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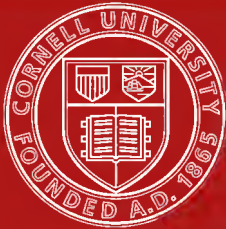
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MR HARDY'S REPORT

UPON

VENETIAN ARCHIVES



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Report to the Right honourable the maste



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# REPORT

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS

UPON THE

## DOCUMENTS IN THE ARCHIVES AND PUBLIC LIBRARIES

OF

### VENICE.

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BY

THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY,

DEPUTY KEEPER OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS.

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To the Right Honourable SIR JOHN ROMILLY, Master of the  
Rolls, &c. &c. &c.

Public Record Office,  
30th November 1865.

SIR,

PURSUANT to your directions, and with the approbation of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, I visited Venice in the month of September last. My instructions were to make a report to you, for the information of their Lordships, relative to the documents contained in the Archives and Public Libraries of Venice, illustrating the history of this country.

1. My first object was to ascertain what progress Mr. Rawdon Brown had made in his Calendar of Venetian Papers. His first volume, bringing the work down to 1509, was published in September 1864. Since that time, he has prepared the Calendar for press down to 31st December 1522, extending to about 1150 pages. The manuscript is in the hands of the printer, and 208 pages have been printed off.

2. Mr. Brown was very desirous, not only for his own satisfaction, but also for your Honour's, that I should compare his published volume with the originals in the Venetian Archives. I was induced, at his urgent solicitation, to examine a portion of it. I found upon examining the originals that his abstracts had been made with great care and accuracy, and, so far as I could discover, every point of importance in each document had been noticed in the fewest words possible. In justice to Mr. Brown, I ought to state that his Calendar gives but a faint idea of the extent of the work he has performed. In making his selections, he was compelled to wade through volume after volume, and document after document, page by page in closely cramped handwriting in a foreign language, with no marginal or other indications to guide him as to the contents of the papers; and, to extract the information required, he had to examine not merely the series relating to England, but also those which referred to France and Germany.

3. To show the interest which literary men in England take in Mr. Brown's labours, I may mention that immediately on the appearance of his Venetian Calendar, several men distinguished in the world of letters wrote to him for information relative to the different periods of history upon which they are severally engaged. With his usual ready kindness, Mr. Brown liberally gave them most valuable information, as he considered that by so doing he was carrying out the object of the Master of the Rolls and the Government, by facilitating the researches of English students.

These frequent applications occupy much time and add to the official labour, the amount of which can only be appreciated by seeing the numerous documents and collections preserved at Venice. Moreover, considerable expense is incurred by Mr. Brown in paying for transcripts.

4. As in the preface\* to the first volume of his Venetian Calendar, Mr. Brown has given a very detailed account of all the Archives and Collections at Venice, it will be unnecessary for me to travel again over the same ground. I shall therefore confine my remarks to the National Archives in the Frari, the Marcian Library, and Correr Museum; which depositories I myself examined as carefully as I could during the limited period I remained in Venice.

5. The ex-convent of the Franciscans, commonly called the "Frari," was established as the National Archive, by an Imperial Decree, in the year 1817.

It is impossible to go over this establishment without being amazed, not only at its extent, but at the extraordinary order and neatness which prevail throughout the 300 rooms appropriated to the National Archives. Several of these rooms are of great extent, and very lofty. The smallest is much larger than a good-sized chamber in England. The documents are placed on shelves rising from the floor to the ceiling, occupying nearly 18,000 feet in clear run. In many of the rooms, the papers are arranged in double rows, and in each room there is a catalogue of the papers in the bundles, so that any particular document can be instantly produced. No general catalogue of the whole Archives, however, has been compiled. I had an opportunity of testing the facility of the access afforded to applicants, and I was surprised at the rapidity with which several papers deposited in distant parts of the building were produced by Signor Luigi Pasini, a most zealous and efficient officer. This establishment is under the control of Count Girolamo Dandolo, the Director-general of the Archives of the Signory, who in the most obliging and courteous manner not only gave me permission to inspect the whole of the immense establishment, but afforded me every facility for accomplishing my purpose.

6. The documents deposited in the "Frari" are as multifarious in their nature as are those in our own Public Record Office. They are divided into four classes:—political, judicial, commercial, and territorial; each of these is again divided and sub-divided into heads and sections. It is not, however, my intention to notice any of the papers, except such as have reference to this country.

7. Among the Archives of the Council of Ten (a portion of the political compartment) occurs an interesting series of letters written in the English language, being a part of the correspondence

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\* Nothing can better show how highly the Venetians appreciate Mr. Brown's labours than the fact that his preface has been translated into Italian, and published at their expense in the new collection of historical works (*Nuova Collezione di Opere Storiche*).



of Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devon, who died in the year 1556. As Mr. Brown has called attention to this fact in his preface, and will calendar the documents in question in their proper places, it is needless here to do more than allude to their existence; and I do so merely to show the absolute necessity of searching through all the various series of documents, although apparently they have no reference to England.

8. Another important class in the "political" division is the Ducal Chancery, in which the Public State Papers are preserved. These of course will form a very important feature in Mr. Brown's Calendar. He divides them under six heads, viz. :—

- I. The instructions or commissions given to the ambassador on his departure.
- II. The despatches written by the State.
- III. News-letters which accompanied the despatches, having been compiled in the Ducal Chancery, for the information of Foreign Powers. These news-letters were styled advices, "avvisi," and although they no longer exist in the Archives, a collection of them, commencing with the year 1510, may be seen at Vienna.
- IV. The despatches written by the diplomatic agents during their missions.
- V. Advices transmitted by the ambassadors from Foreign Courts.
- VI. The "report" which the ambassador read to the College and Senate on his return.

9. It is unnecessary, however, to go into details respecting each of these classes, but the value of such documents for the elucidation of history, both general and particular, cannot be questioned. I may say there is scarcely a subject upon which these papers do not throw some interesting light; be it in relation to literature, arts, manufactures, manners, or customs. I will take a few subjects indiscriminately to show their diversified nature. One would scarcely expect to find entries relating to the drama; such as the following instance relating to Arabella Stuart:—

On the 18th February, in the year 1610, the Venetian ambassadors Francesco Contarini and Marc Antonio Correr wrote from London to the Signory thus:—

"The Lady Arabella quits her apartments but seldom, and is more dispirited than ever. She has complained that the public players have introduced a certain parody of her person, and of the negotiation carried on with the Moldavian prince, in a comedy, which has, however, been prohibited. Her Excellency remains very much dissatisfied, and seems determined to seek the punishment of certain individuals (whose names are unknown) at the next meeting of Parliament."

10. Another instance is scarcely less curious:—

On the 10th January 1620, the ambassador Lando writes from London,—“I do not think fit to omit mentioning to your Serenity,

“ by reason of the mystery which envelopes it, the following circumstances:—On the day before yesterday the Prince’s players, in the presence of the King his father, represented in a comedy a subject thus:—A king, the father of two sons, causes the death of one of them by poison, on the sole suspicion that this son meant to deprive him of his crown, which is afterwards taken from him by the other son. This disturbed and agitated the King greatly, both internally and externally, though in this country the players have such absolute liberty to say whatever they please against any person soever, that the demonstration against them will limit itself to what the King said to them by word of mouth.”\*

11. Other notices in the Venetian Despatches throw light upon Othello, or rather as to the person whom Shakespeare intended to represent under that character; but the subject is too long to be introduced into this report, and Mr. Rawdon Brown may feel disposed to publish the documents himself.

12. I will adduce one more instance which gives the earliest recognized date for the performance of John Webster’s celebrated tragedy, entitled the “Duchess of Malfy.” Mr. Dyce remarks that its first representation certainly took place before the death of Burbadge (March 1619), and Mr. J. Payne Collier says:—“The only certain point at which we can arrive is, that the ‘Duchess of Malfi’ was originally acted before the death of Burbadge in March 1619, because he had the part of Ferdinand in it, which in 1623 was in the hands of Joseph Taylor.”

From the Venetian documents we learn that “The Duchess of Malfi” had certainly been performed in London before the 7th of February 1618 (N.S.).

The ambassador’s chaplain writes on that day, “the English deride our religion as detestable and superstitious, and never represent any theatrical piece, not even a satirical tragi-comedy, unless larded with the vices and iniquities of some Catholic churchman, which move them to much laughter and mockery, to their own satisfaction, and to the regret of the pious spectator. As an instance, I may mention that on one occasion my colleagues of the embassy witnessed the performance of a play in which a Franciscan friar figured. He was represented as astute and replete with impiety of various shades, including avarice and lust; and then the whole was made to end in a tragedy, for they beheaded him on the stage.

“Another time the players represented the pomp of a cardinal in his identical robes of state, very handsome and costly, and accompanied by his retinue; with an altar raised on the stage where

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\* It could not have been from the pen of Ben Jonson, as he was at that time in Scotland, as appears by a letter to him from Drummond, of Hawthornden (published by Gifford, Ben Jonson’s Works, vii. 352). Drummond writes, “I have heard from Court that the late mask was not so approved of by the king as in former times, and that your absence was regretted.” This paragraph confirms the information given by the Venetian ambassador to the Doge.

“ he pretended to perform service, ordering a procession ; and then they produced him again before the public with a concubine in his arms. He played the part of administering poison to his sister, for a point of honour, and, moreover, of going into battle, having first solemnly deposited his cardinal’s robes on the altar, thro’ the agency of his chaplains. Last of all he had himself girded with a sword, putting on his scarf with the best grace possible ; and all this they do in derision of ecclesiastical pomp, which in this kingdom is mortally scorned and hated.”

13. In the Appendix (A.) I have given a list of such documents as I could find at the Frari, relative to the divorce of King Henry VIII.

14. Preserved in the Archives of the Frari is a volume containing the despatches of Michiel, the Venetian ambassador at the court of Queen Mary. Of these, about one-sixth part is written in a cipher that has hitherto baffled the skill of every one who has attempted to explain it. Several of these letters are only partially written in these secret characters, the remaining portion is in the ordinary writing of the period. The context shows that many of the secret passages evidently relate to the release of the Earl of Devonshire from the Tower, and of the Princess Elizabeth from Woodstock. I should recommend that copies or photographs of these letters be sent to England, in order that steps may be instantly taken to decipher them, which will, in all probability, throw light on the events of the reign of Queen Mary. That they are matters of great secrecy may be inferred from the fact that the despatches in cipher of the Venetian ambassador from England are of very rare occurrence.

15. The documents belonging to “ the Council of Ten ” are deposited in the Frari, and are replete with curious historical information. As Mr. Brown has given a very interesting account of this branch of the Venetian government, it will not be necessary for me to follow in his steps. The first time the Council appears in connexion with English affairs is in the year 1508.

16. Amongst the files of motions made by the Council of Ten is one showing that Sebastian Cabot, in the year 1551, was anxious to do by Edward VI. and England as he proposed doing by the Emperor Charles V. and Spain in 1522.

The letter addressed to Giacomo Soranzo, ambassador in England, as noted in the motion, runs thus :—

“ By your letters of the 17th ulto., addressed to our chiefs of the Council of Ten, we perceive what you had to tell us about our right faithful Sebastian Cabot which was very agreeable to us, and we praise you for your diligence in giving us minute information concerning his qualities and parts (*qualità et conditioni sue*) ; in reply to which we desire you to let him know that this his offer has proved most agreeable to us, and you will address him in such bland terms as shall seem fit to you.

“ Touching the request made to you by the Council (quei Signori) concerning the credits claimed by him,\* and the recovery of his property, you will answer them that it is our wish in all things possible to do what is agreeable to his Majesty and to their Lordships; but as the said Cabot is not known to anybody here, it would be requisite for him to come to Venice in person to identify himself and his claims, the matters in question being of very ancient date.

“ This same answer was made by us here to his Majesty’s ambassador,† who preferred suit to us on the subject in conformity with your letter.

“ You will therefore moreover announce the whole to the said Cabot, so that availing himself of this opportunity he may ask and obtain the permission to come. You will see that he endeavour to get it, and that he come hither as soon as possible; nor will you fail in the meanwhile to exert yourself to obtain as many further details as you can about his project for this new passage (navigatione), giving particular notice of the whole above written heads.”

Ayes 25. Noes 2. Neutrals 1.

17. Out of the body of the Council of Ten, which I have already noticed, there arose in the year 1539 another more influential and powerful tribunal, called the “Inquisitors of State.” It had a more prompt and secret jurisdiction than that of its parent, and was the most dreaded court in all Venice. It consisted of three persons, who were elected by the Council of Ten. Its proceedings are also preserved in the Frari, but to obtain access to them, as well as to those of the Council of Ten, it is necessary to procure a special permission either from the Governor of Venice, or the Director General of the Archives.

18. Many of the manuscripts deposited in St. Mark’s Library are of the deepest interest to English scholars. Among them is a collection of Cardinal Pole’s correspondence from 1548 to 1558; at one time it formed part of the Archives of “the Council of Ten,” but at the suggestion of the late librarian Don Jacopo Morelli it was given to the Marcian Library in the year 1795.

These letters which are of the highest value were unknown to Querini when he published his work entitled “*Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli et aliorum ad ipsum*,” 5 vols. 4to. Brix., 1757.

A list of the letters will be found in the Appendix (B.), together with a translation of a few of them in Appendix (C.). Those written by Marc Antonio Faitta, the cardinal’s secretary, on the subject of the consecration of Pole as Archbishop of Canterbury, and of the ceremony of washing the feet of poor women by the

\* As seen by the documents already printed by the Philobiblon Society, Sebastian Cabot laid claim to property in Venice under the will of his maternal aunt, and whilst seeking to recover it by means of the English ministers, he simultaneously sought to betray them by transferring his allegiance to the Venetians, and giving them the benefit of his hypothetical discoveries.

† Peter Vannes, (see Mr. Turnbull’s Calendar of Foreign State Papers, p. 171, date 12th September 1551,) so that by an odd coincidence Cabot’s affairs were treated of at Venice on one and the same day both by the Signory and Peter Vannes.

Queen, are replete with curious information and interest; but the letter dated 27th November 1558 from Monsignor Luigi Priuli to his brother in Venice detailing the death of the cardinal, is one of the most touching and circumstantial epistles on record.

These letters so far as I have been able to ascertain are new to English readers, or at any rate the information contained in them is but imperfectly known.

While on this subject, I may mention a fact known only to very few persons, but which will interest many others. In the public library at Douai are six volumes containing an official register of the documents issued by Pole while papal legate; these are quite distinct from those at Venice. The correspondence for the most part is written by an English scribe on English paper; but one volume is apparently on Italian paper and by an Italian scribe. At the end is a treatise "De summo pontifice" in the form of a dialogue between Pope Urban and Pole, dated 13 Calend. Feb. 1550.

There are also in the Imperial Library at Paris copies of several letters to and from Cardinal Pole entitled "Negociati della legatione del Cardinale Reginaldo Polo, mandati da papa Guilio III., in Inghilterra per la reductione di quel regno all'obediienza della sede apostolica, et in Francia, per trattar la pace tra Henrico II. e Carlo V., imperatore 1553." These also differ from the collection in the Marcian Library.

With the view of throwing as much light as I can upon Cardinal Pole's correspondence in case a new edition of Querini should be undertaken, I may add that among the additional manuscripts (No. 25425) in the British Museum is a volume of 685 pages written in a bad Italian hand, containing Pole's correspondence on English affairs from 7th Aug. 1553 to 5th Oct. 1554.\* I am not, however, able to state whether the contents are the same as in the manuscripts at Venice, Douai, and Paris.†

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\* Mr. Bergenroth informs me that there are in the Spanish Archives at Simancas several important letters from Cardinal Pole to the Emperor Charles V., in one of which (a holograph) he offers himself as husband to the Princess Mary. In the same repository there are in the Libros de Berzosa copies of about 100 of Pole's letters preserved in the Archives at Rome, ranging from 1555 to 1558, and treating on all kinds of subjects, both religious and political. These copies were made in Rome at the command of Philip II. In addition to these there are about 20 of the Cardinal's letters written at various periods of his life, but of no great historical importance; also several letters and a memoir of him relative to his negotiations in France, by which it appears that he was desirous to secure the goodwill of France and to obtain the aid of the French King against Henry VIII. The subject is so full of interest that I have thought it expedient to print Mr. Bergenroth's communication in full in the Appendix (D.). There are also some of Cardinal Pole's letters among the Vatican transcripts, made under the direction of Marini for the English Government, preserved in the British Museum.

† There is a very long and curious letter, apparently not one of the Venice series, dated 1st December 1554, which is printed in the *Analecta juris Pontificii*, vol. ii., fol. Rome, 1857; but the editor does not state from what source it was derived, nor does it appear by whom it was written, or to whom addressed. The letter, being in French, is perhaps a translation. The same paper also contains several other documents connected with the Legatine mission of Cardinal Pole, one of which, written in reply to the letter of the 1st of December 1554, mentioned above, details at considerable length the rejoicings which took place at Rome upon the reconciliation of England with the Holy See.

19. In St. Mark's Library I also inspected five volumes of manuscript letters, many of which relating to England have been noticed in the Venetian Calendar, p. 148 and following.

The history of the miscellaneous contents of these volumes, which were not bound until the year 1864, is worth recording.

Like the original letters from the kings of England to the popes, now in the Archives, they formed part of the plunder of the Vatican at the time of the sack of Rome in 1527.

I also read an original letter from James IV., King of Scotland, from whom there are seven addressed to Innocent VIII. and Alexander VI., all of which have been duly entered, pp. 199-215. Not one letter from any king of Scotland to any pope is to be found in the collection at the Frari, which I inspected.\*

This series of most curious documents was given by the Council of Ten to St. Mark's Library in the year 1787, and had been collected originally by Livio Podacataro, Archbishop of Nicosia, who died at Rome on the 19th of January 1555, 1556. I am unable to state when or by what means the Ten got possession of these papers.

20. In St. Mark's Library I examined the "Portolano" or charts of Andrea Bianco, executed in the year 1436.† On the chart of the British Channel I read the word "Camera," recognizing the identity of its position with that of Rye, alias Camber before Rye. This is its earliest delineation on any chart, but Portus Camera is inscribed on the registers of the Venetian Senate as early as the 2nd January 1397. The last Venetian record of Portus Camera is to be found in a letter of Guistinian, No. 205, dated Lambeth, 19th of January 1519; the paragraph was omitted in the edition of his letters of 1854, together with many other letters which will be noticed in the forthcoming volumes of the Venetian calendar.‡

21. The following report of Giovanni Michiel, the Venetian Ambassador at Paris, dated 22nd May 1558, to his government, although it only indirectly concerns England, is not unworthy of notice, as it relates to the origin of the Huguenots:—

"The Duke of Guise departed on the 19th.

"The English fleet has again appeared in front of Dieppe, and continues cruising off the coast, but has not yet attempted any landing, or done any notable damage.

"Here, during the present week, a thing occurred, which besides appearing a grievous scandal to those who witnessed it,

\* Mention is made of these letters in Preface to the Venetian Calendar, p. lxxxvii.

† See Preface to the Venetian Calendar, p. lxxii.

‡ There is a notice of Bianco's Portolano at p. lxxii. of the Venetian Calendar. Concerning Bianco's chart, I should add, that Mr. S. R. Gardiner has corrected the conjectural translation of some of its names thus:—

Godiman	-	-	The Dodman.
Copasen	-	-	Topsham.
Cao de Lin	-	-	Cob of Lyme.
Santarelmia	-	-	St. Alban's. or St. Adhelm's Head.
Clanmenron	-	-	Lymington.
Aubre	-	-	Hamble.

displayed in like manner extreme audacity on the part of its doers.

“ In the meadows beyond the Faubourg St. Germain,\* which belong to the Students, whither at this season persons resort after supper for air and exercise, there assembled publicly a concourse of some three to four thousand individuals (though others estimate the amount at from six to seven thousand) of every grade and condition, men and women, old and young, boys and girls, noblemen, plebeians, and artificers,—who marched processionally in dense battalions, singing aloud, in the French tongue, a sort of psalmody, the precise counterpart of that which is chanted in the churches of Geneva, and other Lutheran Conventicles, adding at the close of each psalm an invective or ballad against the Pope.† For their defence in case of need against the populace and the police not only had they a considerable force in the distance armed with pistols and other concealed weapons, but likewise several companies of cavalry, the greater part noblemen and adherents of great personages, in number 15 or 20 to each company, and who covered the van, flank, and rear of the psalmists, escorting them on their march through the meadows. When it was dark they returned into the city, proceeding in this array, still singing, the whole length of the Rue St. Jacques; nor on the first night did many persons witness this display, but for the second performance there was an immense crowd of spectators, including even persons of high rank; and although on the third day, to prevent this tumult, the authorities issued a proclamation prohibiting its repetition, the psalmists nevertheless went forth at the usual hour, continuing their chants, and in much greater number. Orders having been given to close the city gates at sunset, the whole company passed the night in the houses of the suburb or strolling through the meadows, re-entering Paris on the following morning, in number upwards of 10,000; nor did this deter them from going forth every successive evening in yet greater force with the same escort, but merely singing the psalms, and omitting the invective against the Pope. An account of this having been sent to the Court, the Cardinal of Sens, the Spiritual Primate of France, was ordered back immediately to investigate the matter, and to stop so scandalous a proceeding; but he will have much to do, the mischief having spread so far, and taken such deep root amongst the chief personages of the kingdom.

“ The King gave orders for the prosecution of the ringleaders; but as amongst them were Antoine, King of Navarre, and his wife, it was not continued, though similar demonstrations were prohibited for the future, under pain of capital punishment.”

In date of Paris, 18th July 1559, Michiel alludes to the Protestants in Scotland; and his successor, Suriano, uses the term “*Hughenotti*” for the first time in date of Paris, 17th February

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\* These meadows were then called “*Le Pré aux Clercs*.”

† A paraphrase of the Psalms of David by Clement Marot.

1561, when informing the State that the preachers there had been forbidden "di predicare contra Lutherani et Hughenotti."

22. Acting on the conviction that the student of English history must not confine his researches to the papers expressly relating to this country, I thought it necessary to inspect some of the despatches from the Venetian ambassadors accredited to the various European Courts, and I found, as I expected, in many of them materials relating to England too important to be passed over.

Among them I may mention the letters of Priuli, the Venetian ambassador in Spain. They are remarkably graphic and interesting. I may take as an example the first that came to hand. It relates to the special embassy sent by James I. to Philip III., for the purpose of receiving "his oath for observance of the peace," agreed upon between the two kingdoms. Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral of England, was the ambassador chosen. In the Appendix (E.), I have given several papers relating to the Earl of Nottingham's Embassy, which appear to me to be very interesting.

These despatches are important to literary history, as they have enabled Mr. Rawdon Brown to support the very ingenious theory that *Don Quixote* is a political satire, devised by Cervantes in condemnation of the policy of the Duke of Lerma, Prime Minister of Spain from September 1598 to October 1618.

23. On the death of Philip II., his son and successor, Philip III., dismissed the practical statesmen employed by his father, and replaced them by the Duke of Lerma and his adherents, whose policy was considered by Cervantes a revival of knight-errantry. Mr. Brown has constructed a key to the characters in *Don Quixote*, with which the humour of *Don Quixote* will be better appreciated, and much of the tale which appears unintelligible will be better understood. That *Don Quixote* was intended as a political satire there can be but little doubt. Samuel Butler evidently considered it as such by his frequent allusions in *Hudibras*. Fifty years after the death of Cervantes, Louis Moreri informed the public that the great Spanish moralist took his revenge on Francisco de Sandoval (Duke of Lerma) for some insult, by lampooning him in *Don Quixote*. Rapin, who died in 1682, confirmed the assertion of Moreri with regard to the identity of *Don Quixote* and the Duke of Lerma, on the authority of Dom Lopé, to whom the fact had been announced by Cervantes himself. Dom Lopé imparted it to an anonymous individual, the friend of Rapin, through whom the circumstance got into print, and this assertion was corroborated in 1734. In that year the Abbé Lenglet du Fresnoy, under the pseudonyme of Gordon de Percel, published his work on the application of romances (*De l'usage des Romans*), in which he remarks, that although d'Aubigné escaped chastisement from the Duke of Epernon for having lampooned him in the novel entitled "*Baron de Feneste*," yet was this good fortune solely attributable to his zeal for the service of Louis XIII., whereas in Spain, Miguel de Cervantes, who had done the same thing, did not execute it with



impunity. His romance of Don Quixote, in which he represents a nobleman of the court extravagantly partial to the chivalry of old, obtained for him the reward which men of address and resolution bestow on satirists. The correction rendered Cervantes discreet, but it damaged his work. The second part, which did not make its appearance until after the practical hints, is very far from being so good as the first.

Daniel de Foe called it an emblematic history of, and a just satire upon, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, a person very remarkable at that time in Spain.

24. In St. Mark's Library I inspected several original "letter books" of Venetian ambassadors which have the following advantages over the "files" of original despatches preserved in the Archives.

1st. The letter books contain no cipher, being meant exclusively for the ambassador's own use; 2nd, they comprise the despatches addressed to the chiefs of the Ten, and to the Inquisitors of State, which despatches do not exist in the original files at the Archives.

For instance, amongst the papers of the "Inquisitors of State" at the Archives, is one endorsed 1st of December 1617. "Received the 27th. England; Ambassador, Contarini. Discourse of a leading member of the Council concerning the Ambassador Wotton, at Venice."

The contents of the letter are in cipher without any key, but in the Contarini letter book its substance is legible thus:—

"When conferring with one of the most influential members of the Privy Council,\* he requested me in great confidence to tell him how the ambassador served the Republic; whether the Signory was satisfied with his conduct, or suspected him of being dependent on the Spaniards, as it was known in London that he held secret and nocturnal interviews with the Spanish ambassador at Venice, and also, that when, owing to the current events, his presence and assistance there were most needed to prove to every one the good understanding between the Republic and the English Crown, he on the contrary had absented himself from the city.

"I replied that I was unacquainted with these particulars, nor did I know what to say about them; that as he was their minister it was their business to weigh his actions.

"This privy councillor added that not merely were the interests of the King concerned, but likewise those of the Republic, who fancying that she had a friendly minister in her bosom, might possibly endanger the public service, urging me for the good of my country to say freely what I knew on the subject.

"I, however, merely repeated what is aforesaid without any addition, and he then inquired of me what answer I should make if the King catechized me hereon, and requested me to discuss the matter with him freely; to this I made answer that I could tell the King no more than I had told him (Secretary Lake).

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\* Sir Thomas Lake.

“ I have chosen to give respectful account to your Excellencies of all these details, in order that, should his Majesty broach the topic to me, I may be able to answer him in conformity with such instructions as you may be pleased to give me, and I avail myself of this opportunity for paying my most humble respects to your Excellencies.”

25. The history of the life and death of Antonio Foscarini, an illustrious senator of Venice, who had filled the office of ambassador to the Court of France, and who was intimately known to our King James the First, is of the most romantic character. He was denounced to the Inquisitors of State by two professed spies of mean condition, and put to death on the 21st of April 1622, under the following sentence: “ We will that to-morrow morning before day-break, in the very dungeon where he now is the deathsman do strangle him so that he die, and when dead the said deathsman do hang him up by one leg on a lofty gallows between the two columns of St. Mark, and that he be left thus for a whole day.”

I should not have alluded to this event except for the interesting episode connected with it relating to the celebrated Alethea Talbot, Countess of Arundel, wife of Thomas Howard.

As I have given the documents at full length in the Appendix (F.), I shall merely offer a few words on the subject.

In the evening after the execution of Foscarini, the Countess of Arundel left her villa on the Brentna, and was travelling towards the Lagoons to reach the Mocenigo Palace at Venice. On the road between Dolo and Fusina the carriage was stopped by a horseman who announced himself as John Dyneley, secretary of Sir Henry Wotton, the English ambassador to the Signory. He informed her that he had been dispatched by the ambassador to deliver a message to her in private. The Countess declined to receive any private communication, and requested Mr. Dyneley to deliver his message publicly before her suite. The secretary complied, and informed her Ladyship “ that on fitting accounts both public and private, the English ambassador had sent his secretary to inform her Ladyship that he had heard from good authority, and that it was very generally reported in Venice concerning the unhappy fate of Foscarini, that his sentence had been partly grounded on the frequent conferences held by him with certain public ministers in the house of the Countess on the Grand Canal; that according to credible intelligence received on that very morning the ambassador understood that the Republic intended assigning a fixed period to the Countess, within which she was to quit the Venetian territories; that in consequence of this, to avoid the affront of such an intimation, as also the peril which threatened some of her attendants, it was the respectful opinion of the ambassador that she would do well to remain abroad at her villa without coming to Venice, until such time as she should receive further intelligence from him.”

Lady Arundel immediately answered the ambassador's secretary, that having nothing to reproach herself with she saw no reason for her return to Dolo. She immediately alighted from her carriage, entered her barge, and proceeded, not to her residence at the Mocenigo Palace, but to the English embassy. There in the presence of all her attendants the Countess had a long conference with Ambassador Wotton. He further asserted that he had received earnest assurance of its being reported that the Papal nuncio and the Imperial resident had frequently met the Cavalier Foscarini at a late hour in the night in her dwelling, where Foscarini was in the habit of presenting himself in disguise with a broad-brimmed French hat, a short mantle, and fully armed. The peril to which the ambassador had alluded threatened Signor Francesco Vercellini, her attendant, because he was a Venetian subject. The ambassador further stated that the report of the stealthy conferences held in the Mocenigo Palace by Foscarini was circulated immediately after his arrest became publicly known, and that when the ambassador was informed of the intention of the State to expel the Countess, he, although himself convinced of the rectitude of her conduct, had forwarded the intelligence to her with all speed in conformity with his special duty to her noble self, and to her name, as also in his quality of servant to the King, since any indignity offered to a lady of such exalted station could not fail to be viewed in the light of a national insult.

In reply to this statement Lady Arundel said that the assertions it contained were notorious falsehoods, and that the report was an infamous one devoid of the slightest grounds, as she had never exchanged any compliments or civilities, however transient, with either the Papal or Imperial envoy, and that the only intercourse between herself and Foscarini consisted in a message which she received 18 months ago on arriving at Padua, whereby he announced his intention of calling on her at Venice, a project which he never realized, contenting himself with sending a Jew as the bearer of his apologies.

After vouchsafing this explanation to the ambassador, Lady Arundel asked his advice as to her best course to pursue in the matter. Wotton suggested that all proceedings should be delayed until he could ascertain in detail the source of the rumour. The Countess declined his counsel, since it was a matter affecting her honour; she determined to obtain some overt recognition of her innocence and compensation for the grievous injury inflicted on her; she thereupon requested the ambassador to send a messenger to the College with her request for an audience on the morrow. To this the ambassador demurred, alleging the lateness of the hour, it being then between 10 and 11 o'clock at night.

The Countess then withdrew to the Mocenigo Palace, and after consulting Colonel Peyton, a military commander in the service of Venice, and her attendants, determined on seeing the English ambassador early on the following morning. She then informed him that after mature consideration she had determined

in justification of herself and her household to see the Doge and his council immediately. Much to his evident displeasure Wotton was compelled to comply with Lady Arundel's determination. The journals of the Venetian College give the curious facts which appear in the Appendix (F.), and I think they will be read with great interest and pleasure.

PAPERS relating to ENGLISH NAVAL and MILITARY CELEBRITIES in the 16th and 17th Centuries, found in the Venetian Archives.

26. The Ambassador Hieronimo Lippomano writes to the Signory from Madrid, on the 9th of May 1587, relative to Sir Francis Drake:—

“It is heard thro' five Englishmen who were made prisoners at Cadiz, that Drake has vast designs against Spain, concerning which he often discourses with very great indignation; and that your Excellencies may understand the cause, and perceive how much the enmity of one single man, (altho' of low estate and a private individual,) borne against a sovereign, however powerful, may occasionally matter, I will tell you that this man was a very favourite page of King Philip's, so long back as when his Catholic Majesty was in England.\* Being afterwards sent to India, he served his Majesty honourably in those parts, filling a certain post, on account of which he returned to Spain with a credit of 9,000 ducats, and after remaining a whole year at the court without ever having been able to obtain these arrears, owing to the fault of the ministers, he sold the debt for 3,000 ducats.

“On returning thus to England he said he would revenge himself with his own hand, and having obtained leave from the Queen he proceeded immediately to India with five armed ships, and in Magellan's Strait, amongst other prizes, he captured a vessel freighted with gold. Not content with this, he returned a second time last year in yet greater force, and then and there, and now in Spain, has done such great damage as is notorious; and yet worse may be expected, which may God avert.

“Here enclosed will be a detailed account received by the King of the damages done by Drake, which I have this moment received from a confidential friend.

“At 5 p.m. on Wednesday, the 29th of April 1587, Francis Drake entered with a fleet of 42 sail, vidt. 5 large ships of 500 tons each; 2 galeasses of 200; 6 ships of 100; 13 like frigates of 60 tons each; and other small vessels,” &c. &c.

27. The papers relating to Sir Walter Raleigh are highly interesting, and will, I think, be very acceptable to his future

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\* Drake is said to have been born A.D. 1544. Queen Mary reigned from 1553 to 1558. Drake might well have served as page to King Philip, who was in England from July 1554 to September 1555, and from 20th March 1557 to 5th July 1557. It is curious, at any rate, to find the Spaniards maintaining that their bitter enemy had gentle blood in his veins, whereas Drake's own countrymen believed him to have been born “of mean parentage,” which was incompatible with the rank of “page” at so ceremonious a Court as that of Philip II.

biographer. The following notices respecting him will afford some notion of their value.

Notice is given to the State by the secretary Carlo Scaramelli, in a letter dated Salisbury, the 13th of August, N.S., 1603, thus:—

“The conspiracy proves to be more and more replete with iniquity daily; and the conspirators are by no means in a state of safety, their offices having been already disposed of; and already has Walter Raleigh, a man of great authority and repute with the late Queen, attempted to stab himself to the heart, but the knife having struck one of his ribs prevented him from committing suicide, and his keepers in the Tower of London would not allow the blow to be repeated.”\*

With regard to the conspiracy itself, and to the share taken in it by Raleigh, the Venetian ambassadors, Piero Duodo and Nicolo Molin, write in like manner from Salisbury on the 1st of December:—

“Concerning the eleven conspirators, six have been already condemned to death, and one acquitted, owing to the strong proof of his innocence, the rest will be despatched next week; those members of the Privy Council who came hither to the Court for our audience having returned to Winchester for that purpose.

“From the discussion of the crimes of the aforesaid, it transpired that their intention was to take the King’s life, and to make Arabella [Stuart] Queen, and that having demanded 600,000 ducats from the Archduke Albert’s ambassador to be divided amongst them, he promised them 300,000 ready money; and that he would also obtain the other 300,000 on his next return to Flanders.

“The ringleader of the plot, Baron Cobham, wrote a letter to the Lady Arabella, so long back as last August, requiring her to write a letter to the King of Spain, binding herself to grant liberty of conscience to this kingdom, to make peace with Spain and Flanders, to abandon the States, and not to marry without the consent of his Catholic Majesty. This letter the Lady Arabella presented to the King sealed, without having even opened it, by which act of frankness she has now saved her life; tho’ it nevertheless behoved her to attend the meeting of the judges at Winchester to justify herself, had it been necessary; *but she was very rightly exculpated by Walter Raleigh, one of the chief conspirators, after he himself had been convicted and sentenced to death.* It is said that they intended to marry her to the Duke of Savoy.”

On the 15th of December 1603, Nicolo Molin wrote to the Signory:—

“Only one of the eleven conspirators was acquitted; the others were all condemned to death. The two priests have already been executed, and on Friday the like will be done to all the others,

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\* There is a very curious letter from Sir Walter Raleigh to his wife, which, with this Venetian Despatch, throws light on the much vexed question whether or not Sir Walter did attempt to kill himself while he was a prisoner in the Tower. The letter is printed in vol. ii. p. 93, of the Court of King James I. by Dr. Godfrey Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, edited by the Rev. John S. Brewer, 1839.

except Raleigh, who was Captain of the Guard to the late Queen. He will be taken back to the Tower of London; some persons declaring that the like will be done by him also, after a few days, during which they hope to elicit some other details from him, *it being supposed that he was better informed about this conspiracy than any of the others.*"\*

"On Monday, 26th March 1604, at about the 20th hour, the King, Queen, and Prince, with the Council and the whole Court, went by the river from Westminster with a very great quantity of boats to the Tower of London, where, after landing, with much difficulty could they ascend the stairs by reason of the crowd which had flocked to see their Majesties; bulls and other animals were baited, and there were several other amusements, as a mark of rejoicing; the King having caused all the prisons of the Tower to be opened, and all the persons within them to be released, tho' a day before his Majesty's coming, the four conspirators, [the Lords Grey and Cobham, and Raleigh and Markham,] whose lives were spared lately, were removed from the Tower and placed in other prisons.† The like was done also by Sir Anthony Standen, he having been imprisoned lately after his return from Italy; his Majesty not having deemed these persons worthy of such a grace."

At p. 196 and following, in the Italian translation of Mr. Brown's preface, there are three letters written by the Venetian secretary Leonello, from London, in January and February 1617, giving an account of Raleigh's projected sack of Genoa, a fact hitherto unknown to his biographers.

Those letters were addressed to the Council of Ten, and on the following 14th of April, N. S., Leonello adds, in a letter to the Senate:—"Sir Walter Raleigh has gone down the Thames with his seven vessels, with the commissions announced by me, to proceed to Guiana in quest of mines. I know very well that he did not assume this undertaking for any other end than that of freeing himself from perpetual imprisonment, and that he would gladly change his scheme for any other soever; and many other persons know this, so he leaves behind him a general curiosity for news of his doings."

Of those doings many details are given by the Venetian ambassador in London, Pietro Contarini, and amongst them are the following:—

"It is reported to-day, 14th June 1618, that Sir Walter Raleigh's crews have taken him by force to Ireland, the truth of which must soon be known, as in that case we shall see him here in a few days."

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\* According to Dudley Carleton (vol. i. p. 392, Hardwicke's State Papers) it was already known at Salisbury on the 11th of December, O. S., 1603, "that the King had pardoned Raleigh with the rest, and confined him with the two lords (Grey and Cobham) in the Tower of London, to remain during pleasure."

† I do not know to what prison Raleigh was taken. This removal is not mentioned by his biographers; but in Nichols' Progresses of King James I., vol. i. p. 414, we see, through Gilbert Dugdale's "Time Triumphant," that the prisoners were "convaict some to the Marshalsies, others to the Gatehouse, and other appointed prisonnes."

“ Sir Walter Raleigh has arrived at Plymouth, from Ireland, 21st June 1618, with a single ship, the others having left him, and his friends are now endeavouring to obtain a free pardon for him from the King, that he may be at liberty to come to court and not go back to the Tower again.”

The death of Raleigh is narrated briefly by Pietro Contarini, thus, on the 16th November 1618 :—

“ After a long trial, the evidence and examination having been most careful, Sir Walter Raleigh has suffered death. He invariably denied having plotted aught to the prejudice of his Majesty, saying that he merely negotiated with the Frenchman to free himself from prison ; and altho’ these fresh practices [*queste nove pratiche*]\* gave occasion to proceed against him, he was beheaded in execution of a former sentence, having been many years in the Tower, under sentence of death for conspiracy.”

28. In the Appendix (G.) to this Report I have given extracts from letters relating to two Englishmen of note, Sir Henry Peyton and Sir Henry Mainwaring.

29. The “ *Esposizioni Principi* ” explain the story of the medal alluded to in the “ *Domestic Calendar* ” for the year 1614 (a passage which would be otherwise unintelligible).

30. Another enigma is solved by the Letter-book, in St. Mark’s Library, of Alvise Contarini, whose original despatches also exist in the Archives. At the meeting of the Archæological Institute, at Warwick, in August 1864, the late Earl of Denbigh exhibited a dagger, said to be that with which Felton stabbed the Duke of Buckingham. Sir T. Winnington enquired the history of this dagger, the appearance of which was at variance with the account in the “ *State Trials*,” where Felton is said to have stabbed the Duke with a “ *common tenpenny knife*,” whereas the Earl of Denbigh’s weapon is a curious double-bladed dagger.

A year before the Duke of Buckingham’s death, his life was said to have been threatened by the Frenchman Toiras, as written from London by Alvise Contarini, thus :—

“ The Court announces, that an individual has been arrested, sent by Toiras to murder the Duke of Buckingham, who was much exasperated, and had determined to press the siege [of St. Martin] to the utmost.”

“ Buckingham has sent to his wife, the dagger [“ *il coltello* ”] with which, as written, a certain individual commissioned by Toiras, the Governor of the fort (St. Martin), meant to assassinate him. A drawing of this dagger was immediately engraved, that, if true, the deed may irritate the people of England against the French ; and at the same time, thro’ compassion, render the Duke popular ; which is the object sought above all others.”

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\* This would almost make it appear that Raleigh was sacrificed to hatred against France rather than to any deference to Spain.

The Warwickshire antiquaries will, perhaps, be persuaded that the relic at Newnham is no less genuine than any thing that can be exhibited as "Felton's knife." The Duke's connexions had some reason to preserve a weapon which had but threatened his death. It was a tacit act of thanksgiving, an "ex voto" for escape from peril, but to make a trophy of the implement with which the assassin accomplished his crime would not have occurred to many persons.

The Toiras dagger is no less historical than Felton's knife; it is also one year older, less ignoble, and less bloody.\*

31. The following account of the execution of William Howard, Viscount Stafford, on the 10th January 1681, narrated by Paolo Sarotti and Girolamo Vignola, the Venetian secretaries resident in London, and that of Lord William Russell's execution on the 6th of August 1683, narrated by Girolamo Vignola, the Venetian secretary resident in London, will both be read with much interest. They show how minutely every matter, although it in no way concerned the Signory, was reported to the Venetian State.

"On this day last week (10th January 1680-81), which was Christmas eve, according to the Old Style, the Houses of Parliament adjourned, the Commons until yesterday, the Lords until Monday next, and many of the members having quitted London all business of importance awaits their return; tho' I have to announce that Viscount Stafford was beheaded in the city on the morrow of the Christmas holy days. He was conveyed in a chair from the Tower to a lofty scaffold on its hill. He ascended this scaffold with great intrepidity, and turning towards the assembled multitude, exceeding 30,000 in number, and of every class, he addressed them at great length, protesting and swearing by the salvation of his soul that he was utterly innocent, even in thought, of the crimes laid to his charge. He declared that altho' it was maintained that the Catholic Church upholds the legitimate right of subjects to depose and put to death sovereign princes excommunicated by the Pope, yet did he, Lord Stafford, consider this doctrine diabolical and detestable, contrary to the laws of God, of nature, and of nations, and especially opposed to the fundamental laws of Great Britain. In the next place, with regard to the indulgences, dispensations, and pardons of the Church of Rome for homicide, rebellion, perjury, and falsehoods; he professed before God that he never believed in them, and that similar doctrine had never been learnt or practised by him, neither had he ever been guilty of equivocation or reserve. Touching the crimes imputed to him, he would be the greatest madman in the world, and no less treacherous than those who had so falsely accused him, were he not to reveal any wicked design soever if acquainted with such, as by confession he might save his

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\* An account of the discussion to which Lord Denbigh's dagger gave rise may be read in "Notes and Queries," dates 10th and 24th September 1864, pp. 206, 255, 267. The dispute had a tendency to be acrimonious. This explanation will perhaps soothe the disputants.



life, by so much the more as great offers had been made him to that effect; though, as he knew nothing which could implicate either himself or others, he preferred losing a hundred lives to bearing false witness in either case. To the truth of all this he swore by his salvation. He prayed God to bless the King, declaring that there was no power on earth that could authorize him to raise an arm against his Majesty; that he had always so abhorred murder, that if then, whilst in the act of speaking, he could save his life, and establish any religion and government he pleased, rendering himself as great as mortal could desire, through the death of but one of those who had so falsely accused him and brought him to the block, yet it was so odious to him to have the blood of any man on his head that he should reject such an alternative; whence it might be inferred that still less could he have thought of assassinating so good a king. Hereon he expatiated at great length, and then asked pardon of God and the people for all his offences, declaring that he forgave those who had offended him. He swore by his death and salvation that never in his life had he uttered a single word to two of the three witnesses who had accused him, and that with the third he had never spoken about anything but servants and lackeys, and that he had never been alone with him. In conclusion, he said he hoped he had sufficiently proved himself a man with a clear conscience, as, were it otherwise, he could have saved his life by pleading guilty, but would not now at the point of death tell a falsehood, as he very well knew it would doom him to eternal punishment. He said a few other things, and spoke about the manner in which his trial had been conducted; and, last of all, he prayed God not to avenge his innocent blood on the nation, repeating that with his last breath he asserted with all truth, and vowed that he died innocent, beseeching God, just and Omnipotent, to treat him according to his deserts.

“Such, in substance, was the most essential part of this nobleman’s long discourse, which, it is said, will be printed. It is added that he has left a letter for consignment to the King.

“He was beheaded with a single stroke of the axe, and some English and foreign catholics gathered his blood in their handkerchiefs like that of a martyr, as much as a hundred pounds sterling for each of these handkerchiefs having been since paid by certain devotees. The body and head were taken back to the Tower, and, having been sewed together, were, by an act of grace from the King, consigned to his nearest relations, the law which ordained otherwise being dispensed with.

“So firmly are the people impressed with the truth of the conspiracy, and of the Viscount’s guilt, that he was pitied but by few, and many insulted him in abusive language; \* nor was his speech held in any account, owing to the rooted belief of the

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\* Hume on the contrary writes that the populace pitied Lord Stafford in his last moments, and answered his protestations of innocence, saying, “*We believe you, my Lord. God bless you, my Lord.*” Hume does not allude to the “gathering” of Lord Stafford’s blood.

Protestants that the Catholics have a dispensation and pardon from the Pope (of whom anything is credited) for swearing to what is false even at the time of death, rather than say anything of the slightest detriment to the Catholic religion, or of the "Romish See," as they style it.

(Signed) " PAOLO SAROTTI.  
" GIROLAMO VIGNOLA."

"On Saturday last [21st July 1683, N. S.] the sentence of death was executed upon Lord Russell, son of the Earl of Bedford, one of the most noble and opulent peers of England; the great offers made to the King even for a short respite having been of no avail.

"Lord Russell was taken in his own coach, surrounded by 200 musketeers, besides the numerous city trained bands, to a spacious square [Lincoln's Inn Fields] at no great distance from Whitehall, the site being guarded by infantry and cavalry.

"He alighted unbound, and in his usual costume, and having ascended the scaffold with incredible intrepidity, walked unconcernedly ["con disinvoltura"] up and down a while; he then knelt for a few moments, and on rising divested himself of his apparel without assistance; after which he took leave of ["complimentò"] his friends, made them a public speech, brief, but of a most violent nature ["scandolisissimò"], and laid his head on the block in such form, that a demonstration of greater contempt for so tremendous a passage would be impossible.

"On its accomplishment, the populace crowded to dip their handkerchiefs, hats, and garments in his blood; and one universal shout declared him innocent, all expressing pity and compassion.

"He left a sealed letter addressed to his wife, for delivery subsequently to the King, to whom it was shown by one of Lord Russell's uncles. It was full of the most unbecoming expressions, having for object to justify himself and the Duke of Monmouth with regard to the assassination of the King; according also to what he said in his dying speech, and the seditious seed which he has left behind him, is of no less treasonable nature than that invariably displayed by him in life against the King, the royal family, and all Catholicism.

"On the morrow of the execution his son, some 13 years old, went to the King to kiss hands, and to swear allegiance; he was received graciously, and, by a spontaneous act of very great generosity, his Majesty then and there bestowed on him that considerable paternal inheritance which by law was confiscated.

"On the following days, in like manner, several noblemen came to pay their respects to the King after an absence from the court of about 12 years, during which period they lived with the "fanatics," as it were, in open opposition; and on this morning the Duke of Buckingham made his appearance; all being greeted alike with affability, current events requiring this policy; but should any sinister accident arise, no trust could be placed in their present change.

(Signed) " GIROLAMO VIGNOLA."

32. As many materials for the history of this country are preserved among the manuscripts in St. Mark's Library, I thought it my duty to inspect them, especially as the library contains many State papers which ought to have been found among the Records in the "Frari." In this respect the Marcian Library is not unlike the British Museum, which contains many State Papers that properly ought to be in the Public Record Office.

St. Mark's Library was founded in the year 1362, in consequence of Petrarch having agreed to leave all his books to St. Mark's, for the use of the State. This noble library has always been held in special affection by the Signory, and many valuable donations have been made to it at different times. It is now one of the most celebrated libraries in Europe.

33. In connexion with the manuscripts preserved therein, I would mention as a donation thereto, a very valuable and highly-prized gift made to it by Sir Henry Savile, of his edition of the complete works of St. John Chrysostom, in eight large folio volumes, still in the contemporary binding of crimson silk. In relation to these volumes, I found in the Archives among the "Esposizioni Principi" the following details, which I give in full, as I am not aware that they have ever been published:—

"On the 30th April 1608 the Ambassador" (Sir Henry Wotton) "said" (in the College Hall, to Doge Leonardo Donato)—

"Most Serene Prince, a gentleman of ours in England is working indefatigably at an edition of the complete works of St. John Chrysostom, that holy father whose doctrine was so excellent, and who set so great an example. For this purpose the editor has sent persons express to several places, to review and transcribe certain parts of the aforesaid works, of which he stood in need, as, for instance, to the Palatine Library in Germany, to the Library at Vienna, and elsewhere, and I, by favour of the Signory, who gave me leave—having seen your Serenity's library—remarked there the aforesaid works, which are truly singular. As possibly our collections may have some trifling deficiencies, such as one or two homilies, I beseech your Serenity that the person who has come hither for the purpose may have permission to copy them, provided, however, that there be no order or prohibitory law amongst the statutes of said Venetian Library.'

"The Doge replied,—

"At the moment our memory does not serve us for particulars concerning these works of St. John Chrysostom in the Public Library; nor do we know whether there is any prohibition respecting them; but the Signory having heard your desire, will take care to acquaint themselves with the matter, and give your Lordship all possible satisfaction."

The "Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1603-1610," p. 630, bears witness to the pains taken by Sir Henry Savile to render his work perfect, as seen by the following entry:—

"Instructions" (given by Sir Hen. Savile to Sir Dudley Carleton) "in reference to purchase of books, collation of MSS., "relating to St. Chrysostom, at Paris and in Italy."

Sir Henry Savile's eight volumes bear the date of 1612, and on the 2nd January, 1613-14 we get news of the presentation copy now in St. Mark's Library from his son-in-law, Sir Dudley Carleton, as recorded in the "Esposizioni Principi" thus:—

"The ambassador (Sir Dudley Carleton, in the College Hall, "2nd January 1613) added" (to the Doge Marc Antonio Memo)—

"Most serene Prince,—Perceiving the good greeting conceded to the office performed by me, and that your Serenity is always pleased to honour me more and more, I shall take the liberty, being here at this season, to follow the English custom, or as they say at Venice, give la mancia, by requesting your Serenity to receive as a free gift a book printed by a leading gentleman, who is my father-in-law, a person of quality and of acknowledged endowments [honorate conditioni], no less beloved by his Majesty than by the Queen herself. His book is the complete collection of the writings of that famous and most eloquent Father of the Church, St. John Chrysostom. At the cost of some years labour, Sir Henry Savile has put together the entire series, diligently collating his texts with those in the Vatican and St. Mark's Library, in order to render it perfect, and I believe it will be really worthy of the public library; and having been granted the favour of inspecting the Signory's manuscripts, it was his wish to acknowledge the obligation, nor does he know how to do so better than by presenting the result of his labours. On receiving your Serenity's commands, I will have my secretary, who is outside, introduced, and he will present it to your Serenity.'

"His Serenity replied that the laws did not allow the acceptance of anything without permission; that the Signory would give their commands, and that in the meanwhile he thanked his Lordship much for such additional mark of courtesy, and for this fresh loving testimonial.

"Immediately after this the Signory gave orders for the introduction of the Ambassador's secretary, who presented eight volumes in folio, bound in crimson satin, containing all the works of the Father St. John Chrysostom, in Greek; and one of the volumes being given into the Ambassador's hands by the secretary, who was then dismissed, he opened it, making some remarks upon the dedicatory inscription, of which he read the first words, thus:—Serenissimo Principi Marco Antonio Memmo Venetiarum Duci, —adding that not without cause did the frontispiece bear his Serenity's name; but above all, because Sir Henry Savile, who presented the work, studied in the city of Padua whilst his Serenity worthily filled the post of Governor there.\* Then concerning the paragraph, Nec non Excellentissimi Senatus Patribus prudentissimis, he observed that this title was most apposite, relating as it did to the writings of one of the most ancient and

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\* Marc Antonio Memo was "Podesta" of Padua in the year 1586, his colleague the "Capitano" being Pietro Marcello.

eloquent Fathers of the Church, which are now dedicated to most sage Fathers, who have maintained the real seat of ancient wisdom and eloquence; wherefore the dedication was very suitably theirs, and became them better than it did anybody else. Touching the words, *Potentissimi Magnæ Britannicæ Regis, Domini sui, amicis carissimis*, he said that of this he had no doubt whatever, as his Majesty was in truth the most sure friend of the State, and the most anxious of any sovereign for her utmost exaltation and welfare; that he loves the Republic by reason of the good understanding and mutual good-will subsisting between them, and on every other account likewise.

“In the next place, the person who dedicates the work is under such great obligations to the Signory, as mentioned by me; and presents it with such devoted affection that greater can be felt by no one; and the thing itself is so complete, and after much time and labour is brought to such a pitch as to render it very worthy of being willingly accepted and graciously received by your Serenity, as I beseech you to do for my own honour likewise, it being my wish in all matters to demonstrate and prove to you my devotion, this gentleman being, moreover, my kinsman, and very dear and beloved relation [dependente], as already stated by me.”

I do not believe that any book of an earlier date of presentation to St. Mark's Library, by any foreigner north of the Alps, can be found there now than this, the gift of Sir Henry Savile, and printed for him at Eton, of which college he was then (in 1613) the Provost; but in Mr. Brown's Calendar it will be seen that 90 years previously, another English ambassador and distinguished man of letters, Richard Pace, raised his voice in the Venetian College Hall in favour of Greek literature; for on that day he obtained there from the Signory, for Nicolaus Leonicus Thomeus, a patent for the copyright of his Latin translation of Aristotle the Stagirite, which he, Leonicus, dedicated to Reginald Pole, in date of Padua, “*Pridie Calendas Sextiles, 1524.*”

These facts, coupled with the demand made by Cardinal Wolsey for permission to have copies of certain Greek MSS. bequeathed to St. Mark's Library by Cardinal Bessarion, will have convinced the Signory of the attention paid to classical literature by Englishmen in the 16th and 17th centuries.

Sir Henry Savile's present was acknowledged by a gift from the State, of which the following record is preserved also in “*Esposizioni Principi* :”—

“The Doge returned very loving thanks for all this to the ambassador (Sir Dudley Carleton), who said, ‘I have another private letter in my hand from my relation, Sir Henry Savile, who requests me to return most humble thanks to your Serenity for the favour done him, and he says your munificence has far exceeded his deserts, and that he shall constantly wear the medal given him by your Serenity as long as he lives, and that being now far advanced in years, he has determined to bequeath

‘ it to his children, that thro’ the pledge of so great a favour, his descendants may remember the obligation; and as I likewise had a share in this favour, I also, together with Sir Henry, will not omit returning due thanks to your Serenity, and am no less bound and anxious to serve the State on all occasions than he is.’”

It is not known whether Sir Henry Savile’s representative takes as good care of the medal as is yet taken of St. John Chrysostom’s works in St. Mark’s Library; but at any rate Sir Dudley Carleton’s statement is corroborated by an entry in the Calendar of State Papers, thus:—

“ Will not wear the medal sent him till it is completed, lest ignorant people take it for a whistle or a tool.”

34. Among other matters of interest in the Venetian Archives I have seen a collection of the Stuart Papers ranging from 1711 to 1737, preserved among the documents in the *Secreta Senato*, and another collection from 1715 to 1765 preserved among the papers of the *Inquisitori di Stato*. Copies of these, if they should not be duplicates of those in her Majesty’s collection at Windsor, might be acceptable to her Majesty, who has graciously allowed a Calendar of the Stuart papers to be compiled and published.

35. While on this subject, it may not be irrelevant to state that there is among the papers of the “*Gesuati*” (one of the suppressed religious corporations) a document entitled “*Testamento del Principe Giacomo Stuardo*,” by which it appears that he was the natural son of Charles the Second by the Signora Donna Maria Stuardo della famiglia delle Baroni de S. Marzo (the Earl of Mar), and that he married in the parish church of S. Soplia Capuana at Naples “*D. Teresa Corona non più casata*,” and that when the will was made his wife was pregnant. There is also a copy of this curious will among the Public Records, and several other papers connected with the subject are at Rome. James Stuart appears to have been the eldest of Charles’s natural children, and was begotten while his father was an exile in the Isle of Jersey, and at the early age of 17. The story connected with this person is one of the most romantic description, and well deserves a notice in the history of the House of Stuart. The subject, however, has been partially brought to public notice in an article in the “*Home and Foreign Review*,” which is written for the evident purpose of showing that Charles the Second died a convert to the Roman faith.

The following brief outline of the history of Giacomo Stuardo will, I think, prove interesting:—

During his residence in Jersey about the year 1646, it seems that Prince Charles (afterwards Charles II.) engaged the affections of a young lady whose name does not appear. She is said to have belonged to the family of the noble House of Mar.

In speaking of her after he came to the throne it is reported that Charles wrote thus respectfully of her: “*Il nous est né*

“ lorsque nous n’avions guères plus de seize ou 17 ans, d’une jeune dame des plus qualifiées de nos royaumes, plustost par fragilité de nostre première jeunesse que par malice.” The history of the young lady is not to be traced in any documents at present known, nor is she named by Charles in any of the letters he is said to have written to her son. This child, according to the papers which have been preserved, remained on the continent during the Usurpation and for a few years after the Restoration; at least the first notice of him occurs in the year 1665, when his father sent for him, supplied him with money, and acknowledged him as a son by a special document under the Sign Manual, dated Whitehall, 27th September 1665. This document is in the possession of the librarian of the Gesù at Rome. By what name the youth had previously been known does not appear, but he now is called James de la Cloche du Bourg. About eighteen months afterwards, King Charles by another grant, dated 7th Feb. 1667, also in the possession of Boero, again recognizes him as his son, and settles on him a pension of 500*l.* per annum on condition that he should reside in London and continue in the religion of his fathers and be faithful to the Anglican liturgy. Six months afterwards, however (29th July 1667), the young man abandoned the faith of his fathers and became a Roman Catholic at Hamburg, with the avowed purpose of entering the Society of the Jesuits. This fact was attested by Christina, Ex-Queen of Sweden. This certificate is likewise in the possession of Boero.\*

On the 29th of August Charles, having heard that the Ex-Queen Christina was on her road to Rome, wrote again to hasten the departure of his son, who was not to stop at Paris, as he had previously advised, but to come straight to London and make himself known to the Queen Mother by delivering to her a sealed letter in the form of a petition. This letter was scarcely sealed when Charles wrote a third time to the General of the Jesuits requesting, for reason stated in his letter, that his son might travel in the dress of a layman and under the appellation of Henry de Rohan, a name familiarly known as one of the great Huguenot families of France. Disguised as a French cavalier this young man started for England in the middle of October 1668.

Charles also wrote a letter to his son couched in terms of warm affection; he said the temper of Parliament had hitherto made it necessary to defer the public acknowledgment of his birth, but the time was approaching when it would be possible for him to assume the rank which belonged to him. It behoved

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\* Charles seems to have countenanced this act of his son, for he wrote to the General of the Jesuits (3rd August 1668) requesting him to send his son into England. “ Plusieurs raisons considérables et concernant la paix de nos royaumes, nous ont empesché jusques à présent de la reconnestre publiquement pour notre fils ;” writes the King, “ mais ce sera pour peu de temps, par ceque nous sommes maintenant en dessein de faire en sorte de le reconnestre publiquement devant peu d’années ;” he adds in case the young man has not yet become a priest, and could not be ordained before starting; he was to go to Paris and address himself either to the King of France or to the Duchess of Orleans, who would have him ordained, without betraying his rank. The chief documents connected with this subject have lately been published by Boero, and in a periodical called “ Etudes Religieuse historiques et littéraires, by the Jesuits of Paris.

him, therefore, to reflect maturely on his altered prospects before entering irrevocably into sacred orders. His title was better than the Duke of Monmouth's, and he had a right of precedence over him, "par toutes raisons et à cause de la "qualité de une mere." The queen was childless, the children of the Duke of York were delicate, and if the Catholic religion should be restored in England he would have a claim to the crown.\*

The young Jesuit, whom the King now denominates Prince James Stuart, remained but a short time in England. He was despatched on a secret mission to Rome in the middle of November.

Now comes the more romantic part of the story. On the 30th of March 1669, Kent, the English minister at Rome, wrote to Sir Joseph Williamson: "You will read in the advices from Naples "of an extravagant person arrived there, who falling in love with "the hoasts daughter where hee laye, married her, but being "observed to live as well as to talke high of his great birth, the "Vice-king haveing account of it, sent an officer to seaze upon "his goods and coffers, where they write from thence was "found many jewells of vallue, some quantity of pistolls and "some papers or letters directed to him with the title of highness, "for it seems hee vaunted to be the King of England's sonn, "borne at Gersey, which circumstances invited the Vice-king's "curiosity or suspection of his quality to imprison him in the "Castle of St. Elmo to bee the better informed of him; being "there hee sent for the English consull, Mr. Browne, to assist "him for his delivery out of the castlc; but it seemes hee could "not speake a word of English nor give any account of the birth "he pretended unto. Since the Vice-king hath taken him out of "that castle and removed him to the fortresse at Gaetta, and "shutt his wife (with child) into a monastery, and this is all the "light I can pick out of the nation and others of this extravagant "story, which, whether will end in prince or cheate I shall "endeavour to informe you hereafter."

On the 6th of April following, Kent writes: "Noe further "news from Naples of the English prince now prisoner in the "castle of Gaetta." Kent's next letter to Williamson relative to this subject is on the 16th of June. He writes: "The gentle- "man who would have been his Majesties bastard at Naples, "upon the receipt of his Majesties letters to that Vice-king, was "immediatly taken out of the castle of Gaetta, brought to "Naples, and cast into the grand prison called the Vicaria, where "being thought amongst the most vile and infamous rascalls, the

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\* "Nous pouvons vous asseurer que si Dieu permet que nous et notre tres honoré "frère le duc d'Yorck monrons sans enfans, les royaumes vous apartient, et le Par- "lement ne peut pas legitimement sy opposer; si ce n'est qu'en matière d'estre "Catholique vous en soyés exclus . . . . Croyez que nous vous avons toujours "eu une affection particulière, non seulement à cause que vous nous esté né dans "notre plus tendre jeunesse lorsque nous n'avions guères plus de 16 ou 17 ans, que "particulièrement à cause de l'excellent naturel que nous avons toujours remarqué "en vous."



“ Vice-king intended to have caused him to bee whipt about the  
 “ citty, but means was made by his wife’s kindred (who was like-  
 “ wise taken out of the nunery she was put into till the discovery  
 “ of this pretended prince,) to the Vice-queene, who in compassion  
 “ to her and her kindred prevailed with Don Pedro to deliver him  
 “ from that shame, and soe ends the story of this fourb who speaks  
 “ no languadge but French.”

On the 31st of August following Kent thus announces the death of the young pretender: “ That certaine fellow or what hee  
 “ was, who pretended to bee his Majesties naturall sonn at Naples,  
 “ is dead, and having made his will they write mee from thence  
 “ wee shall with the next poast know the truth of his quality.”  
 According to his promise Kent communicated to Williamson on the 7th of September the chief heads in the will of the pseudo prince, “ That certaine person at Naples who in his lifytyme would  
 “ needes bee his Majesties naturall sonn is dead in the same con-  
 “ fidence and princely humour; for haveing left his lady Teresa  
 “ Corona, an ordinary person, seven months gone with child, he  
 “ made his testament, and hath left his most Christian Majesty  
 “ (whom hee called cousin) executor of it. He had beene absent  
 “ from Naples some tyme, pretending to have made a journey into  
 “ France to visit his mother, Doña Maria Stuarta, of his Majesty’s  
 “ royall family, which neerness and greatness of blood was the  
 “ cause saies hee that his Majestie would never acknowledge him  
 “ for his sonn; his mother Doña Maria Stuarta was it seemes dead  
 “ before hee came to France. For his will hee desires the pre-  
 “ sent King of England, Carlo 2<sup>do</sup>, to allowe his prince Hans  
 “ in Kelder, eighty thousand duckatts per annum, which is his  
 “ mother’s estate; he leaves likewise to his child and mother  
 “ Teresa 291 thousand duckatts, which hee calls legacies. He was  
 “ buried in the Church of St. Francisco de Paolo out of the porta  
 “ Capuana (for he dyed of this religion); he left 400 francs for a  
 “ lapide to have his name and quality engraven upon it, for he  
 “ called himself Don Jacopo Stuardo; and this is the end of that  
 “ princely cheate or whatever he was.”

On the 14th September Kent writes to Williamson, “ Enclosed you have the will of P<sup>ce</sup> Dr Joco<sup>o</sup> Stuart, sent me from Naples.”

The before-mentioned facts are all that are at present come to light respecting this mysterious story, which, to say the least of it, certainly staggers credulity; but this is neither the place nor the occasion to enter into a criticism upon the subject. One fact, however, may be noticed which appears to me to throw discredit upon it. The King in one of his letters says that the young man’s title was better than that of the Duke of Monmouth, and he had a right of precedence over him “ par toutes raisons et à cause de la qualité de une mère,” yet in spite of this he grants him an insignificant pension of 500*l.* per annum, clogged with certain conditions, while he had already granted a pension to the Duke of Monmouth of 6,000*l.* for life without any condition whatever, and had likewise given him a dukedom.

A list of the documents upon which this statement is grounded

will be found in the Appendix (II.), and a translation of the "Testamento Giacomo Stuardo" in Appendix (I.).

36. I cannot resist the present opportunity of calling your Honour's attention to the highly interesting and graphic despatches of Giacomo Querini. Through the kindness of Mr. Rawdon Brown I have obtained a full account of these papers. They relate to a period of our history for which the materials are not abundant.

At the close of the year 1714, the Porte had declared war on the Republic of Venice, whose navy had of late been neglected; for the purpose of recruiting it, the State thought fit to have recourse to England.

They wished besides to complain of the English resident, accredited to Doge Cornaro, by name Christian Cole, who, during the last five years, was supposed to have done bad service to the State. At this time, Nicolo Trono was Venetian ambassador at the court of St. James'\*. He had been married about four years to Chiara Grimani. She accompanied the ambassador to England, and there is reason to believe that George I. paid so much attention to her as to cause uneasiness to Madame de Schulenburg. Madame de Kilmanseck and the Duchess of Shrewsbury (the Bolognese Adelhida Paliotti) on the contrary maliciously encouraged the intimacy; but Chiara Trono is represented as a *novice* — a *silly girl*. The Princess of Wales is reported to have said of her, that she did not know how to support her diplomatic rank, and so the king's other female favourites always contrived to take precedence of her in various ways. She gave birth to a daughter in London on the <sup>29th Sept.</sup><sub>3 Oct.</sub> 1715, for whom George I. stood sponsor by proxy, on account of the difference of religion. The ambassador on his part was reproached with being niggardly, the entertainments at the Venetian embassy being of rare occurrence; in short, Nicolo Trono had failed to make himself popular with the court of St. James' and the country. The Inquisitors therefore determined to approach the new King by means of a secret agent, the first and last ever sent expressly by their tribunal to any British sovereign. The person selected to execute the orders of these statesmen was a Venetian nobleman of illustrious birth.

The correspondence of Giacomo Querini with the Inquisitors of State commences on the 5th of April 1715 from Hanover, where in 1709 he had married a Hanoverian lady, Emily Magdalen de Croi, sister of the Baroness Brinckman, who, with her husband, accompanied George I. to England in 1714. The correspondence closes in 1716, <sup>6</sup><sub>17</sub> July, and would be interesting from its superscription on the casket afterwards alluded to; but it is yet more so, because, as already mentioned, there is no other instance on record of an agent resident in England by commission from the Inquisitors of State at any period, still less for a term of fourteen

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\* There was also a Venetian "Resident" or secretary in London, by name Vincenti, in 1714, 1715, he likewise having been expressly charged to make inquiries about the purchase of ships.

months, and whilst the Republic was openly represented there by an accredited ambassador, and by a so-called "resident" or secretary.

It may reasonably be supposed that the letters were received and immediately placed in their proper places, according to the dates of their arrival in Venice, so that the series in the archives of the tribunal, written by Querini from London, was considered closed and complete in August 1716; but the Inquisitors were "at fault," the supplementary writings of Giacomo Querini, which reached the tribunal on the 12th of July 1747, are yet more copious. They are more curious than those which he had addressed to it thirty years previously. Giacomo Querini lived to be an old man; he died at Venice on the 11th of May 1747, in his 85th year, and had a stately funeral.

On the 12th of July 1747, two months after the funeral, Laura Correr Querini, his daughter-in-law, being the widow of his son Giacomo, "Count and cavalier," consigned to the tribunal of the Inquisitors of State a quantity of papers discovered by her in a remote and closed chamber of the Querini Palace. They were contained in a casket, on which was a label in the hand-writing of her father-in law, thus,—

"For consignment to the State."

(*Che siano consegnate al publico.*)

The casket was bound with iron, and contained autograph copies and minutes of the *private correspondence* of Giacomo Querini during his stay in England in 1715–1716 as the agent of the Inquisitors of State; and their successors in 1747 returned the empty casket to the noble lady, the widow Laura Correr Querini.

These private memoranda, in addition to State secrets, give the prices of things in London. They show that in November 1715 George I. interested himself about the archives of Venice. He wanted documents for Leibnitz, who was writing a history of the German branch of the House of Este; and the King, who had also applied to the State in favour of Muratori, he being similarly occupied by order of the Duke of Modena on behalf of the Italian branch, then delicately modified this last request, lest it should interfere with the Signory's territorial claims, &c.

In the month of October 1715, Querini tells his patron that he will canvass the First Lord of the Admiralty, Edward Russell, Earl of Orford, to obtain naval aid for the Republic; but in this matter the King could render no assistance, because his Majesty was unable to speak in English to "the First Lord," who, on his part, knew not one single word either of German or French; but Secretary Townsend promised to act as interpreter. In this same letter, dated  $\frac{7}{18}$  October, we hear of Sir William Wyndham having surrendered himself a prisoner on the evening of the preceding Monday; terrified either by the promised reward of 1,000*l.* for his apprehension, or because he despaired of succeeding in his attempt. Querini styles him the "Chief of the Tory faction," and the principal correspondent "of the Earl of Mar and of "Bolingbroke," adding that it would not be difficult for the Duke

of Somerset to obtain pardon for his son-in-law, if Wyndham would reveal the names of his accomplices.

In December 1715, we hear of the sale of Querini's pictures in London; he gives the names of the masters, and describes the subjects. They were 40 in number, and varied in price from six to 150 guineas. He seems to have inherited them from the last Duke of Mantua. From a letter dated <sup>13</sup>/<sub>24</sub> January 1716, it would appear that George I. then possessed a house at Venice.

In February, Querini announces his intention of repeating the procurator's friendly messages to his old acquaintance Louise de la Querouaille, Duchess of Portsmouth, who was then in London for the purpose of claiming from the Parliament long arrears of pension due to her. Querini says she was living on good terms with her son, the Duke of Richmond, and that she still enchanted and delighted everybody by her liveliness and brilliancy, though then 64 years old. On the margin of a letter concerning the prisoners of Preston, and the intended execution of Lord Derwentwater and his comrades, is a note about the famous fiddler Giordin. In another letter, <sup>24 Feby.</sup>/<sub>6 March</sub> 1716, Querini promises the procurator to send him for one of his family a supply of Lady Kent's powder (apparently some patent medicine); and on the <sup>6</sup>/<sub>11</sub> April he adds doubts of its being genuine, because Lady Kent was dead. In March, he tells of a portentous meteor, visible one evening from 7 (when it was most luminous) until 4 on the following morning, a phenomenon concerning which the Royal Society was drawing up a report. In short, a variety of miscellaneous details concerning English politics, manners, and manufactures may be gleaned from the contents of the "Querini casket."

A selection from this correspondence will be found in the Appendix (J.).

37. From St. Mark's Library I proceeded to the Correr Museum, which was founded by Teodoro Correr, and bequeathed by him in 1830 to the municipality of Venice. It abounds in State records of various descriptions, and contains documents of which no copies or duplicates are to be found in the Archives. In this Museum I examined the "Portolano" of the Genoese, Pietro Visconti. It bears the date 1318, its charts being therefore 114 years older than those of Bianco, a facsimile of which was given in Mr. Brown's Calendar. Visconti's chart of the British Channel does not indicate "Camera;" but, on the other hand, he has delineated a port which seems subsequently to have disappeared, between Sandwich and the Thames; he writes its name Licreocer. These charts are painted on vellum, which is glued on wood.

38. I next inspected the letter-book of Andrea Navagero, Venetian ambassador at the Court of Charles V., from June 1525 to January 1528, during which period he negotiated with the English ambassadors—Sampson, Tunstall, Wyngfield, Lee, Ghinucci, and Francis Poynes; and also saw the English herald, Clarencieux, who declared war on the Emperor at Villa Verde, on the 23rd of January 1528.

39. Amongst the papers connected with English diplomacy in the 16th century, the Correr Museum possesses Edward Barton's account of the Turkish campaign in Hungary, where he accompanied Mahomet III. as the accredited agent of Queen Elizabeth, A.D. 1595.

40. A series of official letters, written from England in the 17th century, by a member of the Correr family, interested me extremely, because they are not to be found amongst the English correspondence at the Archives (as mentioned in the preface to the Venetian Calendar, p. CXXVI.), nor is it known by what fortunate accident the collector of this interesting Museum procured his ancestor's "original despatches," addressed to, and received by the State, the ambassador's letter book being still undiscovered.

Angelo Correr had already been ambassador during three years at the Court of Charles I., from October 1634 to November 1637, on the eve of the civil war. I wished to know what he thought of Charles II., and the Restoration. At the moment the letters could not be found, but on the same evening, when they were discovered, the Director, Nicolas Barozzi, sent them to me at my hotel for my inspection. They contained the following particulars:—

The ambassadors extraordinary from the Republic of Venice, sent to congratulate Charles II. on his restoration, Angelo Correr and Michiel Morosini, embarked at Dunkirk on the 17th July 1661, and were brought to Gravesend on board a new sixty-gun frigate, "The Monk," commanded (they say) by a man of low birth, but well deserving of the King, he being Anthony Tattersall, who, on the 15th October 1651, after the battle of Worcester, conveyed Charles II. and Lord Wilmot from Shoreham to Fécamp.

The reports of the failure of the King's marriage to Catherine of Braganza were contradicted, by the sale in London of engravings of the Portuguese Princess with title of "Queen of England," and Queen Henrietta Maria was already styled "Queen Mother."

The ambassadors made their formal entry into London on the first Saturday in August, and were introduced to the King on the following Tuesday (being by special favour accommodated with the royal coaches, and with others belonging to Correr's old friends of former times) by the Earl of Denbigh, who, as Lord Fielding, had been ambassador from Charles I. in Venice, where he resided, in the very palace in which I read these letters. The ambassadors, after congratulations on the restoration, hinted at the hopes of the Republic, that the King would aid them in their defence of Candia, and Correr alluded to his own renewal of that homage which he had first offered in the King's childhood. The King replied most graciously, and the ambassadors then proceeded first to the Duke of York, and then to the Chancellor, who had a fit of the gout, and turned a deaf ear to their demands for succour against the Turk. Thereupon the ambassadors inform the State

that Lord Clarendon, being "of birth far below the post now filled  
 " by him, seeks but its confirmation and his personal advance-  
 " ment; and therefore applies himself exclusively to the home  
 " interests of England, nor does he wish the King to form any  
 " foreign ties, save those connected with Dunkirk, which are  
 " unavoidable, whilst his Majesty, having scarcely the means of  
 " maintenance for himself, and being unable to raise money save  
 " through the Parliament, cannot depart from its wishes; and as  
 " many members of the House of Commons are deeply concerned  
 " in the Turkey trade, they would with difficulty consent to  
 " measures no less expensive than repugnant and hazardous, from  
 " the confusion they would entail on maritime affairs."

Concerning Parliament, the Presbyterians,\* and the seditious books, the Venetian ambassador writes, 5th August 1661,—

"His Majesty was to attend Parliament this morning, so the present Session is supposed to be at an end, and we shall hear what Acts have been passed. It had been intended? [si voleva] that for the future the members of Parliament should no longer be nominated by the provinces, but by the King himself. The project emanated from the Upper House with a view to furthering his Majesty's interests, but the Commons, who would thus have received too severe a blow, rejected it; so that discontent is re-appearing, and the other day a scandalous libel circulated publicly against the proceedings of the Parliament itself, which was said to be too much bent on gratifying the King. The author was discovered to be a most violent Presbyterian, and would have suffered punishment according to his deserts had he not pleaded guilty and promised allegiance to the royal cause, whereupon the King pardoned him."

The next letter (11th August 1661) narrates the private audience which the ambassadors had of the King, who when expressing his regrets at being unable to grant the assistance required for Candia, said, "Your Lordships perceive that I am  
 " not yet well re-established, but I will certainly do all I can," an admission which the ambassadors believed to be too true. They then went to General Monk, who received them graciously, but like a soldier rather than as a courtier. He likewise limited himself to general expressions, showing that he had small share in the King's resolves, which the ambassadors also credited, because

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\* In Pepys' Diary there are the following entries concerning Parliament and the Presbyterians:—

"26th July 1661, O. S.—Mr. Hill of Cambridge tells me that yesterday put a change to the whole state of England as to the Church, for the King now would be forced to favour Presbytery, or that the city would leave him; but I heed not what he says, though upon enquiry I do find that things in the Parliament are in a great disorder."

"30th July 1661, O. S.—After my singing master had done with me this morning I went to Whitehall and Westminster Hall where I found the King was expected to come and adjourn the Parliament. I found the two Houses at a great difference about the Lords' challenging their privileges not to have their houses searched, which makes them deny to pass the House of Commons' Bill for searching for pamphlets and seditious books; thence by water to the wardrobe (meeting the King upon the water going in his barge to adjourn the House) where I dined with my Lady."

his Majesty relied exclusively on Lord Clarendon, Monk being in repute solely on account of past services, which caused universal reproof; they add that Monk spoke nothing but English, so that they communicated with him through an interpreter.

The character of Charles II. is thus summed up by them :—

“ He is extremely courteous ; he habitually extends his offers, we will not say beyond his intentions of performance ; but occasionally he does not scruple to pledge himself to things, from which his ministers subsequently dissuade him easily, above all the Chancellor, who is intent solely on home affairs. They having freely hinted to us that the state of affairs is not yet very firm, is an extremely remarkable caution which the Signory will ponder maturely.”

The ambassadors were unable to see the Duchess of York, who was drinking “ certain waters ” probably at Tunbridge, but on taking leave of the Duke he said he would keep the King in mind of Candia, and that he, the Duke, was anxious to take the command of a fleet against the infidels, having been a soldier all his life, and averse to domestic idleness, from which he could not escape more satisfactorily than by exercising his post of Lord High Admiral on so just and grand an occasion.

The following extract (21st August 1661) relates to the King adjourning Parliament on the 30th of July 1661 :—

“ The King did not go in state to adjourn the Parliament until Tuesday last ; he gave his assent to the greater part of the Bills presented to him, and made a very judicious and discreet speech. One important Bill in his favour was passed concerning the army and navy (*la milizia*) which henceforth are to depend entirely on his Majesty ; he is to select the forces and to increase or diminish them at his option, appointing likewise the officers.

“ In the meanwhile, as the monthly allowance of 500,000*l.* for the civil list and public expenditure, including the cost of the fleet and of the garrisons of Dunkirk and Mardyck, do not correspond with the Treasury payments, which exceed that sum annually by 1,500,000*l.*, and as the Parliament cannot furnish any other funds until its next meeting, they have decreed a voluntary contribution (“ *Benevolence* ”) for his Majesty. The sum levied from each of the nobility (members of the House of Peers?) is not to exceed 400*l.* ; the rest (members of the House of Commons?) paying 200*l.* ; and this is being scrupulously [*puntualmente*] exacted well nigh from everybody.

“ At its last sittings the Lower House proposed prosecuting all persons who circulate scandalous printed works, many existing in private houses ; the Peers, however, refused the right of search in their abodes, as a breach of privilege ; the Commons chose the search to be general, and the question is yet pending. It chiefly affects the King, to whom some one said in jest that the Parliament was composed of members yet beardless, implying that he should change them : his Majesty, however, who considers the present Parliament quite devoted to him and chooses it to continue sitting, answered no less wittily, that if beardless, he must let

them sit till their beards grow; from which one may comprehend that there are turbulent spirits, and very daring ones likewise (to oppose them?).” Angelo Correr and Michiel Morosini thus serve to annotate Pepys.

41. The Correr Museum likewise possesses what may be termed a MS. supplement to the English printed newspapers. “The Postman,” May 17, to Tuesday, May 20th, 1707, and “London Gazette,” from Monday, May 19th, to Thursday, May 22nd, narrating the public entry into London of the Venetian ambassadors extraordinary to Queen Anne, Nicolo Erizzo and Alvise Pisani.

42. The first account of the landing in state at the Tower Stairs of any embassy extraordinary from the Republic of Venice to the Crown of Great Britain, bears the date of June 1626. On the 16th of that month Marc Antonio Correr and Angelo Contarini arrived at the mouth of the Thames in two Dutch men-of-war, from Rotterdam.

On the preceding day, Thursday, King Charles I. (having signed a commission for the dissolution of his first Parliament, which had commenced its sittings on the 6th of February,) was walking in St. James’s Park, when a deputation from the House of Peers accosted him. The deputation consisted of the Lord President Montague, and the Earls of Pembroke, Carlisle, and Holland; their announcement purported that for the interests of the Crown his Majesty should delay the dissolution. The King replied, “No, not for one moment,” and the speaker and the peers having returned to the Parliament, and the Commons being summoned to the House of Lords, the Lord Keeper Coventry read to them the order for their dissolution at the early hour of 10 a.m.

The King and the Legislature were early in their habits, and the Venetian secretary Rosso, to whom we are indebted for these particulars, adds, in a postscript to his letter which was written from London on the 16th of June:—

“I understand that his Majesty has already commenced chastising the enemies of the Duke of Buckingham, having sent the Earl of Bristol to the Tower, and desired the Earl of Arundel to return with his wife and son and daughter-in-law (lately married) to the mother of this last [Duchess of Lennox], resident at a country-house 20 miles from London.”

The Venetian ambassadors were accompanied from Gravesend in the royal barges by Sir Lewes Lewkner to “Tower Wharffe,” where they were welcomed by the Earl of Dorset and Lord Herbert of Cherbury, whose first acquaintance with Angelo Contarini dated from the year 1619, when they were both accredited to Louis XIII.; and Marc Antonio Correr, who had resided at the Court of James I. as ambassador in ordinary from November 1608 until June 1611, was equally well acquainted with Edward Sackville, Earl of Dorset, whose duel with Lord Bruce (whose sister the Earl had seduced) took place two years after Correr’s departure from England. Accompanied by the two duellists (Lord Herbert of Cher-



bury dwells with much self-complacency on his contempt for the risks of single combat) the ambassadors extraordinary appointed to congratulate Charles I. on his accession, proceeded in the King's coach to Lord Petre's house in Aldersgate Street, "defrayed there by the King." They mention that the Earl of Dorset spoke Italian with great fluency, and that Lord Petre's house, amongst its other furniture supplied by the royal wardrobe, contained two Cloths of State, one for each of the Ambassadors, who were waited on by his Majesty's officers and servants, whereof 12 of the guard gave their daily attendance.

43. In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, date 1611, January 26, we find Sir Walter Cope writing to Sir Dudley Carleton about old paintings for Prince Henry, and for Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury. On the 25th of April 1615, in date of Venice, there is a note of consignment to the Earl of Somerset of sundry pictures painted by Tintoretto, Paul Veronese, Bassano, Titian, and Schiavone.

The favourites of James I. seem to have been partial to the Venetian school.

Amongst the letters of the Signory's ambassador in England (Alvise Vallaresso), there is one now in the Archives, dated London, 29th March 1624, of the following tenor:—

"Many days ago it was more than once hinted to me that the Duke of Buckingham would like to receive certain pictures from Venice; to which I thought fit to turn a deaf ear, on many accounts. This week, however, the Earl of Desmond (Richard Preston), now his near connexion, and who, heretofore, when Lord Dingwall, went to Venice to offer his services to the Signory, after conversing with me on some other topics, told me plainly that said Buckingham wished above all things to obtain certain paintings, according to the enclosed note; that for their purchase he would not hesitate to spend any sum; but that as they belonged to your Serenity, he should deem them a treasure, by whatever means procured. I determined to answer the Earl that I could assure him your Serenity wished above all things to oblige the Duke, as for his very noble qualities you esteemed and loved him greatly; but with regard to this demand for these pictures, it was the wont of your Serenity jealously to preserve similar things; and, according to a custom peculiar to Republics, rarely or never deprive yourself of works of art. Such was the course taken by me, nor will I say anything more to your Serenity, because, on the one hand, by granting the request I am aware that it would be opening the door to similar demands, whilst, on the other, it is by no means unimportant to gain by a trifling present a great personage, of yore the favourite of the King, as he now is of the Prince, and who was lately considered by the kingdom the polestar of his country's hopes."

In Vallaresso's letter there is the following memorandum:—

"The Duke of Buckingham desireth, by any means possible, to have certaine picturs, made by Paul Veronese, that are in a

certain rume or passage towards the great library, in the pallace of St. Marke, at Venice."

In reply to this despatch, the Senate wrote to Vallarosso on the 2nd of May 1624 :—

" With regard to the entreaties made to you on behalf of the Duke of Buckingham concerning the pictures in the halls of the ducal palace, you acted in a form calculated to prevent further persistence, and we commend you for it."

Ayes 16. Noes 1. Neutrals 10.

Louis XIII., in order to facilitate his sister's marriage, was more accommodating than the Republic of Venice, to whom Vallarosso's successor, Giovanni Pesaro, wrote from London on the 28th of February 1625 :—

" A present of choice pictures from the King of France is expected, he having selected the finest he has at Fontainbleau to give them to the Duke of Buckingham ;\* all sovereigns now-a-days seeking to gain such ministers as are most powerful by gratifying their tastes and furthering their interests."

44. While on the subject of painting, I may state that among the papers of the Inquisitors of State, there is one dated August and September 1773, being an account of a scheme formed by the consul Udny, and Francesco Bulo, parish priest of St. Bartholomew's church at Treviso, to abstract the famous picture of the Crucifixion by Carlo Caliari.

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\* In the *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ* (p. 314) is a letter from Sir Henry Wotton to the Duke of Buckingham, dated Venice, December 1622, in which he advises the duke that " he has sent by a ship called the Phoenix some pictures ; one by Titians " wherein the least figure (the child in the Virgin's lap playing with a bird) is alone " worth the price of your expense for all four." In a postscript he says, " I have " sent a servant of mine (by profession a painter) to make search in the best towns " through Italy for some principal pieces, which I hope may produce somewhat for " your Lordship's contentment and service." It is a well-known fact that Buckingham had a very large collection of pictures. Buckingham's agent on the continent was Balthasar Gerbier ; his letters to the duke on works of art are very entertaining. One dated Boulogne, 17th November 1624, is very characteristic of these two persons. He writes, " during the time I have been in Paris I have not passed one " hour without searching after some rarity ; and I should have stayed there but four " days had it not been, as I thought, very necessary that I should find out all that " there is Paris, and I never could have thought that they had so many rare things " in France, all which are to come into your hands at your happy arrival. I beg " your Excellency to read the other sheet, and you will there see three rare pictures " of ' Michel Angel Rapael.' It is, my Lord, because since my last I have found, at " the house of the Bishop of Paris, three of the most rare pictures that can be. The " first is a St. Francis, a good-sized painting, from the hand of the Cavallier Ballion, " as good as ' Michel Angelo Carazoagn [Carazoago] ;' and the other a picture of our " Lady, by Raphael, which is repainted by some devil, who I trust was hanged ; but " still it is so lovely, and the drawing is so fine, that it is worth a thousand crowns. " There is another picture of ' Michel Angelo Bonnarotta,' but that should be seen " kneeling, for it is a Crucifixion, with the Virgin and St. John—the most divine " thing in the world. I have been such an idolator as to kiss it three times, for there " is nothing more perfect. It is a miniature." . . . " I have met with a most beautiful piece of Tintoret, of a Danae, a naked figure, the most beautiful, that flint as " cold as ice might fall in love with it. I have given twenty crowns in hand for the " Gorgon's head ; it cost two hundred crowns. I have not yet paid for them, because " I was not willing to draw bills until I knew how much I should employ at " Paris."

45. Among the many documents connected with English manufactures I found several relating to our silk manufacture, which I think will interest your Honour. One letter, from a private collection, contained several patterns\* of ribbons which were originally sent from St. Quentin, in France, to Alvisè Contarini, ambassador in Rome, by the Venetian secretary Giulio Cesare Alberti on the 12th of May 1635. They were then the fashionable colours, and enable us to compare the ribbons of England with those of France. They also prove that half a century before the establishment of French refugees in Spitalfields (1685), English ribbons competed successfully with those of France. These patterns were sent to the ambassador at Rome in a private letter from the secretary, who mentions them thus:—"Enclosed your Excellency will receive some patterns of ribbons [cordelle] which I have with me, having brought them in my trunk by accident; some of them are much esteemed on account of their colours, and are the fashion of the day.

"Should your Excellency wish for any of another sort you will be pleased to give me notice, or I will not fail to obtain them from Paris, and even from London."

The papers containing the patterns are inscribed:—

"May 1635.

I. "Fashionable colours, and which are in use at the present day, and, from what I believe, manufactured in Touraine, although said to come from London."† (Four patterns, coloured ribbons (silk); two one inch and one-eighth wide, two half inch wide, query galloon.)

"May 1635.

II. "Ordinary English colours, purchased in London lately. (Five patterns—three, one inch and one-eighth wide; one, one inch; one, half inch wide; query galloon. Colours— one plain yellow, and four variegated.)"

At the commencement of the year 1670, the Inquisitors of State bear testimony to the excellence of English ribbons and other manufactures in a letter addressed by them to the Republic's ambassador in London:—

"It would be profitable to encourage the emigration to Venice of some expert manufacturers of stockings, ribbons (cordellami), and other articles made in England, and which are much valued here; giving assurance that all similar artisans will be received and protected by the public authorities, and may, perhaps, hope notably to benefit their own interests.

"Your Excellency's prudence comprehends the nature of this business, which is of no slight importance; so, being convinced

\* These patterns having been presented to me by the owner of the collection, in which they were found, were sent by the Master of the Rolls to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, with a request that he would take such steps to bring them under public notice, as he might think expedient. They were thereupon presented by him to the Salford Peel Park Museum.

† A proof that the London ribbons were generally preferred to those of France.

that you will do your utmost to obtain this intent, we await the result of your diligence, wishing you all prosperity.\*"

The Inquisitors of State encouraged the residence in Venice of English artificers, but would not allow their own subjects to teach us the art of dressing and winding raw silk, or "cocoon," the reeling of which is a very delicate operation.

In November 1772, the Venetian resident in London (Giovanni Berlendis), wrote to the Tribunal as follows:—

"A certain Tuscan, by name Philip Mazzer, who, during some years, has been a tradesman in London, induced by avidity of greater profit, has proposed to a company of merchants, to raise a troop ["raccolta"] of Italians, expert in the twisting and spinning of silk, and also in making of stuffs, to send them over to Philadelphia in Pennsylvania."

"For this purpose, he has set out for Italy to execute his project, after having agreed with the merchants for a premium of fifty guineas for each man enrolled by him."

"Heretofore, some Jews brought silk throwsters from Italy, who were sent to Bengal, but as the silks of that scorching climate are harsh and crude [*aspre e dure*], and not susceptible of minute and delicate manipulation [*de fino e delicato lavoro*], it seems that the Italian trade will not suffer much from this proceeding."

"On the other hand, in the temperate climate of Pennsylvania, where large plantations of mulberry trees [*alberi da seta*] have been raised, I am told that the quality of the silk is not inferior to that of Lombardy, and very great detriment would result to Italy were the English to obtain from thence those artificers of whom they have need for spinning the silk, twisting it properly into 'organzine,' and making stuffs and every other sort of (silk) manufacture."

"I am informed, that one Mattocks, also an Englishman, has gone into Italy to hire Italian artificers at any cost, for the purpose of sending them to manufacture silk in Bengal; he has letters to the British consuls for assistance and protection, and will also act in concert with the above-mentioned Mazzer."

In consequence of this hint, the Inquisitors, on the 22nd of December 1772, wrote to the Governors of Bergamo and Verona, giving them an account of Mazzer and Mattocks, and desiring that their projects might be thwarted in every way, and that no silk manufactures were to quit the Venetian territory.

46. I have now to express my hope that this Report will be the means of directing the attention of Her Majesty's Government to the extent, variety, and value of the Venetian Archives. It will, at the same time, show how much remains to be done at Venice, and how desirable it is to obtain copies of numerous documents with which Mr. Brown is acquainted, but the knowledge of which is confined to himself; having been gained by

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\* This letter is dated the 18th January, N.S., 1670. The repeal of the Edict of Nantes (which is supposed to have been the cause of ribbon manufactures in England) did not take place until October 24th, 1685.

upwards of thirty years' experience and search among the papers of the Signory. I would therefore suggest that Mr. Brown should have an annual allowance, for the purpose of paying for copies of such documents relating to the history of this country as he may think worthy of being transcribed and sent to England, to be placed in this Office for public use.

47. I cannot close this Report without referring to and acknowledging the politeness of Count Girolamo Dandolo, the Director-general of the Venetian Archives.

I should be ungrateful were I to omit thanking Signor Luigi Pasini and his assistant, Luigi Guadagnin, for the great help they afforded me during my researches at the Frari.

I have also to thank the Librarians at St. Mark's, especially Signor Giovanni Battista Lorenzi, for their obliging attention.

I must not forget the noble Nicolo Barozzi, the learned Director of the Correr Museum, who took infinite pains to find some papers which I was very desirous of inspecting.

48. Of Mr. Rawdon Brown himself, I am somewhat puzzled how to speak, for were I to say all I feel of his kindness, it might have the appearance, to those who do not know him, of flattery, but at any rate I must mention that during my stay in Venice he was constant and untiring in his attention and assistance, that without his aid and profound knowledge, I should not have seen a twentieth part of what I did see; and that he has supplied me with copies of every document I required, and with very many more which I have been compelled from want of space to omit from this Report.

49. I have, in conclusion, to offer you some apology for the desultory character of these remarks, but such a defect is incidental to the nature of my task. It was my object to let you see by the variety of my inquiries, what readers of various tastes and pursuits might gain from the papers in the Archives of Venice, and how much they tend to illustrate the history of this country at different intervals rather than at one special period. It would have given more consistency to my work to have confined my researches to one subject, but I doubt much whether such mode of proceeding would have been so useful as the plan I have adopted.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your very faithful servant,

T. DUFFUS HARDY.

## APPENDIX.

## A.

LIST OF DOCUMENTS RELATIVE TO THE DIVORCE OF  
HENRY VIII.

HENRY VIII. DIVORCE.—Document inspected at the Archives on  
Monday the 11th Sept. 1865.

Filza, Parti  
Secrete.  
Council of X.

Motion made by the counsellors (with the exception of Georgio\*) and by the chiefs of the Ten.

1530, May 12. Council of X. and junta to Marco Dandolo, LL.D., and knight resident at Padua.†

You have perfect recollection of the request made to us heretofore by the King of England concerning the divorce, and in like manner on the other hand of what the Emperor seemed to wish us to do in this matter, as notified by his ambassador. As we are again urged by both parties to decide, we, with our Council of Ten and junta, think fit to write you these letters, relying, as we ought, on your intelligent prudence and address, and that you will execute our intention as recommended, and above all that it be kept a close secret.

We therefore charge you, first of all, to confer forthwith with the excellent D. Pietro Paulo Parisio, and to tell him in our name how agreeable it was to us to hear the reply given by his Excellency in this matter to the agents of said English King, declining, as he did, to undertake or give advice in this case ("di voler consigliar a questa causa") on the accounts prudently alleged by him; the parties concerned being such as they are, and to avoid offending whom every effort should be made. By giving counsel in favour of either side in so serious and uncommon a case, the other must feel great resentment against the adviser ("consultore"), who will never be free from the indignation and peril which might befall him from the injured party. After having commended the prudent resolve of his Excellency in this matter, you will exhort him to persevere therein, giving it to be understood, whenever requested in the King's name to that effect,—and in like manner should it chance that the Queen make a similar application,—that he does not mean to change his opinion; not, however, letting it appear, at the risk of losing the signory's favour, that this proceeds from you, as we doubt not his Excellency will do, knowing him to be both prudent and well affected towards our affairs.

After having performed this office with the said Parisio, you will take an opportunity of conferring with the excellent D. Francischino da Conte, and with each of the other jurists and theologians who lecture in ordinary at that University, receiving salary from the State, and whose names will be noted hereunder. You will, however, speak to them apart one from the other, and in the name of our aforesaid Council of Ten and junta acquaint them secretly with our above-mentioned desire, that they do not interfere in this business either at the suit of the King or of the Queen. But you will first of all do your utmost to ascertain whether any of them have given advice in this divorce case ("haver già consigliato a ditta causa "del divortio"), and not having done so, you will charge them to decline doing so, apologizing on the plea of their own personal interests which

\* It is probable that the counsellor Georgio declined being a party to this motion because his relative, the Franciscan friar, Francisco Georgio, had composed a work in favour of the divorce.

† Marco Dandolo was not either "Podesta" or captain at Padua in the year 1530, but held the post of professor of law in the University, of which it may be supposed that he was a very influential member, and therefore the Ten addressed themselves to him.

compel them to act thus, in order not to disoblige any of the parties, who would consider themselves offended to all eternity. Should they tell you that they have already given advice in this case ("consigliato ad essa "causa"), but not yet pronounced their opinion ("ma non ancora pro-ferto il parer suo"), you will enjoin them to suppress it, assigning the above-written excuses. Above all, you will warn them to do the whole as of their own accord, not showing (inasmuch as they wish to keep in favour with us) that this thing proceeds from us, but from themselves on the accounts above alleged; and for greater security you will administer an oath to each of them not to tell any one soever that this thing proceeds from us; and the reply made to you by each of these professors you will notify to us by your letters addressed to the chiefs of the Council aforesaid. If, more clearly to express this our desire, you shall think fit to show and read to them these present, you may do so, regulating yourself throughout with such good manner and dexterous form of speech as we may expect from your prudence and diligence, and as becoming a matter so arduous and important; and above all we again enjoin secrecy wherein consists the chief foundation of our desire.

And ex nunc be it carried that by such means as shall seem best to our college, it be intimated to the Rev. Frà D. Francesco Georgio, in the name of this Council, to abstain from giving any counsel or interfering in this matter, and that our college be empowered to communicate our present decree to the imperial ambassador in the presence of the chiefs of this Council.

Ayes, 19. Noes, 1. Neutrals, 2.

Then follow ten other documents concerning the same subject, decreed or proposed by the same.

Acknowledge receipt of the reply of Marco Dandolo, and complain of the determination of D. Mariano to favour the divorce.

Inform the ambassador in England of what had taken place about the divorce.

Letter to the King of England, referring him to the Venetian ambassador for account of their reply to the King's message delivered by Cassalis.

From the same to the same. Acknowledge receipt of his letter (4 kalends July) delivered by the Bishop of London (John Stockesley), Cassalis, and Croke. The King will have heard through Falier and by their letters, of the inability of the State to give him fuller satisfaction. Expected the King to be satisfied, and regret that he is not.

Motion made and lost for a reply to Stockesley, Cassalis, and Croke.

Letter to Falier; assign reasons for their inability to satisfy the King about the divorce.

Letter to the ambassador in England; mention violent language used by Stockesley, and the effect it produced on the merchants.

To (the Captain of Padua?) Giovanni Vitturi. Is to authorize Pietro Paulo Parisio, professor of civil law, to give counsel about the divorce of England at the suit of the imperial ambassador.

Vitturi is also to tell Marco da Mantoa, lecturer in canon law at Padua, to give a full copy of what he counselled in this affair of the divorce, together with the names of the doctors who signed this opinion.

The Captain of Padua to desire Pietro Paulo Parisio to come to Venice, when the Doge is to tell him that he is at liberty to give counsel about the divorce.

Permission for the imperial ambassador to transcribe the opinion given by D. Marco da Mantoa concerning the divorce.

1530.

May 12th.

June 3rd.

June 4th.

July 20th.

July 20th.

July 20th.

July 30th.

Dec. 1st.

Dec. 10th.

Dec. 17th.

## B.

## LIST OF LETTERS RELATING TO CARDINAL POLE.

REGINALDO POLO.—LETTERE che cominciano dall' anno 1548, fino al 1558, scritte a diversi.

Codice xxiv., Classe x., dei MSS. Italiani della Biblioteca Marciana.

Numero Progressivo.	A chi diretta.	Luogo.	Data.	Annotazione.
1	A sua Maestà Cristianissima.	- - -	- - -	Italiana, Linee 22.
2	Al Cardinal di Ragusa	- - -	- - -	It. " 154.
3	Al Cardinal di Monte	Roma	10 Aprile 1548	It. " 29.
4	Al Vescovo di Venosa	Roma	8 Maggio 1548	It. " 8.
5	Al Cardinal di Mantova	- - -	- - -	It. " 13½.
6	Al Vescovo di Faenza	Roma	16 Settembre 1548	It. " 26.
7	Alla Marchesa di Pescara	Padova	4 Ottobre 1548	It. " 60.
8	Al Cardinal di Mantova	Roma	26 Aprile 1549	It. " 24.
9	Al Vescovo di Sorrento	Civitella	6 Giugno 1549	It. " 12.
10	Al Vescovo di Ceneda	Civitella	6 Giugno 1549	It. " 23.
11	All' Abate di S. Saluto	Civitella	6 Luglio 1549	It. " 22.
12	Al Cardinal Farnese	Civitella	29 Luglio 1549	It. " 9.
13	{ Al Governatore d' Inghilterra	{ - - -	{ - - -	{ It. " 1150.
				{ Tradotta dall' Inglese.
14	Al Cardinal Farnese	- - -	- - -	It. " 10.
15	Al Cardinal di Monte	- - -	- - -	It. " 14½.
16	Al Vescovo di Ceneda	- - -	- - -	It. " 9½.
17	Al Cardinal di Monte	- - -	- - -	It. " 34.
18	Al Sig. Camillo Orsino	Roma	19 Novembre 1549	It. " 42½.
19	Al Cardinal d' Urbino	Bagnarea	3 Agosto 1550	Ita. " 33.
20	Al Cardinal d' Urbino	Bagnarea	11 Agosto 1550	Ita. " 51.
21	All' Imperatore	- - -	- - -	Ita. " 10½.
22	Al Priore di S. Paolo di Roma.	- - -	- - -	Ita. " 43.
23	Al Sig. Ascanio Colonna	- - -	17 Gennaio	Ita. " 32½.
24	Al Cardinale Maffei	Bagnarea	19 Settembre 1552	Ita. " 110.
25	Al Papa	Maguzzano sul Lago di Garda.	7 Agosto 1553	Ita. " 32.
26	Alla Regina d' Inghilterra	Maguzzano	13 Agosto 1553	{ It. Tradotta " 133.
27	Al Papa	Maguzzano	13 Agosto 1553	Ita. " 25.
28	Al Cardinal d' Imola Legato	- - -	13 Agosto 1552	Ita. " 20.
29	All' Imperatore	Maguzzano	20 Agosto 1553	Ita. " 58.
30	All' Arcivescovo di Conza, Nuncio.	Maguzzano	21 Agosto 1553	It. " 8.
31	Informazione per l' Imperatore al Secretario Fior di bello.	- - -	- - -	It. " 137.
32	Al Vescovo d' Arras	Maguzzano	22 Agosto 1553	It. " 26.
33	Alla Regina d' Inghilterra	Maguzzano	27 Agosto 1553	It. " 180.
34	Al Vescovo di Viucestre	Maguzzano	28 Agosto 1553	It. " 152.
35	Al Cardinal San Giorgio	Maguzzano	5 Settembre 1553	It. " 17.
36	Al Cardinale Farnese	- - -	- - -	It. " 22.
37	A Mons. Sacro Palazzo	S. Francesco dell' Isola di Garda.	8 Settembre 1553	It. " 110.
38	Al Cardinal d' Imola, Legato	S. Francesco eu.	9 Settembre 1553	It. " 29.



Numero progres- sivo.	A chi diretta.	Luogo.	Data.	Annotazione.
39	Al Papa	S. Francesco eu.	28 Settembre 1553	Italiana, Linee 40.
40	Al Cardinal di Monte	Trento	1 Ottobre 1553	It. " 19½.
41	Al Re Cristianissimo	Trento	2 Ottobre 1553	It. " 17.
42	Al Contestabile	Trento	2 Ottobre 1553	It. " 14.
	Al Cardinal S. Giorgio	Trento	2 Ottobre 1553	It. " 10.
43	Al Cardinal Farnese	Monastero dell' Isola.	20 Ottobre 1553 (sic).	It. " 42.
44	Al Noncio Santa Croce	-	-	It. " 7.
45	Al Cardinal di Mantova	Trento	2 Ottobre 1553	It. " 28.
46	Alla Regina d' Inghilterra	Trento	2 Ottobre 1553	It. " 219.
47	Al Marchese di Excestre	Trento	2 Ottobre 1553	It. " 71.
48	Lettera della Regina al Car- dinal Polo, Legato	Westmonas- terio.	8 Ottobre 1553	{ It. " 37. { Tradotta dall' Inglese.
49	Al Cardinal di Trento	-	-	It. " 27½.
50	A M. Carlo Gualteruzzi	Tubinga	19 Ottobre 1553	It. " 17.
51	Al Cardinal di Monte	Tubinga	20 Ottobre 1553	It. " 12.
52	Al Papa	-	-	It. " 42.
53	A M. Pier Francesco Zini	Dilinga	22 Ottobre 1553	It. " 40.
54	Al Cardinal di Trento	Dilinga	21 Ottobre 1553	It. " 16.
55	Al Cardinal d' Imola	Dilinga	22 Ottobre 1553	It. " 10½.
56	Al Cardinal Morone	Dilinga	22 Ottobre 1553	It. " 7.
57	All' Imperatore	Stayndeyu (sic).	24 Ottobre 1553	It. " 10.
58	Raggiungo al Papa	-	-	It. " 174.
59	Al Papa	Dilinga	27 Ottobre 1553	It. " 17.
60	Risposta da farsi a sua San- tità del messo ritornato d' Inghilterra.	-	-	It. " 87.
61	Al Cardinal di Mantova	Dilinga	27 Ottobre 1553	It. " 4½.
62	All' Imperatore	Dilinga	28 Ottobre 1553	It. " 49.
63	Riperto dell' Ab <sup>e</sup> di S. Sa- luto	Dilinga	2 Novembre 1553	It. " 71½.
64	Al Papa	S. Francesco dell' Isola sul Lago di Garda(sic).	7 Novembre 1553	It. " 20.
65	Al Cardinal di Monte	Dilinga	14 Novembre 1553	It. " 23½.
66	Al Cardinal San Clemente	Dilinga	2 " "	It. " 13½.
67	Al Cardinal di Carpi	Dilinga	18 Novembre 1553	It. " 9.
68	All' Imperatore	Dilinga	18 Novembre 1553	It. " 18.
69	A M. Pietro Contarini	-	-	It. " 18.
70	Al Duca di Venezia	-	-	It. " 15.
71	Al Cardinal di Trento	-	-	It. " 15.
72	Al Gran Maestro della Reli- gione Gerosolimitana.	-	-	It. " 19.
73	Al Cardinale S <sup>a</sup> Croce	-	-	It. " 11.
74	Capitolo di una lettera scrit- ta al Cardinal Farnese	-	-	It. " 63½.
75	All' Arcivescovo di Granata	-	-	It. " 23.
76	Al Cardinale Farnese	-	-	It. " 49½.
77	Al Cardinale S <sup>a</sup> Angelo	-	-	It. " 26.
78	Al Cardinale Pighino	-	-	{ (Sono due lettere.) { It. " 31½.
79	Al Cardinale Comaro	-	-	It. " 26½.
80	Al Cardinal di Mantua	-	-	It. " 10.
81	All' Ambasciatore Vargas	-	-	It. " 17.
82	Al Papa	-	-	It. " 19.
83	Al Maestro del Sacro Palazzo	-	-	It. " 13.
84	Al Cardinale Morone	-	-	It. " 21.
85	Al Secretario fiordibello	Isola del La- go di Garda.	20 Novembre 1553	It. " 19.
86	Relazione all' Ab <sup>e</sup> di S. Sa- luto.	-	-	It. " 40.
87	Al Papa	Trento	1 Ottobre 1553	It. " 53.
88	Al Papa	Brusselles	28 Gennaio 1554	It. " 77.
89	Al Cardinale di Monte	Brusselles	5 Febbraio 1554	It. " 98.
90	Al Cardinal di Monte	Brusselles	8 Febbraio 1554	It. " 99.
91	Al Cardinal di Monte	Brusselles	9 Febbraio 1554	It. " 72.
92	Al Cardinal di Monte	Brusselles	10 Febbraio 1554	It. " 132.
93	Lettera della Regina d' In- ghilterra al Card <sup>le</sup> Polo	S. Giacomo	23 Gennaio 1554	{ It. " 39. { Tradotta.
94	Al Papa	Brusselles	23 Aprile 1554	It. " 125.
95	Al Papa	S. Dionigio	11 Marzo 1554	It. " 24.
96	Lettere della Regina d' In- ghilterra al Card <sup>le</sup> Polo	S. Giacomo	12 Marzo 1554	{ It. " 42. { Tradotta dall' Inglese.
97	Al Cardinale di Monte	Fontanebleau	4 Aprile 1554	It. " 136.
98	Al Cardinale Morone	Fontanebleau	4 Aprile 1554	It. " 32.
99	Al Papa	Parigi	8 Aprile 1554	It. " 11.
100	Al Cardinale di Monte	Brusselles	20 Aprile 1554	It. " 12.
101	Al Papa	Brusselles	22 Aprile 1554	It. " 48.
102	Al Papa	Brusselles	24 Aprile 1554	It. " 7.
103	A Mons <sup>r</sup> Santa Croce, Nuncio	Brusselles	26 Aprile 1554	It. " 17.

Numero progressivo.	A chi diretta.	Luogo.	Data.	Annotazione.
104	Al Cardinal Moroue -	Dal Monastero di Dilingan di Bruxelles.	15 Maggio 1554	Italiana, Linee 253.
105	Al Cardinal Moroue -	Bruxelles -	28 Maggio 1554	It. " 173.
106	Al Cardinale Nobili -	Bruxelles -	-	It. " 14.
107	All' Agente mio in Inghilterra.	Monastero di Dilingano.	- Maggio 1554	It. " 121.
108	Al Cardinale Moroue -	Bruxelles -	10 Giugno 1554	It. " 60.
109	Al Principe di Spagna -	-	-	It. " 10.
110	All' Imperatore -	Bruxelles -	20 Luglio 1554	It. " 15.
111	Alla Regina d'Inghilterra -	-	-	It. " 164.
112	A Mons <sup>r</sup> de Arras -	-	-	It. " 14.
113	Al Papa -	-	24 Settembre 1554	It. " 119.
114	All' Imperatore -	Monastero di Dilingano.	28 Settembre 1554	It. " 34.
115	A Don Bernardino -	Bruxelles -	-	It. " 61.
116	Lettera della Regina d' Inghilterra al Card <sup>e</sup> Polo -	-	-	{ It. " 15.
117	Lettera della Regina d' Inghilterra al Card <sup>e</sup> Polo -	Westmonasterio, 21.	{ 15 Ottobre 1554	{ Tradotta. " 13.
118	Al Papa -	Bruxelles -	19 Ottobre 1554	It. " 25.
119	Al Papa -	Bruxelles -	23 Ottobre 1554	It. " 83.
120	A M. Bernardino e fratelli de Relli (sic).	Bruxelles -	-	It. " 18.
121	Al Papa -	Bruxelles -	26 Ottobre 1554	It. " 84.
122	Alla Regina d' Inghilterra -	Bruxelles -	27 Ottobre 1554	It. " 59.
123	Al Cardinale Moroue -	Bruxelles -	28 Ottobre 1554	It. " 117.
124	Al Papa -	Bruxelles -	11 Novembre 1554	{ It. " 97. P. Scritta in data di Londra la vigilia di Natale.
125	(Al Re di Francia) -	Londra -	14 Dicembre 1554	It. " 16.
126	Al Vescovo di Viterbo, Nuncio in Francia.	Londra -	4 Gennaio 1555	It. " 18.
127	Al Cardinale di Lorena -	Londra -	4 Gennaio 1555	It. " 39.
128	Al Re di Spagna -	Granuzzi -	9 Gennaio 1555	It. " 32.
129	Breve Summario di quello che è passato in materia di beni Ecclesiastici.	-	-	It. " 140.
130	Al Vescovo di Viterbo, Nuncio in Francia.	Londra -	11 Gennaio 1555	It. " 126.
131	All' Arcivescovo di Conza -	Londra -	11 Gennaio 1555	It. " 29.
132	Al Cardinale Moroue -	Londra -	14 Gennaio 1555	It. " 72.
133	Al Cardinale di Treuto -	Londra -	16 Gennaio 1555	It. " 22.
134	Al Vescovo di Arras -	Londra -	18 Gennaio 1555	It. " 33.
135	Al Papa -	Londra -	19 Gennaio 1555	It. " 25.
136	All' Imperatore -	Londra -	19 Gennaio 1555	It. " 13.
137	Al Sig <sup>r</sup> Contarini, Vescovo di Baffo.	Londra -	26 Gennaro 1555	It. " 23.
138	Al Cardinale Moroue -	Londra -	8 Marzo 1555	It. " 53.
139	-	Londra -	15 Marzo 1555	It. " 13.
140	Al Vescovo di Viterbo Nuncio in Francia.	Londra -	14 Marzo 1555	It. " 42.
141	Al Re di Francia -	-	-	It. " 14.
142	All' Imperatore -	Londra -	27 Marzo 1555	It. " 14.
143	All' Arcivescovo di Conza, Nuncio a Bruxelles	Londra -	27 Marzo 1555	It. " 38.
144	All' Arcivescovo di Conza -	Londra -	31 Marzo 1555	It. " 26.
145	{ Al Re di Francia, con risposta inserita al Marchese di Carnaer	{ Londra -	{ 6 Aprile 1555	{ It. " 9. { It. " 34.
146	All' Arcivescovo di Conza -	Londra -	20 Aprile 1555	It. " 294.
147	Al Re di Francia -	Londra -	21 Aprile 1555	It. " 12.
148	Al Contestabile -	Londra -	21 Aprile 1555	It. " 19.
149	Alla Regina d' Inghilterra -	Richemond -	28 Aprile 1555	{ It. " 26. { Tradotta dall' Inglese.
150	Al Contestabile -	Londra -	15 Maggio 1555	It. " 19.
151	Al Contestabile -	Cales -	19 Maggio 1555	It. " 16.
152	Conto di quello si ha negoziato nell' abboccamento.	-	-	It. " 183.
153	Al Papa -	Richemond -	6 Luglio 1555	It. " 34.
154	Al Re di Francia -	Richemond -	7 Agosto 1555	It. " 49.
155	Al Cardinale Moroue -	Richemond -	9 Agosto 1555	It. " 56.
156	Al Cardinale Caraffa -	Richemond -	10 Agosto 1555	It. " 78.
157	Al Cardinale Caraffa -	Richemond -	18 Agosto 1555	It. " 87.
158	Al Vescovo di Sessa -	Richemond -	19 Agosto 1555	It. " 85.
159	Al Vescovo di Sessa -	Granuzzi -	24 Agosto 1555	It. " 89.
160	Al Re di Spagna -	Granuzzi -	2 Settembre 1555	It. " 21.
161	Al Cardinale Caraffa -	Granuzzi -	26 Settembre 1555	It. " 30.
162	Al Sig <sup>r</sup> Pietro Vanni -	Granuzzi -	4 Ottobre 1555	It. " 28.
163	Al Cardinale Caraffa -	Granuzzi -	10 Ottobre 1555	It. " 83.

Numero progressivo.	A chi diretta.	Luogo.	Data.	Annotazione.
164	All' Arcivescovo di Conza, Nuncio a Brusselles.	Londra	26 Ottobre 1555	Italiana, Linee 43.
164	Al Cardinal Caraffa	Londra	7 Novembre 1555	It. " 46.
165	Al Cardinale Morone	Londra	10 Novembre 1555	It. " 34.
166	All' Arcivescovo di Conza	Londra	27 Novembre 1555	It. " 43.
167	Al Cardinal de Medici	Londra	4 Dicembre 1555	It. " 20.
168	Al Cardinal Morone al Card <sup>o</sup> Polo.	Roma	11 Dicembre 1555	It. " 61.
169	Al Cardinale Caraffa	Londra	15 Dicembre 1555	It. " 32.
170	Al Cardinal di Burgos	Londra	15 Dicembre 1555	It. " 27.
171	A Don Bernardo poi Card <sup>o</sup> Trani.	Londra	-	It. " 19.
172	Serenissimo Re (forse Spagna).	Londra	20 Dicembre 1555	It. " 24.
173	Al Cardinale Caraffa	Londra	19 Dicembre 1555	It. " 19.
174	Al Cardinal Morone	-	-	It. " 33.
175	Al Papa	Londra	20 Dicembre 1555	It. " 26.
176	Del Re Cattolico al Card <sup>o</sup> Polo	Brusselles	4 Gennajo 1556	Spagnuola, 23.
177	Al Re Filippo	Granuzzi	9 Gennajo 1556	It. " 31.
178	Sire (Il Re Cristianissimo)	Londra	17 Gennajo 1556	It. " 20.
179	Al Re Cattolico	Granuzzi	25 Gennajo 1556	It. " 41.
180	Al Cardinal di Lorena	Londra	27 Gennajo 1556	It. " 12.
181	Al Sig. Contestabile	Londra	27 Gennajo 1556	It. " 11.
182	Al Vescovo di Viterbo	Londra	27 Gennajo 1556	It. " 14.
183	Informazione al Re Cristianissimo.	-	-	It. " 18.
184	Al Cardinale Morone	Londra	27 Gennajo 1556	It. " 22.
185	Al Cardinal Caraffa	Londra	27 Gennajo 1556	It. " 32.
186	Al Cardinal di Trani	Londra	28 Gennajo 1556	It. " 30.
187	Al Gemon (sic)	Londra	-	It. " 28.
188	Al Cardinal Morone	Londra	5 Febbraro 1556	It. " 13.
189	Al Cardinal Morone	Londra	17 Febbraro 1556	It. " 38.
190	Al Cardinal Morone	Londra	19 Febbraro 1556	It. " 120.
191	Al Cardinal Caraffa	Londra	19 Febbraro 1556	It. " 32.
192	Al Re di Francia	Londra	20 Febbraro 1556	It. " 14.
193	Al Cardinal di Lorena	Londra	26 Febbraro 1556	It. " 22.
194	Al Sig <sup>r</sup> Contestabile	Londra	20 Febbraro 1556	It. " 13.
195	Al Sig <sup>r</sup> Nuncio	-	-	It. " 10.
196	Al Presidente della Congregazione Cassinese.	Londra	-	It. " 18.
197	Al medesimo	Londra	-	It. " 33.
198	Al Cardinal Caraffa	Granuzzi	25 Febbraro 1556	It. " 44.
199	All' Arcivescovo di Conza, Nuncio.	Granuzzi	25 Febbraro 1556	It. " 43.
200	Al Contestabile di Franza	Granuzzi	25 Febbraro 1556	It. " 55.
201	Al Gemon	Canturberi	-	It. " 14.
202	Al Re	Canturberi	-	It. " 12.
203	Al Cardinal Farnese	Canturberi	-	It. " 13.
204	Al Duca di Parma	Canturberi	-	It. " 12.
205	Al Cardinale Cornaro	Granuzzi	13 Aprile 1556	It. " 13.
206	Al Cardinal Caraffa	-	-	{ (Il principio solo (It.) Linee 1.
207	Al Re Cattolico	-	-	It. " 14.
208	Al gia Contestabile	Londra	3 d' Aprile 1556	It. " 11.
209	Di Marc' Antonio Faitta al D <sup>r</sup> Chizzula.	Londra	3 Maggio 1556	It. " 377.
210	Al Papa	Londra	5 Maggio 1556	It. " 13.
211	Al Cardinal Morone	-	-	It. " 7.
212	Al Cardinal Caraffa	-	-	It. " 5.
213	Al Cardinal di Burgos	Londra	5 Maggio 1556	It. " 31.
214	Al Duca d' Alvi (sic)	Londra	17 Maggio 1556	It. " 11.
215	Al Cardinal di Mantova	Londra	-	It. " 16.
216	Al Re di Portogallo	Londra	25 Maggio 1556	It. " 10.
217	Al Cardinal di Trani	Londra	-	It. " 13.
218	Al Vescovo Vido (sic)	Londra	31 Maggio 1556	It. " 15.
219	Al Cardinal di Trani	Londra	-	It. " 47.
220	A Madonna di Parma	Granuzzi	-	It. " 13.
221	Al Vescovo di Pistoia	Londra	-	It. " 16.
222	All' Amb <sup>r</sup> Vargas	Londra	-	It. " 14.
223	Al Re Cattolico	Londra	24 Giugno 1556	It. " 77.
224	Al Cardinal Morone	Croydori (sic)	14 Settembre 1556	It. " 24.
225	Al medesimo	Londra	10 Ottobre 1556	It. " 37.
226	Al Re Cattolico	Londra	12 Ottobre 1556	It. " 32.
227	Al Cardinal Morone	Londra	21 Dicembre 1556	It. " 72.
228	Al Cardinal Caraffa	Granuzzi	25 Febbraro 1557	It. " 28.
229	Al Sig <sup>r</sup> Stefano Sauli	Londra	Aprile 1557	It. " 15.
230	Al medesimo	Londra	25 Maggio 1557	It. " 74.
231	Al Cardinal di Seguenz	Londra	25 Maggio 1557	It. " 14.
232	Al Cardinal Visello	Londra	25 Maggio 1557	It. " 14.
233	Al Cardinal di Medici	Londra	25 Maggio 1557	It. " 12.
234	All' Abate di S. Paolo a Kornos.	Croyden	25 Maggio 1557	It. " 16.

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235	Al Cardinal di Trento	Canterbury	— Maggio 1557	Italiana, Linee 19.
236	Al Re Cattolico	Richemond	4 Agosto 1557	It. „ 17.
237	Al medesimo	Londra	2 Settembre 1557	It. „ 19.
238	Al medesimo	—	—	It. „ 17.
239	Al Padre Miranda	Londra	17 Novembre 1557	It. „ 15.
240	Al medesimo	Londra	7 Dicembre 1557	It. „ 15.
241	Al Re Cattolico	Londra	13 Dicembre 1557	It. „ 17.
242	Al Cardinal Caraffa	Londra	— Dicembre 1557	It. „ 25.
243	Al Cardinal Caraffa	Londra	14 Dicembre 1557	It. „ 23.
244	Al medesimo	Granuzzi	4 Gennaio 1558	It. „ 31.
245	Al Cardinal di Mantova	Londra	— Gennaio 1558	It. „ 64.
246	Istruzione al P. T. Stella	—	10 Gennaio 1558	It. „ 21.
247	Al Re Cattolico	S. Giacomo	10 Gennaio 1558	It. „ 16.
248	Al Re Cattolico	Londra	2 Febbraio 1558	It. „ 19.
249	Al Cardinal Caraffa	Londra	2 Febbraio 1558	It. „ 12.
250	Al Re Cattolico	Londra	5 Marzo 1558	It. „ 10.
251	Al Gran Maestro della Reli- gione.	Londra	5 Marzo 1558	It. „ 19.
252	Al Arcivescovo di Toledo	Londra	1 Marzo 1558	It. „ 12.
253	A D <sup>a</sup> Ant <sup>a</sup> di Toledo	Londra	9 Marzo 1558	It. „ 26.
254	Al Re Cattolico	Londra	9 Marzo 1558	It. „ 10.
255	Alla Duchessa di Parma	Granuzzi	12 Marzo 1558	It. „ 9.
256	Al Padre Confessore Afres- neda.	Granuzzi	30 Marzo 1558	It. „ 10.
257	Al Cardinale Caraffa	Granuzzi	14 Aprile 1558	It. „ 11.
258	A. D. Gio. de Vega sopra Presidente del Consiglio Regio.	Granuzzi	14 Aprile 1558	It. „ 21.
259	Al Cardinal di Burgos	Granuzzi	14 Aprile 1558	It. „ 25.
260	Al Re Cattolico	S. Giacomo	11 di della Scen- sione 1558.	It. „ 20.
261	Al Re Cattolico	Lamberti	6 Settembre 1558	It. „ 27.
262	Al medesimo	Londra	25 Settembre 1558	It. „ 253.
263	Di Mons <sup>r</sup> Priuli al Ci <sup>mo</sup> M. Antonio suo fratello.	Londra	27 Novembre 1558	It. „ 223.
264	Al Giberti	—	—	It. „ 31.
265	A. D. Gio. de Vega sopra Presidente del Confoglio.	Londra	5 Dicembre 1558	It. „ 86.
266	All' Arcivescovo di Toledo	Londra	5 Dicembre 1558	It. „ 36.
267	Parere della Serenissima Regina de Inghilterra che ella scrisse di sua propria mano et diede a Mons <sup>r</sup> R <sup>mo</sup> Legato al tempo che si fese il sinodo tradotto di lingua Inglese.	—	—	—
	Lettere del Cardinale Polo (Italiane)	—	—	No. 254
	„ della Regina d' Inghilterra	—	—	„ 6
	„ del Re Cattolico	—	—	„ 1
	„ di Mons <sup>r</sup> Priuli	—	—	„ 4
	„ del Faitta	—	—	„ 1
	„ dell' Ab <sup>e</sup> Saluto	—	—	„ 1
	„ del Cardinal Polo (Latine)	—	—	In tutto No. 267 „ 82
				In tutto No. 349
268	Papa Paolo III.	Ex agro Pa- tavino.	—	Latina, Linee 60.
269	Papa Paolo III.	—	—	Lat. „ 226.
270	Papa Paolo III.	—	—	Lat. „ 31.
271	Papa Paolo III.	—	—	Lat. „ 33.
272	Papa Paolo III.	—	—	Lat. „ 16.
273	Papa Paolo III.	—	—	Lat. „ 13.
274	Papa Paolo III.	—	—	Lat. „ 13.
275	Papa Paolo III.	—	—	Lat. „ 34.
276	Papa Paolo III.	—	—	Lat. „ 16.
277	Papa Giulio III.	Ex monaste- terio Ma- gunzani.	VIII. Junij 1553	Lat. „ 41.
278	Papa Giulio III.	Londini	Die ult <sup>a</sup> Novemb. 1554.	Lat. „ 61.
279	Al medesimo	Londini	—	Lat. „ 44.
280	Marcello Pp. II.	—	—	Lat. „ 43.
281	Marcello Pp. II.	—	—	Lat. „ 33.
282	Paulo Pp. IV.	—	—	Lat. „ 43.
283	Paulo Pp. IV.	Caleto	—	Lat. „ 30.
284	Paulo Pp. IV.	Richmondia	24 Junij 1555	Lat. „ 14.
285	Paulo Pp. IV.	—	—	Lat. „ 25.
286	Paulo Pp. IV.	Londini	—	Lat. „ 36.

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287	Paulo Pp. IV.	-	-	Latina, Linee 39.
288	Paulo Pp. IV.	-	-	Lat. " 38.
289	Paulo Pp. IV.	-	-	Lat. " 133.
290	Paulo Pp. IV.	-	-	Lat. " 35.
291	Paulo Pp. IV.	Londini	-	Lat. " 121.
292	Paulo Pp. IV.	-	-	Lat. " 131.
293	Regi Gallorum Francisco, nomine Legatorum in Concilio Tridentino.	Tridenti	-	Lat. " 38.
294	Regi Gal. Francisco -	Roma	-	Lat. " 34.
295	Mariae Reginae Angliae -	-	-	Lat. " 115.
296	Philippo Regi ac Mariae Re- ginae Angliae.	-	-	Lat. " 113.
297	Philippo Regi	Ex monaste- rio Dili- gam.	XI. Julij 1551	Lat. " 56.
298	Al medesimo -	Bruxelles	XXI. Sept. 1554	Lat. " 140.
299	Al medesimo -	Bruxelles	27 Ottobre 1554	Lat. " 85.
300	Al medesimo -	-	-	Lat. " 29.
301	Al medesimo -	Epenovichio (sic).	-	Lat. " 39.
302	Al medesimo -	-	-	Lat. " 27.
303	Al medesimo -	-	-	Lat. " 89.
304	Philippo Regi	-	-	Lat. " 26.
305	Al medesimo -	-	-	Lat. " 75.
306	Al medesimo -	Londini	-	Lat. " 36.
307	Al medesimo -	-	-	Lat. " 41.
308	Al medesimo -	-	-	Lat. " 38.
309	Andrae Gritti Ducis Vene- tiarum.	-	-	Lat. " 61.
310	Laurentio Priulo Ducis Vene- tiarum.	-	-	Lat. " 43.
311	Marchionissae Piscariae	-	-	Lat. " 78.
312	G. Card <sup>u</sup> Contareno -	Placentiae	-	Lat. " 104.
313	G. Contareno Cardinali	Lugduni	XXIIIJ. Martis 1537.	Lat. " 111.
314	Al medesimo -	-	-	Lat. " 51.
315	Al medesimo -	-	-	Lat. " 38.
316	Al medesimo -	-	-	Lat. " 55.
317	Al medesimo -	-	-	Lat. " 28.
318	Al medesimo -	-	-	Lat. " 34.
319	Al medesimo -	-	-	Lat. " 114.
320	Al medesimo -	Romae	IV. Februarij	Lat. " 44.
321	Al medesimo -	-	-	Lat. " 78.
322	Al medesimo -	Romae	-	Lat. " 43.
323	Guidoni Ascanio Sfortiae Cardinali.	Romae	-	Lat. " 48.
324	R. Pio Card <sup>u</sup> Carpentae	-	-	Lat. " 210.
325	Erardo Card <sup>u</sup> Leodiensi	-	-	Lat. " 110.
326	Erardo Card <sup>u</sup> Leodiensi	-	-	Lat. " 36.
327	Erardo Card <sup>u</sup> Leodiensi	Romae	-	Lat. " 28.
328	Cardinali Sadoletto	-	-	Lat. " 64.
329	Al medesimo -	Romae	-	Lat. " 130.
330	Card <sup>u</sup> Mantuae	-	-	Lat. " 55.
331	Card <sup>u</sup> Tridentino	Romae	-	Lat. " 81.
332	Card <sup>u</sup> Tridentino	Romae	-	Lat. " 108.
333	Card <sup>u</sup> Burgeni	-	-	Lat. " 33.
334	Card <sup>u</sup> Angustano	Bruxelles	-	Lat. " 239.
335	Al medesimo -	Londini	XVIIIJ. Januarij 1555.	Lat. " 81.
336	Card <sup>u</sup> Scotiae	Romae	-	Lat. " 49.
337	Card <sup>u</sup> S. Marcelli	-	-	Lat. " 24.
338	Card <sup>u</sup> S. Marcelli	Capranica	-	Lat. " 53.
339	Card <sup>u</sup> Tranensi	-	-	Lat. " 74.
340	Cosmo Gerio fanens. Epi- scopo	-	-	Lat. " 30.
341	Joa. Matheo Giberto Episc. Veronente.	Ronellonae in Montibus Engorneis.	-	Lat. " 64.
342	Stanislao Hosco	-	-	Lat. " 23.
343	Al medesimo -	-	-	Lat. " 22.
344	Episcopo Pauni	Balnei Regij	XV. Cal. Quintilis, 1550.	Lat. " 362.
345	Al medesimo -	Balneo Regio	-	Lat. " 180.
346	Al medesimo -	Romae -	-	Lat. " 205.
347	Al medesimo -	Richmondia	8 Julij 1555	Lat. " 65.
348	Magistro Sacri Palatij	Monasterio Mangsau.	VI. Augusti 1553	Lat. " 461.
349	R <sup>mo</sup> Episcopo Vannensi	Romae	-	Lat. " 134.

## C.

## TRANSLATIONS OF SOME LETTERS RELATING TO CARDINAL POLE.

LETTER from MARC ANTONIO FAITTA to the Doctor in Divinity, IPPOLITO CHIZZUOLA. Dated London, the 3rd May A.D. 1556. Translated by Mr. RAWDON BROWN, from a Manuscript in St. Mark's Library, No. 24, Class 10.

London, 3 May, A.D. 1556.

I HAVE willed to atone for my past neglect, through the journey of our Missier Michiel, by giving particular advice to your Excellency of affairs here, and of the well being of the most illustrious and right reverend my Lord, our common Master, who had himself ordained priest on the 20th ultimo, and on the 22nd was consecrated bishop, and received the *pallium* in the Cathedral church. As this, however, did not seem well to the most serene Queen, for some reason or other, his most reverend Lordship determined on arraying himself therein, here in London, in one of the principal churches of his diocese; and so on the day of the Annunciation, being accompanied by many nobles and barons, and by some of the members of the Council, he went to a church called St. Mary's of the Arches, on entering which, some of its parishioners presented him with a paper, praying his most reverend Lordship would deign to commence by giving some spiritual food to those souls which God had entrusted to his charge. So on the conclusion of the ceremonies, and having been invested with the *pallium*, his most reverend Lordship resolved, thus unprepared, on saluting his audience with a few words, speaking in the following terms:—

“ On entering this church, for a purpose which I had desired might be explained in a sermon by a person learned, and from long experience very suited to this office, its parishioners presented me with a paper, praying me with great earnestness and affection to perform this act in person, and to commence by tendering spiritual food to those souls committed to my care. I have not only resolved not to deny a demand so just, but have even derived the greatest consolation thence, remembering that in my life's whole course none of my actions have ever yielded me greater satisfaction than those to which the Divine Majesty deigned to call me, and whose execution, as in this instance, conduced to God's honour and glory, feeding thus the souls of those committed to my charge. Amongst these, perchance, there may be some who will listen to me out of curiosity, or to comment on what I say; and to such, I shall observe that any other learned and accomplished man would satisfy them vastly better than my means permit. But there may also be some who will listen to me for the pure love of God's Word, and these I am ready to satisfy; nor will I ever brook that, from any defect of mine, there be applied to me those words of holy writ, concerning the people of Israel,

“ Parvuli petierunt panem, et non qui eis frangeret,”

neither will I imitate those masters, who eating white bread themselves, give bread, black and unsifted, to their servants. I shall give to you the same that I myself am used to eat, and this bread is nothing but God's Word, which, received in the form and sense wherein offered, produces miraculous effects, and bears the fruit of life for him who embraces it; and as is written,

“ Tamquam imber qui descendet de cœlo et illuc ultra non revertitur, sed inebriat terram et infundit eam, et germinare eam facit.”

Alluding then to the cause of his coming, he said,

“ You must know that the cause of my coming here was induced by my having been appointed legate many months since by the Holiness of the Pope, who is Christ's vicar and the supreme head of His Church upon earth, for the sake of reconciling this kingdom to God, from whom it was so miserably severed, like a limb from the head. And in order to reunite it and restore it to obedience to the apostolic chair, I am now again newly sent as legate to this church of Canterbury in particular, and to all those dependant on its diocese. As this is the first

time of my entering any church subject to my care, I imagine that you will not expect of me any other sermon or discourse, since I merely came to take the archiepiscopal *pallium*; it having, indeed, been my intention, having given my orders to this effect, to receive it in the principal church of my diocese, but being prevented on several accounts, I was compelled to receive the investiture here. Since on the first entry of any one into any place, it is usual to salute the bystanders, so also shall I do, saluting you in the manner taught by Jesus Christ to his Apostles, to whom he said,

“In quacumque domum intraveritis dicite pax huic domui,” and thus saluting you with all affection and charity, I say to you, peace be unto you; peace to ye men and women, peace to ye old and young, and to every description of person here present be there peace. Christ taught this form of salutation to His apostles, in order that into whatever house they entered, and to which they might have given peace, and finding therein the children of peace, peace might rest thereon. And so likewise here, should there be the children of peace, God’s peace, in which consists all the happiness that man can desire or imagine, will remain with them; and this is that peace which not only gives quiet to man on earth, but, moreover, ineffable joy to the angels in heaven, who manifesting God’s counsel and peace, that is to say, Jesus Christ the blessed, when approximating this world, they commenced singing with so great grace and joy,

“Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis.”

Proceeding then to explain the ceremony and signification of the *pallium*, he said that,

“In the time of the primitive church, when any one was consecrated as archbishop, by which consecration a power was conferred of such a nature as to be supreme after that of Christ’s vicar on earth, yet was it not lawful to exercise such power until after having received this *pallium*, which being taken from St. Peter’s body and placed on the archbishop elect, merely signified that as his power and authority proceeded from that body, so likewise was he bound to yield a correspondence and obedience like that of members to their head. Thus our holy mother Church, ever guided by the Holy Ghost, ordained this form lest the archbishops, enjoying so great authority by separating themselves from their head, might have caused great trouble and disorder in the Church, instead of acknowledging this power as held neither of themselves or of others, but only of Christ’s vicar, who is the Roman Pontiff, and that thus there might ever be maintained this unity. And though in byegone times it has been greatly disturbed by certain archbishops and patriarchs, nevertheless it has ever been seen for a notable example that those who acted thus, together with the countries committed to their government, have been, by God, most severely punished, as were the patriarchs of Constantinople and of Alexandria, who, having strayed from this unity, passed by God’s just judgment under the cruel tyranny and insupportable yoke of the Turks, which bears on them so wretchedly, and since so long a while. The like was also manifested too clearly in the persons of the archbishops of Ravenna, who greatly opposed this unity, but finally perceiving their error, were reconciled to and rejoined this head. Thus, then, an archbishop cannot exercise the power extended to him on his consecration until he receive permission to this effect from Christ’s vicar by means of this *pallium*, derived, as I said, from St. Peter’s body, and sent by the Pontiff. These *pallia* are now-a-days made of lamb’s wool, consecrated by being placed near St. Peter’s body, and are afterwards forwarded to such as have been consecrated as archbishops. They are made of this lowly material, and in the form of a cross, as a contrast to the rich ornaments of gold and jewels usually worn by archbishops, as a symbol how all their power and authority received through Christ’s vicar, proceeds and is derived from that immaculate Lamb, of which it is written in the Apocalypse,

“Dignus est Agnus qui occisus est accipere virtutem et honorem et gloriam.”

“The archbishops then, being invested with this *pallium* made of the wool of lambs, and in the form of a cross, ought at the same time to array themselves in humility, in charity, and in patience, and take up the

cross, and be ever ready in need, to peril their own lives for their flock's safety, and by all their actions, pray that immaculate Lamb,

“*In quo sunt omnes thesauri sapientiæ Dei absconditi,*”  
for the gift of prudence and of good government, both of themselves as of those committed to their care.”

And here his most reverend Lordship returned again to his comments on peace, which he said, it was impossible for any one ever utterly to explain or understand, comparing it to the hidden manna,

“*Quod nemo scit, nisi qui accipit*”

and in which alone, he said, consisted true human felicity; and he added,

“Think not either but that the science of philosophers, or the wealth of the rich, or the honours and pleasures of the great, are yet farther removed from this their peace and true felicity, as was clearly seen by the example of Solomon, who being so favoured of God, of Whom he asked for his people's good government, the gift of wisdom, and the power of discerning the truth by his judgments, all which was conceded to him by God, who, moreover, in addition gave him greater riches than had ever been possessed by any other king. Besides this, Solomon tasted all the greatest pleasures that man can enjoy in this world, and yet, at the end, he said that all was but vanity and vexation of spirit.”

His most reverend Lordship then continued, that so far were philosophers from obtaining peace, that he qualified their occupations as the worst possible; adding, that true peace and felicity consisted in the fear of God, and in the execution of His holy commandments, and that this peace, therefore, resembled neither that of science or of any other sort of excellence, or that of honour, or of riches, or of pleasure, of which poor men, and those of low estate cannot participate. This peace was common both to the ignorant and unlearned, as to the sage and skilled; to the ignoble as to the noble; to man as to woman; to youth as to age; and to every condition of person, provided it be received with simplicity when offered. Neither is any labour required for its search, since there descended from Heaven peace incarnate, namely, Jesus Christ the blessed, who came to die and sacrifice Himself for our sins, and to free us from eternal war, giving us true peace, which is Himself; wherefore we ought not to be slow in receiving so great a good, offered by the Divine mercy, lest there be said of us those words employed by Christ concerning Jerusalem, when drawing nigh to, and weeping over, he said,

“*Si cognovisses quæ tibi ad pacem sunt; nunc autem abscondita sunt ab oculis tuis;*”

and thus (exclaimed he), say I to you, would ye but know the great grace God grants you, by the mission of this peace.” On uttering which words, his most reverend Lordship could not restrain his tears, and having uttered that expression “*would you but know,*” he staid himself for a moment, and then adding, “*what God grants you,*” remained silent for a short while, his eyes being suffused in tears. Then after a little, he continued in a low tone, “You know what has passed, I pray you guard “against the future;” and those words “*Si cognovisses*” he uttered with such effect and tenderness, that none remained unmoved.

His most reverend Lordship, after a few moments, then resumed, “This peace, then, which I am come to offer you on the part of God, must be received by those who wish for its enjoyment, with great humility, as did on this day the glorious Virgin, who, when the angel announced peace to her in these words,

“*Ave Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum,*”

and although she was afear'd and quite lost, yet did she not fail to receive the said message with all humility, and not at all doubting thereof; but merely wishing to be well informed of God's will for its better execution, she inquired;

“*Quomodo fiet istud, quoniam virum non cognosco?*”

as if she would fain know, whether she were to do that, naturally or supernaturally, since naturally she could not conceive, not having had connexion with man. Whereupon the angel answered her,

“*Spiritus sanctus superveniet in te, et virtus Altissimi adumbravit tibi,*”



and hence, comprehending immediately that the Holy Ghost would be the author of so miraculous a conception, she replied,

“*Ecce ancilla Domini! fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum.*”

And here it must be considered that she did not doubt the fact, but from mere anxiety to obey the will of God, inquired concerning the mode, neither would she be curious and say,

“How can the Holy Ghost effect this?”

nor, in fine, would she constitute herself the judge of God’s word, as did the first woman, who, being invited by the serpent to contemplate the apple’s beauty, commenced judging God’s commandment, causing thus her own fall from so great happiness into such an abyss of misery. For the reparation of such presumptuous pride no other antidote was required than this simple humility of the glorious Virgin, who did not like Eve, make herself the judge of God’s word, but venerating it in humility, believed in the Holy Ghost’s omnipotence; and thus, through her great modesty, *quem Deus respexit*, she obtained for the world that grace and peace which the first woman lost, through her pride and temerity.”

His most reverend Lordship then continued, that the holy Writ afforded examples of three persons to whom God had spoken through His angel, announcing to them great joy. The first was that of Gideon, to whom the angel said, “*Dominus tecum,*” &c.; whereupon he was most extremely perturbed, fearing death; (because after the sin of the first man, to whom God’s angel spoke as commanded by God, forbidding him to eat of the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, under pain of death; but Adam having disobeyed, on hearing God’s approach from a distance, thought to flee and hide himself, lest God should give him death;) wherefore, from that time forth, all to whom God spoke feared death as did Gideon likewise, to whom, although the angel said afterwards, “fear not Gideon, thou shalt not die, but wilt free the people of Israel from the hands of her enemies,” yet\* did this seem impossible to him on account of his decrepid age, and because his wife was barren and very old indeed, nor could he believe ere he received a sign, and as the penalty of this, his incredulity, he remained speechless until his son was carried to the temple.

The third instance was that of the most glorious Virgin, who without entertaining any doubt, received in all humility the peace offered to her, in whose imitation, you also, to whom as to her, the first sound of God’s word may appear strange as repugnant to the flesh, and to human sense, yet by receiving it in simplicity and humility, as did on this day the blessed Virgin, it will lead you to a peace truly blessed, and which will render you the children of God. And as Christ said to his apostles,

“*Beati pacifici, quoniam ipsi filii Dei vocabuntur;*”

the which peace will quiet your hearts, irradiate your minds, and cause you to despise the vain and transitory affairs of this world, making you journey in the way of the Lord, and possessing in yourselves the light of life. And, when listening to the Word of God, should you perchance ever doubt of any point, you ought to demand its explanation in all humility, as did the glorious Virgin, and not with a disposition to judge the Word of God as it was judged by Eve, interpreting it according to your own sense, but rather, that by knowing God’s will, you may be better enabled to execute it. And to whom will you apply for this information? Surely to none others than to those whom God has appointed through His spouse the Church, with which He will ever remain till the end of time, namely, to your curates and deacons. And immediately on hearing in what sense you ought to take it, conformably to the doctrine of the Holy Catholic Church, then ought you to be ready to execute what you know to be the will of God, in like manner as did the glorious Virgin, who said,

“*Ecce ancilla Domini! fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum;*”

and do you thus make a sacrifice of your hearts to God, and be ready to keep His holy commandments, and then He will come to you and dwell

\* The text appears here to be imperfect, having passed on without notice to other subjects.

with you, bringing you the true internal peace, together with the treasure of His wisdom, giving you in this world extreme happiness, and, in the other, life and peace eternal; which may God grant to all, for ever and ever. Amen."

But I confess to you honestly, and in all truth, that with how great grace his most reverend Lordship delivered this brief sermon, thus unprepared, by so much the less have I described it, omitting many things which I did not write down at the moment, because I was unable to follow so rapidly as he preached.

On the conclusion of the sermon, his most reverend Lordship went to dine with the Earl of Pembroke, this being the first time he has eaten abroad since his return to England, and the said earl treated him very honourably.

The sermon, although simple, and delivered without preparation, gave much pleasure notwithstanding, and we have heard since that it bore good fruit during the Holy Week. We then returned to the Court, where, during all this Lent, six or eight priests have preached so well and learnedly, and with such piety, that I can say with truth, that I never heard better in all my life; and on Holy Thursday at three o'clock in the afternoon, the most serene Queen performed the ceremony of the feet washing, thus:—

Her Majesty, being accompanied by the most reverend Legate and by the Council, entered a large hall, at the head of which was my Lord Bishop of Ely, the Deacon of the Queen's Chaplains, with the choristers of her Majesty's chapel. Around this hall, on either side, there were seated on certain benches, with their feet on stools, many poor women, to the amount of forty and one, such being the number of the years of the most serene Queen. Then one of those of the Court of low condition having washed the right foot of each of these poor persons, and this function being also next performed by the Under Almoner, and also by the Grand Almoner, who is the Bishop of Chichester, her Majesty next commenced the ceremony in the following manner:—At the entrance of the hall there was a great number of the chief dames and noble ladies of the Court, and they prepared themselves by putting before themselves a long linen cloth which reached the ground, and round their necks they hung a towel, which was so long as to remain pendant on either side, and each of them bore a silver ewer filled with water, and they had flowers in their hands. Her Majesty also being arrayed in like manner, knelt down on both her knees before the first of the poor women, and having taken in the left hand her right foot she washed it with her own right hand, drying it very well with the towel which hung at her neck, and having signed it with the cross she kissed it so fervently that it seemed as if she were embracing something very precious. She acted in this same way by all and each of the other poor women, one by one, each of the ladies, her attendants, giving her in turn their basin and ewer and towel; and I swear to you that in all her movements and gestures, and by her manner, she seemed to act thus not merely out of ceremony, but from feeling and affection. Amongst these demonstrations there was this one remarkable, namely, that in washing the feet she went the whole length of that hall, from one end to the other, ever on her knees. Having finished and risen on her feet, she returned to the head of the hall and gave in turn to each of the poor women a large wooden platter, which contained enough food for four persons, filled with great pieces of salted fish and large loaves, and thus she went a second time distributing these alms. She next returned a third time, and commencing at the head of the hall gave to each of these a wooden cup filled with wine, or rather, I think, hippocras; after which, for the fourth time, she returned and gave to each of these poor people a piece of cloth of royal mixture to clothe themselves with. Then returning for the fifth time, she gave to each a pair of shoes and stockings; for the sixth time, she gave to each a leathern purse, containing forty-one pennies, according to the number of her own years, and which in value may amount to rather more than half an Italian golden crown; finally, for the seventh time, she moved from the head of the hall and distributed all those aprons and

towels, which those dames and noble ladies had borne, and which were in number forty-one, giving each with her own hand. Her Majesty then quitted the hall to take off the robe which she had worn, and half an hour afterwards she returned, being preceded by one carrying the said robe; and thus she went twice round the hall, examining very closely all those poor women, one by one; and then returning for the third time, she gave the said robe to one who was in truth the poorest and the most aged of all; and this robe was of the finest purple cloth, lined with martens' fur, and with sleeves so long and wide that they reached the ground. During this ceremony the choristers chaunted the Miserere, with certain other psalms, reciting at each verse the words,

"In diebus illis mulier quæ erat in civitate peccatrix."

After this, on Friday morning, the offertory was performed, according to custom, in the church of the Franciscan Friars, which is contiguous to the palace. After the passion, for the adoration of the Cross, her Majesty came down from her oratory, accompanied by my Lord the right reverend the Legate, and, kneeling at a short distance from the cross, moved towards it on her knees, praying before it thrice, and then she drew nigh and kissed it, performing this act with such devotion as greatly to edify all those who were present. Her Majesty next gave her benediction to the rings, and its mode was thus:—A barrier was raised for her Majesty to the right of the high altar, by means of four benches placed so as to form a square, into the centre of which she again came down from her oratory, and kneeling in the middle of this barricaded space, two large covered basins were brought to her filled with rings of gold and silver, one of these basins containing rings of her own, whilst the other held those of individuals labelled with their owners' names. On their being uncovered she commenced reciting a certain prayer and psalm, and then taking them in bunches, she passed them well through her hands, saying another prayer, which commenced thus:—

"Sanctifica, Domine, annulos istos."

This being terminated, her Majesty went to bless the scrofulous; but she chose to perform this act privately in a gallery where there were not above twenty persons; and an altar being raised there, she knelt and recited the confession, on the conclusion of which her Majesty turned towards my most reverend Lord the Legate, who gave her absolution, whereupon a priest read from the Gospel according to St. Mark, and on his coming to the words,—

"Super ægros manus imponet et bene habebunt,"

she caused one of those infirm women to be brought up to her, and, ever on her knees, commenced pressing, with her hands in the form of a cross, on the spot where the sore was, with such charity and devotion as to be a marvel; and whilst she continued doing this to a man and to three women, the priest kept ever repeating these same words—

"Super ægros manus imponet et bene habebunt."

Then, on terminating the Gospel, after the words—

"In principio erat Verbum,"

and on coming to those following, namely—

"Erat lux vera quæ illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum,"

then the most serene Queen made the sick people come up to her again one after the other, and taking a golden coin, namely, an angel, she touched the place where the evil showed itself, and signed it with this coin in the form of the cross; and having done this she passed a ribbon through a hole which had been pierced in the coin, and placed one of these round the neck of each of the patients, making them promise never to part with that coin, which was blessed, save in case of extreme need; and then, having washed her hands, the napkin being presented to her by my Lord the right reverend the Legate, she returned to her oratory.

Being present myself at all the aforesaid ceremonies, her Majesty struck me as affording a great and rare example of goodness, performing all those acts with such humility and love of religion, offering up her prayers to God with such affection and devotion, and enduring for so long a while, and so peaceably, so great fatigue. And seeing thus that in

proportion as her Majesty advances in this kingdom's government, so does she daily exhibit greater and fresher opportunities for lauding her great piety, I dare assert that there never was a queen in Christendom of greater goodness than this one, whom I pray God long to save and prosper, for the glory of His divine honour and for the edification and exaltation of His holy Church, not less than for the consolation and salvation of the people of this island.

I will not omit telling you that on Holy Thursday alms were distributed here in the court to a great amount, to upwards of 3,000 persons. And this reminds me that my most reverend Lord the Legate, having sent in advance to Canterbury to make great provision for his entry—which, subsequently, the Queen refused on any account to permit—his most reverend Lordship then caused all his provisions to be distributed amongst the poor, two thousand of whom were reckoned, and these alms were taken to their houses. Nor do I include herein the alms given to many other poor people who had flocked to Canterbury from the neighbourhood, all which caused his most reverend Lordship to be now more anxiously wished for by that people (of Canterbury) than ever.

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LETTER from the CARDINAL POLE to the MARCHIONESS of PESCARA,\* dated Padua, A.D. 1546, October 4. Translated by MR. RAWDON BROWN, from the MS. in St. Mark's Library, No. 24, Class 10.

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS LADY, AND MY MOST REVERED MOTHER,

IMMEDIATELY ON OUR Lilio's arrival here, at his first interview with me, he laboured with all the power of words to make me understand how much, and from the heart, your Excellency wishes me well. I, as if the fact were new to me, and never hitherto known, allowed him to say as much as he would, and which continued for a long while, awaiting the conclusion he would draw thence; and, had this proved such as was warranted, that is to say, had he made a comparison between my behaviour and your so great and more than maternal love, condemning me for ingratitude, (since neither in word or deed have I ever evinced the slightest return for such affection, but on the contrary have rather acted contrariwise, which he might easily have demonstrated,) I should have been greatly pleased by such just reproof, given me with that simplicity which I have ever loved in him. But as he came to no further conclusion, I myself shall draw an inference, so much the more to my confusion, as I feel my error without ever correcting it; yet I cannot say that I have not studied to compass what I know is my duty herein. Nevertheless, finding by experience that it does not answer according to my wishes, I let it be, as if God had withheld from me the grace of satisfying our mind in that one respect, which I so earnestly desire, and which in truth greatly troubles me sometimes; and seeking to soothe myself, the only consolation I find, as I said and wrote to your Excellency heretofore, is in persuading myself that the divine will has ordained this in order to grant to you that first reward promised to all those who are beneficent, and do not expect any such, as our Lord declares in the parable of those who invited the poor to their banquets. Thus it does not allow me the means of tendering that courtesy which your Excellency extends to me; and I comfort myself with this hope, praying God to grant ample retribution, and with my soul's so much the greater affection, inasmuch as I feel my own utter inability to effect this of myself, though I thus enjoy the image of divine love as exemplified by great charity, which although it meet with no return in its object, yet does it never cease the continuation of its goodness, nay multiplies it so much the more, as does your Ladyship by me; wherefore I thank the Lord infinitely for this experience, imploring pardon for my defects, first of His infinite goodness, and in the next place of your Excellency.

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\* Vittoria Colonna, the widow of Ferdinand Francesco d'Avalos.

It is needless for me to say anything else of my condition, as the bearer of this is our Lilio, who will I hope inform your Ladyship of all, both of the great conveniences which I enjoy here in the house of the most excellent Bembo, where I remain, in the first place, with as much mental ease and contentment as if I were in my own father's house; and secondly, with such convenience that at this present I could not wish for greater, and most particularly from two sources whence I have ever taken delight, namely from a study and from a garden, both of which I have found here, and so beautiful, that to my taste I know not where such could be found more so; added to which I should note the attentions of his dependants, and they see me so willingly that this pleasure exceeds all others, and this I write to your Excellency as to my mother, to give you an opportunity of first thanking our common Father in Heaven, as He chose to be thus evoked by us, inviting us through the prophet,

Amodo voea me Pater, meus es tu,

and to those who seek Him He promises to prove a guide every where, inviting us to say,

Tu es Deus, &c.

Wherefore your Excellency will thank the first Father, and then this second, who has been the minister of the first.

Your Excellency will grant me the grace to recommend me to the prayers of that holy company (St. Catherine's convent at Viterbo), where you now are.

Having written thus far, I have heard, with much greater sorrow than has ever been caused me by any of my own infirmities, of your Excellency's indisposition, as commenced in the month of August, and which has continued to this present, nor do I know what to say concerning it, unless it be to cry to the Physician in Heaven, that He may deign and succour you, as I have not the heart to think that from this earthly physician you ought to take any other remedy save advice concerning diet and air, concerning which I implore you to allow yourself to be counselled, and to your devout oraisons I very much commend myself.

From Padua, the 4th of October, A.D. 1546.

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LETTER from the CARDINAL POLE to the CARDINAL CARAFFA, dated from the Palace of St. James's, near London, on the 7th of November 1555. Translated by Mr. RAWDON BROWN, from the MS. in St. Mark's Library, No. 24, Class 10.

As your Lordship will have already heard, a convocation of the prelates of the kingdom has been summoned, both for the sake of making arrangements concerning the ecclesiastical property ceded by the crown, as also to remedy other defects and disorder introduced amongst the clergy, through the corruption and bad government of these past times, and thus by means of this Parliament, and without causing inconvenience or expense to the prelates, we have, by God's grace, now commenced the said convocation.

On last Monday, the 4th, a solemn mass of the Holy Ghost was chaunted by the Bishop of London in the chapel of the Royal palace, after which the usual ceremonies were performed, as customary at the commencement of synod. We then adjourned to a hall of the said palace which was arranged for this purpose, both because I am lodged here, near the most serene Queen, as also because my Lord of Winchester, who is very grievously indisposed, and resides in the same palace, may attend.

On this first day nothing was done, save an explanation to the bishops and others of the clergy, who were likewise admitted, concerning the causes of this convocation, and which I myself made. All evinced every readiness to do what was required for God's service and for the spiritual welfare of this kingdom.

All the bishops will have to give particular account as well of the wants of their respective dioceses, as of the means of supplying such.

The first act will be the restoration of the said property to each despoiled church, orders being given for the people's service, and that they may reap fruit thence; and according to the commission given me by a brief of his Holiness, I have ordered the churches to be taxed afresh, and notice shall be duly given of all that may be treated and ordained.

I wrote to your most illustrious Lordship in my last of the 26th ult., of the meeting of the Parliament, wherein my Lord the Chancellor stated her Majesty's want of some subsidy from the kingdom, which has been conceded very readily and without contradiction from any one, and will amount to a million of gold, payable from the laity in two years, and in four from the clergy, which contributes willingly to this subsidy, the said contribution being very ancient and usual in this kingdom.

I believe the Parliament will terminate before Christmas, and should anything else be done therein worthy the notice of our Lord, advice shall be given to his Holiness, whose most holy feet I kiss with all due reverence, recommending myself humbly to the good grace of your most illustrious and most reverend Lordship.

From the Palace of St. James's, near London, A.D. 1555, November 7th.

LETTER from the CARDINAL POLE to the DUCHESS of PARMA, dated Greenwich. Translated by Mr. RAWDON BROWN, from the MS. in St. Mark's Library, No. 24, Class 10.

As I have ever felt the greatest sorrow for the protracted troubles endured by your Excellency and the most Excellent Lord Duke your consort, and by all your house, so do I now enjoy the greatest consolation at seeing them so well over to the mutual satisfaction of all parties, according to my constant hopes, most particularly from the knowledge and experience I have had of the good and pious disposition of his Majesty the King, as also from having remarked in his Imperial Majesty, whenever I had occasion to speak to him of your Excellency, every sign of paternal affection in your Excellency's favour, to whom our Lord God has now willed to grant a recompence for that filial piety which your Excellency has ever held and preserved towards his Imperial Majesty.

I now beg leave, by this my missive, and by the gentleman its bearer, to visit your Excellency and congratulate myself with you, as I do with all my soul, praying our Lord God to deign continue favouring you for ever, as also your most illustrious family, and, kissing your Excellency's hand, I recommend myself with all affection.

From Greenwich.

From the SAME to the SAME. Dated from Greenwich, on the 12th March, A.D. 1558.

THE bailiff Dell' Aquila, on his way to Malta, having to pass by Parma, I have not wished to neglect this opportunity of visiting your Excellency, as I do through these few lines, whose welfare has been most grateful to me, as known through news written hither occasionally by the Cavalier Ardingello. With much pleasure I have also heard through many channels of the good success which the prince, your son, continues to procure for himself, as also of the great satisfaction he gives to the King's Majesty, and to all that court, at which I rejoice with your Excellency; praying our Lord God to keep daily yet more adding to your consolations, as to those of my Lord Duke, and of my most illustrious Lord Farnese, by ever keeping you under his protection.

From Greenwich on the 12th March 1558.

LETTER from MONSIGNOR LUIGI PRIULI to his brother in Venice, the MAGNIFICO MESSER ANTONIO, detailing the death of the Cardinal Pole. Translated by Mr. RAWDON BROWN, from the MS. in St. Mark's Library, No. 24, Class 10.

London, 27th November, A.D. 1558.

I WROTE to your Magnificence, last week, how that the most serene Queen's life was in danger, as also that of my most reverend Lord likewise, and it has since pleased God so to increase the illness of both one and the other, that on the 17th instant, seven hours after midnight, the Queen passed from this life, and my most reverend Lord followed her at seven o'clock on the evening of the same day; and each departed with such piety as might have been expected from persons who have led such lives. During their sickness they confessed themselves repeatedly, and communicated most devoutly, and two days before their end they each received extreme unction, after which it seemed as if they rallied, and were much comforted, according to the fruit of that holy medicine. Although two days previously it had been intimated to his right reverend Lordship that there remained but small hope of her most serene Majesty's recovery, (this being done in order that the news of her demise, coming less suddenly, might prove less grievous to him,) nevertheless, after the event, it was thought well to delay its announcement until his most reverend Lordship should be more composed, though at all events it could not have been long deferred; yet in contradiction to this project, one of our country people, on a certain occasion, forgot himself and conveyed the news to my most reverend Lord, who on hearing it, remained silent for a short while and then said to his intimate friend, the Bishop of St. Asaph, and to me, who were present, that in the whole course of his life nothing had ever yielded him greater pleasure and contentment than the contemplation of God's providence as displayed in his own person and in that of others, and, that in the course of the Queen's life and of his own he had ever remarked a great conformity, as she, like himself, had been harassed during so many years, for one and the same cause, and afterwards, when it pleased God to raise her to the throne, he had greatly participated in all her other troubles entailed by that elevation. He also alluded to their relationship, and to the great similarity of their dispositions, and to the great confidence which her Majesty demonstrated in him; saying that considering these facts, as also the immense mischief which might result from her death, he could not but feel deep grief thereat, yet, by God's grace, that same faith and reliance on the Divine Providence which had ever comforted him in all his adversities, greatly consoled him in this so grievous and additional infliction. He uttered these words so earnestly, that it was evident they came from his very heart, and they even moved him to tears of consolation, at perceiving how our Lord God, for such a wound received at such a moment, had granted a balm so valid and efficacious, and which might soothe not only himself but also all who loved him.

His most reverend Lordship then kept quiet for about a quarter of an hour; but though his spirit was great, the stroke entered into his flesh and brought on the paroxysm earlier, accompanied with more intense cold than he had hitherto experienced, so that his most reverend Lordship said he felt this would be his last. He therefore desired that there might be kept ready near him the book containing those prayers which are said for the dying. He then had vespers repeated as usual, and the Complin, which part of the office yet remained for him to hear; and this was about two hours before sunset; having on this very same morning heard mass also, as was his daily custom. And in fine, it was evident that, as in health that sainted soul was ever turned to God, so likewise in this long and troublous malady did its thoughts maintain that selfsame tendency, and made its passage with such placidness that he seemed rather to sleep than die, as did the Queen likewise, so that, had not a physician perceived the act, none would have marked the moment of her Majesty's departure.

My affection has moved me thus minutely to detail the end of this truly holy Prelate, and of this sainted Queen. It now remains for me to tell your Magnificence of the will which his most reverend Lordship

determined on making, as your Magnificence will see by the enclosed copy; premising to you that I urged his most reverend Lordship with all instance not to have any thought for me; that is to say, not to give me any other testimony of his affection than that of which I had ever felt most sure, or extend anything to me beyond his conviction of my love and faith towards him, but praying him to dispose of his property as he might deem most expedient; but, as his most reverend Lordship remained fixed in this resolve, I considered it my duty to acquiesce finally, and not decline this pious charge which he chose to confer on me. His most reverend Lordship insisted at all events on leaving me some considerable portion of his possessions, to which I would by no means consent; alleging to his most reverend Lordship, and to others who spoke to me on the subject, the mere truth, which was, I doubted not, known to him, namely, that I had not come to him, or passed so many years with him, for any sake of acquiring honours or worldly convenience; nay, that when his most reverend Lordship had no rental, my mind was ever ready and made up, should he have experienced the want, as seemed probable, to give him not merely a part but even the whole of my property. On the other hand, I so confided in his love for me that, had I been in need, I should have applied to his most reverend Lordship as to my own father. Since, however, our Lord God had not permitted him to need mine, or that I should require his, it would seem to me that I were injuring myself and others by accepting any part of this his property, which he knew ought to be all distributed for pious purposes, and amongst needy persons, since I for my own part was aware, through God's grace, of having derived the greatest possible wealth from my intercourse with his most reverend Lordship, whilst by Divine grace, my mind was entirely free from the wish for any increase of temporal riches beyond what I hold, and which I consider very sufficient for my modest maintenance in that state wherein I find myself. I even dared say that I did not see what his most reverend Lordship could leave of sufficient value to be worthy either of him or of me; but as he persisted in his proposition, I at length said and protested, that if, despite all these my entreaties, his most reverend Lordship insisted on specifying for me in his will some particular legacy, I was most determined on not accepting such at any rate, and that I should dispense the whole amongst these his poor relations and servants; but that I should be greatly distressed at being reduced to this necessity for causing persons to suspect that my renunciation was induced by pride and arrogance and from an impression that the bequest was inferior to my deserts, or else I should be accused of vanity for performing so extraordinary an act. With regard to his giving a proof to others of his affection for me, I said that, in addition to those so great and manifold which he had afforded at all times, this additional demonstration of freely confiding to me all his property ought to suffice. At length his most reverend Lordship yielded, and made his will in the form which your Magnificence may see.

I then, having risen from my bed, made with all modesty another request to his most reverend Lordship,\* namely, that he would make me understand as distinctly as possible his wishes concerning the distribution of his effects, in the hearing of his old familiar friends, the Bishop of St. Asaph and the Dean of Worcester, and that of Messers Enrico and Giovanni Francesco, our countrymen, and thus was it done in the lifetime of his most reverend Lordship. A list was made of all these details by Messer Enrico, and on the completion of this paper I wanted to have it signed in his right reverend Lordship's own hand; but from lack of time, and from the inconvenience of his malady, as from other impediments, it was impossible fully to understand all his wishes ere the last day of his life, or in time to finish the list before the fit of the last paroxysm, which

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\* The copy of the will is not given in the MS., though alluded to by Apostolo Zeno in his notes on Fontanini; it seems that Monsignor Priuli was left sole executor and dispenser at his pleasure of the Cardinal's property.



came on before its usual time and was so violent, as narrated by me to your Magnificence, that it became impossible to sign this or any other papers. My aim in this was, in any need, to make it known and tangible that I had acted sincerely and in no wise departed from the expressed will of his right reverend Lordship; after whose death, by the advice of the persons above named, it was thought well, and resolved not to communicate these particulars to any one until after the expenses of the obsequies and sepulture and of other very necessary and important matters had been defrayed, the amount of which could not be foretold. Not knowing this, it could not be fully determined whether the funds would suffice for the execution of what I had understood in detail concerning the will of his most reverend Lordship, who both in the testament itself and by word of mouth gave me full authority to alter his said bequests as might seem most fitting to me. I thought therefore that in the event of any necessity for their alteration by making such, in the same sense or proportionally, as might seem best, none of the legatees could have cause for murmur or complaint against me, although no harm could consequently result to me thence, since the will guaranteed me abundantly; moreover, I considered that by these means I could keep the members of the household better to their duty, through their hopes of being better treated according to their good and faithful service during the forty days that they remain at board, &c.

Immediately on the Cardinal's death it was deemed well not to delay intimating it to the new Queen, recommending this household to her, and supplicating for her favour and protection in the execution of the defunct's will. Our messenger went first to the Chancellor, but being unable to speak with him, he went forthwith to her Majesty, who without making any other reply, referred him to those of her Council, and they having consulted together, intimated that her Majesty would send hither immediately, as she did, the Earl of Rutland, with whom there also came two other gentlemen much favoured by the Queen. Coming to me, he said that her Majesty had sent him for all details, for the mere purpose of aiding the execution of the Cardinal's will, which she wished to see, and to have a copy thereof; whereupon, in order to demonstrate to him my loyalty and sincerity, I narrated all those details concerning his right reverend Lordship's will which I have communicated to your Magnificence; and then this Earl wanted to see the paper concerning the details. On my mentioning to him my reasons for not divulging it, and requesting his Lordship therefore to be satisfied with my reading it to him alone, he yet insisted on its being heard by the other two gentlemen also, and he insisted on having a copy, signed in my hand, that he might send it to the Queen, promising secrecy. They then proceeded to ask me and Messer Enrico of what amount and nature was the property left by the Cardinal, and this we specified with all sincerity, distinguishing between what was out of the kingdom, namely at Venice, in Rome, and in Spain, and what was here, good part of which had been brought from Italy, namely, the greater part of the plate and many other things besides. I also mentioned my conclusion that the property here, (namely, all the plate and the residue of the revenues of the archbishopric levied last Michaelmas, together with the additional 4,000 ducats, which the most serene Queen had granted him for his own life, and to bequeath for one year after death, as also that part of the pension on the Bishopric of Winchester yet due,) would not altogether suffice for the payment of the debts and expenses incurred since Michaelmas, and for other necessaries, including the Cardinal's obsequies and internment. At length this Earl of Rutland appeared well enlightened and satisfied on every point, and as he had already frequently said, again told me not to entertain any doubt but that the most serene Queen's disposition was excellent, and that her Majesty would have every honourable regard for me in particular, and for all other foreigners, and that she would render all favour and assistance for the execution of the Cardinal's will. To this I ever replied that I could have no other belief, and I also freely told him that I was aware that her Majesty would receive the same reports as already prevailed, not only amongst the vulgar, but even in the breasts of persons of condition, how that there were in the Cardinal's hands hundreds of thousands of crowns

on account of the property which the deceased Queen had restored to the church, which remission being approved by the Parliament, its management was intrusted to his most reverend Lordship, the amount hitherto recovered not exceeding 30,000 crowns, as they saw and ascertained through the clear statement of Messer Enrico, who received and dispensed the sums as ordered. I also added, that I knew how another report had also been circulated, of the Cardinal's great treasures derived from some other source; and therefore I was not surprised at her Majesty's wishing to ascertain the truth of these assertions, most particularly since she had not hitherto enjoyed any opportunity of obtaining particular knowledge and experience of the sincerity and candour of his right reverend Lordship's mind; nor to this did the Earl make me any reply, save by telling me again to rest perfectly assured. I also deemed it expedient to write a letter to her Majesty, the copy of which is enclosed, and it was approved by the Earl, and sent by one of his attendant gentlemen, together with the other papers and informations which they found, and I await her Majesty's reply and resolution hourly, and will afterwards intimate it to your Magnificence.

In the midst of so many troubles, and affairs most disagreeable in their nature on many accounts, I find myself, by God's grace, in a frame of mind more vigorous than usual and very tranquil, experiencing thus how greatly it imports to have a just and good cause, and to treat it guilelessly and with sincerity, free from all scheme and private interest. All these matters have indeed rather lessened than augmented my quartan malady which yet clings to me, and as a proof of this, and for the consolation of your Magnificence, I will not omit to state, how on that morning when the Earl came here with the others I was expecting my paroxysm in the evening, and had it, but much more lightly and of briefer duration than my former attacks, and afterwards I slept for eight hours consecutively without ever waking; the like of which I do not remember having chanced to me since a very long while. To-day, which is again that of my quartan, I, by God's grace feel myself stronger than ever; for all which, praised and thanked be His infinite goodness.

I wrote thus far on the 21st, nor since then has any messenger been despatched hence. On the following day the afore-mentioned Earl said that he had received an answer from her Majesty, who was very well satisfied with my letter; and he repeated that I might be of good cheer and without any anxiety; whereupon I rejoined to his Lordship, that by God's grace so I was. And besides the proof of my having been better in health since his Lordship's visit, I will not fail now to give your Magnificence another cause for satisfaction, by informing you that besides the ancient counsellors, who were all friends of his right reverend Lordship, and are now confirmed in office by her Majesty, she has also appointed some new members, from whose courtesy I could promise myself all upright favour, and particularly from the Earl of Bedford, who in truth is known and loved by all as being a very courteous nobleman, and from having been in Italy, he evinces great affection for all our nation, and to me in particular he has frequently made the greatest offers, expressing himself much obliged for the signal service which your Magnificence rendered him when in Venice; nevertheless it never occurred to me to have recourse to his Lordship or to any one else for her Majesty's favour, not considering it necessary. The two gentlemen above alluded to have been backwards and forwards repeatedly, ever bearing the best possible words from the Queen, but in the end I hope through the said Earl of Bedford, (whose courtesy induced him to come to me to-day, not permitting my paying him the visit, as I had intimated to him was my intention,) we shall very shortly be enabled to perform the exequies for the Cardinal's good memory, and effect all his orders and legacies. The details I will communicate to your Magnificence on another occasion, nor shall I now tell you of public affairs, having written thus at length of private matters, as seemed fitting to me most particularly, knowing as I do, that the prudence of your Magnificence will not communicate them, save in such quarters as you may deem opportune. Concerning public affairs, they have passed and continue their course

most quietly, her Majesty professing her intention of not choosing in any way to change the matters of religion, and exerting herself to keep this her people united and well contented, which may God give her grace to do, for His Divine Majesty's service, as for the salvation of this kingdom. It is intended to commence with the exequies of the late Queen, and then her present Majesty will, it is said, quit the Tower to-morrow, and come to her palace here at hand, whence she will pass to Greenwich for the Christmas holidays, and afterwards be crowned.

I send to your Magnificence a copy of the will, with the additions which you will see, and I wish you to inform me as speedily as possible whether this mere copy will suffice to render my order valid for drawing out of the mint part or the whole of such monies as are there, or any others that may be in Venice, belonging to the Cardinal's good memory.

I continue better of my quartan by the grace of God, who gives me strength of mind and body according to my need, and I hope the like for the future.

I exhort your Magnificence to receive all these things with that courage and good patience which our Lord God has granted you in so many of your other troubles and adversities, and I much recommend myself to the prayers of the most excellent my sister-in-law, the consort of your Magnificence, saluting all the family affectionately.

From London, on the 27th November, A. D. 1558.

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LETTER from MONSIGNOR LUIGI PRIULI to GIBERTI. Translated by Mr. RAWDON BROWN, from the MS. in St. Mark's Library, No. 24, Class 10.

MAGNIFICO MESSER ANTONIO, my most dear, I am sure that ere the receipt of this, the news will have reached Rome of the deaths of the most serene Queen, and of my most reverend Lord our master, and you will be the less surprised at not receiving letters from us on the subject, knowing under such circumstances how many events might arise to keep us all harassed and occupied. I wrote to you a few days previously, how I was ill of my quartan, and that the health of the most serene Queen was publicly considered hopeless, whilst that of my most reverend Lord was in great danger on account of a certain defect and obstruction. Nor were the contents of this letter falsified, for both one and the other grew worse daily, so that the Queen made her passage on the 17th inst., about seven hours after midnight, and my most reverend Lord expired at seven o'clock after noon of the same day, affording a resemblance both at the close of their illness as at its commencement. Nor did the similarity merely exist in these respects, for they also gave mutual and manifold signs of their piety, communicating frequently with great devotion, and two days before their end they each received most devoutly the most holy sacrament of extreme unction, and by their amelioration on the following day proved that this holy medicine had not only operated on their souls but also on their bodies. On the morning which followed that night wherein he received this holy sacrament, my most reverend Lord communicated, and caused the mass of the Most Holy Trinity to be performed; and on the next morning, which was his last, he listened to the mass of the Angel, who, we may truly believe, accompanied that sainted soul to Heaven, and indeed of this he gave some sign by his most tranquil and placid transit, which appeared a slumber. At the commencement of that day's paroxysm, which was his last, his right reverend Lordship, having heard of the Queen's death, said, that he felt this would be his last fit, and desired that there might be kept ready near him the book which contains the prayers for the dying, and they were repeated to his right reverend Lordship in the presence of many of his attendants and of the Bishop of St. Asaph, Thomas Goldwell, and of the Dean of Worcester, who remained here with us almost throughout his illness. The Queen also made her passage so tranquilly that on its commence-

ment, had not a physician remarked it, all the others thought her better, and that she would fain sleep.

This will suffice for the present; at another moment I will tell you of many things in conformity with these, and worthy of such personages.

Some days before his death my right reverend Lord made his will, as you will see by the enclosed copy. On hearing of its tenor, I myself being then ill in bed, by means of our Messer Giovanni Francesco, entreated his right reverend Lordship earnestly, as more expedient for his will's execution, to appoint another or others as executors, or that he would at least specify distinctly in the testament the precise distribution of his property; begging his right reverend Lordship not to have any care for paying me this honour by giving such a proof of his trust in me, since I neither wished or sought for such, being most convinced of the fact. However, he would not in any way alter his resolve, and Messer Gio. Francesco was of opinion that I ought not to persist in my refusal, but consent to his right reverend Lordship's pleasure. Added to this, I had another dispute with his right reverend Lordship, who insisted at any rate on leaving me some considerable part of his property, to which I would by no means ever consent, not having, by God's grace, either want or wish for the increase of my paternal inheritance, which I find very sufficient for my maintenance in that state wherein I am. I even told him that whatever I might have accepted would have seemed so much snatched from his relations, and from orphans, from his poor servants, as from other alms and pious purposes, to which I knew it was his intention that this property should be devoted. Finally, his most reverend Lordship contented me by specifying what is stated in the will; but I protested at the time and since, and am most determined on not taking anything, save a few trifles, as a mere memorial. Afterwards, on arising from my bed, when I could myself speak to his right reverend Lordship, I urged him earnestly to satisfy me by intimating to me most distinctly his wishes concerning the distribution of his property, and not only to me but also to my Lord of St. Asaph, T. Goldwell, to the Dean of Worcester, and to Messer Enrico and Messer Giovanni Francesco, our countrymen. And thus finally, by questioning his most reverend Lordship most closely, sometimes Messer Enrico and sometimes I myself, we at length wrote down all to the knowledge of the other persons named, and we also wished and requested him to sign this list in his own hand, but from divers impediments, having been unable to terminate this writing until the day of his death, this my other desire could not be gratified, neither could his most reverend Lordship sign certain other papers as was requisite, because the paroxysm came on earlier and with greater violence than usual. I was anxious for these distinct specifications for my own satisfaction, in order that I might depart as little as possible from his most reverend Lordship's express will, although, as was necessary, both by word of mouth and by the testament itself, he gave me full powers to alter his intentions according as I might see necessary, from the amount of his property, which neither then or now can yet be correctly estimated. Nor did I seek this on any other account, since I was too well secured against any trouble by the manner in which the will was worded.

This form of proceeding has also marvellously served to dispel certain suspicions which were entertained, that my most reverend Lord had left great treasures, not only on account of the ecclesiastical property ceded by the Queen, and which the Parliament had placed at his most reverend Lordship's disposition, for it was said that vast amounts had been paid to him on this, as also on many other scores. The former report concerning the church property, circulated long before his most reverend Lordship became ill, was based on the following facts: The most serene Queen gave up 10,000*l.* and other property, amounting in all to 40,000 ducats, annually; and without further research or enquiry, it has been hence said, that in two years and a half, which is the term that has elapsed since this concession, the Cardinal received 100,000*l.*, which form 300,000 ducats, rental. This calculation, and these various suspicions were of easy elucidation by stating, what is most certain, that when the Queen ceded this property to the clergy, it was so clogged with pensions, assigned for the lives of various

persons, that the said sum did not even suffice for the payment, but left a deficit exceeding 8,000 ducats. However, some of the pensioners died off, and thus in this period it was contrived to levy from the said property 8,000*l.*, as disbursed by the bishops who collected this amount in their dioceses. Besides their testimony, my Lord of York and the Bishop of Ely, and some others his friends, knew that there had reached the hands of my most reverend Lord, or rather those of his Messer Enrico, who ever managed all the monies, only the said 8,000*l.*, which for these wants of the war were given to the most serene Queen, who in compensation, made over to the bishops the presentations to many rectories that were in her gift, and which they considered of much greater value than this amount, the receipts for which Messer Enrico has shown, as also other writings, and the clearest attestations, with her Majesty's authentic seals.

With regard to the other suspicions, concerning the treasures accumulated by his most reverend Lordship, through other channels, though not alluded to, it yet ought to be manifest to all how, from the legation, his most reverend Lordship not only failed to receive any profit, but on the contrary, actually incurred the expense of many ministers whom he was obliged to maintain and pay for its support, whilst from the most serene Queen he never asked or received anything, either for himself, or for any friend or relation, or servant, save those 1,100*l.* which her Majesty offered him spontaneously, before he had the archbishopric, and afterwards granted him for his life, with power to dispose for the term of one year after his own demise of certain property, which had heretofore depended on the see of Winchester. It might be clearly proved, that, besides these revenues and those of the archbishopric, his most reverend Lordship had never received any other from the crown, excepting in the first year of his arrival in England, when he got 3,000*l.* It can be further demonstrated how in that year he expended upwards of 20,000 ducats, and in the following years he not only disbursed all the rentals which he drew hence, but also all those which he derived from Spain and Italy. For the manifest proof of all these facts, it has greatly served that I should have been enabled to show this particular note of his most reverend Lordship's will, concerning the distribution of his effects, and comparing its amount with the estimate made of his property, both abroad, in Venice, and in Spain, as also with the plate brought from Italy, and other purchased here and presented to him, as is the custom here on the first of the year, by the Queen, (she having first received an equivalent,) together with other chattels and rents on the aforesaid accounts, part being already levied, whilst part remain due, and thus it is well that the affairs should be so clear. But the suspicions had so increased, that we were half stayed and prevented commencing the execution of the defunct's will, although the Queen's Majesty ever forwarded most excellent messages, intimating the goodness of her intentions and dispositions by the persons whom she sent and kept here.

By God's grace we have at length come to the end, and can now attend to the sale of the plate and other valuable property, as also to the obsequies and sepulture of my most reverend Lord; and, with her Majesty's good will, the body will be moved towards Canterbury within a few days, although at the same time, there have to be performed here the obsequies of the deceased Queen. Notwithstanding this, the *Bishop Vigorniesi* and the *Asafon*, Goldwell, have received the present Queen's good leave to accompany his most reverend Lordship's corpse and attend his obsequies, her Majesty having heard of their long intimacy with him in Italy, and appeared to take well the gratitude and piety of these two prelates in this affair.

In all these great and varied troubles, I, by God's grace, have felt myself very strong, both in mind and body, trusting, principally, in the truth and piety of my cause, and in that sincerity wherewith His divine bounty has endowed me for its execution and treatment, devoid of the slightest personal interest. I have yet my quartan, but it is very slight and bearable, and I feel that in His goodness, our Lord God gives me sufficient aid for all this need, and I trust He will continue deigning so to do until its termination.

It was necessary to communicate with the Queen the details of my most reverend Lord's legacies; but of his own household, none, save myself and the four persons above named, are yet acquainted therewith. This reserve was deemed advisable, because the amount of his most reverend Lordship's property cannot be told until the expenses of his obsequies and interment, and other important and necessary household costs shall have been defrayed. Hence a necessity may very possibly result for altering and diminishing of all or great part of the private legacies, in which case it would not have been fitting that the persons affected thereby should have heard what was originally intended for them. His most reverend Lordship remembered us, as you shall hear at a future period; but for the present this is very sufficient to give you information of all that has chanced. Communicate all this my letter to my most reverend Lord of Cervini, as also the copy of the will, praying his most reverend Lordship will fain communicate what he shall think fit therein to his Holiness, and to others, you will participate in all or part of its contents, as you may consider well.

I shall not commence telling you of public affairs, having been so fully occupied with these private matters; but will merely observe, although doubtless the news have already reached you, that this most serene Queen before her sister's death notified her intention of not making any further alteration in the affairs of the religion, and two days after her late Majesty's demise, subsequently to her proclamation, she published an edict, announcing that she did not intend changing any of the acts which had been instituted and confirmed by her sister, during that Majesty's reign, desiring that all should conform to this her will. Thus no change has been witnessed in the churches, and matters proceeded and yet proceed most quietly, nor is it heard that any outrage has been offered either to the priests or friars who perambulate London, and her Majesty has continued, as previously, to hear mass, and causes her household to hear it daily. She immediately confirmed in their posts some of her sister's counsellors, appointed certain others newly, and has given divers principal offices of her household to her chief favourites. My Lord of York was the first person confirmed in his office of counsellor, and the intention was intimated to him of also confirming him in his post of chancellor, which has since lacked effect; moreover, it seems to be supposed, universally, that the Dean of Canterbury, namely, Wotton, who was ambassador in France, and is now in Flanders for the treaty of peace, will be most favoured, and that, with the archbishopric of Canterbury, he will also receive the office of chancellor.

May the Lord God, of His infinite mercy grant that this kingdom ever persevere in its union and obedience to the Church, for the honour and service of His Holy Majesty, for its own salvation, and to the consolation of all good and pious persons, both here and throughout the rest of Christendom. Since the demise of my most reverend Lord, the Bishop of Darton has also died, so there will be seven churches requiring appointments, and the Dunelmense, and other bishops besides, are so infirm and aged, that it can scarcely be credited they will be long for this life.

Console yourself, and accustom your mind ever to receive at God's hands all things willingly, thanking Him for whatever His divine Majesty and providence may please to impart.

Some days before my most reverend Lord's death there died in the house of his most reverend Lordship's brother, the Lord Geffery Joseph, our countryman, very piously and catholically; according to the report of his brethren; and subsequently this very Lord Joseph fell very sick, and the fact coming to his most reverend Lordship's knowledge he sent Messer Carlo to visit him as the bearer of pecuniary assistance for his need: he was not merely *in domo tenui, sed et paupere*.

The said Lord Joseph has left five sons, the eldest of whom, according to the laws here, will inherit that small property which with great difficulty sufficed to maintain in poverty the whole family, and four maiden daughters, one of whom is already with the nuns of Sion here, and determined on taking the vows and living with them entirely. He also leaves two other married daughters, burdened with families, whose husbands

are very poor, and these are those poor relations to whom his most reverend Lordship desired that part of his property might be distributed. You must know that during his lifetime, both here and in Italy, he never failed to succour them as paupers, though he never asked or received anything from the most serene Queen either for them or for any other, or friend or relation, or dependent on him in any manner. Nor, being on this subject, will I omit telling you of two notable examples of this Lord's sincerity. One is, that being entreated very earnestly by the husband of his only sister, (who is also much burdened with a family, though not in such want as the brother was,) merely to notify by letter to a very wealthy widow that, should she wed one of these his nephews, as she had made a demonstration, she would thereby please his most reverend Lordship: yet would he on no account allow himself to be persuaded so to do, most particularly as he did not entertain too good an opinion of the youth. The other instance is this; a very wealthy cavalier having notified his intention of marrying one of the brother's daughters without any dower, but for the purpose, so far as could be seen, of being favoured and assisted by the Cardinal in a very important law suit, his most reverend Lordship gave him to understand that in justice he should never fail to favour him, but by no means otherwise; and so the affair remained null. Non satis intelligimus non esse in tempore.

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LETTER from MONSIGNOR LUIGI PRIULI to DON GIOVANNI DE VEGA,  
Super President of the Council. Translated by Mr. RAWDON  
BROWN, from the MS. in St. Mark's Library, No. 24, Class 10.

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS LORD,

ON the 17th ultimo it pleased our Lord God to call unto Himself the most reverend Cardinal Pole, my master, after he had been ill for upwards of two months and a half, sometimes of one and sometimes of two quartan fevers, which at his age, and with his weak constitution, sufficed to remove him from this life, as it happened on the same day as the most serene Queen also died, or, to say better, *obdormivit in Domino*, as we may be sure is the case, both with one and the other, by reason of their holy lives, and through the many and manifest signs and testimonies of great piety which they have given. At his departure it pleased his most reverend Lordship in making his will to leave me charged with its execution, and to dispense the property which he has left as well to many most poor orphans, his relations, and to servants, as for other alms and pious purposes, I, wishing to execute his behests as speedily as possible and with all diligence, am busied in collecting all his most reverend Lordship's effects which are left not only here, but also in Italy and in Spain, whither an authentic copy of the will has been sent, with an order purporting that all residue for account of his most reverend Lordship be remitted in money to Luisi di Castro at Bruges, including those arrears for the pension which he received. And as I know the affection which your most illustrious Lordship bore that rare and truly holy prelate, in conformity with what was felt by him for your Lordship; and inasmuch as your most illustrious Lordship, by your authority and favour, aided the agent of his most reverend Lordship, (who, shortly before his death, received your very affectionate letter written on that subject,) I now supplicate your most illustrious Lordship, with all confidence, to deign for that Lord's memory to favour the said agent, so that all obstacle to his instantly remitting all the monies due to his most reverend Lordship in Spain may be removed, and this will prove a work of great piety, and worthy of your Lordship, (as will, I doubt not, be the case,) whose hand I humbly kiss, referring for all further particulars to the agent who bears this present.

From London on the 5th of December, A.D. 1558.

LETTER from MONSIGNOR LUIGI PRIULI to the ARCHBISHOP of TOLEDO.  
Translated by Mr. RAWDON BROWN, from the MS. in St. Mark's  
Library, No. 24, Class 10.

I DOUBT not but that ere the receipt of this, your most reverend Lordship will have heard of the grievous malady of the most serene Queen, as also of that of my most reverend Lord the Cardinal; and perhaps even of the deaths both of one and the other, as chanced on the 17th ultimo, the Queen dying a few hours before the Cardinal. Both at their end and throughout their sufferings each gave so many and manifest signs and testimonies of their great piety, and passed away so quietly, that it may be reasonably believed, and said, "Quod ambo obdormirent in Domino."

The most serene Queen was buried on the 14th instant,\* here in St. Peter's, and the Cardinal was interred at Canterbury on the following day. It was remarkable that he became ill on the same day that the Queen sickened, and as I said, they died on the same day. It chanced that on the morning of its event his most reverend Lordship heard of her Majesty's demise through the inadvertency of one of these our countrymen, whereupon, after having remained silent for some while, he said to my Lord Asafon and to me, who were present, that in the midst of so many and great causes as he had most grievously to lament this death, yet by God's grace he enjoyed a most efficacious remedy by turning to that haven of divine providence which throughout his existence had ever calmed and consoled him under all public and private afflictions; and these words he uttered with such mental vigour and alacrity as to prove of the greatest consolation, so that from very tenderness I could not restrain my tears. Shortly after this the paroxysm came on with greater violence than usual, and he ordered that the book containing the prayers said *in transitu* might be kept ready. On that day his most reverend Lordship had heard the Mass of the Angel, and on the day before he caused that of the most Holy Trinity to be celebrated; and on that day he also communicated, having received in the preceding night extreme unction, which, both in himself as in the most serene Queen, gave clear proof of increasing spiritual vigour, not less than corporal recovery. Nor will I omit mentioning another particular to your most reverend Lordship, which moved me greatly, as I was its eyewitness, and this is, that when, from the progress of the disease, his most reverend Lordship was obliged to keep constantly in bed, yet wishing to communicate, as he had already frequently, he chose by all means to hear mass, and to get out of bed at that part where he had to communicate, although he could not without the greatest inconvenience and fatigue; and when about to communicate, being supported by two persons, (as otherwise he could not have kept his feet,) he bowed his head almost to the ground, and with many tears and sobs said the *Confiteor*. When I saw him thus he struck me as resembling our Lord's blessed mother as she is represented beneath the cross supported by the two Marys; and in truth I never witnessed in any other person such deep expression of contrition and devotion so true and cordial. He communicated even several times after this ever most devoutly; and even till the last day chose to hear daily, not only the mass but also the office, and three hours before his death he heard vespers and the complin.

In making his will his most reverend Lordship was pleased to appoint me its executor, as your most reverend Lordship will see by its copy, which I could not but send you. Although he expresses himself therein so affectionately in my favour, and it is even evident that in this proceeding his most reverend Lordship was guided by God, (I mean in leaving this charge to a foreigner, and to a person for whom all here have evinced

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\* There must be some slip of the pen here, since the letter is dated the 5th December perhaps it should be 25th.



great respect, most particularly on account of the country of which I am,) for the present most serene Queen had been inspired with such suspicions and evil impressions against this so most virtuous Lord that, had the affair been put into the hands of Englishmen, or been managed otherwise, all might very easily have gone upside down, to the great detriment of so many poor persons amongst whom all this property has to be distributed.

I will not commence narrating in detail the difficulties which were raised at the commencement, so that for many days we were stayed and unable to remove or do anything, having ever the ministers of her Majesty in the house, who caused us no slight waste and detriment. But at length the light of truth dispelled the shadows and false suspicions, which purported that, (on account of the church property ceded to the clergy, and left at his most reverend Lordship's disposal, as also by other means,) the Cardinal had accumulated and left here great treasures. We at length freed ourselves from these and similar suspicions equally false; and subsequently from her Majesty and from her ministers we have experienced nought save all honest favour and courtesy.

Since two months I have been ill of quartan fever, having previously suffered other two from other fevers, which have been very prevalent here this year; nevertheless, by God's grace, I felt, and yet feel myself capable of supporting the constant fatigues and troubles which I have to encounter on account of this executorship, and in mind also, I find myself extraordinarily comforted, and this I attribute to the great piety of the work wherein I am engaged, and to that serenity of mind which our Lord God extended to me for its treatment without any personal regard or private interest, as also, to the aid received from the prayers of that sainted soul.

On these accounts, independently of my illness, I shall be obliged to remain here at least for all the rest of this winter, in order to give to every thing the best order and effect I can; and then, should it please our Lord God, I shall move towards Italy, ever bearing within me until death the due and affectionate and reverend memorial of your most reverend Lordship, to whom I feel most obliged, not merely for that charity which I have noted as extended to myself, but also for that which has been ever demonstrated for this my most dear father and master.

Our Delgado will bear and present in the Cardinal's name to your most reverend Lordship a small but very suitable memorial of your most true and mutual Christian amity, which I desire and pray may also induce a recollection of me, in the daily sacrifice of your most reverend Lordship, whose hand I kiss with all affection, recommending myself most heartily.

From London, on the 5th of December, A.D. 1558.

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#### D.

#### MR. BERGENROTH'S COMMUNICATION ON DOCUMENTS RELATING TO CARDINAL POLE AMONG THE SIMANCAS ARCHIVES.

THE archives at Simancas contain various state papers, partly originals and partly copies, which relate to the history of Cardinal Pole. My copies of them are not yet made, but I think I can state from memory, and with the help of my short notes, the general contents of them.

In the year 1534 Miser Reginald Pole made the acquaintance of Martin de Zornoza, who was Spanish Consul in Venice, and confided to him his political plans and aspirations. In consequence of this confidence, Zornoza wrote on the 4th August 1534, a letter in cipher to the Emperor, in which he descanted much on the excellent qualities of Reginald Pole, on his

blood royal, etc., and his desire to render to the Emperor all kinds of services in his power. Reginald Pole, continued the writer of that letter, entertained a very intimate correspondence with the discontented English subjects in North Wales, Berwick, Somersetshire, and other parts of the kingdom. If the Emperor would give him only a little help, he would easily dethrone King Henry, and place England at the disposal of the Emperor. It does not appear that the Emperor encouraged Reginald Pole to carry out his plans.

In June and July 1535, the correspondence from Venice in behalf of Reginald Pole was re-opened. The Cardinal Contarini wrote on the 5th June to the Emperor. He has known, he says, Reginald Pole for many years by reputation, and made his personal acquaintance some months ago. Pole is the very pattern of a pious Christian, and desires nothing more than to be a "soldier of the true faith." He is not afraid of danger, and would be glad, in imitation of the first Christians, to suffer for Jesus Christ. It is the intention of Pole to go to England and to convert the King by peaceful means to the true religion; but he begs the Emperor, whose affair it is to give "*salutem gentibus usque ad extremum terræ*," to protect Reginald Pole.

This letter was followed by a second letter of Martin de Zornoza, dated 15th July 1535. The Consul enlarges in it on the good services which Pole can render to the Emperor in England by directing the movements of the rebels. Enclosed in this letter is a letter of Reginald Pole to the Emperor, dated 17th July 1535. Pole is more guarded in his expressions than Zornoza. He does not speak of dethroning the King of England, but promises to remove all causes of displeasure which the Emperor has in England. The letter is full of almost base flattery. The letter of Pole is written with bad pale ink, but the date and signature is added with good dark ink, exactly alike to the ink which the Consul Zornoza used. It is therefore probable that Pole composed his letter in his house, brought it to the Consul, and, after having obtained his approval, signed it in the house of the Consul.

The offers of Pole did not produce any deep impression on the Emperor. "El Ingles que esta en Venecia," "the Englishman who stays in Venice," did not seem to the Emperor a fit candidate for the English throne, especially as the Emperor had already promised the hand of the Princess Mary and the throne of England to the infante of Portugal, Don Luis.

Pole did not solicit the help of the Emperor only; he sought also the protection of Rome. As long as Pope Clement VII. lived, he does not seem to have been supported; but when Paul III. had ascended the Papal throne, his prospects soon improved. Towards the end of the year 1536, and in January and February 1537, the Imperial Ambassador in Rome wrote to the Emperor, that the Pope intended to send Reginald Pole as his legate to England. Pole was to encourage and to lead the rebels, to dethrone King Henry, to marry the Princess Mary, and to be King of England. Ten thousand ducats were given to him wherewith to entertain sharpshooters in Flanders and Germany in succour of the English rebellion. But all this was to be done with the outward appearance of a mission of peace. The "soldier of the true faith," the pretender to the hand of the Princess Mary, and the candidate for the English crown was therefore made a cardinal in appearance, the Pope taking care that he should not enter even the lowest degree of holy orders, and content himself with having the tonsure shaved on his head.\*

The Imperial Ambassador in England (Eustacius Chapuis) had served as a middleman between the English rebels and Rome. He had written to the ambassador in Rome, that the rebels anxiously waited for a legate of the Pope, and that Pole had great chance of success. But the letters he wrote to the Emperor were much less encouraging. He told the Emperor that the rebellion was serious, but that the leaders of the rebels were men of little talent and energy. If popular movements in any

\* "*que podrian suceder curas de manera que se curasse con la princesa, y a este fin no ha quírido S.S. que tome grado alguno sino sola corona.*"

country, he added, could not much be relied upon, a popular movement in England afforded no guarantee at all, as the English people are so fickle and inconsistent.

Besides the Ambassador of the Emperor in France informed him that the King of France did not think favourably of the mission of Pole. The King of France was at that time heartily tired of his alliance with Henry, whom he declared to be an incorrigible "fool." He had, however, his own plans, and hoped to get at least one-third of England into his possession. Pole and the Court of Rome were now candidates for the English crown whom he could not favour.

Another circumstance, which was unfavourable to Pole, was that he had not kept the secret. He had openly boasted in Rome that he was going to drive King Henry out of his kingdom.

The Emperor, in consideration of all these circumstances, refused to Pole the permission to go to England by way of Trent, Germany, and Flanders. He did not even permit that the two thousand ducats should be sent to bankers in Antwerp. On the other hand, however, he permitted his ambassador to encourage Pole to go to England through France. If the King of France, such was the calculation of the Emperor, arrested Pole, he made the Pope his enemy. If he permitted Pole to proceed to England, he would come to an open rupture with King Henry. As it, however, was still possible that Pole might be successful, the Emperor instructed Chapuis in England and the Queen Maria in Flanders to act according to circumstances, and to aid Pole if he had a fair chance of success, or to take no notice of him if fortune was adverse to him.

Pole went at last to France. In Carpentras, I think, he was stopped. From that town he sent a long memoir to the King of France, in which he explained his peaceful views. He would willingly sacrifice his life if he could thereby reclaim King Henry from his way to eternal perdition, and would do nothing in England that was not approved by the King of France. In spite of his readiness to sacrifice his life, he asked the King of France to procure him a safe-conduct from the King of England. The King of France was not duped by the assurances of Pole to go on a peaceful mission, and Pole returned to Italy.

Besides the state papers relating to the transactions just mentioned (which all are originals), there are about one hundred or more copies of letters of Cardinal Pole from the originals which are or were preserved in the archives of the Vatican. They are directed to the Pope and his ministers, and belong to the years 1553 till 1558. The subjects of which they treat are various, religious as well as political. The copies were made at the command of King Philip II. for his private use.

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## E.

### PAPERS RELATING TO THE EARL OF NOTTINGHAM'S EMBASSY.

PRIULI reporting to the Doge the expected arrival of the ambassador extraordinary, writes:—

"These Spanish lords are so anxious for the friendship of the King of England that they know not how best to secure it; so at one moment they have recourse to intimidation by displaying their power; and then again, they seek to win him by a show of confidence. So on hearing that his Britannic Majesty had issued a proclamation to the effect that foreign vessels were prohibited from quitting his harbours until after they had remained there during the ebb and flow of three tides, they gave orders for the shipment on board certain Portuguese galleons of the greater part of the garrison of Corunna. These galleons were to steer direct for Eng-

land, though their arrival there was to be attributed to stress of weather ; the object being to blazon the confidential relations existing between the two Crowns, and at the same time render manifest the abundance of troops with which the vessels of the Catholic Crown made their voyages. It was also purposed by this same opportunity to find means for landing these troops in Flanders, such being the professed object of the expedition.

“This plan, however, will not be carried into effect until the Admiral of England reaches the heart of Spain ; not merely from a disinclination to leave Corunna bare of troops and ships at the moment of his arrival ; but also because they choose to have a pledge in their hands, lest under some fresh pretext the Spanish vessels experience mal-treatment. They think it strange that said admiral should not be accompanied by the English ambassador who is to reside here in ordinary, in the same fashion as observed since so long a while by Tassis at the Court of King James, without any return of the compliment.

“In consequence of this the despatch of Don Pedro de Zuniga encounters delay, and the report that Tassis will return, without awaiting his successor, continues to gain ground ; it being considered a convenient excuse to say that they wish to honour so great a personage as the Earl of Nottingham by causing him to be accompanied by his Catholic Majesty’s own ambassador.”

After a fortnight’s voyage, Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, “Lord High Admiral of England,” entered the harbour of Corunna on Monday the 15th of April. “He was accompanied and attended with one “ earl, three barons, thirty knights, and many gentlemen of note and “ quality, one herault, two doctors of phisick, besides thirty gentlemen “ of his owne in cloakes of blacke velvet, six pages in cloakes of oreng- “ tawny velvet, like to the rest of their apparell ; he had also fower “ score yeomen in livery cloakes of oreng-tawny cloath, six trumpeters in “ oreng colour damaske and livery cloakes of tawny cloath, and six foote- “ men in oreng-tawny velvet. He was well furnished with divers coaches “ and chariots very richly adorned, the like whereof have not been seene “ in former ages.”

The ambassador-extraordinary had performed his voyage from England so much more speedily than was expected by the Spaniards, that when the news arrived at Valladolid considerable embarrassment arose with regard to his reception. To extricate the Court from this dilemma, Philip III., whose face-ache had subsided, instantly rode post to Ventosiglia ; and, on the plea of his Majesty’s absence from Valladolid, as also under the pretence of allowing the Lord Admiral and all his train “to “ rest and refresh themselves a while before they set forward on their “ land journey ;” an express hastened to the coast with instructions for the authorities there to suspend the progress of the English embassy. It was said that the King’s sojourn at Ventosiglia would not exceed three weeks, which were employed in the completion of certain temporary structures adjoining the palace, destined for tournaments and other diversions, including a masque to be performed by the Queen in person ; all which entertainments were announced for the Lord Admiral’s arrival, although they served chiefly to celebrate the birth of King Philip’s eldest son. The Spaniards sought thus to dazzle our countrymen with magnificent pageants, and to persuade the earl that they had all been devised for his exclusive honour, nor did they fail additionally to secure his good will by also preparing for him very costly presents.

The Earl of Nottingham was expected at Valladolid on the 20th of May, and, independently of the presents destined for him, the cost of this embassy to the Spanish government exceeded 200,000 crowns. Five hundred mules and horses for the personal service of the Lord Admiral and his train were sent from Valladolid to Corunna, as also upwards of 200 beasts of burden for the conveyance of baggage. At this period it was not usual to exempt ambassadors from payment of duties, but on the present occasion, not only had the English embassy free passage through the custom houses, but was also boarded and lodged at the King’s expense.

Nine days after the arrival of Lord Nottingham at the Groyne, there arrived there from Valladolid, Don Blasco de Aragon, who announced

to him on behalf of Philip III., "The King his master expected his Lordship's personall presence, with such others as he best pleased to bring along with him. And thereupon the English were numbered, and found to be about six hundredh and fiftie persons; and therewithall, considering howe unable the country was to sustaine them through which they should pass, his Lordship abated parted thereof, and sent some a ship-board, with much of his owne provision, as coaches, carriages, and divers other things, whereof he should have little or no use, by reason the way was bad, and that the King hadde provided more conveniently for them."

"Friday the 3rd day of May, his Lordship being amply furnished all at the King's cost, with coaches, letters, mules, mulets, and all other necessities that might serve for ease and pleasure for every man, they set forward on their journey."\*

Meanwhile, the Earl of Nottingham arrived in twelve days at Simancas. It had been originally intended to delay his entry into Valladolid until after the christening; the presence of heretics at the ceremony being considered extremely unbecoming; but the orthodoxy of his Catholic Majesty's ministers proved less intense than their love of ostentation. Upon second thoughts, it occurred to them that the pomp and magnificence of this religious pageant, could not fail to give the embassy a very high opinion of the grandeur of the Spanish crown,† so it was determined that the Lord Admiral should make his entry on the 26th of May.

The Venetian ambassador writes, that the Earl of Nottingham was greeted in the King's name by the Constable of Castille; but that owing to a deluge of rain, the entry proved disorderly, a circumstance which was the more regretted, inasmuch as the weather cleared up the moment the Lord Admiral and his attendants arrived at their appointed dwelling, and by reason of the antipathy so long prevalent between the two nations murmurs were heard to the effect, that even the elements declared the alliance one of evil omen.

Philip III., however, showed Lord Nottingham all possible courtesy, so far as was compatible with Spanish notions of decorum; nor was a single day allowed to pass without some display or other of magnificence. The first sight witnessed by our countrymen was a grand religious procession, in which the King himself took part, for the opening of the Chapter-General of the Dominicans; whose order had appointed the city of Valladolid for this purpose. Then came the christening: the names given to the prince were Philip, Dominic, and Vittorio; the ceremony was considered most imposing, and Priuli's despatch narrating these particulars, ends thus: "this third name was given him out of compliment to the Prince of Savoy, his godfather, and in order not to offend the Admiral by denying him attendance at a sacrament acknowledged by his sect; whilst on the other hand the grant of such a compliment seemed unbecoming,‡ contrary to the custom hitherto observed on similar occasions, none of the ambassadors were invited to this ceremony; neither did any of them accompany the King and Queen on the morrow, when, in very great state, their Majesties went to present the Prince before our Lady's Shrine at Saint Lorenzo; but the next morning, after the Imperial ambassador, the Frenchman, and myself, had accompanied the King to mass, as usual in the chapel royal, we offered our congratulation to the Queen on her auspicious delivery; receiving as customary a gracious reply; and to me in particular, she evinced a great gratitude towards your Serenity.

"To-day, the Admiral will have his private audience; at which he will present the ambassador in ordinary, and moreover, negotiate certain business, whose discussion has hitherto been deferred."

\* See Howes, as before.

† "Tuttavia credendo questi Signori del Consiglio che le pompe di quella giornata non potessero se non riuscire a riputazione di questa Corona, lo introdussero qui a venti sei del corrente con grande apparato d' incontro, fattogli dal contestabile," &c.—(See Priuli Despatches, date Valladolid, 31st May 1605.)

‡ Indecente.

In confirmation of Gongora's (the Spanish Pindar) account of Lord Nottingham's reception at Valladolid, Howes informs us that,—

"All the while his Lordship abode there the King manifested great signes of his especiall good affection towards the English, upon sundry occasions; but chiefly, and in the highest degree, he expressed it at the christening of the young Prince, the churching of the Queene, in severall processions before his Lordshippe's lodging (where the King himself carried a burning taper in his hand)."

The contemptuous tone of the Gongora epigram is, however, somewhat justified by our own historian, who represents the Earl of Nottingham as, "never having had any great fund of sense, and being then the jest " of the English court; too vain and weak a man to be employed in any " business, or entrusted with any important negotiation; but he was well " enough cut out to make a shew in matters of mere ceremony and " compliment; especially at the Court of Spain, in whose interest he " was entirely embarked."\*

Although not invited to attend the christening or churching, the English embassy doubtless had places to view these ceremonies, and will assuredly have been much startled to find a part taken in them by Jupiter and Ganymede: this also is recorded on the authority of Gongora,† and Cervantes himself in the "Buscapie," which was most probably first published during Lord Nottingham's sojourn at Madrid, expresses himself concerning this mixture of the sacred and profane, as follows, "who can be otherwise than offended and hurt, at finding the " names of the Almighty and the most Holy Virgin, and of the sainted " prophets, coupled with those of Apollo and Daphne, Pan, Syrinx, " Jupiter and Europa; and with the cuckold Vulcan and the whoreson " blind god Cupid, the adulterous offspring of Venus and Mars."‡ Again, in the second part of Don Quixote, are we told of the pasteboard figures representing St. George, St. Martin, St. Diego Matamoros, and their comrades.§

The Venetian ambassador makes no comment on the surprise caused to our countrymen, by the attendance at Queen Margaret's "churching;" of Saturn, Mars, and Cupid; but explains how the Spanish government obtained British convoy, as follows:—

The Count de Caracena who had been desired to take the 2,000 troops from Corunna to Flanders, proposed awaiting the return of the Earl of Nottingham, lest the transports should become the prey of the Dutch privateers, of whom there were eighty sail afloat between Cape Finisterre and the "Narrow Seas." The suggestion was approved, and in order to gain time, the transports ventured to proceed alone from Corunna to Santander, Lord Nottingham consenting to re-embark in Biscay rather than in Galizia, it being represented to him, that besides obliging King Philip, he would thus shorten his own land journey. The ambassador had been ordered to neglect no opportunity of cultivating friendly relations with Spain; and therefore adhered to this request, however detrimental the United Provinces. Nor must it be forgotten that the disrespectful attitude assumed at this period by the Dutch naval commanders towards the English flag,|| in some degree justifies this breach of neutrality.

After alluding to the advantage thus procured for these reinforcements in aid of the Archduke Albert; Francesco Priuli shows that the "Ego," if not the "Rex meus" of Cardinal Wolsey, was now adopted by the Duke of Lerma, concerning whom the Venetian wrote to the Senate in date of Valladolid 9th June, thus:—

"Thursday, the 30th of May, being Corpus Christi day, his Lordship was sent for to Court in greater state than before. The English lords,

\* See Carte, in Collins, vol. iv. p. 272. Edition 1812.

† See Sonnet, by Preciosa, pp. 184, 185, vol. viii. Tales of Cervantes.

‡ "A quien no ofende y pone mançilla ver el nombre del Divino verbo y el de la Sacratissima Virgen Maria y Santos Profetas con Apolo y Dafne, Pan y Siringa, Jupiter y Europa, y con el cornudo de Vulcan y el hi de puta de Capidillo ciego dios, nacido del adulterio de Venus y Marte?"—(See El Buscapie, edited by Don Adolpho de Castro, p. 19: edition Cadiz, 1845.)

§ See Don Quixote, part ii. chap. 55. p. 688 (ed. Madrid, 1851).

|| See account of misunderstandings between Sir Wm. Monson and the Dutch in April and May 1605 (Naval History, vol. r. p. 115).

knights, and gentlemen had gallant genetis provided for them, the grandes and others of the Spanish nobilitie accompanied them to Court, and brought them into a very large and spacious roome, which they call the grand-sala, at the upper end whereof sate the King in royall estate, who with great kindnesse arose and entertained his Lordship, and caused him and the ambassador Lieger to sitte downe upon a forme on the left hand. The grandes and nobles of Spaine were placed upon a forme on the right hand, about two degrees lower. Then was there brought before the King a little table, and a Bible very reverently laid upon it and with the same a crucifix; then the Archbishoppe of Toledo read the oath, at parte of which oath his Lordship helde the King's hands between his, and so the King, kneeling, layde his hands upon the booke, and after his oath he subscribed to the articles formerly concluded upon."

At the close of the ceremony his Majesty presented the Lord Admiral with a diamond valued at 4,000 crowns, several of the gentlemen of the embassy receiving in like manner gold chains of various prices, suited to their respective grades, and thus after a protracted war, England and Spain were reconciled.

After narrating the mode in which the peace had been signed, Priuli writes:—

"Amongst the personages to whom gold chains were presented, was the Earl of Perth, who is related to the King of England. The chief ministers here pay him extraordinary attentions, and since the ratification I know for certain that he has been more than once to Franqueza's house after midnight with a single servant, which makes me suspect that he is negotiating something unknown to the rest of his countrymen. I cannot, however, certify that his negotiations relate to public business rather than to private affairs, but at the same time I understand, from certain Spaniards in authority, that he inclines towards the Catholic religion, as is likewise said to be the case with Sir Charles Cornwallis, who will reside here as ambassador in ordinary though with regard to this last. I have very great doubts, as from his own lips I heard quite the contrary.

"In the meanwhile I can assure your Serenity, positively, that the only point which the Spaniards strongly urged the Admiral to carry with his King, was the surrender to the Archduke of Flushing and the other cautionary towns, pledged by the Dutch to the late Queen; the Duke of Lerma now offers to double the price, and although the articles of the peace are at variance with this idea, the Spaniards nevertheless seek to facilitate the matter by saying that the parties who consigned the cautionary towns were undeniably mere usurpers, and that therefore it would be no great marvel should a King of an upright mind and friendly to this crown, on perceiving that the rebel states are unable to disburse so considerable a sum, consign to their legitimate master the towns which he merely holds as security for his credits.

"The Admiral, however, considers the scheme impracticable and declines undertaking it, though the ministers here are not alarmed at his tone, and on the contrary, the Duke of Lerma and other chief personages, by continuing to make him valuable presents, hope to bias his mind in favour of this side; they moreover, as an additional inducement, offer him considerable emoluments in acknowledgment of the good results of this negotiation; and likewise imply that it will facilitate the marriage of the infanta to the Prince of England, which the ambassador seems anxious about; all these arrangements, nevertheless, are as yet very far from conclusion, but besides treating the English to the entertainments given for the birth and christening of the Prince, this nation is so desirous of impressing them fully with Spanish pomp that they use every possible method for displaying it in divers manners. To this effect after the performance, in very great state, of the 'cane game' by the King, the Princes of Savoy, and eight grandes, there was a review of all the light-horse and mounted arquebusiers, for the purpose of giving the general's bâton to the Duke of Lerma."

At this moment the chief energies of the Spanish ministers were directed towards ingratiating themselves more and more with England;

every effort was made to delay the departure of the Earl of Nottingham in the hopes that time might render him and some of his companions more accommodating than they had hitherto shown themselves with regard to certain concessions most earnestly desired by the Duke of Lerma; but as it at length became manifest that nothing further could be gained by the protracted sojourn of the ambassador extraordinary he was permitted to depart on the 20th of June.

On his homeward voyage the Lord Admiral was accompanied by Don Pedro de Zuniga, the destined successor of Don Juan de Tassis, Count of Villamediana, to whom orders were in the meanwhile transmitted, not merely for him to send as many English mercenaries as possible into Flanders, but also to insist on the recall of all the British soldiers in the service of Court Maurice, whose cause they were said to have espoused without the permission of their lawful sovereign. In return for similar concessions the satirical Tassis was desired to promise the most ample reciprocity, whatever the crown of Great Britain could possibly require from Spain was exuberantly placed at her disposal; nor did the Court ever weary of vaunting the presents and honours lavished on "the Lutherans" (as to this day the English are designated throughout the Spanish realms); but the chief mark of pre-eminence vouchsafed to our nation displayed itself at a ball, when his Catholic Majesty selected Lord Nottingham for his partner in the time honoured Torch dance.\*

This honour passed current at Valladolid as the most complimentary of any; but on the other hand his Protestant tenets subjected the King's partner to several indignities. Although the populace killed some of his attendants in a broil, he declined making any formal complaint lest the punishment of the aggressors should prove unequal to their offence. He was in short determined to evince satisfaction at the treatment he had received, nor could it be denied that the entertainments had succeeded marvellously, and above all the "Masque" performed by Queen Margaret enchanted everyone. The embassy, however, did not escape the lash of popular satire even in England, for Stone, a jester, celebrated by Ben Jonson in "Volpone," was soundly whipped for saying that there went sixty fools into Spain besides my Lord Admiral and his two sons.

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## F.

### PAPERS RELATING TO THE COUNTESS OF ARUNDEL.

THE English ambassador having come into the most excellent college with the Lady Countess of Arundel, whose arm he supported with his right hand, and having given her the seat usually occupied by himself to the right of the Doge, he placed himself on the left, and after the countess had made her statement in English, and it had been rendered by the ambassador standing, he resumed his seat, his narrative having been couched in the following terms:—

"Most Serene Prince,† the motive of this extraordinary appearance in this most serene assembly is induced by a grave and urgent reason, although the cause be ideal and groundless.

"Yesterday this most excellent lady returned from the country, and at her residence found a crowd of company, who, discussing the melancholy case of that unfortunate nobleman who ended his days by the hand of the deathsmen, added that, according to general report, her ladyship was some-

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\* "Pensano qui d'haver obligato molto la natione Inglese; e spzialmente coll' esser condesceso il Re a prender l'Almiraglio per compagno nel ballo della Torcia."—(See Priuli Despatch, date Valladolid, 21 June 1603.) For an account of the Torch dance at the court of Prussia in September 1556, the reader is referred to Notes and Queries, 2nd Series, No. 47, Nov. 22nd, 1855.

† The reigning Doge was Antonio Priuli.



what concerned in the catastrophe ; that it was in contemplation to make some announcement to her hereon ; and that it would perhaps be advisable for her to take the initiative, thus guaranteeing her own reputation, as the circumstance was talked about publicly. This lady, jealous as she justly is of the maintenance of that decorum which becomes her noble birth, and being the wife of my lord the Earl Marshal of England, which is the most eminent dignity of our kingdom, aware of the purity of her own conscience, has determined on presenting herself before your Serenity, availing herself of me as her usher to acquaint you with this much, and to receive your commands, which she is so far from wishing to avoid, that she, on the contrary, submits herself to them, for the acknowledgment of her sincerity and reputation, a matter concerning which she has great reason to feel extreme anxiety.

“ The most Serene Prince replied—

“ My lord ambassador ! with regard to this business we will tell your Lordship that it is quite new to us (but with your leave we shall address ourselves to the Countess, being well aware that she understands our language), and that not a word nor shadow fell upon the topic which your most illustrious Ladyship has caused to be announced to us by the ambassador, and still less could there be grounds for such. When your Ladyship sent this morning to demand audience of us, and made your appearance, we congratulated ourselves immensely on the visit of so meritorious a lady, who has favoured this city with her presence, and we imagined it had been induced by a request for some courtesy or other, much to the delight of these noblemen. We now can but regret the present cause for dissatisfaction as received by your most illustrious Ladyship, but, on the word of a Sovereign, we assure you that no idea imaginable exists of a similar invective, which must have been circulated by malignants, possibly with a view to screen themselves.

“ The Cavalier Fescarini has, by a just doom, followed the track of his previous misdemeanors ; nor, for him, is there any redress. Your most illustrious Ladyship may rest comforted by the love and esteem wherein the Republic holds your illustrious family, and your own dignified bearing here, where the best possible greeting is given to the entire English nation, to whom, were it the custom of the State to render her affairs public, we would communicate them more freely than to any other, in proof of the full confidence reposed by us in his Majesty and his ministers, especially in the ambassador, whom we have ever known to be well affected.

“ The ambassador rejoined :—I return most humble thanks for the honour done me by your Serenity individually, and collectively for our nation. This lady has heard your gracious reply, and her mental relief on departing this place can but be equalled by the load which oppressed her when she entered it. The most Serene Republic has not a more sincere soul in her dominions, nor one of more immaculate conduct than this lady ; neither throughout Great Britain does there exist any one more partial to the Signiory than the Earl Marshal her husband. The report which wounded her, being public, she would have wished, in like manner, for some public apology, but at the same time remains quite comforted by the reply of your Serenity, and refers her suit and herself entirely to the affection and goodness of the State. Upon this the most Serene Prince again addressed the Countess in affectionate language, adding, that had the ambassador thrown any light upon the authors of similar falsehoods, they should have received condign punishment ; whereupon Lady Arundel was profuse in her expressions of gratitude, her manner being humble and very composed.”

Such is the account preserved in the Venetian Cabinet Journals of the first public audience given to the Countess of Arundel, and these of the Senate bear record that six days later the affair was communicated to that body.

On the 28th of April 1622, the bench of the Grand Sages in the Senate Hall was empty, and the Sages for the Main Land and the Colleagues for the Orders alone proposed the following draft of a letter to the Venetian

ambassador in London, Lando; and that a present should be made to Lady Arundel. The absence on this occasion of the six Grand Sages appears to imply that those statesmen would not oppose the measure openly, considering, perhaps, that it was politic; but although they did not put a veto on the grant of wax and snigar-plums to the wife of the Earl Marshal, the fact of their not countenancing it suggests a doubt of the gifts having been fully merited.

The decrees of the Senate concerning Lady Arundel are registered as follows:—

Sages of the Council absent. Francesco Diedo (vice Doge?) Sages for the Main Land. Sages for the Orders.

To the ambassador in England.

The lady Countess of Arundel having come into the College with the ambassador Wotton represented to us a certain injurious accusation circulated against her, as you will perceive by the enclosed copy of her statement:—Although in answering this, his Serenity made ample amends, nevertheless, we, with the senate have also chosen to make an express and special demonstration towards her according to the accompanying decree. In conformity with this, we charge you to confer with the husband of the said lady, and to speak to him in such strong and earnest language that he retains no doubt of the invalidity of the report, remaining perfectly convinced of the esteem and cordial affection entertained towards him by the Republic, augmented as such are by the dignified and open mode of life led here by the Countess, and in which she hastens the education of her sons in the sciences to render them as they will become faithful imitators of their meritorious father and ancestors.\* Should he evince any wish to this effect you will not fail reading to him our aforesaid decree as communicated to the Countess, allowing him moreover to make extracts of the principal clauses, for the omission of nothing which can avail entirely to tranquillize his mind about a matter in which it becomes us to give just satisfaction. Should the other noblemen of the Court discuss the topic with you, you will repeat these assurances, which by admitting the news to be false, and announcing our regret for their cause, as also the wish to confirm this regret, will, on true and just grounds, save the private character of the Countess, and also that of the entire English nation. Should the Earl Marshal make you any request to this effect, you will also give similar earnest and loving assurances to the King, so that our wish to render the Earl utterly satisfied may be manifest, letting him perceive that at his request we were induced to represent the whole to his Majesty. Should you ascertain that any report at variance with the truth be in circulation, and have reached the King, we leave you at liberty to make precisely the same statement to his Majesty as that which the aforesaid Countess received at our hands.

In proof of our good will, and of the ample manner in which such was expressed verbally, we have moreover determined on giving public testimony thereof by presenting the said Lady with various sorts of confections and other refreshments. And as certain particulars have been communicated to us concerning this affair which render it more important, opening our eyes and displaying the origin of their motives, and the ends of those who, perhaps, aim at avoiding an immediate and manifest discovery of their own proceedings here, we send you, besides, the minutes of this audience, so that merely using them as a guide, by keeping on the watch, you may be enabled to sift the matter, and ascertain the impression which it produces in England, so as to give us distinct account thereof.

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\* Thomas Mowbray, first Duke of Norfolk, died in Venice, 1399, an event which is recorded by Froissart and Shakespeare. In 1682 according to Freschot, and until the commencement of the present century, as testified on equally good authority, the head stone of Thomas Mowbray was visible in the gallery of the ducal palace, opposite the island of St. Giorgio, and at this present a cast of this memorial may be seen in one of the private chambers of the Doges. See further on this subject, Mr. Rawdon Brown's Preface, p. lxxviii. There is among the early Chancery proceedings in the Public Record Office, a bill addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Chancellor of England, by John Duke of Norfolk, stating that his father, Geoffrey Henry, late Cardinal of England, and others, of the manors of Weston Alconbury, &c., with the intent that they should, with the issues and profits thereof, "ordayne and make the boyngs" of Thomas, late Duke of Norff., aell of yo<sup>r</sup> suppliant, to be caried to Venyse into Englonde."

And be it forthwith carried that the officials of the old Accountant's Office,\* do expend 100 ducats, money of the mint, in confections and wax to be sent in the name of the State to the Countess of Arundel.

Ayes, 138. Noes, 3. Neutral, 14.

Besides the vote of sugar-plums, I found in the Venice Archives in a volume marked "No. 115, Deliberations of the Senate, Files, A.D. 1622, " 28th April, in the Senate" another decree concerning Lady Arundel of the following tenor.

Sages of the Council absent. Francesco Diedo. Sages of the Main Land. Sages for the Orders.

That the Lady Countess of Arundel and the English ambassador be sent for into the Colledge, and that there be

read to them, as follows:—

Lady Countess! the mental purity and candour exhibited by your Ladyship in the worthy mode of life led by you here, neither can or may be in the slightest respect disparaged by slanderous reports, but through the communication made to us by you, together with the ambassador, our Republic acknowledges yet more intensely your very noble and most meritorious qualities, and in like manner might you thus reasonably remain fully satisfied in your own mind. Although from what was told you by word of mouth, and with the whole heart of the Republic as abundantly expressed by the most Serene Prince, your Ladyship might be sufficiently convinced of this, nevertheless, we choose that by the present decree of the Senate itself, you may, moreover, be assured that the news of so false an imposture proved the greatest surprise to us, not the slightest shadow thereof having been ever entertained in any place or by any member of the government, no word to this effect having been heard previously. Besides surprise at these injurious accusations, we regret to see that certain persons have iniquitously raised them on the basis of their own ill-will, and we could have wished by some means to come at the truth, in order to take measures which on every account should be severe.

Our ambassador Lando will have orders to give account in conformity to the Earl Marshal your husband, and to notify the whole in whatever other quarter necessary, with the fullest expressions, as confirmed by us here to your Ladyship, of the vast esteem and affection entertained by the Republic for your worthy endowments and right noble descent, which, coupled with the open manner in which you have ever lived here, and continue so to do, has augmented to the full the satisfaction already derived, and which will be felt for the future at seeing you enjoy for a long while the sojourn of this our city. In like manner you will at all times receive from us the most cordial and conspicuous marks of our good will such as you yourself can desire from a Sovereign excellently disposed towards you, and equally well aware of the merits of your candour and goodness.

And your Lordship, lord ambassador, in reporting to the Lady Countess and to the Court what is aforesaid, will, we hope, as is your wont, fully display those abilities which are peculiar to you.

Ayes, 138. Noes, 3. Neutral, 14.

Mention has been made of the Secretary Lionello with reference to Foscarini and Wotton, and from the journals of the Colledge we learn that this same secretary was the person commissioned to request the attendance of Lady Arundel, and that of the English ambassador in the Colledge, in conformity with the decree above mentioned. The opinion entertained of Wotton by Lionello may be gathered from his letter in date of London, 11th August 1617, and the following extract from the journals of the Colledge is curious, as it proves that Wotton did not possess that invariable command of countenance which one of his epistles in the "Reliquiæ" inculcates:—

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\* The Proveditors of the "Rason Vecchie" were three in number: Amelot de la Houssaye likens this office to that of the Roman Questors. These Proveditors were charged to send the presents destined by the state for foreign princes, ambassadors, and others who received similar honours.

A. D. 1622, April 29.

Lionello having been sent last evening, according to the resolve of the most Excellent Senate, to intimate to the English ambassador and to the Lady Countess of Arundel, that they were come into the College this morning, the said Lionello reported that he had executed the order in person both by one and the other, and that in like manner as the countess appreciated the favour immensely, the ambassador doing the like in the first instance when invited to audience, so on hearing in addition that the Countess had been summoned at the same time, he showed a troubled countenance, which was moreover confirmed by his saying that he had no business to transact with the said lady before his Serenity, but that he should, however, come to receive the commands of the State, and that her ladyship would enjoy the honour which was assuredly extreme.

The countess and the ambassador having thus entered the most excellent College precisely as on the former occasion with regard to ceremonial and seats near his Serenity, her ladyship having two papers in her hand, the ambassador motioned to present them, whereupon the most serene Prince, taking the initiative, said, "We must in the first place cause there to be read to her ladyship the decree of the Senate, for which purpose her presence here has been requested, and after that we shall be ready to listen to any statement."

After the perusal of the decree, which (as stated in the minutes) was listened to by the countess and by the ambassador with extreme attention, although it produced diametrically opposite effects on them, Lady Arundel in the first place made her reply in English, the ambassador translating it as follows:—"This most excellent lady returns infinite thanks to the graciousness of your Serenity and your most illustrious excellencies for the honour received by her of such ample expressions on behalf of the most excellent Senate; and in like manner as she owns especial devotion to the most serene Republic, as clearly demonstrated by the sojourn here of herself and her sons, so on the other hand does she rejoice extremely that your excellencies should do her justice as vehemently as others seek to slander her by reports which have not even yet subsided; and she comforts herself with this most ample certificate, the which, (to avoid wearying your Serenity in this place with its second reading,) the countess requests leave to peruse again in the other hall, and to have a copy of it. As the calumny is public, it behoves her to beseech your excellencies to have a communication made thereon to the King our Lord, since it may be reasonably apprehended that the reports have been amplified in every quarter; to which end, and in order that the fact may be manifest to your Serenity in full, the matter concerning me likewise, I also having been deceived, her ladyship will here present you with a compendium of the circumstances." Hereupon, rising from her seat, the countess gave the Doge the two papers, which, as above mentioned, she held in her hand, and the ambassador added that one need only read the first, as the second, containing the narrative, was very long; but, as by her manner the countess evinced a wish for the perusal of one and the other, they were both read accordingly, and they were of the following tenor:—

**MOST SERÈNE PRINCE,**

THE devotion with which I have ever revered the most serene Republic of Venice, could be manifested in no better form than by my coming with my sons to reside for so long a period as I have done, with the consent of his Majesty my Sovereign, in your most serene dominions. But the favour and kindness with which your Serenity has been pleased to honour me and my children your respectful servants, are beyond my power to portray in glowing colours, save in the recesses of my own heart, where they will ever remain indelibly engraved, and above all this last boon, conferred on me on the 22nd of April, concerning as it did my honour and reputation. But as this report falsely circulated against me seems to revive daily, with fresh particulars, I have therefore deemed it necessary to obtain from the most excellent the lord ambassador of his majesty the King of Great Britain a narrative, which I here respectfully present to your Serenity, being anxious for it to be seen by my Sove-

reign's invincible Majesty, and in other quarters, as proof at one and the same time both of the graciousness of your Serenity and of my own innocence. I deem it, however, my duty in the first place to show it to your Serenity, beseeching you to acquaint his Majesty with my innocence, and, with your most sage council, to provide in such wise that so false a report circulated against me, and which yet prevails, may be entirely stayed. In the mean while I pray his divine Majesty to grant all possible increase of grandeur to your Serenity.

Your Serenity's

Most humble servant,

ALETHEA ARUNDELL & SURREY."

This letter having been read, the Statement, with the signature of Wotton, was next produced, a copy of which document exists in the British Museum (Ayscough, No. 156), having been purchased amongst others of Lord Guildford's MSS. in December 1830, and formed part of lot 103 of the sale catalogue. This document, after enumerating the details given by me, goes on to say, that at the first audience of the countess, on the morrow of the execution of Foscarini,—

"The most serene Prince and the College, which consists of the principal personages of the Republic, received her excellency with every possible mark of honour and respect, as was visible in their gesture and manner, placing her close to the Doge to the right hand, between his Serenity and the Sages, whilst on the other side was seated the ambassador, who merely acted as the interpreter of her noble complaint. It reduced itself to two demands, first, that if in conformity with said report, her name or her household had been mentioned in the trial of Foscarini, the accuser might be brought forward; secondly, that as the report had become public, she might receive public satisfaction. In stating these circumstances the ambassador declared\* that he himself had been the person who notified to the countess this so malicious report circulated during her absence. After the Doge had listened to the countess and to the ambassador very attentively, his Serenity broke forth into a discourse the most loving and vehement that any man soever in the world could have uttered; protesting that there was not so much as the slightest suspicion, thought, or idea of even the smallest trifle concerning her excellency or her household with regard to the luckless case of Foscarini; that the members of the College then present considered themselves honoured by her visit, in like manner as the city by her residence amongst them, her mode of life being so noble, innocent, and decorous that there was no nation in the world to which they would venture more confidentially to intrust the very secrets of their Senate than to the subjects of his Majesty the King of Great Britain. That the ambassador (towards whom the Doge here turned himself somewhat) had known them since a long while, and that on the other hand their acquaintance in like manner with him gave mutual assurance of all dissatisfaction and suspicion being at a distance from them. That certain false and abominable statements and reports amongst the populace were inevitable in every realm; but that if the author of this mischief could be discovered, condign punishment should prove the detestation in which the State held similar injuries done to such a gentlewoman, whose rare qualities and virtuous demeanor were well known to them, as also the true nobility of the earl her husband, in whose memory the Doge said he hoped a warm recollection would be retained for him. Finally, his Serenity besought the countess to compose herself, and be assured that this Republic entertained none other than a noble and honourable opinion of her. With this ample and dignified reply her ladyship was so satisfied that she did not think fit to trouble the State further or require any ulterior declaration; ending with the following words, that, having no other means of serving the Republic, she therefore demonstrated her affection by coming in person with her sons to dwell

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\* What follows is at variance with the Journals of the College, and the discrepancy is alluded to in the letter addressed to the ambassador Lando, which will be given hereafter. The ambassador had probably been compelled to sign the statement by Colonel Peyton and other friends of the countess, and the sorry figure he cuts in this affair may account for his wishing to dispense with the reading of the narrative.

awhile in this famous city, where she had received the noblest and most courteous greeting possible.

“HENRY WOTTON.”

After this reading, the Doge said,—

“These Lords have heard the purport of the writings, and may possibly moreover revise them, more at leisure. With regard to the wish of the Lady Countess for us to write to England concerning this matter; we shall use full confidence with your Ladyship and the ambassador, and take leave to acquaint you with the decree of the Senate hereon, which under other circumstances we should keep secret, namely, that your wish has been already anticipated, the ambassador Lando being charged to notify all that has been uttered here in the presence of your Ladyship, and the ambassador to the Earl Marshal, and to everybody else, nor has aught been omitted which may tend to proclaim the very high opinion ever entertained of your most illustrious Ladyship; our firm conviction of your candid and ingenuous proceedings, and the consequent increase of affection borne you, not merely by these Lords, but by the whole city; and we again entreat you to rest entirely tranquil and comforted.”

The ambassador then inquired what the secret was to which the Doge had alluded: and when his Serenity replied that he divulged it, by announcing that the Senate had anticipated the wish of the Countess in giving the necessary orders to the ambassador Lando, Sir Henry Wotton said that the communication to be made by Signor Lando to the King and to the others ought to correspond, word for word, with the contents of the statement afore read, which narrated the whole circumstance from the beginning. To this his Serenity made answer, that orders had been already given to announce the truth of the case; whereupon the ambassador again interrupting his Serenity, having acted thus throughout the audience, said, “In this affair I likewise must justify myself, for as I told your Serenity I was deceived. After the execution of that unfortunate nobleman, reports prejudicial to the Countess reached me from all quarters; and although it is a common saying of the poets that rumour generates report of itself, and amplifies it, yet could I not do less than bestir myself zealously as was due on behalf of so immaculate a lady. I will tell your Serenity, and the circumstance may be mentioned without offending the Countess, that a communication was made to me from a very sure quarter, purporting that when Foscarini was questioned about his nocturnal ambulations, he said in his defence, that out of politeness\* he had occasionally gone to the house of her Ladyship.” This the Doge denied most positively, his assertion being corroborated by all the Councillors; and his Serenity said that not the least word of this was true, and that in the trial, not only had no mention of any sort been made of the Countess’s name, but neither had any Englishman been alluded to. Hereupon the ambassador, endeavouring to assume a cheerful countenance, said, “This is the utmost, and we all owe infinite thanks to your Serenity, and must attribute the injurious accusation to those who thus sought to burden themselves of the merit of having effected the bribery which took place in this detestable case.”

The Doge allowing the topic to drop, then turned to the Countess and said to her, “I pray your most illustrious Ladyship remain satisfied, as we wish you to be, and we on our part shall always use our endeavours to this effect; and, from this imaginary circumstance, elicit the surest possible pledge of the disposition entertained towards you. A day is at hand, at next Ascension-tide, of especial festivity here; † Two of

\* Or, “as a matter of compliment,” in the original, “per occasione d’ ufficio.” It might mean “in virtue of his office,” but as Foscarini was merely a senator, and not “Signor di Notte,” which Lewknor translates by “officer by night,” I consider the term “ufficio” in this instance to signify civility, courtesy, compliment.

† In the year 1594 the festival of the Ascension is recorded by Fynes Moryson, who was then in Venice, thus:—“In the said compass of the armory lies a great boat called ‘Il Bucentoro,’ because it carries (*sic*) about the number of two hundred; which boat hath upon it a kinde of chamber which useth to be richly hung, and covered over when in the same the duke and senators be carried by water at some times of solemnity, especially at the feast of the Ascension, when of an olde custome they goe forth to espouse the sea by the ceremony of flinging a ring into the same, and to challenge the command thereof, given them by Pope Alexander the Third.”

“ these Sages for the Orders, will be instructed to wait upon your Ladyship with a galley, in order that you likewise may attend the ceremony; and, be your Ladyship pleased to let these Lords take this opportunity of doing you favour in like manner as they will embrace every other which may present itself.”

The Countess then returned most humble thanks, rising from her seat, the ambassador doing the like, and in the act of departing he added,—

“ Madam departs overwhelmed with obligations: she devotes herself and her sons to the service of your Serenity, and in her prayers will ever beseech the Almighty that the most serene Republic, always glorions and powerful, may be eternal as the elements;” and with this they withdrew.

The Countess caused Colonel Peyton,\* and two or three other English gentlemen to be introduced into the Senate hall, and requested me the secretary to read the aforesaid decree again in their presence, as I did. Its tenor gave her the complete satisfaction, and with fresh expressions of thanks and praise she took her departure; and shortly after Vercellini and another of her gentlemen came to take a copy of the decree, of which he was allowed to make a full extract by order of their most excellent Lordships the Sages.

After dinner, Lionello on his return from the Countess of Arundel, after accompanying the present, (which consisted of fifteen salvers containing wax and confections very gaily decked, the show being gazed on by the whole neighbourhood of the Mocenigo Palace) stated that her Ladyship evinced extreme obligation for the favour, valuing it vastly, both by reason of its motive, and also for the sake of the gracious hand whence it proceeded. She appeared quite comforted, as also did her steward (maestro di casa), who confirmed this to the secretary, whilst going down stairs, saying, however, that the ambassador was proportionally dissatisfied and confounded, perceiving very clearly that owing to this event, there was great fear of his hopes and fortunes at the Court being wrecked.

The writing presented by Lady Arundel to the College, informed the State that it was from Wotton himself, and not from the company at the Mocenigo Palace, as pretended by him, that she received the first news of her suspected intercourse with Foscarini. Consequently, after the Countess had withdrawn from the College hall, the following letter was read to the Council of Ten, and to the Grand Sages, and forwarded to the Venetian ambassador in England, 29th April; read in the Senate on the 30th.

#### TO THE AMBASSADOR IN ENGLAND.

“ We, with the Senate, gave your instructions yesterday, touching all that was to be done in every case, about the affair of the Countess of Arundel, with reference to her family, enclosing all the writings and adding such explanations as we deemed appertaining to this matter.

“ Subsequently this morning, the Countess and the ambassador having, in addition to their replies, presented a certain narrative of the circumstance, we do not think fit to allow the despatch to leave by this evening’s courier, without sending you the copy of their statement, and also of the aforesaid narrative, in which some additional facts are inserted, whilst others differ from those alleged by the ambassador at the first audience, and from the reply made to him by the most Serene Prince,

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\* Colonel Henry Peyton was an English mercenary, who entered the service of Venice early in the year 1618, and joined the Venetian fleet off Curzola in the month of July, having about sixty-six English soldiers under his command, and I have now before me a petition of his, requesting leave of the Provveditor Barbarigo to land this little force (which together with the companies of Captains Belingsley, Manwood, and Theobalds mustered 500 strong), that it might recruit after the voyage. In the month of August 1618 Colonel Peyton presented a memorial to the State for compensation of losses incurred by him owing to the rate of exchange, and on the 11th of July 1620 King James wrote to the Republic returning thanks for that Colonel Peyton had been retained in the service of the State, although his comrades had been disbanded, and requesting leave of absence for him, that he might come to England to engage men for the vacancies in his company. This letter exists in the Archives at Venice, and its signature was lithographed by me.

as you will clearly perceive by the perusal of all the writings. Such discrepancies must naturally induce you to keep yet more on the watch, and to modify the communications enjoined you, according to your own ability.”

Lectæ Cons. X. et Sapientibus.

On the very day when the wax and confections were sent to the Countess of Arundel at the Mocenigo Palace, the Council of Ten was occupying itself with the will of Antonio Foscarini.

## G.

### EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS RELATING TO ENGLISH NAVAL AND MILITARY CELEBRITIES.

The first mention of any English military commander of importance in the service of the Republic of Venice in the 17th century is made by the ambassador Pietro Contarini, dated London, 25th of January (N.S.) 1618. He writes:—

#### HENRY PEYTON.

“I have concluded the engagement for a levy of 500 infantry, on the best terms I could, with Sir Henry Peyton, an English gentleman, one of the good soldiers of Flanders, where he yet has a company in the service of the States. I find that he enjoys an excellent character, and is extremely capable of doing the State good service, but he has no knowledge of naval affairs. He will have two captains under him, each commanding 150 men; his own company numbering 200. All the officers have served in Flanders, and he promises me to raise most efficient companies, and to have them ready for embarkation in four weeks.”

Amongst the terms stipulated for by Colonel Peyton, and conceded to him by the Republic were the following:—

I. He was to have the title of Major [Capo-truppo].

IV. The first muster to be made at the time of embarkation, when the term of payment is to commence, and on reaching the territories of the Republic or the Venetian fleet, the companies to be inspected monthly file by file, or individually [“a fila, a fila, o’ a pelo e “segno”] at the option of the public representatives; and should any soldiers be missing at the first muster, and there be no certificate of their deaths on the voyage, their respective captains to be held debtors on account of their companies.

V. His own company to contain 200 good soldiers, comprising (besides his own person) a lieutenant, ancient, three sergeants, two drummers, a fifer, a surgeon, a provost, and twenty gentlemen who, together with the rest, are to be armed, one half with muskets and the other with pikes.

For stipend per month of 30 days, he is to receive 1,350 Venetian ducats, each ducat at the rate of 6 livres and 4 soldi.

The other two companies to consist of 150 men each, besides the captain, a lieutenant, ancient, two sergeants, two drummers, a surgeon, and these gentlemen; each of these two companies receiving a monthly stipend of 980 ducats.

VI. For the purchase of arms for the soldiers, Sir Henry Peyton to receive 1,000 ducats, and each of the captains 750 ducats, at the rate of five ducats per private, which money to be deducted from the pay of the third and fourth months.



- VII. The ambassador to give Sir Henry Peyton and each of the captains twenty shillings for the conveyance on ship board of each private.
- VIII. Sir Henry Peyton to be ready with all his troops for muster and embarkation within one month after the signature of the present agreement.
- XII. For the passage to Corfu the Republic will give two months' pay in advance, in lieu of all other claims soever.
- XIII. The soldiers to be retained in the service of the Republic for at least seven months after their arrival in the Venetian territory, and as much longer as the State shall think fit; and on their dismissal they will receive six weeks' pay for the cost of the homeward voyage.

In the same letter whereby Pietro Contarini gave account to the State of this contract for English soldiers, he also alludes to a well-known English sailor; the author of "The Seaman's Dictionary; or an Exposition of all the Parts and Things belonging to a Ship" (London, 1644, 4to.), thus:—

#### SIR HENRY MANWARING.

"There is an English gentleman here, a certain *Captain Manwaring*, of yore a most famous pirate, who has repeatedly cruised both in the Levant and in the Indies, and captured a number of vessels, having had as many as six or eight of his own; and for nautical skill, for fighting his ship, for his mode of "boarding," and for resisting the enemy, he is said not to have his superior in all England. He did not obtain his pardon from the King until two years ago, and is now anxious to be employed by the State, and to take out these transports with the troops to the Venetian fleet, doing subsequently whatsoever may be commanded him by the public representatives. Not having any orders from your Excellencies to engage men of this sort, I did not dare give him this appointment, although I think he might prove very useful, and do good service in the fleet, from his great practice and experience in naval warfare."

#### FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"I have endeavoured to obtain the most precise information concerning Captain Manwaring, who offered his services to the Republic. In like manner as I find that for nautical experience and for sea-fights, and for a multitude of daring feats performed afloat, he is in high repute, being considered resolute and courageous, and perfectly suited to that profession, understanding the management of first-rates better, perhaps, than anyone; so does the name of corsair, by its lack of respectability, create a doubt of his receiving the necessary obedience from the other captains; besides the small reliance to be placed in any man of that profession. I understand he has no landed property of any value, though it is supposed he may have some treasure, secreted from fear of its being claimed by the owners of his prizes. Only a few days ago the Spanish ambassador, Gondomar, sued him on this just account for 80,000 ducats. He is gentleman in waiting on the King, and since he obtained his pardon is in favour at the Court, and on this very day his Majesty sent me a very earnest message in recommendation of him."

#### FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"Sir Henry Manwaring is so bent on serving the Republic, that as there is no opportunity for him to fill any post on board the squadron, now bound to the gulf, he has determined to embark in a private capacity to offer himself in person to the Captain-General, relying that with the good proof he can render of his experience, and with the warm letters given him by the King for your Excellencies, he shall be able to obtain the honour, so earnestly desired by him, of serving the State. I like-

wise must back his suit by these present letters, both on account of my knowledge of his devoted will and valour, as although, by reason of the recommendation intimated to me by a very leading nobleman on behalf of the King, and yet more in the hope that his exertions may prove to the entire satisfaction of your Serenity. Gratia cujus, etc.”

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

“ Captain Manwaring, who had been knighted by his Majesty, and some months ago offered his services to your Serenity, announcing his intention of going to Venice in person, proceeded, I understand, to Ireland, where he fitted out a vessel, meaning to resume his former trade of pirate.”

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## H.

### LIST OF LETTERS RELATING TO JAMES STUART.

1. Lettre de la Reine Mère (Henrietta) au Card: Orsini. De Londres, 30th Oct. 1662.
  2. Lettre de la Reine Catherine au même. De Londres, Oct. 25, 1662.
  3. Voto in favore della promozione al Cardinalato del Signor d'Aubigny.
  4. Favori e benefizi fatti ai cattolici d'Inghilterra dal Re presente (in sixteen articles).
  5. Bellings to Father Thos. Courtenay, Oct. 22, 1662.
  6. Lettera dal Card. Orsini al Card. Sforza Pallavicino, 24 gennaio 1663.
  7. Oblatio ex parte Caroli II. Magnæ Britannia Regis pro optatissima trium suorum regnorum Angliæ, Scotia et Hibernia cum Sede Apostolica Romana reunionem.
  8. Certificate of Charles II. in favour of Sieur James Stuart, his natural son.
  9. Another Certificate of the King to the same.
  10. Certificate of Christine, Queen of Sweden, concerning the same, on his conversion at Hamburg.
  11. Letter of Charles II. to the General of the Jesuits, Oliva, at Rome. Whitehall, Aug. 3, 1668.
  12. Letter of Charles II. to his son, James Stuart, at Rome. Whitehall, Aug. 4, 1668.
  13. Letter of Charles II. to Oliva, General of the Jesuits, at Rome. Whitehall, Aug. 29, 1668.
  14. Letter of the same to the same, without date.
  15. Reply of Oliva to the King's three letters. Livorno, Oct. 14, 1668.
  16. Certificate, of Charles, that he will pay the expenses of his son's voyage. Nov. 18, 1668.
  17. Letter of Charles to Oliva. Whitehall, 18 Nov. 1668.
  - 18 and 19. Two memoirs, written by Charles II. on the Catholic religion.
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## I.

## WILL OF JAMES STUART.\*

Jesus Maria. I, James Stuart, n'rall sonne to Charles the second Stuart of the most Potent and most Serene King of Great Britaine or England, King of Scotland and Ireland, borne of the Lady Mary Stuart, of the family of the Barons of St. Mars, being in this City of Naples sick in bed, but by the Grace of God sound in mind, and in perfect sense, considering the imminent danger of my death, and being willing to dispose of what I haue to the benefit of him to whom I am obliged both for my body and soule, w<sup>ch</sup> is to be preferred before all other things, haue made this my present testament, comprised in writeing and sealed, w<sup>ch</sup> is to passe by way of a solemne testam<sup>t</sup> in writeing, and if perhaps it may not passe upon the account, then to go as a Nuncupatiue Will in writeing by way of Codicill of Gift in case of Death, and in any other better way that may be according to what the Law will permitt, and with this I cancell, make voyd, and annull all other my testam<sup>ts</sup>, Codicills, or last Will made by me till this day, w<sup>ch</sup> upon all accounts are to remaine broaken and of no force, all though they may containe pious Legacyes, and w<sup>th</sup> whatsoever Cautions they stand fortified and derogatory hereunto.

And first of all, I, the said James Stuart, Testator, as a faithfull Christian, redeemed with the most pretious blood of Jesus Christ my L<sup>d</sup> and Sauio<sup>r</sup>, and ascribed and gathered unto the hosome of our Holy Mother the Catholick Church, doe recomend my soule to the infinite goodness of the Eternal living God, my mercifull Criato<sup>r</sup>, beseeching his diuine Ma<sup>v</sup> to vouchsafe through his mercy and the merits of the passion and death of his sayd Sonne Christ Jesus, the Redeemer of mankind, to pardon my sins that I haue comitted, for this End inuoquing the assistance and Protection of the Most Glorious Euer Virgin Mary, the Advocatresse of Sinners, of my Gardian Angell, and of all the blessed Spiritts and of the Saints and Saintesses of Heauen, making my supplications as much as I am able with a contrite and humble heart, euen so long till it shall please the blessed God to call me, as I hope, to a better life. I will that my body be hurried in the Church of the Venerable Monastery of St. Francisco di Paula without the Capuan Gate of this City of Naples, aboue the ground, as is meete, and particularly in the wall of the Venerable Chappelle of Mercy, where afterwards in time a Tombe may be raised of marble, with a necessary inscription, for the Expences of w<sup>ch</sup> tombe I will that there be employed 400 Crowns by the Reu<sup>d</sup> Father the Corrector of the sayd Conuent, to whom the sayd 400 Crowns are to be payd, who is to take care for the raising of the said Tombe, besides I will that there he payd to the sayd Monastery of St. Francis di Paula and its Reuerend Fathers other 600 ducats for one tyme onely, for the celebration of a masse weekly for euer for my soule, and my funerall shall be priuate, at the Expences of Sign<sup>r</sup> Francesco, my Father in Law, as I haue taken care with y<sup>e</sup> Reuerend Father Antonio di Gagliano, Corrector of the s<sup>d</sup> Conuent, my Spirituall Father.

And since the appointment of an heire is the beginning of a Testament, without wh<sup>ch</sup> by the disposic'on of the Law it may be auoyded, for this cause, I, the sayd D. James Stuart, Testator, doe institute, name, and depute my heires g'rall and particular that posthumous birth, whither one or more, whither female or male, that shall be borne of Donna Teresa, my most beloued Consort, at present great with child, with whom I contracted a solemne and Lawfull marriage the 19 feb. in the yeare 1669, in the Parish of S<sup>ta</sup> Zuzia, with the preceeding contract and other acts of [ ] in the Cathedrall Church of this City, so making the said Donna Teresa my most beloued wife in all that does or shall belong to me, or any account either in the part of his Ma<sup>tie</sup> of Great Brittain, my naturall Father, or the sayd Lady Donna Maria Stuart, my mother.

\* Taken from a contemporary notarial translation, the original will being in Italian.

And therefore I humbly entreate and represent to his Ma<sup>ty</sup> of Brittaino that he would remitt and assigne into the hands of my male or female Issue, one or more as before sayd, w<sup>ch</sup> shall be borne of the sayd Lady D. Teresa Corona, my wife, the usuall principality either of Wales or Monmouth, or of such other prouinces w<sup>ch</sup> are wont to be conferred on the naturall sonnes of the Crowne, to the value of 100<sup>m</sup> Crownes Reuenue or Rent, beseeching his Ma<sup>ty</sup> with all devotion to looke upon the will of the supreme Immortall Judge, who in his g<sup>r</sup>all Justice will rigorously reward the iniustice w<sup>ch</sup> is done to poore Innocents, againe beseeching him to haue soe much compassion as not to take any thing from them w<sup>ch</sup> haue bene giuen or doe belong to them; and also I Pray his Ma<sup>ty</sup> of Brittain that besides this he would cause to be restored and assigned to my heires appointed as aboue sayd 80<sup>m</sup> Crownes Rent belonging to the sayd Lady D. Maria Stuart, my most beloved Mother, being her proper stock, and wholly belonging to my sonne, w<sup>ch</sup> his Ma<sup>ty</sup> cannot upon any pretence take away or depriue him of, as being my mother's Estate, to w<sup>ch</sup> I ought to succeed, I, the aforesayd Testator, as her sonne, she hauing noe other child in any degree of succession. But if it happen that it has upon any occasion any alienation has been made by his Ma<sup>ty</sup> of the summe of 80<sup>m</sup> Crowns Rent belonging to my sayd mother, w<sup>ch</sup> yet I cannot belieue, I beseech him he would please to assigne and remit into the hands of my heires a like proportion of Rent with a Stock in some other place, and not suffer his blood to goe wandreng about the world without entertainment.

Also, I represent to his Ma<sup>ty</sup> of Gr<sup>e</sup> Brittain that I could not find any person equal in Birth to my sonne or daughter, w<sup>ch</sup> by God's grace my sayd wife, the Lady Donna Teresa, may bring forth to be its God father but its one Parent, that is the magnanimous most Potent and most Serene Louis XIV. of Bourbon, King of France and Nauarre, of whom by this my testament I doe, w<sup>ch</sup> I cannot entreate by worth of mouth recomend itt and remitt itt into his owne hands, that according to the generosity of his most X<sup>t</sup>ian Ma<sup>ty</sup>, w<sup>ch</sup> is knowne ouer all the world, he would taken care of his owne forsaken blood, beseeching him and the name of the liuing God not to refuse me, but to fauo<sup>r</sup> his poore Kinsman and in danger of death, who wishes him all happines and prosperity aswell in his greate designes as in the continuac<sup>o</sup>n of his admirable Gouerment w<sup>ch</sup> he keeps in his kingdome to the wonder of all the world. I beseech him therefore to fauo<sup>r</sup> my sonne or daughter w<sup>ch</sup> shall be borne, as also the sayd Lady, my beloued Consort, in wh<sup>ch</sup> I haue aboue desired.

I recomend also to his most Christian Ma<sup>ty</sup> Sign<sup>r</sup> Fran<sup>co</sup> Corona, a Gentleman of Sora, and the Lady Anuccia de Anicis, his wife, the father and mother of the sayd Lady D. Teresa, my wife, and also their some called Gaetano, and their daughter called Chiara, and their other sonne, Gio Battista Nicola, in all five persons, as also a Nepheu, a clerk, called D. Ciccia Arduino, beseeching him to be pleased to haue particular care of ther persons. To the sayd five first named, that is the father, mother, Brother, and Sister of my beloued wife, I assigne a stock of 50<sup>m</sup> Crowns for one tyme, beseeching his most X<sup>t</sup>ian Ma<sup>ty</sup> to cause his Ma<sup>ty</sup> of Gr<sup>e</sup>. to pay it, besides the 180<sup>m</sup> Crownes of yearly Revenue w<sup>ch</sup> I haue assigned to my heires.

To my little Page called Antonio Brenich I assigne 5<sup>m</sup> Crowns for one time, for his faithfull and Reall Seruice, with much diligence for a long time.

Besides I assigne to the abouesayd Reverend father I Antonio di Gagliano, at present Corrector of the sayd Monastery of S. Francesco di Paula, my Spirituall Father, ten thousand Crownes, and to the Reu<sup>d</sup> Father Francesco Feliciano di Hinano of the same Religion other five thousand Crownes, and all this for one time onely, w<sup>ch</sup> foresayd fifeteene thousand Crownes, according to the proportion aforesayd as aboue assigned, are to be payd to the sayd R. R. Fathers, for as much as I haue confided in both of them respectiuey and trusted, y<sup>t</sup> in Confession and vnder Seale of Secresy w<sup>ch</sup> this my intention and confidence, w<sup>ch</sup> I desire to haue kept very Secret, so that neither of them can or ought to

Reveale it to any person living, it being a thing entrusted to them upon Confession, and for other neither can nor ought to be revealed.

And therefore, with all humility, Reuerence, and submiss<sup>n</sup>, I beseech his most X'ian Ma<sup>y</sup> so to act w<sup>th</sup> his Ma<sup>y</sup> of Brittain, that all Legacyes and disposalls made by me as aboue sayd, or shall be conteind afterwards in this my Testament, may be satisfied and putt in Execution very punctually, besides the hundred and Eighty thousand Crowns of Rent disposed of to my sayd heires as it ought according to the will of me, the present Testator, who heggs it from his magnanimous blood, and for this cause, with all possible deuotion, I leave to their most Sacred X'ian and Brittain Ma<sup>ty</sup>, beseeching them to grant it to me, and to execute all the sayd desires and disposalls w<sup>ch</sup> I haue made, being all of them just and reasonable, haueing not demanded any thing but what is due to me, and so I end, repeating my prayers and Entreaties to theyr sayd most Serene Ma<sup>ty</sup> for the Loue of the living God, the supreme, omnipotent, just, and rigorous Judge, to doe me theyr just fauor<sup>s</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> I haue desired, and to fauor<sup>e</sup> theyr owne blood.

And for the abouesayd Legacyes made by me, w<sup>ch</sup> alltogether amount to the summe of 291<sup>m</sup> ducats, I will and beseech from the bottom of my heart his Ma<sup>y</sup> of Brittain that he would giue some Regalo to my sayd Legataryes, that they may be disposed of to my wiuie's kindred to whom I am oblidged, and on the other side to be expended for my soule and other things of that importance to me, that if I were living I ought to make them other demonst<sup>r</sup>ac<sup>o</sup>ns of greater concernment, and all this over and aboue the sayd yearly Rent of 180<sup>m</sup> Crowns giuen to my heyr, that is to say, my wife and the posthumous birth male or female, w<sup>ch</sup> ought to come intire into their hands without any dimunic<sup>o</sup>n.

More over I desire his most X'ian Ma<sup>y</sup>, with all humility and submission, to use all meanes for and to procure from his Britannick Ma<sup>y</sup> satisfaction of the sayd Legacyes in the manner abouesayd according to his accustomed generosity; and in case it be otherwise, to the End the said 291<sup>m</sup> Crownes may be secured and satisfied with that punctuality w<sup>ch</sup> I desire, I assigne and giue up with full and ample power my land and Marquisate de Duignis to the value of 300<sup>m</sup> Crownes, and the surpusage of the sayd 291<sup>m</sup> to goe to the benefit of my wiuie's said Father and Mother and brothers already borne or hereafter to be borne.

Also I order and expressly com<sup>and</sup> that the sayd Lady D. Teresa, my wife, shall for euer preserue her selfe a widow, of w<sup>ch</sup> I am well secured.

Also I desire withall Earnestnesse the sayd Sig<sup>r</sup> Fran<sup>co</sup> Corona, in acknowledgm<sup>t</sup> of what I haue disposed of to his benefit and to his house, that after any death he shall, assoone as he can after being confessed, haueing communicated, goe bare footed to the Archiepiscopall Church of Naples, where, being prostrate on his face to the Earth before the most holy Sacrament, he shall withall humility and deuotion pray the diuine Ma<sup>y</sup> to pardon me my sins, and afterwards to goe with the same mortification to the Chappell of St. Aspremo, where I espoused his daughter, and doe the same deuotions, and then in the same manner to goe [to] the monastery of St. Fran<sup>co</sup> di Paula, into the Chappell where is to be erected my Tombe, in the same manner aboues<sup>d</sup> to make the same prayers, w<sup>ch</sup> are to continue at the least a quarter of an hour in euery place, and to be done with feruent deuotions of all the heart.

I order that presently after the receipt of the said Legacyes my wiuie's kindred shall place the sayd Chiara Corona, my wiuie's sister, in a monastery qualified for noble Ladyes, and give the sayd monastery 5,000 Crowns as her portion, provided that the monastery shall neuer pretend to any further legacy then the 50<sup>m</sup> Crownes given by me to the said Chiara; but of the rest the sayd Chiara shall haue the usu fruit during her life, to doe w<sup>th</sup> it w<sup>t</sup> shee pleases, so that the monastery shall haue nothing to doe with it, and at her death the disposall of it shall be hers, to giue to w<sup>ch</sup> of her kindred she pleases, to renunciate at the Renunciation she shall make at her profession.

Also I order that if, perhaps, the posthumous issue w<sup>ch</sup> shall be borne of my wife, now greate with child, shall not be borne aliue, w<sup>ch</sup> God forbid,

or dy assoone as borne or vnder age, the sd Lady D. Teresa, my most beloued wife, shall succeed to the yearly Rent of the 180<sup>m</sup> Crowns abouesayd, that is to the 180<sup>m</sup> Crownes of my mother aswell to the usufruit as to the propriety to dispose of according to her will or pleasure, hauing allwaies a particular regard to her house, and particularly to such other children as her father shall haue; and if the sayd principality, as it cannot be dismembered by the blood Royall, shall upon the death [of] my said wife returne againe to his Britannick Ma<sup>ty</sup>, as the same is intended and ordred in case my s<sup>d</sup> wife dy first and afterwards her posthumous Issue vnder age, my sayd wife firste dying and afterwards her issue as is sayd, shee shall have power to dispose of 100<sup>m</sup> Crownes to whom shee pleases, on condic'on that the remainyng stock be of any considerable value.

And since my intention hath beene and is that this my present disposall shall not be made knowne till after my death to any person liueing, for w<sup>ch</sup> reason I haue caused this my testam<sup>t</sup> to be closed and sealed up, for this cause I order that if by any accident this my disposall shall come to be discouered to any person, and shall be publicq either in the whole or in any more substantiall part in the same manner and forme in w<sup>ch</sup> I made it without any variation, since it may be that some person may imagine some what of my intention and guesse at some part of my disposall, in which case I intend not to breake or alter my present will, but if my present will be publisht ad vnguem according to the manner and forme as it is, in this case, if the Reu<sup>d</sup> Father I Antonio de Gagliano, my Confessor, shall heare of such Publicac'on and be assured of the truth thereof, I shall though liuing referre it to the discretion of the sayd Reu<sup>d</sup> Father to goe to the Notary who made my present Testam<sup>t</sup>, to cause him to restore it and to cancell it im'ediately; and because the said Notary shall not refuse to restore it, I make a writeing a part to the sayd Father, subscribed by my hand, declareing my will, and appointeing the sayd Reu<sup>d</sup> father to deliuer the sayd writeing to the sayd Notary for the receiuing of my sayd Present Testam<sup>t</sup> or an obligac'on [for] the deliuey thereof, so that he presently may teare it in little pieces, according to my expresse and determinate will.

And lastly, I leaue to the Notary, for the paynes he has taken in this my will, what is usually giuen him att the time of opening it, and for the makinge the copy thereof, obligeing the abouesayd Sig<sup>r</sup> Fran<sup>co</sup> Corona, when he shall haue received all the moneys mentioned in my sayd testament, to giue him fifty ducats more for one tyme onely.

I, Sig<sup>r</sup> D. GIACOMO STUARD, affirme all that is aboue written.

The present Copy is taken of the originall Will made in writeing the 24 Aug. 1669, opened upon the death of the said Testator, D. James Stuart; and publish'd the 27 of the same month, at the sealing and opening whereof I was present upon call, I, Antonio de Blasis, A Notary of Naples, and in testimony thereof haue written and signed this, haueing allway regard to the Letter compareing of them.

(Indorso.) The last will of the late Imposito<sup>r</sup> at Naples, who at first pretended himselfe to be a naturall sonne of the King of England. 1669.

## J.

### SELECTIONS FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE OF GIACOMO QUERINI.

#### GIACOMO QUERINI TO THE INQUISITORS OF STATE.

Most illustrious and most excellent Lords my most revered Masters.

With the idea of rendering my own private motives serviceable to the supreme commands of your Excellencies, in whom I with reason revere

the condensed authority of the most serene Republic, I, with that helpmate whom God has given me, undertook some while ago this so long a journey, which has proved incredibly toilsome and unbearable by reason of the unexpected thaw, the swollen rivers and the frequent inundations which I encountered on the road. Here I am nevertheless safe arrived in Hanover, and equally well disposed to proceed farther, unless I receive a contrary command, owing to the hope entertained of very soon seeing the King of England back in his dominions here. I, however, have strong reasons for entertaining a contrary opinion, as a private and confidential servant of his Majesty's in London writes to me that although the King has every wish to cross the sea forthwith, yet will his movements be regulated by the course of events in Parliament, where although it may be supposed entirely devoted to his Majesty, there will nevertheless be much business of great importance, which cannot be settled so speedily, nor without the King's presence. So, possibly, not only the spring will pass, but a great part of the summer likewise before they see him in Hanover.

With obsequious respect I give this notice, not that it may merit the consideration of your Excellencies, but because it serves as a medium for my zeal to transmit a second, which I consider more important, and, perhaps, worthy of your supreme knowledge. By word of mouth from a person who has a great share in the regency here, I have been enabled by slow insinuation to elicit that the powers interested in the quiet of the North are endeavouring to form a plan for curbing the King of Sweden by force, rather than by reason, and severing him entirely from Germany.\* For the execution of this project it seems that nothing more is wanting than the final decision of the Emperor, who still hesitates, because he cannot bring himself to believe in the King of Prussia, whom he considers (as he is) a young prince of capricious humour [“d’umor “stravagante”], and liable to change. So the King of England to bind him yet more to his pledge has sent to Berlin, as envoy extraordinary, Monsr. d’Eltz, his Minister of State for this Regency in Hanover, where news of the result of so delicate a negotiation confided to the ability of the above-mentioned statesman is anxiously and speedily expected.†

It is not incumbent on me, but whenever I hear of anything relating even indirectly to the Republic's interests I shall, if your Excellencies permit me, be proud to notify it, and in the meanwhile humble myself profoundly.

Your Excellencies

Most humble, most devoted, most obedient Servant,

GIACOMO QUEBINI, Knight.

Hanover, 5th April 1715.‡

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

In continuation of what I had the honour respectfully to write to your Excellencies about the despatch to Berlin of Monsr. Eltz on behalf of the King of England, I have now to announce his (Eltz's) return to Hanover, which took place last Friday. From what I could ascertain before seeing him, and since the information given to me with his own lips, I fully comprehend that his journey proved utterly useless, as the King of Prussia notwithstanding the alliance already stipulated by him with England, conceals his intentions, nor will he declare which side he means to take with regard to the intricate affairs of the north. The clearest notification of his projects was to propose a toast to Eltz at dinner, thus:—“To the success of a good peace, or a fortunate war;” to which end it is indubitable that by the end of the present month he will have 30,000 men encamped in the neighbourhood of Stettin, the artillery being actually on the march. This, however, is by no means conclusive, and should on the contrary yet more stimulate those whose interest it is to seek quiet, and to calm the excitement of the King of Sweden by main force.

\* Eliminandolo intieramente dalla Germania.

† Voltaire, in his *Life of Charles XII.*, does not allude to these negotiations.

‡ Querini's letters are all dated N. S.

Having obtained this information, I on Monday rode towards Wolfenbützel to ascertain whether the Duke was disposed to grant the Republic a certain number of his troops, which at the utmost amount to four or five thousand men. On the road I heard that the Court was at Lauckemen, a pleasure residence, three leagues from Brunswick.

I, therefore, took myself thither on Tuesday morning, and the Duke received me very graciously; so, in the course of conversation, I made it turn to the present state of affairs, and to the impending Turkish war. Hereupon he evinced great regret at being unable to accommodate the Republic, and told me as frankly as possible, that the King of England and the Bishop of Munster urged him strongly, not only to retain his troops, but increase their amount to the utmost, pledging themselves to take them into their pay, if encouraged so to do by the extravagant and suspicious conduct of the King of Prussia.

It may, however, be hoped that Prussia is wise enough not to subject her territory to an invasion, which might be easily made by several sovereigns simultaneously, each in their own direction. Already, according to advices received yesterday by his minister plenipotentiary at this languid congress of Brunswick, the Czar [Peter the Great] has ordered the march of 24,000 men to the Prussian frontiers to assist the King, should he choose to act in conformity with the common interests against Sweden, or to attack him, should he declare himself her ally.

This same minister plenipotentiary also assures me that another corps of 29,000 men has in like manner been ordered to advance into the Ukraine to succour the Poles, whenever the Turks attack them.

The contrary winds have prevented me from receiving the letters which I was expecting from England from the King, and of which the Minister gave me hopes at the end of last week. I choose to believe that they are on the road, and that on my return to Zell, which will take place in a few days, I shall find them there.

In the meanwhile, it is evident that the return of the King of Sweden to his dominions \* has given a fatal blow to the good intentions of more than one sovereign in Germany, well disposed to aid the Republic in her present need. God grant that this same cause, by compelling England to send a large squadron to the Baltic, may not render useless the negotiations of the Resident Vincenti, and mine also, both here and elsewhere.

Peace in the North is, therefore, desirable, for without it, it seems impossible to obtain any aid from the foreign powers.

I am, with profound respect, the most humble, &c.,  
GIACOMO QUERINI, Knight.

Brunswick, 12th April 1715.

#### FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Although the State will have no lack of the most certain and accurate intelligence concerning what passes in the North, I, nevertheless, as a sequel to my two last letters, have the honor respectfully to acquaint your Excellencies from this corner, which is not so very remote from the scene of action, that we now at length begin fully to know which side will be taken by the King of Prussia, who has hitherto considered himself indispensable, and concealed his intentions, in order to benefit himself with Sweden by means of an agreement, according to the expectations held out to him by the two French ministers, who are perhaps still at his Court. This hope caused negotiations to be carried on at Berlin, and the chief point turned upon the restitution to Sweden of Pein-Munder-Schautz (sic), a fortress erected at some distance from Stettin, an important post, and of the greatest consequence to the Swede, as it opens the passage for him thence into Pomerania, and subsequently into Poland. The King of

\* Charles XII. quitted Turkey in October 1714. and arrived at Stralsund, in Pomerania, on the 22nd of November.—(See *L'Art de vérifier les Dates*, p. 512.)



Sweden, therefore, impatient at waiting for the decision, asked the Prussian minister resident with him, what his King meant to do in the matter, and being told that he could never cede this point, the Swede in a fury rejoined, "Then I shall be obliged to do this justice myself with the sword" which I wear at my side," and immediately ordered the attack on the fortress, and succeeded in surprising and taking it, cutting 200 Brandenburgers to pieces, and making the rest prisoners, he on his part losing but 40 men. The news having flown to Berlin, the King was so enraged, that meditating reparation and revenge, he first of all expelled the Swedish minister his capital in four hours, granting him but 24 within which to vacate the Prussian territory, and is incessantly marching the rest of his troops towards Stettin, so that from one minute to another we shall hear of the recovery of the fortress, as the Swedes are incapable of keeping it any length of time, having no army in the field to make head against that of Prussia, which having been now joined by 8,000 Saxons, amounts to a good 40,000 men.

It seemed necessary that the sword should be drawn in that direction, as otherwise the Prussian, armed and irresolute, by causing suspicions to all the other powers, would have compelled them to act cautiously and keep troops to watch him; whereas now, being no longer apprehensive of his secret designs, Sweden by her violence having rendered him hostile, they will make a combined attack upon her in every direction, so that at length Charles XII. will be compelled to accept such peace as the allies shall be pleased to grant him.

To day Monsr. de Verpup, who comes from Ratzburg a place a few hours distance from Lubeck, where he is governor for the King of England, and now on his way straight to Hanover, confided to me another equally important event.

The Swedish squadron having taken some 2,000 regular and veteran troops to Stralsund with provisions and ammunition, received orders from the King of Sweden to give battle or its return towards Stockholm, to any vessels it fell in with whether of inferior or superior force, even should they chance to be some English or Dutch fleet.

In the course of the voyage, they gave chase to three or four Danish frigates, which endeavoured to escape by getting into shoal water, where the enemy could not follow them. The Swedes, however, blockaded them watching an opportunity, when the vice-admiral of Denmark, Monsieur Gaber (sic) a brave young man 35 years old, perceiving their position, determined to succour his countrymen and with 7 line-of-battle ships and three or four other frigates attacked the Swedes. The action lasted throughout the 22nd April (N.S.?), nor had victory declared for either side when they were separated by nightfall.

On the morning of the 23rd the Danes had gained their weather gauge, and cannonaded the enemy so briskly, that being to leeward they all surrendered in action, or shortly after, being compelled to sheer off towards some sand-banks where they ran aground.

Your Excellencies will perceive the loss of the Swedes by the enclosed sheet, and the battle is said for certain to have been fought in the neighbourhood of Holstein and Lubeck. (?)

It is also asserted that the Prince of Wirtemberg the general in Denmark, has intercepted some letters which show the whole game that was to have been played in the North during this next campaign.

The seizure of the fortress mentioned in my last, was to give the Swedes passage into Poland, where they would have joined the malcontents of the kingdom, and the followers of Stanislaus. The Turks on their part, would have contributed what they could. A detachment was to have marched thence to invade Lower Saxony or at least to raise money; and to prevent succour from the Emperor, the Turks were to alarm him by sending a considerable force to the frontiers of Hungary.

France, likewise, was to have assisted her friend the King of Sweden with a corps of 25,000 men now on the Rhine near Philipsburg, and which he would have sent to join the troops of the Landgrave of Cassel, another Swedish ally, for the purpose of embarrassing these Hanoverian States,

and giving occupation to the King of Prussia; but now that the secret is disclosed, and his navy weakened, the Swede will be apprehensive lest the Muscovite fleet approach his very capital and bombard it; and must change his tactics. That the Czar has the wish to undertake this expedition is very intelligible from the present made to him by the King of Denmark, of some pilots well acquainted with the waters of Sweden.

It also chanced to the officials of Denmark to intercept a letter signed by the Princess Ulrica and the Prince her consort, to the King her brother, brother-in-law of the Prince,\* in which, expatiating on the miseries of the kingdom, they prayed his Majesty to seek peace at any cost. This letter, after having been read and copied, was sent to the Swede; and it is understood that whilst reading it, his pet lap-dog fawned upon him, so he said to it, "Thee also then art fondling me for peace," the words being interpreted to mean that he ridiculed the anxieties of his sister and the lamentable miseries of his subjects.

This combination of circumstances warrants strong hopes that as Sweden has provoked so many enemies stronger and more powerful than herself, she may ere long receive the law and submit. Should the prophecy not fail, I firmly believe that it will then be easy to prevail on the Emperor to make diversions in Hungary and to obtain other efficient succour of troops and ships for the Morea.

I in the meanwhile being somewhat indisposed by my long journey, shall remain here about ten days longer, to establish (as I hope) my health and capacitate myself for a fresh march, which I shall undertake immediately, towards Holland, and subsequently to London, as the letter which the King did me the grace to write to me in date of the 9th of April encourages me to do so.

My object will be same as that which caused me to detach myself from the centre of my adored country, namely, to render me, if possible, capable of serving her, obeying the precious commands of your Excellencies, before whom in the meanwhile I bow myself with profound obsequiousness.

Your Excellencies most humble, &c.

Zell, 2nd May 1715.

GIACOMO QUERINI, Ca<sup>r</sup>.

Note of Swedish ships and frigates which the Danes attacked and conquered on the 23rd of April 1715:—

The Princess	-	-	74 Guns, Crew, 500.
The Star of the North	-	-	74 " " 500.
The Dermanland	-	-	57 " " 315.
Gottenburg	-	-	56 " " 200.
Wideorn	-	-	40 " " 190.
Le Tocon (sic)	-	-	40 " " 130.

There are two other ships besides these, names and number of guns unknown, but they were captured by the Danes in the aforesaid engagement.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

I have nothing to boast of, but may at least congratulate myself on my good fortune in having anticipated the supreme command of your Excellencies, when, despite the reasons which might have dissuaded me, I undertook this journey to London without the escort of your most revered commands.

\* Ulrica Eleonora, sister of Charles XII., wife of the Hereditary Prince of Hesse-Cassel. She became Queen of Sweden on the death of Charles XII. in 1719.

† There is an Italian translation of the letter amongst the Querini papers of the following tenor:—

Monsr. Count Querini,

I have seen with much satisfaction by the letter which you wrote to me from Augsburg on the 9th March that you have obtained the permission to come to me. Your presence cannot but be most agreeable to me, and I shall be very glad to show that I always look on you with the same distinction.

Whereupon I pray God, Monsr. Count Querini, to have you in his holy keeping.

Given (trata) at St. James's the <sup>29</sup> March 1715.  
9 April

GEORGE B.

I was already on the road, when my zeal was stimulated by your honored despatch of the 30th April, the only one that reached me in Germany.

I, therefore, continued the march with such speed that in four days I got to the Hague, where I found the Princess Caroline still waiting for a fair wind.

I did not join her retinue, because in the course of that night she departed, and I did the like on Saturday, the 1st of the month [N.S.], as soon as I knew that the passage boat "Prince George" was about to set sail. Immediately on arriving at Rotterdam, I went on board and proceeded to the Brill, remaining there at anchor three whole days. At length on Tuesday morning the captain set sail with a slant of wind in our favour, which lulled an hour afterwards, and gave way to the N.W. or "Garbin," which blowing a gale, and in gusts, raised a heavy sea during 40 consecutive hours, and took us upwards of 40 French leagues out of our course, with manifest risk of shipwreck, and of my making a useless sacrifice of my life for my country. At length the Almighty, who commands both sea and winds, granted a calm, guided us into harbour, and, a week ago to-day, I landed in this capital, where the Court Commissary took me to the lodging appointed me by the King three weeks before my arrival, near St. James's Palace. My small amount of baggage was all at the Custom House to be examined; and whilst waiting for it I had to remain at home, where his excellency the Ambassador Trono, putting me to the blush and confusion, came to see me, and thus gained some repute for me with those unacquainted with a person so very insignificant as I am, through the honour of his visit.

Saturday was a day of gala, being the anniversary of the King's birth, and I was impatient to go to Court, but had to wait for my trunks, and for a whole suit from the tailor. I was ready to go abroad at 6 p.m., and went immediately to the feet of his Majesty, who had asked for me several times; the entire crowd of competitors on such a day did not prevent me from having an audience of half an hour, *tête à tête*, in his private apartments; and I can say with truth, that he treated me, not as if he were the King of Great Britain, but as that same Elector of Brunswick, who during so long a period has graciously distinguished me as publicly known. He continues to show me the same kindness, of which he gave additional proof by immediately desiring the chamberlains on duty to let me pass as a private attendant ["*intimo familiare*"], without need of asking permission, a favour conceded neither to the ambassadors nor to the nobility ["*ai Milordi*"], but only to a few Germans and to the lords in waiting. Such a grace, envied by many, and which I receive solely through the Sovereign's goodness, will enable me to approach him frequently. At this first visit, after paying such compliments as due on his accession to the throne, and on the celebration of his birthday, I lost no time in expatiating on the esteem and respect borne him by the Republic, expressions which he received graciously and reciprocated them. Having then made the conversation turn on a ship now building in one of these dock-yards (seen by me on my way), to be named "*King George*," and which will carry 120 guns, I explained sufficiently the earnest desires of the State, and her regret at having been unable to obtain any naval succour from England for defence against the common enemy of Christendom. I explained to his Majesty that he would confer a signal favour on the Republic should he deign to give an official passport to Colombo: and throughout he listened to me graciously and attentively. The conversation was brought to a close by the necessity for the King to appear in public, and I remained fully convinced that I had made an impression on the mind of his Majesty.

I then went to pay my respects to the Prince of Wales and to the Princess his consort, both of whom received me with great kindness, the Princess indeed choosing to see me on the morrow in her own apartments quite alone, and she spoke to me at great length about the disagreements between father and son, remarking that this sort of misunderstanding was very detrimental to the royal family.

On that same evening, after the ball, I had the honour to accompany

the King to the apartment of Mademoiselle (sic) de Schulenberg, a lady who enjoys more of the royal favour than any other at the Court, the King knowing her to be truly attached to his royal service, and so in the evening he very often supps with her. When necessary I shall not fail to make her back my demands on behalf of the Republic, as she is an old acquaintance of mine, and has always shown herself my sincere and affectionate friend.

During supper nothing was heard but expressions of esteem from the King for the State, and for her ancient friendship towards his family, though nothing particular was said, and I took good care not to broach anything, as there was another lady at table and the comptroller of the household [Marescial della Corte, Hugh Boscawen?], in whose presence I thought it well to be reserved.

Your Excellencies will know from another quarter [the Ambassador Trono?] what took place in certain quarters of the city of London on Sunday evening and on the following Monday. There was a mob of as many as 2,000 persons that shouted "Long live King James the Third," "Long live the Duke of Ormond," and "No Hanover" [niente Hanover.] The soldiers of the guard having been accoutred parsimoniously by their Colonel, the Duke of Marlborough, whose avarice is not to be told, burnt 150 of their shirts in the park because they were too coarse. The mob was dispersed by a few rounds of musketry, and 500 cavalry charged the soldiers and put them to flight. A much more perilous riot occurred at Oxford, and the Court is about to take strong measures to prevent the increase of similar disturbances. I do but allude to them, being very sure that the State will have received full details and most mature remarks thereon; it is certain that of late, as elicited by me from the lips of the chief ministers, affairs are no longer so prosperous for the King as they were at first. Even in Parliament there was a sharp debate on Monday about the amount of troops to be kept on foot, including foreigners; the Duke of Marlborough replied that there was not one single foreign soldier in the service, the rejoinder he got, was that there was no occasion to go to the Indies to enlist them, as there were Turks even at the Court, alluding to his Majesty's two favourite Turkish servants, Mahomet and Mustapha.

On Monday I had the satisfaction to receive a letter from your Excellencies, dated the 17th May, enclosing the copy of one written on the 21st of March, the original of which had never reached me, the loss of it delayed my departure for England, as my belief was that the tribunal wished me to remain at Hanover rather than elsewhere, owing to the report of the King's expected visit to his German dominions, which will, doubtless, take place on the prorogation of Parliament, unless accidents arise to make him change his mind. This intention was not communicated to me by the King himself, but by a friend who is in his confidence. On Tuesday evening I had the advantage of supping with the King at Mademoiselle de Schulenberg's in company with another lady. I remarked that the royal countenance was somewhat sad and melancholy; his Majesty eat little and I saw that he was really unwell, so I did not think fit to speak of business, and deferred it till the morrow, when, to the surprise of all beholders, I followed the Hanoverian ministers into the King's presence. I told his Majesty how much the Republic and some of her merchants would be benefited by the grant of an English passport to the Secretary Colombo, and he answered me kindly that I was to speak about it to Stanhope the Secretary of State for the Levant and for Spain, and that so far as his Majesty was concerned he should have no difficulty in conceding it to me. I will canvass this minister and acquaint your Excellencies with the result as soon as possible. I then alluded to the earnest desire of the State to obtain through his Majesty a few English vessels for the Republic's service, to which effect he said he would render me every good office, and indicated the Prince Curachino [Karaskin an old acquaintance of mine,] now ambassador in England to his Majesty from his ally the Czar [Peter the Great], telling me to ascertain from him the means he employed to obtain ships for his sovereign. I saw this minister at the Court, but the time and place not allowing me to discuss

this matter, we agreed to have a conference at his house. The distinction with which I am received by the King and the royal family has caused some of the English nobility and all the foreign ministers, seen by me at the Court (with the greater part of whom I was already acquainted) to visit me; and finally last evening, for the third time, I supped with the King at Madame di Kilmanseck's, the Duchess of Shrewsbury (Adelhida Paliotti), and Lady Albermarle (Isabella Gravemoor), being of the party.

There was no talk about business, but the King told me that he should attend Parliament to-day, to pass a Bill, that the Secret Committee had announced to the House of Lords that it was ready to make the report enjoined it concerning the late Ministry, and that the House had appointed the 20th of the month, N.S., to hear the reading. The persons impeached are Bolingbroke, Oxford, Strafford, and the Duke of Ormond, and some others besides. The decision of this matter, whatever turn it may take, will always be of very great consequence, even according to the opinion of the King, who to-morrow or Monday will go to Hampton Court, where he has a country palace, and at a short distance thence will see some horse races. He also told me incidentally that if the Emperor does not take part in the hostilities [impegni] against the Turks, he supposes there is some hidden reason besides the lack of means. Your Excellencies will be pleased to accept the homage of my most implicit obedience, as expressed in this sheet, however confused, and be thoroughly convinced that for the sake of rendering any especial service soever to my most adored country, I, following the example of my forefathers, will never hesitate to place at her service my poor remaining substance, and sacrifice both blood and life.

Your Excellencies most humble, etc.

GIACOMO QUERINI, Cav<sup>r</sup>.

London,  $\frac{3}{14}$  June 1715.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

The bodily exercise taken by the King during the last few days by attending the review of the Foot Guards, and the amusement derived by him from the horse races at a distance of some four leagues from London, in like manner as it pleased everybody, so did it also give me an opportunity of following his Majesty, and of finding myself on Tuesday with the Duke of Shrewsbury awaiting his return at the royal palace of Hampton Court, where I had the great good fortune to walk in the gardens a long while, with his Majesty and the Duchess of Shrewsbury (Adelhida Paliotti), and afterwards, for about an hour, with the King all alone. I availed myself of this opportunity to tell the King that Secretary Stanhope raised difficulties about drawing up the passport requested for Colombo, and said that, expecting from his Majesty much greater favours for my country, I had commenced by making small demands, in order to encourage myself by degrees to prefer more important suits. The King smiled, and answered me that I was not to doubt but that he would keep his royal word. Thereupon I thanked him, and made a second proposal, namely, that he should accommodate the Republic with some of his brave Hanoverian troops. I said that by granting me this, he would renew in his own royal person the obligations conferred on the State by his father, the late Elector, of glorious memory. To this point his Majesty answered me that he would gladly convince the Republic of his esteem and true friendship, by these means likewise, but that even were the war on the North to cease, he still had reasons to retain all his own forces, and [also] such as he could obtain from his friends, so very far was he from being able to deprive himself of them. I was then silent, and again thanked his Majesty for the excellent disposition of his heart. The conversation then fell, I know not how, upon the Wirtemberg troops, and he told me that Prince ought to grant them all to the Republic, as the King did not see how he could employ them elsewhere, his Majesty disbelieving the last news received in London, namely, that besides pecuniary supply, France meant to succour the Swede with a military force. Our

walk was terminated by the King's going to table; he supped in public with the above-mentioned Duchess and a number of officers of the Crown: I was the only foreigner who had the honour to sit at the royal board. The King seemed to treat me with partiality and confidence; he addressed himself to me very often, and asked me for some of the viands which were placed before me. He discussed a variety of topics, and alluded to his journey to Venice, saying he shall be able to find his way from St. Stae, where he lodged, to Rialto and St. Mark's. He then went to bed, and on Wednesday morning I attended his levee, and as he was invited to dine at Lord Glocestre [sic, Lord Rochester's?], in a house two miles from Hampton Court, towards London, I preceded him thither; and on that same evening at the Court I saw Secretary Stanhope, to whom I announced the King's will about granting the passport [for Colombo]. He pledged himself to send one to the Britannic Minister at the Porte by the first opportunity for dispatching letters thither, and that he would place a second in my hands, which I shall have the honour to forward to your Excellencies, as I do not suppose it will be any longer in time to find Colombo at Smyrna.

Yesterday morning at 10 o'clock, Prince Curaxino (sic) [Karaskin?] came to my house, apologizing for having failed to hold the conference promised me at his own residence. This Minister answered my inquiries with as much frankness as I could possibly desire, owing to the good friendship maintained by me with him at several German courts.

Concerning the purchase of ships made by him for his master the Czar [Peter the Great], from 1712 down well nigh to the present time, he told me that he had purchased 13 in all, viz., one of 74 guns, four of 64, the rest of 54, and one, the smallest, of 48; they were all lately-built vessels, of from six to seven years old, only one numbering eight years. Part of them half fitted out, and the rest rather less. He obtained them through merchants, and promised to give me the names of some of them, or of those best informed. He said that this would be for me as for him, the most direct method, and the easiest and most advantageous. He promised me some notes of the prices paid by him, and in conclusion said that a ship of 80 guns, completely found, had been offered him, which the Czar declined to purchase. I know not what scruples induced him to request me to keep his communications a close and confidential secret, but as I was obliged to give him my word of honour to this effect, I venture to beseech your Excellencies to make me appear punctual and discreet.

This Prince Caraxino (sic) [Karaskin?] took leave yesterday of the King, to whom I shall give account of the interview, as he suggested it to me, and will assuredly be glad of the result. If necessary, I shall ask him to grant me his royal favour, quite in a private way, for the sake of obtaining every possible advantage, though of this there is small need, as with merchants the strongest recommendations proceed from good bills of exchange. On foundations of this sort, should hope not to deceive myself in promising your Excellencies some such purchases as you desire.

I shall be on the watch for your most revered orders, and in the meanwhile will not fail to keep on foot such negotiations as may best enlighten and render me more capable of serving you.

I am, with profound veneration, etc.

GIACOMO QUERINI, Cav<sup>r</sup>.

London,  $\frac{10}{21}$  June 1715.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

On Wednesday the charges against some of the four persons impeached, [Ormond, Oxford, Bolingbroke, Strafford] were to have been taken up to the House of Lords; but for good reasons this was delayed until that day week. Both parties employ all possible devices. The Whigs seek to annihilate the Tories utterly, and to place them under the yoke: they

want to impeach even the Duke of Shrewsbury, and to accuse him of high treason, because as one of the chiefs of the late ministry, without an express order from the Queen, and consequently against the Statutes of the Realm, he held secret conferences with Mons. Mesnager, manipulating the preliminaries of peace, together with the Earl of Oxford, and because having returned from the embassy to France, and being appointed viceroy in Ireland, he allowed troops to be raised there for the Pretender. All the good favour of the King, cultivated for him by the address of his wife, who belongs to certain parties of pleasure given by his Majesty, will perhaps not prove a sufficient shield for his defence. His enemies have the upper hand; and to try and appease them, the King caused it to be secretly hinted to the Duke through Mons. de Bothmar, that he should resign the Lord Chamberlainship, as, perhaps, on his retirement, the King's recommendations would have the effect of exempting him from the impeachment. In the meanwhile the animosity of the two parties, and the well nigh hostile manner in which they treat each other, make a fine game for France and Spain. Those two crowns, regardless of their pledge to accept the mediation of his Britannic Majesty for the adjustment with the people of Majorca, availing themselves of these troubles in England have now fitted out the expedition (as known) to subjugate that island and punish the rebels. With this the King must put up, and dissemble his vexation until the current disturbances are quieted.

The majority of the populace in this kingdom are Tories, not from attachment to the Pretender, but at the instigation of the preachers, who hate the new King, for no other reason than because they find themselves excluded from office (*dalle cariche*), and consequently unable to further their personal *interest*, which is the key stone of English religion and of English policy.

London, 12 July 1715.

In a former letter I alluded to the danger in which the Duke of Shrewsbury found himself, and to the advice given him at the suggestion of his Majesty, I have now to add, that last Monday evening, after everybody had quitted the antechamber, he entered the King's cabinet, and saying a few words resigned to him the Lord Chamberlain's staff.

On the following morning, the Duke's kinsman, Lord Cardigan, immediately resigned spontaneously into the King's hands, the post of Master of the Buck Hounds, a very profitable charge, and which he obtained as a very great favour at the commencement of this reign.

This mode of proceeding renders the Court somewhat suspicious, lest these personages purpose joining the Tories; though with regard to the Duke; I have reason not to believe it: he has withdrawn to a suburban residence [Isleworth], out of sight of his enemies, and hopes thus to escape the threatening storm.

The Duchess, his wife, protected by the King, will, according to my belief, retain her place about the Princess of Wales. I became aware of the business [*"mannegio"*] precisely on Tuesday evening, shortly before we went to supper, when the King suddenly disappeared, and went into the apartment of Madame de Kilmarseck, where the Duchess of Shrewsbury was waiting to speak to him. The Duke of Marlborough and Stanhope, Secretary of State, exert themselves in favour of Shrewsbury, and do everything to avoid losing him in the same way as they have lost so many other Tories who might have been retained.

At this present, when it is well nigh too late, they become aware that the old dominant party of the Tories was mixed: part were in favour of the Pretender, part for the House of Hanover.

Had his Majesty made this distinction on his accession to the Crown; he would have excluded the former, not the latter; but by favouring the Whigs alone, he lost all the others at once, and they, therefore, having withdrawn to their country seats, joined the Jacobites; and with the pretext of "the High Church," as they style the Church of England, they caused the populace to rise in several places, and perpetrate the many outrages of which full details may be read in the Gazettes.

This morning the Lord Chancellor (William Cowper), at audience of the King, gave it to be understood, that unless the Earl of Oxford made his escape, he will perhaps be under arrest within 24 hours.

Inquiry is being made concerning the author of a certain libel which advocates the enormous and sacrilegious crime, of taking the King's life in order to place the crown on the head of the Pretender; and the author is suspected to be the Bishop of Rochester [Atterbury], whose counsels encourage the Duke of Ormond.

I have this moment returned from the Court, where I was present when the King gave the Lord Chamberlain's staff to the Duke of Bolton, to the surprise of many persons, as divers other profitable crown appointments are in this nobleman's family.\*

July 19, 1715.†

#### GIACOMO QUERINI TO THE PROCURATOR VENER.

I am at a loss to tell your Excellency how kindly his Majesty received me. I write the account to the Tribunal with reserve, lest it be supposed that I flatter myself, but assuredly the King made me the same cordial demonstrations of good-will and affection as was his wont when mere Duke of Hanover and Elector of Brunswick: his sentiments with regard to me are not changed in the least; but I think his countenance is altered. Instead of being well preserved he has become rather aged, which I believe must be attributed to the burden of Crown business, and to those disappointments which a sovereign of England never fails to experience at the hands of one party or the other. He is also, perhaps, disturbed by family disagreements.

I subsequently had a second private audience, and on both occasions I spoke about the passport for Colombo, and the purchase of ships. He answered me favourably throughout, and I am certain, that at least underhand, he will give me every possible assistance for the attainment of my object. For the passport he referred me to Stanhope, Secretary for the affairs of the Levant; and with regard to the ships, he told me to obtain information from the Muscovite ambassador, Prince Karaskin (Carakin), as he would tell me in what way he had obtained vessels for the Czar. It requires time to discuss matters seriously with the foreign Ministers in London, but they have all visited me, with the exception of the Frenchman, solely because they remark the favour shown me by the King and the royal family.

Last evening, moreover, together with Madame de Kilmanseck, and the Duchess of Shrewsbury [Adelhida Paliotti], and Lady Albermarle [Isabella Gravemoor], I accompanied the King to the opera, and supped with him for the third time in Madame de Kilmanseck's apartments.

The King has done me the favour to desire the chamberlains on duty to allow me access to the private apartments like an intimate attendant, a distinction conceded but to a few Germans, and to the lords in waiting.

I have visited the Prince and Princess of Wales, who greeted me with marks of extraordinary kindness. The Princess conversed with me a long while in her own apartments, repeating what she confided to me at Hanover about the misunderstanding between the Prince, her husband, and the King, his father; and she remarked that it might cause very great detriment to the royal family.

The clamour of the soldiers and the shouts of the populacc, both in London and Oxford, wishing long life to King James III. will be known to your Excellency through the newspapers; it is thus evident that since some time the King is no longer so popular as he was at first. He is thinking about the remedies; purposes going to Hanover on the prorogation of Parliament; and means to augment his troops instead of

\* This is in accordance with Collins' Peerage (vol. ii. p. 382. ed. 1812), where it is stated that on the 8th July (O. S.) 1715, Charles, second Duke of Bolton, was declared Lord Chamberlain.

† The foregoing extracts will suffice to give an idea of Querini's official correspondence with the Inquisitors of State, which terminated on the 17<sup>th</sup> of July 1715.



depriving himself of them. They may, perhaps, be needed should the Tories hold up their heads as they are expected to do, unless the Committee of 21 appointed to give information against the late ministry convicts some of the accused of high treason, which seems very doubtful, and otherwise the royal party will lose ground. Marlborough is universally disliked, and the King has done too much for him.

So far as I myself am concerned I can but speak well of the ambassador (Nicolo Trono), I do not pledge myself for his official conduct. The prevalent opinion is that he has abandoned himself to the guidance of the Spanish ambassador, the Marquis of Monteleone.

Some time ago people pretended that the King paid his addresses to the ambassadress, but it was an ephemeral attachment, and owing to the sagacity of Madame Kilmanseck, and of the Shrewsbury [Adelhida Paliotti, Duchess of Shrewsbury], in order to oust the Schulenburg, rather than to any passion on the part of his Majesty. The ambassadress moreover is a novice ["povera figlia," silly girl?], and the Princess of Wales told me she knew not how to sustain her rank, and that these other ladies always take precedence of her.

I return most humble thanks to your Excellency for your very gracious instructions, and for the news you give me of Dona Maria Celeste, of the departure as already effected from Vienna of her Excellency Zane, and of the Turkish war, with regard to which last, the King told me that should the Emperor not make an attack in Hungary, it is from lack of money and provisions, and not from disinclination to fulfil his engagements.

London,  $\frac{3}{14}$  June 1715.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

My pictures do not meet with the success which I anticipated for them in this country. The Italians have indiscreetly cheated a number of persons by selling at an exorbitant price one thing for another, creating such universal suspicion that the English no longer trust any one soever. The plan which I am attempting is to dispose of them by a lottery, which has already commenced, but hitherto the result is unfavourable owing to the present disturbances. From the King I have not yet received the slightest *douceur* (dolcezza) beyond the billet for my lodging, nor have I the courage to drop the slightest hint on the subject being too well aware of the expenses incurred by his Majesty. The 700,000*l.* do not suffice for the expenses of his household. At the close of the year he had a debt of 20,000*l.* The English absorb everything with unheard of avidity, and from his private Hanoverian purse the King has to defray the expenses of all his German ministers and other dependants in England, so that by ascending the throne, instead of gaining wealth, he is but burdened with heavier costs. Your Excellency, however, suggests that I should make a statement to him, and should some notable change take place in the aspect of affairs I will endeavour to *oift* by the hint, for which I return the most humble thanks.

On Tuesday the ambassador [Trono] went to audience, having previously told me that he had a ducal missive to present, that he was to ask the King for ships and troops, and must have a long audience. Scarcely had he entered the royal presence ere he returned with a very red face, not having remained with his Majesty sufficient time to recite a "*Pater noster.*" I should be curious to know what the substance of his despatch will be with regard to this incident. He will certainly dress it up, for although no longer assisted by the Spanish ambassador, the Marquis of Monteleone, nor by the envoy from Parma, Count Gazola, he has nevertheless no lack of aid from the Abbate Conti, a very able individual, through whose medium he, Trono, has become rather familiar with Sir . . . . ., a gentleman in waiting on the Prince of Wales.

To tell the truth, although the King has never said anything to me on the subject, I know through a good channel that his Majesty does not approve of Trono's intimacy with the Spanish minister Monteleone, a personage so much suspected at this Court.

The King must lately have taken possession of Bremen, and the alliance pledges him to declare war on the Swede. A manifesto is being drawn up, and General Veling is preparing the reply for the other side. From this it may be inferred that his Majesty cannot give the Republic troops. The Ambassador Trono has not yet confided to me the demand made by him at the audience, but I hope he limited himself to a request for ships. I shall endeavour to ascertain this, either through him or others, and will urge my suit as may seem fitting, though, from a certain notice received from your Excellency some while ago, there is reason to fear that the Republic does not choose to have any other ships in her fleet than those built in her own arsenal. Notwithstanding this, until I receive the reply to No. 16, I shall canvass the ministers and endeavour to render Lord Orford\* well disposed, though to him the King cannot speak, as his Majesty knows not how to do it in English, nor does Orford understand a word either of German or French, but Secretary Townsend will act as interpreter.†

London,  $\frac{7}{18}$  October 1715.

LISTA DE QUADRI DELL' EREDITA' DEL DEF<sup>o</sup> DUCA DI MANTOA.‡

No. 1.	Una Mad <sup>a</sup> di pietà di Paolo Veronese	-	Ghinee	150
„ 2.	Un S. Francesco di Paolo Veronese	-	„	50
„ 3.	Una Nunziata del sud <sup>o</sup>	-	„	50
„ 4.	Un Salvator del sud <sup>o</sup>	-	„	50
„ 5.	Una Maddalena del sud <sup>o</sup>	-	„	50
„ 6.	Una S. Elena del sud <sup>o</sup>	-	„	50
„ 7.	Un Christo alla Colonna del Palma	-	„	16
„ 8.	I tre Re del Bassan Vecchio	-	„	30
„ 9.	La Vergine, S. Franc <sup>o</sup> , e S <sup>a</sup> Chiara di Franc <sup>o</sup> Bassan	-	„	16
„ 10.	S. Girolamo in rame di Paolo Fiamingo	-	„	6
„ 11.	Un Endemion di Squerzin da cento	-	„	34
„ 12.	Una Flora di Squerzin da cento	-	„	34
„ 13.	La Nascita di Giesù con Pastori di Franc <sup>o</sup> Bassan	-	„	66
„ 14.	Un Christo all' orto del sud <sup>o</sup>	-	„	50
„ 15.	Animali del Castiglione	-	„	10
„ 16.	Una Vergine in Tavola del Zambellin	-	„	20
„ 17.	Animali del Castiglione	-	„	10
„ 18.	Un Quadretto in Tavola la Vergine e Puttini di Bonifazio	-	„	8
„ 19.	Animali Quadrupedi del Castiglione	-	„	12
„ 20.	Un' Annunciata di Tentoretto	-	„	14
„ 21.	Paese con diverse figure Adorazion de' Magi di Giulio Ran <sup>o</sup>	-	„	94
„ 22.	Paese fiamingo di Giazso con figure piccole di	-	„	54
„ 23.	Architettura con figure in piccolo del Ghi- solfi	-	„	44
„ 24.	Una Vergine, Sa. Giustina, Sa. Catterina di Polidoro	-	„	18
„ 25.	Una Vergine in Tavola del sud <sup>o</sup>	-	„	10
„ 26.	Un Christo morto con due ritratti di Lean- dro Bassan	-	„	30
„ 27.	Quadrupede del Castiglione	-	„	12

\* Edward Russell, First Lord of the Admiralty.

† „e procurero di far disporre Milord Orford, ma il Rennon può parlargli poichè non sa farlo in Inglese, e quello non intende una parola nè di Tedesco nè di Francese supplierà pero, il Segretario Townsend.”

‡ The Duke of Mantua, Charles III. or IV., died at Padua 5th July 1708, being then 56 years of age. Querini had perhaps been intimate with him in the Venetian territories, where he seems to have resided occasionally after his departure from Mantua in 1704.

No. 28.	Paese con Cavallini e figure di Gio. Miel	-	Ghinee	8
„ 29.	Prospettiva con figure in piccolo del Vivarini di Roma	-	„	30
„ 30.	Marina di Mons <sup>r</sup> Montagne	-	„	25
„ 31.	Sposalizio di S. Catterina di Carletto Cagliari	-	„	42
„ 32.	La Vita umana della Scuola di Bonifacio	-	„	50
„ 33.	Frutti e volatili di Giacomo di Castello	-	„	16
„ 34.	Maddalena del Cav <sup>r</sup> Liberi	-	„	30
„ 35.	S. Girolamo del Cav <sup>r</sup> Liberi	-	„	30
„ 36.	Marina di Mons <sup>r</sup> Montagne	-	„	25
„ 37.	Pesci di Giacomo da Castello	-	„	6
„ 38.	Frutti e volatili del sud <sup>o</sup>	-	„	16
„ 39.	Prospettiva con figure in piccolo del Viviani di Roma	-	„	30
„ 40.	Uno Sbozzo di piu figure in Rame del Tentoretto	-	„	14

## FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

At length by private sales, and not by lottery, I have disposed of some of my pictures at a reasonable price. I may say that I have the most inferior still on hand, and shall find it difficult to get rid of them.

London,  $\frac{30}{10}$  December 1715.  
10 January 1716.

## FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

In former letters I announced the sale of half of my pictures; I am bargaining about the rest, but as yet without success. At the worst, the least mischief will be to send them back to Venice. Could I have imagined the trouble and expense which they have caused me, I would never have removed them from their niches; at present I can only apply a half remedy, but have no reason to be dissatisfied with the price of those already sold.

London,  $\frac{13}{24}$  January 1716.

## FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Concerning my pictures, I mentioned having disposed of half of them at a reasonable price; those remaining being inferior, I find it difficult to effect their sale.

London,  $\frac{9}{10}$  March 1716.

## FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

I daily repent me of the false step which I took in bringing my pictures to London. The custom-house charges were enormous, and by no means can I dispose of the pictures here.

The lottery proceeds so slowly as to leave me no hope of filling it up; it is not to be dreamt of, and the more I think about it the more it distresses me. I on my part likewise had imagined that these vast dominions, and the opulence of so many noblemen [signori], would have facilitated the undertaking; but I find the English closer in their expenditure than I could have supposed. At any rate I must get rid of this embarrassment. As yet the King has given me no other marks of his generosity beyond those already mentioned, and should he do anything more, I cannot expect it until I am on the eve of departure. In the meanwhile, I promise your Excellency to be sincere on this chapter, as it is my duty to be in all other matters.

London,  $\frac{18}{29}$  November 1715.

## FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Should I not receive some commission from the Tribunal, it will be a proof that my stay here is no less useless to my country than burdensome to myself. I cannot even hope to dispose of my pictures, for which I must inevitably pay 65 per cent. import duty, so it behoves me to send them back either to Germany or elsewhere, without any appearance of deriving profit thence.

17  
London, 28 June 1715.

## FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

I have already commenced writing in my own hand to the Tribunal, and if they can bear with the character, they must also tolerate the style, which, after all, being a mere arrangement of words, I should care but little to excel therein, provided my deeds could correspond to my own hearty zeal, and to the expectations of others.

The conspiracies now hatching are of the most malignant nature possible, and his Majesty resents them so much, that, utterly disgusted with everything, I believe England would not have him for her Sovereign were the affair to recommence. His melancholy augments daily, and those who know his humour dare not speak to him. Schulenberg herself, who is the most privileged person, keeps aloof. I avail myself of such moments as seem to me the least sombre, and therefore thought fit on Whit-Tuesday to wait for his Majesty at Hampton Court, on his return from the races.

I request your Excellency to ascertain from the Inquisitor Gabrielli how long I am to remain here. The cost of living in this country with some little decorum is too exorbitant, for although my lodging is gratis, all the rest, namely, coach, sedan-chair, and four servants, are all at my charge; nor from certain quarters do I choose to receive gratuities.

On Wednesday morning I attended the King's levee, and his diversions in the garden and park (at Hampton Court), where some hunters which the Master of the Horse wished to have purchased were ridden on trial. At 12 o'clock the King went by invitation to dine with Lord Rochester, two miles from Hampton Court, on his way to London, whither he returned that same evening.

10  
London, 21 June 1715.

## FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

We know nothing concerning the affairs of the North. The English and Dutch fleet have joined forces in the Baltic. One of the chief ministers told me that the attack on the Swede (Charles XII.) no longer depended on the King of Prussia, but would not unbosom himself further. By this part post I am writing also to the Tribunal, and send them an authentic letter, sealed, for the Britannic ambassador at Constantinople, in favour of Colombo, adding a copy in French, &c.

I have found means to obtain some 50-gun ships, and larger, if requisite. For their construction some six months will be required. I have caused the King to be persuaded to grant a good amount of lead, and perhaps all that is required, at the lowest price, and shall speak to him myself on the subject.

His Majesty flatters himself in vain with the hopes of going into Germany this year, for Parliament will adjourn in September and re-assemble in the winter. He has suggested to me, as Commander-in-Chief of the Republic's forces, a very able and sage General, a Scotchman, Mons<sup>r</sup> Murray, now in the pay of the Dutch. His Majesty assured me that he, Murray, has few equals, and that it would be impossible to make a better choice. About this I write more fully to the Tribunal, but omit the name of the King, who does not choose to be mentioned, as it is uncertain whether this General would listen to the offer even were the Republic to make it; but should he be thus inclined (and this I shall soon know), the King promises me his good offices with the States, that they may cede

him, at least as a loan for some years, as they are enjoying a most prosperous peace.

As for the rest I will write nothing more about the favour which the King shows me by invitations to his suppers, it is now a matter of course, and I can say without vanity that if they do not see me at the Court, they seek me in every direction.

On the two penultimate evenings the ambassadress Trono [born Chiara Grimani] was likewise present always in the last place below the other ladies. I observed with regret that her manners were unsuited to her station and to the habitation in which she found herself, and I said to myself either that the Venetian ambassadors at the Court of England must come without their wives, or that these last must be women who comprehend their position, and who will not easily cede that ground to which they are entitled and which they are bound to maintain. I am very sure that your Excellency will keep this paragraph secret as usual. The ambassador [Trono] never appears at Court, save to pay his respects to the King on Sunday mornings, and after making his bow departs immediately. He shuns every opportunity of conversing with the ministers; but I see him intent upon collecting news; for every post day he goes abroad and returns home very late, I do not know whether with his despatch written or to write, but I do know that he has sometimes despatched an "estafette" to overtake the courier who had already departed.

For the moment there is certainly nothing to excite much curiosity, although the House of Commons has impeached Bolingbroke and Oxford but the bill has not yet been carried up to the Lords.

On Monday his Majesty reviewed the Foot Guards, and an immense crowd greeted him with incredible acclamations, the like of which are said never to have been heard, the people kissing both his hands and feet. Not only from this, but also from many other proofs, the King himself infers that the people of London are very good hearted, but that the preachers,\* who are corrupt and disturbers of the public quiet, are no less opposed to him. It is asserted that their sermons caused the late rising in Yorkshire, on which occasion the Pretender was proclaimed, his health being drunk, and all persons of the contrary party forcibly expelled, so that the Lord Lieutenant demanded troops which will be sent to him.

As I flatter myself that his Serenity [Doge Giovanni Cornaro] will see my public letters, I will not trouble him with private advices, but beseech your Excellency when paying him your respects to present likewise my most humble service.

I do not send the tribunal any news, but transmit a number of articles concerning which, as their Excellencies are not authorized to decide, they must communicate them to the Senate. Should the party of the Ambassador Trono thwart the resolves, as I anticipate, my stay here will be useless and most burdensome to me, and private interests will prevent my serving the country; so unless the King cross over to Germany where my hands would be more free, and where I should not injure any one, I must endeavour . . . . .

Having heard that the Dutch are about to disband a whole corps of veterans, I commenced negotiations to see whether they (the Dutch) would cede them to the Republic; for the present, I write nothing about this to the Tribunal, but hope to do so by the next post.

I dined yesterday with M. de Bothmar; I found him the same affectionate friend that he was of yore, and the good servant of your Excellency, to whom he recommended himself heartily, and drank to your precious health. After binding me to the strictest secrecy that the King may know nothing about it, this minister besought me to propose for the Republic's service the General his brother; I know him well, he has the same manners as the minister; he served with distinction throughout the war in Flanders, and the Duke of Marlborough will at any time give him the highest testimonials. He is, in fact, only major-general, but would

\* "Ma lo hanno altrettanto perverso i predicatori, seduttori e perturbatori della pubblica quiete. Si vuole che sia un effetto delle loro prediche la sollevazione scandalosa nella contea di York;" &c. &c.

have had the grade of lieutenant-general a long while ago, but for the death of the Duke of Zell, which subverted all military promotion, when those territories passed to the present King of England. Concerning this paragraph, I request your Excellency to answer me something that I can show, to convince him that I really wrote.

London,  $\frac{17}{28}$  June 1715.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

The King takes pleasure in the advices which I communicate to him, not receiving many from that quarter. [the Ambassador Trono] which would be the most fitting. I find that the resident Vincenti has gratuitously written a letter in my favour to the Senate; this I attribute to your Excellency, as likewise the copy of the document, for which I return most humble thanks. I do not know what report the ambassador will have made, but it probably contained more of justice than of favour. Since my arrival here he bestirs himself, and I fancy he stands in awe of me; this I regret, for several reasons. Had the King been but able to go to Germany, I might then have had it in my power to serve my country without causing jealousy, and without any danger, lest the party consisting of his Excellency's friends and relations, should take amiss what little I might have done. At any rate, I do not meddle with his commissions, and provided I can effect anything advantageous for the Republic, I shall do so without scruple, because I consider this to be the duty of a citizen. On Sunday night his Excellency [Trono] departed on a long journey, and was to return last evening or this morning.

I subsequently became acquainted with an idea of the ambassador's [Trono], who purposes manufacturing grenades of his own invention, with which to burn the sails of the enemy's ship. If practicable, it would be a fine device. He also thinks of raising levies of Irishmen. I might with greater ease have obtained embodied regiments, and had hinted to the ministers that it would be a political hit to cede them to the Republic, as they might be Jacobites; but afterwards I was compelled by persons of prudence to change my opinion, as all the troops of England receive high pay, and the passage would cost a mint of money. In addition to the impeachment of Bolingbroke and Oxford, the House of Commons, on Tuesday evening,\* by a majority of 47, also impeached the Duke of Ormond; and some of the Whigs themselves refused to vote. In the meanwhile the motion is carried, and on Wednesday the Earl of Strafford was accused of having infringed the laws, but not to the extent of the other three.

To say the truth I regret these proceedings, and the King had in fact adopted more clement maxims; and it was his intention to mix and blend the two parties; but before he set foot in London, a German counsellor persuaded him to attach himself to the Whigs, who, blinded against the Tories, seek to revenge themselves on the late ministry, in the fashion witnessed from day to day, and there is great danger of bloodshed at the commencement of this reign. The result of the Committee of Secrecy has been published, and I believe that I shall be able to enclose a compendium of it for your Excellency in this letter.

In all my daily conversations with the King, whether walking in the garden or at supper, he always talks to me of crossing the channel in the autumn. His ministers are of a contrary opinion. We shall see who will win.

London,  $\frac{21 \text{ June}}{2 \text{ July}}$  1715.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

The impeachment of the late ministry was put into the King's head by the present ministry with apparent zeal for his service, but I believe for

\* The date of Ormond's impeachment was 21st June.

the purpose, in reality, of taking revenge on the opposite party and putting it down. By degrees the thing made such progress that, although it was wished to spare the Duke of Ormond, they were unable to do so by reason of his haughtiness, as he never would humble himself to the King, and at least protest against the acclamations of the populace, so he has been obliged to give way and withdraw to France, showing that he was ill-intentioned. His Majesty was really not of a humour to injure any one, but the counsel of impassioned ministers prevailed with him. The Duke of Marlboro' and his son-in-law Sunderland, Lord Townshend, Stanhope, and Walpole, aided by the Germans, Bothmar and Bernsdorf, have managed the great trial, and likewise direct all the other principal affairs of the kingdom, and I find that this monarch, who in Germany did everything of himself without even asking the advice of his ministers, acts here quite in a contrary fashion, and does nothing without consultation.

Shrewsbury will be out of danger if he continues to resign himself to his fate as at present. He has good friends at Court and the King himself favours him.

London,  $\frac{5}{6}$  August 1715.

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