XVII.—*Letters from Sir Henry Wotton to King James I. and others.—Communicated by C. KNIGHT WATSON, Esq. M.A. Secretary, in a Letter to A. W. Franks, Esq. Director.*

Communicated January 30, 1862, and April 30, 1863.

MY DEAR FRANKS,

THE following Letters need but little introduction on my part. They may be left to tell their own story, and may be useful to illustrate or to correct the history of the period to which they belong. I am indebted to one who is most conversant with that history^a for the headings prefixed, within brackets, to such of the letters as seemed to him to require some such elucidation. For the letters themselves, and for permission to transcribe them, the Society is under obligations to Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and in particular to the courtesy of the Rev. Frederick Chalker, who filled the office of Librarian at that college in the year 1861, when I was allowed access to the valuable collection under his charge. The volume containing them is thus designated in Coxe's *Catalogus Codicum MSS. qui in Collegiis Aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie adservantur*. Pars. ii. 160, "cccxviij. Codex Chartaceus, in folio, ff. 229, sec. xvij. Ricardi Davis de Sandford Collectaneorum volumen secundum." The series of Wotton Letters is immediately preceded by one from Henry VIII. to Secretary Knight^b. So far as I can ascertain, the letters here published are unedited. Their number might easily have been increased from other quarters, and especially from the Collection of State Papers in the Record Office. The present specimens, however, go far to cover the ground occupied by the writer in his diplomatic capacity at Venice and the Hague, while the last of them gives us a glimpse into his private life.

Sir Henry Wotton was ambassador at the Hague, it will be remembered, for a few months of the year 1615, and was thrice appointed ambassador to Venice, viz.,

^a Samuel Rawson Gardiner, Esq. author of the "History of England, 1603-1616."

^b Printed in Proceedings, 2nd series, vol. ii. p. 262.

in 1604, 1615, and 1621. Though historical compositions would themselves be cramped for space, and otherwise unseasonable in the pages of the *Archæologia*, the *materials* of history come distinctly within the scope of the operations for which the Society of Antiquaries was founded. On this ground I abstain from attempting to give any general view of the condition of Europe and the policy of England, at the time when Sir Henry Wotton was so disheartened with the one and so discomfited in his endeavours to carry out the other. Such a view must be looked for elsewhere, and will certainly be seen with greater distinctness by one who has the assistance of these letters in pursuing the inquiry.

Believe me, My dear Franks, yours very truly,

C. KNIGHT WATSON.

I.—JAMES I. TO SIR HENRY WOTTON.

[A transcript.]

[July 16, 1606.]

JAMES REX.

Trustie and welbeloved wee greete yo^w well Suche and soe manie are yo^r dispatches wth w^{ch} our Secretarie dothe acquainte us beinge directed to him wth other in particuler to our owne Person that wee thinke it not sufficient onely to acquainte yo^w by his Relation wth owre extraordinarie approbation of yo^r zeale faithe and discretion wthout the confirmation thereof under owre owne hande assuringe yo^w that they are not onely acceptable to us for the watchful eye yo^w have towards oure saftie and the good of our state but are so interlaced wth variety off occurents remarkeable and proper for Princes whose state is subject to the envy of equalls, and whose constancie in Religion is more then a moate in the eyes of the comon adversarie As wee doe acknowledge that wee reade not anie forraigne Dispatches from any our Ministers wth better contentation. Procede therefore as yo^w have begunne, and knowe yo^w serve a prince that can both judge of meritt and make demonstration when time shall serve. Given under oure signe at oure Manor of Greenwiche, the 16th day of Julie, 1606, in the fourthe yeare of oure raigne of Great Brittan France and Irelande.

Superscription,

To oure trustie and welbeloved Sr Henry Wotton,

Knight, oure Amb^r Resident wth the state of

Venice.

[*In dorso*] K. Jam. 16 Jul. 1606.

II.—SIR HENRY WOTTON TO JAMES I.

[The following letter was written apparently in the summer or autumn of 1606. It contains speculations on the part which would be taken by Henry IV. of France in the quarrel between Pope Paul V. and the Venetians on the subject of the claim made by the Republic over criminal priests. In February, 1607, Henry offered his mediation, and finally gave a decision, which was, in all important points, in the Pope's favour.]

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST ECCELLENT MAJESTY

Your Majesty and the Kinge of Spayne having already declared y^r resolutions in the present cause, It now remayneth to see what the French Kinge will doe.

Of the French Kinge there are foure different opinions.

1. That he will assist the Pope.
2. That he will assist the Venetians.
3. That he will assist both the Pope and the Venetians.
4. That he will assist neither the Pope nor the Venetians.

Which have all foure through his ambiguous proceeding had tyme to growe, and to bee confirmed also wth some arguments more or lesse in their generall fancies that have conceived them.

Whereof though I have formerly rendered unto y^r Majesty such a poore account as I had then understoode touchinge only the first yet I will now (wth your gracious leave) resume the p^rsumption to lay downe before y^r high wisdom in one view the reasons againe (wth some increase both of that and of the rest) as I have heere taken them upon the place.

For the first that hee will assist the Pope. It is grounded heere upon these considerations.

That the sayd kinge is olde, and his heire a child, and the legitimation questionable.

That he will seeke to leave his estates quiet and rich.

That he cannot fall from the Pope wthout breaking wth Spaine.

That of the two the partakinge wth the Venetian is the more chargeable ingagement.

That the Jesuites have much hold of him.

That the Venetians were over secure or rather supine in the begininge suffering him to bee p^roccupied by the Pope's instruments.

That Mon^s de Villeroy continueth in his ambition of a cardinalship, and doth governe the dispatches wth much advauntage, having his sonn resident in Rome.

That the French Ambassador heere is (though a gentleman otherwise of a good conscience) yet the converted of a Jesuite.

That the French Queene is of a name dignified by Popes, and herself a devotious Romanist.

That the sayd king hath taken advise to increase his party in the consistory and thereby to ballance the Spanish greatnes.

As for the conceit that came before of his affectinge the Empire by the way of Rome It is now growne heere not only cold but (under y^r Ma^{ties} pardon of my playnes) almost ridiculous, as if the Germans could bee wrought to suffer a revolution of the Empire to the Francks or that it were fitt to choose a Kinge of the Romans to succeed the Emperor as old as the Emperor himself.

For the second opinion that he will assist the Venetians, the Venetians seem to stand in hope of his assistance three wayes, by benefitt, by promise, and by reason of state.

The first hereof they urge somewhat tenderly in there discourses as conteyning a sylent obtrusion of ingratitude and of his former need of there frendship even when the King of Spayne that is now but obliquely theirs was directly his enemy,

His promise of succouringe them in their necessities they ptend not only to bee included at large in the generality of confederation, but to have been confirmed unto them after his troubles wth his corselett w^{ch} he sent them as a pledge thereof accompanied wth these words, that he would on occasion of there service passe the mountaynes and re-arme himself heere, in w^{ch} respect they have preserved it wth inscription much to that purpose amonge the rare and memorable monuments of there citty.

The reasons of State or considerations of his owne conveniency w^{ch} they conceive to bee more obligatory than other benefitts or promises are these :—

That their controversy wth the Pope is the roote of all sovereignty and the common cause of Princes.

That it hath a particular conformity wth the liberties and exemptions of the church of Fraunce.

That otherwise he shall preiudge his owne ptence and right to the kingdome of Navarra, w^{ch} his great-grandfather lost by an excommunication.

That without the subsistaunce of this state the Kinge of Spaynes greatnes will want a counterpoise in Italy.

That the cause is favoreable both to the Papists and Protestaunt of his kingdome and no feare of division.

That hee hath a faire occasion to open againe the passage of the Vale Tolina by conjunction wth the Venetians and Grisons and Protestant Cantons.

That hee can never make any sound foundation upon the friendship of any Pope whose nephewes draw out soe smale benefitt from that crowne.

That lastly he may keepe Rome alwayes in sufficient awe of him for the working of his owne designes even wth the feare of loosing the temporalities of Avinion, wth the w^{ch} reasons they have (in earnest or sport or cunnige) beene contented to cherish themselves so farr as to say that if the Dolphin should come hither wth any contrary affirmation they would crave pardon not to beleieve him.

The third opinion is that he will assist both the parties, the one wth Papists, the other wth Hugonots, either connivency as he feedeth the troubles of Flaunders or otherwise: an opinion grounded partly upon his owne speeches unto the ministers on both sydes w^{ch} have beene ambiguous, and such as hee seemed willinge they should each of them couster [*sic*] to there advantage, and partly upon the cariage of his owne instruments both heere and at Rome who have beene noted amonge there propositions of reconcilement to intermingle (as it were casually) certayne aggravations [*sic*] of the case both on the one syde and on the other to make the parties more sensible. And I must humbly protest indeed unto y^r Majesty that to all whome I have hetherto heard speake herein it hath seemed a strange position that a French King should seeke the discombringe of Italy, having so oportune a meanes to embarque the King of Spayne in more busines, and besyds to spend and vent the unquiet humors of both religions out of his owne estate.

The last opinion is that he will assist neither the one nor the other, but conserve himselfe neutrall and expect accidents. Upon w^{ch} they discourse thus—

That so hee shall save both his honor and charges.

That it shalbee alwayes seasonable enough to enter when either of the parties are in extremity.

That hee hath fitt excuses for both: As to the Pope his former obligations and confederacy with this State; to the Venetians that hee is *Il primo figliuolo della chiesa*, for so the Pope styleth him.

That hee hath likewise just expostulations wth both, as there, the oppositions against him from Sextus Quintus to the latter end of Clement the eight, and heere, that partly by the auncient leagues of this State against Fraunce and partly by there late irresolution in suffering the fort to be built in the Vale Tolina, the French have not only lost all there possession in Italy but almost all possibility of reentrance.

That for the French King's interest in the conservation of this state it shall not need much to trouble him, the Venetians having never beene so potent as at the present; and the Kinge of Spaine (upon whom the Pope maketh principall foundation) being so entangled in his owne necessities; besydes the likelyhooed that some the smaler princes (the Dukes of Mantua and Modena) will at the least stand neutrall.

Finally, that if the French Kinge can by his instruments foment these differences and keepe him self free, it will in all probability prove a subject of warr betweene the Kings of Great Brittanny [*sic*] and Spaine (beinge both declared) to the notable advauntage of France.

Thus have I out of y^r Majestys so gracious acceptance of my former p̃sumptions taken also now the liberty of a playne servaunt to entertayne your Eccellent minde wth the discourses of this place upon a kinge who hath hetherto (as one them [*sic*] sayd) beene liker an oracle then a frend: most humbly leaving unto your great wisdom (as doth become the weakenes of myne owne capacity) the judgment of the event. Only I cannot forbear (wth your Majestyes pardon) to note herein that amonge the severall reasons and inducements of this or that Prince into the cause, I have yeat heard nothinge so litle considered as the goodnes of the cause itself: religion having surely in this part of the world (as far as I can see) no more estimation as a point of conscience, but yett keeping still some credite as a point of state.

And so wth the continuall harty prayers of this poore family unto the God of Heaven for the longe preservation of your Majestyes most deare and sacred person and estates wee humbly prostrate our selves at your royall feete.

Your Majestyes most faythfull poore servant.

POSTE.—Your Maj^{tie} receaveth the present by a confident Messenger whome I have directed to my Lo. of Salisbury upon other occasion of y^r very important and secret service.

[*In dorso.*]

1606.

From Venice.

To his Ma^{tie} from S^r Hen. Wotton.

III.—SIR HENRY WOTTON TO JAMES I.

[September [?] 1614.]

[This and the three following letters were written during Wotton's short embassy at the Hague, and form a part of the same series of letters as those preserved among the State Papers at the Record Office.

The two pretenders to Cleves and Juliers, the Elector of Brandenburg and the Palatine of Neuburg, quarrelled with one another. The former, with the aid of a Dutch garrison, established himself in Juliers; the other took possession of Düsseldorf, and having declared himself a Catholic, called for the aid of Spain. Spinola, at the head of an army of 21,000, made himself master of Wesel, but he was prevented from overrunning the whole territory by Count Maurice and the Dutch, who held against him Rees and Emmerich with the neighbouring towns. Prolonged negotiations followed, with no satisfactory result; in which Wotton represented England, and urged in vain that both armies should mutually agree to withdraw from the Duchies.]

MAIE IT PLEASE YOUR SACRED MAJESTIE.

Among the papers that we loste in the fatall passadge of my Secretarye, there was a letter unto your Majestie which if I doe not revive, my harte will breake, as vessells that are stopped from vent when some thinge boyleth in them. The person whom it concerned was my self. The subject was the Towne of Wesell. The essential question is, by whose default it was lost. Wherein if I doe not satisfie your Majestie I desire never more to behold the face of so juste a Kinge nor of any honest man. But before the rest it shall be fitt to repeate these wordes, which I received in a letter from Mr. Secretarie by your gracious commandement.

Now (sayeth he) from his Majestie I am to acquaint you with a reporte which your laste letters en passant doe touche, but which to him hath bin confidently delivered, that is, the States had with as much vigilancie and expedition prevented the surprise of Wesell, as after they did of Reez and Emerick, had not you, with much assurance, often engaged yourself that the Marquis Spinola would not attempt uppon that Towne, which bruyte, though his Ma^{tie} cannot easily beleieve, etc.

First, I was bounde unto your Ma^{tie} for this particuler advertisement, For though I hadd heard before of some suche voice bestowed uppon me, yet I could gather it to noe head. Next, I yeeld your Ma^{tie} most humble thanks for the asservation of your beleeffe, which I receave as an argument of your favour towards me, though it be a peece of your owne usuall and naturall equitie. As for the matter itself, I conceive one special comforte in it. That they who told your Ma^{tie} how Wesell was lost be my securinge of the States would perchaunce likewise have sayed that I sould the Towne to the Archeduckes, if my honestie had been as questionable as my discretion. But these and the like aspersions are the proper badges of publicq servants especially in Democraticall regiments. Whereof both reason and examples might easily be given, if it did not more concerne me at the present to rectifie my poore estimation with your Ma^{tie} then to searche the nature of the place. Therefore, for myne owne dischardge, I doe heere humbly protest unto yo^r Ma^{tie}, before the author of all trueth, that I never engaged myselfe either to the States in generall or to anie single man dead or alive, either by probabilitie or conjecture, or in the least

imaginable tearmes, that the Marquis Spinola would not attempt uppon the Towne of Wesell. Soe farre was I from often assuringe them thereof as some Vorstian Spirit hath traduced me. For I beseache your Mat^{tie} to give me leave to aske a few questions in myne owne case. Howe could I give them any such assurance or whence should I take it? Did I bring any suche commission from your Mat^{tie}? Did I finde any at the Haghe? Did Spinola make me his secretarie? or the Archduke his confessor? Had I practised the world with such simplicitie to trust Italians or Spaniards in a poynt of theyre advantage? Have I purchased before so little credit in the cause of the Religion? Have I been bounde to your Maj^{tie} soe longe for your confidence (where in I joye more then in youre benefitts) and should I nowe betraie it? Did I sende any letter? Did I receave any message that might concerne the mayne service where with they were not heere particularly acquaynted? And is this a state to be stayed or stirred soe lightly by private conceytes? God let me not live if I be not confounded more with wonder then with other passion at the monstrous birthe of this senselesse reporte.

True it is indeede that, at my second audience, I wished them by way of discourse ten daies before there was any doubt of Wesel, and twentie before it was taken, not to collect their troupes till more evident necessitie pressing them rather to a resolution about Juliers (which was focus febris), and doubting that if the Marquis should beseege that place or seeke to blocke it upp and they oppose him with a formed armie, it might hazard rupture, which was against the generall scope of myne errand: and Mons^r Barneveld himself (who tendreth the present quiet) did advise me, the evening before my said audience, to use some such speeche (as I did) unto them. Some weeke after this or thereabouts (for I do not precisely remember the day, nor thought I should ever neede to recorde it) Mons^r Barneveld, S^r Joachim of Zeland, and one Licklama of Friseland, were deputed to conferr at our howses with Mons^r du Maurier and myself. At which they asked owre opinions more respectively then necessarily whether we thought it fit for them to marche, the rumors being then much encreased, by a biedge [*sic*, qu. bridge] of boates that was buylte at Bergh, wherby it was concluded that the Marquis intended to pass the Rhene. Did we resist it? I remitt that to them selves. Did they ask us perhaps too late? We are not soldiers by profession, but thus much wilbe bold to pronounce, that Wesel might alwaies have ben saved in one daie from anie of the neerer garrisons of Arnhem, Zutphen, Newmegen, or Skincksconce, as well with an handfull of the States' men as with an armie (if the question had ben onely to save Townes and not to take Townes), or otherwise the Marquis might have broken the Truce, to which poynt they putt him in diverse other places. Was there then no collour of raysinge this voice? I have searched my papers and myself and I finde onely a letter from Mr Trumbal y^r Mat^{ties} agent unto me in answeere of one which I wrote with knowledge and approbation of the States. Wherein he speaketh of suspense or intermission of some fowre or five dayes which he had with much a doe obeyned of the Archduke Albertus in a privat audience which whether it were performed or noe (as the Counte Maurice by precise computation denieth) is now a needelesse inquiry. Mr Dickenson can informe your Mat^{tie} how farre I pressed the Marquis and Mons^r Pechius the Archdukes representant therein. And sure I am that howsoever Mr Trumball did relate hether what he had donne with suche caution as did not staie them in their proceedings heere the running of an houre glasse. There remaineth therefore only the question how the Towne was losst? which might

easily have ben saved as appereth by the promisses. Wherein not to kepe your Matie longe from the solution of this mistery (for soe I might call it the matter being indeed wrapped in a few cloudes of State) what is there more to be saied then peccatum tuum in te Israël. The Towne of Wesell, notwithstanding their long engagement to the Dutchie of Cleves, seekinge under pretence of impartialitie betweene the twoe Princes to maintaine it self in the nature of a free and Imperiall Towne, or as neere as it might bee, much animated with therre new fortifications and little considering the difference between the Burghers and Soldiers, not distrusting their enemyes and perhaps jealous of their freindes. Lastly, willinge enough to be helped without but not within, did not only seeke no helpe from whence they might best have hadd it, but likewise refused the assistance of the Colonell Schombergh, who offered very nobly and timely to levie and to mayntayne a Regiment one moneth uppon his owne chardge, for their defence, in noe other qualitie then as a gentleman of their owne intertainment.

These were the circomstances and this was the trueth of that action on my conscience to God and my fayth to your Majestie. Wherewith I did chardge both the Towne it selfe at my being there and the states of the Provinces when they came unto us aboute their immunities at Zanten. Where I acquainted them with your Maties Royall declaration of your self on their behalf though a little too late by the fatality of their owne folly which I likewise have made knowne in all Townes and to all persons where I have passed and though I am ashamed to seeke withness [*sic*] for the dischargd of so vile an imputation and to borrow credit with your Matie extra me ipsum, yet for the better prooffe of my sinceritie (which was all the inheritance that my good father left me) I most humbly beseeche your Matie to informe your selfe of the Ambassador of Brandenbourg, nowe comming to your Cowrt, whoe hath understood from Mons^r Barnevelds one mouthe the trueth of this affaire.

I am now confident, notwithstanding my disasters, to have performed all my duties to your Matie, and I was infinitely comforted that M^r Secretairy, when by your commaundement he acquainted me with this reporte, did with the same penne assure me that your Matie had undertaken my cause at home in that poor expectative which I held by your former goodnesse. It was a duple favor in your Matie both to doe it and to doe it towards one that stood in such obloquie by which you have bounde eternally unto you besides my other naturall and longe devoted duties

Your most humble

And loyall servant.

[*In dorso.*]

1615-14.

To his Matie King James from S^r Henrie Wotton,
about the losse of Wesell,

Surr. 5 Sept. 1614.

IV.—SIR HENRY WOTTON TO NICHOLAS PEY.

[Signed only; Postscript in Holograph.]

[March ²⁰/₃₀, 1615.]

Sr,

I am so tyred wth the publike dispatche y^t I must take the libertie to ease both yo^u and my self w^h a better hand. This is only indeed to thancke yo^u for suche letters as I have heretofore receaved from you, w^{ch} were full of love and good advertisement. I was tender to answeere them while I stooode under blacke reportes, but you maie now receive my letters wthout anie feare of contagion. For I am purged of my leprosie, havinge receaved my assoilement from the Kinge him self. Soe you see howe the world is chaunged wth me, that whereas hearetofore in some mans favorable voyce I was perchaunce allowed the pretence of a little merit, I ame nowe faine to bragge of innocenye. Well, Sr, I will neither trouble yo^u nor myself anie more wth these discourses. The substanciall pointe is to have money. For without that bladder we cannot swymme. I praie sollicite my Lorde Treasurer for me according to those notes that you shall receive from this gentleman. And soe, Sr, reckoninge myself for many kindenesses muche beholden unto yo^u, I rest

Yours to serve you

HENRY WOTTON.

Haghe this 20th of Marche 1614.

I take it unkindely that you who were wont to make many startes over into thease Provinces have stayed that humor since my beeing heare. Well, God send us any where chearefully together.

You will easily pardon me that I now write no more unto you, for I heare you officers of the Greenclothe are angrie and troubled.

[*In dorso.*] To my very worthie

frend Mr Nicolas Pey,
at Court.

20 Martij, 1614,

Sr Henry Wotton, from the Haighe.

V.—SIR HENRY WOTTON TO [NICHOLAS PEY ?]

[A Transcript.]

[June? 1615.]

SIR,

Having not long written unto you whose frendship towards me hath given you a great interest in my proceedings I will now make you a summarie account of what I have donn abroad.

The King hath employed me sence my last comming foorthe in fowre severall Treaties differing in the subjects, in the instruments, and I thincke more in the affections and ends. The first was unto the States for the sequestration of the Castle of Juliers wherein I was joyned with the Frenche; the second (which we call the Treatie of Xanten springing from the first) was for the settling of the Prince of Brandenbourg and Counte Palatin of Newbourg in a kinde of provisionall compossession of the litigious provinces with some forme of regiment both in matters ecclesiastical and civil, wherein we were troubled to finde a measure betweene theire consciences, especially the Palatin, being a new convertite to the Roman church, and the more eager to shew the synceritie of his devotion. In this Treatie we were no lesse then thirtie Ambassadors and Commissioners; so as contrary to the complaynte of the Gospel the labourers were more then the Harvest. The third was for a defensive league betweene the united Princes and the united Provinces wherein I was joyned heare with two Representants of the Union. And this was concluded with unimaginable celeritie, partly through his Ma^{ties} mediation, who was the sole moover, and partly by the qualitie of the tyme, wiche being a little turbulent did require at least some good noyse of frends. The last was for the composing of certain differences betweene his Maj^{ties} subjects and this people in matter of Commerce, which Treatie did exceed all the other three both in length and difficultie, for two reasons as I conceive it: First, through the sensiblenesse of the subject which was privat utilitie; next, because it had likewise some commixture of publique respects and those of no slight consequence, for surely it importeth more to let the King of Spayne dispense alone the whole commodities of the East then eache of us to wante them. Of the issue of owre debatements therein my worthie compagnons Mr Clement Edmondes and the other two have rendred his Ma^{tie} an account. For my part me thought we did somewhat resemble in our labours those weomen of Nombre de Dios, who as they saye are never brought to bed in the place where they conceive but produce their children in a better aire. And so perchaunce it may fall oute with owre conceptions to be perfected in his Ma^{ties} Kingdome, which will be a greater honor to theire birthe. Theare now remaineth before my returne the prosecuting of the treatie of Xanten to an execution wherein the Archdukes onely demaunde from the states a promise of not re-entring into those Townes. You would thincke Sr upon the first sounde that they were holy personages and extreamly provident of the future tranquillitie, but though they demaunde the promise, they meane, for ought I see yet, not to agree upon the fashion which hath made us now spende seaven monthes abowte the reformation of phrases and syllables.

The first of July will be owre criticall daye when the States have appoynted a general assemblie wherein they will determine of theire last resolution. And so having discharged this account of myself which I owed you in all true love I committ you Sr to Gods blessed favore resting.

[*In dorso.*] Paralell with one to His M^{ty}.

Gives an account of himself in 4 employm^{tes}.

VI.—SIR HENRY WOTTON TO JAMES I.

[July 24,
August 3, 1615.]

MAYE IT PLEASE YOURE MAJESTIE

I have thought meete to direct the present dispatche immediatly unto your owne Royal handes intending therein to discharge twoe duties. The first is an account of the states answere touching your Ma^{ties} proposition. The other is a new project upon the whole affaire; which though it were borne at first in myne owne fancie, and therefore being so well acquaynted as I am with the father's weaknesses, coude not merite much approbation even from myselfe, yet having since conferred with some judgments of more value and balanced those reasons of state on each side that fall into it, I am now fulle persuaded (with humble reservation alwayes of youre Ma^{ties} higher wisdom) that it will prove the only easie waye of determining this great businesse for the present and the only secure for the future. Now first for the states answere. Yesterday towards evening, Mons. Barneveld, Sr Joachim of Zeeland, and Liklama of Friseland (respondents for the three principall provinces) came unto my house as from the rest of the bodie, where Barneveld, in very sober and solemne fashion, spake at much length to this substance; that, since my late proposition the states heere resident had been in great payne how to satisfie your Ma^{tie} on whose affection, power, and judgment, they more depended in all their perplexities then upon any other assistance under Heaven. That they had debated the matter at their owne table, and with the Councell of State and with the Prince Maurice in particular, and with as much studie and anxietie as any thing that ever befell them.

That in conclusion, they founde themselves unable by the power of their commissions to determine of it without a precedent full digestion thereof in their severall provinces, intimating that this last was but a generall Assemblie of Holland, which though it beare the greatest chardge in onerouse tymes yet had not authoritie to dispose of more then their owne voyces, especially in a point which was heretofore by the universall consent of all the rest esteemed the most essentiall of all other in the promise, namely the interposing of the regal names which only could give authority to it and secure them from deception.

That the omitting on the other syde of the Emperor's name, whoe had nothing to doe in the treatie, could houlde no proportion of equivalence with this of the Kings who were the principal mediators and mayntayners thereof, and therefore the Archedukes in that should exchaunge but a penn knife for a sworde. Besides that even themselves did never in any of their formularies presume to inserte the Emperor's name in the bodie of the Promise among the dispositive woordes (as they call them) but only in the preface like a compliment or peece of ceremonie.

That if the Deputies of the Provinces who sitt heere and are to give an account of their actions should without special and deliberate assent of their superiors suffer themselves in a poynte of such wayghte to be over-reached by the Spaniards (of whose artifices sayd he we are more afrajd then of their power). Howe should they answere it to the people whoe were allready full of clamor?

That the constitution of their state wheare theare was such diversitie of interests required in them that had the presidence of the affayres a more cautelose proceeding then in other formes of Gouverment.

That therefore if the Kings names were taken oute of the Promise (which he often called the mayne poynte of theire securitie) they must needes (for as much authoritie as they yet had) adde in place thereof some special reference to the Treatie of Xanton, which perchaunce the archedukes would lesse permitt. For the whole Provinces had agreed upon this Disjunctive that either the Kings must be named by whome the Treatie did stand or at least the Treatie itself.

Finally, he seemed in the name of the State humbly to desire either your Maties gracious patience till the matter could be better digested in a generall consultation or that you would be pleased to presse the Archedukes (whoe after the Treatie of Xanton had been signed and sealed were the devisers of this promise for the preventing of the execution) to be contented with some relative specification of the sayd Treatie in the promise.

This was the substance of his speache besides some matter of intelligence touching the Emperor's intents to sequester the litigious landes, and the Spaniards to masque theire owne purposes under his name, with the like apprehensions which abounde in private discourse. I shall not neede to repeate to your Matie myne owne replye which consisted principally in the remembrance of youre royall merites towardes these provinces and the commone cause, youre three particular engagements of yourselfe in theire defence since my being heere, youre continuall sollicitude and imployment of all means for their tranquillitie, youre mediation of a league before between [the States] and the Protestant Union, and now with East Friesland for theyre better strength, which things and the like I did not touche with any exprobration as I professed (for ther was nothing soe contrarie to your Maties nature as to remember your benefitts), but only to lett them see that theare were very just motives of that assurance which your Matie had given bothe others and yourself that your intercessions and counsayles should be well accepted by them, especially in a tyme when the distractions of the kingdome of Fraunce the minoritie of the King and the Queenes private endes did cast upon your Majtie almost the whole care of the common cause. But Mons^r Barneveld did cutt me of and ended owre conference with a seriouse acknowledgment howe much they were bound unto your royall person and crownes, desiring me to represent unto your Matie the answer which I had receaved was not a negative but dilative unto which they were forced for the present. I pressed him to tell me with what terme they could resolve, wherewith he seemed somewhat surprised, but consulting a little with his fellowes they agreed it would be aboute the middle or towards the end of September. It is therefore nowe my dutie to deliver unto your Matie the reasons that I conceive of this delaye: First it had been most unthankfull to disavowe youre Matie in that wherein you had engaged them, and it was on the other side in trueth impossible to graunte it. For your Maties proposition is that the Kings names might be left owte of the Promise, wherein the French King doeth not yet concurr, soe as betweene a tendernesse to offende your Matie and impossiblenesse to dispose of both names withoute the suite of bothe, the middle way was dilation; secondly, they shall in this meane while by the benefit of a few weekes come to clearer knowledge of the Emperors and Kinge of Spaines intention, the dismasquing whereof importeth much in the cause. For if their ends be pacificall then the states shall have noe reason to houlde the places taken, but if there

be a rupture intended then they will assuredly keepe the townes [*sic*] an make Juliers one sommers worke at the leaste.

Thirdly, theare have been in this buisinesse contrary flatus, for I finde the Instruments of the House of Brandenbourg extreemly desirouse (though not openly) to retayne the names of the Kings as (no doubt) imagining the French King tyed onely thereby (whoe is tyed by nothing else) to their assistance. For of your Ma^{tie} they have better houlde. Lastly, though they seeme truly in their confessions to yeelde your Ma^{tie} a great deele of power over them, yet pretend to conceale from youre knowledge that some of them at the late debatement did towche your Ma^{ties} engaging of them before their consent as a dangerous precedent in respect of the French King, whose perchaunce hereafter upon the example may assume the like which peradventure was some cause to breede a little demurring. But this secret matter. For Mons^r Barneveld in his speache to me sayed not one syllable of the French King. This is as much as doeth occurre touching the accompt of their answer. Theare now remayneth the new project (which not to trouble youre Ma^{tie} with more then necessarie woordes) is briefly this:—That the Prince of Brandenbourg be contented for his part in the compossession with the Dukedom of Cleves, Cowntie of Marck, Ravensbergh, Ravensteyn, &c.; and yeelde unto Newbourg the Dukedomes of Juliers and Bergh for his share, according as the partage was determined in the Treatie, withowte putting the matter to the hazarde of fortune by lotte. In this I conceive a great probabilitie to satisfie all parties. The first Brandebourg, whom your Ma^{tie} hath most cause to favor, hath noe reason to refuse it; because though Juliers and Bergh be (noe doubt) the fatter possessions, yet that poynt is counterpeased, by being neerer of his friends and master, of that part which is lesse infected with Poperie, besides the hazarde otherwise of getting neither of bothe, if things either remayne as they are now or be worse shuffled.

As for the states, they have more cause to wishe it, for they shall have a trustie and oblidged Nayhbour to couver their frontiers; and I am come by curious meanes to thus much light that Mons^r Barneveld long agoe, even while we were at Xanton in the heate of owre Treatie, did advise the Prince of Brandenbourg to make choice of that part. Now for the Archdukes they have the same and more reason then the States to desire it. For they shall have Newbrough by them, of whose fortunes they may dispose as well as they have donne of his faith; and they shall see him placed amongst his Catholicks, to which part he had ever himself so greate a fancie, that it cost us three weekes discourse at Xanton before he would yeelde to putt the division to lotte. I will adde heereunto that the Archdukes shall thereby have a peece of theyre wille (though it be but a feminine satisfaction) in chaunging one part of the Treatie; and if they be ones satisfied, they will quickly quiet the Emperour, who mooveth only by the nerves of Spayne. And soe the decision of the right may perchaunce be layed off till the comming of Elias, and the provisional possession be converted into a perpetual. Or, if the Duke of Saxony (who is soe Austriacal) shal drawe the Emperour to a decision of the cause, yet at least the Landes shall lie quiet in the meane while, and Christendome bee freed from these impendent feares of combustion. Only there is one person nominated in owre Treatie which will distaste the project, namely, Mons^r Kettler. For his donative of the Baronie of Monjoy must passe in the division of Juliers, and therefore he had

rather that part should fall to his Master, that he might gather his rents at the more ease; but in all event theare hath ben likewise a provision for him in the Treatie.

Thus have I ben bolde to presente unto y^r Ma^{tie} with humble freedome my poore conceptions, which by the gayning of time I have by an expresse currier communicated with Mons^r Trumbal, that if youre Ma^{tie} shall allowe of it he may bee the better prepared to sounde the inclination of that Courte, which I think he will finde easie enough. If youre Ma^{tie} shall in youre wisdome (which is the guide of your vassalls) not thincke it practicable, then, though it be myn owne childe, I wishe it strangled in the cradle. But, because if anything shall ben donne in this kinde or any other, it seemeth much important to prevent the Emperor's motions, I humbly begge with all convenient speede the knowledge of your Ma^{ties} will by the re-dispatche of this messenger, William Murray, of whose diligence I have made good prooffe. And soe wishing youre Ma^{tie} with a faithful hart many and many blessed yeares, I rest

Y^r Majesties loyal and long devoted servant,

H. W.

POSTS.—I understand that yowre Ma^{tie} shall be solicited by the Howse of Brandenbourg to expresse youre resolution and counsaile whether the Emperor's sequestration shall be resisted in case he proceede so farre, wherein I likewise most humbly crave some notice of youre Royall wille.

From the Haghe, this 3 of August, 1615 st: n:

[*In dorso.*]

1615, Aug. 3.

My dispatche touching the

Buisnesse of Juliers.

q. if not tedyous.

VII.—PRIVY SEAL FOR SIR HENRY WOTTON'S ALLOWANCES.

[October 17, 1615.]

James by the grace of God King of England Scotland France and Ireland Defender of the Faith etc. To the Trër and under Trër of our Exchequer greeting Whereas we have appointed our servant S^r Henry Wotton Knight to be o^r Ambassado^r resydent wth the Duke and State of Venice, and have allotted to him for his diet and entertaynement for the tyme of his employment there the somme of fyve markes by the day of currant money of England, Wherefore wee will and require you out of o^r Treasure in the receipt of our Exchequer from tyme to tyme remayning to pay or cawse to bee paid unto the said S^r Henry Wotton or his assignes the said somme of five markes by the day for his diet and entertaynement, the same to begin from the first day of September last past before the date heereof, and so to contynue till the day of his returne to our presence; and wee are further pleased that for his better furnishing towards this service you

advance unto him by way of imprest so much money as his said entertaynement of fyve markes by the day doth amount unto for the space of fower monthes, the same to be defalked afterwards upon his said entertaynement. And o^r pleasure is that you continue to make like advancement unto him by way of Imprest from three monthes to three monthes during the tyme of his abode there, the same to be defalked upon his entertaynement from tyme to tyme. And further our pleasure is that you pay unto him for his charges of postage, transportation outwards and homewards, sending of l^rs speciall and such like charges, such sommes of money as shall appear by bills under his owne hand to be laid out by him, the same bills being rated and allowed by o^r principall Secretary for the tyme being, and these o^r l^rs shalbee yo^r sufficient warrant and discharge in this behalfe. Given under our privy seale at o^r Pallace of Westminster the 17th day of October in the 13th yeare of o^r Raigne of England France and Ireland, and of Scotland the 49th.

(Copie) JO. BINGLEY.

[*In dorso.*] Copie of S^r Henry Wotton his Privie seale.
17th Octobr^r Anno xiiij^{tho} R. Jacob. (1615.)

VIII.—SIR HENRY WOTTON TO JAMES I.

[May 20, 1616.]

[Written in passing through Turin on his way to Venice. The details of the negotiation will be found in the despatches of Sir Isaac Wake amongst the State Papers. From his letter of the 21st of May the date of the present despatch may be inferred.]

MOST GRACIOUS SOUVERAYGNE,

Your Majesty hath heere M^r Isaac Wake, who serveth you uppon my syght and knoweledge and by the co^mon voyce with such diligence and judgment and reputation in his whole caryage as doth much ease me in the present dispatch, who am otherwise in respect of this place but a passenger. Havinge therefore given your Ma^{tie} an account by letters that come herewith to S^r Ralphe Winwoode of a painfull and dangerous journey, made longer by at least six hundred myles then it might otherwise have bin for the avoydinge of contagious townes and provinces, which inforced us to seek as hard wayes into Italye as I thinke Hannibal did pearce with fyre and vineger. I will nowe tell your Ma^{tie} what hath binn donn in this Court wheare I arryved eyght dayes since with all my companye but one (whom I left behinde in desperate case) through God's blessinge in goode health, and in such a poynt of tyme as nothings could have bin wished more opportune, for I mett some twoe houres journey from the Alpes Signor Octaviano Bonni, one of the gravest senators of Venice, of my olde acquaintance, employed extraordinariely into France, from whom I tooke some light of the present affaires *in transitu*, and hether I am come three days before Mons^r de Bethun, employed likewise extraordinarye into Italye both with the same endes, though perchance not with the same affections, for though theyre scope be peace *in prima intentione*,^a yet I doubt they will vary about the media, and for my part I doe not well

^a "Capite" was first written and then struck out.

see hitherto howe theare may be found a waye to wrap up the severall feares and complaints of this Prince and the Venetians in one pack without puttinge more feare upon those that trouble them then them selves can doe eyther jointlye or singlye though we have heere courage enough and moneye enough theare. The maine doubt is the faintness of France for Albert out of that kingdom, which doth cover this estate with five Provinces, it might perchance be some ease to the Kinge and Queene to vent into Italye the relictēs of their owne disquietest humours, and even to spend that waye some of the principalls, yet I doubt their conjunction with Spaine will hardly beare this peece of wisdomē. These thinges I doe from hence represent unto your Ma^{tie} as a vacant discourser upon which at Venice I shalbe able to make more solid judgement. In the meane while it may please your Ma^{tie} to understand that myself and your Resident have had heere (*post solennia*) sundry serious conferences with this Prince of twoe and three houres at a time, and twice likewise with the intervention of the Venetian Ambassador, who is the nephew of that famous Duke Donato, and himself a gentleman of eager spiritts. This Duke did yesterday make also an attempt to bringe us altogethyer to a coñon consultation before himself and some of his counsell, with Mons^r de Bethun and the French agent, which though I did not refuse for my part (because your Ma^{ties} endes are cleare and neede not feare the lyght) yet the French did directly resyst it, denyinge to treate ^{with} before him eyther in the presence of his owne counsellors or other ambassadors. The cause of the refusall we cannot easily tell, whether it weare feare of beinge discovered or a loathness of beinge ingaged to farr in publike, or a desyre to appropriat the business of Milan as much as may be to themselves alone, or lastly some doubt that the noyse of such generall meetinges might offend Spaine and the Pope. Likewise in respect of our profession, howsoever sure I am that it hath moved in this Prince some displeasure and more jealousye, and so I leave it. Touchinge our owne precedent conferences they weare spent about foure maine points—

1. The league of the Duke with the Protestant union.
2. The league of the Venetians with the sayde union.
3. The strict conjunction betweene the Duke himself and the Venetians.
4. And lastly, the pass of the Grisons.

For the first I have disposed the Duke unto it by your Ma^{ties} counsell and desyre (which are with him inducements of greate auctoritye) by the qualite of his own person beinge a member and Prince of the Empire, as the Count Palatin styled him in his answer to me, and besydes viccar of the Empire in Italye whiles the seate is vacant, by his owne connection in descent and bloude with the principall houses, and lastlye by the argument of arguments his owne necessitye as farr as it might be mannerlye touched. Upon this he made twoe doubtēs, the one in substance and the other in forme. The substantiall, whether he might enter into it, the ende of the union beinge (as he conceived it) for the maintenance of the reformed religion; wherein I cleared him that it was grounded upon the tranquillity, a meere civill point, which did well appeare in this that betweene the princes themselves and states united ther was some difference in pointe of conscience, besydes some Imperiall townes that wer of that union, that notwithstanding gave libertye to the roomaine religion; in which point he was contented to helpe me himself, alleaginge the example of his neighbours the Swisssers, who are both leagued togethyer, and with other Princes of contrarye

confession. The formall doubt was howe it might be donn handsomly and safelye, whereon after some debatement we fell uppon this that the fittest waye both for least noyse and most expedition was to treat it in your Maties Court wheare both himself and the Venetian had resydent Ambassadors, for at this conference the Venetian Ambassador heere was present who declared a goode inclination in that state unto it, wheare uppon the Duke tolde him in a goode plaine and resolute fashion that nothinge could be dearer unto him than to enter with them togeyther into the same union, but howsoever he would interteine it alone provided he might first knowe what particular conditions would be demanded on his part, wheareof the Conte Scarnafigi had advertised him that I should bring him some light from the Palatin Court. To this I answer that indeede so was your Maties commandement unto me to sound it as farr as I coule in my passage, for which you had expresslye addressed me that waye, but the Count Palatin (though otherwise of great authoritye) could come to no particulars wthout the deliberation of the whole bodye. To be short, he resolved after these discourses to make two dispatches, the one to the Embassador resident in your Maties Court with instructions to treat, for he had power (as he saythe) sent him before, the other a preparatorye express messenger to the Count Palatin and the other princes to intimate his desyre, and to move them to appoint some with sufficient authoritye for that purpose in your Maties Court, wheare the Alleman Princes cannott well refuse to handle it. First, because your Matie is the heade of the union ; next, because for that in the answer which I had at Heydelberg the Count Palatin did remitt himself to that which had bin formerly signified unto your Matie as to the fountaine of this bussiness. These dispatches the Duke promiseth to make within twoe or three dayes, which I leave to the sollicitation of your Maties resident heere. And for the other three points above mentioned, whereof the openinge of the passage through the Grisons seemeth the most important and the most difficult, I will make as much hast as maye be to give your Matie an account from Venice, which state being nowe styrred with theyr owne necessityes should methinkes by a mechanicall maxim be the more capable of perswasion, for *quod est in motu facilius movetur*. I have bin heere received with the accustomed countenance and favour of this Prince toward all those that are your Maties, and I have saluted with all due kindeness from your Matie the whole house, amonge whom I found nowe more then before the Dowager of Mantoua, one of the principall subjects of the present incumbrances. I must end with humbly beseeching your Matie both to pardon and to pitie the weakness of us your servants that are so farr removed because we are tyed uppon this varyable theater to serve your Matie by discourse which others doe by direction. But our guide and measure is the honour of your name and the safetye of your sacred person and estates, which humblye comēdinge to the highest protection, I rest

Your Maties most faythfull and longe devoted servant.

[*In dorso.*] From Savoy.

To his Matie from Sr Henry Wotton in his passage
out of Germanie into Italie.

IX.—SIR HENRY WOTTON TO SIR WALTER ASTON.

[Holograph.]

[This and the following six letters contain the news of the time for the information of Aston, who was ambassador at Madrid.]

Venice, this $\frac{8}{18}$ of June, 1621.

MY LORD AND EVER HONORED FRIEND,

Not long before my coming from Vienna (where I stayed till it was fitt to leave the Emperour to the Counsayles of his owne fortune), I gave y^r Lord^p knowledg by the waye of Bruxelles of my tending to this place, the center of all my motions, and withall I sent you a cypher.

Heere I have been almost foure moneths hoping still for some commaundement frō you, which I will now begg agayne. Besides owre owne privat frendship we are now consociates in the publike service. And betweene the places of owre residence theare is as much relation as jealousie can breede : for that is a relative as well as love. This I bring as an argument [~~of intercourse, erased~~] to grownde a frequent intercourse of letters betweene us ; youre Lord^p shall have from me news enough : the verie disease of this citie. At the present (to beginn wth a pertinent poynt) we stande in some hazard about the confines of an affront or a rupture. Certayne Spanish Troupes would passe armed frō Creñna towards the Milanese over part of this dominion, w^{ch} the Duke of Feria seemes to pretend they may doe by olde agreements betweene this state and the sayed Dukedome, but heere the Senat hath strongly resolved the contrarie, and accordingly a campe is collected of English, French, Fleamish horse and foote aboute Martenengo as the fittest place to impeach their passage, neere which the sayed Spaniardes stande hovering what they shall doe. In the meane while frequent carriers are sent hither with lies in their mouth and the truthe in their packets as the fashion is, whereof the last hath filled all this Towne wth a voice of an incounter and some slawghter on bothe sides. But a fresh letter frō S^r Henry Peyten, Colonel of the English (who is himselfe theare) doth correct this vayne noise.

I thincke it will begett more passion then action betweene thease umbragious neighbours, and, according to the Gospel's phrase, "Treasure up anger till a fitter tyme."

I would I had paper enough left to tell you how little we believe the execution of y^r Treatie about the Vale Tolina. It is playne that arts are sought to linger the effect till the Pope's end, for the next perchaunce may be of an other complexion. This is Frenche or at least a pure Italian. And so (my good Lord) I commit you to God's blessed love, remayning,

Yours ever faythfull poore frend to serve you,

HENRY WOTTON.

Alla Medesima.

X.—SIR HENRY WOTTON TO SIR WALTER ASTON.

Venice the $\frac{14}{24}$ of September, 1621.

MY GOOD LORD AND EVER HONORED FRENDE,

I send youre Lord^p heerewth a large cypher for all occurrents, that I may heereafter without any tender or scrupulous reservation communicat wth you some of my fresh thoughts. The former, w^{ch} I sent from Vienna, seemeth to have been swallowed between that place and Bruxelles.

In the conveyance of the present I use the Spanish secretarie, who seemeth a well natured man. Your Lord^p hath likewise not a better waye of youre commaundes to me then by the Venetian Ambassadour theare till I shall fitt us bothe with some Marchant that hath dealings in Spayne, of w^{ch} this Towne can not be voyed.

Youre letters to S^r John Aire I reserve till his returne this waye homewardes. For his Ma^{tie} hath removed him, and to make the place emptie for S^r Thomas Rowe (who is already on the waye wth his ladie by sea) Mr. John Chapman hath been sent before over land as Secretarie of the Ambassage, at whose coming thether S^r John Aires commission doeth immediatly determin; with him I have had little tyme to settle any good intercourse. In his successour I have more interest of privat acquayntance, betweene whome and youre Lord^p I will intermediat a due intelligence.

If Christendome were fitt to thincke of a common enemie what a tyme were this when the Gran Signor hath almost desolated Asia with carying six hundred thousand Turkes and one hundred and threescore thousand Tarters (for so S^r John Aire doeth calculat his armie) [~~into Europe~~ *Some count it at a full million, but I write within my compasse, sayeth he.* *erased*] towards Polonia; Constantinople in the meane tyme lying open to any that would invade it; for the Captayne Bassha is in the Blacke Sea. Touching neerer things: yesternight the Marquis de Cœure (late Ledger at Rome), by the way of Loreto (that zeale may countenance his errand), arrived heere wth expresse character of Ambassado^r extraordinarie, and this day he shall by senatours be publicly receaved and conducted to a house w^{ch} the state hath fitted for him at great ease. For by a frugal decree of senat the charge and care of all such extraordinarie receptions is layed on the Jues. Long it hath been noysed before him that his message was to joyne here wth the Nuntio for the restoring of the Jesuites. But of late some have begunn to whisper that those Fathers were not his scope, but his veile to cover deeper instructions aboute sounding this Republique, the inclination of this Republique, if the King his Master after the setling of his owne Realme should passe the Alpes in person, or send over a fayre armie in favour of the suppressed Grisons his confederates, so ingenious is this cuntrie that they ever thinke the professed part of all negotiation nothing but the vizard of the concealed. But the Frenche Ambassadour resident here, having within thease two dayes visited me, did of himself, as it were to obviat all other impressions, assure me that his coming is merely for the aforesayed Jesuites. How likely he is to speede may be partly conjectured by this, that yesterday the Duke exhorting such senatours as are deputed to receave the Marquis to be theare in full number, he fortified his exhortation with this argument,

that sithence he was likely not to be satisfied in his errand it should be fitt to be the more compleate in all respectes that did concerne his person. Of the issue I shall give y^r Lord^p a better account in my next.

The controversie in terra ferma about passage of soldiers drawes towards an appoyntment treated betweene the Pope's Nuntio at Milan and this heere. The formalitie of the accomde wilbe this, the Spanish compaignie that was repulsed shall [~~passee, erased~~], marche over the Venetian territorie in armes by publique [^{leave}~~permission, erased~~], with the ordinarie protestation *sine prejudicio*, w^{ch} protestation the Duke of Feria would a great while not swallowe, but now he seemeth wonn unto it: provided that likewise on the other side the verie same be protested that the foresayed compaignie was putt back *sine prejudicio*. After this, all passion shall cease, the cause be civilly considered, and a regular determination sett downe for the future.

In the lowe Provinces we have yet no actual rupture. For the seidge of Juliers (a neutral piece though garisoned by the states) impleyeth no breache.

Bavaria they saye is now entred into the upper Palatinat, and my L. Digbie, notwithstanding y^r helpe out of Spayne and his owne singular dexteritie, can obteyne no truce in the lower. For the impediments (I meane Mansfeld and Jeagerndorff) seeme stronger than the adjuvants.

I have from his Lord^p this weeke no letters wherewith he doeth commonly favour me. And therefore am loathe to beleive a voice growen heere among the publique Ministers that he hath taken his leave in Vienna. True it is that strong reason did incline him towards Madrid. For where shall we hope to finish this businesse but at that the fountayne of all the Emperour's strength and counsayles? I will now give my cipher leave to kisse y^r handes before I intertayne you farther. In the meane tyme, and ever remayning,

Y^r Lord^{ps} verie faythfull poore frend and servant,

HENRY WOTTON.

[*In dorso.*] Alla Modesima.

3

S^r Henry Wotton,

24 of September, 1621.

XI.—SIR HENRY WOTTON TO SIR WALTER ASTON.

[Holograph.]

Venice, the $\frac{8}{18}$ of December, 1621.

MY LORD,

Non sum ambitiosus in malis. But it is no ordinarie case which I must describe unto youre Lord^p for the excuse of too many silent weekes.

I laye myself in Padoua more then a moneth thorough an ague which tooke me beeing abroad. And at the same tyme all my familie (except 4 persons), Italians, Germans, and English, were eather theare or heere in like manner decumbent. A Venetian Gentleman also who lyeth in a seavered partition of my howse is at the present himself, wyfe, children, maydes, and gondoliers all

under Physique, so as we beginn to suspect owre habitation, beeing the most exposed to all weather of any in Venice, and by violence of the flashing windes the waves have pierced thorough and pondered owre wales and even taynted owre cesterns. Thus we are contented to rest owre curiositie uppon thease seconde causes. But God's indisputable will must be donn, which is the last philosophie both of Heaven and Earthe. Two I have lost. The one with the more grieve because beyonde all expectation even of his Physitions he was caried away in the strength of his youthe by a weake disease which some fancies did exasperat. The other was a Venetian who had long served under S^r Dudley Carleton and mee heare as secretarie of the language or complements, a place more easily supplied then when substance is vacant.

This is the account of owre infirmities w^{ch} have made me so worthie of y^r Lord^{ps} pardon that I may challenge some part of y^r compassion.

Now to proceede in owre correspondence as I will doe weekely. For while God shall spare us uppon this Theater how can we lack subject of noise and discourse? You know the agreement betweene the Polonians and Turcks, and it is a glorie indeede that a single piece hath beene able to resist the common enemie. But to my conceyte the greater feare remaynes. For I doubt, the external daunger which kept us in some awe beeing taken away, Christendome will growe too wanton at home. We now saye that the Emperour shall have good store of Polonians to healpe him, and Bethelam Gabor as many Tartars. Before thease can arrive with you, you will knowe that, uppon my L. Digbies noble relation how he founde the buisnesse and affections to stande, his M^{tie} hath resolved to lett the Emperour concocte his owne humours, and it hath been thought fitt to redeeme some of the tyme w^{ch} hath been lost by Treaties by resummoning the Parliament on the 20th of the last w^{ch} had been adjorned to February. *Satis peccatum est mollibus consultis.* Whether my L. Digbies jornie to you theare holde or no youre Lord^p will be pleased to tell me in y^r next. The dispensation of owre matche at Rome is eagerly handled, and no English man of any fashion (if he be one of their Catholiques) can come thether but they call him an ambassadour.

Heere we beginn to talke of some new levies by lande, and that likewise we shall arme the Gulph. For the Spanish fleete intending to winter as they saye in the Port of Brendisi hath given us scandal enough to frame a complaynt agaynst it to the Pope as beeing likely to prejudice the trafique of the Adriatique wherein his sanctitie is interested.

You have heard that the Grisons have renounced the league of Fraunce, a foule blowe to y^e Treatie of Madrid and almost enough to make the French sober at home. Owre easie Pope chideth at the Spanish progressions in the Vale tolina, and they goe forward beeing now able to walke (while they kepe a foote in the Lower Palatinat) from Milan to Dunkercke uppon their owne inheritances and purchases: a connexion of terrible moment in my opinion. Yo^r Lord^{ps} letters to S^r John Aires I reserve. The King and the Marchants have dislodged him, and S^r Thomas Roe wth his ladie are well on their way thetherwards. Betweene whom and y^r Lord^p I will medeat a continual intelligence. Yesterday was heere in the open Court of the Palace one Aluigi Querini, a principal gentleman, apprehended and muffled in a cloake by order of the Inquisiters of State (one of owre blackest Magistrates) for a secret jornie to Ferrara and conference theare wth the Cardinal Governour. On Thursday night they chose Aluigi Valeresso to succede

Sig^r Girolamo Lando in England. Their late ambassador Pesaro sent into Fraunce about Poictiers was assayled by certayn stragling horsemen, despoyled, two of his trayne killed, and himself had a pistol twice putt to his brest which bothe tymes tooke no fire. But lett me entertayne you no longer with thease *menudencias*. In my next I shall have occasion to awake owre cypher w^{ch} I have yet suffered to sleepe. God bless us and love us. In whose deare protection I leave you, ever remayning

Your Lord^{ps} verie faythfull poore frend to serve you,

HENRY WOTTON.

XII.—SIR HENRY WOTTON TO SIR WALTER ASTON.

[Holograph.]

[December 29,
January 8, 162 $\frac{1}{2}$.]

MY LORD,

On Saturday last (w^{ch} was heere new year's day) the French Ambassadour having audience brought the Duke *pour les estrenes* this resolution.

That the King his Master having considered the present perplexities of the Grisons and the inconveniences that may growe theareby uppō this Republique was determined to shewe unto the world that he had power bothe to reduce his subjectes and to healpe his frendes. But had first in all congruitie thought meete to propounde to the King of Spayne this disjunctive, that the thinges donn in the Val Tolina were rather by the will of the sayed King or by the meere practise of the D. of Feria. The first he could not imagin: in the later case he would not be satisfied with lesse then the head of the sayed Duke. For otherwise he should alwayes have some cause to suspect that theare had been betweene the K. of Spayne and his Minister some connivent intelligence. In the mean while de les Diguieres (whose government of Dauphine had neerest aspect uppon Italie) was commanded to putt things in preparation. With this the foresayd Ambassador begann the new yeare, w^{ch} I shall not neede to tell y^r Lord^p how welcome it was to this senat, nor how much welcomer it would have been if the French king's [~~present~~, *erased*] inward distractions (which [~~would~~, *erased*] wilbe easily fomented by their owne nobilitie, besides forein arts) would suffer us to beleeeve thease brave promises.

Y^r Lord^p hath heard of a certayne negotiating fryar, by name Hyacintho (who, if I mistake not the man, was long since spued out of this Towne for a mutinous Sermon), lately intercepted by the Mansfeldians, and with all diverse letters wherewith he was laden frō the Emperour towards the Spanish Court, theare to make good by his dexteritie the investing of the Duke of Bavaria in the Electorship, w^{ch} that Emperour had already resolved uppon him and already actually bestowed without the knowledge of Spayne, as we are yet left to beleeeve. This discoverie hath beene verie opportune for the information of oure Parliament at the present. And they saye that all the papers taken aboute the sayed Fryar shalbe printed at the Haghe, conteyning many fierce and desperat poyntes w^{ch} tend to a warr of religion by those incancared counsayles w^{ch} the Emperour receaveth after dinner frō the Jesuites. For that is their tyme of intromission to him.

I beleeve y^r Lord^p will have great payne in that Court, so susteyne y^r owne good impressions.
God make this new yeare wherein we shall enter before the next currier prosperous unto his
M^{tie} and all his hon^o. So I rest

Y^r Lord^s verie faythfull poore frend and servant,

HENRY WOTTON.

From Venice the 29th of December 1621.

Stile of England.

[*In dorso.*] S^r H^y Wotton, 29 Dec. 1621.

XIII.—SIR HENRY WOTTON TO SIR WALTER ASTON.

[Holograph.]

Venice, the $\frac{5}{15}$ of Januarie, 1622.

MY LORD,

I shall not neede agayne to tell y^r Lord^p of a certayne Fryar, by name Hiacintho, intercepted in Germanie by the Mansfeldians in his jornie towards you as he was laden with diverse instructions from the Emperor and letters to the Principals of y^r Court. By w^{ch} many thinges are opportunely discovered, and among other that the sayed Emperor hath actually conferred the Investiture of the Electorship on the D. of Bavaria even without knowledge of the King of Spayne as we are yet left to beleeve. All the papers wilbe printed at the Haghe, and copies thereof are already sent to his Majestie, which will breede you buisnesse. For my part uppon it I am readdie to turne Eremite and to abandon all rules of civil art. For surely (my Lord) the Electorating of that Duke is agaynst the verie Alphabet and Elements of State.

I conceive the King of Spayne uppō it in a great dilemma. If he doe not mayntayne the Emperour's resolution he will perchaunce want strength himself to mayntayn it. If he shall abett him or abone him (as y^r phrase is theare) it wilbe harde to make this age beleeve or any since the tyme that men did eate akornes that the sayd king [~~of Spayn~~, *erased*] was not of his counsaile.

Heere they have this weeke solemnely acquaynted me with a summe of their intelligence touching the Rhetian affayres, desiring me to represent the same to his Ma^{tie}.

My answer was that I would doe so, and had donn so already by sundrie pieces, but rather out of dutie then necessitie, since an ambassage frō the said Grisons beeing [~~at~~ *erased*] arrived at the Haghe with porpose perhaps of passing over into England, or at least having theare conferred all their complaynts wth S^r Dudley Carleton, his Ma^{tie} could not lacke due information nor a just feeling of their case, whose authoritie and name was as much employed in the treatie of Madrid as the French King's, as I had been well taught by y^r Lord^p, though now owre neerer cares did somewhat distract us. There are two great remarquable circumstances in the proceeding of the Duke of Feria. The one that he imposeth the oath of obedience as he goeth on frō piece to piece. The other that after garisoning of them he now beginneth by little and little to disarm them, w^{ch} is in truthe to cutt the last stringes of libertie.

To ende my letter, and to beginn the new yeare (into w^{ch} we are entred since the last sumer) wth pretie stuff: let me tell y^r Lord^p that at Rome are newly arrived a levie of English gentlewoemen. Al corpo del mondo questa e galante. They are brucing a new order of feminine Jesuites. Theire particular names I yet knowe not, but I imagin the Ladie Lovel of my cuntrie and olde acquayntance to be the leader. For she hath had some such thing in her high fancies a good while. This I will lay up for a subject of more discourse betweene us as I shall heare farther. And now I leave y^r Lord^p in God's deere love, wth the wishing of many happie years unto you.

Your servant,

HENRY WOTTON.

[*In dorso.*] Alla Medesima.

XIV.—SIR HENRY WOTTON TO SIR WALTER ASTON.

[Holograph.]

Venice, the $\frac{1}{2}$ of January, 1622.

MY LORD,

How like you this? In the copie of the Emperour's letter to y^r Don Baltasar de Zuniga (intercepted in the wallet of the wandring Fryar Hiacintho) is expresly affirmed that

[Electorat
uppon the
Duke of
Bavaria by
counsayle of
the Conde
d'Ognate.] the sayed Emperour had conferred [the $\frac{e}{11} \cdot \frac{l}{43} \cdot \frac{e}{12} \cdot \frac{c}{33} \cdot \frac{t}{59} \cdot \frac{o}{21} \cdot \frac{r}{55} \cdot \frac{a}{6} \cdot \frac{t^a}{53}$ uppon
the Duke of Bavaria $\frac{80}{}$. by counsayle of the $\frac{c}{33} \cdot \frac{o}{21} \cdot \frac{n}{49} \cdot \frac{d}{35} \cdot \frac{e}{11} \cdot \frac{b}{3} \cdot \frac{d}{21} \cdot \frac{o}{39} \cdot \frac{g}{49} \cdot \frac{n}{49}$.
a $\frac{a}{6} \cdot \frac{t}{59} \cdot \frac{e}{11}$.]

Thus much only I have obteyned leave from my present greefes to tell y^r Lord^p, my steward and kinsman beeing this verie day taken from me by the hand of God after a long infirmitie which had spent his strength, and so I commit youre Lord^p to the mercie and love of heaven.

Certissimo seruidore,

HENRY WOTTON.

[L.S.] All' Ill^{mo} et lec^{mo} sig^{re} il sig^{re} Cava^{re} Gualtero Ashton, Ambasciadore per la M^{ta} della Gran Bretagna a Madrid.

^a Here is a blunder in the cypher, it should have been 59.

^b 3 is a nullity in this cypher.

XV.—SIR HENRY WOTTON TO SIR WALTER ASTON.

[Holograph.]

[February $\frac{8}{18}$, 1621.]

MY LORD,

I have receaved two letters of late from you, and in the first of them one to S^r Thomas Rowe, to w^{ch} I have given due conveyance, being glad that I lie so fitly to intermediat youre correspondence wth the Levant.

In the other I finde the fruit of y^r diligence in procuring, uppon his Maties last letters to that King, so speedie a commaunde to Bruxelles for the imployment of Pechius in owre behalf to the Emperour, of w^{ch} instrument lett me tell y^r Lord^p, by the waye, that he gave us at Santoun more arguments of his discretion then of his sinceritie.

On the other side the grave of Swarzenburge, destinated into England for the King's satisfaction, having wayted on the Emperor in his nuptial jornie beyond Saltzburg for his instructions, was thense retourned back to Vienna with order to attend theare till they be sent him. Thease be in my opinion not Spanish or Italian but Dutche delayes. Heere I have at last by order of Senat receaved fundamental satisfaction touching their interteinment of the C. Mansfeld, agaynst w^{ch} (as I wrote before) I had interceaded. They tell me that the scope of theire contract wth him is not to drawe him from the place where he is, but rather to susteine him the better and to settle his fortune in all event, w^{ch} wilbe a good quieting of his thoughts. So they explane themselves, and, for aught I see, we must lett princes be theire owne Interpreters.

From Rome we have great things. A new congregation under tittle *de fide Catholica propaganda*, pregnant they say of a Leage contra Hæreticos. And yet owre last letters from close men tell us that the Pope doeth waver in his inclinations towards the Bavarian Duke, and that he hath dispatched an expresse currier after Verospo to suspende that piece of instruction w^{ch} some saye springeth from Spayne, whose Instruments at Rome have lately joyned him. In so much as now the Spanish Ambassad^r theare and the Cardinal Ludouisio are professed Coach-compagnons in the eye of the world. The glue is the Inheritrix of the Princedom of Venosa in the Kingdom of Napels, who, by assent frō Spayne, is promised to the Pope's little nephew: having before been denyed to the Duke of Modena for his son Don Aluigi, nay even to Paulus V^{us} for his ill-favoured nephew Prince of Sulmona. Yet this perchaunce may prove *breve gaudium*, for we heare withall that the Pope is at the present decumbent of more then the goutte. Owre Duke heare cometh now abroade agayne, whom the people the last weeke seemed willing to beleewe to be dead. His tymes indeede have been somewhat penurious. And the common man heere knowes no other rules of a good Prince but bigg loaves.

The Ambassad^r of this State, Griti, beeing revoaked (as I have formerly written) from the Imperial Court uppon new difference betweene him and the Conde d'Ognate, is in his returne to visit the Bavarian Duke: a thing straunge unto me, whereof I shall tell y^r Lord^p more in my next. The French King seemes maynly to embrace the Rhætian businesse; and the bodie of the Grisons,

(if they be still a bodie) have disavowed the late Acte of their Ambassadors at Milan: nay, as we heare, the Ambassadors themselves saye that certayne false articles have been inserted into the printed copies of their accorde. *In summa*, I beleewe the Duke of Feria (though the half of him be English) wilbe troubled with mayntayning his new purchases. Of owre owne maters at home I am unwilling to speake, seeing such disharmonie when we should be most in tune, but

Est bene non potuit dicere, dixit, erit.

I will end in that comfortable verse, And ever be,

Your Lord^{ps} most faythfull

poore frend to serve you,

HENRY WOTTON.

Venice, this $\frac{8}{13}$ of Februarie, 1621.

Alla Medesima.

Sr Henry Wotton, 18 of Feb. sti. vet.

XVI.—SIR HENRY WOTTON TO SIR ALBERTUS MORTON.

[Holograph.]

[The mention of Lord Holderness and Lady Fielding places the date of this letter between Jan. 22, 1621, and Sept. 14, 1622.

In March, April, and May, 1622, Wotton was negotiating with the Venetians for assistance for the war in the Palatinate, and this Letter was therefore in all probability written about that time. Sir Albertus was the third son of George Morton, Sir H. Wotton's half-brother. He began public life as his uncle's secretary at Venice. He was there appointed Secretary to the Electress Palatine, and Agent with the Princes of the Union. In 1619 he returned home upon his appointment of Clerk of the Council. In 1620-21 he was sent upon a special mission to Germany with £30,000 for the Princes of the Union. In 1624 he was appointed Ambassador to France, but never went, as in February 1625 he succeeded Calvert as secretary.]

MI ALBERTE,

Your commendation of this bearer unto me hath made me the willinger in his returne to sett upon him a marke of trust in the cariage of an important dispatche coincident with his departure, of w^{ch} one piece doeth neerely concerne you, namely the fayre professions of this Republique in the businesse of owre Royal Mistresse: whose concurrence hath been solicited bothe by his Ma^{ties} owne letters (which are the best interpreters of his affection) and by his commaundes to me. Lett me praye you in youre next to the Haghe to doe me the right of informing how glad I was of this imployment heere. James hath quenched all my wonder at y^r silence. Now, because I foresee that heereafter theare will growe more mater of discourse betweene us, I have thought fitt to furnish you with a larger cypher, whereof I must entreate you to consigne a fayre copie to the Deane of Paules.^a

^a John Donne was made Dean of St. Paul's in November 1621.

You receave heerein the copie of my letter to the Earle of Holdernesse uppon occasion of a new commaunde frō the King. Let me trouble you with the presentation thereof unto him, and likewise of the plant which I send in a little long box inscribed to his Lordp. I have adventured also to addresse an other box unto you, with inscription to my Ladie Fielding, w^{ch} I praye retayne silently [~~by you~~ *erased*] till the receyte of my letter w^{ch} shall followe this within two dayes by the ordinarie; and therein I shall exercise the present cypher which hath made me now send it solitarily. Till then therefore no more. The Lordes love be with us.

Thine owne poore uncle,

HENRY WOTTON.

God's pitie, I had almost forgotten to thancke thee for thy fine tokens. Never was man so bragg of any thing. And now I am in payne what I shall retourne for them. Or su qualche cosa sara.

[*In dorso.*]

Alla Medesima.

To be considered.

To S^r Albertus.

Or su qualche cosa sara.

XVII.—SIR HENRY WOTTON TO LADY WOTTON.

[This letter must have been written in July, 1639. Albert Morton the younger, the second son of Sir Robert Morton, who was the eldest brother of Sir Albertus Morton, to whom the last letter was written, was, according to information derived from the Rev. H. R. Luard, Registry of the University of Cambridge, "matriculated pensioner of King's College on July 2, 1639." He was one of Wotton's executors, as appears from a notice of him in the preface to "The College of Cardinals," edited for the Camden Society by the Rev. J. C. Robertson, Canon of Canterbury. The lady to whom the letter is written was the widow of Thomas second Lord Wotton. The marriage referred to is that between her daughter, Hester Wotton, and Baptist Noel, the son of the second Viscount Camden. It took place (as appears from an extract from the Duplicate Register of Boughton Malherbe, in the Diocesan Registry at Canterbury, furnished by Mr. Hopper,) on the 31st of December, 1639.]

MY EVER TRUELY HONORED LADIE AND NEECE,

When this my servant returning lately to me from Cambridg (whether I had sent him to see the first placing of my nephew Albertus) thorough London, where he could tell me you were by a casual meeting with y^r coachman, I was truely sorrie bothe to understande it accidentally, and likewise when I was uppon the poynt of resolving (as he can well tell you) to have the honour and comfort of wayting on you in mine own genial ayre youre Mansion Howse in Kent. But I heare aboute a moneth hense you wilbe theare agayne, and I will plott in the meane while

how to conveighe my self unto you by a little circuit, for more then a voluntarie and pleasurable motion doeth now carie me (since youre Lad^p is out of Kent) towards Suffolck, espetially that I may conferr by the waye with an excellent physition inhabitant in St. Edmunds Burie, whom I brought myself from Venice, where (as eather I suppose or surmize) I first contracted my infirmitie of the splene, to which the verie seate is generally inclined, and therefore theire physitions (who commonly studie the inclinations of places) are the likeliest to understande the best remedies.

For my particular (I thanke my God) I am free of those extremities which first assayed me, yet still troubled at tymes with some uncivil remaynder as my sayed servant will tell you, and I should be glad to come in all poynts cheerfully unto you, for I have a world of discourse to unlade, like those that weede not a garden till it has growen a woode. Yet in the reserved mater I have not much to saye more touching that subject whereof I last wrote to y^r Lad^p by this verie Bearer. For in truth I have given it out with a good confidence that all is well in the intentions on both sides and with assurance on my inviolat neece y^r dawghter's part. And the reason why I have no more stirred in it is an experience that I had long since of being imployed in the like buisnesse (as I shall tell y^r Lad^p when we meete) with miserable infelicitie. I thinke silence and rest doeth oftentimes more good then Physique and agitation of Nature.

Glad I am to heare that y^r Lad^p hath brought with you my most deere Neece Hester, to whom My Lord her granfather did as great an injurie as he could possibly doe even while he meant to doe a greater; owre blessed God disposeth of all thinges sweetely in his good tyme. And so end with my continual prayers for his deerest favours uppon you and all yours.

Remayning ever youre Lad^p's most faythfull servant,

HENRY WOTTON.

[*In dorso.*] Leetter of S^r Hen. Wotton touching a visit or Journey to meete his neece in Kent, but by a circuit to goe to Phisition, w^{ch} he brought from Venice wth him. Venice subject to splene, wth which he is a little troubled now and then. Soe glad to heare she has brought his neece Esther wth her, to whome her grandfather did as great an injury as possible, while he sought to doe a greater. He rests.