to conclude such a marriage without being first certified by his ambassadors and envoys as to the person and appearance of the said Queen. For your Highnesses must know that if she were ugly, and not beautiful, the King of England would not have her for all the treasures in the world, nor would he dare to take her, the English thinking so much as they do about personal appearance. Moreover, I was told that neither the King nor his Council had seen any letters or instruction from your Highnesses, in writing, to which they might have given entire credence, but had had to rely solely upon my relation, saying that your Highnesses had always written to me in cipher. Nor had they even seen the picture which I had begged your Highnesses to send. Therefore, on account of all these things, the King greatly desired, as did also the Privy Council, that, provided it were agreeable to your Highnesses, he would send ambassadors to Valencia, or to your Highneses, about the matter, when and how and where your Highnesses might direct, and in case the request should appear to you to be a proper one.

English ambassadors travelling in Spain.

I was much against this for many just reasons; one of which was, that I have never seen an ambassador who has

* Frederick of Arragon. His son was Alphonso.

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gone hence to Spain, and who has not come back disgusted with that country. The cause of this is that travelling in England is like going from one wedding to another,* while in Spain the traveller finds no accommodation or comfort; and this will be more the case now, if it be true that there is a famine in the country.

I humbly entreat your Highnesses to be pleased to answer me about this matter, without delay, and also about all the affairs respecting which I have written to you. For I do not doubt, God willing, that whatever your Highnesses may determine to write now, in plain words, and not in cipher, will be productive of good, especially if your Highnesses should reply to the King's letters. For, including this one, he will have written four to your Highnesses, without receiving one from you, which he much desires. And as Melchior, my servant, is in Spain, I beg your Highnesses to send me an answer to this letter by him, for he is sure to find a ship at either Bilbao or Guipuzcoa, because, on account of the corn which they are sending from here and Flanders, there are passages every day.

May our Lord have your Highnesses' lives, &c. &c.—London, 5th December 1504.

Your humble servant, &c.

For their Highnesses. De Puebla.

Spanish.

Indorsed by Almazan: "To their Highnesses."

Written in two keys of cipher; only one of which is extant. Deciphered by the editor.

5 Dec. **420.** DE PUEBLA to FERDINAND and ISABELLA.

S. E. T. c. I.
L. 5. f. 12.

Most high and most mighty Princes, the King and Queen's Majesties.

After having kissed the royal hands and feet of your Highnesses, I have to inform you that, a few days ago, I wrote many letters from here to your Highnesses, sending them by different routes. As I am certain you must ere this have received them, I will not repeat what is contained in them, but only tell you what has taken place since.

Princess of Wales.

Firstly, her Highness the Princess is very well, thanks be to God; and although she has been a month at Westminster with the King, she is keeping the same rule and observance and seclusion which she did before in her own house, in accordance with the wishes and desires of Doña Elvira Manuel. This manner of proceeding is thought well of by all the kingdom, and much more by the King. For I assure your Highnesses he has commanded that she should be treated as though she were his daughter.

* Sic in the original. The meaning decidedly is, *pleasantly and easily.*

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Order observed by her at court.

Your Highnesses must be informed that some persons desire to make the Princess imagine she need not observe such order and seclusion as she does at court, but that she ought to enjoy greater freedom. Your Highnesses will see this by a letter from Doña Elvira, which was given to me when I went to speak with the King, and which I enclose in this despatch. Moreover, his Highness told me plainly that he had heard something of the matter, and had declared his wishes to her Highness the Princess, telling her that the instructions sent her by your Highnesses were only such as were fitting for her honour and dignity. He had likewise told her that the commands you had laid upon her, and what you had written, must be performed, not only as long as she remained unmarried, but afterwards also. So that her Highness the Princess is fully aware that your wishes in this respect, and those of the King of England, are one. She knows, moreover, that she must not now expect anything else, notwithstanding that she had such great hope that, after the arrival of Duke Ferdinand in England, your Highnesses would not make the arrangements you have made. Finally, there is nothing more to be done in this matter, excepting that, in order to set the seal to it all, I pray your Highnesses to write to her Highness, expressing your satisfaction with all that has been done.

Instructions sent to her.

Her Highness the Princess is writing at the present time to your Highnesses; and, according to what she has told me, it is about a marriage of Doña Maria de Rojas, respecting which I desire to make known to your Highnesses what has taken place. Some few days ago the King's step-father, who was Constable of the Realm and Earl of Derby, died. He left as his heir, a grandson, the son of his eldest son, who is 22 years of age. But, in addition to what he has by right of succession from his father, he inherits from his mother, so that he is, at present, the best match in the kingdom. I have told Doña Rojas she must not venture to conclude such a match without the permission of your Highnesses, telling her what I had done in a similar case. At the same time I have not neglected to learn the wishes of the King of England; and I find that it is quite certain he desires this marriage more for Doña Maria De Rojas than for any other lady in his kingdom. Notwithstanding, the King does not wish to conclude the matter, excepting with the consent of the family, who make some little difficulties. But even supposing that they might, in the end, consent, I would not meddle in the matter without being first directed by your Highnesses. I entreat your Highnesses, therefore, to inform me what you think will be most for your interests, and if you should decide that I am to conclude this business, it will be necessary to know what will be given with her for a marriage portion, since the property which Doña Maria has in Spain is in the hands of your Highnesses. For, if the future husband of Doña

Marriage proposed for Doña Maria de Rojas.

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Dispensation for the marriage.

de Rojas should not be able to obtain her property in Spain, this, or any other marriage, would be impossible, even with a man possessed of much less money.

The King has heard this week that his ambassador at Rome had set off for England, and was not bringing with him the dispensation. The King showed much annoyance at hearing these tidings; and after long deliberation and consultation, he wrote to the Pope, supplicating him for it, as your Highnesses will see by the copy of the King's letter sent herewith, and which is copied verbatim. I entreat your Highnesses also to write to the Pope, who will see how much the matter imports your service.

Three or four days ago the King of England received a letter from his Highness the Prince Archduke, which letter I have sent herein inclosed, and with it the copy in Castilian. It appears to the King unjust of the Archduke to ask him not to require his rebel to be given up to him. I have also * been pleased to send to your Highnesses the letters which Don Juan Manuel wrote to Doña Elvira Manuel, his sister, in order that your Highnesses may be advertised of everything. I have done so, moreover, because the King of England greatly hopes that if your Highnesses request the King of the Romans to deliver up the brother of Suffolk he will do it without much difficulty. I myself also believe it, for the King of England and the King of the Romans were never better friends than now. I desire much that it should be done, for it will be a thing much regarded and esteemed.

I commit your lives, &c. to our Lord.—London, 5th December 1504.

Your humble servant,
De Puebla.

Addressed: "To the very high and mighty Princes, the King and Queen."

Indorsed by Almazan: "To their Highnesses, from Doctor De Puebla, 5th December 1504."

Spanish. Written in two different keys of cipher, only one key of which is extant. Deciphered by the editor.

5 Dec. S. E. I. L. 806. f. 5.

421. PREAMBLE of a NEW TREATY between SPAIN and ENGLAND.†

A treaty of friendship and peace concluded between Henry, King of England, on the one part, and Ferdinand and Isabella on the other part, is in full force. As, however, a new treaty of matrimony, uniting the two Royal Houses, has been of late concluded, and as another matrimony, which would even be a stronger bond of blood, is in contemplation, it is neces-

* Sic, though it is the ambassador who is writing to his King.

† This paper seems to be the preamble mentioned in the letter of De Puebla of the 5th of December 1504.

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sary that not only the old treaties be rigorously fulfilled, but also that new clauses of a more private and intimate character be added to them.

Therefore, &c.—No date.

Latin. Draft. pp. 1½.

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20 Jan. S. E. T. b. I. L. 2.

422. MARTIN SANCHEZ DE ZAMUDIO to MIGUEL PEREZ ALMAZAN.

Three vessels have arrived from England, and in each of them a bundle of papers from De Puebla to the King. Two of the bundles were made up in the month of November, and the third on the 5th of December last. They contain despatches from the ambassadors, and letters from the King of England, and the Princess of Wales. The cause of the delay had been the gales and the rough sea. One of the said vessels is a very good English vessel of about eighty tons. The owner of her is a trustworthy person, and intends to return to England within about twenty days. Despatches can be sent by him.

Forty vessels laden with wheat are daily expected from Flanders. They were freighted three months ago. Contrary winds had prevented them from sailing. If no corn had been imported from Flanders there would have been a famine in the Biscayan provinces. As it is, the people do not suffer much; bread is only rather dear.

Expected voyage of Queen Juana and her husband to Spain.

It is said that Queen Juana, and her husband the Prince, are to come from Flanders to Spain by sea, or by land. Besides the forty vessels which are now expected with wheat from Flanders twenty other ships are remaining in that country which went thither last year from Andalusia. The present season is not favourable for a voyage from Flanders to Spain. But from May to the middle of August the journey might be undertaken without any danger, as it was accomplished last summer by her (his) Highness. The fleet in which his (her) Highness went, returned the sixteenth of June. There are three ships in the harbour almost ready to sail for Flanders and only waiting for other vessels, in company of which they wish to sail. One of them is the same vessel in which Queen Doña Juana sailed. She is a fine ship of 220 tons. Other ships of 300 and 200 tons are in the port. During this time of peace the merchants prefer to freight small vessels. If, therefore, the Queen and the Archduke are to come by sea to Spain, it would be best to inform him in time of their voyage. Would select the best ships for the purpose of taking the Queen and the Archduke to Spain.

Recommends his son.—Bilbao, 20th January 1505.

Addressed: "To the very noble Knight Commander, Miguel Perez de Almazan, Secretary to the King."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 5.

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21 Jan. **423.** MARTIN SANCHEZ DE ZAMUDIO to MIGUEL PEREZ ALMAZAN.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 3.

Has sent the day before three bundles of papers from England. Has received this moment another bundle of letters from Flanders. The Bishop of Palencia has written to him that these letters are of the utmost importance. Sends them, therefore, without losing an hour. The forty vessels from Flanders are in view.

Recommends his wife and his son.—Bilbao, 21st January 1505.

Addressed: "To the very noble Knight Commander, Miguel Perez de Almazan, Secretary to their Highnesses, &c. &c."*

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

12 March. **424.** HENRY VII.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 79.

Exports of English merchandise to Spain.

The nearer the ties of consanguinity and relationship between the houses of England and Spain are, and will be, the greater must be the friendship between the two countries. Considering, moreover, that the marriage of Henry, Prince of Wales, with the Princess Katharine is already concluded, decrees that all subjects of his brother the King of Arragon and Regent of Castile, are at liberty to export all kinds of merchandize from England in English or Spanish vessels to Spain, or to any other country, without any impediment or burden, except such goods as even English subjects are forbidden to carry out of the kingdom.

This order is to be published in all cities, towns, and sea ports.—Canterbury, 12th March 1505.

Indorsed by Almazan: "Signed and sealed on the 12th of March 1505."

Latin. pp. 3.

12 March. **425.** HENRY VII. to ALL PERSONS.

Fr. R. 20 Hen. VII. m. 4. (5.)

Inrolment of the preceding.—Canterbury, 12th March, 20th year of his reign.

Latin. p. 1.

Printed in Rymer.

17 March. **426.** BISHOP OF WORCESTER to HENRY VII.

P. R. O.

Bull of the dispensation sent to Queen Isabella.

The King will have already learnt by the apostolic brief, and by the instructions given to his brother, John Paul, that it had pleased his Holiness to command him to go to England with the original bull of the dispensation for the marriage. It had grieved his Holiness to learn that copies had been sent from Spain to England of the bull, which, under seal of secresy, had been sent to Queen Isabella, only for her consolation, when on her deathbed. Speaks of the devotion he bears the King's

* Sic.

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Highness, and of his wish to set forth on his journey in a few days. Has no tidings to give worthy his Highness's notice, excepting that his Holiness is restored to his usual health. In a postscript says that the counsellors of the King of Poland had had an audience of his Holiness on the 10th of March, at which they offered many presents, amounting in value to 2,000 ducats.—Rome, 17th March 1505.

Addressed: "To his Sacred Majesty, the King."

Printed in Gairdner's Letters and Papers, vol. I. p. 243.

Latin. Holograph. pp. 2.

24 March. **427.** KATHARINE, PRINCESS OF WALES, to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 35.

Princess of Wales; her debts.

Sends him a letter for the King of England. Asks him to remind the King of the misery in which she lives, and to tell him, in plain language, that it will reflect dishonour on his character if he should entirely abandon his daughter. Had she contracted debts for luxuries, the King might have reason not to pay them. But such is not the case. Has been forced to borrow, otherwise she would have had nothing to eat.—Richmond, 2nd day of Easter.

*Addressed: "To Doctor De Puebla."**

Spanish. Holograph. 13 *lines.*

25 May. **428.** HENRY VII. to KING FERDINAND.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5 f. 85.

Don Inigo Manrique, Master of the Horse to the Princess of Wales, is in love with the daughter of an English lord, and wishes to marry her. Thinks that no obstacles to this marriage ought to be raised, and begs him to give his consent. —Richmond, 25th May 1505.

Addressed: "To the most serene and mighty Prince Ferdinand, by the grace of God, King of Spain, &c."

Latin. pp. 2.

Spring or Summer. **429.** HENRY VII.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Articles to be communicated by Anthony Savage to Pedro De Ayala.

These are the articles which Anthony Savage shall communicate to the Reverend Father, Pedro de Ayala, Apostolic Prothonotary, and about which he shall hear his opinion.

The said Anthony shall first deliver the letters of the King to the said Prothonotary, and then tell him what follows. A long time has already elapsed during which his Royal Majesty has heard nothing from the Prothonotary respecting . . . . .† of that country. As the Prothonotary had written to the King's Majesty a letter, forwarded by Garter King-at-Arms, and asked him to send the said Anthony to him, in case he had any thing to communicate which could not be

* For various reasons it is probable that this letter was written in the year 1505. If that be the case, the second day of Easter is the 24th of March.

† The ciphers corresponding to the following letters follow here:—monitatalibus.

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safely entrusted to writing, his Royal Highness, wishing to inform him of something, and to hear his opinion, sends him the said Anthony.

King of the Romans.

After this preamble, the said Anthony shall tell the said Prothonotary that the most Serene King of the Romans had sent Herman Rimbre, with credentials and instructions, to his Majesty, by virtue of which the said Herman had showed and explained to his Majesty the following matters:—

1. The King of the Romans wishes to refer the differences about the fairs of Calais to the decision and arbitrament of the King of England.

2. He offers the King of England his daughter in marriage.

His quarrel with the King of Hungary.

3. The same Herman informed the King's Majesty of the quarrel of the King of the Romans with the King of Hungary, and begged his Majesty to send an embassy about this affair to the King of Hungary and his subjects.

4. The said Herman further told the King of England that the King of the Romans intends to go to Rome, in order to be crowned there. From Rome the King of the Romans intends to go to Hungary, to take possession of his rights. He begs, for this purpose, one thousand archers from the King of England, who are to be paid for by the King of the Romans.

5. The said Herman said to the King of England that the King of the Romans had had very great expenses in Germany and in Gueldres, and would be obliged to spend much more money on his expedition to Rome and Hungary. The King of the Romans asked, therefore, the King of England to lend him money, without, however, stating the amount.

Requests a loan of money from Henry VII.

Anthony Savage shall communicate, confer, and treat with the Prothonotary, separately, on each article contained in the credentials of Herman Rimbre, ask his advice, and send his answer in writing to the King of England.

He shall also inquire whether the Prothonotary knows anything about these articles.

He shall further beg the Prothonotary to make very diligent search, and to communicate the truth, in this matter, through the said Anthony to the King's Majesty, especially with respect to the marriage, that is to say, whether the King of the Romans means it earnestly and sincerely, or is playing the hypocrite, and whether he has other intentions. If the latter be the case, what may his intentions be?

Dowries of the daughter of the King of the Romans.

He shall also inquire to how much the dowries amount, which the daughter of the King of the Romans has in Spain and in Savoy?

Do the dowries consist in real estates and other property, or in pensions; and what is the amount of the property, and how large are the pensions?

What security has the Princess for her dowries, and how

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would she be provided for in case her property should be taken from her, or the payment of her pensions suspended?

Is she reputed to be rich, and in what do her riches consist?

Would her father and brother, or either of them, give her, in addition to what she now possesses, a dowry for her marriage with the King's Majesty, and what and how much would that be?

Whether any other Prince be asking her in marriage.

He shall inquire whether any other Prince is asking her in marriage, and who the Prince is, and whether she has a liking for him, and wishes to be married to another Prince, and who that Prince is?

He shall inquire what sentiments, intentions, dispositions of mind, and affections the King of the Romans entertains towards the King of England, and whether the King of England can confide in him as in a good, true, and constant brother?

King of Castile; his intentions.

He shall also ask the Prothonotary what is the mind and what are the intentions of the King of Castile towards the King of England.

He shall question the Prothonotary whether the King of Castile intends to go to Spain this summer or next winter, and whether by land or by sea, with an army or without an army?

He shall endeavour to find out whether the King of the Romans, after the conclusion of the war in Gueldres, will make over a portion of his army to the King of Castile? How great that portion would be, and who would be the captains? Would it be foot or horse, and what purpose would it serve?

He shall ask what intentions the Queen of Castile has; whether she is of the same mind with the King of Castile, and whether she will accompany him to Spain?

Are the Kings of Arragon and of Castile friends or foes; and if they are foes, what is the reason of their enmity?

Edmund de la Pole.

What is likely to become of Edmund de la Pole?

Does the King of the Romans favour him by deeds or words?

Does the King of the Romans favour the said Edmund?

Has the King of Castile concluded a convention with the Duke of Gueldres respecting the said Edmund, and what are the articles of that convention?

He shall inquire what the Duke of Gueldres intends to do with the said Edmund; whether he has a liking for him, or only esteems him a little? How is the said Edmund now watched; is he kept like a prisoner in strict confinement, or does he enjoy freedom, although not complete freedom?

The said Anthony shall very often repeat to himself all these articles, and afterwards frequently confer about them with the Prothonotary. As often as he learns anything worth writing or communicating, he shall send speedy messengers to the King of England, or return in person to England in order to speak to the King.

The said Anthony shall tell the Prothonotary that the King

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of England, intending to give a suitable answer to the King of the Romans on all subjects contained in the instructions of Herman Rimbre, will very soon send some privy counsellors to the King of the Romans. These privy councillors, or ambassadors, shall first confer with the Prothonotary about the answer to be given in the name of the King of England to the King of the Romans.

He shall inquire for what reasons the King of Arragon sends ambassadors to the King of France, and whether there is hope that these two Kings will conclude a peace?

Henry VII. expects that De Ayala will keep his secrets.

The King of England communicates all these secret matters to the Prothonotary as though he were one of his most intimate councillors, and expects that the Prothonotary will communicate these secrets of the King of England to no person living. His Majesty has the greatest confidence in the Prothonotary, and is persuaded that he will make all these inquiries by safe and secret ways and means.

No date. No signature.

Written in cipher. The key of this cipher is contained in the same document, but is written in such a manner that it appears as though it were a paragraph of the letter. A few lines in a different key of cipher are added, containing the directions where the key of the principal letter is to be sought for. The key or rather the two keys of this postscript are not extant. The deciphering is by the editor.

Latin. The letter is written on paper, the water-mark of which is the Imperial Eagle with two heads. Such paper was principally used in Germany and Flanders.

11 June. **430.** HENRY VII. to KING FERDINAND.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 83.

De Puebla has shown him the despatch in cipher, dated Arevalo, the 6th of May. It fills six pages. The same ambassador has given him a literal translation of it. Thanks him for his love and good opinion. Will keep all the plans and secrets communicated to him "in the shrine of his heart." Loves him more than any other Prince, and would, in similar circumstances, confide his innermost thoughts to Ferdinand, since Ferdinand has now confided his secrets to him. Has had a long conversation with De Puebla, who will send a detailed report.

Is ready to confirm the new and stricter alliance, and is contented with the marriage portion of the Princess Katharine. Will have more deliberations with De Puebla on these subjects. —Richmond, 11th June 1505.

Addressed: "To the most serene and mighty Prince, Don Ferdinand, King of Spain, &c."

Latin. pp. 3.

1505.
22 June. **431.** KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN to DE PUEBLA.

B. M.
MS. Vitell. C. xi.
f. 49 b.

Has written on the 6th of May from Arevalo, and received his letters of 1st and 24th of April; together with the letters of the King of England and the Princess of Wales. Has likewise received a certificate of the nuptials, the letter about the freighting of the ships, and the draft for a new and more intimate alliance. He is to inform the King of the pleasure the marriage has given him, and that the remainder of the marriage portion will be paid in the manner agreed upon. No receipt having been given of the gold, plate, and jewels taken by the Princess as part of her portion, she and Doña Elvira must see that nothing be lost of the said treasures, estimated at 35,000 scudos. The remainder, amounting to 65,000 scudos, will be paid when the Prince of Wales completes his fifteenth year. He must learn whether the King will undertake to pay the salaries of the Princess's household, and must endeavour to have everything that is requisite liberally provided for the Princess and her household. He must also tell the Princess that she ought to revere, and be very obedient to the King, as is her duty, and as being a means of making him love her more, and of doing more for her. As all her expenses and those of her household will be defrayed by the King, his wishes ought to be consulted in everything, so that he on his part may do all that is fitting. He must speak with, and consult the Princess and Doña Elvira about the matter, and afterwards obtain the assent of the King to whatever they think should be done.—Segovia, 22nd June 1505.

Marriage portion of the Princess of Wales.

Salaries of her household.

Spanish. Copy. 2½ pages of print.—Printed in Gairdner's Memorials.

22 June. **432.** KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I.
L. 5. f. 92.

Is willing to conclude a new and more intimate alliance with the King of England, and to do everything by which their friendship can be increased, but makes the two following conditions. In the first place, neither of them must begin a war against any Christian Prince without being seriously provoked; and, secondly, the terms of the treaty must be equal for both parties. The clauses of the projected treaty which have been sent to him from England are unequal. They state that he himself shall be obliged to make war against France as often as Henry VII. is at war with that country, whilst Henry does not bind himself in the same way. If the King of England wishes to secure the assistance of Spain against France, he must bind himself to render the same service to the King of Spain.

More intimate alliance between Spain and England.

Should the King of England begin war because his two rebels* are not delivered up to him, in such a case would not only assist him, but would make war against any Prince, without exception whatever.

Thanks King Henry for his good wishes, and for the

* Edmund and Richard De la Pole.

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services he has spontaneously offered him if obliged to defend his right to the Regency of Castile, although the King of England was already obliged to assist him in such emergency.* Thanks King Henry likewise for what he had said respecting the Queen Juana, namely, "that she should be at liberty." * Would like to have not only those things of which he has spoken, but also his help.

Behaviour of the King Archduke.

The King Archduke repays his love with ingratitude. While Queen Isabella was alive, asked the Archduke and the Archduchess to come to Spain, and to be sworn as Infante and Infanta of Spain. When they came, took the greatest pains to have them sworn, not only as Princes of Castile, but also of Arragon and Sicily. Afterwards Queen Isabella was taken ill. The Archduke, ensnared by the French, intended to return to Flanders during the illness of the Queen, notwithstanding that the French were preparing to make war at that time upon Spain, and were ready to besiege Salsas. Had a long conversation with the Archduke, and told him that he ought not to leave Spain in such a contingency, because—

1. If the Queen should die, the Archduchess and he could, if they were on the spot, directly enter upon the pacific possession of the kingdom.

2. It would be said that he had left Spain from fear of the impending war with France.

3. Being heir of Castile and Aragon, his absence would be prejudicial to him.

In spite of these remonstrances, however, and the representations of the Queen, the Archduke had returned by land through France, and had thus delivered himself into the hands of his enemy and the enemy of Spain. The French had, before that time, been almost conquered in Naples. But when they heard that the Archduke was in the power of the King of France, and had concluded a treaty of peace with him in his own name, as well as in the name of the King and Queen of Spain, they began to make more resistance. Certainly, the Archduke had no commission to conclude peace in his name and in the name of the Queen. When the French afterwards attacked Spain and besieged Salsas, the Archduke did not lend the least aid to Spain. Had borne all with the greatest patience, because of the Archduke being his son.

Proposals made to the Archduke.

The French were repulsed, and Salsas was relieved. Proposed to the Archduke to help him with all his forces to reconquer Burgundy and the other countries of which France had taken forcible possession. Intended also to compel the King of France to give Milan back to the King of the Romans, a thing that could have easily been done in that conjuncture. All those offers were formally made by himself, and the Queen of Spain, to the Archduke and the King of the Romans, who deliberately answered that they would accept none of them. They said that they had no quarrel with the King of France.

* *ut illa potuisset esse in sua libertate*, in the original.

1489.

Seeing such a disposition in the King Archduke and the King of the Romans, concluded a truce with France for three years, in which all the allies of Spain, and especially the King of England, were included. At the same time the King Archduke concluded an alliance and peace with France, "*amicus amici et inimicus inimici*," without excepting or including Spain. The clauses of this treaty were most advantageous to France and unfavourable to Spain, especially with respect to Naples.

Conduct pursued by Ferdinand at the death of Isabella.

Notwithstanding this new insult, continued, like a good father, to love the King Archduke. When the Queen was suffering from her last fatal illness, directly wrote most loving letters to the King Archduke with his own hand, telling him to keep himself prepared for his journey to Spain, and informing him daily by the quickest messengers of the state of the Queen's health. In the first moments after the Queen's death, his grief was boundless. Nevertheless the first thing he did was to go to the Great Square of Medina del Campo, and there, before all the people, to renounce his principal title,* and to give it to the Queen Archduchess and her husband, the King Archduke. Ordered them to be sworn as King and Queen of Castile, Leon, Granada, &c. Wrote the same day to the King Archduke, and asked him to come to Spain without delay.

Treaty made by the Archduke with France.

Had hoped to find consolation in the company of his children, but had been much mistaken in his expectations. For the King Archduke, and his father the King of the Romans, just at that moment of grief and sorrow, concluded a new alliance with France, declaring that they were friends of his friends, and enemies of his enemies, without excepting even the Pope. They signed the treaty with their own hands and swore it. The King Archduke conferred personally with the Cardinal of Rouen †, and consented to clauses most prejudicial to Spain and to the Queen Archduchess. He, moreover, persuaded his father, the King of the Romans, to invest the King of France with the duchy of Milan, without even asking the restitution of Burgundy and of the other countries. Has received no explanation of his behaviour from the King Archduke, but still hopes, as stated in his letter of the 6th of March, to convince him by means of personal intercourse that he has done wrong.

All this is to be communicated to Henry with the greatest secrecy. Considers Henry as his brother, and hopes to be comforted by him. At all events the King of England will see that it is not his fault, if some differences should arise between himself and the King Archduke.

He must write as soon as he receives an answer from Henry respecting his marriage with the young Queen of Naples.

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* That of "King of Castile." Ferdinand only preserved the title of King of Arragon and Sicily.

† George of Amboise.

1505.

No trust to be placed in Doña Elvira Manuel.

Henry must confide nothing to Doña Elvira Manuel, sister to Juan Manuel, because he cannot be trusted. Don Juan Manuel has betrayed both the King of Spain and the King of England. To mention only one of his perfidious acts, it was he who did all in his power to prevent the extradition of the rebel brothers Suffolk. He often dines and sups with them, and treats them as his friends. Promises to do all that the King of England desires with respect to these rebels.—Segovia, 22nd June 1505.

Indorsed : "Secret instructions from the Catholic King."

Latin. Draft or copy. pp. 2.

433. THOMAS RUTHAL, SECRETARY to HENRY VII.

S. E. T. c. 1. L. 5. f. 80.

Sketch of a more intimate treaty between Henry VII. and King Ferdinand of Spain, consisting of three clauses :—

Treaty between England and Spain.

1. A treaty of friendship and alliance between England and Spain is now in full force. But circumstances may happen under which both parties would wish to conclude another and more stringent treaty of alliance, not only for the preservation of their present dominions, but also for the recovery of what they formerly possessed, and what has been taken from them. The freedom to conclude such a treaty would, however, perhaps, be lost if both, or one of the parties, were to conclude new treaties of friendship with other princes. The King of England, who is now living in peace with Louis King of France, and King Ferdinand who has concluded a truce with the said King of France, bind themselves, therefore, severally not to conclude any new treaty of friendship, alliance, &c. with Louis, King of France, his heirs and successors, without the express consent of the other party, given by letters patent under the great seal, and signed by the consenting King with his own hand.

Conditions to be made.

The King of England is, however, to be at liberty to enter into negotiations with King Louis concerning his right to the crown of France, and respecting the other claims which England has upon that kingdom. King Ferdinand is likewise to be permitted to negotiate with the King of France respecting his retention of Naples and Roussillon. But as soon as either of the contracting parties conclude a treaty with France, the above-mentioned consent of the other contracting party is required.

2. Either contracting party is to further the honour and interest of the other contracting party in all negotiations with France.

3. Both contracting parties are to promise, by a most solemn oath, punctually to fulfil this treaty.—No date.*

Signed : Thomas Rowthale,
Secretarius Regius.

Latin. Holograph. pp. 4.

* This paper seems to be the project of the more intimate treaty of alliance mentioned in the letter of King Ferdinand to De Puebla of the 22nd of June 1505.

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S. E. T. c. I.
L. 5. f. 81.

Duplicates of the same paper, written and signed by Thomas Ruthal.

434. FERDINAND KING OF SPAIN.

S. E. T. c. I.
L. L.

Notes for a treaty with Henry VII.*

The title of King of France is to be given to the King of England.

Conditions of a treaty between Spain and England.

Spain and England are to favour and assist one another, in whatever country it may be.

Each party is to assist the other with armed forces in defending all the dominions which they at present possess, or in future may acquire. They are to do all in their power in order to avert injury from one another.

Neither Spain nor England is to show favour to the enemies of the other contracting power.

In any treaty of peace which either party may conclude, the other party is to be included.

All vessels belonging to Spain and to England are to give security that they will keep the peace with the mayors or other officers of the ports from which they sail.

Orders are to be issued that the mayors, &c. strictly enforce this obligation on all Spanish and English vessels.

The mayors, &c. shall take care that the subjects of one of the contracting parties be indemnified within forty days, if injured by subjects of the other contracting party.

If Spanish or English subjects break the peace, the treaty is not to be considered as dissolved, but reparation is to be made.

This treaty is to be proclaimed within six months

The last clause is to contain a paragraph according to which the question is to be left open what Princes are to be excepted or included, until the Princess of Wales shall go to England.

No date. No signature.

Spanish. pp. 2.

[*The paper is written in the hand of Almazan.*]

27 June. **435.** HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES. His protestation against his marriage with Princess Katharine of Spain.

Protestation of the Prince of Wales against his marriage.

Declares before Richard, Bishop of Winchester, that he has been contracted in marriage during his minority to Katharine, Princess of Wales. As he is now near the age of puberty,

* These notes are written by Almazan. They seem to be an abstract of certain clauses of the treaty of 27-28 March 1489, and of other clauses of the treaty of the 10th of July 1499. It can scarcely be doubted that they refer to the negotiations of the years 1504 and 1505, respecting the new and more intimate alliance. I have therefore placed them after the letter of the 22nd June 1505, from Ferdinand to De Puebla, in which the conditions of the intended treaty are spoken of.

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he declares that he will not ratify the said marriage contract, but, on the contrary, denounces it as null and void.

[*Signed*] Per me, HENRICUM WALLIÆ PRINCIPEM.

This declaration was made and read by the Prince of Wales on the 27th of June 1505, before Richard, Bishop of Winchester, in one of the lower chambers of the Palace of Richmond, in the eastern portion of it.

James Read.
Giles Dobney.
C. Somerset.
Tho. Rowthal.
Nicolas West.
Henry Marney.

Latin. pp. 2, *in print.*

Jeremy Collier's Ecclesiast. Hist., edit. Barham, vol. IX. p. 66; *and Lord Herbert's History of Henry VIII. In both books the document is printed at full length. Collier quotes the Cott. MSS. Vit. B. XII. as his authority. I have, however, been unable to find the document in the Cott. MSS. It may have been destroyed by the fire.*

June. **436.** HENRY VII.

Instructions to, and report of, Francis Marsin, James Braybrooke, and John Stile, concerning the old Queen of Naples and the young Queen, her daughter.

I. *After delivering to the Queens the letters from the Princess of Wales, to note well the estate that they keep.*

Audience had by the English ambassadors of the old and young Queen of Naples.

The ambassadors arrived at Valencia the 22nd of June. Next day had an audience of the Queen. Delivered the Princess of Wales' letters; the Queens giving their thanks with a grave, stedfast, countenance. The Queens have their lodgings severally by themselves, though they keep their estates and households jointly in the King's palace, and they maintain a noble, sad rule and order among their household.

II. *To mark the estates and households kept by the Queens, and to note whom they have about them.*

The principal points are answered in the first article. Suits are made daily unto the said Queen's court of lords spiritual and temporal respecting matters and causes such as might be brought to a King.

III. *To note the manner of ordering their estates; and the discretion and wisdom the Queen may show in her answers to the ambassadors.*

Ever since the young Queen came to Spain, she and her mother have kept their estates together. On the delivery of the letters the old Queen replied for herself as a noble, wise woman, and afterwards the young Queen with a sad, noble, sewred countenance, not speaking many words.

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IV. *Whether the young Queen speak any other languages besides Spanish and Italian.*

She understands both Latin and French, but does not speak them.

Description of the young Queen.

V. *To note well her age, stature, and features of her body.*

Her age is 27, and not much more. Could not come to any perfect knowledge of her stature, by reason of her wearing slippers after the manner of her country. A man could not lightly perceive the features of her body, for that she wore a great mantle of cloth.

VI. *To mark her visage, whether painted or not, fat or lean, sharp or round; cheerful, frowning, or melancholy; stedfast, light, or blushing.*

Is not painted; of a good compass, amiable, round, and fat; cheerful, not frowning; a demure shame-faced countenance; of few words, but spoken with a womanly laughing cheer and good gravity.

VII. *Clearness of skin.*

Very fair and clear.

VIII. *Colour of hair.*

Seems to be of a brown colour.

IX. *Eye-brows, teeth, and lips.*

Eyes greyish brown; brows like a wire of brown hair; teeth fair, clean, well set; lips somewhat round and full.

X. *Nose and forehead.*

Nose a little rising in the middle and bowed toward the end. Forehead not perfectly to be discerned, for that her kerchief came down to her brows.

XI. *Complexion.*

Fair, sanguine, and clean.

XII. *Arms.*

Round, and not very small; in length of a good proportion.

XIII. *Hands.*

Right fair; somewhat full and soft.

XIV. *Fingers.*

Right fair and small, and of a meetly length and breadth.

XV. *Neck.*

Full and comely, not mis-shapen.

XVI. *Breasts.*

Somewhat great and full, and trussed somewhat high.

XVII. *Whether any hair on her lips.*

As far as could be perceived, none.

XVIII. *To endeavour to speak with her fasting, and that she may tell them some matter at length, so that they may see whether her breath be sweet.*

Could never come near to her fasting, but at other times

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have approached her visage as nigh as they conveniently could, but never felt any savour of spices, and believe her to be of a sweet savour.

XIX. *To note her height.*

Seemed not to be of high stature; but by reason of her clothing, and being somewhat round, and well liking, she appeareth somewhat lesser.

XX. *To enquire whether she hath any sickness of her nativity, blemish or deformity.*

Having considered that such secret causes be to all persons unknown, save to her physician or apothecaries, had applied to Pastorell, who is in a manner physician to both Queens, and who made answer that he had served her many years, and she had ever been in good health, of a noble nature and complexion.

Sentiments of the King of Arragon towards her.

XXI. *Whether she be in any singular favour with the King of Arragon, and whether she resemble him.*

He right well loveth and favoreth her. It is a common saying in all Spain that she is to be married to the King of England by means of the King of Arragon. Somewhat resembles him in the fashion of her nose and complexion.

XXII. *To enquire the manner of her diet.*

Is a good feeder, and eateth well her meat twice a day; drinketh not often; most commonly water, sometimes cinnamon water, and sometimes ipocras, but not often.

XXIII. *To enquire for some cunning painter who may draw a picture of the young Queen, to agree as nearly as possible in every point and circumstance with her very semblance; and if at the first or second making thereof it be not made perfect, then the same or some other most cunning painter shall renew it till it be made agreeable in every behalf to her very image.*

No answer made to this article.

Her jointure.

XXIV. *To enquire what jointure she hath, or shall have, and to know the value thereof.*

Have been informed by one Martyn de Albystur that the value of her jointure is 30,000 ducats of yearly rent, secured to her and her heirs by King Ferdinand of Naples, while the old Queen has 40,000, but the Great Captain, Gonsalo Ferdinando, having confiscated their property in Naples, the King of *Castile pays them 15 or 16,000 ducats yearly for their expenses.

English. 16 *pages of print.*

Printed in Gairdner's Memorials.

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* The Queen of Naples was Regent of the kingdom of Valencia, and was in that capacity indebted to the King of Arragon, not to the King of Castile, for her revenues.

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July. **437.** HENRY VII.

Instructions and report of James Braybroke, Francis Marsin, and John Stile, respecting Ferdinand, King of Arragon.

I. *To take with them letters from the King of England, and a book of articles, for the mutual assistance to be given by the Kings of England and Arragon against France, and to bring back the answer of the King of Arragon. To endeavour, in the most wise and secret ways they can use, to learn the state the King of Arragon hath stood in since the death of his Queen.*

Audience had by the English ambassadors of the King of Arragon.

On the 17th of July the ambassadors had their first audience of the King of Arragon, and delivered the King of England's letters. After asking after the health of his noble brother, and of the noble Prince of Wales, the King of Arragon said that as to the conclusion of the disposal betwixt the noble Lord, the Prince of Wales, and his daughter, the Lady Katharine, it had been greatly to his comfort. Inquired if she could speak any English, and was told she could speak some, and understand much more. The ambassadors commended her for her great affection to her father, who replied that she had ever loved him more than his other children; and that he greatly desired she should be an Englishwoman. Has also written to her at divers times to apply herself to learn that language.

II. *Whether any speech or likelihood of the King and Queen of Castile going to those parts, and whether they, or the King of Arragon, have the chief authority.*

King and Queen of Castile.

There was no very certain knowledge of the King Archduke and the Queen coming to Spain. Letters were constantly passing from the one court to the other.

III. *Whether the people desire the coming of the King and Queen of Castile.*

They right greatly desire it, being, as they are, so inclined to their own natural Princes, and trusting that then they should not have to pay so many taxes; the land having been made very poor by the King of Arragon, who had ever been most chargeable to them.

IV. *Of what wisdom the King of Arragon is reputed to be; whether he, himself, rules, or is ruled by counsellors.*

He is reputed very wise, and determines the greatest and most secret causes himself. Almazan is his chief counsellor in outward matters; others of his counsellors are continually at court, but no man is so near his most secret council as Almazan.

V. *Whether there are any factions, or divisions, between the King and his nobles.*

Affairs of the King of Arragon.

There is variance between the Constable of Spain and the Duke of Anajara. Other factions also exist, and there is fear of troubles ensuing.

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VI. *Whether the King of Portugal favours the King of Arragon, or the King Archduke.*

He loveth and favoreth most the King of Arragon.

VII. *Whether there is any speech of accord, or likelihood of war, betwixt the King of Arragon and the French King.*

Could not hear of any mention of war. The common saying of the people was that they were sorry the King Archduke was so much ruled by the Council of France.

Opinion held of the King of England.

VIII. *In what esteem is the King of England held.*

The King and his nobles repute him to be one of the wisest and most excellent Princes in the world. Many of the commons think the same. But many gentlemen and commons who have no knowledge of the King, or his realm, think there is no land but Spain.

Marriage of the Princess of Wales.

IX. *What speech is there of the marriage betwixt the Prince of Wales and the Lady Katharine.*

The King and his nobles greatly rejoice thereat, and are desirous it had pleased God that the Prince and Princess of Wales had been as near the Crown of Castile as the Archduke and his Queen. Every man and woman in the realm favour the Lady Princess above any other of the King's children. After the decease of Prince Arthur much labour had nevertheless been made to the King to marry her to the Duke of Calabria.

X. *Whether the King of Arragon be reputed King, or Administrator of Castile; and if the latter, whether he take the revenues to his own behalf.*

Immediately on his Queen's decease he had proclaimed himself Governor and Administrator of Castile on behalf of his daughter, though divers of his nobles were displeased at him for not retaining the title of King. Receives all the revenues to his own use.

Marriage articles.

The ambassadors proceed to say that on the 21st of July they had shown the King of Arragon the overture made to the King of England by Ferdnand, the Duke, and had delivered to him the book of articles, which the King said he had already received from De Puebla. But he added, that he would send for his Secretary, and compare the two books together, after which he would give an answer thereupon. On the 23rd of July the ambassadors met Almazan, who asked whether they had any other matters to show. They replied, that as, every day, the period appointed for the marriage betwixt the Prince and Princess of Wales was approaching, the King of England hoped that by that time everything would be performed and paid on behalf of the King of Arragon; to which Almazan replied, that nothing should be faulted according to the articles that had been agreed upon. He then went on to speak of the resolve of the King of Arragon to rule Castile during his lifetime; of

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the state of the kingdom, and of his intents and enterprises; also of his sentiments towards the Archduke, and the course he was minded to pursue towards him. Furthermore he said that the King had seen the copy of the articles, and that they agreed with those sent by De Puebla; nevertheless he was displeased with some of them. However, he was told that nothing had been put in them save by assent of the Spanish ambassador. He said, moreover, that the King his master was bearing the matter of Suffolk, the rebel, in mind, and that he had thought the King of England would have had him long since, but he had been deceived by his ambassador Juan Manuel, who had written that he should be delivered on a certain day. On Almazan being asked whether he was of opinion that the King of Arragon would marry, he said he would never do so if the Archduke dealt well and kindly with him.

The rebel Suffolk.

Young Queen of Naples.

The ambassadors add that they had heard, before their coming to Valencia, that a marriage had been concluded between the King of England and the young Queen of Naples, and had found that the first speech of it had come from Pascarell her apothecary. On the 28th of July the old Queen of Naples had arrived, and had had a long conference with the King of Arragon about her daughter's marriage; so said the common voice. When John Stile spoke to Almazan of the picture he had desired to have of the young Queen of Naples for the Princess of Wales, he was told that if the ambassadors had gone first to the King, instead of going first to Valencia, his Highness would have caused them to have the picture, but as she was at Monvedro they could not have it without going there. Almazan said, moreover, that the King his master favoured all the King of England's causes, and, if it were in his power, would make another marriage betwixt Prince Charles of Spain and the King of England's daughter.

Prince Charles of Spain.

X. *How proclamations and writings are made.*

In Queen Juana's name, and King Ferdinand's, as administrator of her realm.

XII. *What ambassadors are at the court, specially of France.*

Several are at court, but none from France.

XIII. *What authority De Puebla hath.*

De Puebla.

Is greatly in favour with the King and Almazan. Such of the nobles and commons as formerly knew him in Spain commend him.

XIV. *Whether there be good obeisance showed the King of Arragon.*

All the nobles and commons are very obedient, loving him for the good justice he ministers to them.

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XV. *How it stands between the King of Arragon and the Kings of Portugal and the Romans.*

Kings of Portugal and the Romans.

The King of Portugal much loves and favours him, but the King of Arragon has no trust in the King of the Romans.

XVI. *What authority Ferdinand, the Duke, hath.*

Ferdnand Duke de Estrada.

Is a Maestre de Sala to the King, and is taken to be an honest, wise, gentleman. But the Queen had been displeased for that he had taken too much rule in the Princess of Wales' household, and had told him she had sent him to England as her ambassador, and not to rule her daughter.

XVII. *What attendance the King hath, and what order he useth.*

Description of the King of Arragon.

Many lords spiritual and temporal, also many knights, attend upon him. Rises before 6, and by 8 hath heard two masses, after which he goes to dinner, where every man may see him. Is a good feeder, and drinks two great draughts of wine and water; never sits more than half an hour at table, and none sit with him. After he hath dined all the lords and others go to their own lodgings to dine.

XVIII. *To mark well his personage, and whether he be toward any marriage.*

Is of goodly personage, and right lusty of his age, for he is of the age of 55 or 56. Hath a smiling countenance; lisps because of a tooth he hath lost before; hath a little cast in the left eye; of a gross strong nature. They had been told at Blois that he should marry Madame de Foix, but had heard no mention of it in Spain.

XIX. *His substance and riches.*

His riches.

Reputed to be very rich, having during his Queen's life spent nothing of his revenues of Arragon and Sicily.

XX. *What favour the men of war bear him.*

They much favour and love him.

XXI. *Whether there be any wars between him and the Moors, or in any other parts, and whether the realm of Naples be in obedience to him.*

His wars.

Of late he maketh war against the Moors of Barbary, and hath provided for an enterprise against them. The realm of Naples is fully under his obeisance, but the Commons there like not the Captain Gonsalo Fernandez.

XXII. *Daily and nightly to put all things seen and heard of them in writing.*

Item: To confer with some substantial person or persons of the King's secret council about the espousals between the Prince and Princess of Wales, and the performance of the articles agreed to thereupon, as well for payment of the

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dowry as other things, and to note well the answer they receive.

This article is answered in the communication with Almazan.

English. 42 *pages of print.*

Printed in Gairdner's Memorials.

11 Aug. **438.** DE PUEBLA to KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 24.

Has received a parcel from him, containing letters to the King of England, the Princess of Wales, Doña Elvira Manuel, and the physician to the Princess of Wales, besides two letters of the 22d of June to himself, one of them in cipher, the other in plain writing. Delivered the letters to the Princess of Wales and her servants without delay. Cannot now write a circumstantial answer because he has scarcely had time to decipher the ciphered letter. Sent a long despatch, a short time ago, in answer to the letter of the 5th of May. King Henry has likewise written a letter to him. There is, therefore, not much to write about.

The King of England has been very much pleased with the confidential explanations contained in the last despatch which came from Spain, and will be much more delighted with the fuller explanations given in this ciphered despatch; the language of King Ferdinand is so convincing and so full of brotherly love. Intends to go to King Henry, who is on a progress in the country, as soon as this letter is finished. Travelling, however, is incredibly dear in England. The daily expenses of travelling are about five times as much as those of living in London and its neighbourhood. Begs some small sum of money may be sent to him.

Convention respecting the shipping and export of goods.

During his stay with the King at Richmond, 800 English sailors arrived from Seville, all ruined and lost. They told the King, with much clamour, that they had sailed to Seville, which is 1,500 miles distant from some ports in England, carrying cargoes of cloth and other merchandize, intending to bring back wine and oil to England. They said, moreover, they had undertaken the voyage only because they had been informed by a royal proclamation that they were allowed to export all kinds of goods from Spain. But the Spaniards had not permitted them to export anything. Being obliged to return without freight they had lost all they possessed. It may easily be imagined how much vexed the King was.

Reproaches made by Henry VII. to De Puebla.

The King sent directly for him. Was conducted to the private royal chamber. Found nobody there but the King, who addressed a great many reproaches "full of venom" to him. "He said that I had deceived him when I told him that the "last convention respecting the shipping had already been pro-"claimed in Spain, and that the first thing which your High-"ness had promised him in four or five letters since the death "of the Queen had not been fulfilled. He told me, moreover, "that I was the cause why he has lost 100,000 scudos of the

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" marriage portion of the Princess of Wales, and the jewels " and ornaments of gold and silver, and other things which " he had already forgotton. The words which came from his " mouth were vipers, and he indulged in every kind of " passion. But as no other person was present, I did not " so much mind his reproaches, and quietly left him to spend " his rage."

Told the King of England that the whole mistake had been committed by William Falcon, his own officer, whom he had sent to the King of Spain on the business. The order had been entrusted to him, and he had taken it upon himself to forward it to the different governors for publication. Instead of sending it to all the governors, he had contented himself with procuring its proclamation in Biscay and Guipuscoa.

Proclamation not made in Andalusia.

In Andalusia, therefore, the privileges accorded to English subjects were not known. Had the English captains sent a single letter or messenger, their losses would have been easily averted. As, however, the losses were considerable, and the clamour great, the King remained angry in spite of these explanations.

The scene, described above, happened on a Friday. Did not see the King on Saturday or Sunday. On Monday, however, the King sent him a buck as a present. Went directly to see him, and found him perfectly calm. Spoke about the affair once more, and as though nothing had passed between them on the Friday previous. The King asked what there was to be done? Answered, nothing, because the Count Cifuentes in Seville had been already written to. Is quite sure that all that is necessary has been done in the whole of Andalusia. Begs King Ferdinand directly to give strict orders for the English to be treated according to the last conventions. Whilst writing this letter, hears that the council (of Castile) " is still possessed " by the devil," and has again issued an order prohibiting English, Flemings, and other nations to freight their ships in Andalusia.

Mission sent by Henry VII. to the King of France.

Henry has sent an officer of his household to the King of France, and wishes King Ferdinand to know the reason of this mission: It is, that the King of France has asked an interview of Henry, which interview Henry does not like. He has, therefore, sent the said officer to excuse him as politely as possible, and at the same time to inquire after the health of the King of France. It is said in England that the King of France cannot live long in consequence of his well known disease.

Reasons of it.

There is, besides, another reason why the said officer has gone to France. The King of Portugal had sent his confessor to Henry, and begged him to undertake the conquest of Africa, offering an army of 25,000 men, which is to fight under English colours. He had, at the same time, asked Henry to persuade the King of France to take part in this enterprise. Henry had been much pleased with the affair, and had pro-

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mised to undertake the conquest of Africa, if France could be persuaded to take part in it. The said officer, sent to France, is to broach the matter to King Louis.

Embassy from Spain to France.

The King of England has received letters from France, stating that King Ferdinand is sending a great embassy thither. There is no other news from France at present. King Henry has received letters from his servants* sent to Spain. They had disembarked at Guypuzcoa on the 3rd of June. The King hopes and wishes their business to be concluded during the month of July. He is very anxious to know the result of this mission. "His secretary, when searching "for some papers, found, twenty-five days ago, a letter from "the young Don Ferdinand, King of Naples, to the King of "England, in which he announced to him his marriage with "the Queen of Naples, niece to your Highness. This letter "is full of praise of her marvellous beauty, of her virtues, her "lineage, &c. King Henry read the whole letter, and enjoyed "it much. He showed it to me with a cheerful face, and said "he wondered at the letter having been found just now. I "think that the embassy would not have been sent if the "letter had been discovered earlier. Thus, I hope, the whole "affair will soon be satisfactorily settled."—London, 11th August 1505.

Young Queen of Naples.

Addressed: "..... *very powerful* ..... *tholic King and Lord* ..... *ain and up* ..... † *our Lord.*"

Spanish. pp. 9.

11 Aug. **439.** DE PUEBLA to KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 25.

Discussion between Henry VII. and De Puebla, respecting the new alliance.

While staying at Richmond with the Princess of Wales, had spoken several times with Henry respecting the m[illegible] intimate alliance to be concluded, and about the other things mentioned in the despatch of the 6th of May. Henry answered that he had already written to King Ferdinand about the matter. Insisted further. The King then proposed that he should choose two or three members of the Privy Council, and confer with them respecting the new alliance. The Privy Counsellors, he said, could be bound by oaths to keep the matter secret. Did not like to confide such secrets to any person except the King. The old adage says, "*open enmity cannot have vengeance*." The King of England has entered into the views of King Ferdinand concerning the Archduke. It seems, therefore, to be unwise to compromise the whole affair by communicating it to other persons. Will wait further orders from him.

The King of England and the whole of the English people are ill disposed towards the Archduke and his Council, because they regard them as true Frenchmen. The Flemings are badly treated in England.

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* Francis Marsin, James Braybroke, and John Stile. † Paper gone.

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Has received his letter respecting the safe keeping of the jewels, plate, &c. of the Princess of Wales, and shown it to the Princess, to Doña Elvira, to Juan Cuero, and William Lebron, who is the keeper of it. Had already taken good care of the jewels, &c. of the Princess before this letter arrived.

Liberality of the Princess of Wales.

The Princess is very liberal, and there are many persons who would like to strip her of her gold and silver. Juan Cuero says that there are already five pieces of silver and different other things missing. Doña Elvira and Don Pedro de Ayala have persuaded the Princess to give to certain persons a collar, a piece of brocade, and some vessels of silver. Shall know more of this affair when Roderigo de Cuero, nephew to Juan de Cuero, who keeps the books, has returned.

Duchy of Gueldres.

Letters of the 7th of August, from Florentine merchants in Flanders, contain news that the King Archduke has taken possession of one half of the duchy of Gueldres. The question respecting the possession of the other half of the said duchy is referred to the arbitration of certain Princes of the empire.

The rebel, Suffolk.

The King Archduke has got "*the Suffolk*" into his power, and watches him carefully. It is generally believed that "he of Suffolk" will be the cause of a serious quarrel between the King of England and the King Archduke. Don Juan Manuel has persuaded the latter not to deliver up the said Suffolk, but to use him as an instrument against the King of England, who certainly will not submit to such treatment.

The King Archduke's intended voyage to Spain.

The King Archduke has retained all Spanish ships in Flanders, because he intends to go to Spain and take the government of Castile into his own hands. He will take the Duke of Gueldres, accompanied by two hundred servants, to Spain, and give him a dukedom there in recompense for Gueldres. The English are by no means favourable to the King Archduke. They do not wish to hear anything to his advantage, and suppress even all good news respecting him.

Arrest of Lope Cuchillos.

The King Archduke has arrested Lope Cuchillos, Secretary to King Ferdinand, and put him to the rack. He wanted to know from him what letters he had written to Spain, and what letters he had received from King Ferdinand. This is a very serious affair.

Partiality of the Princess of Wales for the King Archduke.

The King of England has expressed his astonishment that the Princess of Wales and Doña Elvira show so much partiality for the King Archduke. Did not like to speak to the Princess about this matter, for the Princess would have directly communicated it to Doña Elvira, and Doña Elvira to her brother Don Juan Manuel.

Doña Maria Rojas, a few days ago, gave a commission to her brother to contract a marriage, in her name, with Don Antonio, the son of Doña Elvira. It is a strange and unbecoming affair.—London, 11th August 1505.

Indorsed: "To his Highness, from the Doctor De Puebla. From London, 11th August 1505."

Spanish. pp. 5.

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12 Aug. **439.** DE PUEBLA to KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 27.

Embassy from the King of the Romans to Henry VII.

Went to the Princess of Wales the day after he had written and sealed his last letters. Met, at the door, William Lebron, who told him that an ambassador from the King of the Romans to the King of England was waiting in the ante-chamber of the Princess. The ambassador was to continue his journey the next day to the place where the King of England was staying, and had come to kiss the hand of the Princess of Wales, and to present to her the services of the King of the Romans, the King Archduke, and the Duchess of Savoy.*

Interview between the Princess of Wales and the ambassador.

Informed the Princess of Wales directly of the arrival of the said ambassador. The Princess received the news very cheerfully, and ordered him to be conducted into her room, The ambassador, kneeling down, kissed her hand, but she commanded him to rise. De Puebla being the interpreter, the ambassador delivered his message from the King of the Romans, the King Archduke, and the Duchess of Savoy The Princess thanked him graciously, and asked where they were staying. The ambassador said that he had left them at Cologne, but that the King Archduke was already approaching Malines on his return; that he had concluded his war with Gueldres to his satisfaction, but that the details of the peace were not yet positively known. The Duchess of Savoy had returned to that country.

Asked the ambassador to communicate to the Princess of Wales, some of the news which he had brought from the King of the Romans to the King of England. Though the reply of the ambassador was that his mission was secret, he said that he was to ask the orders of Henry respecting the delivery of "him of Suffolk," and of his brother. The rebel who had been staying in Gueldres, he said, was already a prisoner of the King Archduke, and the other brother was in the empire.

The rebel, Suffolk.

The Duchess of Savoy.

The Princess of Wales was very glad to hear the news; and the ambassador continued, that he had moreover to settle with the King of England about his marriage with the said Duchess (of Savoy), of whom, he said, he had brought two portraits. The Princess of Wales wished to see them, and the ambassador went to fetch them. One of them was painted on wood, the other on canvas. The Princess was of opinion that Michel would have made better portraits.

The King Archduke and his wife. Their voyage to Spain.

She asked the ambassador when the King Archduke and the Queen Archduchess intended to leave for Spain. The ambassador said, as soon as possible, but that the Queen Archduchess was expecting her confinement in five or six weeks. Had never believed that her prègnancy was real, and had heard the Flemish ambassador express the same opinion. The ambassador of the King of the Romans said further, that the King Archduke had retained all Spanish vessels in Flanders, in order

* Margaret of Austria.

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to send his luggage by them. The King Archduke and the Queen Archduchess intended to go by land, accompanied by four thousand horse, less one. The King of France had given them a safe conduct. The ambassador said that he was going to the King of England in order to hear his opinion respecting all these arrangements, which will be definitely concluded if he consent to them.

Is amazed at the indiscretion of the ambassador, but thinks King Ferdinand might profit by it. Another by no means unlucky circumstance is, that the King Archduke had, according to news received a short time ago from Flanders, prohibited all his subjects from going to the fairs at Calais, under pain of death, and confiscation of their goods. Will endeavour to hear more about this affair, and communicate all to him.

Fairs of Calais.

It is most desirable that just now the orders respecting English vessels in Andalusia be promptly published. It would also be good if Ferdinand reprimanded his council, in earnest or only in appearance, for the letter which the merchants of Biscay have procured for themselves.—London, 12th August 1505.

*Addressed: "To the very high and powerful Prince, the Catholic King and Lord the King of Spain . . . . *Sicily."*

Spanish. pp. 4.

17 Aug. **440.** De Puebla to King Ferdinand of Spain.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 28.

Interviews between the Princess of Wales and the ambassadors from Flanders.

The ambassadors from Flanders have of late been very often to kiss the hand of the Princess of Wales. Doña Elvira Manuel, influenced by her brother Don Juan Manuel, procures them these frequent opportunities of seeing the Princess, who has been won over by them to such an extent as to propose an interview between the King of England, the King Archduke and the Queen Archduchess. The Princess hopes to accompany the King of England to this meeting, and in this way to see her sister.

Proposed interview between Henry VII. and the King Archduke.

Doña Elvira had taken great pains, and persuaded the Princess of Wales to send one of her servants to the King Archduke, the Queen Archduchess, and Don Juan Manuel, with a message concerning this interview. The servant had returned and had brought letters from the Archduke, written with his own hand, and from Don Juan Manuel, to the Princess of Wales and Doña Elvira. The answer of the Archduke was that he desired with his whole heart to have an interview with the King of England. If King Henry would go to Calais, he and the Queen Archduchess would go to St. Omer, which is eight leagues distant from that town. The place and the time of the meeting could easily be settled there.

* Paper gone, *and* (?)

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Letter from the King Archduke to the Princess of Wales.

As soon as the Princess of Wales had read the letter of the King Archduke she sent for him. Went to see her directly. She showed him the letter with the greatest joy, and said that she would, without losing an hour's time, send a letter to the King of England, beseeching him to see her sister before her confinement. The letter was written in the most affectionate and loving terms, and the Maestre Sala and Alonzo de Esquivel were ready, waiting to start with it to the King of England.

Letter from the Princess of Wales to Henry VII.

Said to the Princess of Wales, that as he was going to the King of England he could best deliver her letter. Had the Princess accepted his offer, he would have taken care to bring the whole affair to nothing. Told her, therefore, that King Ferdinand had very lately accredited him to her in a letter written with his own hand, and that it would seem as if she were neglecting the injunctions of her father if she were to send the letter by any other messenger. But the Princess of Wales was so much under the influence of Doña Elvira, that she would not confide the letter to him on any account. Asked the Princess at least to wait till he had spoken to Doña Elvira about certain matters concerning her household. The Princess acceded to this demand.

De Puebla's conduct.

Went with Doña Elvira into another room, and told her that she would offend him if she permitted the letter to be sent by any other person. Reminded her of all the services he had rendered her. Doña Elvira, however, was obstinate. Told her that his honour was at stake; that he was obliged to put an end to the intrigues of her treacherous brother, who was acting by the command of the King Archduke. Doña Elvira, seeing how much in earnest he was, promised to prevent the Princess from sending the letter.

Returned to his house, and sat down to dinner. Had scarcely begun to eat when he was told that Doña Elvira had betrayed him, and that the Maestre Sala had been sent off post haste. Could not swallow a morsel, left his dinner, and went with great sorrow and annoyance, but full of courage, to the Princess. Told her, with tears running down his cheeks, that she must swear an oath not to betray anything of what he was going to communicate to her, to any one, least of all to Doña Elvira. The Princess swore a formal oath. Explained to her that this interview was the work of Don Juan Manuel and Doña Elvira, who intended to do injury to her royal father, and to the Queen her sister, by means of it. She ought, therefore, directly to write another letter to the King of England according to his dictation. She wrote the letter, a copy of which, in cipher, is enclosed. Told her further that she ought to keep up an appearance in public, of desiring the interview now, more than ever. Such dissimulation, by which the secret would be safely guarded, would be of greater service to her father than two thousand men-at-arms.

Another letter written by the Princess of Wales.

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The Princess of Wales has an excellent heart, and loves her father more than herself. She did all that was desired of her, and there is no doubt she will keep the secret.

Sent a servant of his directly with this letter, to which he added a letter of his own to the King of England, recommending his messenger to ride at full speed, and to overtake the Maestre Sala. Asked the King of England in his letter to say that as De Puebla was expected soon, it was necessary to confer with him on a matter of such great importance, and that he (De Puebla) would take back the answer to the Princess of Wales. There is no doubt that the King of England will do so.

Took so much pains in this matter, because he is persuaded that the King of the Romans, who is in Flanders, would also come to the meeting, and that the result of it would be most disadvantageous to King Ferdinand. Promises to write about all that happens. Begs him to tell the Princess of Wales, in a letter, that she ought to do nothing concerning matters of State without his advice, and that she should not listen to the advice of Doña Elvira, or any one else. Begs his salary may be sent him.—London, 17th August 1505.

Indorsed by Almazan: "To his Highness, from Doctor de Puebla, 17th August 1505."

Spanish. pp. 5½.

Aug. **441.** KATHARINE, PRINCESS OF WALES, to HENRY VII.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 42.

Interview between Henry VII. and the King Archduke.

Beseeches him to value the interests of her father, the King of Spain, beyond those of any other Prince in Christendom. Had she been aware of what the Spanish ambassador had now communicated to her under a great oath to keep it secret, would never have thought of sending her letter and the letter of the King Archduke by her Maestre Sala.

This letter is sent in great haste by a special messenger. But the ambassador will soon follow. It is therefore not necessary to write more.—Durham (House), 29th (or 19th) of August.*

Signed: PRINCESS OF WALES.

Indorsed by Almazan: "To his Highness, 18*th August* 1505." †

Spanish deciphering. The ciphered letter is not extant.

* The date is decidedly an error. This letter, there is no doubt, is the letter of which De Puebla speaks in his first despatch of the 17th August 1505. He repeats, not only the circumstances mentioned in it, but the very words. Thus, the letter was not written on the 29th or 19th of August, but on the 17th of that month, and not at Durham, but in London. It is probable that either the Secretary of De Puebla who put the letter in cipher, or Almazan who deciphered it, made a mistake.

† "To his Highness," if written by Almazan, means to King Ferdinand. It seems to be unnecessary to show that such cannot be the case. Almazan, it seems, did not indorse the papers immediately after their receipt, but during the last years of his life, when he put in order all the State Papers in his keeping. Thus it is easily explained why he was sometimes mistaken.

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17 Aug. **442.** DE PUEBLA to KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 29.

When ready to start on his journey to the King of England, certain privy counsellors came to his house, accompanied by the merchants who had not been allowed to freight their ships at Seville. They said that the merchants had lost at least 20,000 ducats, which either the King of Spain or the King of England ought to pay them. Had a very disagreeable dispute with them.

English shipping in Andalusia.

Other merchants, who had returned only a very short time ago, said that the royal command, according to which English vessels were to be treated on the same footing as Spanish vessels in Spanish ports, had been proclaimed in Seville; but directly afterwards an order of the Council had been sent to the governor of Andalusia, enjoining him not to permit English, Flemings, and other foreigners to freight their ships. There is a judicial process pending in the Court of Admiralty, in order to decide the question whether the royal command or the order of Council is to be acted upon. It is feared that English ships will be obliged to return empty. Beseeches him to command Count Cifuentes to defend the interests of the English in Andalusia. The English sailors are generally savages, and it would not be astonishing if they were to stone him in case no reparation were made. Begs him to write a gracious letter of excuse to King Henry. Hopes that then the whole affair will be finished, notwithstanding the immense noise which it now makes.

The King Archduke and the King of the Romans.

All the ships which the King Archduke had retained in Flanders for the transport of his luggage are now released. Has heard from a friend that the King of the Romans and the King Archduke are at Malines, and that an embassy from France has gone thither asking the King Archduke to go through France to Spain. But as the Knight Commander of Haro and Don Pedro de Ayala are at Malines, they will be best able to inform him respecting what is happening there.

De Puebla goes to see Henry VII.

Will set out next day on his journey to the King of England. This letter will be forwarded by Martin Sanchez de Zamudio. —London, 17th August 1505.

Addressed: "To the very high and very powerful Prince, the Catholic King of Spain and Sicily."

Spanish. pp. $3\frac{1}{2}$.

17 Aug. **443.** KATHARINE, PRINCESS OF WALES, to HENRY VII.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

The King Archduke.

Had first proposed to him an interview with the King Archduke, but had afterwards learnt that the King her father would be very sorry if such an interview were really to take place. Has therefore entirely given up all idea of the meeting. Beseeches him to have more confidence in her father, the King of Spain, who is his faithful brother.

As the Spanish ambassador, who a is most faithful servant

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to the King of England, is going to see him, it does not seem necessary to write more.—No date.

Signed: PRINCESS OF WALES.

Copy, written by De Puebla, who has added the following words:—

"After I had finished my letter I went to see the "Princess of Wales, and asked her to write a letter, "of which this is an exact copy. I did not like "to go to the King without a letter from her."—No date.

Signed: De Puebla.

Spanish. p. 1.

8 Sept. **444.** PRINCESS OF WALES to KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN.

B. M. MSS. Eg. 616. f.27.

Writes to him on behalf of Doña Maria de Salazar, one of her ladies, supplicating him to pay her for her services, as she has nothing wherewith to requite her. Asks him to send authority to Martin Sanchez de Zamudio to recover for the lady all that belonged to her of the property given her by her father, Captain Salazar. Begs that all may be speedily concluded, since Doña Maria's sister has a marriage in view for her, of which she cannot avail herself until it is known what she will have for her marriage portion.—Durham House, 8th September.

Addressed: "To the very high and very powerful Lord, the King my Lord."

Indorsed by Almazan: "To his Highness, from the Princess of Wales, 8th September 1505."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 1½.

A translation, printed in Wood's Letters of Royal Ladies.

8 Sept. **445.** PRINCESS OF WALES to KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN.

B. M. MSS. Eg. 616. f.28.

Is sending Juan de Ascuycia, her servant, to acquaint him with a certain business concerning Doña Maria de Salazar. Ascuycia has served her well. He has a brother in Castile, to whom she begs that a captainship of men-at-arms may be given.—Durham House, 8th September.

Addressed: "To the very high and very powerful Lord, the King my Lord."

Indorsed: "From the Princess of Wales, 8th September, concerning Doña Maria de Salazar, Lady of her household."

Spanish. Holograph. ½ *page.*

A translation printed in Wood's Letters of Royal Ladies.

446. PRINCESS OF WALES to KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN.

P. R. O.

Six of her ladies who have come with her from Spain have served her right well, without her giving them a single

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maravedi. As it is reason they should marry, and she has nothing to bestow upon them, begs he will do her a grace, and command to give them a sum for their marriages that she may make answer to such persons as may move about marriages for them.

English translation. *p.* 1.

Printed in Wood's Letters of Royal Ladies.

13 Sept. **447.** HENRY VII. to KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

The secret affair.

Has read, with the greatest pleasure, his letter of the 22nd of June, dated Segovia. Has received the communications made to him by De Puebla, and promises to keep them strictly secret. His friendship towards him is daily increasing.

Marriage of the Prince of Wales with the Princess of Wales.

Promises strictly to fulfil, under all circumstances, the treaty of alliance which has been concluded between them. Is satisfied that the clause respecting the marriage portion should be confirmed by him alone, and by no one else. The Prince and Princess of Wales shall be solemnly wedded on the day fixed in the treaty. Hopes that the marriage portion of the Princess of Wales will be ready by that time.

With respect to the secret matter, thinks that he is perfectly right and justified in doing what he intends to do. The ingratitude shown to him is very great. Promises to do all in his power in order to assist him; but does not think it would be prudent to write more at length, or more clearly in this letter, about so secret a matter. De Puebla will send a detailed despatch.—Cranbourne, 13th September 1505.

Latin. *pp.* 4.

2 Dec. **448.** PRINCESS OF WALES to KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN.

B. M. Cott. MSS. Vesp. C.XII. f. 207.

Destitution of the Princess of Wales.

Had not hitherto let him know the state of affairs in England, lest they should have given him annoyance. Had, moreover, hoped they would improve; but each day her troubles increase. Blames Doctor de Puebla as the cause of them all. Since her arrival in England has not had a single maravedi, excepting for food; and her servants have nothing wherewith to buy clothes. Had asked De Puebla to speak to the King of England to allow her to have an old English lady as companion while Doña Elvira Manuel was absent in Flanders, but it had nothing advantaged her, for he had only negotiated with the King that she should reside at court, and her household be dismissed. Begs he will send some other ambassador, or some one who may ascertain whether she speaks truly or not. Has lost her health, owing to the annoyances she has had. Is certain the King of England will not receive as part of her marriage portion any of the plate and jewels brought by her, lest people should say he had taken her ornaments. Neither is it to be expected he will take them on account. Besides, as he prefers money to

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jewels, he would not in any case have given more than half their value for them.—Richmond, 2nd December.

Addressed: "To the very high and very powerful Lord."

No endorsement.

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

Printed in Wood's Letters of Royal Ladies.

15 Dec. **449.** KATHARINE, PRINCESS OF WALES, to KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 46.

Hopes his marriage* will soon be concluded, and that it will secure the peace of Christendom.

Princess of Wales complains of De Puebla.

The letter of De Puebla is full of calumny and lies. He must not believe them. It is highly desirable that another ambassador, who is an honest and a truthful servant, should be sent to England. De Puebla made her suffer formerly, but now he makes her suffer twice as much. Will be lost, if she is not assisted from Spain.—Richmond, 15th December.

Addressed: "To the very high and powerful King, my Lord."

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

S. T. c. I. L. 2. **450.** KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN to DE PUEBLA.

By my other letters I informed you of all that had passed between me and the King Archduke, my son, in order that you might acquaint the King of England, my brother, with it. Since then the said King Archduke, my son, has not accepted the explanation which I sent him, and has made demonstrations of desiring to come to Spain with an army and a fleet.

Treaty made by King Ferdinand of Spain with King of France,

I, therefore, seeing that he had made a league with the King of France so greatly to my prejudice, and in order that no inconvenience might ensue to me from the said league, also that I might the better provide for the preservation of these kingdoms, and of my honour and my rights, have agreed to a treaty of peace and amity and brotherhood with the King of France for the preservation of our realms. I was, moreover, led to do this, because I know how great is the peace and amity which the King of England, my brother, maintains with the King of France, and how much reason he has to be on such good terms with France, and to be always friendly to that kingdom, on account of what the French did for him at the beginning of his reign. Therefore, if we were united and joined together, that is to say, I and the King of England my brother and the King of France, all three of us, would do, with God's help, what was befitting to us, and there could be no

* With Germaine de Foix. The marriage treaty was concluded in the year 1505, and the wedding took place on the 18th of March 1506.

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one who would do us any injury. Moreover, if I marry Madame de Foix, the niece of the King of France, the kingdom of Naples will remain in my possession, he on his part renouncing in her favour, and in that of the children who shall be born of her, all the title and right that he has and pretends to have to the kingdom of Naples and Jerusalem. And I will give him certain monies in compensation for what he has expended, while he binds himself to aid me in the defence of all the kingdoms and seignories of the crowns of Castile, Arragon, and Naples.*

King of England constituted guardian of the treaty.

Moreover, besides having made this treaty without prejudice to the King of England my brother, and in addition to having named him in it as our principal ally, we have constituted him guardian of the said peace and amity, so that in this way all three of us will be united firmly together.

Tell all this to the King of England my brother, and say I am glad of it, and inform him of all my affairs, as if he were even more than my real brother, but especially of this matter, which is so important. Say that I pray him very affectionately to be pleased to accept this office of guardian of the treaty of peace and friendship between me and the King of France. Pray him likewise to let the King of France know in what terms I have written to him, and inform him that he will be pleased to accept the said office of guardian of our treaty of peace and amity. Tell him also that I am writing to the King of France to entreat him to endeavour, seeing that Suffolk is in the hands of the Duke of Gueldres, to have him delivered up to the King of England.

Suffolk.

Requirements made by King Ferdinand of the King Archduke.

You shall, moreover, say to the said King, my brother, that in order there may be no neglect on my part to make all possible explanations to the King Archduke, I have now sent to beg and require the said King and Archduke my son, before coming here, to have it seen and determined to whom of right belongs the government of these kingdoms, in order that peace may not be disturbed. For though the government of them belongs to me, and they have sworn fealty and obedience to me, and are at peace, yet he pretends that the said government belongs to him. If it should be decided that the government belongs to me, I have begged and required him not to show any wish to oppose me, or throw hindrances in my way. I shall be content to leave this negotiation in the hands of the King of England my brother, and in the hands of the King of France, that they may decide upon it. But if he be not willing to take this course, I have told him we will name other persons to arbitrate upon it.

I have the fullest confidence in the King of England, my brother; and as for the Queen, my niece, I am quite content

* The treaty between Ferdinand and Lewis XII. was signed at Blois the 12th of October 1505.

with her contemplated marriage, as I have already written to you. You can negotiate and bring this matter to a conclusion.

Signed by the King.

To Doctor De Puebla.

Spanish. Written in two keys of cipher, which are not extant.
Deciphered by the editor.

1506.

Jan., Feb., and March. **451.** A NARRATIVE of the RECEPTION of PHILIP KING OF CASTILE in ENGLAND in 1506.

B. M. Cott. Vesp. C.XII. f. 236.

Voyage of the King of Castile to England.

On the 7th January Philip set sail from Zealand with his Queen and a retinue amounting to two or three thousand persons. Was overtaken by a storm, and in danger of shipwreck. Driven to land at Melcolmbe in England on the 16th of January; most of his ships were dispersed, and some lost. Sent to acquaint the King with his arrival, calling him "father," and expressing himself as desirous of seeing him and his court, though it was said some of the Spaniards counselled him to put to sea again. Immediately the King sent letters to gentlemen dwelling near the sea side to attend upon him, and afterwards dispatched palfreys, litters, &c. On the 31st January received him at Windsor, the Kings saluting each other with glad and loving countenances. The next day, being Sunday, and the day after, Candlemas, were devoted to religious exercises, and the following week to recreation. On the 9th of February Philip was invested with the Order of the Garter. Immediately after mass, certain of the King of England's and the King of Castile's Council presented their respective Sovereigns with the draft of the treaty of peace, having divers new articles and confirmations inserted therein. The Kings, seated in their stalls, signed the writings with their own hands. On the 10th of January the Queen of Castile arrived at Windsor, and was graciously welcomed by the King of England and her sister the Princess of Wales, who left her the next day for Richmond. On the 12th the King of England went to Richmond to prepare his house there for the King of Castile, who joined him on the 14th; the Queen of Castile, his wife, proceeding on the same day to the sea side to her ships lying at Dartmouth and Plymouth. On the 15th the King of Castile proffered, unasked, to yield up Edmund, Earl of Suffolk, to the King of England. The rest of the time he was at Richmond was spent in recreation, and "all the "season the King of Castile was in the King of England's "court every holiday." On the 2nd March took his leave, the King of England accompanying him on his way a mile or more, defraying all his servants of their charges and giving rewards.

Reception by Henry VII.

Draft of the treaty of peace signed.

Arrival of the Queen of Castile.

Her departure.

Departure of the King of Castile.

English. Modern copy. 22 pages of print.
Printed in Gairdner's Memorials.

1506.

9 Feb. **452.** HENRY VII. TREATY OF ALLIANCE WITH PHILIP KING OF CASTILE, &c.

P. R. O. Orig. and Fr. R. 21 Hen. VII. m 3. (9.)

A true friendship and alliance between Henry, his heirs and successors, on the one part, and Philip, his heirs and successors, on the other part, is concluded. It is to last for all time to come.

Obligations undertaken by Henry with respect to King Philip.

1. Henry therefore, binds himself, his heirs and successors, never to undertake or to favour any enterprise which might be prejudicial to his brother and son, King Philip, his heirs and his successors. On the contrary, he, his heirs and successors, will discountenance any such undertaking in prejudice of King Philip.

2. Henry binds himself, his heirs and his successors, not to assist in any way the enemies of King Philip, his heirs and successors. If any person, whoever he may be, and without distinction, whether he be an ally and confederate of England or not, should undertake to invade the dominions which the King of Castile now possesses, or which he, his heirs and successors, in future should have a right to possess,* or if any one should attempt to do what would be prejudicial to the King of Castile with respect to the undisturbed possession of his dominions†, in such a case, Henry, if requested, is bound to send him, without delay, such an army in succour as he may be able to spare, and as the circumstances may demand, the King of Castile, however, paying the expenses.

3. With respect to the safety of the person and the states of the King of Castile, the King of England binds himself his heirs and successors, to be "a friend of the friends and an "enemy of the enemies of the King of Castile." This promise is made notwithstanding all the alliances with other Princes which Henry now has, or in future may contract. Henry binds himself to take care of and to favour the person, the estate, the honors, the dignities, concerns, property and affairs‡ of King Philip, exactly in the same manner as a good father takes care of the affairs of a beloved son.

4. Henry binds himself, his heirs and successors, not to assist the rebels, fugitives, and exiles of the King of Castile; but, on the contrary, to treat them as he would treat his own rebels, &c.

5. Henry binds himself, his heirs and successors, not to permit the exiles, fugitives and rebels of the King of Castile to stay in his dominions. If they should be in future found in the dominions of England, he promises to have them arrested,

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* " . . vel in futuro de jure possidere debet."

† " . . aut injuriam vel dampnum eidem Regi Castellæ, heredibus, " successoribus et subditis infra regna, patrias, &c. inferre et facere voluerint."

‡ " . . necnon personam, status, honores, dignitates, causas, res et negotia " ipsius Serenissimi Castellæ Regis, nobis intimo amore, fide et amicitiarum " fœdere conjuncti et quam loco filii carissimi et dilectissimi reputamus, taliter " cordi habebimus, sicuti pientissimum patrem dilectissimi filii honores, status, " dignitates, causas, &c."

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and to see them conducted in chains to a safe prison, where they are to be kept in security. That done, he would write to the King of Castile. If the King of Castile wished to have his rebels delivered to him, Henry would send them to the frontier in order that they might be there handed over to the Commissioners of King Philip. Even if the rebels should have been by force retained in England, or be driven to the English coast against their will, they are to be subjected to the same treatment.

6. If the King of Castile should inform Henry in a letter, signed by himself, that some of his rebels are staying in England, Henry promises to have them arrested and delivered to such persons as the King of Castile should commission to receive them.

7. In case that Henry and Philip should have begun a common war, Henry binds himself not to conclude peace with the enemy or enemies without the consent of the King of Castile.

8. As the King of Castile has delivered to Henry a document, signed and sealed by him, in which he makes similar promises to those contained in this paper, Henry promises on his word of honour, and swears on the real wood of the cross of our Saviour a most solemn oath to fulfill all and every of the above-stated clauses.—Palace of Windsor, 9th February 1505.

Latin. *p.* 3.
Printed in Rymer.

9 Feb. **453.** PHILIP, KING OF CASTILE.

P. R. O.
Orig. and copy.

Treaty of alliance with Henry VII.

[Philip binds himself, his heirs and successors, exactly in the same manner towards Henry, as Henry binds himself with respect to Philip. There is, however, added what follows.]

Has concluded this treaty in his name, and in the name of his father, the King of the Romans.

Promises that the King of the Romans will ratify this treaty within four months, and send the ratifications to England.

Should the King of the Romans not send the ratifications within the time stipulated, the treaty remains in full force, as far as Philip, King of Castile, and his heirs and successors, are concerned.—Windsor, 9th February 1505.

Latin. *pp.* 8.

[*This is the same document which is printed in Rymer, vol. XIII. p.* 126, *under the superscription 'Memorati tractatus per Regem Castellæ in Anglia existentem ratificatio." In fact, however, it contains only the promises made by the King of Castile to Henry, in return for those made by Henry in the preceding document.*]

1506.

8 March. **454.** KATHARINE, PRINCESS OF WALES, to HENRY VII.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 44.

The cook of the Princess of Wales;

Her cook, his wife and daughter, are made prisoners by the Moors in Barbary. Is told that he rescues a certain number of Christian slaves yearly in Africa. Begs him to obtain the freedom of the said cook and his family.—Richmond, 8th March.

Addressed: "To his very high * . . . . . my Lord."*

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

20 March and 15 May. **455.** HENRY VII. TREATY WITH PHILIP KING OF CASTILE concerning the INTENDED MARRIAGE WITH THE ARCHDUCHESS MARGARET.

P. R. O.

King Henry and King Philip have concluded a treaty of marriage between the King of England and the Archduchess Margaret. With respect to that treaty, the ambassadors of King Henry, namely, William, Archbishop of Canterbury, Richard, Bishop of Winchester, and Thomas Dokwra, Prior of St. John in Jerusalem in England, conclude the following clauses with the ambassadors of the King of Castile:—

Obligations undertaken by Philip respecting the marriage of the Archduchess Margaret.

1. The King of Castile binds himself to pay to the King of England 300,000 crowns, each crown of 4 shillings sterling, as the marriage portion of the Archduchess Margaret. Of this sum of money 100,000 crowns are to be paid within fifteen days before the departure of the Archduchess for England, and at all events before the last day of August 1507.

2. The remaining portion of the dower is to be paid in six annual instalments of 33,333 crowns each.

3. Philip promises punctually to pay the 18,850 crowns a year, to which the Archduchess Margaret is entitled as her jointure in Spain. He, moreover, binds himself to pay to Henry 12,000 crowns a year instead of the revenues from the towns, castles, and lands which have been assigned to the Archduchess in Savoy as her jointure. This sum of 30,850 crowns a year cannot be revoked, and the King of England has a full right to employ it for his personal use, and in any way that he likes.

4. King Philip binds himself hereafter to sign, ratify, and swear this treaty, and to deliver the ratification to the ambassadors of King Henry.

5. Securities to be given by Flemish noblemen and Flemish towns;

6. Which shall be delivered in London before the 1st August next.

Excommunication to be pronounced by the Pope on Philip, in case of the nonfulfilment of the treaty.

7. King Philip binds himself to declare, in presence of a judge or tribunal selected and commissioned for that purpose by the Pope, that he is bound strictly to fulfil this treaty, and especially the clauses respecting the money. This declaration is to be made on or before the last day of June next. King

* Paper gone.

1506.

Philip is further to request the judge or tribunal commissioned by the Pope, to excommunicate him if he do not punctually pay the money to Henry.

8. Within one month the above securities shall be delivered, the King of England is to contract a marriage *per verba de præsenti* with the proxies of the Archduchess Margaret.

9. The King and Queen of Castile bind themselves to consent to the marriage of the King of England with the Archduchess Margaret, and to permit the proxies of Henry to conclude a marriage *per verba de præsenti* with the Archduchess Margaret.

10. The King of Castile promises to send his sister, the Archduchess Margaret, at his own expense, to the town of Greenwich within one month after the first instalment of 100,000 crowns has been paid.

11. King Henry promises to perform the marriage ceremonies according to the rites of the Church within one month after the arrival of the Archduchess at Greenwich.

12. Should the Archduchess Margaret die after the solemnization of the marriage, but before the whole sum of the 300,000 is paid, in such a case, if there be any issue from the marriage, the whole dowry is to be paid as though the Archduchess had not died. If, on the contrary, there is no issue, the instalments due after her death are not to be paid.

13. Henry is to assign by letters patent to the Archduchess Margaret the castles, manors, lands, &c. which are to form her jointure. The jointure is to amount to 20,000 gold nobles a year; and the Archduchess, if she should become the widow of King Henry, is to be at liberty to spend her revenues from the English, Spanish, and Savoy dowry wherever she likes, except in the country of a declared enemy of England.

14. The parliament is to confirm this, and to guarantee the punctual payment of the jointure.

15. The heirs of the Archduchess Margaret are not to have the right to demand from Henry repayment of her marriage portion, or any portion of it.

16. If the Archduchess should die without issue before the King of England, in such a case Henry binds himself to pay to the Archduchess, or to her heirs:—

a. If three instalments of her marriage portion have been paid at the day of her death, the sum of 5,000 nobles;

b. If the fourth instalment has been paid, the sum of 10,000 nobles;

c. If the fifth instalment has been paid, the sum of 15,000 nobles; and

d. If the sixth and last instalment has been paid, the sum of 20,000 nobles. The Archduchess is to be at liberty to dispose of these sums by will as she likes.

17. The Archduchess is at liberty to dispose by will of her jewels and ornaments.

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18. The children begotten in the marriage between the King of England and the Archduchess are to succeed to all such inheritances in Spain, Flanders, &c. as the Archduchess may become entitled to.

19. King Philip is to request the Pope to confirm this treaty, and to excommunicate his person and his dominions in case he should not fulfil it.

20. King Philip will employ all his influence with his sister to persuade her to consent to this marriage. Her consent to it is to be delivered to the ambassadors of England before the 1st of August next.

21. The King of the Romans has given full power to King Philip to conclude this treaty in his name also.

22. The King of the Romans is, therefore, to ratify this treaty of marriage, and his ratification is to be exchanged in London on or before the 1st of August next. The King of the Romans is further bound to use all his paternal influence over the Archduchess Margaret in order to persuade her to consent to this marriage. Should, however, the King of the Romans object to any of these clauses, or even to the whole treaty, this treaty of marriage is nevertheless to remain in full force between King Philip, Queen Juana, and King Henry.

23. The King of England, on the 9th of February, concluded a treaty of friendship and alliance with the King of Castile, and the Queen of Castile gave her full consent to the said treaty on the 12th of February. The King of Castile binds himself to ratify once more the said treaty of the 9th of February, and the ratification of it by the Queen of Castile, dated the 12th of the same month. The Queen of Castile, on her part, is likewise bound once more to ratify the treaty of the 9th of February, and the additional clauses to it after the 12th of February last. These new ratifications are to be delivered, within four months, in the town of Calais, to the ambassadors of King Henry.

24. The King of England binds himself to ratify once more the said treaty of alliance and its additional clauses. His ratification is to be delivered to the commissioners or ambassadors of the King of Castile within the time of three months in the town of Calais.

25. Power of King Philip. Dated Windsor, 1st day of March 1505 (1506).

26. Power of King Henry to William Archbishop of Canterbury, Richard Bishop of Winchester, and Thomas Dokwra, Prior of St. John in Jerusalem in England. Dated Windsor, 4th March, anno regni xxi^mo (1506).

27. Power of Maximilian, King of the Romans. Dated in civitate nostra Patama,* 16th November, 1505.

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* Sic. Petavia? Petau, a little town in Tyrol. Many letters of Maximilian are dated from that place.

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28. Power of Queen Juana and King Philip. Dated Exeter, 18th March 1505 (1506).

The treaty is concluded by the ambassadors of the different contracting parties in London, 20th March 1505 (1506).

(Signed) Michael Croy.
Johannes le Sauvage.
Petrus Anchemant.
Thomas Isaak.

The ratification of the treaty by Henry VII. follows. It is dated Palace of Westminster, 15th May 1506 (21 Hen. VII.)

Indorsed: "Tractatus matrimonialis inter Henricum VII. anno xxi. regni sui et Margaretam Ducissam Sabaudiæ primogenitam Maximiliani Regis Romanorum."

Latin. Copy on a fragment of the Council Books. **pp. 44.**

23 March. **456.** A. DE CROY to MAXIMILIAN, KING OF THE ROMANS.

G. H. Arch. Vienna.

King Philip of Castile had been urged so strongly by the King of England that he had decided to deliver up Suffolk into his hands. He had not done so, however, until the King of England had given him a solemn promise in writing, sealed with his seal, that Suffolk should receive a full pardon for all his past offences, and not be exposed to persecution during the whole remainder of his life.

The Kings of England and Castile separated on terms of the greatest friendship.—Malines, 23d March 1505.

French. pp. 1½, *in print.*

Printed in Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, vol. X. p. 229.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. t. 6. **457.** KATHARINE, PRINCESS OF WALES, to DE PUEBLA.

Wishes to see him.—Richmond, Friday.

Addressed: "To Doctor De Puebla."

Spanish. Holograph. 4 *lines.*

9 April. **458.** HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES, to PHILIP, KING OF CASTILE.

B. M. Addit. MS. 21,404.

Her chamberlain.

The chamberlain of the Princess is going to Castile, and has requested him to write to his Highness on his behalf, and therefore requests he will interest himself for him. Begs that Philip will give him intelligence, from time to time, of his health, and he on his part will do the like.—Greenwich, 9th April 1506.

Addressed: "To the very high, very excellent, and very mighty Prince the King of Castile, &c. &c."

Printed in Gairdner's Letters and Papers, vol. I. p. 285.

French. p. 1.

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22 April. **459.** PRINCESS OF WALES to KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN.

B. M. Eg. MSS. 616. f. 17.

Treatment of the Princess of Wales by Henry.

[First folio wanting.]

Cannot speak more particularly, not knowing what may become of her letter, but when Pedro De Ayala arrives the King shall know all by ciphers. Has written many times to him, but has had no answer. Begs him to consider how she is in debt, not for extravagant things, but for food, and how the King of England will not pay anything, though she has asked him with tears. He had said that the promise made him about the marriage portion had not been kept. Is in the greatest anguish, her people ready to ask alms, and herself all but naked. Supplicates him to provide a remedy for all this as quickly as may be. Begs him to send her a confessor, as she cannot understand English, and has been for six months near death. Commends to him Calderon, the bearer of her letter, seeing she has nothing wherewith to recompense him.—Richmond, 22nd April.

Addressed: "To the very High and very Powerful Lord, the King."

Indorsed by Almazan: "To his Highness, from the Lady, Princess of Wales, 22nd April 1506."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

A translation printed in Wood's Letters of Royal Ladies.

30 April. **460.** HENRY VII.—TREATY OF COMMERCE WITH PHILIP, KING OF CASTILE.

B. M. Cott. Vesp. C. XII. f. 244.

The subjects of the King of England are to enjoy great liberty in carrying on their commercial affairs in the dominions of the King of Castile, and on the other hand the subjects of the King of Castile are to be treated with great liberality in England.

This treaty, however, does not regard the Spanish subjects of the King of Castile.*—London, 30th of April.

Latin.

Printed in Rymer.

8 May. **461.** HENRY VII.—RATIFICATION of the TREATY OF ALLIANCE WITH PHILIP, KING OF CASTILE.

B. M. Cott. MSS. Vesp. C. XII. f. 268.

Has on the 9th of February concluded a treaty of peace and alliance with the King of Castile.

Has on the 12th of February concluded and ratified the same treaty with Queen Juana. It has, moreover, been settled on the 20th of March that he is to ratify the treaty with the King of Castile as well as that with the Queen of Castile, and to exchange the ratifications within four months in the town of Calais.

* This treaty is here shortly mentioned, because it is so often alluded to in the following State Papers.

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Ratifies, therefore, the said treaty concluded on the 9th of February 1506 with Philip, King of Castile.—Richmond, 8th May 1506.

Latin. pp. 4 of print in folio.
Printed in Rymer.

8 May. **462.** HENRY VII.

B. M. Cott. MSS. Vesp. C. XII. f. 268.

Ratifies the treaty of peace concluded on the 12th of February 1506 with Juana Queen of Castile.—Richmond, 8th May 1506.

Latin. p. ½ of print in folio.
Printed in Rymer.

10 May. **463.** HENRY VII. to NICHOLAS WEST.

Fr. R. 21 Hen. VII. m. 11.

Archduchess Margaret.

The treaty concerning his marriage with the Archduchess Margaret, and dated the 20th of March of the same year contains a clause according to which Philip, King of Castile, has bound himself to appear before a judge, who is to be selected by the Pope, and to declare in presence of two notaries and witnesses that he is obliged to pay to the King of England 300,000 crowns as dowry of the Archduchess Margaret, besides her jointure in Spain and Savoy, consisting of 30,850 French crowns a year. This declaration of the King of Castile is to be made before the end of the month of June.

Commissions Nicholas West, Doctor of Law, to be present at the declaration of the King of Spain, and to accept this public document, which will be given in witness of the act. —Westminster, 10th May.

Latin. pp. 1½ of print in folio.
Printed in Rymer.

10 May. **464.** HENRY VII. to JOHN YONGE.

Fr. R. 21 Hen. VII. m. 11.

In the treaty respecting his marriage with the Archduchess Margaret, concluded on the 20th of March last, it is stipulated that—

William de Croy, Seigneur de Chievre, Lieutenant-General of the King of Castile,
Thomas de Planie, Seigneur de Maigni, his Chancellor,
Charles de Croy, Prince of Chimai,
Henry of Nassau, Seigneur de Breda,
Jaques de Luxembourg, Seigneur de Fennes,
John de Luxembourg, Seigneur de Vile,
John, Count of Egmont, lieutenant of Holland,
Michel de Croy, Seigneur de Sempi,
Florence de Egmont, lord Ysselsten,
Philibert de Veyre,
John Le Sauvage,
Jerome Lanwerirum,

shall swear that her dowry, consisting of 300,000 crowns, and

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the 30,850 French crowns a year which forms her jointure in Spain and Savoy, be punctually paid to Henry.

Commissions John Yonge, Doctor of Law, to see the said persons swear that oath.—Westminster, 10th May.

Latin.

Printed in Rymer.

10 May. **465.** HENRY VII. to NICHOLAS WEST.

Fr. R. 21 Hen. VII. m. 11. (1.)

Similar commission to Nicholas West, Doctor of Law.—Westminster, 10th May.

Latin.

Printed in Rymer.

13 May. **466.** HENRY VII. to NICHOLAS WEST.

Fr. R. 21 Hen. VII. m. 9. (3.)

It might be that the Pope could not commission a judge in so short a time as stipulated in the treaty of the 20th March, for the purpose of hearing the declaration of King Philip respecting the dowry and jointure of the Archduchess Margaret. In order to avoid delay the King of Castile may make his declaration before an ordinary judge, archbishop, or bishop of Castile. Nicholas West is commissioned to be present at that declaration.—Westminster, 13th May.

Latin. p. 1 *of print in folio.*

Printed in Rymer.

8 June. **467.** JOHN, COUNT OF EGMONT.

B. M. MSS. Cott. Vesp. C. XII.

Swears to the treaty of marriage between Margaret, Archduchess of Austria, and Henry, King of England.—Hague, 8th June 1506.

Latin. pp. 4½ *of print in folio.*

Printed in Rymer.

16 June. **468.** JOHN OF LUXEMBURGH, SEIGNEUR DE FIENNES.

P. R. O.

Swears to the treaty of marriage between Margaret, Archduchess of Austria, and Henry, King of England.—Brussels, 16th June 1506.

Latin. pp. 5 *of print in folio.*

Printed in Rymer.

23 June. **469.** G. DE CROY to MAXIMILIAN, KING OF THE ROMANS.

G. H. Arch. Vienna.

Although Henry has concluded with Philip, King of Castile, a treaty, according to which he is to marry the Archduchess Margaret, he will not send his ambassadors in order to settle this marriage also with the King of the Romans

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until Maximilian has written to him on that subject.—Malines, 23rd June 1506.

Addressed: "To the King of the Romans."

French. p. 1, *in print.*

Printed in the Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, vol. X. p. 233.

29 June. **470.** KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN to LOUIS FERRER. What he shall say to the KING OF CASTILE.

Nominates him as ambassador to the King of Castile [Philip]. Desires him to acquaint the King with his safe arrival at Zaragoza, and with his intention to embark immediately for Naples and Sicily. States that he does so in the interest of the King of Castile.

Queen Juana; her state of health.

Directs him to advise Philip to cultivate a better understanding with the Queen, his wife. Believes that her restoration to health depends upon gentle measures being used. If the proposal of placing her in some strong fortress be again entertained, he can in nowise sanction it. Is of opinion that it would be a most imprudent proceeding, and quite defeat the end in view.

If any persons should think that the treaty concluded between him and the King of Castile contains clauses detrimental to the interests of the Queen, Ferrer must say that he is sure he [Ferdinand] loves his daughter, and has her interest at heart.

If the King of Castile should say that he has been told King Ferdinand is not true to his interest, Ferrer must reply that it is all pure invention, and a thing not to be believed.

Instructs Ferrer as to what he shall say with regard to the terms to be observed with France; but he is not to speak unless his opinion be asked.

Marriage portion of the Princess of Wales.

He must, moreover, tell the King of Castile it has been agreed upon that 200,000 scudos should be given to the Princess of Wales as her marriage portion. Half of the sum has been already paid. Of the other half the Princess has received a considerable portion in jewels and plate. The balance remaining was to have been paid in London fifteen days before the consummation of the marriage between the Prince and Princess of Wales. On account, however, of press of business, and the coming of the King and Queen of Castile to Spain, it has not been possible to send the money to England. Some of the jewels of Queen Isabella were to be appropriated to the liquidation of the balance. As the

Necessity of sending the money immediately to England.

payment of the said sum is much insisted on in the Queen's will, Ferrer must strongly urge the executors, but especially the King of Castile, to send the money to England as quickly as possible, not only for conscience sake, but also in the interest of the Princess of Wales. For, if that be done, the Princess will be well married, and if not, then she will

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be lost. The King of Castile must, moreover, retain the jewels of Queen Isabella, and give the money in charge to some confidential person, who will not omit to ask for a receipt for it from the King of England.

If there should be an English ambassador at the court of the King of Castile, Ferrer must try to convince him that the greatest friendship exists between him [Ferdinand] and the King of Castile. If he should say anything about the non-payment of the marriage portion, Ferrer must show him that it has not been the fault of King Ferdinand, and must tell him that the affair will shortly be concluded.

Directs him what he shall say to the other ambassadors, and what he shall state to the King of Castile, respecting the Duke de Valentinois and Gaspar de Fabra.

Has been asked to write to the Queen of Castile requesting her to take women into her service. Has not done so, because he had heard, when about to address her on the subject, that she had already conformed to that request.—Zaragoza, 29th June 1506.

Spanish.

Printed in the Documents Inédits, Collection of "Papiers d'Etat du Cardinal de Granvelle."

June or July. 471. KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN to DE PUEBLA.

S. T. c. I. L. 2.

Treaty of peace between Spain and France.

I have written by two different routes to you, and told you the causes why I agreed to a treaty of amity and brotherhood with the King of France, and that we had named the King of England, my brother, in the said treaty, as guardian of it. I gave you this information in order that you might deliver an account of the whole negotiation to the King of England, and that you should pray him to be pleased to write to the King of France, saying that it would be agreeable to him to accept the said office of guardian of our treaty of peace and amity, so that all three of us might be joined together in one union and brotherhood.

I have had no answer from you to the said letters, and it has been many days since I have seen a letter from the King of England, my brother, or from you. See, however, that you reply to this.

Having found that the peace and tranquillity of these kingdoms could not otherwise be sufficiently provided for, I have entered into a treaty with the Archduke. For I always desire the welfare of my children on account of the love I bear them. I also desire to preserve peace and tranquility in these kingdoms, together with good government, and to have them freed from discord with all, and much more with my children, so that I may be able to prosecute this enterprise which I have taken in hand against the Infidels in Africa [in honour] of our holy Catholic Faith. The King and Archduke, my son, having come here to take my advice, and desiring to live with me as a true son with his true father,

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through the help of our Lord and of his blessed Mother, a treaty of perpetual union and concord has been signed and sworn between me and the King Archduke and the Queen Archduchess my children. So that when they are not in these kingdoms I shall take the whole rule and administration of them, and when they are and remain in these kingdoms we shall all three hold them conjointly. All grants and orders and letters shall, moreover, bear the title and signature of all three, or of only two, the Queen my daughter not being able to take part in affairs.

Government of Castile.

Also in the title, as well as the signature, I shall take precedence as being the father, and in the . . . . . .* of government, things which might have proved causes of disagreement between us having been removed or repaired. I therefore hope in our God the said concord will endure perpetually. Likewise when the said King and Queen my children depart from these kingdoms, the said government will remain in my sole hands. Also whether present or absent, the revenues that remain over, after the ordinary expenditure is defrayed, will be divided in half, and everything will be done between us as between father and children.

Henry VII. named guardian of the treaty.

We have named, as guardian of the said concord, the King of England my brother, because I bear him so much love, and esteem so greatly his person and his relationship and friendship. Therefore, besides reserving his rights in the treaties which I have made, I have gladly named him as guardian of it. I have done this as well for the purpose of being more united with him, and of uniting him more with me, and with those with whom I contract friendship, as that, by this honour and confidence, I desire . . . . . .* give it him in preference to any one else for the sake of the great love I bear him. Tell him all this from me, so that the King of England may, at any rate, enter into this union with me and my children.

Indorsed in the hand of Almazan: "To Doctor De Puebla."

Written in two keys of cipher, neither of which is now extant.

Deciphered by the editor.

Spanish.

1 July. **472.** KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN to GONZALO RUIZ DE FIGUEROA, ambassador at Venice.

S. E. Venetia, L. 1308.

Behaviour of Ferdinand to Philip.

Has shown to the Archduke Philip and to the Archduchess Juana the love of a true and kind father Went the very day on which the Queen Isabella died to the marketplace of Medina del Campo, and there, ascending a platform, renounced his title as King of Castile in favour of his daughter Juana, and her husband, Philip. Wrote them letters, and asked them

* One word unintelligible.

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to come to Spain, in order to take upon themselves the government of Castile. They were, however, retained there by the war with the Duke of Gueldres. Enemies whispered in their ears that he intended to retain for himself the royal prerogatives of the Crown of Castile. Was, under certain circumstances, entitled to do so by the will of the late Queen, but never had the desire to make use of that right during the lifetime of Philip and Juana.

Concluded, in spite of his enemies, a treaty with the ambassadors of the King Archduke and the Queen Archduchess, by which the form of the government of Castile was settled. Nevertheless, did not change his first intentions, and charged the ambassadors of the King Archduke and the Queen Archduchess to tell them, before they left Flanders, that he was not willing to make use of the rights conferred upon him by the treaty, but intended to leave to them the full unlimited rights of the Crown of Castile.

Felt the greatest sorrow when it was known in Spain that the King and Queen of Castile, his children, had been overtaken by a storm off the coast of England. Sent directly the best captains in search of them.

Conduct of the King and Queen of Castile to Ferdinand.

King Philip sent Monsieur Laxao to him from England with a message. The answer which he returned by the same messenger was that both his children, the King and the Queen, must directly come to Spain. They would find in him a loving father. Repeated his promise not to make use of the rights conferred upon him by the last treaty, but to show, by words and deeds, that he had nothing more at heart than their interests.

His children came to Spain, but instead of hastening to see their father, they sent messengers to him, and asked him to appoint a formal meeting. His enemies hoped, in that manner, to sow the seeds of discord between them. King Philip even thought it proper to come with armed soldiers to the meeting. Did not go with arms in his hands, but with love in his heart, the direct way to his son. Met him on the road, and the most complete reconciliation has taken place between them.

Intends to see his son, King Philip, again in a few days, to give him his paternal advice, and soon afterwards to leave Spain in order to occupy himself with the affairs of Italy, which are in great need of his presence. Don Gonzalo is to communicate the contents of this letter to the Signoria of Venice, and to ask the Venetians to have confidence in him. Tordesillas, 1st of July 1506.

Addressed: "By the King. To Gonzalo Ruis de Figueroa, his ambassador in Venice."

Spanish. pp. 14.

1506.

13 July. **473.** FLORENCE D'EGMONT, SEIGNEUR DE YSSELSTEN.

B. M. Cott. MSS. Vesp. C. XII.

Swears to the treaty of marriage between Margaret, Archduchess of Austria, and Henry, King of England.—Valladolid, 13th July 1506.

Latin. pp. 2 of print, in folio.

Printed in Rymer.

16 July. **474.** PHILIP, KING OF CASTILE.

P. R. O.

Ratifies before Johannes, Bishop of Catania, the treaty of marriage between Henry VII. and the Archduchess Margaret. He specially binds himself punctually to pay the marriage portion consisting of 300,000 crowns, and the two jointures of the Archduchess amounting to 30,850 crowns.—Valladolid, 16th July 1506.

From a copy on a fragment of the Council Books.

Latin. pp. 12.

20 July. **475.** MAXIMILIAN, KING OF THE ROMANS, to HENRY VII.

G. H. Arch. Vienna.

Has heard, with great joy, that the marriage between Henry and the Archduchess Margaret is arranged. Begs him to send ambassadors to Malines. Has already despatched ambassadors to the same place.—Vienna, 20th July 1506.

Addressed: "To the very high and powerful King of England and France, our brother."

French. p. 1, *in print.*

Printed in the Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, vol. X. p. 236.

30 July. **476.** JEHAN LE SAUVAIGE to MAXIMILLIAN, KING OF THE ROMANS.

G. H. Arch. Vienna.

The Archduchess Margaret decidedly refuses to marry Henry VII., although he, at first by himself, and afterwards conjointly with the Imperial ambassador, had daily pressed her during a whole month to consent. But the alliance with England is not endangered thereby. For Henry desires the marriage between his second daughter and the Prince of Castile more than his own marriage with the Archduchess, —Pont de Vaulx, 30th July 1506.

Addressed: "To his most Sacred Majesty, the King."

French. p. 1, *in print.*

Printed in the Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, vol. X. p. 237.

July **477.** MEMOIR RESPECTING THE AFFAIRS OE FRANCE, CASTILE, ARAGON, &c.

Arch. Gen. d. D. d. N.

It is said in France that the King of England intends to send 7,500 soldiers in aid of the King of Castile against the Duke of Gueldres, because France has given succour to the Duke.

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It is likewise said in France that King Ferdinand has written to the King of France, and told him that he would cause all kinds of trouble to King Philip in order to force him to leave Castile, and to return to Flanders. The King of France is believed to be assisting the Duke of Gueldres for no other purpose.

[The other clauses of this memoir speak of affairs which have no immediate connexion with the relations between England and Spain.]

French. pp. 3, *in print.*

Printed in Lettres du Roy Louis XII., &c. Brussels 1712. *Vol. I. p.* 60.

July. **478.** MEMOIR RESPECTING THE AFFAIRS OF FRANCE, CASTILE, ARAGON, &c., AND THE PROJECTED MARRIAGE OF THE KING OF ENGLAND.

Arch. Gen. d. D. d. N.

Ferdinand of Aragon has promised to the Cardinal of Amboise to use his influence with the College of Cardinals in order to make him Pope. That is the reason why France and King Ferdinand are on such intimate terms.

[News of France.]

It is generally believed that the negotiations between the King of England, on the one part, and the Kings of Castile and of the Romans, on the other part, respecting the marriage of Henry with the Archduchess Margaret, are carried on with great vigor. But the Archduchess dissimulates only in order to gratify the said Kings. She is not inclined to marry the King of England.

[More news of France.]

The King of France has sent an embassy to the King of England, who fully approves of the marriage between Madame Claude and Monsieur d'Angoulême. King Henry is only of opinion that it would have been better to keep this marriage for some time secret. The Queen of France tries to win the good graces of Madame d'Angoulême in order to put her off.

[More news of France].

French. pp. 4, *in print.*

Printed in Lettres du Roy Louis XII., &c. Brussels, 1712. *Vol. I. p.* 63.

6 Aug. **479.** G. DE CROY to MAXIMILIAN, KING OF THE ROMANS.

G. II. Arch. Vienna.

The King of France aids the Duke of Gueldres. Has tried to evade a war, because the King of England has often written to him, enjoining him to maintain peace until the undertaking of King Philip is more secure. But Courteville, the Flemish ambassador at the court of France, has behaved with great arrogance.

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Aid offered to Maximilian by Henry.

Has meanwhile sent Toison d'Or to the King of England, asking him to send 1,500 archers paid for three months. The King of England has offered him his choice of either 1,000 archers paid for three months, which sum will amount to 20,000 gold crowns, or the money wherewith to defray the expenses of other troops. Would have to repay the money at the end of the year.

Is afraid that the refusal of the Archduchess will cool the friendship of Henry.

Has told the King of England that he is bound by the treaty of alliance to send more troops if required. The King of England has sent by Norroy, King-at-arms, the answer which is enclosed. The King-at-arms has gone to the Duke of Gueldres, and is expected shortly to return.—Namur, 6th August 1506.

Addressed: "To the King of the Romans, my Sovereign Lord."

French. pp. 3½, *in print.*

Printed in the Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, vol. X. p. 239.

8 Aug. **480.** ULRICH, COUNT OF MONTFORT, and CLAUDE CARONDELET, to MAXIMILIAN, KING OF THE ROMANS.

G. H. Arch. Vienna.

Refusal of the Archduchess Margaret to marry Henry.

Have travelled with all haste to Savoy in order to see the Archduchess Margaret, whom they found in company of the President of Flanders. Pressed her very strongly to consent to marry the King of England. Her answer, however, was that, although an obedient daughter, she will never agree to so unreasonable a marriage. The President of Flanders has shown them letters from the King of England, by which he shows his great desire that the marriage between his daughter Mary and the Duke of Luxemburgh should take place, as it had been already concluded between King Philip and himself. The marriage is more feasible now that the King of France has refused to give his daughter to the Duke of Luxemburgh.—Villers Sexel, 8th August 1506.

Addressed: "To the King."

French. pp. 2½, *in print.*

Printed in the Biblibothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, vol. X. p. 242.

12 Aug. **481.** HENRY VII. to FRANCIS MARSIN.

A. G. d. D. d. N.

After the departure of King Philip for Castile, new troubles have broken out between Flanders and Gueldres. The Duke of Gueldres pretends that the King of Castile has begun the quarrel, and has asked the assistance of France. The King of Castile, on the contrary, declares that the wrong is on the side of the Duke of Gueldres. The King of France has permitted his subjects, who are relatives of the Duke of Gueldres, to assist him.

1506.

Quarrel between Flanders and Gueldres.

Asks the King of France not to favour the Duke of Gueldres. The real cause of the quarrel is that King Philip had asked the delivery of Edmund De la Pole from the Duke of Gueldres, and that the Duke had refused. Is much astonished that the King of France will assist Gueldres in such a cause. Begs him to send to the Duke of Gueldres, and exhort him not to make war on the King of Castile, but, on the contrary, to come to an understanding with the Lieut. General of Philip. Moreover the King of France would do well to recall his troops. If any disputes remain to be settled, it might be done by umpires.

If the King of France be willing to accept his proposals, he must accompany the French ambassadors to Flanders and Gueldres.—Wanstead, 12th August 1506.

French. pp. 10 *of print.*

Lettres du Roy Louis XII., vol. I. p. 78.

16 Aug. **482.** MONSIEUR DE CROY, and other COUNSELLORS of the KING OF CASTILE, to PHILIP, KING OF CASTILE.

A. G. d. D. d. N.

[News of the war in Flanders.]

Have written to the King of England, and informed him of what passed in Flanders. Have received this very day his answer, and send the letter of the King of England to him.

Friendship of Henry towards the Archduchess Margaret.

Are much afraid that the King of England has cooled in his friendship in consequence of the answer which the Archduchess Margaret has given to the President of Flanders, and afterwards to the Count Montfort and the Bailly of Amont, ambassadors of the King of the Romans, and again to the President of the King of Castile. All her answers are of the same tenor.

[News of France.]

The succour to be given by the King of England is expected to come late, and to be small.

[More news of France and of Flanders.]

It is very desirable soon to know the real intentions of the King of England. Until his final decision has been declared, and until it is known what the success of the King of the Romans will be, it would be well to entertain the King of France with vain expectations.

[More news of France.]

Are in difficulties as to what to do with respect to the last treaty of commerce. Have informed King Henry of the difficulties in the way of its execution. As, however, the treaty can, after a year's notice, be annulled, Philip may send his ratification. Will not deliver it to the King of England, except in case of need.

French. pp. 11 *of print. Fragment.*

Lettres du Roy Louis XII., vol. I. p. 67.

1506.

19 Aug. **483.** HENRY VII. to MAXIMILIAN, KING OF THE ROMANS.

G. H. Arch. Vienna.

Has received his letter dated Vienna the 20th July, by which he begs him to send ambassadors to Malines, and informs him that he has already sent envoys there. The meeting at Malines is no longer necessary, as he and the ambassadors of King Philip have already transacted all the business which was to have been transacted at Malines.

During the stay of King Philip in England, three treaties were concluded; viz., 1, a treaty of alliance; 2, that of his marriage with the Archduchess Margaret; 3, a treaty of commerce.

Treaties concluded during the stay of Philip in England.

The treaty of alliance was sealed and sworn and solemnly proclaimed on the same day that he, and the Prince of Wales, received the order of the Garter and the Toison d'Or. According to this treaty all three treaties were again to be ratified and sworn after King Philip had left the kingdom of England.

The new ratifications were to be exchanged in the town of Calais, the treaty of alliance and marriage before the 20th of June, and that of commerce before the last day of July.

His ambassadors were at Calais by the appointed time, with all the necessary papers, but the ambassadors of King Philip have not arrived up to this day; nor has he heard anything of the approval of the Pope, which had been promised him, nor of the securities for the dowry and the consent of the Archduchess. Will consent to a prorogation of the term to the end of August.

The meeting of the ambassadors at Malines was not about the treaties which had been already concluded, but about another and secret matter, as King Philip has written with his own hand to Maximilian. If he will read the letter he will find that circumstances have changed so much that it has become no longer necessary to send ambassadors.—Greenwich, 19th August, 1506.

French. pp. 4 *in print.*

Printed in the Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, vol. X. p. 245.

28 Aug. **484.** JUAN LOPEZ, TRUSTEE OF QUEEN ISABELLA, to KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 4.

Poverty of the Princess of Wales.

Has done all in his power to remedy the great embarassment of the Princess of Wales, as Monsieur Ferrer will write more circumstantially; but is afraid that the trustees will not be able to assist her effectually. They have nothing in their keeping but the two jewels of the Crown and a collar. The trustees do not think it advisable to send the jewels to England, where they would not be paid for according to their value.

Inability of her trustees to help her.

But it is a sad thing to hear of the necessity of the Princess, and not to help her. The trustees offer the two jewels and the collar to him, and ask him to send money to the Princess, who is not only the daughter of the late Queen, but also his child.

1506.

The poverty of the Princess reflects dishonour on his, and on the late Queen's name. If she had been alive, she would not have suffered it, even if the Princess had not been her daughter. It is the duty of a King to succour a young Princess who is living in a foreign land without protection, and exposed to such dangers as the Princess of Wales.—Valladolid, 28th August.

Addressed: "To the Catholic King . . . Arragon . . . . . city and Jerusalem, my Lord."
Indorsed: "1506."
Enclosed is a note to Almazan. Sends him fruits from his garden in Valladolid.

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

31 Aug. **485.** LOUIS XII. to HENRY VII.

B. M. MSS. Add. 21,382.

Duke of Gueldres.

Is most willing to accept his proposal to reconcile the King of Castile to the Duke of Gueldres. Has directly sent to the Duke of Gueldres to inform him of his intentions. Thinks it would be best if the King of Castile and the Duke of Gueldres would submit all their differences to them. In order to prevent additional bloodshed, has countermanded the troops which he was sending to the Duke of Gueldres.—Blois, last day of August 1506.

Addressed: "To the most High and Mighty Prince, &c. &c. the King of England."

Copy. French. pp. 2, *print.*

Printed in Gairdner's Letters, &c., vol. I. p. 289.

7 Sept. **486.** FRANCIS MARSIN to WILLIAM DE CROY, SEIGNEUR DE CHIEVRES.

A. G. d. D. d. N.

Affairs of Flanders and Gueldres.

Has negotiated about the affairs of Flanders and Gueldres with the Cardinal of Amboise and with the Chancellor. Has told them that as the Duke of Gueldres has rejected the offer of a truce, the King of Castile might entirely annihilate him. The Duke of Gueldres, however, wishes to have his dispute decided by France and England. With great difficulty he got an answer from the Cardinal of Amboise that he would recall his troops and advise the Duke of Gueldres to make peace.

The King of France has, moreover, told him that, for the sake of the King of England, he would force the Duke of Gueldres to arrange the affair amicably.

The King of England had ordered him to communicate the result of his conferences in France to him in person. As, however, the affair has been retarded so much, he prefers to write.—7th September.

Addressed: "To the Lieutenant-General of the King of Castile, Monsieur de Chievres."
French: pp. 4, *in print.*
Lettres du Roy Louis XII., vol. I. p. 87.

1506.
8 & 10 Sept. **487.** G. DE CROY to MAXIMILIAN, KING OF THE ROMANS.

G. H. Arch. Vienna.

[Minute details of the war between France and Gueldres.]

Henry has written to Maximilian respecting the secret affairs. Hopes he will soon answer. Has sent to the King of England requesting him to send the thousand archers.—Turnhout, 8th September. Boisleduc, 10th September.

Addressed: "To the King."

French. pp. 3, in print.

Printed in the Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, vol. X. p. 249.

14 Sept. **488.** MAXIMILIAN to HENRY VII.

P. R. O.

The King of France has broken his solemn engagements to marry his daughter to the Archduke Charles [Charles V.], and given her to Francis, Dauphin of France. Warns Henry to beware of the "French foxes."

Has been heretofore advised by some good friends to marry his grandson to the Princess Mary of England. Has written to his son, the King of Castile, that he should treat and conclude this marriage. Is sure that his son will do as he has desired him, and hopes that Henry will treat the offers favourably.—Celeya,* 14th September 1506.

Latin. pp. 3. Printed in Gairdner's Letters, &c., vol. I. p. 301.

16 Sept. **489.** HENRY VII. to PHILIP KING OF CASTILE.

B. M.
MS. Addit. 21,404. Art. 6.

Proposal for settling the differences between King Philip and the Duke of Gueldres.

Since the last letter which he has written, the King of France has sent one of his equerries to him with a letter, wherein he expresses his desire, in accordance with the King of England's request, that the difference existing between the King of Castile and the Duke of Gueldres should be settled in an amicable manner. The King of France has also himself sent to the Duke of Gueldres, exhorting him to take this course, and has moreover withdrawn the troops he was sending to him, hoping that the King of England would, on his part, send none at present. Has thanked the King of France for what he has done, and told him he trusted he would not suffer any invasion to be made into the duchy of Gueldres or into other dominions of the King of Castile. Has delayed to send the succour he has promised, and which was ready to depart, till he should have seen the result of the negotiation. Has, moreover, said he would gladly join with the King of France in pacifying the said differences. If the King of Castile will submit them to him and the King of France, they will arbitrate justly upon them. Has also informed the King of France that he would notify the King of Castile's Lieutenant General and Council of the above-mentioned matters, that they might act accordingly. If the Duke of Gueldres will

* Cilly?

1506.

not listen to reason, he will send the promised succour.—Guildford, 16th September 1506.

Addressed: "To the very high and very mighty Prince our good brother, &c. the King of Castile, &c."

French. pp. 3.

Printed in Gairdner's Letters and Papers, vol. I. p. 294.

24 Sept. P. R. O. **490.** MAXIMILIAN, KING OF THE ROMANS, to HENRY VII.

Has not yet been able to persuade his daughter, the Archduchess Margaret, to marry him. Will go to see her in order to persuade her.—Gretl, 24th September 1506.

Copy on a parchment roll.

Latin. p. 1.

Printed in Gairdner's Letters, vol. I. p. 305.

1 Oct. G. II. Arch. Vienna. **491.** HENRY VII. to MAXIMILIAN, KING OF THE ROMANS.

Has been informed that Madame Margaret makes great difficulties about ratifying the treaty of marriage. It would not be a thing to be wondered at if he were to accept one of the great and honourable matches which are daily offered to him on all sides. Their friendship would not be dissolved thereby.

Is not obliged to send assistance to Flanders, as the ratification, of the treaties of alliance and commerce are not even yet exchanged at Calais. Notwithstanding this, promises to send 1,000 archers, if necessary.

Knows that King Philip, on the 22nd of September, had already sent the ratification from Spain to his Chancellor in Flanders. It is probable that the Counsellors in Flanders are enemies of this alliance.—Okyng, 1st October 1506.

Addressed: "To the very high, very excellent, and very powerful Prince, Maximilian, King of the Romans, &c."

French. pp. 3, *in print.*

Printed in the Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, vol. X. p. 253.

17 Oct. B. M. Egerton MS. No. 616. f. 32. **492.** PRINCESS OF WALES to the QUEEN OF CASTILE.*

Since she last wrote has had some more attacks of fever. Is somewhat better now, and in better spirits. Thinks it right to let her know this.—17th October.

Addressed: "To the most high and powerful Lady, the Queen, my Lady."

Indorsed by Almazan: "To the Queen, my Lady, from the Lady Princess of Wales, 17th October 1506."

Spanish. Holograph. p. ½.

A translation printed in Wood's Letters of Royal Ladies.

* The Queen of Castile thus addressed is the sister of the writer, Juana, not Germaine de Foix, second wife of Ferdinand, who never was Queen of Castile but only Queen of Arragon.

1506.

18 Oct. **493.** HENRY VII. to MAXIMILIAN, KING OF THE ROMANS.

G. H. Arch. Vienna.

Condoles with him on the death of King Philip. Promises to remain his good friend, and the friend of the Prince of Castile, and to assist them in everything. If King Philip had lived, the treaties which he had concluded with him would have been carried out. Is still disposed to adhere to the arrangements and treaties which he had made.—Okyng, 18th October 1506.

Addressed: "To the very high and powerful Prince, the King of the Romans."

French. pp. 2, in print.

Printed in the Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, vol. X. p. 265.

18 Oct. **494.** HENRY VII. to the SEIGNEUR DE CHIEVRES.

G. H. Arch. Vienna.

Sends his condolences on the death of King Philip. Has sent Francis Marsin, King-at-arms to the King of France, to request him not to occasion any trouble to Prince Charles. —Okyng, 18th October 1506.

Addressed: "To our very dear cousin, &c., the Seigneur de Chievres."

French. pp. 2, in print.

Printed in the Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, vol. X. p. 268.

28 Oct. **495.** HENRY VII. to KATHARINE, PRINCESS OF WALES.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 82.

Has received her letter of the 27th inst. from Eltham. Is pleased to hear that his last letter was so agreeable to her.

House at Fulham.

The house at Fulham had been kept for the ambassadors of the King of Castile (Philip), who are expected. But as she wishes to go to it, and thinks it would improve her health to be so near him, the house at Fulham is certainly at her disposal, and the ambassadors shall be lodged elsewhere. If she prefer any other house, she has only to say so, and it will be kept for her.

Is sorry that she is again in bad health. She must be cheerful. Will return in three or four days.—Windsor, (x)xviii. of October 1506.

Addressed: "To the most illustrious Princess, Lady Katharine, Princess of Wales, my most beloved daughter."

Latin. pp. 2.

31 Oct. **496.** TOISON D'OR to MAXIMILIAN, KING OF THE ROMANS.

G. H. Arch. Vienna.

Has been sent by the Council of Flanders to the King of England. Found that the King of England is a very warm friend of the King of the Romans.

1506.

Knows that the French ambassadors are on their way to England, in order to offer to the King the daughter of the Duke of Angoulême in marriage. But the King of England has decided not to accept the proposal, as he still hopes to obtain the hand of the Duchess Margaret.—Malines, 31st October 1506.

Addressed: "To the King of the Romans."

French. p. 1, in print.

Printed in the Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, vol. X. p. 276.

8 Dec. **497.** PRINCESS OF WALES to KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN.

P. R. O.

Has written at other times, beseeching him to grant a benefice at Naples to a son of the King of England's physician, who is a Genoese, and who had restored her to life in a great sickness she had had. Has not wherewith to recompense him herself. Begs the benefice may be given as soon as possible. —Richmond, 8th December.

English translation in the hand of John Stile, the original of which, according to a note in Wood's Letters of Royal Ladies, is to be found in the private collection of Dawson Turner, Esq.

16 Dec. **498.** KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN.

S. E. Corona de Cast. L. 1 and 2. f. 322.

Pensions given by Ferdinand to nine principal officers of the Court of the late King Archduke Philip, and of the King of the Romans, among whom are Andreas de Burgo, and Juan Manuel. Six of these pensions are of the amount of one thousand gold ducats a year for life, one is of six hundred, one of four hundred, and one of one hundred gold ducats —Salamanca, 16th December 1506.*

Spanish. pp. 3.

Dec. **499.** MAXIMILIAN, KING OF THE ROMANS, to SIGISMUND FRAUEMBERG, the SEIGNEUR DE CHAULX, and the SEIGNEUR DE ROGHENDORF, his AMBASSADORS to HENRY VII.

G. H. Arch. Vienna.

Hopes that Henry will not forsake the poor orphan, who is Maximilian's son as well as Henry's.

The Duke of Gueldres is attempting to usurp the Flemish dominions of the Archduke Charles. On the other hand, the King of Arragon has usurped the kingdom of Castile, and intends, with the assistance of the French, to exclude Prince Charles from the succession. In order to prevent him, it is necessary to send an army to Spain.

This, and the affairs in Hungary and Italy, will cost much money.

* Sic. Ferdinand was in December 1506 in Naples.

1506. Asks the King of England to lend him 100,000 crowns. Promises, in his quality of guardian of Prince Charles, to pay the money back within one year. Meantime, all the affairs still pending may be settled. If the ambassadors cannot obtain 100,000 crowns they may accept less.

No date. No signature.

French. Draft. pp. 3, in print.

Printed in the Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, vol. X. p. 278.

1507.
3 Feb. **500.** ARCHDUCHESS MARGARET to *JAYME D'ALBION, AMBASSADOR of KING FERDINAND in FRANCE.

Is very sorry that the peace between the King of France and the King of the Romans is not concluded. If the King of France should attack the estates of Prince Charles, she would do her best to defend them, and hopes that the King of England and King Ferdinand would assist her. Begs that this may be communicated to King Ferdinand.—Malines, 3rd February 1507.

Addressed: "To Messire Jayme D'Albion."

French. pp. 2, in print.

Lettres du Roy Louis XII., vol. I. p. 107.

15 March. **501.** KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN to HENRY VII.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 94.

Before going to Naples, sent a letter to him from Castile by his ambassador Doctor Nicholas West. That letter contained all particulars concerning the arrangements made with the late King Philip.

Reasons why the marriage portion of the Princess of Wales had not been earlier sent.

Has written two letters to De Puebla, one from Castile, and the other from Barcelona, and has told him all the reasons why it has been impossible to send the marriage portion of the Princess of Wales to England. Those reasons were twofold. In the first place, the death of Queen Isabella, and the disturbances which have taken place in consequence of it, have absorbed all his attention and his means. Scarcely had peace been restored, when King Philip and Queen Juana came to Spain, and the disorders were renewed.

Has left the greatest part of the marriage portion of the Princess of Wales in the hands of the trustees of the late Queen Isabella ready to be sent to England. The small sum wanting to make up the whole amount of the portion was more than covered by jewels in the keeping of the said trustees, and it had been settled with King Philip that he should take them and give money in their stead. Had recommended King Philip to raise no obstacles to the trustees, and he had promised it. Before, however, the money could be sent to England, King Philip died. This death had caused him much grief, and to the

* "Jayme" means "James" in the Catalonian language.

1507.

Queen Juana unspeakable affliction. The consequence has been that the trustees could not send the money, because the Queen was unable to sign the order, and himself was absent in Italy. The trustees have, therefore, decided to wait for his return to Spain. That has been the will of God. Hopes soon to conclude his business in Naples, and to return to Spain. Directly after his return to Spain the money shall be sent.

Begs he may be excused, and his daughter treated as he would treat a daughter of his brother, the King of England.

Indorsed: "Naples, 15th of March 1507. Letter of the Catholic King to England, on the restitution of the marriage portion."*

Draft; on the margin of which is written by Almazan "Fiat."

Spanish. pp. 5.

March. **502.** KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN to KATHARINE, PRINCESS OF WALES.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 96.

Sorrow of Ferdinand for the trials of the Princess of Wales. King Philip the author of them.

Has received her letter sent with Cavallos. God alone knows the sadness of his heart whenever he thinks of her miserable and trying life. Loves her more than ever a father loved his daughter. May God forgive King Philip; for, to tell the truth, he caused all her misery. The money of her marriage portion was ready to be sent to England, but he prevented it. He always was hostile to him, and to all his daughters. Queen Juana is unable to give orders, and the money cannot therefore be sent during his absence. Intends to return to Castile in the spring. Queen Juana and a great many other persons have written to him, saying that his presence is absolutely necessary in Spain for the conservation of peace. Directly after his arrival in Castile the money shall be sent to England.

In Naples there is not a fit person to be found to serve her as confessor, but a Spanish confessor will be sent to her from Castile.

Promises to send another ambassador to England. Don Pedro de Ayala, if he could be persuaded to go, would perhaps be the best person for that place.

Her jewels to be taken at the price they are worth in England.

If the King of England, as she believes, be not willing to accept the ornaments, plate, &c. for the price at which they were valued in Spain, he may take them at the price they are worth in England. She must, however, take care that nothing of the jewels, ornaments, &c. be lost before she is married, for they form part of her marriage portion, and it would be difficult to replace them. The ambassador whom he intends to send will easily persuade King Henry to arrange the affair to her satisfaction. Meanwhile, she must try to win the

* It is clear that *restitution* is an error, as the letter does not speak of the restitution, but of the *payment* of the marriage portion.

1507.

good will of the King, and always speak of her marriage as a thing beyond all doubt.

Proposal of Henry to marry Queen Juana.

Has read her letter, by which she has communicated to him the wish of the King of England to marry her sister, Queen Juana. She must tell the King that it is not yet known whether Queen Juana be inclined to marry again; but if the said Queen should marry again, it shall be with no other person than with the King of England, especially as he has proposed such acceptable conditions. Expects that the King of England will send him an ambassador with whom he can treat about this marriage of Queen Juana, as soon as it is known in England that he has returned to Castile. But the affair must be kept most secret; for if Queen Juana should hear anything about it, she would most probably do something quite to the contrary. No one knows her better than himself. For this reason nothing must be done before his return to Spain.

Sends a letter for the King of England in cipher. The person who is to decipher it must be a trustworthy person.

Has written something concerning the marriage of the King of England to De Puebla. She may make use of him till another ambassador arrives.

Indorsed: "Princess of Wales. This letter has been sent after the arrival of Melchior."

On the margin Almazan says "Fiat."

Inclosed in the same bundle with the letter of King Ferdinand to King Henry, of the 15*th of* March 1507.

Spanish. pp. 5.

March. **503.** KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN to HENRY VII.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 97.

Has received his letters of the 29th of November and the 30th of December, and has heard all that his servant Melchior de Astudillo had been ordered to tell him. Is much pleased to hear of his good health and of his prosperity, and of the happiness of the Prince and Princess of Wales. Is his good brother, and always ready to render him any service in his power. Writes to the Princess of Wales and to De Puebla, who will make some communications to him.

On the margin Almazan says "Fiat."

Draft. Inclosed in the same bundle with the letter of King Ferdinand to Henry VII. of the 15*th of March* 1507.

Spanish. pp. 2.

15 March. **504.** KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN to KATHARINE, PRINCESS OF WALES.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 95.

Has been so long a time on his voyage, and so much occupied with the affairs of Naples, that it has been

1507.

Arrangements to be made for the Princess of Wales.

impossible for him to do for her as much as he desired. Hopes now to have more leisure, and promises to arrange matters respecting her in such a manner that ere long she will be comfortable with her husband in her house.

Begs her to do everything to preserve the good will of Henry, the love of the Prince of Wales, and the esteem of the people of England. Henry must see that he has no better chance of securing the succession to his son than by marrying him to her.

Draft. Inclosed in the draft of the letter of King Ferdinand to King Henry, of the 15*th of March* 1507.

On the margin is written: "With the Bishop of Giras;" and, Almazan says "Fiat."

Spanish. pp. 2.

4 April. **505.** KATHARINE, PRINCESS OF WALES, to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 38.

Requests him to come on Easter Monday to Richmond. —Richmond, Easter Sunday.*

Spanish. Holograph. 3 *lines.*

7 April. **506.** ALONSO DE ESQUIVEL to KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 6.

Is in great difficulties. Wants money.

The health of the Princess of Wales is better now than it has been. She bears her adversity with fortitude. She is in great want of assistance. —Richmond, 7th of April 1507.

Addressed: "To the very high and very powerful Prince, the King of Spain and Naples."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

12 April. **507.** HENRY VII. to KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN.

S. E. T. c. I L. 5. f. 70.

Has received his letters of the 15th of March.

Thanks him for his love, and assures him of his affection. Begs him to write very often about all his affairs.—Richmond, 12th of April 1507.

Addressed: "To the most serene and excellent Prince Ferdinand, by the grace of God, King of Arragon, &c."

Latin. pp. 2.

12 April. **508.** HENRY VII. to KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 72.

Postponement of the marriage portion conceded.

De Puebla has asked him, over and over again, to consent to the postponement of the payment of the marriage portion. Many other Princesses have been offered in marriage to the Prince of Wales, with much greater marriage portions, and even with a dower twice as great as that of the Princess

* Easter Sunday fell, in the year 1507, on the 4th of April.

1507.

Katharine. Has, however, not accepted them, because he loves and esteems him so much, and is even willing that the payment should be postponed till the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel.

The Princess of Wales and De Puebla have made him communications in his name, respecting the new tie of relationship by which they are to be connected. Has heard it all with the greatest joy. Recognizes, in them, his great love. The Princess of Wales and De Puebla will write his answer. —Richmond, 12th of April 1507.

Addressed: "To the most serene and excellent Prince Ferdinand, by the grace of God, King of Arragon, &c."

Latin. pp. 2.

12 April. 509. HENRY VII. to KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 71.

The Princess of Wales has made some communications to him in his (Ferdinand's) name. Liked to hear this from her better than from any other person.

Is astonished that a new postponement of the payment of the marriage portion is asked. The reasons alleged for this postponement are, certainly, not without weight; but, on the other hand, punctual payment is so sacred a duty, and the sum of money is so moderate for such a great King as the King of Spain, that he had not expected to be again requested to consent to a new postponement of the payment.

Princesses offered in marriage to the Prince of Wales.

Other Princesses have been offered in marriage to the Prince of Wales, with much greater marriage portions. Consents, nevertheless, to a postponement till the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel.

Has learnt, moreover, from the Princess of Wales and from De Puebla, that he intends to strengthen the friendship which already exists between the Kings of Spain and England by new ties of relationship. Has heard these communications with rapturous joy.

The Princess of Wales and De Puebla will write more on this subject.—Richmond, 12th of April 1507.

Addressed: "To the most serene and most excellent King Ferdinand, &c."

Latin. pp. 4.

13 April. 510. HENRY VII. to MIGUEL PEREZ ALMAZAN.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 73.

Has received his letter of the 15th of March. Thank him for his invariable friendship. Begs him to write often. Regards him as one of his best friends, and would be glad to render him any service.—Richmond, 13th April 1507.

Addressed: "To the noble and excelllent M. P. Almazan, Secretary of the King of Aragon, and our friend."

Latin. pp. 2.

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S. E. T. c. I.
L. 5. f. 31.

511. DE PUEBLA to KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN.

Has received on the 30th of March, from the Princess of Wales, his despatch in cipher of the 15th of March.

Severe illness of Henry.

Went on Wednesday of Holy Week to the King of England, who was at Richmond. Found him still confined to his room. The King has had a very severe illness. The quinsy had prevented him for six days from eating and drinking. His life was despaired of. Though the King was now better, he still saw very few persons. As soon, however, as the King heard that he wished to see him, orders were given to introduce him into the royal chamber. Remained rather more than two hours with Henry, and showed and explained to him the despatch which had just been deciphered.

His joy at the news received from Spain.

The King rejoiced much at the news contained in the despatch; but as, during Holy Week, no business could be transacted, he asked him to return on Easter Monday. Went on that day to Richmond, and remained there eight days, daily conferring with the King in private. Only on rare occasions a few members of the Privy Council were admitted to their conferences.

Postponement of the payment of the marriage portion.

Henry was at first very little inclined to consent to the postponement of the payment of the marriage portion; but after long and very unpleasant conversations, he was at last persuaded to do so, and wrote the enclosed letter.* Did not content himself with this letter, but asked King Henry to write another letter to the Princess of Wales, and to repeat in it all the essential parts of his statements. He promised to do so. All the statements made by the King of England with respect to the marriage of the Prince of Wales are strictly true. If that be doubted, the King of France may be asked. It has been impossible to induce the King of England to postpone the day of payment to a later date than the Feast of the Archangel Michael, that is to say, for five months and a half.

Henry has the reputation of being very rich.

The plate of gold and silver will be accepted by King Henry at the price at which it is valued in the account, but the jewels and ornaments only for much less. The reason thereof is the following. Henry VII. has the reputation of possessing immense riches. Both the Kings of Naples, Alfonse and his son Ferdinand, and besides them some other Princes, have therefore sent their jewels to the King of England, who has bought them very cheaply.† Henry, in such circumstances, will not accept any jewels, except at such a price as he could get for them if he sold them in London. He is fully justified in doing so by the treaty which Ferdnand, Duke de Estrada, has concluded.

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* The letter of the 12th of April.

† The cipher contained in this paragraph is left undeciphered by Almazan. The deciphering of it is by the editor.

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Begs King Ferdinand not to value too highly the jewels which are to be given in payment of the marriage portion of the Princess. If he were to do so, Henry would resent it very much. But it could perhaps be arranged that he should reserve to himself the right to take the jewels back within the first year if he paid the money for which they had been accepted. Begs the King of England and the Princess of Wales may not be told that this proposal comes from him.

Marriage of the Queen of Castile.

As to the marriage of the Queen of Castile, the King of England and the few counsellors who are initiated in the matter approve fully of his discreet manner of proceeding. There is no King in the world who would make so good a husband to the Queen of Castile as the King of England, whether she be sane or insane. Thinks she would soon recover her reason when wedded to such a husband as Henry. King Ferdinand would at all events be sure to retain the regency of Castile. If the insanity of the Queen should prove incurable, it would perhaps not be inconvenient that she should live in England. The English seem little to mind her insanity, especially since he has assured them that her derangement of mind would not prevent her from bearing children.*

Indifference of the English to her insanity.

The answer of the King of England in this matter is the following:—King Ferdinand intends soon to return to Castile, and wishes to speak with Queen Juana about this marriage. If he write from Castile that the King of England must send an ambassador, the ambassador would be sent without an hour's delay, with sufficient power, not only to conclude the marriage treaty with King Ferdinand, but also to contract the marriage in his name with Queen Juana, *per verba de præsenti*. King Henry says that this arrangement is preferable to any other, because it does not expose him to the danger of his ambassador not being heard by the Queen, or, if heard, of meeting with a refusal.

Conditions for the marriage.

As the conditions of the marriage are to be arranged with the ambassador to be sent to Spain, he has not thought it proper to speak much about them. Has heard only what the English have proposed. If the Queen could be persuaded to come and live in England, the regency of Castile would remain entirely in the hands of King Ferdinand. Out of the revenues of the crown of Castile would be paid, first, the expenses of the government, next the expenses of King Ferdinand, and from the rest a fixed yearly sum to the King of England and the Queen Juana. In case the Queen could not be persuaded to come to England, King Henry would go and stay at first some time in Spain. If these proposals of the King of England were accepted, all the other conditions could be easily settled.

* Portions of this paragraph are left undeciphered in the original. The deciphering is by the editor. The original key to this cipher is extant in the archives of Simoncas.

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The letters which the last courier from Naples has brought to England have produced a very favourable impression. They have induced the King to consent to the postponement of the payment of the marriage portion. Besides, the King had already given orders that ambassadors should go to France; but as soon as he had read the letters, he ordered them to remain in England, and to wait till it were known what King Ferdinand had done in this matter.

Has been very ill, and spent an enormous sum of money. His eldest son has been drowned on his voyage to England. Has already sold all his property in Spain. His salary is only half as great as that of other Spanish ambassadors, whilst his expenses are greater. Begs that money may be sent him. —London, 15th April 1507.

The original in cipher is addressed: "To the very high and powerful Prince, King Ferdinand, &c."

In cipher. Deciphered by Almazan.

Spanish. pp. 9.

15 April. **512.** DE PUEBLA to KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 32.

Has written other letters of the same date, which will leave with Peroto, courier of the Princess of Wales. This small abstract is to be sent through merchants of Lucca.

The payment of the marriage portion is postponed till the Feast of the Archangel St. Michael.

With respect to CCCCXXIII (the marriage) of DCCCL XXVIII (the Queen of Castile) CCCCLXXXVIII (with) DCCCLXXXVII (the King of England), King Henry wishes to be informed when King Ferdinand will have returned to Castile in order to DCCCCLXXXIII (send) DCCCCLXXVIIII (an embassy).—London, 15th April 1507.

MMCCCXXXI. (DE PUEBLA.)

Addressed: "To the very noble Miguel Perez Almazan, Secretary of State, &c."

The few ciphers contained in this letter are left undeciphered in the original despatch. The deciphering is by the editor. The letter, though addressed to Almazan, is directed to King Ferdinand.

Spanish. pp. 2.

15 April. **513.** KATHARINE, PRINCESS OF WALES, to KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 50.

Treatment of the Princess of Wales.

Has received his letters sent by the courier, who takes this letter back to him. The letters have been the more agreeable to her, as the news contained in them were of so recent date, and have contributed much to appease the fury of the King of England, which was great, before he consented to the postponement of the payment of the marriage portion. Hopes to God that no further postponement will be demanded.

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It would be a service rendered to her if the money were to be paid before the time agreed upon. It would atone for the present default. Begs him to do so, if possible; for the contempt shown to her when the money of her portion did not arrive was great. Does not wish again to undergo such a humiliation. Though submissive, cannot forget that she is the daughter of the King of Spain.

What kind of ambassador ought to be sent to England.

Wishes that the ambassador who is to come to England should be a man who will dare to speak an honest word at the right time. Has, therefore, asked him to send Don Pedro [de Ayala]. Don Pedro is clever, and knows England perfectly well. Whoever knows how to treat the English meets with only half as many difficulties as others who do not know. Either Don Pedro or the Knight Commander of Membrilla,* but not the Duke de Estrada, would be agreeable to her as Spanish ambassador in England. Whoever is sent, ought to be a person of great experience and knowledge. It cannot be doubted that nothing contributes more towards the prosperity or adverse fortune of kingdoms than the sufficiency or incompetence of ambassadors. If that be true with respect to other countries, it is so in a higher degree with respect to England, which is so isolated from the rest of the world that negotiations with the English require particular circumspection. Has been told that the new ambassador will be perfectly instructed about all matters on which he has to treat. Hopes it will be so.

Destitution to which the Princess Katharine is reduced.

Has written in all her former letters, and repeats in this, that her destitution has been and still is so great, and of so long duration, that she has been and still is obliged to sell her plate. Her officers and servants walk about in rags (pedazos) and live in misery. As to her own person, must keep up certain appearances. Is, therefore, obliged to sell her gold and silver, as there are no other resources left to her. Tells him the whole truth, in order that he may know her plate is no longer complete, and will not be accepted as such in the payment of her marriage portion. Begs him to send other plate or money instead of the plate that has been sold. Beseeches him likewise to send her some money for her expenses.

Conduct of her servants.

If it be true that the services which she receives are services rendered to him, he ought to heap favours on all her servants and officers. They have lived, ever since they have been in England, in privation and misery; but they have not complained to her, and have attended on her as willingly and as respectfully as though they had been always punctually paid, and had received every day new favours from her. Hopes they will not be forgotten.

Is so glad to think he will soon return to Castile, that she forgets the fatigues of his journey. Wishes he would take

* Gutier Gomez de Fuensalida, Knight commander of Haro and afterwards of Membrilla.

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upon himself the sole government of Castile without sharing it with Queen Juana. That would be an advantage to Spain and to herself, as he would be more able to succour her.

Her confessor.

Is already provided with a very competent confessor. Has written to the General of the Franciscan Observant Friars, and told him that some well instructed Spanish friars are much wanted in England. Begs they may be sent.

Has told the King of England his answer with respect to the Queen of Castile. Would like to be able to write in cipher. Has succeeded in deciphering his letters, but does not dare to make use of cipher in her writing, and much less to confide the ciphering of her letter to any other person. Writes, therefore, in plain Castilian. The King of England values his good intentions very highly, but does not like to send an embassy before he is certain of success; for, he says, it would reflect dishonour on his character if his offer were to be rejected. Does not think so. But, however that may be, the King of England is prepared to send an embassy as soon as he shall be desired by him to do so. The ambassador of King Henry, if he go, will take a treaty ready for signature, all the clauses of which are to be to his perfect satisfaction.

Henry's desire that a speedy decision should be taken respecting his marriage with Queen Juana.

King Henry urges very much that a definite conclusion should be soon taken in this matter. The Duchess of Savoy*, he says, has already arrived in Flanders, and is waiting for him there. If his marriage with Queen Juana could be settled, he would give up the Duchess of Savoy; but if not, he would be very sorry to lose so good a match as that with the Duchess certainly is. Will keep this matter very secret.

Conduct pursued by the Princess Katharine.

Thanks him for his advice to conduct herself as though there were no possibility "to undo what has been done." Has always conducted herself in such a manner, and behaved with great watchfulness. Asked Doctor De Puebla, only a few days ago, to tell the King that she resented her treatment very much, though she concealed her feelings. The thing of which she most complained was the cruelty of permitting her so seldom to see the Prince of Wales, although he lived in the same house with her. Had not seen him for the last four months. De Puebla has told her that he had spoken with the King on the subject, who answered that he acted so from consideration for herself, hoping to induce the King her father by that means sooner to send her marriage portion. Has suffered martyrdom, and is ready to suffer more if he orders it; but begs him to release her from her humiliating position as soon as possible. Had told De Puebla to write the truth on this subject, and not to "sugar it over," as he generally does. —Richmond, 15th April.

Cruelty of not allowing her to see the Prince of Wales.

Addressed: "To the very high and powerful Lord the King my master."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 7.

* Princess Margaret of Austria.

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15 April. **514.** KATHARINE, PRINCESS OF WALES, to KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 51.

Opinion of Henry respecting the marriage treaty.

The King of England has told her very positively that he no longer regards himself and the Prince of Wales as bound by the marriage treaty, because the marriage portion has not been paid. Asked De Puebla whether the King of England was entitled by law to renounce her marriage with the Prince of Wales. De Puebla said he was. Begged her confessor to tell her his opinion on this matter. The confessor said that if a marriage treaty were concluded conditionally, and the conditions not fulfilled by one party, the other party should renounce the whole treaty.

Has written on this subject already in cipher, but is afraid that her ciphered letter might, perhaps, not be understood. Writes, therefore, again, and begs him not to forget that the whole marriage will come to nothing if the marriage portion be not punctually paid on the day fixed.—Richmond, 15th April 1507.

Addressed: "To the very high and powerful Prince, the King, my Lord."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 1½.

15 April. **515.** KATHARINE, PRINCESS OF WALES, to KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 47.

Inability of the Princess Katharine to pay her courier.

The courier Perote arrived in London on Palm Sunday, 28th of March. Has detained him so long, because it has been impossible to despatch him sooner. He will leave Richmond on the evening of the 15th of April. Has paid him for his journey only fifteen nobles, because there was no more money to be had. Has recommended him to travel as quick on his return as he has travelled on his journey to England. He has been unable to promise it, because the sum of money given to him has been insufficient. Begs that the rest of his expenses and wages may be paid him.—Richmond, 15th April 1507.

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

15 April. **516.** KATHARINE, PRINCESS OF WALES, to ALMAZAN.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 49.

Thanks him for his letter. Receives few letters from the King her father which give her so much satisfaction as his. Has deciphered the last despatches without any assistance. Wishes she were able to write in cipher. Contending with a thousand necessities at once, has not been able to pay the courier all his expenses. Begs him to do it when the courier shall have arrived.

The servant of the King of England, who has been sent to the King her father, may be trusted.—Richmond, 15th April.

Indorsed in the hand of Almazan: "To me, from the Princess of Wales, 15th April 1507."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 1½.

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15 April. **517.** JOHANNES, LICENTIATE AND PHYSICIAN OF THE PRINCESS OF WALES, to KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 9.

Health of the Princess of Wales.

The health of the Princess of Wales has much improved. On former occasions the improvements have been more in appearance than in reality. But this time she may be declared to have entirely recovered from the long malady from which she has suffered ever since her arrival in England. She has regained her natural healthy colour.

The only pains from which she now suffers are moral afflictions beyond the reach of the physician. Her only hope is in his royal and paternal solicitude.

Does not speak of his own personal suffering. Waits, as all the other servants of the Princess do, patiently for his relief. —Richmond, 15th April 1507.

Addressed : "To the very high and powerful Prince the King of Spain, &c. our Lord."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

11 May. **518.** HENRY VII.

Pat. R. 22 Hen. VII. p. 1. m. 8.

Confers the place of Custos, or Master of the Hospital at Shirbourn on his beloved Rodriguez Gundisalvi De Puebla, ambassador of Spain, to hold it during the King's pleasure. —Westminster, 11th May 1507.

Latin. 27 lines.

Printed in Rymer.

15 May. **519.** HENRY VII. to POPE JULIUS II.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 74.

Reasons of the peaceful policy pursued by Henry.

After his accession, by the grace of God, to the Crown of England, has had nothing more at heart than the common peace of Christendom. Has, therefore, concluded treaties of friendship with almost all the Catholic Kings and Princes, and is besides related to all of them by consanguinity or affinity.

Has not adopted his policy of peace because he has been wanting in valour or vigour, in military talent or resources, in soldiers or arms. God be thanked, such has not been the case. But has always been contented with what he possessed, and has never nourished aspirations after conquests, nor even of regaining, by force of arms, such possessions as he is entitled to claim by right. Another cause of his peaceful policy had been that the effusion of Christian blood was repugnant to his very nature. On the other hand, has been always inclined to shed the blood of the enemies of the Catholic Faith, the Turks and other Infidels, in order to avenge all the injuries and cruelties committed by them on Christians, and to reconquer the Holy Sepulchre.

Proposals of Henry for a general war against the Infidels.

Begs the Pope to employ all his great authority in restoring peace to Christendom, a thing which does not seem to be very difficult in this conjuncture. As soon as that shall be effected,

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the united power of all Christian Princes might be directed against the Infidels. Hopes he will invite all Christian Princes to send ambassadors to Rome, where the necessary preparations of the holy expedition would have to be concerted, the chief commander or commanders elected, the number of soldiers and ships, of engines of war, of horses, &c., the place and time of meeting, the country of the Infidels which would have first to be invaded, the time, how long the war ought to last, &c., would have to be fixed.

Begs the Pope to further the project.

Is ready to take part in the war, and to exhort other Christian Princes to do the same. There never has been so good an opportunity of making war upon the Infidels as at present, as the Pope is wise and strong in body and mind, and the Kings and Princes are disposed to obey him. The Holy Father will earn eternal glory if he avenge the humiliations of centuries on the detestable Infidels.

Hopes to receive soon a letter from the Holy Father, informing him of the time when he ought to send his ambassador.—Greenwich, 15th May 1507.

Latin. Copy. pp. 8.

19 May. 520. KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN to DE PUEBLA.

B. M. MS. Vitel. C. XI. f. 53.

Has received his letters, and those of the King of England, dated the 15th of April. Is very glad to hear such good tidings of Henry, and requests him to continue to write respecting the health of the King.

Postponement of the payment of the marriage portion of Princess Katharine.

Thanks the King for having granted a fresh postponement for the payment of the marriage portion of the Princess of Wales. Promises to send the money as soon as he arrives in Castile without waiting for the expiration of the term granted for the payment. Intends to write more at length by the person who will convey the money to England, and will therefore say nothing further at present.

[A paragraph follows, which begins "In respect to the marriage of the King of England, my brother," but it is not continued.]

Encloses a letter for the King of England in answer to the one he had received from him. Sends likewise the revised credentials for the Princess of Wales, to enable her to act in his [King Ferdinand's] name. He must therefore communicate to her the contents of the letters sent to him, while she, on her part, will communicate to him those which she has received.—19th May 1507.

Signed only by Almazan.

Addressed: "To Doctor De Puebla, his Counsellor and Ambassador."

Printed in Gairdner's Memorials, p. 424.

Spanish. Copy. pp. 2.

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19 May. **521.** KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN to HENRY VII.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 99.

Has received his three letters of the 12th of April, and the letters of the Princess of Wales and of De Puebla. Thanks him for the postponement of the payment of the marriage portion. Is preparing for his return from Naples to Spain, and promises to send the money as soon as he shall have arrived in Castile.

Concerning the other business, has written much in detail to the Princess of Wales and to De Puebla, who will make communications to him.

Indorsed: "With Melchior. Draft of the letter to the King of England. Naples, 19th May 1507."

Spanish. Draft. pp. 2.

19 May. **522.** KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 98.

Has received his letters brought by Melchior. Is pleased that he has communicated to him the good news concerning the King of England.

Opinion of Ferdinand respecting the proposed marriage between Henry and Queen Juana.

Does not yet know whether the Queen of Castile can be persuaded to marry at all; but if she marries, her husband shall be the King of England, and no other person. The conditions which the King of England offers are as favourable as possible. Besides, the said King is a Prince of great virtue and experience. It would be a consolation to him at his hour of death to know that his daughter, his grandchildren, and his kingdoms would remain under the protection and guidance of such a man as King Henry. The only reason why his reply to the King of England is not a definite answer, is, because it is necessary first to speak with the Queen of Castile.

Marriage of the Prince of Wales.

Is astonished to hear what the ambassador of the King of France has told the King of England respecting the marriage of the Prince of Wales, and the title to the Crown of Castile. The King of France has written to him, and promised not to make any communications to King Henry with regard to the said marriage, without his consent, because it would be a bad service to undo the marriage of his daughter.

Title to the Crown of Castile.

As to the title to the Crown of Castile, has never written nor even thought such a thing as the French ambassador has said. Hopes that the King of England is animated by the same sentiments towards him as he harbours towards the King of England, and that Henry will aid him in this business of the marriage of the Princess of Wales, and in all other affairs, whatever Prince they might regard. Love engenders love. If the King of England favour him, he will still more favour the King of England with respect to his marriage with the Queen of Castile, and in all other things. If De Puebla persuade the King of England to remain true to him (Ferdinand) he will render a service to Henry himself.

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Wishes to receive a letter signed by Henry, and containing his consent to the postponement of the payment of the marriage portion.

Contained under the cover which bears the indorsement: "*Drafts of letters for England. Naples, 19th May* 1507."

Spanish. Draft. pp. 3.

8 June (?) **523.** KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 100.

Has received his letters and the letters of the King of England of the 15th of April. Rejoices very much that the health of the King is so good, and his affairs so prosperous. Orders him constantly to write news concerning his most beloved brother of England, because there is no other Prince in the world who is so much gratified in hearing good news of King Henry. His mind is never quiet when he has not heard for some time of the King of England.

Thanks for the postponement of the payment of the marriage portion.

Orders him to thank the King of England for the postponement of the payment of the marriage portion. His first business after his return to Castile shall be to send the marriage portion. The person who is to bring it to England will write more on this subject.

(*Marginal note.*) — Almazan says, Cipher.

Queen of Castile.

Thinks the King of England is right not to send an embassy to the Queen of Castile before his return. Could the business have been arranged during his absence, it would already have been done. But if any other person were first to speak to the Queen of Castile about her marriage, the whole affair would be thrown into confusion. Will do his utmost to persuade the Queen of Castile to marry the King of England. He may rest sure that, if the Queen marries, her husband will be no other Prince than King Henry. Loves Henry like a brother; and, besides, the conditions which he offers are very advantageous to himself, to the Queen, to his grand-children, and to Spain.

Encloses in this letter a letter to the King of England which is to serve at the same time as credentials for the Princess of Wales, and for him.—No date.*

On the margin Almazan says, "*Fiat.*"

Spanish. Draft. pp. 3.

8 June (?) **524.** KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN to KATHARINE, PRINCESS OF WALES.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 101.

This letter is to be put in cipher.

Opinion and advice of Ferdinand respecting the marriage of Queen Juana.

Has read what she said to the King of England respecting his marriage with the Queen of Castile, her sister, and what the King of England has answered. Is of the same opinion with the King of England, that he ought not to send, at present, an ambassador to the Queen of Castile,

* It seems that this is the draft of the letter written at Gaeta on the 8th of June, and mentioned in the despatch of King Ferdinand to De Puebla, of the 20th July 1507.

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but to wait till he (Ferdinand) has returned and ascertained her inclination in this respect. If she have a liking for the marriage, it shall be done. Could the affair have been arranged during his absence, would already have taken a course to know her will, and to be able to give a definite answer. But the whole matter would be endangered if it were broached by any other person than himself.

Sentiments entertained by Ferdinand towards Henry.

King Henry may rest sure that he (Ferdinand) will do all in his power to secure this marriage. If the Queen of Castile is to marry, she shall marry no other person than the King of England, who is so distinguished by his virtues. No other Prince would offer the same advantages. Would live and die in peace if he knew that his daughter, his grand-children, and his kingdoms were under the protection of Henry VII. King Philip has been his enemy, but King Henry would be his loving son. Has a firm desire to show his fondness for the King of England, not only in words, but also by deeds.—No date.*

Spanish. Draft. pp. $2\frac{1}{2}$.

8 July. **525.** POPE JULIUS II. to HENRY VII.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 69.

Opinion of Pope Julius respecting the proposal of Henry.

Has received his letter, in which he speaks of his peaceful policy, of his relationship with the greatest part of the Christian Princes, and of his proposal to convoke ambassadors from all Christian Princes to Rome in order to concert the necessary measures for a general war against the Infidels. This letter has been so agreeable to him that he has not only perused it at least ten times, but has also judged it appropriate to have it read in a Secret Consistory. All the Cardinals have praised his virtue and piety.

Policy of peace pursued by him.

His exhortation, however, was not necessary. Being the Head of Christendom, it has always seemed to him a duty of his exalted station to promote peace among the Catholic Princes, and to unite them in a common war against the enemies of Christ. It is his doing that the King of the Romans has made peace with King Lewis of France, and it is likewise owing to him that King Ferdinand has been reconciled to the same King Lewis and has become his kinsman. When a new rupture of the King of the Romans with the King of France took place, sent Constantine, Prince of Macedonia, to the King of the Romans for no other purpose than to reconcile him to the King of France. Has granted titles to all such Princes as were inclined to assist the Poles against the Turks, and has done all in his power to succour Ferdinand the Catholic, and the King of Portugal in their undertakings against the Infidels.

Has little or no hope, however, that the convocation of ambassadors in Rome would be attended by any result. His pre-

* It seems that this is the letter which King Ferdinand mentions in his despatch of the 20th of July to De Puebla, as having been sent from Gaeta on the 8th of June.

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Result of the former congress of ambassadors assembled to concert a war against the Infidels.

decessors, and especially Pope Innocent VIII., has often called a congress of ambassadors. The conjuncture was then very propitious, as Zizimus, the brother of the tyrant Bajazet, was living at the Apostolic Court, and was most popular in the Turkish army. The ambassadors assembled in Rome, held a great many conferences, and concerted the number of soldiers to be sent; but had been unable to come to a decision respecting the chief command of the Christian army, and the places which were first to be attacked. They went home for new instructions from their Princes, and nothing more had been heard of them. If such has been the result of the former congress of ambassadors, what can now be expected, as the power of the Turks has since much increased, and that of the Christians somewhat diminished?

The Pope and the Cardinals ready to take part in another war.

Notwithstanding the little hope he has, will not cease to exhort the Christian Princes to undertake a common war against the Infidels. Accepts his offer to assist him in this holy work. The Pope and all the Cardinals are ready, not only to sacrifice their goods and fortunes, but also to take part in the war, and to shed their blood for the Faith of Christ. Promises to inform him of the result of his exhortation.—Rome, in the Palace of St. Peter, 8th July 1507.

Indorsed in Spanish: "Brief of the Pope to the King of England, of the 8th of July 1507."

Latin copy, written in an English hand. pp. 8.

17 July. **526.** PRINCESS OF WALES to KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN.

B. M. Eg. MS. 616. f. 19.

Has given the letter of credence to the King of England, and explained to him the cipher. The King expressed himself much gratified, and said he would send his ambassador as soon as the King of Arragon had arrived in Castile, and saw the disposition that was there as regarded the business, holding it for certain that no embarrassments would cause the affair to be obstructed. Has learnt by way of France, and also Spain, that the King of France endeavours to procure a marriage between the Queen of Castile and the Count de Foix, which would cause much discord. Does not say this by way of warning or advice, but as a matter in which she is personally interested. Supplicates him to use all diligence in the negotiation she has spoken of, because, as regards the King of England, great haste is made about marriage, for him. He holds himself, however, in suspense, hoping for the determination and answer which he expects from his Highness. —Greenwich, 17th July 1507.

Reported marriage of Queen Juana to the Count de Foix.

Addressed: "To the very high and very powerful Lord, my Lord."

Indorsed by Almazan: "To his Highness, from the Princess of Wales, 17*th July* 1507."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

A translation printed in Wood's Letters of Royal Ladies.

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18 July. **527.** PRINCESS OF WALES to KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN.

B. M.
Eg. MS. 6[1]6. f. 21.

Proposed marriage between Queen Juana and the Count de Foix.

Has received his letters; and so much have his ciphers availed her, that through them she has passed three or four days in such spirits as were unearthly. Has given the letter of credence to the King of England. [She then repeats what she had said in her letter of the 17th July, touching the words spoken by the King of England and the proposed marriage between the Queen of Castile and the Count de Foix.] Hopes he will not so act as that the marriage will take place. If he entertain it, in order by means of it to bring her own marriage to a conclusion, need not do it, as she thinks her affairs will now be amended. Begs that the ambassador who is coming may be a person of authority and rank, for he will have more to do than she can tell. The English are different from any people in the world, and very dilatory in negotiating. Thinks he would not credit what she could say of the state of affairs. If he did, he would be frightened at what she had passed through for want of a person devoted to his service. The reason why she has been thus treated is because he cannot at present fulfil what has been agreed upon. Hopes he will find a speedy remedy for all. The King of England was much rejoiced concerning the coming of the marriage portion, and had commended her diligence in writing. Is glad to let the King of England know what he commands her. Begs he will so act as that she may be favoured by him, since it is in his power to alter the state of things.

Reasons of the treatment of Princess Katharine by Henry.

The minute she sent in the packet of the King of England's was the writing she had shown to him as being the meaning of what she had said about him. Was obliged to send it, as he might have had it shown to him. The King of England had desired her to say that if the marriage with the Count de Foix were to take place, Spain would come, in process of time, to be joined with France.—Greenwich, 18th July.

Reported marriage of Queen Juana.

Addressed: "To the very high and very powerful Lord, the King, my Lord."
Indorsed by Almazan: "From Her Highness the Princess of Wales, 18th July."
Spanish. Holograph. pp. 6½.
A translation printed in Wood's Letters of Royal Ladies.

20 July. **528.** KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN to DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 108.

Departure of Ferdinand from Naples.

Has received his letters and the letters of the Princess of Wales and the King of England, which were brought by Melchior de Astudillo. Has answered them by the same courier from Naples. Left Naples on the 4th June. Has been obliged by stress of weather to enter the port of Gaeta, whence Cavallos was despatched with letters to the King of England, the Princess of Wales, and him.

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His interview with the French ambassador.

The voyage has been slow, because contrary winds obliged him often to seek shelter in ports, and his fleet went under sail only on days on which the sea was not dangerous. Has seen the King of France at Savona. Has spoken with him much of the King of England, and each of them has vowed to one another to remain always his true brother and friend. Another subject of his conversation with the King of France has been a common war against the Infidels. Has been the more inclined to undertake it, as it is known that the King of England has written a letter to the Pope, which has been read in the College of Cardinals, and in which he has urged a crusade against the enemies of Christ.

Entered in the harbour of Cadaques, a small sea-port of Catalonia, on Sunday, the 11th of July. Did not land, because the pestilence had been in Catalonia a short time ago. Proceeded by sea to Valencia, where he has just landed, being the 20th of July. Has received good news from the Queen of Castile, his daughter.

His arrival at Valencia.

The other portion of his fleet has entered in the harbour of Valencia, on the 19th of July. No accident has happened during the whole voyage.—Valencia, 20th of July 1507.

Addressed: "By the King. To the Doctor De Puebla, his ambassador in England."

Spanish. Draft. pp. 3.

20 July. **529.** KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN to DE PUEBLA.

B. M. MS. Vitell. C. XI. f. 51.

Reasons why the payment of the marriage portion had not yet been made.

Has written in another letter, which is despatched by the same courier that takes this, respecting all that has happened during his voyage. He already knows that before his departure from Naples the King of England had permitted him to put off the payment of the Princess of Wales' portion for six months longer; which period would expire in the month of September. Had expected to reach Castile in time to send the money, but has been so much occupied that it has not been possible for him to leave Naples sooner. Wind and weather had also prevented him from setting out on his journey. Owing to the pressure of business will not be able to leave Valencia till the 20th of August, and by the time he arrives at Castile the period appointed for sending the money to England will have expired. But the King will see it has not been his fault that he has not been able to send the money within the time appointed, having always said he could not despatch it till he had joined the Queen, his daughter, in Castile. As he expects, however, to be with her, at the latest, in the month of September, he will then immediately see that the money be sent. He is to entreat the King that he will grant a further delay of, at least, six months. Will not, however, wait until the end of that time to send the money, but will despatch it imme-

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diately after his joining the Queen, his daughter.—Valencia, 20th July 1507.

Printed in Gairdner's Memorials.

Spanish. Copy. 2½ pages of print.

20 July. **530.** KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN to DE PUEBLA.

P. R. O. Contemporary English translation of the same letter.

4 Aug. **531.** POPE JULIUS II. to HENRY VII.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 58.

Measures taken by Pope Julius II. to reconcile the King of France and the King of the Romans.

The King of the Romans and the King of France are again at war with one another, and it is to be feared that great disasters will be the consequence of their enmity. Has, therefore, sent Bernard, Cardinal of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem, and Patriarch of that city, as an angel of peace to the King of the Romans, with the commission to reconcile the said two Kings, and to persuade them to send their armies against the Infidels.

Begs him to assist the Patriarch of Jerusalem in his work of peace, and to exhort both the King of the Romans and the King of France to turn their arms against the Turks. Repeats his assurance that he, as well as the cardinals, is ready to shed his blood for so holy a cause.--Rome, in the Palace of St. Peter, 4th of August 1507.

Indorsed in the hand of Almazan: "Brief of the Pope to the King of England, 4th August 1507."

Latin. Copy. pp. 3.

8 Aug. **532.** KATHARINE, PRINCESS OF WALES, to KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 53.

Her joy on receiving his last letter, brought by Cavallos, was doubled by the circumstance that it was written on his voyage to Spain. Hopes he will safely arrive, and thinks that his presence in Spain will prove advantageous to the whole of Christendom.

Sufferings of the Princess Katharine.

Thanks him for the money he has sent her. It was not necessary to apologize for the smallness of the gift, because there can be no doubt that he would have sent more, if it had been possible for him to do so. No woman, of whatever station in life, can have suffered more than she has. None of the promises made to her on the occasion of her marriage have been kept. Repeats once more that which has formed the principal part of all her letters, namely, the necessity to send a suitable ambassador with sufficient means of subsistence. The circumstance that the former ambassadors were not properly provided for, has been the chief cause of all her sufferings. Whatever he might do for her would be of little avail in a country like England, without an ambassador adequate to perform his duties. Has never told him the

Necessity of sending a suitable ambassador to England.

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whole extent of her misery. Has been treated worse in England than any other woman.

Destitution of the servants of the PrincessKatharine.

Respecting the other business of the King of England has already answered in a long letter, and the same has been done by King Henry himself. It is, therefore, not necessary to repeat it. But must once more beseech him not to forsake her servants, and especially her women. Has not more than five women in her service. They have never received the smallest sum of money since they were in England, and have spent all that they possessed. Cannot think of them without pangs of conscience. No money could pay their services and sacrifices, which have continued during six years.

Has been unable to pay a single penny to the courier who takes this letter. Begs that a place in the royal household may be found for him.—8th August.

Addressed: "To the very high and very powerful King, my Lord."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 4.

533. KATHARINE, PRINCESS OF WALES, to ALMAZAN, FIRST SECRETARY OF STATE.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 52.

Has received his letter sent by Cavallos, courier. Is extremely glad to see that it was written on board the galley; for, next to the health of the King her father, she wishes for nothing more ardently than his return to Spain.

The Princess Katharine accepts the offer of Almazan to be her protector.

Is thankful for the gift forwarded to her by order of the King. Is fully persuaded that it has been impossible to send more at present. Accepts his offer to be her protector in future, and begs him to remind the King of Spain very often of her and her servants' misery. Above all something must be done for her women.

Has been unable to pay even the smallest sum of money to the courier who takes this letter. Begs that some employment may be given him in the household of the King.—8th August.

*Addressed: "To Miguel Perez . . . . . zan, Secretary . . . . . my lord and of . . . . . ."**

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

15 Aug. **534.** KATHARINE, PRINCESS OF WALES, to KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 54.

Joy of the Princess Katharine on hearing of the arrival of Ferdinand in Spain.

After the other letter which went by the courier had been written, his messenger, who had been despatched from Valencia, arrived. Nothing in the world could have given her greater joy than to hear of his arrival in Spain. Was in great want of such comfort, especially since it had become known that her marriage portion would not be paid at the convened

* Paper gone.

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time of the Feast of St. Michael. The reasons of this new delay are so just and so weighty, that even the King of England will most likely be satisfied.

Is unable to tell how the King of England has received his demand to consent to a new delay of the payment. Lives at present at a great distance from him. Even De Puebla, who is in London dangerously ill, has not yet seen the King. He promises to do what he can. Has sent the courier to the King, and added a very loving letter of hers to the letter of De Puebla. Has, however, not mentioned the delay of the payment. Expects to see the King in a fortnight at Woodstock. De Puebla intends likewise to go to that place, and there to settle the affair. When her marriage portion is sent to England, it must be in such a way that no new difficulties can arise about it.

Way in which the marriage portion must be sent to England.

Is already provided with a suitable confessor.—Ewelme, 15th August.

*Addressed: "To the very high *. . . . . the King."*

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

27 Aug. **535.** HENRY VII. to KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 75.

Has received with great joy his letter from Naples, dated 19th of May.

Is very glad that he has accepted so well the answer which he had given to the Princess of Wales and De Puebla about the matter respecting which they had spoken to him.

Hopes he will, as soon as he arrives in Castile, confer with the persons concerned in the other business, that is to say, the increase of friendship and relationship between them. Wishes very much to see this affair brought to a satisfactory end, and is ready to send an embassy with full power to conclude all that is necessary.

Secret matter communicated to Henry respecting the King of Navarre.

Has heard some secret matter touching the King of Navarre, and communicated it to the Princess of Wales and De Puebla, who, no doubt, will inform him of it.—Woodstock, 27th August 1507.

Addressed: "To the most serene and mighty Prince, Ferdinand, by the grace of God, King of Arragon, Sicily, Jerusalem, &c."

Latin. pp. 4.

27 Aug. **536.** HENRY VII. to KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 55.

He may communicate all matters pending between them to John Stile, who will write thence to England.

The original letter is no longer extant. This extract is made by Almazan.

* Paper gone.

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3 Sept. **537.** HENRY VII. to KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 55.

Congratulates him on his happy return to Spain, and thanks him for having written as soon as he arrived at Valencia. Wishes to hear very often from him.

Henry consents to a postponement of the payment of the dower.

Has heard what De Puebla has said respecting the postponement of the payment of the dower. Consents to a new postponement of the payment for six months.

His ambassadors are ready to set out for Spain as soon as the will and intentions of King Ferdinand in the other matter shall be known.

Begs he may be informed of all that concerns the King of Arragon, and is ready to lend him any assistance in his power.

The letter is not extant. The extract of it is made by Almazan.

3 Sept. **538.** HENRY VII. to ALMAZAN.

B. M. Egerton MS. 616. f. 30.

Has received the letter of King Ferdinand, dated Valencia, the 20th July. It would be impossible to express the joy it has given him, reputing, as he did, all the successes of Ferdinand as his own. Is rejoiced to hear of his prosperous voyage and of his arrival in his own dominions. Commends the diligence shown by Almazan in writing to him, and thereby showing his desire to gratify him. Begs he will always persevere in the like good mind towards him. Is writing to Ferdinand in reply to the matter shown him by De Puebla. Desires him to inform the King that he will satisfy him, in so far as he is able, in all things.—Woodstock, 3rd September, 1507.

Addressed: "To the noble and excellent Miguel Almazan, Secretary to the King of Arragon, &c."

Indorsed by Almazan: "To me, from the King of England, 3rd September 1507."

Latin. p. 1. *Printed in Gairdner's Letters and Papers, I.,* 338.

6th Sept. **539.** ALONSO DE ESQUIVEL to ALMAZAN.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 7.

Necessity to which the servants of the Princess of Wales are brought.

Would not mention his great necessity if there were any other means to remedy it. Begs him to remind the King in what poverty the servants of the Princess of Wales live. Thinks he has a right to ask at least his salary. Is obliged to sell his clothes.

Has seen the Princess of Wales only three times since Doña Elvira has left her. Doña went away in a "horrible hour." But such things are better suited for conversation than for letters.

On the 30th of August Don Diego de Guevara arrived as ambassador from Madame de Savoy*, and from the estates

* Margaret of Austria.

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of Flanders. He asked assistance against the King of France, who threatens to conquer Burgundy.

An ambassador from the King of France has likewise arrived. The subject of his mission is, however, not known. —Woodstock, 6th September 1507.

P.S.—Don Diego de Guevara left on Saturday, the 4th of September.

Addressed: "To the very noble Lord, Miguel Perez Almazan, Secretary of the King our Lord, and Knight Commander of Valdericote."

Indorsed: "To me, from the Knight Commander Esquivel, 6th September 1507."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 5.

Sept. **540.** ALONSO DE ESQUIVEL to ALMAZAN.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 8.

Arrival of an ambassador from Madame de Savoy.

Don Diego de Guevara has come to Henry VII. as ambassador from Madame de Savoy and the Estates of Flanders. He has remained four days at Court, and left on Saturday, 4th of September. Some say that he came to ask succour from Henry against France; others, however, pretend that he came to negotiate a marriage between the King of England and Madame de Savoy.

The ambassador of the King of France has left on the 6th of September.

Has received some money from his family; but if he pays his creditors, no more than fifteen ducats will remain to him. —No date.

Inclosed in the letter of the 6th of September 1507.
Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

7 Sept. **541.** KATHARINE, PRINCESS OF WALES, to KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 57.

This letter has been much delayed, because the King of England goes from one hunting place to another, and remains nowhere time enough to despatch business. At last he stayed some time at Woodstock. De Puebla is so ill that he is obliged to be carried in a litter from his house to the palace.

Reasons why Henry had consented to the postponement of the payment of the dower.

The King of England has given a favourable answer, and consented to the postponement of the payment of the marriage portion, in the manner asked from him. He loses nothing, however, by it; on the contrary, he is the gainer under the present circumstances. He says that as long as the marriage portion is not paid, he does not think himself and the Prince bound by the marriage contract. Hers is always the worst part. The King of England prides himself very much on his magnanimity in waiting so long for this payment. Because he knows that the accomplishment of his wishes depends on her father, his words are kind, but his deeds are as bad as ever.

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Bad opinion entertained of De Puebla by the Princess of Wales.

De Puebla often speaks to her about the good intentions of the King of England. Answers him, on such occasions, that she cannot understand who prevents the King from executing his intentions except it be De Puebla himself. Begs him not to believe what De Puebla writes, if it is not in accordance with her own letters. "De Puebla is more a vassal of the King of "England than a servant of your Highness." He must praise what he has commanded. As long as there is not another ambassador in England he must believe nothing except what she writes. Begs another ambassador, who possesses the qualities which are mentioned in her former letters, may soon be sent.

Begs him to deliver her from her painful situation. Has been in the greatest difficulties, especially since she has received the 2,000 ducats from him. Did not know whom to pay first. Has recovered the plate which was pledged, and paid some small debts. Nothing remains for her servants and women. Begs he will send her more money. From the King of England she receives nothing.

Impatience of Henry respecting his marriage with Queen Juana.

The King of England is very impatient to have an answer respecting his intended marriage. It is most inconvenient to him to wait, because he has other marriages in view. The King of England says he fears that the affair will be much protracted, and the answer of the Queen of Castile unfavourable. Tells him that he must be patient; the King her father has scarcely arrived in Spain, and such a delicate business as this cannot be hurried.

Cardinal Ximenes.

The King of England asked her to write to the Cardinal,* and ask his services in this matter. Answered the King of England she had received such strict orders to keep the whole business secret, that she did not dare to speak about it, even to the Cardinal. Proposed, however, to write to the Cardinal a letter, and to recommend to him in general terms a business which King Ferdinand would communicate to him. The King of England was quite satisfied with this expedient. The letter to the Cardinal is enclosed. Has written it only to please the King. If the Cardinal is not a very trusty servant it would be best to destroy the letter.

He and Almazan will laugh at her writing in cipher. Took heart to write in cipher, because she does not dare to write the truth in plain writing, as this letter will go by a courier of De Puebla.—Woodstock, 7th of September.

Indorsed by Almazan: "From the Princess of Wales, 7th September 1507."

Written in cipher. The deciphering is by Almazan.

Spanish. pp. 5.

* Francisco Ximenes Cisneros, Cardinal and Archbishop of Toledo.

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7 Sept.
S. E. T. c. I.
L. 5. f. 56.

42. KATHARINE, PRINCESS OF WALES, to ALMAZAN.

Has written a letter in cipher. Did not dare to entrust any other person with the ciphering. He will find great difficulties in deciphering the letter, and will be obliged rather to guess, than to use the key.

Begs him not to forget what she has written to him in her former letters.—Woodstock, 7th of September.

Addressed: "To Miguel Perez de Almazan, Secretary."
Indorsed by Almazan: "7th September 1507."
Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

7 Sept.
S. E. T. c. I.
L. 5. f. 33.
King Henry at Woodstock.

543. DE PUEBLA to KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN.

Has received his letter, dated Valencia, the 22nd of July.

When that letter arrived, the King of England was hunting in the country, going from forest to forest, and from one mountain to another. He did not remain a single day quiet in the same place. It was therefore necessary to send a messenger, and ask him where he wished to hear the news that had come from Spain. The King sent back a reply without delay, saying that he would be, on the *26th of July, at Woodstock, and remain there in order to despatch business.

Made the necessary preparations for going to Woodstock, for which purpose it was necessary to buy two more horses and harness. A new outfit for himself and his servants was the more wanted, as the King of England was accompanied by ambassadors from the Pope, the King of the Romans, the King of France, from Flanders, Denmark, and Scotland.

De Puebla's audience of the King.

Arrived on the 26th of July at Woodstock. Had, on the next day, an audience of the King, which lasted two hours and a half, or three hours. The King said he must consult with his council before giving an answer. Spoke to the King on the following days, and gave him such convincing reasons, that he determined, on the fourth day, to do all he was asked.

The payment of the dower postponed.

King Henry has written a letter by which he consents to the postponement of the payment for six months. During this time bills of exchange ought to be sent from Spain to London. There are merchants in Spain, each of whom possesses sufficient credit in London for a bill of exchange of any one of them for the whole sum of the marriage portion to be accepted in London.

Marriage of the Princess of Wales.

As soon as the money is paid, the marriage of the Princess of Wales with the Prince of Wales will be con-

* *Sic* in the original. It must be an error, and the 26th of August meant.

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tracted *per verba de præsenti*, and a few days afterwards the wedding will take place.

De Puebla wants money.

Is the most trustworthy servant the King of Spain has. Has not accepted a rich wife and a bishopric, only because he has been afraid of doing something that might have been disagreeable to his masters. Rendered the most signal services on the occasion of the presence of King Philip in England, and did even more than he is permitted to say. Has spent all his property in the service of the King, and begs, therefore, at least that his salary may be paid. It has remained unpaid ever since the death of Queen Isabella. His last illness has cost him incredible sums of money. No one in Spain would believe him if he were to tell how expensive physicians and chemists are in England.

The merchants who could give bills of exchange are, Francisco de Negro, a Florentine, Augustin de Grimaldi, Augustin de Bivaldi, Augustin the Italian, brother of Pantaleon. Each of them has an agent in London.

(*The following paragraphs are written in cipher.*)

Marriage of King Henry with the Queen of Castile.

As for the marriage of the King of England with the daughter of your Highness, the will and determination of the King of England is, that if your Highness can offer him the said marriage, he on his part will make greater concessions than can be reasonably expected. I therefore beseech your Highness to write, without delay, your resolutions much in detail. I *hope to be able to render great services, and think it is right that your Highness should know the wish and will of the King of England. He wishes to remain in England after the marriage, and to receive a certain sum of money to be paid every year out of the revenues of Castile. He would be satisfied with as much as your Highness offered to the son of the King of the Romans.† Such is his wish. If, however, the daughter of your Highness could not otherwise be persuaded to consent to the marriage, or if it should be thought desirable for other reasons that the King of England should come and reside in Castile, your Highness must say so without loss of time, and I will see what can be done. Meanwhile your Highness may determine what best suits your service.

Your Highness may believe that the Council of the King of England desires extremely that this marriage should be concluded, and would still desire it even if worse things were said of the insanity of the daughter of your Highness. The King of England entertains the same sentiments on this subject.

Ambassador of the King of the Romans.

The ambassadors of the King of the Romans, of the King of France, and the ambassador from Flanders, have come to England for the following purposes:

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* The cipher is DCCCLV, and signifies De Puebla.
† King Archduke Philip.

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The ambassador of the King of the Romans complained that the King of France has entered into negotiations with the Prince Electors of the Empire, and with other Germans, with the intention of having him made Emperor, and the Cardinal of Rouen * Pope. He further said that the King of France intended to usurp the dominions of the grandson † of the King of the Romans, and begged the King of England to make war upon France. Besides, the King of the Romans wished to have money lent to him by King Henry, offering good fortresses as security. Lastly, the ambassador spoke about the marriage of the King of England with Madame Margaret, and of the grandson of the King of the Romans with the Princess Mary, daughter of the King of England.

Ambassador from Flanders.

The ambassador from Flanders, Don Diego de Guevara, told the King of England that the King of France had declared war against all the seigniories of Burgundy, and invaded them with an army, excepting, however, Flanders and Artois, because those two provinces always recognize the sovereignty of the King of France, and the appeals from their tribunals go to the Parliament at Paris. He asked of the King of England succour against France and the Duke of Gueldres.

Ambassador of France.

The ambassador of the King of France complained of the King of the Romans, because he had published lies about his master, saying that the King of France wished to be made Emperor, and intended to make the Cardinal of Rouen Pope; things which had never entered the mind of the King of France. Respecting the Duke of Gueldres, he said that the King of France was obliged to succour him, and intends to do his duty.

Answer of Henry VII. to the ambassadors.

The King of England answered:

1. To the ambassador of the King of the Romans, that he would be very sorry if the King of France meddled in the affairs of Germany, for he had not the least reason or right to do so. He would send an ambassador to the King of France, and exhort him not to interfere in Germany.

It seems that the King of England wishes to remain at peace with the King of France, especially since he has been told that Spain is now on such good terms with France.

As for the loan and the two marriages, the King of England answered very politely in general phrases, without any significance.

2. The answer to the ambassador from Flanders consisted only in evasive assurances of friendship.

3. The ambassador of the King of France was told that his master had no right to meddle in the election of the Emperor and the Pope. As for Burgundy and Gueldres, King Henry said it was the business of the King of the

* George D'Amboise, Cardinal of Rouen.
† Charles, King of Castile, afterwards Emperor.

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Romans and not his. Woodstock, Eve of Our Lady, in September * 1507.

P.S.—Has again spoken with the King of England, who has told him that, though not obliged to defend Burgundy, he would beg the King of France to desist from attacking that country. The King of England sends six horses and some greyhounds to the Archduchess Margaret, and a letter, a copy of which is enclosed.

No address. Spanish. pp. 8.

7 Sept. **544.** DE PUEBLA to KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 55.

Is an extract made by Almazan from the preceding letter of De Puebla to King Ferdinand of the 7th of September 1507. All the matter concerning the marriage of Henry VII. with Queen Juana is entirely suppressed.

7 Sept. **545.** DE PUEBLA to ALMAZAN.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 34.

Docility of Henry. His promises.

Has persuaded the King of England, by the irrefutable reasons he has used, to consent to the postponement of the payment. King Henry grew at last as docile as a child. If his marriage with Queen Juana could be concluded, he would be a much better son than the Archduke was. The King of England promises wonders, and his love is incredibly great. He esteems all other marriages offered to him by the King of the Romans and by the King of France as nothing. As soon as he receives letters stating that the marriage may be concluded he will send his ambassadors with full power. If the affair should come to nothing there will at least be nothing lost.

Invalidity of the marriage of the Prince and Princess of Wales.

The marriage of the Princess of Wales with the Prince of Wales is not valid as a marriage *per verba de præsenti*, because the Prince of Wales was not of age, and this defect has not been dispensed with. But as soon as the dower of the Princess arrives in England the marriage *per verba de præsenti* and the wedding shall take place.

Begs he may be excused if his letter is full of errors. His writing is so bad; and besides the Princess of Wales† has been very angry with him on account of the postponements.

Begs him to write very often to the King of England, who reads his letters with the greatest pleasure, and esteems him very much.

Begs that money may be sent him.—Woodstock, Eve of Our Lady, in September.

Addressed: "To the very noble Lord, Miguel Perez Almazan, Secretary, &c."

Plain writing intermixed with cipher.

Spanish. pp. 3.

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* Eve of Our Lady in September is the 7th of September.

† MCCXVII signifies fija, or in modern Spanish, hija, that is to say, daughter, by which word no one else than the Princess of Wales can be meant.

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7 Sept. **546.** HENRY VII. to KATHARINE PRINCESS OF WALES.
S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

Has read with great pleasure her letter. Thanks her for her kindness in inquiring after his health, and for expressing so ardent a desire to see him again.

Enjoys perfect health, and leads a very agreeable life in the company of some nobles and a great number of gentlemen. Spends his time in hunting and hawking. Intends soon to go to Woodstock, and thence to London, when he hopes to find her in good health.

Poverty of the Princess of Wales.

Learns by her letter that she is in want. Has already ordered that two hundred pounds should be paid to the officers of her household. If she is in want it is therefore the fault of her servants. Has written to William Hôlbrand, and ordered him to send directly an account of how the money is spent, and at the same time, and without delay, to pay anew as much money as she wants for her person and servants, so that she may not only not suffer from indigence, but be able to live honourably. Loves her so much that he cannot bear the idea of her being in poverty.—Ashby-de-la-Zouch, 7th September.

Addressed: "To the most illustrious Lady, Katharine Princess of Wales."

Latin. pp. 3.

16 Sept. **547.** MAXIMILIAN, KING OF THE ROMANS, to the ARCHDUCHESS MARGARET.
A. G. de D. de N.

Has received her letters, by which she has requested him to come to Flanders to conclude a new alliance with England. Has been prevented from doing so. Begs that the King of England may be amused with false hopes, and prevented from concluding an alliance with the two Kings.

Archduchess Margaret.

The King of England will not consent to have her marry the Prince of Wales. If she would marry the King of England, it might be arranged that she should remain Governess of the Netherlands, and pass three or four months every year in her own country.—16th September 1507.

French. pp. 2, *in print.*

Printed in Correspondence de l'Empereur Maximilian I., &c. Publié par M. le Glay. Vol. I. p. 10.

15 Sept. **548.** HENRY VII. to KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN.
S. E. T. c. I. L. 3. f. 67.

Thanks him for his letter, and promises to send an ambassador to the King of the Romans and to the King of France, in order to assist the Pope in his work of reconciliation.

Is ready to make war upon the Infidels. No Prince in Christendom can be more ready to serve in so holy a cause. —Langley Manor House, 15th September 1507.

Indorsed: "Letter of the King of England to the Pope, 15th September 1507."

Latin. Copy. pp. 4.

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27 Sept. **548.** HENRY VII. to KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 55.

After his last letter had been despatched De Puebla made communications to him of no small importance. Has been pleased to hear them, and has given a full answer to De Puebla, who, no doubt, will send a detailed report. Wishes that as soon as he is able to form a definite opinion on this matter he should communicate it to him. Begs very much that this affair may not be delayed. If it could be concluded, great advantages, not only to Spain and England, but also to the whole of Christendom and the glory of God, would follow.

The original letter is not extant. This extract is made by Almazan.

Spanish. p. ½.

29 Sept. **550.** HENRY VII. to KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN.

B. M., MS. Egerton, 616. f. 25.

Sends him a duplicate of his last letter. De Puebla has since spoken to him about a matter of no small importance, and which it gives him great pleasure to hear. Has communicated his answer to De Puebla, who, no doubt, will give a true relation of it. Hopes he will let him know as soon as he has it in his power to come to a decision. Does not doubt that if the matter can be concluded, it will be to the glory of God, the welfare of Christendom, and the advantage of their own states.—Woodstock, 29th September 1507.

Addressed: "To the very serene and mighty Prince, Ferdinand, by the grace of God, King of Arragon, &c."

Indorsed by Almazan: "To his Highness, from the King of England, 29th September 1507."

Printed in Gairdner's Letters and Papers, I. 339.

Latin. p. 1.

4 Oct. **551.** KATHARINE, PRINCESS OF WALES, to KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN.

S. E. T. c. 1. L. 5. f. 58.

Most high and mighty Lord,

I despatched a messenger on the 23rd of September, by way of Flanders, with letters from me, in order that they might be committed to a courier, who would convey them by that cross route to your Highness. On account of not being sure of the safety of letters sent from England, it would have been dangerous, or at any rate might have been considered suspicious, if it had been known that another courier had been despatched, it being so short a time since the last one set off. Therefore it was necessary for me to send my letters by the above-mentioned route.

Conduct of De Puebla to the Princess Katharine.

Your Highness will learn by them that the cause which induced me to write to you with so much haste was that I had discovered Doctor De Puebla had been making attempts

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to prevent your Highness from carrying out your intention of sending a competent ambassador to come hither together with the dowry. For that reason I made known my wishes very plainly to your Highness, although in all my former letters I had given you to understand the same thing. But I feared as abovesaid, that the Doctor would make false promises to do more than he would or could. Moreover, as your Highness is not able to see what passes here, I also feared that the Doctor might succeed in making your Highness listen to what he wished, rather than to the truth, and to what I have asked you for. On this account, I have written so soon again. For I wish to undeceive your Highness respecting what is requisite for your service, and the remedy to be found for me. I assure your Highness that I have not changed from what I wrote. It seems to me that Doctor De Puebla is sending this courier to your Highness, and he has told me to make haste. But as I do not know whether what he writes be true, I beg your Highness that nothing which he may say or write to you may be credited, excepting in so far as it shall agree with what I say. For if what I say be contrary to what he reports, your Highness may be assured that what he writes is also contrary to the interests of your Highness. Your Highness must not hasten or inconvenience yourself, whatever Doctor De Puebla may say to your Highness in order to make you go beyond what I have asked. For as I have hoped for the best in the most troubled seasons, I am not going to yield now that your Highness is in a state of such increased prosperity. This I say, because Doctor De Puebla puts more difficulties than ever in the way of my marriage being concluded. For instance, he has told me, and also the King of England, that an ambassador of his, who is in France, has written to him, saying the King of France told him that when he saw your Highness he asked you if my marriage was to take place, and that your Highness said it had not taken place, nor did you believe it would be concluded. The King of France told this to the ambassador of the King of England, that he might give his master information of it. When Doctor De Puebla said so to me, I answered nothing. But when the King of England told me, I answered that I could not bear to have such a thing said as that your Highness had spoken differently from what you had written in your letters. I also gave him to understand that your Highness could not say that a thing would not be done which was already irrevocable. I also said that, even if this were not so, your Highness knew what my wish was, namely, that I should not be taken out of the power * of the King of England even if I were to die for it, and that that would be sufficient of itself for your Highness. †

Her opinion of him.

Ferdinand must not trust in De Puebla.

Firmness manifested by Princess Katharine.

Difficulties put in the way of her marriage by De Puebla.

Reports respecting what had passed between the King of France and Ferdinand.

Behaviour of the Princess of Wales to Henry.

* The meaning of the Princess of Wales is that she would rather die in England than give up the marriage.

† It is to be understood, "not to tell the King of France that her marriage with the Prince of Wales was not likely to take place."

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At the same time I said many flattering things to him, with which I pleased him, and everything went off very well. He replied to me, that he well knew your Highness desired my marriage, because it was a matter that suited you well, and that he could not tell what was the cause which had led to such a thing being said. I could not draw from him the avowal that he really believed it, which pleased me more than if he had really believed it, but would not show it. Finally, I satisfied him well, in many ways, too long to repeat here, always showing him that my marriage was a thing which could not be undone. When he gave me to understand that there was nothing done which need prevent your Highness on your part, and him on his, from disposing of your children in another manner, I told him that I could ot comprehend him, and that I did not like to take it in the sense he meant.

Marriage of Monsieur De Foix.

Also, with regard to his marriage, he told me conjointly with the other story, that he had heard how the King of France had sent ambassadors respecting the marriage of Monsieur De Foix, and that there was much delay in the answer to be given to his proposal. He said this was injurious to him because he was awaiting an embassy to come shortly from the King of the Romans, who were bringing him the assent to his marriage with the Duchess of Savoy, and the marriage of Prince Charles with his daughter. It occasioned him great perplexity, he said, to have to remain undecided while he was waiting the answer of your Highness. On this account he begged me to write to your Highness, requesting you to make haste. For that, whatever the answer might prove, he wished to have it, in order that he might know what to do. But I should be afraid of him if the answer were not to accord with his wishes, for he has partly declared to me his intention. I bait him with this (the marriage with Doña Juana), as I have written to your Highness, and his words and professions have changed for the better, although his acts remain the same. I also believe that Doctor De Puebla is the cause why they humble themselves so much to me, as well on account of the King * as to keep me contented. For they fancy that I have no more in me than what appears outwardly, and that I shall not be able to fathom his designs, or to acquaint your Highness with the truth as respects what is requisite for your interests, but that I shall content myself with his promises as though I had not made experience of them. I dissimulate with him, however, and praise all that he does. I even tell him that I am very well treated by the King, and that I am very well contented; and I say everything that I think may be useful for me with the King, because, in fact, De Puebla is the adviser of the King, and I would not dare to say anything to him, except

Henry wishes Ferdinand to hasten his decision respecting the marriage of Queen Juana.

The Princess Katharine "baits" Henry with the hope of marrying Queen Juana.

Deception practised by her towards De Puebla.

* The prospect of his marriage with Doña Juana.

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Consequences of her former conduct.

what I should wish the King to know. On former occasions I tried the contrary course with him, but it was injurious to me, nor was it of any use in obtaining a remedy for me. For, whatever I said to him, he did nothing but justify the King, and say that no new matters should be stirred up. I therefore considered that the better plan was to dissimulate with him, and to take no notice of his being ambassador, since he does none of the things which belong to such an office; especially now his illness has laid him so completely aside that he would be of no use even though he were to desire it. He is nearer to the other world than to this. Whenever I speak to him, he does nothing else but beg me to write and assure your Highness that he is performing wonders. I tell him to have no anxiety, for I always take upon myself the office of writing to your Highness the truth respecting what he does. He has likewise told me I ought to write to your Highness, begging you that when you write to the King of England, my lord, you should also write to the Lord Chamberlain, since he is the person who can do most in private with the King. As it seems to me that to do this will be of use rather than be injurious, I think it well to entreat your Highness to write to him with much love. Tell him that I have written to your Highness to ask him to see what he can do here for me, and how much your Highness will be pleased if he does so. Make him, moreover, many offers on your Highness's part and on mine, so that Doctor De Puebla may give it out for his own doing. May your Highness do according to my request, and I will not say more now. For what I have written is enough, in order that your Highness may provide a remedy for me and for your service, with the diligence that you will see to be requisite, but not by the means which Doctor De Puebla suggests.

Asks Ferdinand to write to the Lord Chamberlain.

Pleasure experienced by the Princess Katharine in hearing good news of Ferdinand.

The news which have arrived here, that your Highness has been received in your realms with so much peace and harmony by every one, has made me so glad, that I am not conscious of my own troubles. I give infinite thanks to our Lord, who has thought good to make the world know what sort of person your Highness is;—whose life and royal estate may our Lord guard and increase as I desire.—Ewell (?), 4th October 1507.

The humble servant of your Highness,
who kisses your hands,
THE PRINCESS OF WALES.*

Written in cipher, and deciphered by Almazan. The ciphered original is not extant.

Spanish. pp. 6.

* Partly on account of the interest attaching to the letter itself, and partly because the deciphering is so bad as to be scarcely intelligible, I have thought it necessary to translate the letter in extenso.

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5 Oct. S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

552. DE PUEBLA to KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN.

[This is a duplicate of the letter of De Puebla to King Ferdinand of the 7th of September, with the following additions.]

Marriage of the King of England.

The King of England said that if his marriage could be concluded, he would make war on the Infidels in Africa, at the bidding of Ferdinand. If, from some reason or other, however, Spain could not now engage in an African war, he would fight against the Turks in Hungary.

Has passed the last four or five days with the King in Winchester, and during that time has conferred with him about the following subjects.

Marriage of the Prince of Wales with the sister of the Duke of Angoulême.

The English ambassador in France has written that the Queen of France is brought to bed, and her delivery daily expected. The said ambassador has further informed the King of England that the King of France has sent an embassy to Spain, with the intention to bring about a marriage of the Queen of Spain* with the brother of the Queen of France, and that King Ferdinand had told the King of France, at their late interview, that he did not consider the marriage between the Princess Katharine and the Prince of Wales as by any means certain, but that he, on the contrary, was persuaded the said marriage would not take place. The reply of the King of France to this communication had been that, as the Prince of Wales was not to marry the Princess Katharine, it was his wish that the Prince of Wales should marry the sister of the Duke of Angoulême. All this had been told by the King of France himself to the English ambassador. The King of England is much astonished to hear such things.

Margaret of Austria.

The daughter of the King of the Romans†, six or seven days ago, sent a very loving letter to the King of England. She told him that her father would soon send a great personage as ambassador, with full powers to conclude all the treaties which the Archduke Philip had concerted during his stay in England, and, if necessary, to grant even more favourable conditions. King Henry read the letter to him (De Puebla). Asked the King of what nature the treaties were which the King Archduke had concluded during his stay in England? He replied they were very good treaties, and most advantageous, as well to the kingdom, as to himself personally. Besides his marriage with the daughter of the King of the Romans, the King said a marriage between the Prince of Spain ‡ and a Princess of England had been concluded, and all things respecting commerce had been settled according to his wishes. Believes the King has spoken the truth,

Marriage of the Archduke Charles with the Princess Mary.

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* Doña Juana.
† Margaret of Austria.
‡ Charles, afterwards Emperor.

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considering as well the prudence of the King Archduke as the circumstance that he was in the power of the King of England. The King of England said finally, that it was not his intention to break off the negotiations with the King of the Romans, but to keep him in expectation till the decision of King Ferdinand should be known.

Respecting his marriage with the Queen of Spain, King Henry said that he would be a good son to King Ferdinand, and place at his absolute disposal the whole kingdom of England, with all his power and riches. King Henry spoke a long while about this subject, making the greatest offers, and saying that he would accept such conditions as King Ferdinand should think just. He begs a speedy answer.

English mode of fighting.

The King of England spoke much about the war against the Turks, and gave him the copies of three letters he had written to the Pope, and of two papal briefs respecting that war. If King Ferdinand, however, preferred a war in Africa, King Henry would do his will in that respect. The manner of fighting as practised by the English * is very peculiar, and very well calculated for a war in Africa. They use bows and arrows with wonderful dexterity. It is believed in England that the English bow-men could, in a few years, conquer the whole of Africa. The King of Portugal would join the expedition to Africa. King Ferdinand would command like a father, and the Kings of England and Portugal would obey him like sons. The King spoke for a very long time about this war.

The King of England said further that, if his marriage with the Queen of Spain should take place, the King of the Romans would soon be obliged to give up his plans, and to do the will of King Ferdinand. If King Ferdinand be living in peace with the King of France at present, their friendship would be much strengthened by the marriage in question.

Marriage of the Kihg of England.

Has spoken before respecting the marriage of Princess Katharine, and the valuation of the jewels, &c. There is nothing more to be said here.

Poverty of De Puebla.

Is in great want of money. Has sold all his property, and been obliged to incur debts. Is in fear of being sent to prison for his debts, a thing which had nearly happened to the ambassador of the King of the Romans. The sergeants came to his house, and would have taken him to prison had he not found security. When the King heard of this, he was very angry, and the creditor of the ambassador did not gain anything by his proceedings.

Begs that some black and chesnut-coloured mules, which are much esteemed in England, may be sent. King Henry intends to send in return horses from Ireland, or English hackneys.

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* *Ynvieros* (winters) in the original. It seems to be clear that this word is a mistake, and that *Yngleres* is meant.

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The King of England has no confidential advisers. The Lord Great Chamberlain†, who is of his blood, is, however, more in his confidence than any other person. He is much devoted to King Ferdinand and the Princess of Wâles. Begs that a gracious letter may be written to the Lord High Steward, and that he may be encouraged to continue.

His servant who takes this letter to Spain is a very good courier, and can bring the answer back to England.—Winchester, 60 miles from London, 5th October 1507.

Domestic news of the King of England.

Postscript. — Has once more read over the letters sent from Spain, and been reminded by them of the great pleasure Ferdinand has in hearing good news respecting the King of England. Adds, therefore, to this letter some lines. Has stayed with the King of England from the 26th of August to the day on which he writes, that is, the 5th of October. The King has been every day to hunt deer and other game in forests and in parks. Besides, he often went out hawking. The King of England has never enjoyed, during the last twenty years, such perfect health, and never been so strong and robust as now. It is wonderful to see how his long illness has given him twice as good a constitution as he had formerly. He is growing stout.

Cannot say the same of his own state of health. Has been very ill. Though his health has somewhat improved, fears he will not last through the winter. Recommends his only son, his other son having been drowned on his voyage to England.

Prince of Wales.

There is no finer a youth in the world than the Prince of Wales. He is already taller than his father, and his limbs are of a gigantic size. He is as prudent as is to be expected from a son of Henry VII.

The Princess of Wales is well, and her health constantly improves. She suffers from no other evil than the anxiety she feels because she has heard that her marriage is not yet rendered indissoluble.

Spanish. Written in cipher, and deciphered by Almazan. pp. 16.

25 Oct. **553.** KATHARINE, PRINCESS OF WALES, to QUEEN JUANA OF CASTILE.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 43.

Most noble and most mighty Princess, Queen and Lady, after having kissed the royal hands of your Highness and humbly commended myself to you, I have to express the very great pleasure it gave me to see you in this kingdom, and the distress which filled my heart, a few hours afterwards, on account of your sudden and hasty departure.

Sorrow felt by the Princess Katharine on the departure of Queen Juana.

My Lord the King was also much disappointed in conse-

†The Earl of Oxford seems to be meant, in whose family the office of Great Chamberlain appears to have been hereditary.

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quence of it, and if he had acted as he secretly wished, he would, by every possible means, have prevented your journey. But, as he is a very passionate King, it was thought advisable by his Council that they should tell him he ought not to interfere between husband and wife.* On which account, and for the sake of other mysterious causes with which I was very well acquainted, he concealed the feelings occasioned by the departure of your Highness, although it is very certain that it weighed much upon his heart.

Feelings of Henry VII. towards Queen Juana.

The great affection he has felt, and still feels, towards your Royal Highness from that time until now, is well known. I could not in truth express, even though I were to use much paper, the pleasure which my lord the King and I felt on hearing that the King, our lord and father, had returned to Castile, and was abiding there with your Highness, and that he was obeyed throughout all the kingdom, peace and concord prevailing everywhere.

It is true that I have experienced, and am still experiencing, some sorrow and depression of mind on account of having heard, a few days ago, that the French have taken a large and beautiful city called Tilmote, belonging to my nephew, and that all his subjects and the whole land are in great fear of the French. Wherefore, as a remedy for everything, and not less for the destruction and chastisement of the Duke of Gueldres his rebel, I have ventured to write these lines to your Highness, entreating you to hearken to my wishes respecting this matter. I have, moreover, written to my lord the King, our father, about this business, which is of great advantage and importance to your Highness, to the increase of your state, the tranquility and welfare of your subjects, and those of the said Prince, my nephew, and which also affects my lord, the King of England. He is a Prince who is feared and esteemed at the present day by all Christendom, as being very wise, and possessed of immense treasures, and having at his command powerful bodies of excellent troops. Above all, he is endowed with the greatest virtues, according to all that your Highness will have heard respecting him.

Proposal made by the Princess Katharine to Queen Juana.

If what my lord the King, our father, shall say to you should please, as I think it will please, your Highness, I do not doubt but that your Highness will become the most noble and the most powerful Queen in the world. Moreover, nothing will more conduce to your pleasure and satisfaction, and the security of the kingdom of your Highness. In addition to all this, it will double the affection subsisting between my lord the King, our father, and my lord, the King of England. It will also lead to the whole of Africa being conquered within a very short time, and in the hands of the Christian subjects of your Highness, and of my lord the King, our father.

Contemplated results of a marriage between Henry VII. and Queen Juana.

* Philip is generally said to have treated his wife badly.

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I entreat your Highness to pardon me for having written to you, and for having meddled in so great and high a matter. God knows what my wishes are, as I have already said; and I have not found it possible to resist the desire I felt to write to you. For it appears to me that if this be not done, it will be committing a great sin against God, against the King, our lord and father, and against your Highness, whose life and royal estate may our Lord guard and increase.—Richmond, 25th October. THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

Addressed: "To the most high and most . . . . . Lady of Castile and P. . . . . Arragon my Lady."
Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

Nov. 554. KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN to the PRINCESS OF WALES.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 102.

Particulars of the arrival of King Ferdinand in Castile.

Will only inform her, as she may have already heard what has taken place in Spain, that on arriving at Valencia he had not remained there longer than was necessary for his attendants to provide themselves with horses. While at Valencia the prelates and chief persons of the kingdom had written letters and sent deputations to him to express the joy which his arrival amongst them had caused. Many others had also waited upon him on his reaching the frontiers of Castile, and had made great demonstrations of rejoicing. They had, moreover, told him, that, after God, the welfare and restoration of his daughter the Queen depended on his coming. On it also depended the welfare of the kingdom, which had hitherto been a prey to injustice and scandals of all kinds. For there was no security for life or property throughout the realm. Among other things the Count of Lemus had taken Pontferrada and domains, which belonged to the Crown, and had seized on some estates belonging to the Marquis of Villa Franca. If he had not arrived when he did, and put a stop to these things, the patrimony of the Crown would, undoubtedly, have been lost. But on his arrival at Valencia had taken such measures that all tumults and disturbances were now at an end. On his entry into the kingdom of Castile, was joined by the Queen his daughter. The meeting had given both of them equal pleasure. After long conference with her, had done whatever seemed requisite for the administration of justice, and for the peace and security of the kingdom, whereat the people were greatly rejoiced. Had done everything without prejudice to any one, even of those who had deserved punishment. She must inform Henry of all that he has written.—Burgos, November 1507.

Indorsed: "Almazan says 'Fiat.'"
Spanish. Draft. pp. 4½.

Nov. (?) 555. KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN to HENRY VII.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 103.

Has received his letters of the 27th of August, and of the 3rd and 28th of September. By them, and by the letters of the Princess of Wales and Doctor De Puebla, also by what

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he has learnt from John Stile, has received ull tidings of his health and prosperity, together with that of the Prince and Princess of Wales, their common children. This intelligence has given him much pleasure, as also the true brotherly love which Henry has shown in his congratulations on his arrival in Spain. It has likewise gratified him much to learn that he has consented to a postponement for the payment of the marriage portion of the Princess of Wales. Will give such orders for the said payment that, God willing, it shall be made before the expiration of the time now fixed upon for the discharge of the whole debt.

Postponement of the payment of the marriage portion.

With regard to other matters, has written at length to the Princess of Wales, and to his ambassador De Puebla. Has also communicated with John Stile, who will make relation of everything to him.

Indorsed: "Almazan says 'Fiat.'"

Spanish. Draft. pp. 2½.

4 Dec. **556.** MAXIMILIAN, KING OF THE ROMANS, to the ARCHDUCHESS MARGARET.

A. G. de D. de N.

Has received her letters, and the articles concluded by her ambassadors with the ambassadors of the King of England.

The King of France has complained to the Pope, the King of Arragon, and even in the Diet of Constance, that he has broken his word in marrying the Archduke Charles to the Princess Mary of England. In order to satisfy his honour, he requests that a clause should be inserted into the treaty of marriage between Charles and the Princess Mary, according to which the whole treaty is to be null and void, and not even the penalty to be paid if the King of France declare himself ready, within one year, to marry the Princess Claude to the Archduke Charles.—Kauffbeuren, 4th December 1507.

French. pp. 2, *in print.*

Printed in Correspondance de l'Empereur Maximilian I., &c. Publié par M. le Glay. Vol. I. p. 20.

21 Dec. **557.** HENRY VII.—TREATY WITH MAXIMILIAN, KING OF THE ROMANS, and CHARLES, PRINCE OF SPAIN, concerning AN ALLIANCE.

P. R. O.

Obligations taken upon themselves by Henry VII. and Charles Prince of Spain towards each other.

1. A true friendship and alliance is henceforth to continue for ever between the King of England, his heirs and successors, and Charles, Prince of Spain, his heirs and successors.

2. The King of England binds himself never to undertake any enterprise in prejudice of the Prince of Spain.

3. The Prince of Spain binds himself never to do any act in prejudice of the King of England.

4. The King of England binds himself to show no favour to the enemies of the Prince of Spain, whoever they may be, and without distinction, whether they be allies of England

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or not. He promises, moreover, to assist the Prince of Spain, and to send him succour as often as he wants it for the defence of his present dominions, or of those which he is entitled by right to possess in future. The King of England further promises to act towards the Prince of Castile like a good father towards a good son.

5. The Prince of Spain binds himself in a similar manner towards the King of England, whom he promises to regard with filial love as his good father.

6 and 7. Neither the Prince of Spain nor the King of England is to assist any rebel of the other contracting party.

8 and 9. Both contracting parties bind themselves to arrest any rebel of the other party who is to be found in their dominions, and keep him in prison.

10. If either of the contracting parties desires his rebel, arrested in the dominions of the other party, to be delivered to him, the rebel is to be conducted to the frontier, and there to be handed over to the commissioners of the requesting party.

11. In case that the King of England and the Prince of Spain should have begun a common war, neither of them is to conclude peace with the enemy without the consent of the other contracting party.

12. Neither the King of England nor the Prince of Spain is at liberty to recede from any clause of the treaties concluded between the King of England and Philip, King of Castile.

Time when the ratifications are exchanged.

13. After the Prince of Spain shall have completed the fourteenth year of his age, he is to ratify this treaty and the treaties which the King of England has concluded with his father, Philip, King of Castile. The ratification is to be delivered within two months after the King of England shall have made known his will that the ratification should be given.

14. This treaty is to be ratified by the Emperor Elect and the Prince of Spain, and to be exchanged for the ratification by the King of England. The exchange is to take place when the ambassador of the Emperor Elect shall come to London in order to solemnize the marriage between the Prince of Spain and the Princess Mary.—Calais, 21st December 1507.

Latin. 12 *pages of print.*
Printed in Rymer.

21 Dec. **558.** HENRY VII.—TREATY WITH THE KING OF THE ROMANS, ARCHDUKE CHARLES, and the ARCHDUCHESS MARGARET, concerning the MARRIAGE OF THE ARCHDUKE.

S. E. T. c. I.
L. 6. f. 26.

Jaques de Luxembourg, Jean de Bergen op Zoom, Laurentius de Gorrenodo, Jean le Sauvaige, and Jean Flaneton, ambas-

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sadors of the King of the Romans, of the Archduke Charles, and of the Archduchess Margaret on the one part, and Richard, Bishop of Winchester, Thomas, Earl of Surrey, Thomas Dokwra, prior of St. John in Jerusalem, in England, Gilbert Talbot and Nicholas West, ambassadors of the King of England, on the other part, conclude the following treaty of marriage between the Archduke Charles and the Princess Mary of England.

Conditions of the marriage between the Princess Mary and Charles, Prince of Spain.

1. The Archduke Charles is to conclude the marriage with the Princess Mary, either in person or by proxy, before the feast of Easter next coming.

2. The King of England consents to the marriage of his daughter.

3. Within forty days after the Archduke Charles shall have completed the fourteenth year of his age, he is to contract the marriage by ambassadors sent for that purpose to England.

4. The King of England promises to permit the marriage to be contracted *per verba de præsenti* on that occasion.

5. The Archduke Charles is to contract the marriage *per verba de præsenti* with the proxies of the Princess Mary as soon as he shall have completed the fourteenth year of his age.

6. The King of England is to send the Princess Mary to the Archduke Charles within three months after the marriage shall have been contracted *per verba de præsenti*.

The dowry.

7. The dowry is to consist of 250,000 crowns, which are to be entrusted to the keeping of merchants in Bruges.

8. Conditions on which the payment of the dowry is to take place, and on which it is to be restored.

9. The King of England gives the usual securities for the payment of the dowry. Moreover, the Mayor of Calais, for himself and the Merchants of the Staple, is to give security for the payment.

Securities for the payment.

10. The King of the Romans, the Archduchess Margaret, Charles de Croy, Henry, Count of Nassau, &c., and the towns and counties of Flanders, bind themselves to pay 250,000 crowns to King Henry if the Archduke Charles refuses to contract the marriage. The King of England, his noblemen, counties and towns of England, bind themselves to pay an equal sum of money to the King of the Romans if the Princess Mary refuses to contract the marriage.

11. All the documents repecting this marriage are to be exchanged in London before the feast of Easter next coming, and before the ambassadors of the King of the Romans go to London, in order to contract the marriage.

12. The King of the Romans and the Archduke Charles are to assign to the Princess Mary all the towns, castles, lands, &c., as her jointure, which the Duchess Margaret has held.

13. The noblemen and vassals of the Archduke are to be security for the jointure.

Jointure of the Princess Mary.

14. The Princess Mary is to have a jointure, not only in the dominions which the Archduke at present possesses, but

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also in those which he shall hereafter inherit according to the custom of the country.

15. The right of inheritance in England is reserved to the Princess, as though she were living in that country.

16. The dowry is, after the death of the Princess, to remain with the Archduke Charles, whether they should have children or not.

17. All the jewels, ornaments, &c. of the Princess are in such a case to become property of the Archduke.

18. The King of the Romans and the Archduchess Margaret are to procure within [*blank*] days the consent of King Ferdinand to this marriage.

19. Both parties renounce all exceptions against this treaty, of whatever nature they may be.

20. The contracting parties are to ratify this treaty before the feast of Easter next coming.

No date. No signature.

Latin. Copy. pp. 44.

21 Dec. **559.** HENRY VII.—TREATY WITH MAXIMILIAN, KING OF THE ROMANS, and MARGARET, ARCHDUCHESS OF AUSTRIA, concerning the MARRIAGE OF PRINCESS MARY WITH CHARLES, ARCHDUKE OF AUSTRIA.

P. R. O.

The same treaty as the preceding one. It is dated Calais, 21st December 1507.

Latin. Draft. pp. 45.
Printed in Rymer under the year 1508.

1507 (?) **560.** BRIEF SUMMARY of what was said to the Ambassador whom the King of England sent to the Emperor.

B. M. MSS. Addit. 21,383. f. 17.

Proposed marriage between the Archduchess Margaret and Henry VII.

The Emperor had long conferences with the Archduchess Margaret respecting her marriage with the King of England, which had been settled by the King of Castile.

The Emperor is very much in favour of the union, for two reasons; viz., because he had ratified the treaty of Henry with the King of Castile by his letters patent, and because all his counsellors approve of it.

Inducements held out by the Emperor.

In order to persuade the Archduchess, the Emperor told her that the marriage with the King of England was not only honourable to her, but also necessary for the House of Austria. The marriage with the King of England is honourable, because he is such a pattern of all the virtues. It is useful on account of commerce and the peaceful state of the Austrian dominions. It is necessary, because the Spanish succession cannot be secured, and the Dukeof Gueldres cannot be kept at bay, without it.

Should the marriage between the King of England and the Archduchess not take place, the King of England might marry into another family, and the marriage between Prince Charles and the Princess Mary would be endangered.

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Disinclination for the alliance felt by the Archduchess.

The Emperor told the English ambassador, in presence of many of his counsellors, that the Archduchess was fully aware of the great virtues of the King of England, and that should she marry again, she would marry no one else but him. But as she has already been three times unfortunate in her marriages, she is much disinclined to make another trial. Besides, she said she believed she should have no children, and that she would thereby displease the King of England. Another reason given by the Archduchess was, that the marriage portion is exorbitant. With regard to the representations of the Emperor, respecting the necessity for her marriage, she said she was of a different opinion. The Emperor could always easily make peace with the King of France and with the Duke of Gueldres. As far as the King of Arragon is concerned she does not think he intends to exclude the Archduke from the succession in Spain. The King of England having already concluded a marriage between Prince Charles and the Princess Mary, he is obliged thereby to be a friend of England.

Seeing that he could not prevail on the Archduchess, the Emperor called the Archduke Charles and the whole Privy Council together. The marriage was once more discussed, but the Archduchess remained firm in her decision.

From all this it is clear the Emperor has done all in his power to persuade the Archduchess to consent to the marriage, and that he can do nothing more.—No date. No signature.

Indorsed : "Anglia."

Latin. pp. 3.

Printed in Gairdner's Letters, vol. I. p. 323.

1508. **561.** MAXIMILIAN, KING OF THE ROMANS.

P. R. O. Ratifies the treaty of marriage between Charles Archduke of Austria, &c., and Mary Princess of England, concluded in Calais on the 21st December 1507.—No date. No signature.

Latin. Draft. pp.* 8.

562. HENRY VII.

P. R. O. Binds himself to pay to Charles, Archduke of Austria, 250,000 crowns as dowry of his daughter the Princess Mary,

* This and the following thirteen drafts are written on loose paper, and preserved in the Public Record Office in the bundle n. I., Spain. From the state in which the papers now are it is evident that they have been bound. The old paging is still preserved. Internal evidence, moreover, shows that the papers in question have formed part of the Privy Council books of the reign of Henry VII. The drafts are, therefore, the documents in that form which had been approved by the Privy Council. When the documents had to be signed by the King of England, they were sent to him for his approval and signature. If, on the other hand, a document was to be signed by a foreign Prince or by subjects of a foreign Prince, the draft was sent to the King for approval only, and then forwarded to the ambassador at the court for which they were intended, in order that he might request that the document should be signed in the form which had been approved by the Privy Council of England.

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according to the conditions stipulated in the treaty of the 21st December 1507.—No. date. No signature.

Indorsed: "Obligatio Regis Angliæ pro dote."

Latin. Draft, containing some corrections in the wording. pp. 7.

563. THE MAYOR OF CALAIS, and the MERCHANTS OF THE STAPLES.

P. R. O. Bind themselves to be security for the payment of the dowry of the Princess Mary.—No date. No signature.

Indorsed: "Obligatio Majoris et Societatis Stapulæ pro dote."

Latin. Draft, with corrections. pp. 10.

564. HENRY VII.

P. R. O. Bond to pay a penalty of 250,000 crowns, in case that any difficulty should arise on his side by which the marriage of his daughter the Princess Mary with the Archduke Charles should be prevented as soon as the Prince and the Princess should have attained the lawful age.

(Signed) William Cantuarensis.
T. Surrey. Ri. Wynton.
T. Prior of St. John in Jerusalem.
Ric. Emson.
Ni. West.
Rob. Sheffield.
Humfrey Coningesby.
Ric. Elyot.
Lodowicus Pollard.
John Ernley.*

Indorsed: "Obligatio Regis pro penalitate."

Latin. Draft; corrected, apparently, in the hand of Nicholas West. pp. 8.

565. HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES.

P. R. O. King Henry, and Maximilian, King of the Romans, now Emperor Elect, have on the 21st of December last year concluded a treaty, according to which the Archduke Charles is to marry the Princess Mary of England, and in which it is stipulated, among other things, that the King of England is to pay a penalty of 250,000 crowns in case that impediments should arise on his side, by which the marriage, at the time specified in the treaty, should be prevented.

* The signatures of the Privy Counsellors are given in full, because it may be interesting to know who were the persons attending the meetings in which affairs of State were discussed.

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Binds himself to be security for the strict fulfilment of this clause.—No date.

(Signed) William Cantuar.
Th. Surrey. Ri. Wynton.
T. Prior of St. John in Jerusalem.
Ric. Emson.
Rob. Sheffield.
Nic. West.
Humfrey Conyngesby
Ric. Wyat.
Ludovicus Pollard.
Johannes Ernley.

Indorsed : "Obligatio Principis pro penalitate."

Latin. Badly written draft, with many corrections. pp. 10.

566. HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES.

P. R. O. The same bond for the penalty of 250,000 crowns.—No date.

(Signed) Will. Cantuar.
T. Surrey. Ric. Wynt. Giles Daubney.
C. Somersêt. Thomas Lovell. Th. Rowthall.
John Huse. Ric. Emson. E. Dudley.
Johannes Yong.*

Indorsed : "Obligatio Principis pro penalitate."
Latin. Draft. pp. 15.

567. THOMAS, EARL OF ARUNDEL, and JOHN, EARL OF OXFORD.

P. R. O. Bind themselves as security for the payment of 50,000 crowns as penalty in case that any difficulties should arise on the side of England, which would prevent the marriage of the Archduke Charles with the Princess Mary from taking place at the stipulated time.— No date.

(Signed) William Cantuarensis.
T. Surrey. R. Winton.
T. Prior of St. John in Jerusalem.
Ric. Emson.
Nicholas West.
Rob. Sheffield.
Humfrey Coningesby.
Ric. Elyot.
Lodovicus Pollard.
Johannes Ernley.

Indorsed : "Obligatio penalis Dominorum."
Latin. Draft. pp. 10.

* One or two signatures at the bottom of the document are illegible because the paper is gone.

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568. THOMAS, EARL OF ARUNDEL, JOHN, EARL OF OXFORD. and the MAYORS, ALDERMEN, &c. of LONDON, YORK, NORWICH, WORCESTER, CHESTER, &c.

P. R. O. Bind themselves as security for the penalty of 50,000 crowns, which is to be paid in case that any impediment occur on the side of Henry, by which the marriage between the Archduke Charles and Princess Mary should be prevented,

If such an impediment arises on the side of the Archduke Charles, this bond is to be given back.*— No date.

(Signed) Will. Cantuar.
T. Surrey. Ri. Wynton.
Giles Daubney. C. Somerset.
Thomas Lovell. Thomas Rowthale.
John Yong. Ric. Emson.
Ed. Dudley. Ni. West.
And other Privy Councillors.

Indorsed : "Obligatio Dominorum et communitatum."

Latin. Draft. pp. 11.

569. MAYOR and ALDERMEN of LONDON, YORK, NORWICH, WORCESTER, CHESTER, EXETER, COVENTRY, BRISTOL, SOUTHAMPTON, BOSTON, HULL, and NEWCASTLE.

P. R. O. Bond for the penalty of 50,000 crowns.—No date.

(Signed) Willm. Cantuar.
Th. Surrey. Ric. Wynton.
Prior of St. John in Jerusalem.
Ri. Emson.
Ni. West.
R. Sheffield.
Humfrey Conyngesby.
Ric. Elyot.
Ludovicus Pollard.
Joh. Ernley.

Indorsed : "Obligatio Majorum, Aldermannorum, et Communitatum pro penalitate."

Latin. Draft. pp. 11.

570. MAXIMILIAN, KING OF THE ROMANS, and CHARLES, ARCHDUKE OF AUSTRIA.

P. R. O. Bond of the King of the Romans and of the Archduke Charles to pay a penalty of 250,000 crowns in case that any difficulties on their side should prevent the marriage between the Archduke and the Princess Mary of England from taking

* Maximilian is styled in the document *Rex Romanorum.* These words are, however, crossed, and in their stead written, apparently by the Archbishop of Canterbury, *Rex Romanorum nunc vero Imperator Electus.* Maximilian assumed the title of Emperor Elect in the spring 1508, when he undertook his expedition against Venice. This and the other similar documents seem therefore to have been composed early in the year 1508.

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place as concluded in the treaty of the 21st of December 1507. —No date. No signature.

Indorsed: "Minuta obligationis Regis Romanorum et Principis Charoli."

Latin. Draft, with corrections and additions apparently in the hand of the Archbishop of Canterbury. pp. 2.

571. MAXIMILIAN, EMPEROR ELECT, and CHARLES, ARCHDUKE OF AUSTRIA.

P. R. O. Bond to repay the loan of 100,000 crowns which the King of England has promised to pay to the Archduke Charles within twelve days after he should be requested to do so. The repayment is to take place in London within two years after the loan shall have been given.—No date.

(Signed) Will. Cantuar. T. Surrey.
Ric. Wynton. Giles Daubney.
Thomas Lovell.
Ric. Emson.
E. Dudley.
Johannes Yong.
Nicholas West.

Indorsed: "Minuta obligationis Imperatoris et Principis mutuo solvendo."

Latin. Corrected draft. pp. 7.

572. MARGARET, ARCHDUCHESS OF AUSTRIA, and DUCHESS OF SAVOY.

P. R. O. Binds herself to be security for the penalty of 250,000 crowns which the King of the Romans and the Archduke Charles may incur, according to the stipulations of the treaty of marriage between the Archduke Charles and the Princess Mary, concluded on the 21st December 1507.—No date. No signature.

Indorsed: "Obligatio Principis Dominæ Margaritæ Ducissæ Sabandiæ."

Latin. Corrected draft. pp. 12.

573. MARGARET, ARCHDUCHESS OF AUSTRIA.

P. R. O. King Henry of England has promised by his letters patent, dated the 21st of December last, to pay as a loan to Charles, Archduke of Austria, in the town of London, and within twelve days after he shall have been requested to do so, the sum of 100,000 florins in good gold of just weight. Promises in her name, and in the names of the Emperor Elect, as guardian of Prince Charles, of Charles de Croy, Henry, Count of Nassau, John, Count of Egmont, Ferdinand Egmont, James of Luxemburgh, William de Croy, John of Luxemburgh, John de Berghes, Florence de Croy, Philibert de Veyre, Jean le Sauvaige, the Seigneur de Stanbeke, Jerome Lanwaryn; and

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further, of the towns of Antwerp, Brussels, St. Odomari, Bruges, Ypres, Neufport, Amsterdam, Dortrecht, Leyden, Mechlen, and Middleburgh; that the loan shall be repaid to the King of England within two years, and binds herself to be security for the strict fulfilment of this promise.—No date.

(Signed) Will. Cantuar. T. Surrey.
Rich. Wynton. Giles Daubney.
Thomas Lovel.
Ric. Emson.
Ed. Dudley.
Johannes Yong.
Nicholas West.

Indorsed: "Minuta obligationis Ducissæ Sabandiæ."
Latin. Draft, with corrections, apparently in the hand of the Archbishop of Canterbury. pp. 10.

P. R. O. B. I. n. 23.

574. BURGUNDY, BRABANT, and FLANDERS.

The noblemen and towns of Burgundy, Brabant, and Flanders bind themselves to be security for the repayment of the 100,000 crowns which the King of England has promised to pay as a loan to the Archduke Charles during his minority. —No date.

(Signed) Willm. Cantuar. T. Surrey.
Ric. Wynton. Giles Daubney.
Thomas Lovell.
Ric. Emson.
Ed. Dudley.
Johannes Yong.
Nicholas West.

Indorsed: "Minuta obligationis Dominorum et oppidorum Burgundiæ, Brabantiæ, et Flandriæ."
Latin. Draft, with many corrections and additions, apparently in the writing of the Bishop of Winchester. pp. 7.

Jan. (?)
S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 105.

575. KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN to KATHARINE, PRINCESS OF WALES.*

Has received her letter sent viâ Flanders, and her other letter of the 4th of October.

She may be at rest. Will not believe anything which De Puebla writes to her prejudice. Places as implicit faith in her communications as in the Gospel. Would rather send another ambassador than change his intentions.

Her answer to what the King of England and De Puebla said to her about her marriage with the Prince of Wales was

* This and the two following letters are not dated. As they are, however, written in answer to the letters of the Princess of Wales of the 4th October, and of De Puebla of the 5th October 1507, and as in the letter to De Puebla the honours paid to the corpse of King Philip are mentioned, these three letters must have been written in the beginning of the year 1508.

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very judicious. The English ambassador may have written that the King of France had told him he (King Ferdinand) did not consider her marriage as concluded, or likely to be concluded. But that was simply a lie. Not the least doubt has ever entered his mind concerning the validity of her marriage, nor has the King of France ever asked such a question.

Validity of the marriage of the Princess Katharine.

It is likewise pure invention, what the English ambassador in France wrote with respect to the pretended marriage of the Queen of Castile with Monsieur de Foix. The King of France has never proposed such a marriage, and, had he done so, his proposals would not have been accepted. The ambassador who was sent from France to Spain did nothing but inquire whether the King of France could not render him some services. Is now on terms of the most perfect friendship with France.

It seems that there is some person in England who invents such stories.

Writes a letter to the Lord Great Chamberlain of King Henry.

Indorsed: "A letter of the Catholic King to the Princess of Wales."

Almazan says, "Fiat."

Spanish. Draft. pp. 2.

Jan. (?) S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 105.

576. KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN to the LORD GREAT CHAMBERLAIN OF THE KING OF ENGLAND.*

Has heard, through the Princess of Wales, that he is very devoted to her service. Thanks him, and hopes he will continue in his good conduct.

Spanish. Draft. p. ½.

Jan. (?) S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 106.

577. KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN to DE PUEBLA.

Has received his letters of the 3rd of September and 5th of October, together with the letters of the King of England.

Is very much pleased to hear of the good health and prosperity of the King of England, whom he loves like a true brother, and whose welfare is as dear to him as his own. Rejoices also at the good news concerning the Prince and Princess of Wales, his children.

Thanks the King of England for the postponement of the payment of the marriage portion, to which he has so lovingly consented. Did not expect that so virtuous a Prince could act otherwise. Hopes to pay the remainder of the marriage portion before the time, granted for the payment, has elapsed. He has done well to name to him the bankers through whom the payment can be best made. As soon as the remaining portion of the dower has been sent to England, the wedding of the Prince and Princess of Wales must take place.

* Earl of Oxford.

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Untruth of the report concerning what had been said to the King of France respecting the Princess Katharine,

Is astonished to hear what the English ambassador in France has written. Has never told the King of France that the marriage between the Prince and Princess of Wales is not yet concluded, or likely to be concluded. On the contrary, neither he nor the King of France have ever doubted that the said marriage is definitely and indissolubly contracted.

and the marriage between Queen Juana and M. de Foix.

It is likewise false that, as the English ambassador in France has written, the King of France has proposed a marriage between the Queen of Castile and Monsieur de Foix. Would not consent to such a marriage for the empire of the world, nor would the King of France tempt him in that way. The French ambassador has come to Spain only for the purpose of residing there, and being a means of increasing the friendship between him and the King of France.

Marriage between Queen Juana and Henry VII.

As for the marriage of the King of England with the Queen of Castile, his intention is unalterable. If the Queen is to marry again she shall marry none but the King of England. Will do all in his power to promote the marriage, but must inform him that the Queen of Castile still carries the corpse of her late husband, King Philip, with her. All efforts to persuade her to bury the corpse have been in vain. Her state of health is such as to render it very dangerous to contradict her. Intends to persuade her, by slow degrees, to

Conduct of Queen Juana.

bury the corpse of her deceased husband. On his arrival in Castile, the Queen had made up her mind to have the usual honours paid to the dead body of the King on New Year's Day. Did not like to speak to her about a new marriage before that strange ceremony was over. Soon afterwards broached to her the affair of a new marriage. She said she would do his behests in all things, but begged him not force her to give an answer about such a matter before her deceased husband was buried. Has not insisted any further, because he was convinced that all would be in vain. Has written to the Pope, and asked him to send a brief to the Queen of Castile respecting the burial of her husband. Intends to speak with her again, after the burial, about her re-marrying; and, if she consents to it, will take care that her future husband shall be no other person than the King of England. Will inform him, as soon as possible, of all the further steps he may take in this matter, and also communicate to the King of England the conditions of the marriage.

War in Gueldres.

With respect to the war in Gueldres it must be borne in mind that, after the Queen of Castile, Prince Charles, his grandson, is his heir. Bears him, therefore, as much love as though he were his son. Has consequently written to the King of France, and asked him not to permit his army to cause any damages in the states of Prince Charles. The King of France has answered that he desires the same. But the Flemings have begun war with the Duke of Gueldren taken from him two cities, and besieged other places. As he is

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an ally of the Duke of Gueldres, he is obliged to aid him. Has, however, sent orders to his captains to do as little harm to the subjects of Prince Charles as possible. If the persons who are at the head of affairs in Flanders would consent to an honourable peace, all would be soon finished. Has again written to the King of France, and requested him, at all events, to procure peace in Flanders. A war is not suitable, on account of the tender age of Prince Charles.

Is glad to hear that the King of England is so ready to undertake a war in Africa. Will provide for that war as soon as his other affairs shall have been arranged.

Is sorry that he (De Puebla) is in so bad a state of health. Has ordered his private affairs to be attended to.

The King of England has written, in his letter of the 27th of August, that he knew a secret respecting the King of Navarre, and that the Princess of Wales and De Puebla would communicate it to him. As neither the Princess nor he has mentioned the King of Navarre, he is to inform himself about that matter immediately, and to write.—No date.

Almazan says, "Fiat."

Spanish. Draft. pp. 6.

28 Jan. **578.** MAXIMILIAN, KING OF THE ROMANS, to the ARCHDUCHESS MARGARET.

A. G. d. D. d. N.

Sends Andreas de Burgo to England. Has, however, ordered him, before he goes to England, to see her, and to communicate to her his commission. Andreas de Burgo has some money, but it may perhaps not be enough to defray his expenses. Has therefore given directions to him to take some money for his own use from the 100,000 gold crowns which the King of England is expected to give. Begs her also to write a pleasant letter to the King of England.—Bolzano, 28th January 1508.

French. p. 1, *in print.*

Printed in Correspondance de l'Empereur Maximilian I., &c. Publié par M. le Glay. Vol. I. p. 110.

22 Feb. **579.** MAXIMILIAN, KING OF THE ROMANS.

P. R. O.

Ratifies the treaty of marriage between the Archduke Charles and the Princess Mary, dated Calais, 21st December 1507.—Brixen, 22nd February 1508.

Latin. pp. 18.
Printed in Rymer.

25 Feb. **580.** MAXIMILIAN, KING OF THE ROMANS, to the ARCHDUCHESS MARGARET.

A. G. d. D. d. N.

Excuses himself for not having sent the ratifications of the treaties with England. Has been so much occupied

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with his great undertakings in Italy and Spain, that he has really had no time to attend to that business. Has now ratified the treaties.—Bruneck, 25th February 1507.

French. *pp.* 2, *in print.*

Printed in Correspondance de l'Empereur Maximilian I., &c. Publié par M. le Glay. Vol. I. p. 39.

25 March. **581.** MAXIMILIAN, KING OF THE ROMANS, to the ARCHDUCHESS MARGARET.
A. G. d. D. d. N.

Has ratified the drafts of the treaties with England sent to him, without altering a single word. Sends them.

[Notices of the Italian war and Flanders.]—Augsburg, 25th March 1507.

French. *pp.* 3, *in print.*

Printed in Correspondance de l'Empereur Maximilian I., &c. Publié par M. le Glay. Vol. I. p. 43.

26 March. **582.** MAXIMILIAN, KING OF THE ROMANS, and the ARCHDUKE CHARLES.
P. R. O.

Ratify conjointly the treaty of marriage between the Archduke Charles and the Princess Mary.—Malines, 26th March 1507. Twenty-third year of his reign in Germany, and eighteenth of Hungary.

Latin. *pp.* 12, *in print.*

Printed in Rymer, vol. XIII. p. 200.

4 May. **583.** BOND OF CERTAIN NOBLEMEN AND TOWNS IN FLANDERS, BRABANT, AND HOLLAND.
P. R. O.

Charles de Croy, Prince de Chimai,
Henry, Count de Nassau,
John, Count Egmont,
Frederick d'Egmont,
Jacobus de Luxembourg,
Johannes de Berges,
William de Croy,
John de Luxembourg,
F. de Croy,
Carolus de Lalaing,
Henry de Withem,
Philibertus de Veyre,
Jean le Sauvaige,
Jerome Lauweryn,
Philip Haneton, Secretary;

And the burgomasters of Brussels, Antwerp, Bruges, Ypres, Courtray, Neufport, Dortrecht, Leyden, Amsterdam, Middleburgh, Lierissu, Malines;

Bind themselves to be security for 50,000 crowns, or any part of that sum, as part of the penalty which may be incurred

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by the Archduke Charles in consequence of the treaty of marriage beween him and Princess Mary, concluded at Calais on the 21st of December 1507.—4th May 1508.

The signature and seals follow.

Latin. pp. 4, in print.

Printed in Rymer.

14 June. **584.** G. De Theimseke, Prevost of Cassel, to the Archduchess Margaret.

B. M. MSS. Add. 21,382. f. 23.

The English are not inclined to engage in a war with France, but the King is ready to pay the 100,000 crowns, provided the bonds be sent to him.

Was told that the French do not intend to invade Flanders. Asked whether burning and destroying were not invasion. Begs her to keep this information secret.

[News of Gueldres.]

Marriage between Prince of Wales and Madame Eleanor.

Thinks that more will be heard of the marriage between the Prince of Wales and Madame Eleanor.* It is quite true, and the Commander of Haro has openly declared that the King of France is a good ally of the King of Arragon, and has written to Henry, strongly urging the solemnization of the marriage between the Princess Katharine and the Prince of Wales. The King of England was not at all pleased that the King of France should have meddled in the affair. Moreover it is said that the Prince of Wales is not much inclined to the marriage.

The Knight Commander of Haro seems to be a partisan of France. It is not to be wondered at, because his master himself is very much inclined towards the French.

If the affair of Gueldres is well terminated, all Kings, and especially the King of England, will hold her in high esteem.

[More news respecting the Emperor.]—London, 14th June.

Addressed: "To my most dread Lady, &c."

French. pp. 4.

Printed in Gairdner's Letters, vol. I. p. 342.

20 June. **585.** G. De Theimseke, Prevost of Cassel, to the Archduchess Margaret.

B. M. MSS. Add. 21,382. f. 25.

[Details respecting Gueldres and Flanders.]

The King of England asked him whether he had news from Spain. Answered, he had not. King Henry then observed that there was not a man in Paris who was such a stout Frenchman as the King of Arragon. But if the Emperor would listen to him, the King of England

* Daughter of King Philip.

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Plan proposed by Henry for depriving King Ferdinand of all influence in Castile.

would tell him how to deprive the King of Arragon of all influence in Castile. Castile would then be ruled only by the Emperor, the Queen Juana, and the Prince of Spain. If the Emperor were to obtain the regency of Castile, he would become so powerful that all his enemies would tremble. It is quite clear that the King of England would go very far in this affair. Asked him what the means he alluded to were. The King of England said he would not tell him, but he would communicate all his secrets to the Emperor when he had a meeting with him.

The King of England said that he wished the Emperor would not undertake any enterprise except after mature consideration. It would not even be necessary for the Emperor to go in person to Spain, but it would be time enough for him to go there when the whole affair was over. This enterprise would make the King of the Romans much greater than any man had ever been for a long time past. The King of England trusted the Emperor, and hoped that the Emperor trusted him.

Asked whether he was to communicate this conversation to her. The King meditated for a time, and then said, he might.

[More news from Flanders.]—London, 20th June.

Addressed: "To my most dread Lady, &c."

French. pp. 13, in print.

Printed in Gairdner's Letters, vol. I. p. 350.

July (?) **586.** KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN to GUTIERRE GOMEZ DE FUENSALIDA, KNIGHT COMMANDER OF MEMBRILLA.*

S. E. T. c. I.
L. 806. l. 10.

Has received his letters of the 3rd, 11th, and 13th of May. Has had much pleasure in hearing of the convalescence of Henry. The news of his illness had caused him much anxiety.

Confidence expressed by Ferdinand in the fulfilment of the promises made by Henry.

Membrilla has made a very proper answer to what Henry had said respecting the marriage of the Prince and Princess of Wales, namely, that having once promised a thing nothing would induce him not to perform it, and that he makes a point of keeping faith with every one. Membrilla must assure the King of England, on his [Ferdinand's] part, that he considers him to be an honourable and virtuous Prince. Moreover, not only does he feel certain Henry will carry out what has already been settled, but that he will act in the same way with respect to anything that may hereafter be agreed upon between them. Another reason why he places confidence in

* This letter has no date. As the war of Maximilian with the Venetians (spring 1508) is mentioned in it, and as Ferdinand acknowledges the receipt of the letter of the 13th of May from England, this despatch was probably written at the beginning of the month of July 1508.

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Henry is, that in addition to its being so principal and necessary a characteristic of royalty to keep faith, it gives Henry great credit and authority in the world. Feels great love and friendship for Henry, which he will manifest by deeds whenever occasion offers.

Has observed all that passed between Membrilla and the members of the Council of the King of England respecting the marriage portion of the Princess of Wales. Has also noted the manner in which they, as well as Doctor De Puebla, have comported themselves in the said negotiation, and which has much displeased him. The way in which Membrilla had replied to them was very proper, and also the manner in which he had conducted the business. He has, moreover, done well in communicating everything to the Princess of Wales, and doing nothing without her sanction.

Conduct to be pursued by Membrilla respecting the Princess of Wales.

Membrilla's principal object must always be to endeavour to have the nuptial ceremony between the Prince and Princess of Wales performed as soon as possible. He must see to this with the utmost diligence, because the other affairs of the Princess will be remedied thereby. He must not, moreover, allow the conclusion of the marriage to be delayed on account of what he says is wanting in the value of the plate and jewels, occasioned by the wish entertained in England to lower the standard, which, however, there is no just cause for doing.

However, to make the matter more secure, sends him bills of exchange, by means of which whatever is wanting may be supplied, even should it amount to more than 3,000 scudos. But in whatever way the matter be managed, Membrilla must take care that the loss and injury accruing from the said low valuation should be as little as possible. Above all, his object must be to hasten the conclusion of the business, making use of everything which may serve to advance the progress of it. With this view, it would be well, even if Membrilla do not hold out to Henry a certain prospect of effecting his marriage with the Queen of Castile, that he should not deprive him of all hope whatever. On the contrary, he must say that if King Ferdinand should ever have it in his power to dispose of her in marriage, he knows that he would give her to no other Prince than him; for that he holds him in the greatest esteem, and looks upon him as a Prince who keeps his word. Membrilla must also tell Henry that the Queen of Castile is still in the state she was, and that she has never yet consented to bury the corpse of King Philip, her husband.

Moreover, as Henry has written begging him to allow Stile to deliver to the Queen of Castile the letters which he had written to her, and to permit him to speak to her on Henry's behalf, he had sent Stile to the place where she was, and left him with her. But the Queen being in the same state she was before, it had been impossible to draw anything more from her than a reference to the words she had formerly

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State of Queen Juana. Impossibility of doing more respecting her marriage with Henry.

said. The state in which she is cannot be described by letters, nor how necessary it is, in order to obtain anything from her, to proceed in a roundabout way. Even then it is with difficulty obtained; but to endeavour to obtain the object in a shorter way would only be to defeat it. Therefore, the business must be conducted in harmony with the state in which the Queen is, in order that it may not fail of success. Is sure that if all the wise men in the world were to meet and consult together, they could not do more in this matter than has been done. Has tried all he could to prevail on her to bury her husband, but has not succeeded. Each time she has replied that there was no hurry, and to drive her against her wishes would he entirely to ruin her health. It it necessary not to oppose her, for she has a very strong will, but to proceed by roundabout ways. If Stile write the truth, he will not be able to say anything beyond this. Membrilla must tell all this to Henry, and show him that nothing is concealed from him, and that all that can be done will be done in the matter.

Has observed what Membrilla says to the effect that he believes the King of England is delaying the nuptials of the Prince and Princess of Wales until he sees what conclusion will be arrived at respecting his marriage with the Queen of Castile; also whether the marriage of the Prince of Castile to the Lady Mary will be confirmed, and what will be the result of the enterprise of the King of the Romans.

To the first point Membrilla must reply as he has been already directed. He must also, as if from himself, advise Henry not to delay the nuptials of the Prince and Princess of Wales, because if he do not keep faith in that particular, it will be imagined that he will not keep faith with regard to anything that may be settled for his marriage with the Queen of Castile.

Marriage of Prince Charles; what Membrilla is to say respecting it.

As regards the marriage of Prince Charles, Membrilla must say that King Ferdinand had indeed wished that before such a matter had been concluded, Henry had imparted it to him; but that the marriage appears to him to be a desirable one, and if his opinion had been asked, it would have been favourable. At all events, from henceforth he shall look on the Lady Mary, the Princess of Castile, as his daughter. But until the marriage of the Prince and Princess of Wales has taken place, does not wish that any writing of his should appear, confirming the marriage of the Prince of Castile with the Lady Mary. If, however, Henry will not allow the nuptials of the Prince and Princess of Wales to be celebrated unless the said marriage be confirmed, then Membrilla must promise that he will confirm it. But if the said confirmation should not be required, he must confine himself to speaking fair words, saying that his master thinks well of the marriage.

Enterprise of the King of the Romans.

As regards the enterprise of the King of the Romans, in so far as anything can be known respecting it, he is making war on the Venetians on two sides, but without success. At

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present, it is said, he has gone to a diet in Germany.* Believes he will do nothing of importance.

After considering all these points he cannot think that it is on account of them Henry is delaying the nuptials of the Prince and Princess of Wales.

Cannot believe what Membrilla says, that, should Henry decide not to conclude the marriage of the Princess of Wales, and should he ask for his daughter back, she would not be given up. For he cannot believe that, besides breaking his faith, Henry would wish to convert him and the Queen of Castile into his mortal and perpetual enemies. "For the love "I bear the Princess of Wales, and the esteem in which I "hold her, are so great, that, if such a thing were to happen, "which God forbid, I would risk my person and my kingdom, "and that of my daughter the Queen, with the greatest "readiness, in order to make a worse war on the King of "England than on the Turks. The King of England must "keep faith in this matter, or, if not, the world may perish. "This I say, in order that you may know my determination."

Declaration of Ferdinand with regard to the Princess Katharine.

As to what he says about marrying the Prince of Wales in France, thinks it is all pure invention. For, not only has the King of France written to him to say he would do nothing in the world in that matter which might turn to his (Ferdinand's) prejudice, but, should it be desired, he would command his ambassador to join with the Spanish ambassadors in speaking to Henry concerning the nuptials of the Prince and Princess of Wales. The King of France has, moreover, written to say he has been informed that the King of England is in the last stage of consumption, and that he therefore thinks it will not be worth while to do much in the matter before the death of the King.

Reported marriage of the Prince of Wales.

Health of Hen. VII.

In any case, whether the said nuptials be concluded or delayed, or whether Henry act well or ill in the matter, Membrilla must speak kindly to the Prince of Wales. He must dwell on the great love which King Ferdinand bears him, and assure him that he may command him and his realm in everything, as well as the Queen of Castile. In a word, he must make use of all the means in his power for bringing the marriage to a speedy conclusion. He must, moreover, endeavour to please and satisfy the Princess of Wales in all possible ways.

Message Membrilla is to deliver to the Prince of Wales.

Membrilla must send word by the present courier about everything that is taking place. If the nuptials, please God, be celebrated, as he hopes they may be, Membrilla must send him the tidings post haste, for it is a matter which he has at heart more than any other.—No date.

Spanish. pp. 22.

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* Maximilian left his army in Italy towards the end of the month of February 1508, and returned to Germany.

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23 July. **587.** MAXIMILIAN, KING OF THE ROMANS, to the ARCHDUCHESS MARGARET.
A. G. de D. de N.

Reasons which had induced the Emperor to consent to the marriage of the Archduke Charles.

Has received her letters, in which she begs him to alter the instructions given to his ambassadors, who are to go at the end of this month to England. Cannot do so. She knows that the principal reason which has induced him to betroth Prince Charles to the Princess Mary is to get a good sum of money from the King of England. The King of England has promised 100,000 crowns, but has requested that, in the security to be given by the towns of Flanders, each town should be responsible for the whole sum. But the utmost that the towns can be induced to do is that each town would be responsible for a certain portion. If the King of England is not content with this proposal, it will show that he loves money more than his friend, and the marriage of his daughter with Prince Charles shall not take place. Should, however, the towns of Flanders be, after all, willing to sign the bonds in the manner the King of England wishes, he will not object —Calcar, 23rd July 1508.

Latin. *pp.* 4, *in print.*

Printed in Correspondence de l'Empereur Maximilian I. Publié par M. Le Glay. Vol. I. p. 74.

7 Aug. **588.** KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN to the KNIGHT COMMANDER OF MEMBRILLA.
S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 110.

Proposed settlement by Henry VII. of the marriage portion of the Princess Katharine.

Has become acquainted, through his letters of the 17th June and the 5th July, with all that has passed between him and Henry VII. and his Council respecting the marriage of the Princess of Wales. Has also seen the letter in which Henry says he is resolved that the whole of the 100,000 scudos shall be paid in money, without taking as part payment any jewels, gold, or plate. Has likewise noted that Henry wishes him and the Queen of Castile, his daughter, to confirm the marriage between the Prince of Castile* and the Lady Mary. Has, moreover, observed that Henry desires it should be arranged that the 200,000 scudos of the marriage portion of the Princess of Wales should be settled upon him (Henry) and his heirs, and that neither he (Ferdinand) nor the Princess of Wales, nor their heirs, should at any time ask for the restitution of the dower. Has also noted how badly the Princess of Wales is treated, and what Membrilla has said to King Henry respecting the Queen of Castile giving up her kingdoms.

Opinion of King Ferdinand respecting Henry VII.

In all these matters Henry has shown extreme covetousness, and but little love for him, the Queen of Castile, and the Princess of Wales. Would have felt much inclined to have no longer any brotherhood or amity with him, only that he trusts the

* Charles.

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Prince of Wales will show himself to be more amenable to reason. Does not know why Henry should exhibit so much ill-will towards him. Fears, from what Membrilla says, that the marriage of the Prince of Castile to the daughter of Henry, instead of augmenting their friendship, would produce quite contrary results. Every thing seems to prove that it would be better for him to break entirely with Henry. Would do so at once, but for the affection he bears the Princess of Wales. For the sake of bringing her marriage to a conclusion, will not take umbrage at the ill-will shown to him by Henry. Membrilla must, therefore, use his best endeavours speedily to bring the marriage to a conclusion, and must take heed to say nothing which may afford an excuse for breaking it off. If, nevertheless, the marriage should not take place, will then feel that he is not responsible for anything that may happen in consequence.

The whole of the marriage portion to be paid in coin.

Membrilla must say to King Henry that although he is doing a very unjust thing in not keeping the promise he made to take the jewels and gold in part payment, yet that he [King Ferdinand] will now consent to pay the whole of the 100,000 scudos in coin. For this purpose has sent a letter to Francisco Grimaldi, requesting him to pay, as he had made an offer to do, the balance which remained over and above the money that had been already sent. But Membrilla must not inform Henry of this matter until he has communicated with Grimaldi; otherwise the rate of exchange might be made to rise. He must, moreover, in speaking to the said Grimaldi, take heed of two things; first, that the interest of the exchange should be the lowest that it is possible to obtain; the other, that the time assigned for the payment should be postponed to as late a date as practicable, and should at least be two months. He must also inform Grimaldi it is possible that even after Henry has been told that the 100,000 scudos will be paid in coin, the marriage may be broken off; in that case the money will not be wanted Should the Princess of Wales have to return to Spain, the money which has already been sent to England must be returned to Spain. He must, moreover, take heed, even if Henry says the marriage shall take place on the payment of the money, to have it given in such a way that, if the marriage should eventually fall through, Henry may not be able to carry the money off. "All this I say, because, in "treating with people of no honour, and indifferent character, "it is necessary to take care that we receive no injury, and "that we are not cheated."

Rate of exchange; time and manner of payment.

Fear felt by Ferdinand of being cheated by Henry.

Injustice of the demands of Henry.

As to what Henry says, about settling on him and his heirs the whole of the 200,000 scudos of the marriage portion, it is a most unjust and unheard-of demand, and against all right and charity. It is no sign of love in him to wish to despoil the Princess of Wales of that which is her own. As for himself, only wishes he could give her more. But the marriage

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Dangerous position of the Princess Katharine.

portion is hers, to do what she likes with. She may, therefore, settle it upon Henry if she please. Would be ready in that case to confirm such a settlement. In his opinion, however, she will not so act, seeing that it is not only an unjust thing, but would be the means of exposing her life to danger; for they would perhaps poison her to get possession of her marriage portion. The bad treatment to which she is subjected, the unkindness shown to her, and the covetousness of Henry, all give cause for suspecting this. But, finally, remits everything to the Princess.

Marriage of the Prince of Castile.

With regard to Henry's wishes respecting the marriage of the Prince of Castile to the Lady Mary, is astonished that so shrewd a King should have asked him to confirm what had been settled in England, before the original, or even a copy of the articles, had been sent him. Not only Kings, but even the meanest persons, are never asked to sign a thing they know nothing about. Moreover, he and the Queen of Castile are the parties chiefly interested; and it behoves them to see that whatever may be agreed upon shall be such as is fitting for the Prince of Castile, and the kingdoms over which he will one day reign. As to signing a thing which he has never seen, will not do it, no, not for the whole world. Notwithstanding, if the marriage of the Princess of Wales takes place immediately, he will, in that case, think about the marriage of the Prince of Castile. All this, Membrilla must communicate very confidentially to the Princess of Wales; and after having conferred with her and Grimaldi, he must speak to Henry quietly, and without showing any sign of dissatisfaction. He must say to him that although it would perhaps be but just that he should receive the jewels, gold, and plate in part payment of the marriage portion, as had been agreed upon, yet that the whole of the 100,000 scudos shall be paid in coin immediately on the marriage taking place.

Conditions respecting the marriage portion.

As respects the demand made by Henry that the 200,000 scudos shall never be required back, he must say whatever the Princess of Wales may direct. It may, however, at any rate be stipulated, that if the said matrimony be dissolved by the death of either party, and issue be left, in that case the restitution of the marriage portion will not be demanded. It may, moreover, be stated that if the matrimony be dissolved by the death of either, after the marriage has been consummated, and the parties married [*blank*] years, the restitution of the marriage portion will not be asked for. But it must be seen to, that the term of years fixed upon be the longest possible, in order that there might be time for the bearing of children, and for giving Henry leisure to get rid of his fancies and ill-will, and to be freed from the temptation of killing the Princess of Wales.

As respects the marriage of the Prince of Castile to the Lady Mary, if the marriage of the Princess of Wales take place immediately, the project will be favorably entertained.

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If, however, Henry require him and the Queen of Castile to confirm the articles agreed upon in England, Membrilla shall give a gentle answer, excusing them for not doing so. But if, in spite of all he can say to explain Ferdinand's conduct, and to bring about the marriage of the Princess of Wales, Henry should not be desirous to conclude the marriage, in that case he must pray and require him to consign the Princess of Wales into his hands; because, for her to remain in England in such circumstances would be to bring her to shame, and to risk her life. Besides, on Henry not desiring to have her for a daughter, he and the Queen of Castile would wish her to be near them, and to be treated as she ought to be treated. He must, in that case, freight ships, and embark the Princess of Wales and her household, and bring her back to Spain, together with the money sent for the marriage portion. Nor will it be necessary to wait for a fleet, since, thank God, they have no enemies at sea. But he must make no menaces until the Princess of Wales be safely out of England. If, on the other hand, the marriage should take place, he must say all that is fitting for the preservation of peace and friendship with King Henry.

Conduct to be observed by Membrilla if the marriage is not concluded.

With his letter sends a document, signed and sealed by him, by which he makes a donation to the Princess of Wales of all the jewels, gold, and plate which he and Queen Isabella had sent with her to England, and in virtue of which she may enjoy and dispose of them as she likes.

If King Henry should say anything respecting his own marriage with the Queen of Castile, Membrilla must answer that he knows nothing about it.

Abdication by Queen Juana of her kingdom. Displeasure felt by Ferdinand.

If Henry should speak to him respecting the Queen of Castile giving up her kingdoms, he must say they are hers to enjoy during her life, and that he and his daughter would defend them with all the forces at their disposal against whoever should dispute their rights. Is astonished that Henry should think of such a thing as setting the Prince of Castile against his mother; he would do himself more harm by such a course than he would do them.

Membrilla must finally be very diligent in finding out the details of everything which is done in England, and respecting the ambassadors of Flanders. It is said in Spain that they are making attempts in Flanders to prevent the marriage of the Princess of Wales, but cannot believe it.

Indorsed: "Valladolid, 7th August 1508."

Spanish. Draft. pp. 12.

7 Aug. **589.** KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN to HENRY VII.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 109.

Has to inform him that Gutierre Gomez de Fuensalida, Commander of Membrilla, has written to him respecting certain matters respecting him (Henry), and to which he will send a reply through Membrilla.—No date.

Spanish. Draft. p. 1.

1508.
7 Aug. **590.** KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN to FRANCISCO GRIMALDI.
S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 109.

Has learnt by the letters of the Commander of Membrilla with how much affection he has offered to provide the money required in order to make up the sum of 100,000 scudos, which has to be paid as the marriage portion of the Princess of Wales. Accepts his offer, and thanks him for it. Has written to his ambassador to say that Grimaldi will provide the money, and promises to send instructions for repaying him the sum advanced, at such time and in such manner as he may settle with the ambassador.

Spanish. Draft. p. 1.

Aug. ? **591.** KING FERDINAND to FRANCISCO DE GRIMALDI.
S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 116.

Has seen his letter by which he offers to pay 25,000 ducats, and more, if necessary, in payment of the marriage portion of the Princess of Wales. Thanks him. Has written to his ambassador respecting the manner in which the money is to be paid.—Valladolid?* No date.

Spanish. Draft. p. 1.

1 Oct. **592.** ARCHDUCHESS MARGARET.
P. R. O.

Ratifies the treaty of marriage between the Archduke Charles and the Princess Mary.—Malines, 1st October 1508.

Latin. p. 1, *in print.*
Printed in Rymer.

1 Oct. **593.** ARCHDUCHESS MARGARET.
P. R. O.

Binds herself to be security for the 250,000 crowns which, according to the treaty of the 21st of December 1507, may have to be paid as penalty by the Archduke Charles.—Malines, 1st October 1508.

Latin. pp. 2, *in print.*
Printed in Rymer.

7 Oct. **594.** MAXIMILIAN, KING OF THE ROMANS, and the ARCHDUKE CHARLES.
P. R. O.

The marriage between the Archduke Charles and the Princess Mary was to have been solemnized before the Feast of Easter, had not the illness of King Henry prevented it.

Commission Johannes de Berghes to go over to England, and perform the ceremony according to the rites of the Church, in the name of the Archduke.—Breda, 7th October 1508.

Latin. pp. 2, *in print.*
Printed in Rymer.

* The writing is not clear. The word may also be rendered "Valdestillas."

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11 Oct. **595.** MAXIMILIAN, KING OF THE ROMANS.
P. R. O.

Binds himself to be security for the 250,000 crowns which, according to the treaty of the 21st December 1507, may have to be paid as penalty by the Archduke Charles. —Schonhoven, 11th of October 1508.

Latin. pp. 3, *in print.*
Printed in Rymer.

11 Oct. **596.** MAXIMILIAN, KING OF THE ROMANS, and the ARCHDUKE CHARLES.
P. R. O.

Bind themselves conjointly to be securities for the 250,000 crowns which, according to the treaty of the 21st of December 1507, may have to be paid as penalty by the Archduke Charles.—Schonhoven, 11th October 1508.

Latin. pp. 3, *in print.*
Printed in Rymer.

11 Oct. **597.** MAXIMILIAN, KING OF THE ROMANS, and the ARCHDUKE CHARLES.
P. R. O.

Commission Johannes de Berghes, Lawrence de Gorrenodo, Sigismund Pilong, Jean le Sauvaige, Andreas de Burgo, Georges de Theimseke, and Egidius Vandamme, to deliver the ratified treaties to the Commissioners of King Henry, and to perform, in the name of the Archduke, the marriage ceremonies with the Princess Mary.—Schonhoven, 11th October 1508.

Latin. pp. 3, *in print.*
Printed in Rymer.

12 Oct. **598.** GUILLAUME DE CROY.
P. R. O.

Binds himself to be security for 50,000 crowns as a portion of the penalty stipulated in the treaty of the 21st December 1507.—12th October 1508.

Latin. p. 1, *in print.*
Printed in Rymer.

27 Oct. **599.** MAXIMILIAN, KING OF THE ROMANS, to the ARCH-
A. G. d. D. d. N. DUCHESS MARGARET.

Has heard that she is preparing to go to the Congress at Cambray. As he is told that a great number of strangers are expected, advises her to engage all the houses on one side of the town, and to leave to the Cardinal of Amboise the other half.

She must take the English ambassadors with her to Cambray, especially Wingfield, and admit them to the deliberations.

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If an ambassador from the King of Arragon come, she is to ask him whether he is provided with authority from the King, and, if he is, to admit him.

His ambassadors have not yet gone to England, because he has not had time to furnish them with instructions. Has now ordered them to set out immediately, and will send the instructions after them.—Breda, 27th October 1508.

French. *pp.* 3, *in print.*

Printed in Correspondance de l'Empereur Maximilian I., &c. Publié par M. le Glay. Vol. I. p. 99.

Nov. (?) **600.** EDMUND WINGFIELD to MARGARET OF AUSTRIA.

A. G. d. D. d. N.

Henry VII. has it much at heart that the affairs of the Emperor, and the Prince his son,* should be settled to the greatest advantage in the approaching Congress of Cambray, and that their enemies should be entirely discomfited.

Alliance between Spain and France. Consequences of its continuance.

As long as the alliance between the King of France and the King of Arragon continues, it is to be feared that the principal enemy of the Emperor and Prince Charles will triumph. For if he be assisted by France, the King of Arragon will most probably be able, not only to keep the usurped government of Castile in his own hands, and the other dominions belonging to that kingdom, as long as he lives, but also to deprive the Prince of his right of succession. To prevent this, it seems to Henry that the best plan would be to exclude the King of Arragon from the treaties that are to be made at Cambray, and to sever the alliance existing between him and the King of France. The King of Arragon has usurped the Government of Castile only by means of the help of the King of France. If he were to be isolated, he would be unable to preserve it, and the Emperor would have it in his power, aided by those who are inimical to the King of Arragon, to take the government of that kingdom into his own hands.

Expedients for preventing the dangers arising out of the alliance.

Since it might be difficult to dissolve the alliance between the King of Arragon and the King of France, has bethought himself of some expedients which might be useful. The King of France, at divers times, has proposed to Henry that the Prince of Wales should marry the sister of the Duke of Augoulême, and that a treaty of alliance and friendship should be concluded between the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Augoulême. The King of England has constantly rejected these offers, though the King of France has been ready to make great sacrifices. He would not even now accept them, were it not that they would be advantageous to the Emperor and the Prince. But as the King of France

* Prince Charles, afterwards the Emperor.

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could not be induced to dissolve the alliance with the King of Arragon on any other terms, the King of England would condescend to accept either the marriage or the alliance.

It is known that the King of France greatly desires this marriage and alliance, and it is therefore probable that, if he could obtain them, he would make peace with the Emperor, and give up his alliance with the King of Arragon. As she and the Cardinal of Gurk are to be present at the conferences of Cambray, he begs them to broach these matters to the Cardinal of Amboise. But it must be understood that it is to be kept secret, that these proposals come from the King of England. If it should be found that the King of France is inclined to enter into the negotiations, the Emperor must write to King Henry, and beg him to consent to either the alliance or the marriage.

A new alliance proposed.

If the King of France should abandon his alliance with the King of Arragon, a new alliance could be concluded between the Pope, the Emperor, the King of England, and the King of France, from which the King of Arragon would have to be excluded. Deprived of all assistance and succour, the King of Arragon would soon be expelled from Castile by the Castilians themselves, who tolerate him only through fear of France.

The Emperor could thus easily obtain the government of Castile, and would not only be able to gain much thereby, but would also have it in his power to administer better justice, and to secure the succession to his son, Prince Charles.

Advantages accruing from these proposals to the Emperor.

Another important advantage to the Emperor would be that he would gain great reputation, and considerably augment his power. He could employ the army and navy of Castile against the Venetians, take vengeance on them, and reconquer all of which he has been deprived. The Emperor would, moreover, be enabled to proceed to Rome to his coronation. The King of England loves the Emperor and Prince Charles above all other Princes, and would therefore gladly take all the trouble of the negotiations concerning the peace between the Emperor and the King of France, and the alliance of the Pope with the Princes, upon himself.

French. pp. 6, *in print.*

Printed in Lettres du Roi Louis XII. Brussels, 1712.

Dec. **601.** ARCHDUCHESS MARGARET to the AMBASSADORS of the KING OF CASTILE in ENGLAND.

A. G. d. D. d. N.

Has concluded all the affairs she had to transact with the Cardinal of Amboise at Cambray to her satisfaction. The ambassadors of the King of England have assisted her. Thanks the King of England. Has communicated to the English ambassadors the secret matter, in order that they

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may inform their master of it.*—Cambray [*in blank*], December 1508.

French. *p.* 1, *in print.*
Letters du Roy Louis XII.; vol. I. p. 132.

17 Dec. **602.** ARCHDUKE CHARLES and the PRINCESS MARY.

P. R. O. Testimonial respecting the marriage between Johannes de Berghes, as proxy of the Archduke Charles and the Princess Mary.—Richmond, 17th December 1508.

Latin. *pp.* 3, *in print.*
Printed in Rymer.

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9 March. **603.** PRINCESS OF WALES to KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 59.

Has seen from his letter to his ambassador that it is his intention to send a prelate to England to conclude the negotiations. Thanks him for doing so, as things are daily becoming worse, and her life more and more insupportable. Those who are at present in England are of no use to her. However sufficient for their office the persons might have been whom he has hitherto sent over, they have not advanced his interests.

Conduct pursued by Spanish ambassador.

Believes he already knows what has been the conduct of the King of England towards the ambassador. He had not wished either to see or hear him; the reason being, as she thinks, that he did not know how to treat matters. For Doctor De Puebla is accustomed to behave with the greatest gentleness towards Henry, while the ambassador bears himself very audaciously towards him and his Council, especially in this matter. As she is constrained to submit to them, no one can be of use who does not behave with moderation. Entreats, therefore, that he will not forget the business about which she has written to him many times, but immediately give directions as to the way in which he desires her to live. It is impossible for her any longer to endure what she has gone through, and is still suffering, from the unkindness of Henry, especially since he has disposed of his daughter in marriage to the Prince of Castile, and therefore imagines he has no longer any need of him [Ferdinand]. King Henry tries to make her feel this, notwithstanding that in secret he must know, if he do not attend to his [Ferdinand] wishes, the best and greatest good he can have will fail him. All this, however, causes her great pain, as being against his interests, and she cannot allow it to pass without making him acquainted with it. God knows how much she is grieved to have thus to trouble him, and always to have to write him such annoying letters. Her necessity has risen to such a height that she knows not how she shall be able to sustain herself, now that even her household goods have been sold. When she spoke a few days before to Henry respecting her wants, he told her that he was not obliged to give her people food, or even herself; but the love he bore her would not allow him to do otherwise

Treatment of the Princess Katharine by Henry VII.

State to which she and her people are reduced.

* The league against Venice, which was at first kept secret.

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than provide for her. From this he will see to what a state she is reduced, when she is warned that even her food is only given her as alms. One of the things which she takes most to heart is to see her people in the ruined state they are. For though some of them have not served her as they ought, it weighs upon her conscience not to be able to pay them, and send away such as are a cause of annoyance to her, especially Juan de Cuero. What annoys her the most is that she cannot do what she would in the matter of her confessor, whom she considers to be the best that ever woman had. As she has often said, it grieves her that she cannot maintain him in the way his office and her rank demand; he having served her during all her troubles with so much loyalty.

Baseness of the ambassador's behaviour; reasons of it.

Thinks it her duty to let him know how basely his ambassador has behaved towards the confessor. It is a thing very contrary to the interests of Spain, and on that account also she has been greatly annoyed. The reason of it all is, that the ambassador has attached himself very strongly to Francisco Grimaldi, and to a servant of hers named Francisca de Caceres, who, by means of the ambassador's favour, are about to marry, contrary to her wishes. Situated as she is, felt obliged to conceal her feelings. Has also been forced to give a bond for the payment of a certain sum of money. Is sure he would not be angry if he knew the cause. On account of the annoyance the woman has caused her, sent her away, and the ambassador received her into his house and at his table. Moreover, on account of the office he filled as his representative, it did not seem right that she should be brought into such a position with the merchant Francisco Grimaldi as she had been. For the ambassador was every day giving her to understand that Grimaldi wanted to go away and carry off the money provided for the marriage portion, unless she gave him some portion of what she had promised him. But she owed him nothing.

Manner in which the confessor of the Princess is treated.

Because her confessor had given her advice in this matter, the ambassador had been angry with him, and said that he was intermeddling in the affairs of the embassy. But by all that she holds dear, assures him such is not the case. Had only sent him to ask for the treaty, which she wished to look at, but which the King did not desire her to see. On account of this the ambassador had said things which she would not write. Entreats him, however, to write to Membrilla, and to say that he does not think it right her confessor should be so treated. For in consequence of what the ambassador had said, the confessor was every day asking for leave to depart, and she does not think he will remain unless he be constrained to do so. Begs he will write to King Henry in his behalf, for he is the greatest consolation she has in her troubles, and she is now in such a state she feels almost desperate.

Evil forebodings of the Princess.

Entreats him to succour her immediately, otherwise she fears something may happen which neither he nor King Henry will be able to prevent. Implores him to send for her immediately that she may go to Spain, and spend the short remainder of her days in serving God, which would

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be the best thing that could happen to her.—Richmond, 9th March.

P. S.—Requests him to give the messenger money to enable him to return to England. In order to provide him with money for his journey has been obliged to sell some of her household goods. Is forced to do the same thing in order to buy food, because, if she should be unwell when it is fasting time, it would be impossible, even if she were dying, to get any flesh to eat in the palace of Henry; for they look upon those who eat meat as heretics.

Addressed: "To the very high and very powerful Lord the King, my Lord."

Indorsed: "Letter of the Princess of Wales to the Catholic King. Richmond, 9th March 1509."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 6½.

20 March. **604.** PRINCESS OF WALES to KING FERDINAND OF SPAIN.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 5. f. 60.

The ambassador has sent to tell her how necessary it is to send a messenger in all haste to him, many things having been discovered. But fearing that some of them may not be true, begs that if anything should have been written to him respecting her household, and especially her confessor, he will not credit it. For, by her salvation, she assures him the confessor serves her very loyally. A few days before, had written to him, but it would take reams of paper to repeat all that the ambassador has said against her and the honour of her house, through the affection he feels for her former servant Francisca de Caceres. Thinks he would rather die than see what she has passed through. Will not believe he looks on her as his daughter unless he punishes the said ambassador, and sends him word to confine himself to the affairs of his embassy, and not to meddle in those of her household. Begs him to see to this before her life is sacrificed, as she fears it will be soon, owing to the trials she has to endure. —Richmond, 20th March 1509.

Loyalty of the confessor of the Princess.

In cipher. Deciphered by Almazan. The original letter in cipher is not extant.

Spanish. pp. 1½.

No date. **605.** DE PUEBLA.

S. E. T. c. I. L. 2.

A List of the State Papers left by Rodriguez Gundisalvi de Puebla, to Gonzales Hernandez, and Ruyz Diaz de Puebla.

1. Two ratifications of the treaty concluded between De Puebla and the Bishop of London, on the 26th [*blank*] 1500.

2. A ratification of the treaty of marriage between the Princess Katharine, and Arthur Prince of Wales, dated 4th February 1498.

3. Commission of the Princess Katharine to De Puebla, to conclude the marriage with Prince Arthur, dated 12th of March [14]99.

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4. Ratification of the marriage treaty by the Princess Katharine.

5. Ratification by Ferdinand and Isabella of the marriage treaty of the Princess Katharine, dated 4th February 1498.

6. Power to treat, given to Doctor De Puebla, and dated 12th March 1496.

7. Commission of the Princess Katharine to conclude her marriage *per verba de præsenti.*

8. A duplicate of the same power.

9. A commission of the King of England to conclude the marriage of Prince Arthur with the Princess Katharine.

10. A duplicate of the same commission.

11. Another commission of the King of England to conclude the marriage of Prince Arthur with the Princess Katharine, dated 18th July 1497.

French. pp. 3.

[*It seems that this list was made by a Commissioner of the Emperor Charles V. at the time of the divorce.*]

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