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978-1-108-06057-8 - Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Relating to English Affairs: Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, and in Other Libraries of Northern Italy: Volume 3: 1520–1526

Edited and Translated by Rawdon Lubbock Brown

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Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Relating to English Affairs

This is the third volume in a seven-volume collection – published in nine parts between 1864 and 1890 – comprising Venetian and other northern Italian state papers relating to England. Translator and editor Rawdon Lubbock Brown (1806–83) lived for many years in Venice, had unrivalled access to the Venetian archives and travelled widely to find documents in other Italian libraries and archives. He had previously published two volumes of Sebastian Giustinian's dispatches to Venice from Henry VIII's court (also reissued in this series). This third volume contains documents from the years 1520–26, a time when Henry VIII was a powerful figure in European politics: his meeting with the king of France at the Field of the Cloth of Gold is recounted here. The editor's preface puts the various documents into historical context, and there is also an appendix of miscellaneous items, including papal letters.

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VOLUME 3: 1520–1526

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VOL. III.

1520—1526.  
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EDITED BY

RAWDON BROWN.

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P R E F A C E.



THE last entry in the second volume of the Venetian Calendar recorded an English prophecy concerning Charles the Fifth.¹ It was derived from Sanuto's Diaries, which also supply this continuation of the work with more minute details of the Emperor's first visit to England, than can be found in any other narrative hitherto published.

The first volume of the Calendar gave an account of the English adventures of Philip the Handsome and Queen Juana, in 1506, as described in the letters of Vincenzo Querini. The Venetian correspondence preserved by Sanuto acquaints us most accurately with the reception given to their son by Henry VIII. in 1520.

In alluding to this event the chronicler Hall writes, that amongst the personages of the Emperor's retinue "one ladie as chief to be noted was the princes Avinion."²

From Sanuto we learn that this "princes Avinion" was no other than Princess or Queen of Aragon. Germaine de Foix (the sister of Gaston) became the wife of Ferdinand the Catholic King of Aragon in 1505, and after his death, though the fact is disputed by Varillas and others,

¹ As Sanuto's original Diaries were restored to Venice last October, I caused the prophecy (which is in Sanuto's own hand) to be photographed, and one of the specimens thus obtained may be seen in the Library of the Record Office.

² P. 604, edition London, 1809.

she married John of Brandenburg, the younger brother of Casimir. The marriage took place at Barcelona early in March 1519, and after the death of John of Brandenburg, which occurred in Spain in the summer of 1525, Germaine chose for her third husband the Duke of Calabria.

The marriage was consummated at Seville in 1526, as stated by the author of the “Cortigiano,” who remarks, “*s’ el letto non sarà molto grande, nè l’ uno nè l’ altro averà freddo.*”

When Germaine de Foix arrived in England she may perhaps have been fat, lame, and ugly, as asserted by Sanuto and Castiglione; but on a variety of accounts she was one of the most remarkable of royal and state personages of the period. Her reception at Canterbury by Mary Tudor, the loss of whose hand had so much irritated the youthful Charles of Burgundy in his 15th year,¹ will have enabled the two ex-queens to compare notes about the courtship of grandfather and grandson; whilst the young Emperor, calling to mind the changes effected within the last five years, on finding himself in the presence of Mary Tudor, and pondering the preference given by her, first to Louis XII., and then to Charles Brandon, will perhaps no longer have regretted the disappointment experienced by him in 1514.

From Canterbury and Charles V. we pass to the “Field of Cloth of Gold.” The pageants on that occasion are minutely detailed by various Italian eye-witnesses, and a compliment paid by one of them to the temporary palace at Guisnes is especially worthy of notice, as it places the builders of England on a par with Leonardo da Vinci, who died at Fontainebleau in May 1519.

¹ See Venetian Calendar, vol. ii. p. 201.

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From Mr. Brewer's Calendar (vol. ii. part ii. p. 1443) it appears that in August 1509 one William Vertu was in the service of Henry VIII.; and from the Camden Society Publications¹ we learn that Sir Edward Belknap was charged with the construction of the palace at Guisnes, and other buildings at the Field of Cloth of Gold, and that he or his colleague Sir Nicholas Vaux wrote to Cardinal Wolsey requesting that "Vertue the Kinge's "maister mason may be sent over." So long as our own countrymen alone eulogized the King's house at Guisnes, much might be ascribed to national vanity; but when an Italian declares it worthy of the greatest and most universal artist of the age, it would be desirable to ascertain what degree of credit is due to the Royal Commissioners, Sir Nicholas Vaux, Sir Edward Belknap, and Sir William Sands, and how far they were indebted for their success to the working man, the King's master mason, William Vertue, whom we would fain claim for an Englishman, although the name seems to indicate a French origin.

After the interview of the "Field of Cloth of Gold," Henry VIII. held his second conference with the Emperor from the 10th to the 14th of July, at Calais, on which occasion a female artist in the service of the King presented the Emperor with his own portrait. She may have been an Englishwoman, as well skilled in painting as Vertue was in architecture. But I am inclined to believe that she was an Italian, named Alice Carmeliano, niece of Henry VIII.'s Latin secretary, a Milanese,² of which province Pietro Carmeliano was a native, and owned allegiance to Ludovic Sforza, Duke of Milan.³

¹ "Rutland Papers," p. 55. "The Chronicle of Calais," p. 81.

² See "Trevelyan Papers," Camden Society Publication, pp. 144–148, 160, 161.

³ See Calendar, vol. ii. p. 578.

The nephew of Catharine of Aragon was more popular with the English than his rival King Francis; and a remark made by Lord Leonard Grey on the return of the Court confirms the belief that the nobility of England were not brought over to the French interests by their recent intercourse with the chivalry of France. Both nations were jealous and suspicious of each other, as was shown by the new works undertaken at Calais and Ardres immediately after the interview; and in May 1521 the Venetian ambassador writes from Dijon that the Emperor's sole ally was the King of England. At the same period a demonstration was made in London against Luther, briefly described in the Cottonian MS. as the "Pope's sentence against Martin Luther, published in London on the 12th May 1521." The Venetian secretary who was in London at the time gives a much fuller account of the circumstance, adding that on the gates of St. Paul's Cardinal Wolsey then affixed two legatine bulls, above one of which was added in an unknown hand,

" Bulla Bullæ ambæ amicullæ."

The other was headed in like manner with the words,

" Araine [Arachne?] ante tubam."¹

Wolsey, it appears, was not a little exasperated by these lampoons, and the insinuations conveyed by them. Though the hypothesis may seem startling to some, I am inclined to think that there is in these lines a tacit allusion to the King's early connexion with Anne Boleyn and to Wolsey's anxiety for the divorce. Be that as it may, Leo X. died on the 1st December 1521, and on the

¹ These words (like the prophecy) have been photographed from Sanuto's original autograph, and the fac-simile may be seen in the Library of the Record Office.

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9th January 1522 Adrian Florent, a native of Utrecht, who assumed the title of Adrian VI., was elected as his successor. If any negotiations had already been in progress with Leo X. with a view of repudiating Catharine, they would now be rendered fruitless. The new Pope had been tutor to Charles of Burgundy, was a virtuous prelate and a staunch imperialist. His conscience and his politics alike forbade him to persecute the kinswoman of his pupil. Adrian died in September 1523, and was succeeded by Clement VII., whose equity and justice, for which contemporaneous biographers give him credit, were often disadvantageously counterbalanced by constitutional cowardice. The union between the Empire and England gave way to apprehensions caused by the victory of Pavia in 1525; and the sack of Rome, in 1527, converted these apprehensions into open hostility. At the close of the year, on the release of the Pope from Castle St. Angelo, we have documentary evidence of an official demand for the dissolution of the marriage.¹ We learn also from the Diaries of Sanuto that in December 1527 there arrived in London the Papal Nuncio Staphileo, of whom the Pope remarked at a later period, that “he it was who had led the King of England this dance;” the sequel and close of which are too trite and notorious to need further comment. But the historian has yet much to learn concerning the King’s matrimonial speculations during the seventeen years which preceded the sack of Rome.

At the commencement of the year following, 1521, in the conferences held beyond the Channel, there were reports of a league set on foot at Rome between Leo X., Henry

¹ “State Papers,” vol. vii. pp. 29–36.

VIII., and Francis I.; whilst at Worms a Dominican preacher was expatiating on the necessity of opposing Martin Luther, and urging the Emperor to march into Italy. The English envoy Carew assured Francis that the Emperor had no such intention. But a rupture between the two powers was imminent. The proffered mediation of England seems to have been sincere; but every now and then suspicions arose of French intrigues in Scotland; and in Germany reports of the Emperor's Italian expedition continued, although the insurrections in Spain rendered it improbable. In the spring of 1521 the general topics were, the chance of war between Charles and Francis, and the successful attack on the Popedom by Martin Luther. At home, towards the end of March, we find Henry VIII. recommending his kinsman Reginald Pole to the Republic of Venice, as Pole intended to enter himself at the University of Padua; but after the arrest and execution of the young student's uncle, the King modified his recommendation, and gave the first signs of that jealousy which caused him to persecute Pole until the close of his reign.

The mediation of Henry VIII. for the purpose of preventing war between the Emperor and France, continued, and immediately after the execution of the Duke of Buckingham, of which event we have important details in this volume, Sir Richard Wyngfield arrived at Worms precisely three days before the death of the Imperial Prime Minister De Chièvres, who was succeeded by the Imperial Chancellor, the Piedmontese Gattinara. Whilst De Chièvres had favoured the French alliance, Gattinara openly proclaimed his intention of making war on France, and commenced his ministry by seizing on the Milanese and conferring it on Francesco Sforza. Henry

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VIII. wished to pacify the two rivals; but his ideas of vassalage made him resent the rebellion of Robert de la Marck, who, at the instigation of Francis I., had taken up arms against his liege lord. Such was the assertion made by the English envoy Spinelli. Of his colleague, Sir Richard Wyngfield, Gasparo Contarini has furnished a variety of curious and interesting notices. To the facts already known in connexion with this able negotiator, I am now enabled to add the following particulars on the authority of Contarini. Sir Richard joined Sir Tommaso Spinelli at Worms on the 23rd May 1521; on the following 22nd June he left Brussels and visited England, returning to Brussels in the second week of July. At the close of that month he quitted Ghent to meet Wolsey at Calais; he accompanied the Cardinal to Bruges, and remained with the Emperor until the middle of January 1522. In May 1522 we again find him at the Imperial Court. At Antwerp he was employed in arranging the marriage of the Princess Mary with Charles V., whom he accompanied to England, and on the 24th May 1525, he again presented himself to the Emperor at Toledo, where he died almost immediately after. The speed with which Sir Richard Wyngfield performed his manifold missions, caused the Italians to pun upon his name, which they converted into "*Volante*," and the heralds of the same period, in allusion to the active services of the three brothers blazoned the heraldic shields of the Wyngfields with three wings, which are still borne by the family, of whom Lord Powerscourt is the present representative.

I have been led to say this much of the partial uses to which the despatches of Gasparo Contarini may be applied, with regard to biographical notices of English worthies. But they are valuable for other reasons. His

quick perceptions of individual character were surpassed by the soundness of his views as a statesman and politician. As many of the most important extracts in the present volume illustrating the foreign policy of England are derived from his despatches, some notice of their writer may not be unacceptable.

Gasparo Contarini, born October 16th 1483, was the son of a great trader in the Levant, who married Polissena Malipiero. His father Luigi designed him for a merchant; but perceiving that his son was of a studious disposition he entrusted the education of Gasparo to eminent scholars and professors at Venice, among others to the historian Sabellico, from whom he learnt Latin. Under Antonio Giustinian and Lorenzo Bragadin, Gasparo applied himself to logic. In 1501, at the age of 18, he was sent to the university of Padua, where he studied Greek under Musuro, and philosophy under the celebrated Pietro Pomponaccio, whose tenets were opposed by Gasparo Contarini in 1516, in an anonymous work, entitled "*De immortalitate animæ.*" The Dominican Francesco da Nardo was Contarini's professor of metaphysics. After his education was completed, we find him, in 1519, employed by the Republic as Proveditor in the Polesine, where he acted most ably as a land surveyor. He was subsequently bailiff and captain at Rovigo, and was sent into the territory of Bassano, where he displayed his knowledge of irrigation by constructing a water conduit for that province. Thence he passed to Padua, and his skill in hydraulics was again demonstrated by the dykes which he raised to prevent the inundation of the Adige.

Such were the studies and such the pursuits which prepared the nobility of Venice for diplomacy. On the

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24th September the Senate appointed Gasparo ambassador to Charles V. In Flanders he made the acquaintance of Wolsey, of Sir Thomas More, of Pace and the Wyngfields. On the sands at Dover he received his first greeting from Henry VIII. In Spain he again fell in with Sir Richard Wyngfield, of whose death at Toledo he makes mention.

A fortnight after the death of Sir Richard Wyngfield, Gasparo Contarini took leave of the Emperor, and arrived at Venice. During his absence he had been elected sage for the main land, and senator and captain of Brescia, which last post he did not accept. In October 1527 he went as ambassador to the Duke of Ferrara, at whose court he met Sir Gregory Casal, who then exhibited the “large commission” (Preface, Vol. I., p. lxxxvi.) lately received at Amiens from Wolsey, and in accordance with which, Gasparo Contarini likewise persuaded the Duke to join the league against the Emperor.

The success of the joint negotiations of Contarini and Casal, and the necessity for keeping them secret, are recorded in the files of the Council of Ten.

At the commencement of 1528 Gasparo Contarini was appointed ambassador to Clement VII. immediately after the Pope’s release from St. Angelo, and remained in this capacity at the Papal Court from May 1528 until December 1529. During that period he again met Sir Gregory Casal, and learnt from him many particulars about the divorce of Henry VIII. He also made the acquaintance of Gardyner and Bryan, and renewed that which he had formed in Flanders with Peter Vannes. When the Emperor entered Bologna on the 4th November 1529, Contarini went to meet him, and was most graciously received by his Majesty, who would by no means allow the ambassador to dismount.

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On the 31st December 1529, the Republic of Venice accredited Contarini as ambassador to the Emperor for the second time, and on the 8th March 1530, he reported his proceedings from the spring of 1528. In 1530 Gasparo Contarini was sage of the Council, Chief of the Ten, and “*Riformatore*” or “*Superintendent*” of the University of Padua. The Republic was at length deprived of his valuable services by Paul III., who in March 1535, made this most able of the Signory’s diplomatists a Cardinal of the Church of Rome. On the receipt of the news at Venice Luigi Mocenigo exclaimed, “These priests have robbed us of the best nobleman in this city.”

In 1536 Cardinal Contarini was appointed Bishop of Belluno; and in 1540 at the suit of Charles V., the Pope sent him as apostolic legate to the diet of Ratisbon. Desirous of reconciling the Catholics and Protestants, the Emperor ordered a book to be published containing the disputed points for discussion by both parties, and the Legate Contarini was appointed to decide the questions contained in one of the many works concerning “*The Form of Concord*,” but this he declined to do, referring the settlement to the Pope or to the general council. Although accused of leaning too much to the opinions of the Reformers and imperilling the Papal authority, he justified himself so completely, that in 1542 Paul III. conferred on him the Legation of Bologna, and on the 7th August in that year he was accredited ambassador to the Emperor. He died the 24th of that month of inflammation, in the monastery outside Bologna, called Santa Maria del Monte. His remains were deposited in the church of St. Procolo, and finally, in December 1565, removed to the church of the Madonna dell’ Orto at Venice, where in the Contarini chapel, his

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bust, by the famous sculptor Vittoria, may yet be seen.
The inscription follows :—

GASPARIS CONTARENI,
S. R. E. CARD.
OSSA
CVIVS ADMIRANDAM INTEGRITATEM,
DOCTRINAM, AC ELOQVENTIAM, IN
VTRAQ. REP. ET APVD SVMMOS REGES,
GESTA, ET SCRIPTA, TESTANTVR.
BONONIÆ LEGAT. PONTIF.
NATVRÆ CESSIT
M.D. XLII.
VIXIT ANNOS LIX.
ALOYSIVS ÆQVES, ET GASP.
EX FRATRE NEPOT.
TANTO VIRO.¹

Amongst the many works composed by Gasparo Contarini, was one entitled, “*Responsio ad Apologiam Francisci Georgij*,” which doubtless confuted Friar Georgio’s arguments in favour of the divorce demanded by Henry VIII. The work no longer exists; but like his official despatches, it connects him with England, whilst his familiar letters addressed to Reginald Pole form another link between England and this illustrious Venetian.

To return to my narrative. A fortnight after the appearance of the lampoons at St. Paul’s, Henry VIII. and his prime minister received from Charles V. the instrument of compromise, appointing them judges of his disputes with France. In July Francis accepted the mediation of England, and on the 2nd of August Wolsey landed at Calais. The Venetian Ambassador remarks that the English Sovereign was certainly desirous of peace, remembering how much the treasure left him

¹ See “*Inscrizioni Veneziane raccolte ed illustrate da Emmanuele Antonio Cigogna*,” vol ii. pp. 226, 227, *et seq.*

by his father had been diminished by the last war with France; and because England was still agitated by the fall of Buckingham. On the 5th of August Wolsey opened the conference, announcing that he had been sent by his master to make peace between his nephew the Emperor and his brother the King of France. The Papal Nuncio approved of the project, and then followed a long debate between the Chancellors of the Emperor and of King Francis, Gattinara and Duprat. The first sitting was terminated by a proposal from Wolsey to make a truce, as a preliminary to negotiations for peace; and the conference then adjourned.

Before the arrival of Wolsey at Calais, his intention to hold a personal interview with the Emperor was already known at Ghent, and on the day preceding the first conference, when the Cardinal gave a dinner to the Imperial Commissioners, his bias in favour of their master was evident. On the night of the 2nd August, when the news of Wolsey's arrival at Calais reached Ghent, Charles V. immediately sent congratulations to him on the event by a deputation, the chief member of which, although a Neapolitan, was well acquainted with the foreign policy of England. Giambatista Spinelli, Count of Cariati, had been constantly employed by the Emperor Maximilian both as governor of Verona and also on diplomatic missions¹ in Italy and Flanders; he had been in communication with Pace, Wyngfield, Sir Thomas Spinelli (the Florentine), and other envoys in the service of England. For these reasons Charles V. made choice of him to compliment Cardinal Wolsey and escort him from Calais to Bruges. But on hearing that the Emperor's general, the Count of Nassau, had taken Bouillon from Robert de la Marck,

See Mr. Brewer's Calendar (1509–1518) *passim*.

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Wolsey considering this an infringement of the seven weeks' truce, re-called his baggage-waggon, already on their way to the Imperial Court, and refused to proceed.

Contarini has left us details of his reception by the Emperor not found in Cavendish.

Wolsey was accompanied by the Lucchese Peter Vannes (whom we still find in the diplomatic service of England in the reign of Queen Mary), and by Sir Thomas More; but from neither of them could Contarini elicit any information beyond the assurance that the negotiations had no other object except to effect peace between the Emperor and Francis. By a letter from Wolsey to Henry VIII.,¹ it will be seen in how haughty a manner he treated the King of Denmark, who, as we learn from Contarini, had refused to attend him on his entry. But the English minister's resentment did not proceed solely from personal vanity. Already in 1518, as we know on the authority of Sebastian Giustinian, the Danish King had provoked the Cardinal's resentment by attempting to negotiate a league with France to the detriment of England. So far Wolsey's proud and haughty bearing was patriotic; and that he had a good memory for any disrespect shown to his country was again demonstrated in 1523 when the fugitive King Christian having been hospitably received at Calais, Wolsey gave as a reason that thus had it been done, "more out of regard for his alliance with the Emperor, than from any kindness he had ever shown to England." Finally in June 1524, Wolsey's sense of the national supremacy is recorded by the Imperial Chancellor Gattinara, who said that to effect it, and prevent the Emperor from seeming superior to his King, Wolsey would not scruple to ruin the universe.

¹ "State Papers," vol. i., pp. 36, 38.

In the letter following the one which contains the account of his interview with the King of Denmark at Bruges, Wolsey acquaints Henry VIII. with the arrangements made for the marriage of the Princess Mary to the Emperor, and under that same date, 19th August 1521, Gasparo Contarini makes a shrewd guess at the event in the following passage :—“ On the day before, the Emperor “ and Wolsey went in great state to the Church of St. “ James, patron of the order of S. Jago di Compostella, “ his Imperial Majesty being clad in gold brocade,” a material which Contarini had never seen him wear on the highest holydays. The mass chaunted on the occasion was that of the Holy Ghost, which caused the Papal Nuncio Caracciolo, who was Contarini’s neighbour at the ceremony, to remark upon the fact, and to infer that the Imperialists had already concluded the business,—that the French would be topsyturvy. But as the Emperor appeared more calm and tranquil than he had been of late, his confessor held out hopes of a peace, which he said was zealously sought by Wolsey, whose sketch of the Emperor at this same period represents him as “ very wise for his age and well understanding his affairs “ —right cold and temperate in speech, with assured “ manner, couching his words right well, and to good pur- “ pose when he doth speak.”¹ The Imperial Chancellor declares that Wolsey expected to find Charles V. a lad in leading-strings, such as he had been under De Chièvres, whose subserviency to France rendered his master contemptible; but Gattinara assured Contarini that for the future there would be neither peace nor truce between the Emperor and the French unless better terms were offered. The

¹ See “ State Papers,” vol. vi., p. 85. Wolsey to King Henry VIII., Gravelines, August 28, 1521.

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Papal Nuncio Caracciolo already foresaw that Henry VIII. would take part with his nephew. As the negotiations were conducted exclusively by the Emperor, the Lady Margaret, Gattinara, and Wolsey, the result of the conference could only be surmised. At length, on the 20th August 1521 the two Papal Nuncios were summoned to attend the conference. Wolsey continued strenuously to advocate peace, but the Emperor told him that Leo X., whom he could not disappoint, was the person who rejected both peace and truce.¹ The Nuncio Caracciolo resented this remark; nevertheless he ratified it by telling Wolsey that the Pope would not desert his partizans; whilst the Emperor on his part rejected an offer made by the Cardinal in the name of Francis, of a portion of the Venetian territories, and, determining to keep faith with the Pope, he turned a deaf ear to all overtures.

On the 26th August, Cardinal Wolsey quitted Bruges, having had good opportunity for studying the character of the Emperor, who, though no longer in a state of pupillage, did not dispense with the advice of his council.

Wolsey remained negotiating at Calais until the close of November. Immediately on arriving in England he received news of the death of Leo X., and thereupon despatched Pace to Rome. Simultaneously we hear from Ghent "that the treaty between the Emperor and the King of England might be considered as settled." It is probable that Wolsey gave the finishing stroke to it, having been cajoled by promises of Imperial support in his canvass for the Papal tiara; but the nominee of Charles V., from the commencement of the contest, was in reality the Cardinal de' Medici, who, as the prime minister

¹ See also text, p. 400, for confirmation from the Emperor's own lips.

of Leo X., had persuaded the Emperor to attempt the expulsion of the French from Italy. At a later period Charles alluded to these persuasions of the Cardinal, when he had occasion to vituperate him, as Clement VII., for his ingratitude :—

“His Holiness is well aware, how, being a youth, and scarcely knowing what I was about, I entered on this war for him alone : I do not say for Pope Leo, but for him, for he ruled Pope Leo. Nor were the mutual injuries between the King of France and myself of such a nature as to preclude adjustment ; but at his instigation I waged the war ; and he has had very good proof how far one and the other of us may be trusted.”

The Emperor had then been suffering from ague for many months ; but though ill at ease in mind and body his courage did not fail him, and he said a few days later to the Florentine envoy at Madrid :—

“I am expecting bad news both from Milan and Naples ; but I care not the least in the world ; I shall go into Italy, and thus have a fairer opportunity to obtain my own and take my revenge on those who have wronged me, most especially on that poltroon the Pope. Some day or other Martin Luther will, perhaps, become a man of worth.”¹

A fortnight after this ebullition of resentment the expectation of sinister intelligence was dispelled by the victory of Pavia ; and two years later the sack of Rome requited Charles V. for the ingratitude of Cardinal de' Medici, whose canvass for the Popedom in 1522 had proved no less unsuccessful than that of Cardinal Wolsey.

On the 27th May 1522, Charles V. embarked at Calais for Dover ; and from the letters of Gasparo Contarini we have a minute account of all that befell him in England from that day until his departure from Southampton for St.

¹ See text, p. 400.

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Ander, on the 5th July. The accounts of the English Court, both by Contarini himself and by the Imperial ministers, are frank and unreserved. The Chancellor's bad opinion of Wolsey was confirmed by Pedro Ruiz de la Mota, Bishop of Palencia, who pronounced the Cardinal a marvellous busy-body and detestably arrogant, adding, nevertheless, that his bidding must be done. However unamiable he may have appeared to the Imperialists, the supremacy of the prime minister of England could not be disputed. The rupture with France being formally announced in May by Sir Thomas Cheney, who then took leave of King Francis, Clarencieux proclaimed war at Lyons on the 28th of the same month. On its passage towards Spain in July, the Imperial squadron received news from an advice-boat of the attack on Morlaix and St. Paul de Leon by the Earl of Surrey and Sir Richard Wyngfield, who seems to have combined the soldier with the diplomatist.

From St. Ander to Aguilar, the Venetian and the Piedmontese, Contarini and Gattinara, travelled together, and the Imperial Chancellor, discussing English politics, expressed his belief that King Henry would persevere in the war with France, for the sake of making himself master of Scotland, and obtaining possession of his sister Margaret and her son. He taxed Wolsey with irreligion and rapacity, of which last defect he quoted the following instance. Whilst the alliance with the Emperor was in course of negotiation, Wolsey, he said, did not scruple to demand of the Emperor for himself and some other personages of the English Court, an annual pension of 22,000 ducats, saying that such was the amount hitherto received by them from France, and the Emperor promised compliance with this demand. Gattinara also said that Wolsey's offers to settle the disputes between the Emperor and the

Signory proceeded solely from a desire to obtain some pecuniary acknowledgment. In conclusion, to win the good graces of his Venetian companion, he vituperated the embargo laid on the Flanders galleys, vowing that the Emperor would never have acted so unfairly; and he expressed a suspicion that were any pretext afforded, the property of the Venetian merchants in England, and the galleys also, would be seized. Although the Imperial Chancellor did not think highly of Wolsey, the alliance with England continued, nor do we hear anything of the divorce, either from Rome or Spain, although in November 1522 Sir Thomas Boleyn arrived as ambassador at Valladolid, together with Richard Sampson, and strongly urged the prosecution of the war with France.

On the 3rd August 1523, a league and confederacy for the defence of Italy were agreed upon between Adrian VI. the Emperor, the King of England, the Signory of Venice, the Archduke of Austria, the Duke of Milan, the Cardinal de' Medici, the Florentines, and the community of Genoa. On the following 24th September the Pope died, and was succeeded by Cardinal de' Medici, who assumed the title of Clement VII. The French immediately appeared under Milan, but recrossed the Alps in the spring of 1524, returning in the autumn, under the command of Francis, who took up his quarters in Milan and immediately commenced the siege of Pavia, where he was captured by the Imperialists on the 24th February 1525. From the accession of Clement VII. until that event, the Emperor had ceased to place any faith in his allies, but he did not as yet seek to annul his betrothal to the Princess Mary, although two months before the tide turned in his favour he was much amused at hearing her compared to an "owl" by the famous papal diplomatist Nicholas Schomberg, Archbishop of Capua. Whilst

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the Archbishop was negotiating for Clement VII. at Madrid in December 1524, he strongly urged the Emperor to prefer the Princess of Portugal to Mary Tudor, who he said would never marry his Majesty, neither would she find a husband in France, as although Henry might desire the connexion, the English would have a King of their own. In time of war, he continued, they made the same use of their Princess as they did of an "owl," as a decoy for alluring the smaller birds. The Emperor not understanding the simile, asked the Archbishop what he meant by the "owl," and when the parallel was explained to him, he laughed heartily, nor did he seem to disapprove of the hint thus jocosely given.

The betrothal of Mary Tudor was considered valid until after the unexpected victory of Pavia, the news of which reached Madrid on the 10th March 1525. One of the first foreign ministers who presented himself at the Old Alcazar of the Moors,¹ to offer congratulations on this event, was Gasparo Contarini. He found the Emperor pacing a gallery and conversing with the Chancellor Gattinara, Mons. de Bresse, and Mons. de la Chau. Seven or eight times the Emperor passed from one end of the corridor to the other, discoursing the whole time. At length, on approaching a window, he called Contarini to him, and received his congratulations most graciously, saying, amongst other things, that he owed the victory to God alone, who, knowing his good will,

¹ The Alcazar was destroyed by fire on Christmas eve 1734, but in the MS. diary of Francesco Contarini, who travelled through Spain in the year 1581, it is stated that the Alcazar then consisted of two quadrangles, between which was the Chapel Royal; fronting the palace was a large square, having at its extremity the stables, and over them was the armoury containing all the body and horse armour of Charles V., and also the armour and weapons used by Francis I. at the battle of Pavia. (See original autograph diary of Francesco Contarini, *penes me.*)

had rewarded him far beyond his deserts. The Emperor chose it at once to be distinctly understood that he owed nothing to his allies.¹

On the day after receiving the news from Pavia, Charles V., clad in a black frieze cape and jerkin, without any mark of rejoicing, attended high mass, and listened to a sermon, the text of which was :—

“Laudamini nomen Dei vestri quia fecit nobiscum mirabilia.”

The Chancellor Gattinara did not conceal his ill opinion of the assistance received from Henry VIII., and said openly in the presence of the Nuncio Castiglione, Contarini, and others, that he knew not what the English would do, or what inclination they might have to make war on a prostrate foe. To the Genoese alone the Emperor expressed some obligation. In reply to the congratulations of their ambassador, he said that he understood how once upon a time they had wished to give themselves to old King Lewis of France, who declined the offer, saying he gave them to the Devil, because they were so changeable. The Emperor added ironically, “and in like manner at this present, I can say that, if not by Genoa, I have been well served by the whole of Italy,” implying that with the exception of Genoa all the Italian powers had betrayed him. Even this solitary exception was accidental. Antoniotto Adorno had no greater scruples about

¹ The character given by Gasparo Contarini from first to last bears throughout the stamp of truth: the confessor of Charles V. in 1521, knew his penitent well, and gave a sober and impartial account of him, when he said that he was endowed with every virtue, his only defect being that with difficulty could he “forget injuries.” This opinion was transmitted to the Signory by Contarini from Ghent on the 30th July 1521, immediately after a conversation with the Emperor’s confessor, whom he styles a Franciscan friar resident at his monastery there. (See text, p. 151.)