Vanini in England

OF the foreigners who visited England in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I perhaps the most interesting figures are those of Giordano Bruno and Giulio Cesare Vanini. Although it would be absurd to place the lucubrations of Vanini on a level with the philosophical, if not always intelligible, speculations of Bruno, yet the similarity of the subject matter of their audacious writings, their wandering and adventurous lives, and perhaps most of all the similarity of their tragical fate, make us constantly link their names together, and perhaps have contributed to shed upon Vanini some sparks of the halo which surrounds the name of Bruno. We have hitherto had no contemporary account of the visit of either to our shores. We have known only what they themselves have been pleased to tell us in their works—in the case of Bruno a mixture of 'Wahrheit und Dichtung' which excites in us a desire to know how the matters recorded appeared to those eminent persons—Sir Philip Sidney and Fulke Greville among others—with whom it seems to be clear that during his visit he was intimately associated. But Vanini tells us hardly anything of his visit except that he passed two years in England, that his zeal for the catholic faith occasioned his imprisonment for forty-nine days, and that he was prepared to receive the crown of martyrdom with all the zeal imaginable.¹ There are, however, among the State Papers in the Record Office a number of letters, two by Vanini himself, others by those with whom he was immediately connected whilst in England, which give us a tolerably detailed account of his residence in this country, and throw an important though not altogether favourable light upon his life, his character, and his opinions.

Among the sources of information for the reign of James I, the

¹ *Amphitheatrum Aeternae Providentiae*, pp. 117–18. But he is not very accurate in his statement, and implies—if he does not actually assert—that he came to England on a religious mission:—*Ego sane vel minimus militantis Ecclesiae Tyro, cum anno praeterito Londini ad agonem Christianum destinatus essem, adeoque 49 diebus in latomiiis tanquam palaestra quadam exercerem, eo eram pro Catholicae Ecclesiae auctoritate defensanda effundendi sanguinis desiderio accensus, et inflammatus, ut mihi a Deo immortalis vel majus donum, aut melius contingere nullo modo potuisset, ita quidem, si non superiorem, inferiorem certe nullo martyre propriae conscientiae testimonium me indicavit et confratrum, qui mecum in eodem erant Xisto et theatro fortissimi, et digni sane qui tale Deo spectaculum exhiberent.*

latter part of Elizabeth, and the first years of Charles I, an important place must be given to the correspondence between Sir Dudley Carleton—afterwards Viscount Dorchester—successively ambassador at Brussels, Venice, and The Hague, and John Chamberlain. Chamberlain, well described by Mr. Thompson Cooper in the 'Dictionary of National Biography' as 'an accomplished scholar and an admirable letter-writer, the Horace Walpole of his day,' during more than a quarter of a century was in the habit of writing long and frequent letters to his friends, especially to those who filled diplomatic appointments abroad, full of interesting details, including not only public events, but all the court gossip of the time. A private gentleman of good position and ample fortune, intimate with many men of eminence, and mixing in the best society of his time, he seems to have been singularly free from ambition, and to have desired neither place nor money. Copies (now in the British Museum) of a large number of his letters, made a century and a half since by Dr. Thomas Birch from the originals in the Record Office, form the principal and by far the most interesting part of two works entitled 'The Court and Times of James I' (2 vols. London, 1848) and 'The Court and Times of Charles I' (London, 1848). A volume of his letters written in the reign of Elizabeth has been printed by the Camden Society. Many others are to be found in Nichols's 'Progresses of James I,' and in Sir Ralph Winwood's 'Memorials.' A considerable number of Chamberlain's letters, however, are still in the Record Office and unprinted, many of these being as full of interest as those which have appeared in the volumes just referred to.

In the 'Court and Times of James I' there are several letters from Chamberlain and one from Carleton referring to two Carmelite friars professing to be protestants, who came to England from Venice in 1612 with an introduction from Carleton to Archbishop Abbot, by whom they were for some time entertained at Lambeth. Their names are not given, but in the published 'Calendar of State Papers,' besides many other letters not printed in the 'Court and Times of James I,' are two letters in Italian from one of them called in the Calendar Julio Cesare Vandoni; one to Carleton thanking him for the introduction to Archbishop Abbot, the other to Isaac Wake, then Carleton's secretary. The name certainly at first sight looks much more like Vandoni than Vanini, but on a comparison with the only other specimen of Vanini's handwriting known to exist—the oath taken by him on receiving the degree of Doctor, which has been brought to light from the Archives of the University of Naples by Professor Settembrini, and a facsimile of a part of which is given by Signor Palumbo in the book hereinafter referred to—the 'n' forming the third letter of 'Vanini' in the signature of the letters to Carleton and Wake will be seen to be identical with

the letter 'n' in the word 'spondeo' in the oath, and to have the same flourish resembling a 'd' at the end of it, whilst other similarities show that the handwriting of the oath and of the two letters is identical. That these two letters were written by Vanini and that the State Papers contain several references to his visit to England was first made known by Signor Raffaele Palumbo in 1878, in a brochure of one hundred pages entitled '*Giulio Cesare Vanini e i suoi tempi, Cenno biografico-storico corredato di documenti inediti*' (Naples). The object of this book, the author tells us, 'is to make known some documents discovered by me in London in the Archives of the State. These documents, which have remained unknown for three centuries, enable us to understand both the character of and many details respecting Giulio Cesare Vanini, who died at the stake at Toulouse and was one of the last of the philosophers of the Italian Renaissance.' Signor Palumbo is entitled to much credit, and ought to receive our gratitude, for the discovery that these documents refer to Vanini, but unfortunately he has made but little use of them in his book. He prints in full, indeed—though not quite correctly—the two letters in Italian from Vanini himself, which are really among the least interesting of the whole series, but of those of Archbishop Abbot and John Chamberlain, to which he refers, he gives very brief extracts and incorrect summaries. He was evidently unaware that several of these letters had been printed, and it is clear that he had only actually read the two written by Vanini, and that he was entirely ignorant of the existence of some of the most important of the rest, whilst he has contented himself with reading the summaries of the others given by Mrs. Green in the '*Calendar of State Papers*.' On several important points—possibly from a want of familiarity with our language and our history—he has misunderstood and misstated the effect of these summaries, and has thus deprived his narrative of any value whatever, either for the details of Vanini's residence in England, or for enabling us to form any conclusions as to his character or his object in visiting this country.² Moreover, of the nineteen letters which I have been able to find in the Record Office relating to Vanini and his visit, Palumbo refers only to ten, and has not even noticed perhaps the most important of all—one from Archbishop Abbot to Sir Dudley Carleton, written 16 March 1614.

² Signor Palumbo's inaccuracies are not confined to English affairs. He speaks of Bayle (who was born in 1648) as a contemporary of Vanini, and states that Gramond the historian was president of the parliament of Toulouse at the time of Vanini's execution, that he presided at the trial and suborned the chief witness against him, Francon by name. Brutally as Gramond treats Vanini in his *History*, it is only just to him to say that he was in no way concerned in the trial. It was not until some years later that he succeeded his father, with whom he has been confounded, in the office of *Président des Enquêtes* in the parliament of Toulouse. But though his father then held that office, there is no evidence that he, any more than his son, took part in the trial of Vanini.

Signor Palumbo's work was reviewed by Professor Fiorentino in the 'Nuova Antologia' for September 1878, but so little attention did it receive in England that no copy of it is to be found in the British Museum, nor has it, or the remarkable discovery made by Signor Palumbo, so far as I know, been noticed by any English writer except the Rev. J. Owen, who in his recent work, 'The Skeptics of the Italian Renaissance,' has devoted several pages to Vanini's visit to England. But unfortunately Mr. Owen has not consulted the documents themselves, or even the printed calendars, and has merely based his account upon that of Palumbo, or rather, perhaps, upon Fiorentino's article in the 'Nuova Antologia,' borrowing all the Italian author's mistakes, and adding one or two of his own. He, like Palumbo, is entirely ignorant of the fact that several of the letters have been printed in 'The Court and Times of James I.' Both writers take a very favourable view of the character of Vanini, and neither of them has extracted from the letters any of the passages which tend to give an opposite impression. Each of them represents Vanini as a sincere and conscientious man, an orthodox but liberal-minded catholic, hoping to find in the Anglican Church greater intellectual freedom than in the Roman communion, and returning to the church of Rome when he found that of England not more but less liberal and giving less opportunity for freedom of thought. This is certainly not the impression the letters themselves give us. Mr. Owen's chapter on Vanini is, notwithstanding, one of the most interesting in his book, and it is greatly to be regretted that he has missed the opportunity of making himself acquainted with the facts as to Vanini's stay in England, and of giving them to the world. They would certainly—after making all allowance for the narrow-minded prejudices of Archbishop Abbot—have obliged him to modify his opinion of the character of Vanini, and to have represented it less favourably.

Lucilio, or, as he preferred to style himself, Giulio Cesare Vanini (perhaps copying a man for whom he more than once expresses great admiration, Julius Cæsar Scaliger), was born at Taurisano, near Otranto, in the kingdom of Naples, in 1585. His taste for learning induced his father to send him to the university of Naples, where he took the degree of Doctor *utriusque iuris* in 1606. Philosophy and physical science were his two favourite subjects of study, and his two masters were, as he tells us, John Bacon (*i.e.* Baconthorpe), 'the prince of Averroists, from whom I have learned to swear only by Averroës,' and Pomponatius, whose book '*De Incantationibus*' he styles 'a golden book,' and of whom he writes—strangely enough, since Pomponatius was an opponent of Averroës and a disciple of Alexander of Aphrodisias—'that Pythagoras would have said that the soul of Averroës had passed into the body of

Pomponatius.' Renan, in his '*Averroès et l'Averroïsme*,' seems hardly as fair as usual in attributing to Vanini a deliberate falsehood in this statement as to his masters, one of whom died two hundred and forty years and the other fifty years before his birth; and I agree with Mr. Owen that he only intended to express the obligations he was under to the works of these two philosophers, and not to suggest that he had actually been their pupil. His other favourite authors were Aristotle, Albertus Magnus, and Jerome Cardan. For the details of his life between June 1606, when he took his doctor's degree, and the spring of 1612, when we find him in Venice, we have only the scattered references to be found in his two extant books, the '*Amphitheatrum Aeternae Providentiae*,' printed at Lyons in 1615, and his '*De Admirandis Naturae . . . Arcanis*,' printed at Paris in 1616. That he became a Carmelite friar, and received priest's orders; that he studied for some time at Padua and there (probably) made the acquaintance of a fellow student, one Giovanni Maria Genochi²; that he travelled through Germany, having there Genochi as his companion, Bohemia, Holland, and Switzerland, disputing with atheists and protestants, and always professing himself to be an orthodox catholic; then for a time staying in France—probably in Paris, but (perhaps) driven thence by the false accusations of a certain Henricus Sylvius—is really all that we know of his history during these years. In the spring of 1612, then in the twenty-seventh year of his age, we find him at Venice, and it is there that our special interest in him in connexion with his English visit begins.

It appears from the letters which I shall shortly quote at length, that in or shortly before March 1612, Sir Dudley Carleton, then ambassador to Venice, and his secretary, Isaac Wake, had made the acquaintance of two Carmelite friars, men of considerable learning, who professed a secret attachment to the reformed doctrines and a desire to visit England. Carleton, who though a shrewd diplomatist was now at least a zealous protestant—he had been suspected of being a Roman catholic in his youth—was convinced of their sincerity: 'Their discovery of light even in the midst of darkness hath been very miraculous.' Accordingly he wrote to Archbishop Abbot, recommending them to him, and received from him a reply to the effect that if they visited England they would be well received. These letters I have not been able to find, but it seems from a letter of Chamberlain to Carleton of 17 June 1612, that, notwithstanding the desire as well of Carleton as of the two friars themselves that their visit 'should be with all secrecy,' the matter had not been kept private but had been talked of two months before their arrival: 'They were expected long before they came, and the

² Variouslly called by the biographers of Vanini, Genochi, Gennochis, Guinnochi, and Sinnochi.

bishop of Ely [Andrewes] could tell me two months since that two such were on their way . . . some while before they set forth.'

One of these friars was Vanini, the other—the younger of the two—called himself Giovanni (Battista?) Maria de Franchis.⁴ They would seem to have started from Venice soon after April 29, furnished with a letter of introduction of that date from Carleton to Chamberlain, who had accompanied him on his embassy to Venice in 1610, and had lately (in November 1611) returned to England.⁵

Good Mr. Chamberlain,—You must be content to be troubled sometimes with commissions from your friends with which variety will make the quietness you enjoy so much the more pleasing. This that I now recommend to you is a work of charity to be assistant to two honest strangers, who were yet never nearer England than this place nor never spake with Englishman but with myself and some of my house : and yet as they are carried thither by their affection, so are they well settled in our religion. For this cause I have recommended them to my Lord Archbishop's grace, by whom I have good assurance they will be well received : and because it is difficult for strangers to find access, I will desire this of you ; if you are known to my Lord to bestow the conducting of them yourself ; if otherwise to address them to some one of his chaplains whom you hear to be of most trust about his Lordship for as their mission hath been with all secrecy, so I desire their reception may be. And as their discovery of light even in the midst of darkness hath been very miraculous, so those good parts of learning that are in them I promise myself will add much to the bright shining thereof through all the world. Of their outward appearance and manners you must respect no more than of those who have always lived in cloisters but their ingenuity will (I assure myself) give you the same satisfaction it hath done me. Their course of life you shall more particularly understand from themselves : and I pray you as for their first access so likewise for their other occasions let them be aided hereafter by your friendly advice : and as I shall be glad to have from you what satisfaction they both give and receive so where they will write I pray you to give their letters conveyance. And thus with wonted good wishes I commit you to God's holy protection. From Venice this 29 of Aprill, 1612.⁶

Of the two friars' journey from Venice to London we have no details, though it is not impossible that some of the adventures and

⁴ Whether he is the same person with Giovanni Maria Genocchi I shall consider later on.

⁵ Signor Palumbo, as a foreigner, may be excused for knowing nothing of Chamberlain, but it is strange that Mr. Owen should have failed to identify Carleton's correspondent—a man well known to every student of the reigns of James I and Charles I, whose letters, especially those to Carleton, are so frequently quoted by our historians and biographers. Signor Palumbo and Mr. Owen both erroneously, and strangely describe him as *Mayor of Canterbury*, an office which he never filled, having, indeed, no connexion whatever with that city ; and Mr. Owen adds to the blunder of Signor Palumbo by knighting him and describing him as 'Sir somebody Chamberlain.'

⁶ *Cal. St. P. Dom. Ser. Jas. I.* 1611-18, lxviii. 127, No. 103. Printed in *Court and Times of James I.* p. 165.

conversations which Vanini records as occurring in Germany, France, Holland, or Switzerland, may have taken place on this occasion. Fuhrmann⁷ seems to have thought that he went to England by way of Paris, and, as well as others of Vanini's biographers, that his visit to this country was occasioned by some hostile proceedings on the part of one Henricus Sylvius, of whom he more than once speaks with much bitterness. Mr. Owen also writes: 'Driven out of France by the malevolence of a certain Enrico Sylvio [*sic*] we next find Vanini in England.' But I do not understand Vanini's words as necessarily implying this. Speaking of the different meanings or applications of the word '*fatale*,' he writes: ⁸ *Alterum versatur circa exiliora, veluti dicam, fatale mihi fuit ut ab Henrico Sylvio iniustissime laesus Britanniam inviserem.* Dr. Ernst Münch ('Julius Cäsar Vanini: sein Leben und sein System') says that Vanini took ship for England at Havre, but I have failed to find any authority for this statement. The two friars arrived in London (not Canterbury as Signor Palumbo and Mr. Owen strangely imply) shortly before 17 June,⁹ on which day Chamberlain wrote to Carleton a long letter containing all the news of the day, from which the following is an extract:

'My very goode Lord: yo^r two Carmelites are come, and have delivered me yo^r letter of the 29th of Aprill, I have since received a letter of the 22 of May. Touching yo^r friars yt was my chaunce to be out of towne when they came and they unwilling to loose any time found access to the archbishop in my absence, w^{ch} came very well to passe, for I shold have proved but a bad conductor, having no manner of acquaintance in that house but Mr. Robert Hatton who is steward: neither can I tell wherein to pleasure them more than in conveying theyre letters which I send here inclosed whereby you shall receive from themselves a full relation of theyre present estate. They are now lodged at Lambeth in the bishop's house where the elder of them is still to remain, the other is to be sent shortly to the archbishop of Yorke by the king's appointment though I thinke he had rather have continued in these parts yf he might have been permitted. Theyre reception could not be so private as yt seems you wished for they were expected longe before they came and the bishop of Ely could tell me two months since that there were two such upon the way, w^{ch} yt seemes was some while before they set forth. He told me likewise the other day of a certain bishop in the venetian territorie (but he had forgot his name) that is writing a worke against the Popes usurping jurisdiction. To tell you freely my opinion as far as I understand this business, though yt cannot be denied but that you have done a very goode and charitable worke in reducing these straying sheep,

⁷ *Leben und Schicksale, Geist, Character und Meynungen des Lucilio Vanini* (Leipzig, 1800).

⁸ *Amphitheatrum*, Ex. 42, p. 285. Rousselot, *Œuvres philosophiques de Vanini*, p. 166, states that this Sylvius was an alchemist who was put to death for his crimes at the time that Vanini was in France.

⁹ It is clear that they did not arrive until after 11 June, as on that day Chamberlain had written to Carleton without any mention of them.

yet I doubt you wil reape no great thanks on either side, for I find our bishops here not very fond of such guests, and thinke they might have enough of them, yf they could provide them maintenance so that unless they be very eminent and men of marke they shall find little regard after a small time. . . .¹⁰

Their abjuration of the Roman catholic faith and their reception into the reformed Italian church took place on Sunday July 5, at the chapel of Mercers' Hall, then used as the place of worship of the Italian protestants, of which Ascanio Spinola was the minister.¹¹ Unfortunately for us, Chamberlain was not present, but he gives the following account of the matter to Carleton in a letter dated 12 July 1612:

My very goode Lord: yo^r two Carmelites made a publike confession of theyre fayth and conversion wth an abjuration of theyre former errors on Sunday last at the Italian Church in the pressence of a great assemblie, whereof sr Francis Bacon was the man of most marke. I was not there by the error of my man whom I sent to learne and he brought me worde the appointment held not that day: but I understand the elder acquitted himself best in point of learning and the other in language, as likewise he hath the voyce of my L. of Cannterburie's house of the more prompte and quicke spirit and they wish that they might kepe them both still, or yf they must part wth one that they might retain him. . . .¹²

It appears from a subsequent letter of Archbishop Abbot, in which he refers to the younger friar as the one that afterwards went to York, that Vanini was the one here referred to as the elder, and

¹⁰ Cal. lxi. 185, No. 71; *Court and Times of James I.* i. 173.

¹¹ I have been unable to find any account either of Ascanio Spinola or of the Italian church in London (as reconstituted in 1609) prior to the arrival of the archbishop of Spalato in 1616. The only notice of them with which I am acquainted is contained in Baron de Schickler's *Les Églises du Refuge en Angleterre* (8 vols. Paris, 1892), i. 387-8: *La chapelle de Mercers Hall avait été rouverte et le culte rétabli en 1609, après une longue interruption, par un ancien moine venu de Bruzelles, Ascanio Spinola, avec le concours du Conseil privé, de l'archevêque Bancroft et de Ravis qui fut évêque de Londres de 1607 à 1609. Mais, ainsi qu'il s'en plaignait au consistoire flamand, Spinola avait vainement essayé de renouer les liens avec les deux autres Eglises étrangères: il avait demandé à plusieurs reprises à M. Burlamachi de parler aux frères français en vue de la rentrée de son troupeau dans l'ancienne union; il offrait de participer avec eux à la cène, s'engageait à n'y admettre de son côté aucun étranger sans leur consentement, sollicitait leurs conseils sur la discipline, priait ceux qui comprenaient la langue d'assister quelquefois à son culte 'pour naître à l'Antéchrist qui cherche à empêcher l'existence d'une communauté italienne à Londres.' Les consistoires flamand et français persistèrent dans leur abstention, justifiés bientôt par le retour de Spinola au catholicisme (1616). M. de Schickler quotes this letter from the *Memoirs of Simon Ruysinck*, published (in Dutch) by the *Marnix Vereeniging* (Utrecht, 1873). Ascanio Spinola seems to have left England about the time of the arrival of the archbishop of Spalato, who succeeded him as minister of the Italian church, for Chamberlain writes to Carleton on 18 Jan. 1617: 'Here is a rumour that the Italian preacher, Ascanio, is run away; being, as is said, enticed by one Grimaldi, kinsman of Spinola's, whom he accompanied on his way as far as Dover, and since his wife nor friends have no news of him' (*Court and Times of James I.* p. 389).*

¹² Cal. lxx. 186, No. 2; *Court and Times of James I.* i. 179.

it appears that he made himself less agreeable and produced a less favourable impression upon the members of the archbishop's household than his younger colleague, though he was the more learned. It is probable that their sermons at the Italian church referred to in the next letter would be on Sunday 19 July, for before the 23rd the two friars had accompanied the archbishop by his invitation to his summer palace at Croydon, and from that place they wrote to Carleton, as appears from a letter of that date from Chamberlain to Carleton enclosing the friars' packet, the contents of which, however, are not among the state papers.

Yo^r two friers are gon thether [Croydon] wth him [the archbishop] and are not yet otherwise disposed of: they have both preached of late at the Italian Church wth reasonable approbation. Here is a packet from them w^{ch} I send as I received yt from Mr. Wimark to whom yt was delivered (as he sayes) in the dark from Dick Martin, and thinkeinge it to be somewhat concerning himself opened it before he was aware but finding what it was protests he sought no secrets in it.¹³

We have already seen from Chamberlain's first letter that by the king's appointment one of the friars was to be sent to the archbishop of York, and the younger, Giovanni Maria, was chosen. He accordingly started for Bishopsthorpe on or about 23 July, furnished with a letter from Abbot to Tobie Matthew, then archbishop of York. He arrived at Bishopsthorpe on the 27th, and two days later Matthew wrote the following letter to one of the high officers of the court, probably the earl of Suffolk then lord chamberlain, or Sir Thomas Lake who was then performing the duties of secretary of state though not actually appointed to that office.

My very good Lord,—I have thought meet with all convenient expedition to advertise your lo: that Mr. Johannes Maria the converted friar carmelite came hither unto me upon Monday last the xxvii of this month accompanied with a letter from the most reverend father my Lord of Cant: his grace, dated the 23 of the same to the effect of that his Majesty's letter which I formerly received from your lordship for entertainment of the said stranger who is and shall be welcome to me not doubting but he will well deserve so to be by his religious and civil carriage whereof I see no cause but to conceive a very good opinion. Thus loath to trouble your Lordship any longer than needs I must and eftsones intreating that my readiness to receive him into my house may be signified to his most excellent majesty. . . .¹⁴

Your L. ever most assured
TOBIAS EBORACENSIS.

Bishopsthorpe, 29 July 1612.

¹³ *Cal. lxx.* 138, No. 12.

¹⁴ *Cal. lxx.* 139, No. 16. This letter is not addressed or endorsed, but is described in the *Calendar* as 'Tobias Matthew, archbishop of York, to the earl of Suffolk or Sir Thos. Lake.'

Though we hardly gather from this letter that Archbishop Matthew was very much delighted to receive the guest whom the king had sent to him, yet it seems from a letter of Vanini to Isaac Wake that he received De Franchis kindly and hospitably.

We hear nothing more of either of the friars for upwards of two months; but then, under date of 9 Oct. 1612, we find two letters written by Vanini himself, one to Carleton, the other to Isaac Wake his secretary. The following are translations of these letters, which are printed in their original Italian, though not quite accurately, by Signor Palumbo. The first is addressed to Carleton, the second to Wake:

Most illustrious and excellent Sir,—After I have made my most humble reverence to your excellency, knowing your affection and anxiety for my welfare I write to inform you how much I am enjoying myself in these parts, and what affection I have for my respected lord the most illustrious archbishop of Canterbury. And it is so much the more pleasant to me that I am sure by showing gratitude to his illustrious and reverend Lordship I am doing what is agreeable to you who have placed me at this court, and since I am not able to render you any recompense I shall always remain your excellency's most obliged servant: to whom I make a profound reverence and pray that you may receive from our Lord all the happiness that you can wish.

From Lambeth, 9 Oct. 1612.

Di V. S. Ill.
GIULIO CESARE VANINI.¹⁵

Milord,—I owe you a reply to your lordship's letter of last month which owing to my having been until now at Croydon I have not been able to reply to as I ought to have done.

To give you news of myself, I am well and happy, praise the Lord, and am treated most affectionately by Monsignor the most illustrious archbishop, who constantly entertains me at his table and gives me hopes that one day he will confer some office on me.

For three months past my brother Giovanni Maria has been at York at the court of the archbishop, by whom he is liked and treated with much kindness, and he has lately written to me that he is in so much favour that he expects to receive a benefice from the archbishop.

Mr. Josias Robinson tells me that he knew your lordship at the University of Oxford.

I have not yet seen Signor Chamberlain, but I shall not fail to go to visit him as soon as possible and to do what your lordship has written to me.

I beg you to let me know if my box or trunk of clothes which I left in the chamber of the chaplain has been put on board ship for London; if not, I beg you to send it to me.

I shall be very glad if any opportunity occurs to be of service to you (as I have been to my lord) by praising the admirable way in which your excellency has behaved in the embassy.

¹⁵ *Cal. lxxi.* 151, No. 13.

For the rest I kiss your excellency's hands and those of the chaplain, praying for you from our Lord all happiness.

From Lambeth, 9 Oct. 1612.

Di V. S. III°.

GIULIO CESARE VANINI.

P.S.—Chamberlain has just told me that my box has arrived. I thank you that it has not happened otherwise.¹⁶

Up to this time Vanini and his friend seem to have been well satisfied with their reception and entertainment in England. They were hospitably entertained by the two archbishops, and each of them was expecting a benefice. They had evidently believed that their zeal for protestantism would have led to some liberal preferment; and it is by no means improbable that, had their expectations been fulfilled, their faith would have been confirmed, and that Vanini, instead of perishing at the stake at Toulouse, might have lived and died a member of the church of England, and might probably have persuaded himself and his patrons that he was actuated by no other motive than that of zeal for the truth. But the benefices did not come. To do Abbot justice, notwithstanding his narrow puritanism, he never seems to have been very eager after 'convertitoes' (as he calls them in a subsequent letter) from the Romish faith, and seems always to have had a shrewd suspicion that they were looking after the loaves and fishes rather than after the word of life; while Tobie Matthew, who was more of a statesman than a divine (though a bitter persecutor of recusants), had no fondness for foreign converts, and still less any intention of paying them for their change of opinion. Vanini was beginning to be impatient for a benefice, and Giovanni Maria found Bishopthorpe dull. A letter from Chamberlain to Carleton, of 14 Jan. 1612-13, first makes known to us the discontent of the friars:

... Your Italian friar was with me this other day with a long discontented discourse for want of money and that he was sometimes fain to make his own bed and sweep his chamber, things he was never put to in the place whence he came. I advised him the best I could to patience, and told him that seeing he was well provided for food and raiment he might fashion himself to endure somewhat *per amor di Christo*. It seems his companion Giovanni is no better pleased in the North, for

¹⁶ *Cal. lxxi.* 151, No. 14. The name in this letter which I have printed as Chamberlain, is given in Palumbo's book as *Ciaberth*—an impossible name, at least for an Englishman—but as I read the original, it is 'Ciäberliä,' with marks which seem to indicate abbreviations over the 'a,' so that the name would be 'Ciamberlian,' a not improbable mode of spelling Chamberlain for an Italian. In writing that he had not yet seen Chamberlain—whose letter of 17 June, 1612, certainly implies that he had seen the friars, and who, indeed, we can hardly suppose would have been so neglectful of Carleton's wishes as not to have visited them as soon as he returned to London—I take it that Vanini's meaning is that he had not seen Chamberlain since the receipt of Wake's 'etter of last month.' He had probably only just returned to Lambeth from Croydon.

he wrote lately to him that his patron the Archbishop was *strettissimo di danari* and that they lived not in cities nor towns, but *in villa*, and thereupon subscribed his name *Johannes in Deserto*.¹⁷

This extract from Chamberlain's letter is translated at length by Signor Palumbo (p. 14), but he has not read the first few words accurately, for he translates them, *I due frati italiani da voi raccomandati vennero oggi da me*, whereas it will be seen that it was Vanini alone that called on Chamberlain, his companion being still at Bishopsthorpe.¹⁸

The presence of two Carmelite friars, professed converts to the reformed faith, and the fact that they had made public abjuration, and subsequently preached in the Italian church, were of course well known, and could not but have been very distasteful to the authorities of the church of Rome, and it is probable that at an early stage of their visit efforts were made to increase, or perhaps arouse, their discontent, and to induce them to return to the bosom of the church. Their movements were carefully watched by the emissaries of the Spanish ambassador, Zuñiga, whose house was the focus for intrigues of every sort for the furtherance of the faith, and who about this time was detaining as prisoner in his house a converted Italian priest, who had come to England for refuge, as appears from a letter of Abbot to the king, of 17 Aug. 1612. But the immediate agent in the matter was the chaplain of the Venetian ambassador, Hieronymo Moravi, who now appears upon the scene, and who seems to have played an important, though rather mysterious, part in the subsequent adventures of Vanini in England. Moravi is mentioned by name by Vanini in the '*De Admirandis Naturae*,' p. 217. He is there described as 'a most excellent and very learned man, who was my confessor during my stay in London.' I have not found any mention of his name in the letters in the Record Office; but it appears from a letter of Abbot, of 16 March 1613-14, that the chaplain of Foscarini had admitted to him that 'now a year ago Julius Caesar upon his knees did beg of him to be

¹⁷ *Cal.* lxxii. 167, No. 18; *Court and Times of James I.* i. 155, 158. This letter is dated 14 Jan. 1612, but is clearly 1613, according to our reckoning, treating the year as beginning on 1 Jan. There is much (almost inevitable) confusion in the *Calendars*, in the arrangement of letters dated in January, February, and March, as the writers seem sometimes to have used the legal, sometimes the common, year. Consequently, both in the *Calendars* and in the *Court and Times of James I.* several of them occur out of their proper place, and a year earlier than they should do. A careful consideration of these, however, has enabled me to arrange them in their proper order, and to ascribe to them their true dates.

¹⁸ Mr. Owen, still possessed with the idea that Chamberlain lived at Canterbury, paraphrases the statement in the letter as follows: 'The day after, Sir — Chamberlain wrote to Sir Dudley Carleton that his two *protégés* [*sic*] were come to Canterbury to find him. They were in great difficulties, which he had for the time relieved.' He has immediately before referred to a letter of 13 Jan. 1613, from the archbishop to the bishop of Bath; this letter, however, was not until a year later, *i.e.* 13 Jan. 1613-14.

a means to the Nuntio living at Paris to write to the pope that a pardon might be procured to the two friars for leaving their order ; which accordingly he did.'

But as yet Abbot was quite unaware that his guests had begun to be dissatisfied with his entertainment. In a letter to Carleton, dated 24 Feb. 1612-13, he writes :

The two honest men whom the last year you sent unto me do very well, and as I trust receive nothing but contentment.¹⁹

In the meantime Giovanni Maria, who had probably not yet given up hopes of a benefice, had written a Latin poem upon the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth with the Count Palatine. The marriage took place on 14 Feb. 1613, and the poem would be printed about the same time that the other 'Epithalamia' appeared, namely, in February or possibly a little later. It is from this poem alone that we learn the surname of the author, or at least that by which he passed in England, for his christian names only are mentioned in the correspondence. A copy of the poem is in the British Museum, and the following is the title :

De auspiciatissimis nuptiis illustrissimi Principis D. Friderici sacri Romani Imperii Archidapiferi et Electoris &c. Comitis Palatini ad Rhenum Ducis Bavariae, &c. cum illustrissima Principe D. Elizabetha serenissimi Magnae Britanniae &c. Regis Filia unigenita Poema.

Anno Domini 1613.

It has no printer's name or place, but the suggestion in the catalogue of the British Museum is that it was printed in London. No entry of it, however, appears in the Registers of the Stationers' Company. The book is a small quarto, the pages unnumbered ; it commences with a brief dedication in praise of the elector Palatine signed Joannes Maria Franch. Then follow fifteen pages of hexameters, ending with an epigram of twelve lines in elegiacs.

Although dealing in terms with classical mythology, yet it is really directed to a large extent against the church of Rome, and lest the allegorical references should be misunderstood, the author is careful to make his meaning clear by his marginal annotations. Thus to the lines

Quippe cohors scelerata specu Phlegethontis iniqui
Exilit atra,

the marginal note is :

Innuit ad Iesuitas et transfugas qui ex orco mittuntur ad seditiones in Angliam infernalibus armis, nempe igne sulphure &c.

And to the line

Est pia credulitas dictus temerarius error,

¹⁹ *Cal. lxxii.* 171, No. 39.

the note is :

Quia in novis articulis ab ipsis fundatis cum destituuntur a scriptura dicunt est Pium credere.

Another note is :

Praecipua ars Antichristi est simulare se Dei advocatum.

The poem, as printed, consists of one book only ; but it appears that the author had written three books, and that his friends were so much pleased with it that one of them, Samuel Hutton by name, translated the whole of the three into English, and the translation was published about 7 June in the same year, on which day we find the following entry in the Stationers' Registers :

7 Junii Master Elde Entred for his Copie under th[e h]ands of Master Nydd and Master Warden Hooper a booke called ' of the most Auspicious Mariage betweene the County Palatine and The Lady Elizabeth ' Three bookes composed in Latyn by Master Johannes Maria de ffranchis and translated in to English.

A copy of this also is in the British Museum. The title is as follows :

Of the most auspicious marriage betwixt the high and Mightie Prince Frederick Count Palatine of the Rhine chief server to the Sacred Roman Empire Prince Elector and Duke of Bavaria &c. and the most illustrious Princess the ladie Elizabeth her grace sole daughter to the high and Mightie James King of Great Britain &c. In iii Bookes. Composed in Latin by M. Joannes Maria de Franchis and translated into English. At London. Printed by G. Eld for William Blaincker, and are to be sold in Fleet Lane at the sign of the Printers Press. 1618.

The volume consists of eighty-eight pages in all, eight at the commencement and three at the end unnumbered, and seventy-seven numbered. It is dedicated by the author to Charles, Prince of Wales, and the following is an extract from the dedication :

At the first I intended to have only a short and ordinary Epithalamium, but afterwards having considered better of it, I found it much fitter to divide it into three bookes. The first Booke I sent to the right Reverend Father the Lord Archbishop of York who presented it unto the King. . . . At length some of my friends having received this Poeme printed it being delighted with the novelty of the matter. . . . At the first it grieved me a little that my book being not fully perfected should be printed ; but at last having no desire to have it printed again after that the solemnities were ended some of my friends began to importune me that I would impart my book unto them. I being easily overcome with their urging yielded unto their requests. This booke they have now translated into English, to the ende that the ladies may be partakers of this curious symetrie. This book I offer up to your Highnesse of whom I have heard many honourable relations at the Right Reverend Father in God my lord Archbishop of Yorke's house.

At the end is a short poem addressed to the Princess Elizabeth signed 'Samuel Hutton,' who seems to claim to be the translator. The name of Samuel Hutton does not appear in the 'Dictionary of National Biography,' and I have failed to find any notice of him. There was, however, at this date a prebendary of York of this name, a nephew of Matthew Hutton, Tobie Matthew's predecessor in the archbishopric, by whom, on 4 Feb. 1602-3, he had been collated to the prebend of Ulleskelf, which he held until 27 Nov. 1628.²⁰ He is probably the author of the translation, which is the merest doggerel. A single specimen will suffice :

For sons of Jove, Earth tooke the slaves of hell ;
 Babell was termed a Reverend Sanctuary ;
 Idolatry Devotion ; high pride Zeal ;
 Rash error a religious credulity ;
 Hypocrisie was called laws complement :
 Thus every vice got virtue's own accent.

I now come to the question whether Vanini's companion may not have been the Joannes Maria Genochius or Ginochius, who, as he tells us in the 'De Admirandis Naturae Arcanis,' accompanied him to Germany, and was with him at Strasburg when they embarked on the Rhine together. Genochius was at first unwilling to start, having seen a crow, which, as he thought, portended shipwreck. He here describes Genochius as *praeclarissimus theologus*, and mentions him with great praise in several other places—one in the 'De Admirandis' (p. 160), where, discussing evergreen and deciduous trees, he cites, but dissents from, the opinion of 'Joannes Maria Genochius Clavaro-Genuensis Philosophorum praestantissimus' that the cause of evergreenness is that evergreen trees *caeteris calidiores sunt et sicciore*s. Another mention is in the 'Amphitheatrum' (p. 304), where, discussing the problem of reconciling the existence of evil with that of a Divine Providence, he says: *Cacterum qui omnium optime de hoc argumento scripserit, est Dominus Joannes Maria Genochius Clavaro-Genuensis, vir sane Reipublicae colendissimus, in suo celebri opusculo de Gratia et lib. Arbitrio*. Now the friar who accompanied Vanini to England is generally called in the letters simply Giovanni Maria: once, however, in the letter of Chamberlain of 11 March 1613-14, Giovanni Battista, either a mistake for Giovanni Maria, or showing that his full Christian name was Giovanni Battista Maria. But in the translation of the Latin poem which he wrote on the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth with the Elector Palatine, he is called Joannes Maria de Franchis. It may be said that this is inconsistent with his being the same person as Genochius, but this is not, I think,

²⁰ Le Neve's *Fasti*, edited by Hardy, iii. 220; *Hutton Correspondence* (Surtees Society), pp. 13, 230. He is, no doubt, the person of that name who took his degree of B.A. at Oxford (college not stated), 11 July 1600: Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*.

conclusive. The poem is a strongly protestant production: the pope is branded as Antichrist; yet at the very time of the publication of this poem it is certain that Vanini and probable that both the friars were planning a return to the continent, and a reconciliation with the church of Rome. It does not therefore seem improbable that in England he may have published his poem under a feigned name so as not to hinder his return to his own country if his hopes of a benefice in England turned out to be vain. Giovanni Maria was, as appears by the letters, younger than Vanini, and it may be thought that the language which the latter uses of Genochius is inapplicable to one who, at the date of the publication of the '*Amphitheatrum*,' was certainly under thirty years of age.

I have searched ineffectually for any trace of the treatise on grace and free will which Vanini states to have been written by Genochius. I have, however, found a notice of the man himself in the '*Athenaeum Ligusticum*' of Oldoini (*Perusiae*, 1680, p. 358), where the following brief account is given of him:

Joannes Maria Ginocchius of Chiavari, a pious priest, a learned theologian, a zealous and eloquent preacher, and a poet of no common merit, published at Perpignan in 1620 '*Cantica Centum Spiritualia*,' in praise of the Blessed Virgin, in various metres. He also adorned the coronet of George, Duke of Centuri, with a poem.

Oldoini then refers to the '*Bibliotheca Mariana*' of Hippolytus Maraccius (*Romae*, MDCXLVIII, Pars Prima, p. 756), where there is a similar statement, only making no mention of the poem upon Georgius Dux Centurionis. Genochius is also mentioned by Jöcher, who simply quotes Oldoini as his authority. No copy of either of the books of Genochius is in the British Museum, and I have been unable to meet with them. It would be interesting to compare them, especially the poem upon the Duke of Centuri, with the *Epithalamium*. Such a comparison might assist us in coming to a conclusion whether Giovanni Maria de Franchis was identical with Joannes Maria Genochius. The very meagre accounts of him given by Oldoini and Maraccius are in no way inconsistent with the opinion that he was the companion of Vanini and the author of the *Epithalamium*.

On 11 March 1612-13 Chamberlain wrote to Carleton a letter which contains a reference to the Latin poem:

... Your Friar Giovan Battista (that is with the Archbishop of York) hath published a Latin poem upon this late marriage of the Lady Elizabeth with the Palgrave and sent them to present to all his friends in these parts. The verses seem good, but the Invention old and ordinary and his Epistle to the young couple is altogether built upon a fabulous friary tradition.²¹

²¹ *Cal. lxxii*. 175, No. 74; *Court and Times of James I*, p. 234.

Among the best known of the Italian residents in England at this time was Giovanni Francesco Biondi, a convert to protestantism, not less distinguished as a diplomatist than as a writer.²² He also was a correspondent of Carleton, and kept him well informed of various matters of interest from October 1612 to November 1613. Fifteen of his letters, all in Italian, are to be found among the State Papers in the Record Office. Biondi had of course heard of the arrival of the friars, and that they had been sent by Carleton; not improbably he had made their acquaintance, and had heard them preach at the Italian church. In a long letter from him to Carleton dated 17 March 1612-13 he writes :

As I believe your Excellency has not yet seen the little book of Signor Giovanni Maria, one of the two Carmelites sent here, I also send it to you.²³

Although this letter contains no other reference to either of the friars, it mentions a curious and interesting fact, not, I think, elsewhere recorded, and hitherto unnoticed, relating to the well-known Oxford 'Epithalamia' on the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth, a copy of which he sends also to Carleton, and concerning one of them he writes : 'The Spanish ambassador makes great complaints, and his people say that they [i.e. the 'Epithalamia'] will all be burnt, which I do not believe.' I have examined four copies of these 'Epithalamia,' with a view of ascertaining whether the Spanish ambassador had a substantial grievance, and whether any steps were taken to remedy it. I find on the reverse of folio F 8 (printed by mistake E 8) in two copies of the book in the British Museum (1213, l. 9,

²² See his life and a list of his works in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Signor Palumbo erroneously states that he accompanied De Dominis, archbishop of Spalato, into England, and then apostatised. In fact he had settled in England and become a protestant in 1609, seven years before the arrival of De Dominis.

²³ Signor Palumbo has strangely misunderstood this letter. He writes : 'G. F. Biondi, when sending to Carleton the Epithalamium written by the companion of Vanini and speaking of the apostasy of these two friars, states that the Spanish ambassador was in great fury against Vanini and his accomplices, threatening that they should be all sent to the stake.' But the passage to which he refers has nothing to do with the friars or the *operetta* of Giovanni Maria, but refers to the Oxford *Epithalamia*, and the words given by Palumbo in inverted commas, '*che sarebbero tutti mandati al rogo*,' are certainly not to be found anywhere in the letter, which it seems clear that he has not read, but has contented himself with reading (and misunderstanding) the summary given in the printed *Calendar*, which is as follows (vol. lxxii. no. 80, 17 Mar. 1613. Giov. Franc. Biondi to Carleton) : 'His [Carleton's] conduct in Venice much praised by the Venetian Ambassador in England, who is not popular. The King favours him because he professes to be a Protestant, but the Councillors ridicule him. The King not yet returned. The nobles eagerly waiting for office. Sends a work of Giov. Maria, one of the two friars sent into England; also the *Epithalamia* [on the Palatine's marriage] written at Oxford. The Spanish ambassador complains of one of them, and his adherents say they will all be burnt.' Mr. Owen, who knows no more of Biondi than of Chamberlain, as usual somewhat amplifies the statement of Palumbo : 'Fallen from the good graces of English Protestants, Vanini and his companion had long become loathsome to the Catholics. A certain Biondi wrote to Sir D. Carleton on 17 Mar. 1613 that the Spanish ambassador was in a rage against Vanini and his accomplices on account of his apostasy, and threatened him with the stake.'

Tract 7 and 161, b. 43) the following ode signed 'R. Rands e coll. Trin. in Art. Mag.' :

Ad Hispaniam.

Mitte, nimium importuna, mitte, perfida,
 Legationibus novis de nuptiis
 Agere : labori sumptibusque si sapis,
 Parcas, peracta cum scias omnia : minas
 Prodesse credis, aut dolos ? Clades tuae
 Veteres loquuntur arma, mentemque Britonum ;
 Para novam classem : secundó supplica
 Iovem tuum, ut coeptis tuis benediceret ;
 Aut potius artes Patre cum sancto novas
 Meditare ; classem mitte, mitte pulverem
 Bombardicum, quia suspicamur ; Roma habet
 Novas, inauditas petitas ab inferis
 Artes nocendi : illinc novas technas pete
 Et nuptias. Idola cum Christo, Bethel
 Cum Bethaven constare qui possunt ? pete
 Romam ; illa consortem tibi dabit parem,
 Qualemque velles ; nempe formarum ferax :
 Quas si minus probas roga Papam, ut velit
 Mutare sexum, non novo miraculo.

In my own copy of the book (formerly the Rev. W. E. Buckley's) this leaf is missing, but in the third copy at the British Museum (the Granville copy, 17499) folio F 3 has been reprinted ; the poem 'Ad Hispaniam' is omitted, and there are substituted for it sixteen inoffensive and commonplace elegiacs commencing

Ludite nunc Hilares pullam deponite vestem
 Musae ; pro tristi funere venit hymen.

On the reverse of folio P in the two first mentioned copies there commences a poem entitled 'Prosopopoeia ad comitem Palatinum' :

I pete coniugium foelix foelicius illo
 Quod, quae Teutonicis late dominatur in arvis
 Austriacae generosa domus prosapia vestris
 Dilectis potuit thalamis, Germane, dedisse.
 Hic tibi pro dote eximii numerantur honores
 Divitiaeque suis quas Anglia mittit ab oris,
 Et quae divitias superat celeberrima virtus,
 Quae tanto fulgore micat, miratus ut illam
 Non semel in thalamos spretus voluisset Iberus,
 Non semel uxorem petiisset Gallus. At illi
 Alter habendus amor restat simul altera sedes.

It ends on the next page (fol. P 2) with the following verses :

Gordius Hispano non est resecandus ab ense
 Nodus, et alterius laetetur Gallia taedis.
 Post tot neglectos remanes, Comes inclyte, solus,
 Qui nodum solvas, et tanta trophaea reportes.

Gu. Crosse Sancti-Mariensis.

In the Grenville copy, and also in my own, folio P has been reprinted, and instead of the 'Prosopopoeia ad Comitem Palatinum' are substituted eight feeble and commonplace elegiacs addressed 'Ad Regem,' with the catchword at the end 'Vere' instead of, as in the original impression, 'Gor.' But, notwithstanding this, folio P 2 has not been reprinted, but in both the Grenville and my own copies the original four verses appear, beginning 'Gordius Hispano non est resecandus ab ense.' In the Grenville copy I can find nothing to account for this, but in my own I find the following note on the flyleaf, in Mr. Buckley's writing: 'On P 2 at top some verses have been pasted over.' An examination of the page shows clearly that this has been the case, but unfortunately Mr. Buckley or some former owner has removed the paper that was pasted over the first four lines, and which no doubt contained the conclusion of the poem 'Ad Regem' beginning with *Vere*; of this a fragment containing a part of a single word alone remains. The conclusion to be drawn from an examination and comparison of these four copies is clearly this. The Spanish ambassador had made complaints, as Biondi states, concerning the 'Ad Hispaniam' and the 'Prosopopoeia,' but instead of the volume being burnt as his people (*i suoi*) expected, the two obnoxious pages were ordered to be reprinted, and inoffensive verses to be substituted for those which had given offence, and instead of reprinting P 2 the first four lines were ordered to be pasted over, and when this was done the book was allowed to be circulated.²⁴

At the date of Biondi's letter of 17 March 1613, the two friars, so far from having fallen from the good graces of English protestants, were still in favour, and there seems as yet to have been no suspicion that they were otherwise than sincere in their professions of adherence to the reformed faith.

In the summer of 1613, Giovanni Maria, having become tired of Bishopsthorpe, returned to London on the pretext that he was about to print some other book—possibly the English translation of his poem. He asked to be placed with the bishop of London, and this was agreed to, but, as it seems, the bishop was unwilling to receive him until he had been discharged of an English converted Jesuit, of whom he was then the somewhat unwilling host. On his arrival in London, he was lodged in a private house until the bishop was ready to receive him. While there he fell sick, and, in order that he might have the company of Vanini, was brought to Lambeth and lodged there, at the expense of Archbishop Abbot, 'in an honest house,' where he remained until shortly before 10 Feb. 1614.

²⁴ I have been unable to find any further reference to the complaints of the ambassador, or to any order sent down to the university from the government as to the book. It would be interesting to know whether in the archives of the university any such order is to be found.

In the meantime, Vanini had become heartily tired of Lambeth and of England, and, as we have seen, was taking steps privately to obtain pardon for himself and his companion from the pope for leaving their order, through Moravi, whom he begged to write to the nuncio living at Paris, for this purpose, and one hundred crowns were sent to the nuncio to pay for the pardon. But he still professed himself a protestant, frequented prayers, received the communion in the chapel at Lambeth, and attended the sermons in the Italian church. On 25 Nov. 1618, we find the following in a letter from Chamberlain to Carleton :

I know not how yt comes to passe but the two friers you sent over are in poor case, and have been both lately sick specially the younger that was wth the Archbishop of Yorke but wearie of that place and belike lingering after this goode towne could not agree with that air forsooth, so that he was appointed to the Bishop of London who making stay to receave him till he might be discharged of an English converted Jesuit committed to him, he fell sicke in the meantime and the best relief I learn he found was that he was begged for in some churches and his companion goes up and down to gather the charitie of all their acquaintance and well wishers.²⁵

About this time Vanini paid a visit to Cambridge, where 'he had good store of money given to him,' and shortly after Christmas he went to Oxford, where he had more money bestowed upon him. There he confided to one who had formerly been a Roman priest, that he was in heart a papist, and meant before long to leave the country; he seems to have spoken freely of his intentions, as well as 'undutifully' of the king and 'unreverently' of the archbishop. His visit to Oxford was only a few months after that of Casaubon, and he must have arrived immediately after the expulsion of Jacob the Jew, of whose stay at Oxford and simulated conversion Mr. Pattison has given us so entertaining an account in his *Life of Casaubon*. It seems probable from the mention of him in the '*Amphitheatrum*,' that Vanini had made his acquaintance in England.²⁶

Vanini returned to Lambeth shortly before Jan. 22; a report of his imprudent language there was sent to the archbishop, whose suspicions had been already aroused by information that Vanini had written to Rome, and, as the archbishop rightly conjectured, with a view of obtaining absolution for his departure from his

²⁵ *Col.* lxxv. 212, No. 28; *Court and Times of James I.* i. 278-81.

²⁶ *Fuit quidam temporibus meis Iudaeus in Anglia, ut Christi fidem susciperet, et ab Oxoniensi Academia perhumaniter fuit exceptus; cum vero ad sacrum lavacrum deducendus esset, aufugit, captus est. Rex ex benignitate dimisit. Offendi eum aliquo tempore post Lutetias Parisiorum in aula regia, ubi in sermone mutuo quem duimus, Anglorum avaritiam mirum in modum rugillabat, ut tam prae caeteris nationibus vel maxime dediti sint uni liberalitati, illamque quibuscunque possunt rationibus erga extraneos ostendant, praecipue vero in ipsam Hebraeam, quem per duo annos magnificis impensis aluerunt, ut Christianam religionem amplecteretur. (*Amphitheatrum*, p. 65.)*

order. A watch was set upon the friars: they were found to be removing their effects from Lambeth, and were clearly preparing for flight. But they still made outward profession of protestantism, and attended the Italian services at Mercers Hall on Sunday the 22nd, when Vanini agreed to preach the following Sunday, having in fact made arrangements to leave England before that day. After service on the 22nd they were both separately examined and afterwards confined to their respective chambers, while Vanini was soon after removed to the Gatehouse at Lambeth.²⁷ Shortly before 27 January 1613-14 Abbot wrote full details to James Montagu, bishop of Bath, then in attendance on the king at Royston:

There is one thyng falen out here wherein I humbly crave his majestys direction as being in my opinion a matter of some importance. By motion from Sr Dudley Carleton at Venice his ma^{ty} was graciously contented that twoe Italian Carmelite ffriers shold come into England who pretended to fly hither for their conscience. They came and after the abode of him here for a month or twoe the younger of them was sent to my L. of Yorke where he was very well intreated for one year and since hath remayned at London, and in Lambeth detayned by sicknes that he was not placed in my Lo. of London's house, whither notwithstanding care this very weeke he hath been removed. The other also in my house being enterteyned with such humanity and expense as is not fit for me to report, but I am sure it was too good for him. These men in the Italian church at London publicly renounced their popery in a solemn form, preached there divers times, frequented our prayers and participated of the Eucharist after the manner of the Church of England severall times. And yet it now appeareth they have all this time ben extreamely rotten. About 3 months since I by a secret meanes understood that the elder of them had written to Rome and I had cause to conjecture that it was for an absolution for their departure from their order. I caused one to speake with him thereabout but he gave such an answer as I cold not contradict but yet thought fitt to carrye an eye over him.

But now about 16 dayes since he asked leave of me to go see Oxford which I granted unto him and tooke order that he was furnyshed with money to bear his charges. Being there he was most humanely entreated and had some money given him to the value of twenty markes as he sayeth but as some from thence write to the somme of twenty poundes. There to one or two who had been in Italy he let fall divers words declaring his dislike to our religion and shewing that his ma^{ty} had not dealt bountifully with him, and that I had not shewed myself liberall unto him

²⁷ There can, I think, be little doubt of the correctness of the date above given for the arrest of Vanini. Abbot's letter to the bishop of Bath, though undated, is clearly written shortly before 27 Jan. and speaks of the first examination of Vanini as on 'Sunday last': this would be the 22nd. The letter was certainly written a few days later. Vanini's escape from the Gatehouse at Lambeth took place—as subsequently appears—shortly before 16 March. He tells us that he was imprisoned for forty-nine days. If his imprisonment commenced on 24 Jan., the forty-nine days would expire on 14 March.

together with divers other both unfitt and untrue speeches without honesty or shame. And divers intimacions he gave of his purpose to withdrawe himself out of England wyth all speed : w^{ch} now he sayeth should not have ben without the leave of his ma^{tye}.

These thynges are advertised unto meⁿ from Oxford twoe or three severall wayes, Whereupon at his return causing him to be observed I found by his secret conveyance of some things out of my house and by the recourse of both of them extraordinarily into London that there was great cause to suspect that they intended to be gon. And hereupon in a fair manner I severed them both each from other and examined them aparte : where at first they seemed to contynue constant in our profession though upon a second examination it proved otherwise. By one passage your Lordship shall judge of the strange wickedness of the men. On Sunday last the elder of them upon his examination under his hand did say *quod renunciasset Papismo et pontificiis opinionibus ; et se velle vivere et mori in fide Ecclic Anglicane*, yesterday this being urged unto him and not seeing his former examination he said it was true *quod Papatui renunciasset quia non erat verisimile se unquam futurum Papam*. And touching *opiniones Pontificias* he expounded it that *si quis inter Pontificios opinaretur eum unquam in Papatum promerendum*, he did disclayme that from being a good opinion. And for his living and dying in the faith of the Church of England he expoundeth that to be the faith which was here a hundredth or two hundredth agone.

He now also sayeth that he was never otherwise than a Papist in his faith ; and that their coming into England was for nothing but to evayd the hard measure which their Councell used to them and because they heard that strangers were enterteyned here with great humanity. Such hath been the strange dissimulation of the men if they have all this while been Papists in their hearte, but I have reason to suppose that some instrument of a sovereign Ambassador hath been tampering with them, and hath both with money and faire promises corrupted them.²⁸

On 27 January Sir Thomas Lake sent a copy of the archbishop's letter to Sir Dudley Carleton, accompanied by the following letter :

My lord Ambassador,—By this enclosed copie which is of a lettre of my lo. of Cantorburies to my lo. Bishop of Bath following his maj : at Court your lo. shall perceave what is become of your two friers you sent us. I am commanded to send to you, and to require you to advertise what you have heard or observed of their caryage here or of any traffike they have had there since their being in England. Their excusations of their submission here and abjuration are very grosse. But I never had anie great confidence in renegados there be few that do it upon religious respect but on worldly consideration. I fear much my Lo. of Canterbury hath of our owne country very many proseleytes wherein he much glories that be of none other temper for I marke that as soon as ever they come over to us they are greedy of wifes and benefices. . . .

From the Court at Royston this 27 January, 1613-14.

THOS : LAKE.²⁹

²⁸ Cal. Lxxvi. 221, No. 9, I.

²⁹ Cal. Lxxvi. 221, No. 9.

A few days later Chamberlain wrote to Carleton a letter containing the following passage :

I heard lately that the two friers you sent over are returned to their vomit and prove notable knaves professing now that they were never other than Romish Catholikes wherein they will live and die and that theyre come hither and theyre dissembling was only *per guadagnare et fornicare* they have solicited theyre return and to be received again into theyre mother church by the Venetian ambassador here and other meanes at Rome. How their jugling came out I know not but my L. of Canterburie hath committed them to safe custodie and makes it appear that want would not drive them to any extremity for besides *victum* and *vestitum* they have had fifty pounds in money of him thirty of the bishop of London besides the Archbishop of Yorks the bishop of Elyes and other bishops bountys of whom they were ever begging as well as of meaner ffolks as Sr Harry Fanshawe and myself and they had of Burlamachi ten pounds of the Prince Palatine and the Lady Elizabeth ten pounds apiece with I know not how many more we shall hear of hereafter for I had this but at first hand of an Italian that says he spake with them since their restraints, as I understand more of them you shall have it. . . .

8 Feb. 1618-14.³⁰

A few days after the date of the last letter Giovanni Maria escaped from Lambeth, where he had been placed by the archbishop in the house of 'a sworn servant of the king, a warder of the Tower.' He let himself down from the window at midnight by means of his sheets, which he tied together, and fled to the house of the Spanish (or Venetian) ambassador, where he remained some twenty days, and then was conveyed out of England. On 10 Feb. Chamberlain wrote to Carleton and informed him of the escape :

I have been lately twice or thrice with the Bp. of Ely. . . . He confirmed the revolt of the friars from the king's own mouth, where he first heard it, and says he never had any great mind to new and sudden converts having had many trials of their knavery and inconstancy. I understand one of them has escaped to the Venetian ambassador's.³¹

On 18 Feb. Biondi writes to Carleton, 'Gio. Maria is fled, as your Excellency will have heard ; the other is in prison, and ready as he says for martyrdom. I pray God it will be granted to him, but I doubt it, for his Majesty is more religious than politic.'³²

³⁰ Cal. lxxvi. 232, No. 18.

³¹ Cal. lxxvi. 232, No. 20. The sentence immediately following the above extract is as follows : 'I cannot learn that the King had any speech or conference of or with the fellow that lies at Alderman Bolles, and his return is not expected till towards his day the 24th of March.' I was at first disposed to think it referred to Giovanni Maria, and that Alderman Bolles' was the 'honest house at Lambeth' where, as appears by a subsequent letter, he had lodged. But as he had of late been in the house of a sworn warder of the Tower, and had escaped before this letter was written, I think it most probable that the sentence refers to some other person.

³² Cal. lxxx. 274, No. 35. This letter is displaced, and inserted in the *Calendar* under date 1615 instead of 1614, to which it clearly belongs.

But Vanini was in no danger of martyrdom. He was imprisoned in the Gatehouse at Lambeth for a fortnight, and then brought before the ecclesiastical commission. There he was censured, excommunicated, and sentenced to imprisonment during the king's pleasure, and the help of the temporal sword was implored 'that he might be banished to the Bermudas, there to dig for his living.' Fortunately for Vanini—or perhaps unfortunately, for the Bermudas might have been better than the flames at Toulouse—he, like his friend, found the means to escape soon after this sentence was pronounced, and before any steps were taken for carrying it into execution. He was assisted in his escape by a Florentine—a servant of Lord Vaux—employed probably either by Moravi or the Spanish ambassador. The keeper of the Gatehouse was said to have been corrupted, but it is not improbable—as no one seems to have been punished for assisting his escape—that it was connived at by the authorities, for to send a foreigner to the Bermudas or Virginia for no other offence than abjuring protestantism would have been a high-handed measure which could hardly have failed to irritate—and justly—the Spanish ambassador, whom James was at all times desirous to conciliate.

As the friars had been *protégés* of Carleton, Abbot thought well on 16 March 1613–14 to write to him a long and most interesting letter, with full details as to their conduct while in England and as to their escape. It is partially written in cipher (which is, however, deciphered):

Your letter of the 28th of February is lately come into my hands and thereby I perceive that which formerly I heard from the king himself that Sir Thomas Lake had advertised you of the ill demeanour of the two Italian friars. There is no wiseman but must commend your endeavours and not judge of them by the event because you are a man and not in the place of God who only knoweth the heart. I cannot deny but that for outward show they did bear themselves well until January last, although for some months before I saw some private inkling of the trafficking of the elder of them by letters to Rome which I laid by in my memory, but did not very hastily give credit thereunto.

The manner of their entertainment here was thus. For about two months they remained in my house together, being lodged appparelled and dietted at my charge. The younger of them was proffered a place in Oxford where he should freely have had all things requisite for him to follow his study, but he desired rather to go to my Lord Archbishop of York which was yielded unto so that he was furnished with money thither, and there he remained for a year being fully provided for. In the meantime he frequented prayers, received the Communion, published a book in verse on the marriage of the Count Palatine, wherein he branded the Pope to be Antichrist. At a years end he desireth to return to London under colour of printing something else, moveth the king that he might be placed with my Lord of London which is yielded unto. But before the accomplish-

ment thereof, he falleth sick and lieth in a private house in London where he had physic freely and much money was given to his brother for him, and upon his amending, for the company of the other, was brought over to Lambeth, and being lodged there in a honest house was maintained at my charge till his final departure.

The elder from the beginning to the end was held in my house dieting at my own board or if that were full at my stewards table had lodging bed and utensils for chamber provided for him as well at Croydon when I lay there in the summer as otherwise at Lambeth so that besides meat and drink and lodging, they two in the time they were in England had in money from me for apparell and other necessities above ^{lv} besides such money as the younger had from my Lord of York and more than six score pounds which came to their hands otherwise as may be showed by the particulars. In the time of his abiding with me he frequented prayers, received the Communion twice or thrice in my chapel, preached divers times at the Italian Church in London especially at his first coming as his brother also did.

Before Christmas I gave him leave to see Cambridge where he had some good store of money given unto him. After Christmas last I permitted him to go to Oxford where he had more money bestowed upon him. There to one who had formerly been a Roman priest and lived much in Italy he opened himself that he was in heart a Papist and meant before long to fly out of the kingdom. He gave to some other persons semblances of the like and could not forbear to speak undutifully of the king and unreverently of me, uttering many lies concerning his entertainment by me. All which things being by letter made known unto me I secretly learned that they had conveyed divers things of their own out of my house and questioning them for it had shifting answers for the time. In their first examination they avowed their constancy in our religion and strongly denied any purpose of flight, which indeed they carried so covertly, that on the day of their apprehension they were at the sermon in the Italian Church and the elder of them did promise to preach there the next Sunday when his purpose was to be gone in the meantime as since he hath confessed.

From the time of their first examination they were committed to their lodgings severally. Upon the second touch they discovered themselves to be resolute papists so that never did I find in all my life more impudent and unworthy varlets. It is beyond the wit of man to conceive the height of wickedness whereunto they were grown. I will give you a short example. The elder of them had said in his first examination *Quod in ecclesia Italia Londinensi renuntiasset Papismo et Pontificiis opinionibus, et se velle vivere et mori in fide Ecclesiae Anglicanae; et quod si ad vomitum rediret, mereretur haberi singularis hypocrita, et is cuius cor Sathanas occupavit.* In his third examination he explained all this with a strange qualification that by *Papismo* he meant *Papatus*, and that he had renounced any hope that ever he should be Pope, and for *opiniones Pontificiae* his intendment was that if any of that side did think that ever he should be elected Pope, he disliked that their conceits. He would live and die in the faith of the Church of England, that is the same faith which the Church of England possessed a hundredth or two hundredth years ago.

And if he did *redire ad vomitum*, that is of his evil life, or merely behaviour etc. which he might well mean, if Ascanio the preacher of the Italian Church do say true, for he hath long kept Julius Caesar from preaching in his church, as taking him to be of no religion, but a profane person, a filthy speaker and a grosse fornicatour, and could not be induced to think of him otherwise, although many of that congregation were sore offended with him for the same, which now they see was not without ground. And I had found both by the books themselves and by their own confession that the greatest matter which they have studied for many months past were the works of Petrus Aretinus and Macciavelli in Italian so virtuous was their disposition.

I imagine by this time you will ask of me two questions, first what is become of them, and secondly what hath been the reason of their desertion. To the former I answer that the younger of them being kept prisoner in his chamber at Lambeth Towne in the house of a sworn servant of the kings a warder of the Tower did about midnight break forth at a window and tying his sheets together, so escaped. I do guess where he lay hid

Ye Sp:
Amb'

for 20 days that is in the house of 94 but since as I understand he is conveyed out of England. To keep the other safe I sent him to the Gatehouse where when he had remained about 14 days he was convented before the Commission Ecclesiasticall and there censured by excommunication imprisonment during the kings pleasure and the imploring of the help of the temporal sword, that he might be banished into the Barmudas there to dig for his living. But before the accomplishment hereof, by corrupting of the keepers, as I suppose, and by a trick played by some other Italian, he hath broken prison, to the great offence of the kings majesty which hath laid up diverse in safer custody.

The first overture to their desertion came as I think from the

c h a p l a n   Sig^r Pos-
23 31 14 42 35 10 39 of 95 who is a very lewd man and hath done here
many ill offices. This party hath confessed to me that now a year ago

Nuntio

Julius Caesar upon his knees did beg of him to be a means to the 100

Paris

Ye pp

living at 177 to write to 230 that a pardon might be procured for the two friars, for leaving of their order, which accordingly he did. And Julius Caesar hath confessed to me that this was effected, and by the means of

Ye Nuntio

the party above named a hundred crowns were by him sent to 160 at

Paris

177 to pay for the said pardon. So that by this you may see that the friars were splendidly provided for here, when besides their viaticum to convey them into Italy they have so much money to spare to send out of

Ye Sp:
Amb'

the realm before them. But 94 since his coming into England hath much bestirred himself in this and the like businesses which I conceive will procure him a rappe here before it be long for the eye of the state is upon

Ye K
of Sp:

him. He hath much money from 124 and corrupteth almost all that

Amb^r

come in his way. There is skant any 259 here residing but he winneth
his servants to his purposes as namely he hath gained the 24 82 14 41 86
^{c b a p l}
^{a n} Ye Fr. ^{Secre-} ^{Postar.}
^{Amb.} tary
12 40 of 98 and the same domestic together with the 162 of 95 so that
they are more his servants than the parties to whom they belong. The
^{his} ^{ye Ar.} ^{ye LL of ye}
^{Ma^r} ^B Council
same laboureth in the house of 62 of 69 and divers other of 78.³³

The 'works of Petrus Aretinus and Macciavelli' which were studied by the two friars, and which so scandalised the archbishop, were not, we may be certain, 'La Passione di Gesù,' or 'Il Principe,' but, of Aretin, either the comedies or the 'Ragionamenti,' and of Machiavelli, the 'Mandragola' or 'L'Asino d' Oro.'

Chamberlain refers to the escape of Vanini in a letter written to Carleton the day following that of the archbishop (March 17) :

. . . The elder friar that was in the Gatehouse³⁴ hath found the means to escape so that now they are both gone. The keeper is committed and a Florentine that serves the Ld Vaux is suspected to be privy to his escape. For my own part I am not sorry we be so rid of them, for though they were notorious rascals, yet I know not what we should have done with them, yet it was in consultation to send them both to Virginia but I see not to what purpose. . . .³⁵

I find only one subsequent reference in the State Papers to Vanini and his companion. It occurs in a letter of Abbot to Carleton, of 30 March 1614 :

I know nothing of Signor Francesco Biondi but good, and therefore I will hope the best. But hereafter we shall be wary how we hastily entertain the Convertitoes of that nation so inestimable hath been the hypocrisy and lewdness of the two Carmelites lately remaining with us. I by my last wrote my mind at large concerning them.³⁶

When writing this letter the archbishop little thought that he was soon to entertain a 'convertito' of much greater importance, and one who would cause him much more serious inconvenience and annoyance than the two Carmelites. Marco Antonio de

³³ Cal. lxxvi. 227, No. 48.

³⁴ Signor Palumbo tells us that the two friars were imprisoned in the Tower. He thinks he has identified the actual cell, a very small, dark, circular room, too low for it to be possible to stand upright in. And he draws a harrowing picture of the anguish of *il povero filosofo* at the silence and horror of the place *dovve non si uosiva che per essere consegnati al carnefice*. Mr. Owen, as usual, follows suit, and states that the two friars were committed to the Tower.

³⁵ Cal. lxxvi. 227, No. 49; *Court and Times of James I.* i. 23. This letter is ther undated, but is placed between a letter of Carleton of 12 March 1612-13, and one of Chamberlain of 25 March 1613. The word 'friar' is strangely enough printed 'Taylor,' so that it does not seem, as printed, to have any reference to the friar.

³⁶ Cal. lxxii. 178, No. 97. This volume contains the documents from January to May 1612-13, but it is clear that this letter was written a year later, and should have been inserted in vol. lxxvi., which contains the letters of that date.

Dominis, archbishop of Spalato, was already preparing to leave the church of Rome and to visit England, where he arrived in December 1616, and was forthwith handed over to archbishop Abbot for entertainment at Lambeth.

With his escape from the Gatehouse at Lambeth, Vanini disappears for a time from view. A few months later we find him in France enjoying the protection of the Marshal de Bassompierre, and probably receiving some consideration as one who had been persecuted in England for his attachment to the catholic faith. But catholic France proved in the end even more inhospitable than protestant England. In the prison of Toulouse, after hearing the brutal and terrible sentence of the parliament, and whilst awaiting the flames which were to consume him a few days later, he may well have regretted the Gatehouse at Lambeth. His tongue was cut out, he was then strangled, and his body burnt in the Place Saint Etienne on 19 Feb. 1619.

The letters of Chamberlain and Abbot are not calculated to give us a favourable impression of the character of Vanini, and I am therefore glad to be able to conclude this paper with a fact which, I think, deserves to be set down to his credit. He was certainly disappointed with the result of his visit to England, but in neither of his printed works is there an unfriendly word relating to this country or to those with whom he came in contact here. On the few occasions that he mentions England in his writings, it is always with goodwill and sometimes with admiration. He praises our temperate climate, and says that he never felt it colder here in the depth of winter than at Padua and Bologna in November. He speaks of the mild disposition of the English, which he attributes, curiously enough, to their habit of drinking cold beer (*frigida cervisia*), and, as appears by the passage already quoted referring to the Jew Jacob, he writes with high praise of the liberality with which foreigners were treated in England. Even when he speaks of his imprisonment he utters no word of complaint. It is pleasant to think that he did not follow the example of Jacob Barnet in railing at his English benefactors.

RICHARD COPLEY CHRISTIE.