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THE MEMOIRS
OF
PHILIP DE COMINES:

CONTAINING

THE HISTORY OF LEWIS XI. AND CHARLES VIII.
OF FRANCE AND OF CHARLES THE BOLD,
DUKE OF BURGUNDY;

TO WHICH PRINCES HE WAS SECRETARY;

WITH A SUPPLEMENT; AS ALSO SEVERAL ORIGINAL TREATIES,
NOTES, AND OBSERVATIONS; AND, LASTLY,

THE SECRET HISTORY OF LEWIS XI.

OUT OF A BOOK CALLED

The Scandalous Chronicle :

AND THE

*LIFE OF THE AUTHOR, WITH NOTES BY THE
FAMOUS SLEIDAN.*

Faithfully Translated from the late Edition of Monsieur Godefroy, Historiographer
Royal of France. To which are added Remarks on all
the Occurrences relating to England.

NEW EDITION. IN TWO VOLUMES.

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THE MEMOIRS
OF
PHILIP DE COMINES,
LORD OF ARGENTON.

BOOK THE SIXTH.

CHAPTER I.

Of the delivering up the Duchy of Burgundy to the King.—1477.

BUT to return to my history, and the continuation of these Memoirs, which, at your lordship's request, my good Lord Archbishop of Vienne, I first began. Whilst the king was busy in subduing the towns and places above-mentioned in the marches of Picardy, his army in Burgundy was, to all outward appearance, commanded by the Prince of Orange*, (who is still living,) a subject and native of the province of Burgundy, but lately disgusted, and a second time become an enemy to Duke Charles, so that

* John de Chalon, the second of that name, Prince of Orange. In the 1475, the 8th of September, he did homage to Louis XI. for the said principality, as his father William had done; and the same day and year he did homage for certain lands lying in Dauphinè, which the dauphin held from the king. Afterwards there was an arrest of Dauphinè issued out against him, by which decree the said principality was forfeited, and annexed to the dauphin's patrimony for ever, because the said John had committed felony against the king.—See P. MATTHIEU'S *History of Louis XI.* Book xi., p. 750.

the king employed this Prince of Orange as a person who had great interest both in the duchy and county of Burgundy, and was well beloved, and nobly born; but the Lord de Craon was the king's lieutenant, and had really the command of the army; for the king's greatest confidence was reposed in him, and not without reason, for he was a person of great wisdom and penetration, and faithful to his master, but a little too much given to avarice. When the Lord de Craon drew near Burgundy, he sent the Prince of Orange and others before to Dijon, to reason the case with them, and demand their obedience to the king. The commissioners managed their affairs so dexterously, especially by the Prince of Orange's assistance, that not only Dijon, and all the rest of the towns in the duchy, but several also in the county of Burgundy, revolted; only Aussone, and some few other castles, remained firm and steadfast to the young princess, Duke Charles's daughter. The Prince of Orange was promised a large revenue, besides all the towns in the county of Burgundy, which were formerly in the possession of his grandfather, the Prince of Orange*, but now in dispute, by reason of a claim to them put in by his uncles, the Lords of Chasteau-Guyon†. The Prince of Orange complained, that Charles Duke of Burgundy had been partial to these lords in their claim, which having been solemnly argued before

* Louis de Chalons, surnamed the Good, who, by his first wife, Joan de Montbeliard, had one William, the father of John.

† Louis and Hugh de Chalons, Lords of Chasteau-Guyon, children of the said Louis de Chalon, by his second wife, Eleanor d'Armaignac.

him, the duke in the midst of the whole court, gave judgment against him, much to the prejudice of the prince, at least as he pretended; upon which the prince deserted the duke's service, and went over to the king. But notwithstanding all the fair promises above-mentioned, when the Lord de Craon was in possession of all the towns and castles, and other places that the prince pretended to, in right of his grandfather, he would deliver none of them to the prince, for all the solicitation he could make. The king was sensible of the injury that was done the Prince of Orange, and wrote to the Lord de Craon about it, who kept the whole country in awe, but his majesty did not believe that the prince had either courage or interest enough to stir them up to a rebellion, as he did afterwards, at least a great part; but I shall leave that for the present, and discourse of something more material in this place.

CHAPTER II.

Of the King of France's wheedling the English after the Duke of Burgundy's Death, for fear they should have interrupted him in the Conquest of the Territories belonging to the said Duke.—1477.

THEY who shall give themselves the trouble of reading these Memoirs hereafter, and have a better knowledge of the affairs of this kingdom and its neighbouring states than, perhaps, I have, may wonder that, since the Duke of Burgundy's death to this time, which is little less than a year, I have

not mentioned a word of the English, nor of their suffering the king to seize upon those towns which were near them, as Arras, Bologne, Hesdin, besides several castles, and lie so many days before St. Omers ; the reason of it was, because, in cunning and artifice, our king was much superior to King Edward, who was indeed a brave prince, had won eight or nine battles in England, in which he had been always present himself, and fought constantly on foot, which redounded much to his honour ; but these were at several times, and depended not much upon his understanding, for upon the success of one battle, he was absolute master of course, till another rebellion or commotion disturbed him. In England, when any disputes arise, and proceed to a war, the controversy is generally decided in eight or ten days, and one party or other gains the victory ; but with us, on this side of the water, affairs are managed quite otherwise ; our expeditions are to be carried on another way. The king was obliged to keep a watchful eye upon his neighbours, as well as the rest of his kingdom, and particularly upon the King of England above all, who was to be satisfied at any rate, and cajoled and amused with ambassadors, promises, and presents, lest he should attempt something that might interrupt his designs ; for our master was sensible that both the nobility, commons, and clergy of England, were always ready to enter upon a war with France, being incited thereunto, not only upon the account of an old title, but the desire of gain, for it pleased God to permit their predecessors to obtain several

memorable battles in this nation, and to continue in the possession of Normandy and Guienne for the space of three hundred and fifty years, before Charles VII. gave them the first blow ; during which time they have carried over a considerable booty into England, not only in plunder, which they had taken in the several towns, but in the richness and quality of their prisoners, who were many of them great princes and lords, that paid them vast ransoms for their liberty, so that every Englishman since thought to do the same thing, and return home laden with spoils. But this was not to be looked for in our king's days, for he would never venture the whole kingdom upon the doubtful issue of a battle, nor do any thing so rashly as to dismount himself, and all his nobility, to fight the English on foot, as was done at the battle of Agincourt ; and if he had been reduced to that extremity, he would certainly have managed his affairs with more prudence and caution, as may be presumed from the manner of his conduct when King Edward was in France. The king found himself under an absolute necessity to caress and wheedle the King of England, and the rest of his neighbours, whom he perceived inclinable to peace, in hopes of his money ; and therefore his pension of fifty thousand crowns was punctually paid at London, and allowed it to be called tribute by the English. Besides this pension, he was obliged to pay seventy-five thousand crowns to King Edward before his departure from France, and this the English called a fine for that kingdom. He also dis-

tributed sixteen thousand more among the King of England's officers that were about his person, particularly to the chancellor, the master of the rolls, who is now chancellor, the high chamberlain, the Lord Hastings, a man of honour and prudence, and of great authority with his master, and he deserved it, upon the account of the faithful service he had done him; Sir Thomas Montgomery, the Lord Howard, (who afterwards espoused King Richard's interest, and was created Duke of Norfolk,) the Lord Cheney, master of the horse; Mr. Challenger, and a Marquis*, who was the Queen of England's son, by her first husband. Besides these great presents, he was also very generous to ambassadors, and whomsoever was sent to him from the English court, though their messages were never so harsh and displeasing; so by this means he despatched them always with such fair words and large presents, that most of them went away very well satisfied; and though they were certainly assured, at least some of them, that what he did was only to gain time to effect and carry on his designs, yet their private interest prevailed with them to wink at it, though highly to the detriment and disadvantage of the public affairs.

To all those persons of quality above-mentioned, the king gave considerable presents, besides their pensions. To the Lord Howard, besides his pension, he gave to my certain knowledge, in less

* This was Thomas Gray, the first Marquis Dorset of that name, and the son of Sir John Gray, of Grooby, slain fighting against the Yorkists, at the battle of St. Albans.

than two years' time, in money and plate, above twenty-four thousand crowns; to the Lord Hastings, who was King Edward's chamberlain, he gave at one time above one thousand marks in plate, and all the acquittances of every Englishman of quality, except the Lord Hastings, are still to be seen in the chamber of accounts at Paris. This Lord Hastings was at that time high chamberlain of England, (an office of great reputation, and executed singly by one man.) It was with great difficulty and sollicitation, that he was made one of the king's pensioners: at the time when I was in the Duke of Burgundy's service, I had brought him over to his interest, and he allowed him a pension of a thousand crowns a year. Upon my telling our king what I had done, he employed me to try what I could do to bring him over to his interest, for he had been his particular enemy in the Duke of Burgundy's time, was since a favourer of the young Princess of Burgundy, and was once like to have prevailed with the King of England to cross the seas once more to assist the princess: I began our amity by letters; the king allowed him a pension of two thousand crowns per annum, which was double to what had been paid him by the duke, and sent one of the stewards of his house, called Peter Cleret, with it; giving him express order to take his receipt, that hereafter it might appear upon record; that the lord chamberlain, chancellor, admiral, master of the horse, and several other great lords of England, were at the

same time pensioners to the King of France. This Peter Cleret was a cunning man, was privately admitted to the lord chamberlain, at his house in London, and having delivered his compliments from the king, presented his two thousand crowns in gold, (for to foreign lords of great quality, the king never gave any thing else.) The chamberlain having received the gold, Peter Cleret desired his lordship would be pleased to give him a receipt for it; the lord chamberlain scrupling to do it, he repeated his request, and entreated him that he would give him only three lines under his hand, directed to the king his master, lest his majesty should think he had embezzled it himself, for he was of a very suspicious temper. The lord chamberlain seeing he persisted, (though his demand was but reasonable,) replied, " Monsieur Claret, what you desire is not unreasonable, but this present proceeds from your master's generosity, not any request of mine; if you have a mind I should receive it, you may put it into my sleeve, but neither letter nor acquittance you are like to have of me; for to be free with you, Monsieur Peter, it shall never be said for me, that the high chamberlain of England was pensioner to the King of France, nor shall my hand be ever produced in his chamber of accounts." Cleret urged the matter no farther, but left the money and returned his answer to the king, who was highly displeased at Cleret's not bringing his receipt, but he commended and valued the lord chamberlain above all

the King of England's ministers ever after, paid him his pension constantly, and never asked for his receipt.

In this posture were affairs between the King of England and our master: however, the King of England was earnestly solicited to assist the young princess, and the king sent several embassies to our master, to press him either for a peace, or a cessation of arms: for some of the privy council, and the parliament, (which is of the same nature of our convention of the three estates, composed of several persons of wisdom and penetration, who came out of the country, and were not pensioners of France as the rest were,) pressed hard, that the King of England would interpose vigorously for the Princess of Burgundy; urging, that we did but dissemble with them, and amuse them with hopes of this marriage, as it very plainly appeared: for at the treaty at Piquigny the kings had mutually sworn, that within the space of a year, the King of England's daughter should be sent for, and delivered into the hands of the King of France's ambassador: and that though the King of France had permitted her to be styled dauphiness, yet the time was elapsed, and no lady was sent for. But all the arguments they made use of, could not prevail with King Edward, and for several reasons. King Edward was a voluptuous prince, wholly addicted to his pleasures and ease; and having been, in his former expeditions, reduced to great straits and necessities, he had no mind to involve himself in a new war on this side the water: the fifty

thousand crowns being also punctually paid him in the Tower, softened his heart, and hindered him from concerning himself in that affair. Besides, his ambassadors were always bribed, entertained so nobly, and left the French court so well satisfied, that no exceptions could be taken; though the king's answers were always uncertain, in order to gain time; assuring them still, that in a few days he would send a considerable embassy of his own, which would satisfy their master in every point.

As soon as the King of England's ambassadors were returned, about three weeks or a month after, sometimes more, sometimes less, (which in such cases is a great matter,) the king our master would send his; but always new persons, and such as had not been employed in any overture with the English before, to the end, that if any thing had been promised by their predecessors, but not afterwards performed, they might pretend ignorance, and not be obliged to give them an answer. The ambassadors, who were sent into England, used their utmost endeavours to possess King Edward of the good inclinations of the King of France, and they managed that affair so cunningly, that he sate still, and never endeavoured to give the least assistance to the Princess of Burgundy: for, indeed, both the King and the Queen of England were so ambitious of the match with their daughter, that upon that account, not to mention several others, the king was willing to wink at proceedings; these and take no notice of the re-

monstrance that was made him by several of his privy council, and the commons assembled in parliament, who represented to him, how prejudicial it would be to the interest of the whole nation. Besides, the queen herself was afraid the marriage should be broken off, which began already to be laughed at in England, especially by such as were desirous of war. But to clear up this matter a little more, the king our master never designed to consummate this marriage, by reason of the disproportion in their years; for the young lady*, who is now Queen of England, was much older than the dauphin, who is now King of France †. So that a month or two were spent in sending ambassadors from one court to another, and such artifices and amusements were made use of purely to gain time, and hinder the English from an opportunity of declaring war against him: for certainly, had it not been in hopes of this marriage, the King of England would never so tamely have suffered our king to have taken so many towns as it were under his nose, without endeavouring to have defended them; and had he appeared at first for the young Princess of Burgundy, our king being so fearful of bringing any thing to a hazard, would not have encroached so far upon the dominions of the House of Burgundy, nor have weakened it so much. My design in writing of these transactions, is, to shew the method and conduct of

* Her name was Elizabeth, who afterwards was married to Henry VII., by which match the Houses of York and Lancaster were united.

† Charles VIII.

all human affairs, by the reading of which such persons as are employed in the negotiation of great matters, may be instructed how to manage their administrations ; for though their judgment may be great ; yet a little advertisement sometimes does no harm. This I have been assured of, that if the Princess of Burgundy would have been persuaded to have married Earl Rivers, the Queen of England's brother, they would have furnished her with a considerable number of troops ; but that marriage was looked upon to be very unequal, for he was but an Earl * of a slender estate, and she the greatest fortune of her time. Many overtures and bargains were made between the Kings of England and France ; among the rest the King of France offered, that if he would join with him, and come over in person, and invade the Low Countries, which belonged to the Princess of Burgundy, his majesty would consent that the King of England should have all Flanders for his share, and hold it without homage, and the province of Brabant besides, in which the King of France would engage to reduce four of the chief towns at his own expense, and afterwards deliver them up to the King of England. Besides, he proffered, (to lessen his charge in the war,) to pay ten thousand of the King of England's troops for four months together ; to provide him a large train of artillery, horses, and carriages, to convey them, upon condition the

* This was Anthony Woodville, Earl Rivers, not of ancient nobility, since his father, Richard Woodville, was but a commoner, till made Earl Rivers by King Edward.

King of England would invade Flanders, whilst he made war upon them in another place. The King of England's answer was, that the towns in Flanders were large, and not easy to be kept when they were taken, and Brabant was the same; besides, the English had no great inclination to undertake that war, upon account of the commerce that was betwixt them; but since the king was so generously inclined, as to allow him a share in his conquests, he desired he would give such places as he had conquered already in Picardy, as Bologne, and others; upon surrendering up of which, he would be ready to declare on his side, and, if he would engage to pay it, send an army to his assistance. This was a wise and politic answer.

CHAPTER III.

Of the Conclusion of the Marriage between the Princess of Burgundy, and Maximilian then Duke of Austria, and Emperor since.—1477.

AFTER this manner, (as I said before,) transactions were managed between the two kings, ours designing nothing but to gain time, by which means the Princess of Burgundy's affairs began visibly to decay; for of those few soldiers that remained after her father's death several revolted from her to the king, especially after the Lord des Cordes had quitted her service, and carried several others along with him. Some were forced to leave her, because their estates or abodes lay very near,

or were within the towns which had declared for the king: Others, in hopes of preferment; for in that respect no prince was so noble and generous to his servants as he. Several commotions and parties discovered themselves daily in the great towns, and particularly in Ghent, of which his majesty was still jealous, as you have already heard. Several husbands were proposed to her, and every body was of opinion, there was a necessity of her marrying, to defend those territories that she had left, or, (by marrying the dauphin,) to recover what she had lost, and settle all in a general peace. Several were entirely for this match, and herself as earnest for it as any body, especially before the letters presented by the Lord d'Hymberecourt and the chancellor to the king were betrayed to the ambassadors from Ghent. Some opposed that, and urged the disproportion of their age, the dauphin being but nine years older, and besides engaged to the King of England's daughter; and these were mighty friends to the Duke of Cleves. Others recommended Maximilian the emperor's son, and at present King of the Romans. The princess herself had conceived an extreme hatred against the king, ever since he discovered and delivered the letters; for she looked upon him as the occasion of the death of her two principal ministers of state, and of the dishonour and surprise that was put upon her, when the letters were delivered to her publicly in the council, as you have heard before. Besides, it was that, which gave the Gantois a pretence and confidence to banish so many of her servants,

to remove her mother-in-law and the Lord de Ravestein from about her, and put her maids of honour into such a consternation, that not one of them durst open a letter without first shewing it to the Gantois, nor speak any thing to their mistress, but in their hearing. This disgust made the princess carry herself very shy and strange to the Bishop of Liege*, who was of the house of Bourbon, and a great promoter of this match with the dauphin, which certainly would have been very honourable and advantageous for the princess, had it not been for the extreme youth of the dauphin; but the bishop was very indifferent in the matter, removed to Liege, and that affair was laid wholly aside. Without dispute it must have been a very difficult matter to have managed that negotiation to the satisfaction of both parties; and I am of opinion, whoever had undertaken it, would have gained but little credit by it in the end. However, (as I have been informed,) a council was held about it, at which Madam Hallewin† first lady of the bed-chamber to the princess, was present, who being asked her opinion about the dauphin, replied, "That there was more need of a man than a boy; That her mistress was capable of bearing a child, which was what her dominions wanted more than any thing else." Some condemned the lady for answering so abruptly, others commended her, alleging that what she spoke was purely in re-

* Louis de Bourbon, son of Charles Duke of Bourbon and Agnes of Burgundy.

† Joan de la Clite, lady of Comines, at that time widow of John Lord of Hallewin, and cousin to Philip de Comines.

lation to that marriage, and the necessity of her lady's dominions ; so that now the only talk was, who should be the person. I am verily persuaded, that if the king had been inclined to have had her marry the Count d'Angoulesme*, who is now living ; she would have consented to it, so desirous was she to continue her alliance with France, but God thought fit to appoint her another husband, for reasons unknown perhaps to us, unless it might be, that it might occasion great wars and confusions on both sides, which could not possibly have happened, had she married the Count d'Angoulesme ; but by this match the provinces of Flanders and Brabant sustained great miseries and afflictions. The Duke of Cleves was at the same time in Ghent with the princess, making friends, and trying all arts, which he thought might contribute to the marriage between the princess and his son, but she had no inclinations to that ; for the humour of the young gentleman neither pleased her, nor any person about her court. At last a marriage was proposed between her, and the emperor's son, the present King of the Romans, of which there had formerly been some overtures between the emperor and Duke Charles, and it was concluded between them. The emperor had in his custody a letter written by the young lady, at her father's command, under her own hand, and a diamond ring of considerable value. The design of the letter, was to acquaint his imperial majesty, that in

* The author means Charles, father of King Francis I.

obedience to her father's commands, she promised to accomplish the marriage with his son the Duke of Austria, in the same form and manner, as her father the Duke of Burgundy should think fit to prescribe.

The emperor sent ambassadors * to the princess, who was at Ghent; but, upon their arrival at Brussels, orders were sent to them to stop there, and commissioners should be sent thither to receive and answer their demands. This was only a contrivance of the Duke of Cleves, who was extremely unwilling they should come to Ghent, and endeavoured to send them back again dissatisfied; but the ambassadors went on, for they had intelligence in the princess's court, or, at least, the Duchess Dowager † had, who was removed from the princess, as you have heard before, upon occasion of the letter. This old lady, as I have been since informed, advised them to proceed in their journey notwithstanding these letters; gave them instructions how they were to behave themselves upon their arrival at Ghent, and assured them that the young princess, and the greatest part of her court, were willing enough for the match. Upon this information, the ambassadors advanced, and taking no notice of the orders which they had received,

* These ambassadors, according to the Memoirs of Monsieur Oliver de la Marche, were, the Duke of Bavaria, George de Baden Bishop of Mets, George Hester chancellor of the duchy of Austria, mentioned before, Book IV. Chap. II. and one Doctor William Mortingal.

† Margaret, daughter of Richard Duke of York, and sister to Edward IV., King of England, third wife of Charles Duke of Burgundy.

went directly for Ghent, at which the Duke of Cleves was highly offended ; but he knew nothing as yet, of the inclination of the court ladies. It was resolved that the princess should give them audience, and, after they had delivered their embassy, let them know that they were very welcome, that she would acquaint her council with their desires, and order them to return her answer ; and, that the princess should not concern herself any farther about it. The ambassadors being admitted to a public audience, presented their credentials, and then delivered their embassy ; which was only to let her highness know, that the marriage had been concluded formally between the emperor and her father, and that by her own consent and approbation, as appeared by the letter under her own hand, which they produced, and the diamond ring which had been sent as a pledge of the said marriage. Upon which they insisted, that the young princess should consummate the marriage according to the engagement, both of her father and herself, and then they conjured her to declare before the whole assembly, whether she wrote the letter or not, and whether she designed to make good her promise ? The young princess, without any consideration, replied, that she wrote the letter, and sent the ring in obedience to her father's commands, and freely owned the contents of it. The ambassadors expressed their humble acknowledgments, and returned very joyful to their lodgings. The Duke of Cleves was extremely dissatisfied with her answer, as being contrary to what was

agreed on in council, and upbraided the young princess, as having acted very indiscreetly in this affair. To which she replied, "That it was not in her power to do any otherwise, since it was a thing agreed on long before, and she could not deny it." Having taken her answer into consideration, and finding that several about the princess were of the same opinion, he resolved to give over his solicitation, and in a few days retire into his own country. After this manner was the marriage concluded; and Duke Maximilian came to Cologne, where several of the princess's servants went to attend him, and carry him money, with which, as I have been told, he was but very slenderly furnished; for his father was the nearest and most covetous prince, or person, of his time. The Duke of Austria was conducted to Ghent, with about seven or eight hundred horse in his retinue, where the marriage was consummated, which at first sight brought no great advantage to the subjects of the young princess; for, instead of supporting her, she was forced to supply him with money. His armies were neither strong enough, nor in a condition to face the king's; besides the humour of the house of Austria was not so pleasing to the subjects of the house of Burgundy, who had been bred up under rich princes, that had good offices and employments to dispose of; whose palaces were sumptuous, whose tables were nicely served, whose dress was magnificent, and whose liveries were noble and splendid. But the Germans are of

a quite contrary temper ; boorish in their conversation, and nasty in their way of living.

It seems to me, (and that after mature consideration with myself,) that upon good and solid advice, and not without the particular assistance of God, that law was made in France, whereby women are excluded, and no daughter suffered to inherit the crown ; to prevent its falling into the hands of a foreign nation, or prince, which the French would hardly endure, or, indeed, any other nation ; for there is no sovereignty whatever but at length revolves upon the natives, as may be seen in France, where the English had the government for four hundred years together, and, at this present, have nothing left of all their conquests in this kingdom, but Calais, and two trifling castles, scarce worth the keeping ; the rest they parted with, much more easily than they conquered it ; for they lost more in one day than they had gained in a year. The same thing is observable in the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and other provinces, where the French had possession for many years together ; of all which, there is now no monument of their power remaining, but the sepulchres of their fathers. And, if it were possible for them to admit a foreign prince, whose wisdom was great, and his retinue small, and well regulated ; yet they could hardly be prevailed with to receive him with a great train, or suffer that he should send for great numbers of his other subjects, upon pretence of making war upon his neighbours ;

because animosities will certainly arise among them, by reason of their diversity of humours, and the violences they will commit; for they cannot have so much love and affection for the country, as they who were born in it; especially if they aspire and aim at the offices or employments, which belong more properly to the natives. So that it is very requisite for a wise prince, upon his coming into a foreign country, to adjust all differences of that nature; and, if he be not master of this virtue, (which proceeds more immediately from God than any thing else,) the rest, though called virtues, will be of no advantage to him: and, if he reigns long, he and all his subjects shall find themselves involved in troubles, especially when he comes to be superannuated, and his ministers to have no farther hopes of prolonging his life.

This marriage was performed with great pomp and solemnity, but their affairs were not in a much better posture; for they were both very young. Duke Maximilian was a person of no great knowledge or penetration in any thing, both in respect of his youth, and his being in a foreign country. Besides, his education had been but indifferent, and not suitable to the management of great affairs; nor, if it had been better, he had not a sufficient body of troops ready to have attempted any thing considerable: so that his poor countries lay exposed to the insults of their neighbours, and were in great troubles, which have continued to this day, and are like to continue. For which reasons, as I said before, it is a great misfortune

to any country to entertain a foreign sovereign ; and God has been very merciful to France, in establishing that law against the inheritance of the daughter. A private or indifferent family may be much the better for it ; but, a great kingdom like ours, will always find great inconveniences, and be much incommoded. Few days after the consummation of this marriage, (if not at the very time of treaty,) the whole country of Artois was lost. It will be sufficient for me to deliver the substance, and if I fail in terms, or the just computation of times, I hope the reader will excuse me. The king's affairs went on prosperously, without any manner of opposition, taking some town or other every day ; only now and then some overture or proposition was made, but came to nothing ; for both sides being high in their demands, the war could not but continue. Duke Maximilian and the young princess had a son the first year, and it was the Archduke Philip, who is still living : the next year they had a daughter, called Margaret*, who, at present, is our queen ; the third they had was called Francis†, after the name of Francis Duke of Bretagne, who was

* This Margaret is the lady, whom the Gantois betrothed to Charles VIII., against her father's consent, as appears by IX. chapter of this book. Charles VIII. never performed the marriage with her, but when he was arrived to the age of one and twenty, he sent her back to her father. She was afterwards married to the King of Castile, and lastly to Philibert Duke of Savoy. She was born in the year 1480.—De la Marche.

† Monsieur Oliver de la Marche, in his Memoirs, says, that this young prince was baptized in the church of St. Gudule in Brussels, and the cardinal Ferry de Cluny was his second godfather.

his godfather. The fourth year the princess* died of a fall from her horse, or a fever, but it is certain she fell, and some say she was breeding. Her death was a mighty loss to her subjects, for she was a person of great honour, affable, and generous to all people, and more beloved and respected by her subjects than her husband, as being sovereign of their country. She was a tender and passionate lover of her husband, and of singular reputation for her modesty and virtue. This misfortune happened in the year 1482.

In Hainault the king was possessed of two towns, Quesnoy le Comte and Bouchain, both which he restored; at which several persons were highly astonished, as knowing his aversion to peace, and how desirous he was to take all, and leave the house of Burgundy nothing; and my opinion is, if he could have done it handsomely, and destroyed, or divided his territories at his ease, he would not have failed to have done it. But, as he told me afterwards himself, he surrendered those towns in Hainault for two reasons; the first was, because he thought a prince was more obliged to take care of the places of strength and importance in his own country, where he was anointed and crowned king, than such as were out of his dominions, as these were. The other was, because there had been solemn oaths and confederacies between the emperors and the kings of France, not to invade or

* She died the second of March, in the year 1482, through an excess of female modesty, choosing rather to die, than suffer a surgeon to set her thigh, which was broken by the fall from her horse.

usurp upon one another; and these places belonging to the empire, were restored in the year 1477. Upon the same account Cambray was likewise delivered, or put into a state of neutrality, the king being contented to lose it; but the truth is, they received him at first upon those terms.

CHAPTER IV.

King Louis, by the management of Charles d'Amboise his Lieutenant, recovers many Towns in Burgundy, that the Prince of Orange had persuaded to revolt from him.—1478.

THOUGH the war was still carried on in Burgundy, yet the king could not accomplish his designs; because the Prince of Orange, who had revolted from him, was chosen by the Burgundians to be their lieutenant; and underhand assisted by the Germans, but more for the sake of his money, than out of love to Maximilian; for there was not a man in the whole country that espoused his interest, at least during the time I speak of. These Germans were Swiss troops, and maintained the war upon their own score, not as soldiers in Maximilian's pay; for the Swiss are neither friends nor well-wishers to the house of Austria. The Burgundians had little assistance besides, because their pay was but bad; though no prince could better have supplied them than Duke Sigismond of Austria, Maximilian's uncle, whose territories lay near, especially the county of Ferrete, which he

had sold, not many years before, for ten thousand florins of the Rhine, to Charles Duke of Burgundy, and afterwards re-possessed himself of, without returning the money ; and as he took, so he keeps it by force. Sigismond was a person of no great penetration, nor very just and honourable in his dealings, and from such allies no great assistance is to be expected : he was of the number of those princes I mentioned before, who are above concerning themselves with their own affairs, and know nothing of them, but as their ministers of state are pleased to represent ; and they are always rewarded for their indolence and supineness, in their old age, as Sigismond was here. During the wars, his ministers, who had the sole administration of affairs, engaged him on what side they pleased ; and for the most part he entered into an alliance with the King of France against his own nephew, and would have given his territories (which were very large) to a foreign family, and disappointed his own relations, (for though he had been twice married, he never had any issue,) but at last, not above three months since, by the persuasion of another set of ministers, he conveyed all to his nephew Maximilian, (at present King of the Romans,) reserving only a pension of about a third part of the revenue, without any other authority or power ; but, as I have been informed, he has often repented of it since ; and if it be not true, it is very probable. And such is the fate of princes who live so carelessly, and like beasts, and who certainly are highly to be condemned, upon account

of the great charge and duty that God has laid upon them in this world. These errors and imprudent actions are not to be laid to the charge of weak and stupid princes, but of those who are endowed with a sufficient share of sense and understanding, and yet squander away all their time in pleasure and impertinence; such princes have no reason to complain when any misfortune befalls them. And on the other side, those who divide their time according to their age, sometimes in council, and sometimes in diversions, are much more to be commended; and those subjects are more happy who have such a prince to rule over them.

The war in Burgundy was carried on for some time by the little assistance they received from the Germans; yet the king's forces were too powerful for them, for the Burgundians wanted money, and their garrisons were corrupted; the Lord de Craon, who was the king's general in those parts, besieged Dole, the chief town in the county of Burgundy; which he presumed he should quickly make himself master of, upon account of the weakness of their garrison, but his confidence proved much to his disadvantage; for being surprised by a sudden sally, he lost some few of his men, and, to his eternal dishonour, a great part of his cannon; which so highly raised the king's displeasure against him, that, being vexed at this unfortunate action, he began to think of sending a new governor into the county of Burgundy, not only upon account of this misfortune, but for the great and excessive

sums of money which he had exacted in those parts : however, before the general laid down the command of the army, he had engaged and defeated a party of Germans and Burgundians, in which action Monsieur de Chesteauguyon * (the greatest lord of Burgundy) was taken prisoner ; and besides that, nothing of importance was done that day ; I speak only by hear-say, and, if we may believe report, the Lord de Craon behaved himself with a great deal of valour and intrepidity in that engagement. As I was saying, the king, for the reasons above-mentioned, resolved to put a new governor into the county of Burgundy ; but not to meddle with the profits or advantages of the Lord de Craon's places †, he only deprived him of his guards, and left him but six men at arms, and a dozen archers to attend him : the Lord de Craon was grown very unwieldy, and retired well satisfied to his country-seat, which was richly furnished, and where he lived in great ease and plenty. The king put into his post Monsieur Charles d'Amboise, Lord of Chaumont, a valiant, discreet, and diligent officer ; who, upon his first advancement, endeavoured to persuade the Germans from assisting the Burgundians, and to get them to enter into the king's service, (not that he valued their service, but to facilitate his conquest of the rest of that

* Hugh de Chalon, son of William Prince of Orange.

† This Lord de Craon was at that time Governor of Champagne, Brie, Burgundy, and Tourraine : he was also in possession of the government of several other cities in France, and chief chamberlain to the king ; besides enjoying the whole revenue of the barony of Craon in Anjou, which was his own inheritance.

country.) To this purpose the king sent to the Germans or Swiss, (whom he styled "The Confederate Lords,") and offered them very fair terms: first, a pension of two thousand francs, to be paid to four of their chief towns, as Bern, Lucern, Zurich, and I suppose Fribourg, with their three cantons (upon the mountains) Swiss, which now gives name to the whole country, Souluerre and Ondreval: twenty thousand francs per annum to particular persons, whose assistance he used in his negotiations; and, to oblige them, he made himself one of their burgesses, and their principal ally, and desired it might be declared in writing; but they made some difficulty of consenting to that, because, time immemorial, the Duke of Savoy had been their principal ally; yet at length they consented, and promised to furnish the king with a body of six thousand men, to be employed continually in his service, upon condition he should pay to each man four florins and a half in Dutch money every month, which was granted, and that number was continued in the king's service till his death. A poor prince could not have been able to have managed this affair, which turned so much to the king's advantage at that time; though I am of opinion, in the end it will be a prejudice to him, for they are now so used to money, (which was a stranger to them before,) especially gold, that it was like to have raised a civil war among them, which was the only thing that was capable of ruining, or doing them any mischief: for their country is so poor and mountainous, and the inhabitants

of such a martial temper, that few or none of the neighbouring princes thought it worth their while to endeavour to conquer them. When these treaties were agreed on, and the Swiss in Burgundy had entered into the king's service, the Burgundian power was utterly broken and destroyed: to bring matters to a conclusion, the governor, Monsieur de Chaumont, had performed several notable exploits, he besieged Rochefort, a castle near Dolé, commanded by Monsieur de Vaudray; having taken it by capitulation, he also besieged Dolé, (where, as I said before, his predecessor had been repulsed,) and took it by storm; the new revolted Swiss designed to have got in, and defended it; but a body of frank archers getting in amongst them, (not with any suspicion of their design, but desire of plunder,) when they were entered, all of them fell to pillaging, and the town was burnt and destroyed. Not long after he besieged Aussone, a strong town, but he held intelligence with some of the garrison; and wrote to the king for some of the offices for them, before his investing the town, which was readily granted. I was not upon the place myself, yet I was well informed, both by the report which was made to the king, and the letters which were sent to him, of which I had frequently a sight, being employed by the king to return answers to many of them. Aussone had but a small garrison in it, and the chief officers being in treaty with the governor, in five or six days the place was surrendered; so that there remained nothing in all Burgundy for the king to take possession of, but three

or four castles upon the mountains, to wit, Jeu and others, and Bezançon, which is an imperial town, not at all, or very little, subject to the county of Burgundy; but being seated as it were in the middle of it, paid a sort of an obedience to the prince of that country. The governor took possession of the town, and the inhabitants having paid him the homage, which they were accustomed to do to the princes who had possession of Burgundy formerly, he immediately quitted it. After this expeditious manner was the whole province subdued; and the king followed the business very closely, as fearing the governor desired some place might still hold out, in order to continue longer in his command, and not be moved into another country to serve him upon some other expedition: for Burgundy is a plentiful country, and he managed it as if it had been his own inheritance, so that he, as well as the Lord de Craon, had feathered his nest there. This province for some time continued in peace, under his administration; but afterwards several towns rebelled, as Beaune, Semur, Verdun, and others, (I was then present, being sent by the king with the pensioners of his household; this was the first time the pensioners had ever any officer to command them, and since they have never been without,) which towns were reduced by the wisdom and conduct of our general, and the indiscretion of the enemy. By this one may plainly see the vast difference there is between men; which proceeds from the grace of God, who gives wise ministers of state to that nation he designs to sup-

port, and to the prince that governs it, wisdom to choose them ; and has made, and does still make it appear, that in all things he will maintain our monarchy, not only in the person of our late virtuous master, but of this also, though he has sometimes suffered him to be in affliction. Those who lost these places the second time, were strong enough to have defended them, had they assembled their forces time enough, and thrown them into the town ; but they gave the governor leisure to draw his troops together, which they ought not to have done ; for, having intelligence of his strength, and knowing the country was entirely in his interest, they ought to have thrown themselves into Beaune ; which was a strong town, and more defensible than the rest. The very day the governor marched out into the field to invest a little town called Verdun, upon information of their weak condition, the Burgundians entered it, in their march to Beaune ; they were in all, both horse and foot, six hundred choice men out of the county of Ferrete, commanded by several old Burgundian officers, among whom Simon de Quingey was one ; they halted when they should have got into Beaune, (which if they had done,) the place had been almost impregnable, but for want of good counsel they staid a night too long, were besieged in Verdun, and taken by storm ; and after them Beaune was reduced, and all the rest of the revolters, the loss of which towns the Burgundians could never recover ; I was at this time with the king's pensioners (as I said before) in Burgundy, from whence

I was commanded by the king, upon an information he had received, that I had favoured certain of the citizens at Dijon about the quartering of soldiers. This charge, with other little suspicions, was the cause why he sent me away suddenly for Florence ; I obeyed him, as I had reason to do, and, upon the receipt of his letters, set out immediately for Italy.

The first Alliance between the Swiss Cantons, viz., those of Zurich, Bern, Soleurre, Lucern, Vry, Switz, Underwald above and below the Wood, Zoug, and Glaris ; and Charles VII. Anno 1453.

1. We Charles VII. King of France, &c., do, in the first place, promise by these presents for ourselves and successors, that there shall always be a lasting friendship and concord, between our subjects and successors, and the cantons of the old League of High Germauy, and their successors : And that we will give no manner of assistance to any who shall make any attempts against them ; nor receive, nor agree to receive, into our kingdom, any who shall pretend to attack them.

2. That the subjects of the cantons of what degree soever, may pass and return with their goods and attendance, armed or unarmed, a foot or on horseback, through our kingdoms and territories, without any molestation by word or deed, provided that by this leave no damage or injury be done to our subjects, the princes of the blood, confederates and allies : In confirmation of all which, we have affixed our seal to these presents.

This Treaty was ratified by Louis XI. in 1463. And in 1470, a new Alliance made between that Prince and the Swiss, against the Duke of Burgundy, to this effect.

We Louis, &c. shall in no time to come, either by ourselves or others, separately or conjointly, give any succour, aid, favour or assistance, to the Duke of Burgundy, against our most dear friends, the cantons of the grand liege, viz. Zurich, Bern, Luceru, Vry, Switz, Underwald, &c., so that they in general or particular, may receive any detriment in body or goods, or any other way whatsoever: We also, of the said league promise never directly nor indirectly to give any succour, favour, or assistance, to the said Duke of Burgundy, against the most serene lord, the most christian King, so as that either he or his, in general or particular, might receive any detriment in body and goods, or any other way whatsoever, sincerely, and without all manner of fraud. At the same time our meaning is, that the alliances made long ago between the said king and us, be preserved inviolable in all points, and in their perpetual force and vigour. Given at Tours, September 20, 1470, and the tenth of our reign.

A stricter Alliance between Louis XI. and the Swiss Cantons, 1474.

In the first place, the king in all and every of his wars, and especially against the Duke of Burgundy, and all others, is faithfully to aid, succour, and defend us at his own charge.

2. He shall, as long as he lives, be bound to pay us every year, in his city of Lyons, the sum of twenty thousand francs, *viz.*, five thousand every quarter, to be distributed equally between our parties : And if the king, in his wars and armies, has occasion for our help, and does require it, we shall then be obliged, at his charge, to supply him with such a number of troops armed as we shall think proper, and are able : That is, in case we be not engaged in a war of our own ; and he shall pay every soldier four florins and a half of the Rhine a month, allowing twelve months in the year.

3. The king, when he shall require our assistance, shall in one of the towns of Zurich, Bern, or Lucern, have a month's pay for every soldier that shall be raised for him, and two months' pay in the city of Geneva, or some other places, as most commodious, and at the choice of the cantons.

4. The three months' pay shall commence from the day that our men shall quit their homes : They shall enjoy the same privileges as the king's own subjects; and at what time soever we shall require the said king to send us succours in our wars against the Duke of Burgundy, and that by reason of his other wars he is engaged in, he cannot do it ; then to the end we may be able to maintain our said wars, the said king shall, as long as we shall continue in arms, pay us in the city of Lyons the sum of twenty thousand florins of the Rhine, per quarter, without prejudice, and over and above the sum above mentioned.

5. And when we shall make a peace or a truce with the Duke of Burgundy, or any other enemy of

the king or us, we shall be obliged particularly to include the said king therein ; and he is to do the same by us in all his wars against the Duke of Burgundy and others.

6. Both the parties include their allies in this treaty.

7. At the instant that we are engaged in a war with the Duke of Burgundy, the king shall sincerely and with all his might levy war against the said duke, and do every thing as is usual in war, both for his and our advantage, without fraud or deceit.

8. We will maintain this union and friendship inviolably, which is to last during the king's life. We have in the usual form delivered these presents to the king, who has done the same to us.

Done January 10, 1474.

CHAPTER V.

Of the Lord of Argenton's being sent to Florence during the Wars in Burgundy, and his receiving Homage of the Duke of Milan, in the King's name, for the Duchy of Genoa.—1478.

THE design of my going into Italy was, to adjust a difference between two illustrious families, very eminent in those days. One was the family of the Medicis, the other of the Pacis ; which last being supported by the Pope, and Ferrand King of Naples, endeavoured to cut off Laurence de Medicis*, and

* Surnamed the Magnanimous, governor of the republic of Florence.

all his adherents. They failed in their design upon Laurence de Medicis, but they slew his brother Julian*, in the great church in Florence, and with him one Feuguinet†, a person of honour, and a partisan of the house of Medicis, who threw himself before Julian, in hopes to have saved him. Laurence was much wounded, but made his retreat into the vestry of the church, whose doors were of copper, and given as a free gift by his father. A servant, whom he had delivered out of prison but two days before, did him considerable service, and received several wounds which were aimed at Laurence. This assassination was committed at the time of high mass, and the moment appointed for execution was when the priest should begin the Sanctus. But it fell out otherwise than was designed; for, supposing all sure, some of the conspirators ran to the palace, to kill the senators which were there, (which senate consisting of about nine persons, has the whole administration of the affairs of that city, and is changed every three months,) but being ill backed, and having run up stairs into the palace, some body pulled one of the doors after them; so that when they were got up, there were not above four or five, and those in such a terrible consternation, that they knew not what to say or do. The senators and their servants that attended them, perceiving the astonishment of the conspira-

* Father of Julius de Medicis, who was afterwards Pope, by the name of Clement VIII.

† Fransquin Noli, which comes nearer to Francesco Nori, mentioned in Machiavel's History of Florence.

tors, looked out of the windows, saw all the town in confusion, and heard Seignor James de Pacis, and his accomplices, crying out in the palace-yard, "*Liberta, Liberta, Popolo, Popolo,*" thinking by this means to have stirred up the people to have taken their parts, and joined with them in the insurrection, but they were mightily mistaken in their designs, for the mob kept themselves very quite; upon which James de Pacis and his adherents, despairing of success, betook themselves to flight. The governors and magistrates of the city, who were then in the palace, finding how matters went, immediately seized upon the five or six who were got up into the rooms, with a design to have murdered them, and caused them to be hanged at the bars of the palace windows, among whom was the Archbishop of Pisa. The senators finding the people unanimously declare for the house of Medicis, sent immediately to all the passes upon the road, to stop and apprehend all persons that were found flying, and to bring them before the senate. James de Pacis was presently apprehended, and with him an officer of the pope's, who had the command of a brigade under the Count Hieronymo, who was privy to, and concerned in, the plot. Pacis and his accomplices were hanged up at the same windows by their brethren, but the pope's officer had the favour of being beheaded. Several more were discovered in the town, (and amongst them Francisco de Pacis,) and all hanged immediately; so that in the whole there were about fourteen or

fifteen persons of quality hanged, besides servants which were killed in the town.

Not long after this accident I arrived at Florence, in quality of an agent for the king, having made no stay since I left Burgundy, unless it were two or three days with the Duchess of Savoy, the king's sister, who received me very graciously. From thence I proceeded to Milan, where I continued two or three days likewise, to solicit supplies for the said Florentines, with whom at that time the Milanois were in alliance. The Milanois granted them very freely, it being their own duty, as well as the king's request, and sent them immediately a reinforcement of three hundred men at arms, and afterwards a greater. In short, the pope, immediately upon this tumult in Florence, excommunicated the Florentines, and caused his own army, in conjunction with that of the King of Naples, to march. The Neapolitan army was numerous, made a fine appearance, and had abundance of brave soldiers in it. They first besieged Castellina, not far from Senes, and took it, with several other places; so that it was a great hazard but the Florentines had been utterly ruined, for they had enjoyed a long peace, and were not sensible of their danger. Laurence de Medicis, who was governor in that city, was but young, and managed by persons of his own years; yet his judgment was of great authority among them; they had but few good officers, and their army was but small. The pope's and King of Naples' army were com-

manded in chief by the Duke of Urbin, a wise man, and a brave commander ; with him there were likewise Robert d'Arimini, (since a great man,) Constantine de Pesaro, and several other officers, and two of the king's sons, that is, the Duke of Calabria, and Don Frederick, both of them still living, and many other persons of quality. They took all places which they besieged, but not with the same expedition which we do in France, for they were not well skilled in the art of masking and defending a town, but for encamping and supplying their army with provisions, and giving orders for all things necessary for a campaign, they understood that better than we. The king's inclination toward them was in some measure serviceable to them, but not so much as I could have wished, for I had no supplies of men to reinforce them, more than what were in my own retinue. I staid in Florence and its territories a whole year, was nobly treated at their expense all the while, and with more civility at last than at first ; but being recalled by the king, I set out for Milan, where I received homage of John Galeas, Duke of Milan, for the duchy of Genoa, which homage was performed to my master by the duke's mother, in her son's name ; after which I returned to my master, who received me very graciously, and admitted me more freely to his affairs than ever before, permitting me to lie with him, though I was unworthy of that favour, and though he had several persons about his court more deserving of such a familiarity than myself. But he was so discreet and so

sagacious a prince, that no minister of his could possibly miscarry in any negotiation he was employed in, provided he acted directly according to his instructions.

CHAPTER VI.

Of Philip de Comines's Return out of Italy into France, and of the Battle of Guinegate.—1479.

UPON my return from Italy, I found our king a little impaired and decayed in his health, and inclinable to be sickly ; yet not so much as to neglect his affairs, which he managed himself, and was still engaged in his wars in Picardy, upon which his heart was mightily set, and the enemy was no less fond of it, if they could have got it into their possession. The Duke of Austria (at present king of the Romans) having that year the Flemings at his command, invested Therouenne, and the Lord des Cordes, the king's lieutenant in Picardy, having assembled all the forces that were in that province, and the frontier towns, and joining them with eight thousand Frank archers, marched to relieve it: Upon news of his approach, the Duke of Austria raised the siege, and, advancing to meet him, they came to an engagement at a place called Guinegate. The duke had twenty thousand men or more out of the country of Flanders, besides some few Germans and about three hundred English, under the command of Sir Thomas Abrigan, who had been in the

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least opposition either there or at Arras: Yet he durst not venture, which proved highly to his disadvantage; but in such cases one knows not always what measures are best to be taken, and indeed he had some reason to fear. I speak of this battle only by hearsay, for I was not in it; but to continue my discourse, I thought it necessary to mention it. I was with the king, when he received the news of this defeat; his majesty was extremely concerned at it, for he had not been used to lose any thing, but had been successful in all his enterprises, as if every thing had succeeded according to his direction; though, to speak truth, his judgment and penetration in state affairs contributed very much to his success: For he would never venture any thing, and always endeavoured to avoid a battle; nor was this fought by any positive orders from him. His armies were always so numerous, few princes were able to cope with him, and he had a larger train of artillery than any of his predecessors. His method was to assemble his troops on a sudden, and attack those places that were ill provided, and slenderly fortified; into which he immediately put such a strong garrison, with a sufficient quantity of artillery, that it was almost impossible to retake them; besides, if the governor or any other officer in the town had a mind to betray it for money, he was sure to have the king for a chapman, and they need not be afraid to demand an extravagant sum; for let it be never so exorbitant, his majesty would certainly give it rather than venture a battle, or undertake a siege. He was mightily alarmed at the first

news of this battle, supposing he had lost all, and that they durst not tell him the truth ; for he was sensible, had it been an absolute defeat, all that he had got from the house of Burgundy in those marches and elsewhere, would certainly have been in very great danger. However, as soon as he was informed of the whole truth, and found matters were not so bad as he at first imagined ; he was better satisfied, and gave orders that, for the future, no battle should be fought without his knowledge and consent, and was reconciled to the Lord des Cordes. From this very hour the king resolved to set a treaty of peace on foot, between him and the Duke of Austria, but to manage the whole negotiation purely to his own advantage ; and so to curb the duke with his own subjects, (who he knew were as desirous as himself to have the wings of his authority clipped,) that it should not be in his power for the future to disturb or incommode him. He was likewise very desirous to make some new regulations in the affairs of his own kingdom, for the advantage of his subjects, particularly about delays and protraction in processes of law ; to this purpose he determined to restrain the court of parliament, not by diminution of their number or authority ; but they took cognizance of many things against his consent, which occasioned his hatred against them. He was also desirous to establish in his kingdom, one general custom as to weights and measures ; and that all the laws should be written in French, and reduced into one code or abridgment, to prevent the frauds and prevarications of the lawyers, which are greater there

than in any other nation in Europe, as the nobility has often experienced to their cost. And, doubtless had God permitted him to live six or seven years longer in peace and health, he would have enacted several excellent laws, and done abundance of glorious things for the benefit and advantage of his subjects; and it was but reasonable he should do so, for, from the beginning of his reign to this time, he had oppressed and tyrannized over them more than all his predecessors. But no man's authority or remonstrance could persuade him, it must come of its own accord, as certainly it would, if God had not afflicted him with sickness: Wherefore it is best to make use of our time, and do all the good that lies in our power, while we are in health, and our senses in perfect strength and vigour.

The peace which the king designed to make with the Duke of Austria, his duchess, and their dominions, was to be effected by the mediation of the Gantois, upon proposals of a match between the Dauphin, (who is now our king,) and the daughter of the duke and duchess, by which they should leave him the counties of Burgundy, Auxerrois, Masconnois, and Charolois; and in exchange the king would restore the province of Artois, retaining only the city of Arras, in the same posture of defence it was in, at that time of treaty; for the town was not considerable since the new fortifications, which were very strong, were added to the city. Before they fell into the king's hands, the town was much stronger than the city, with a large ditch, and thick walls between them; but now the

city was in a much better posture of defence, and kept for the king by the bishop of the place, contrary to the practice of the Dukes of Burgundy, for above a hundred years together; for they always made whom they pleased bishop, and put in a governor besides: but the king, to shew his authority, proceeded in a quite different manner, caused the town walls to be demolished, and new ones to be raised about the city, which before, (as I said,) was weaker than the town, with great ditches betwixt them; so that in effect, the king gave nothing in the treaty; for he that was master of the city could command the town when he pleased. There was not the least mention made of the duchy of Burgundy, the county of Boulogne, the towns upon the Somme, or the chastellanies of Peronne, Roye, and Mondidier. The Gantois were extremely pleased with these proposals, behaved themselves very disrespectfully to the Duke and Duchess of Austria; and some of the other great towns in Flanders and Brabant were as importunate and saucy as they, concurring in the opinion of the Gantois, and particularly Brussels, which was grown prodigiously rich, by reason that Duke Philip and Charles for a long time had kept their courts there; and the Duke and Duchess of Austria had their residence in it at that very time. But the long ease and pleasures that they had enjoyed under the above-mentioned princes, made them so far forget both God and their sovereign, that at last they pulled down misfortunes upon their heads, and occasioned their own ruin.

CHAPTER VII.

Of King Louis's being surprised with a Distemper, that for some time took away the use of both his Senses and Tongue; of his Recovery and Relapse several times, and of his keeping himself in the Castle at Plessis les Tours.—1479.

IN the year 1479, in the month of March, a truce was concluded between the two princes; though the king was very solicitous for a peace, especially in those places I have mentioned, which would have proved very advantageous for his affairs. He began now to decline in his age, and to be subject to infirmity, and as he was sitting at dinner one day at Forges, near Chynon, he was seized on a sudden with a fit that took away his speech. Those who were about him took him from the table, held him to the fire, shut up the windows, and though he endeavoured to get to them for the benefit of the air, yet imagining it for the best, they would not suffer him to stir. It was in March, 1479, when this fit seized upon him after this manner, which deprived him of his speech, understanding, and memory. It was your fortune, my Lord of Vienne, to be present at that time, and act the part of a physician; for having ordered him a glyster, and caused the windows to be opened to give him fresh air, he came a little to himself immediately, recovered his speech and his senses in some measure, and mounting on horseback, he returned to Forges, for he was taken with this fit in a small village about a quarter of a

league off, whither he went to hear mass. He was diligently attended, and made signs for every thing he wanted: among other things, he desired the official of Tours to come and take his confession, and made signs that he should be sent for, for I was gone to Argenton about ten leagues off: upon my return I found him at the table, and with him Monsieur Adam Fumée*, (physician to the late King Charles, and at present master of the requests,) and one Monsieur Claude, another physician. He made signs that I should lie in his chamber; he understood little that was said to him, and his words were not intelligible; but he felt no manner of pain. I waited on him above a month at the table, and in his chamber as one of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber, which I took for a great honour, and it gave me great reputation. At the end of two or three days, he began to recover his speech and his senses; he fancied nobody understood him so clearly as myself, and therefore would have me always to attend him. He confessed himself to the official in my presence, for otherwise he could not have understood what he had said: there was no great matter in his confession, for he had been at confession a few

* Lord of Roches St. Quintin in Touraine, the chief master of the Board of Green Cloth, and afterwards Keeper of the Great Seal of France in 1479, from the removal of the Chancellor Doriolle, to the year 1483, in which William de Rochefort was promoted to the chancellorship. He was the son of Paul Fumée, Governor of Nantes, who was sent to Rome by Louis XI., in an embassy to the pope. The same Adam Fumée was counsellor and chief physician to Charles VII., Louis XI., and Charles VIII., and died in the year 1500

days before, because whenever the Kings of France touch for the king's evil, they confess themselves first, and he never missed touching once every week, and if other princes do not the same, I think they are highly to blame: for there are always great numbers of people to be touched. As soon as he was a little recovered, he began to inquire who they were who held him by force from going to the window; and having an account of their names, he banished them the court, took away their employments from some of them, and never saw them again. From some, as Monsieur de Segre*, Gilbert de Grassy Lord of Champeroux, he took away nothing, but banished them from his presence. Many wondered at his fancy; condemned his proceedings, and affirmed they had done what in their opinion they thought for the best, and that they were in the right; but the imagination of princes are different, and all those who undertake to give an account of them have not judgment enough to distinguish them. He was jealous of nothing so much as the loss of his regal authority, which was then very great; and he would not suffer his commands to be disobeyed in the most trivial point. On the other hand, he remembered that his father, King Charles, in the last fit of which he died, took a fancy that his courtiers had a mind to poison him, to make way for his son; and it made so deep an impression upon him, that he refused to eat, and by the ad-

* James d'Espany, Knight, Lord of Usse, Segre, and St. Michel upon the Loyre, chamberlain to Louis XI.

vice of his physicians, and all the chief of his favourites, it was concluded he should be forced; and so after a great deliberation they forced victuals down his throat, upon which violence he died. King Louis having always condemned that way of proceeding, took it very heinously: that they should use any violence with him, and yet he pretended to be more angry than he was; for the great matter that moved him was an apprehension that they would govern him in every thing else, and pretend he was unfit for the administration of public affairs, by reason of the imbecility of his senses.

After he had thus severally handled the persons above-mentioned, he made an inquiry into what had been done in council, and the orders which had been made for ten or twelve days before he fell sick, of which the Bishop of Alby, his brother the Governor of Burgundy, the Mareshal de Giè, and the Lord du Lude, had the principal charge, and were most responsible, as being with him when he fell ill, and lodged under him in two little chambers. He would also see all letters and despatches as they arrived, and couriers arrived every hour; they shewed him the originals, and I read them to him: he would pretend to understand them, take them into his own hand, and make as if he read them to himself, when in truth he did not understand one syllable of them. Yet he would offer now and then at a word, and make signs what answers should be given; but little business was despatched during his illness, the greatest part hanging in suspense

till we could see what would be the event; for he was a prince that required all things to be done with the utmost nicety and exactness. This indisposition continued about a fortnight, at the end of which he recovered his speech and senses pretty well; but he remained very weak, and in great fear of a relapse, for naturally he was not apt to put confidence in his physicians. As soon as he was a little recovered he released the Cardinal Balüe out of the castle of Lookes, where he had been a prisoner for fourteen years, though the pope and other princes had many times interceded for his enlargement, of which crime he was absolved afterwards by an express bull from his holiness, which the king had solemnly requested. When he was first seized with his illness, those who were about him gave him over for dead, and orders were given out for remitting an heavy tax, which, at the instigation of the Lord des Cordes, (his lieutenant in Picardy,) he had lately laid upon his subjects, for the raising ten thousand foot as a standing force, and two thousand five hundred pioneers, which were to be called the "Gens du Camp;" to which he added one thousand five hundred of his old standing forces, who were to fight on foot upon occasion, among the rest; besides which he caused a vast number of tents and pavilions to be made, and wagons to enclose all, in imitation of the Duke of Burgundy, whose camp cost him fifteen thousand francs a year. When it was ready, he went to review this body of new-raised forces in a large plain near Pont del Arche in Normandy.

In this camp there were the six thousand Swiss I mentioned before, which was the greatest number of them we had ever seen before. From thence he returned to Tours, where he was taken with a new fit, lost his speech again, and for two hours together every body thought him dead, being laid upon a straw-bed in a gallery, with several people about him: the Lord du Bouchage and I devoutly recommended him to St. Claude, and all that were present concurred with our prayers; but immediately he recovered his speech, and walked up and down the house, but very weak and feeble; and this second fit took him in 1481. He went into the country as formerly, and particularly with me to Argenton, where he continued a month together very ill; from thence he went to Tours, where he was also very sick, and undertook a voyage to St. Claude, to whom we had recommended him, as you have already heard: at his departure from Tours he sent me into Savoy to oppose the Lords de la Chambre, Miolans, and Bresse, (though he was privately their friends,) for their having seized upon the person of the Lord de Lins of Dauphinè, whom he had recommended to be governor to his nephew, Duke Philebert. He sent a considerable body of troops after me, which I carried to Mascon against Monsieur de Bresse; however, he and I were agreed underhand. Being informed that the Lord de la Chambre was at the Duke of Savoy's court at Turin, in Piedmont, he gave me notice of it, and I caused our soldiers to retire; for he brought the Duke of Savoy to Grenoble, where the

Marshal of Burgundy, the Marquis de Rothelin, and myself, went to receive and compliment his highness. The king sent for me back to him to Beaujeu, in Beaujolois : I was amazed to find him so weak, and wondered how he had strength enough to bear the fatigue of travelling so well as he did ; but his great spirit carried him throughout all difficulties. At Beaujeu he received advice that the Duchess of Austria was dead of a fall from her horse : she had been set upon a hot-headed young pad, that threw her down against a piece of timber, and was the occasion of her death. Others said she died of a fever, not of her fall ; but be it which it will, she lived not many days after, to the great detriment of her friends and subjects ; for after her death they never had peace. The people of Ghent had a greater love and respect for her than her husband, as being their natural sovereign. This misfortune happened in the year 1482. The king told me of it with a great deal of joy and satisfaction ; being extremely pleased that the two children were under the tuition of the Gantois, who (he knew) were inclined to any mischief that might weaken the power of the house of Burgundy ; and now he thought this was the only time to attempt something, because the Duke of Austria was young, his father still living, involved in war on every side, a stranger, and his forces very weak ; and the covetous temper of the present emperor made him less beloved than the rest.

From that time the king began to solicit the Gantois by his agent the Lord des Cordes, about

the marriage of the dauphin with the Lady Margaret, the duke's daughter, who is at present our queen. The Lord des Cordes applied himself in this affair to one William Rym, pensionary of the town, (a cunning subtle man,) and Cöppenol, the town-clerk, who was an hosier, and a person of great reputation among the people, who, in times of trouble, are soonest wrought upon by such. The king returned to Tours, and kept himself so close, that very few were admitted to see him; for he was grown jealous of all his courtiers, and afraid they would either depose, or deprive him, of some part of his regal authority. He removed from about him all his old favourites, especially if they had any extraordinary familiarity with him; but he took nothing from them, only commanded them to their posts or country-seats: but this lasted not long, for he died a while after. He did many odd things, which made some believe his senses were a little impaired; but they knew not his humours. As to his jealousy, all princes are prone to it, especially those who are wise, have many enemies, and have oppressed many people, as our master had done. Besides, he found he was not beloved by the nobility of the kingdom, nor many of the commons; for he had taxed them more than any of his predecessors, though he now had some thoughts of easing them, as I said before; but he should have begun sooner. King Charles VIII. was the first prince who, (by the assistance of several grave men, who had served him in the expulsion of the English out of Normandy and Guienne,)

gained that point of laying taxes upon the country at his pleasure, without the consent of the three estates of the kingdom; but then the occasions were great and indispensable to secure his new conquests, and to disperse such people as were burthensome to the kingdom. Upon which the great lords of France consented to what the king did, upon promise of certain pensions in lieu of what should be levied upon them. Had this king lived long, and those who were then of his council, without dispute he would have enlarged his dominions considerably; but, considering what has already, and what is likely to follow upon it, he has laid a great load both upon his own, and the souls of his successors, and given his kingdom a wound, which will bleed a long time; and that was, by establishing a standing army, in imitation of the princes of Italy. King Charles at his death had taxes laid upon all things in his kingdom, amounting to one million eight hundred thousand francs, with which he maintained about one thousand seven hundred men at arms, to be constantly in pay, and, in the nature of guards, to preserve the peace, and secure the provinces in the kingdom; by which means there was no free quarter, nor riding up and down the country, which was a great ease to the people. At the death of our master he had raised four million seven hundred thousand francs; of men at arms about four or five thousand foot for the camp, and above twenty-five thousand standing forces; so that it is no wonder if he entertained such jealousies and fears of his

subjects, and fancied he was not beloved by them. Yet, as he was fearful in this case, he had confidence likewise in several who had been brought up, and received their preferments under him; of which he might have found many that would have died before they would have forsaken him in any thing. In the first place, nobody was admitted into Plessis du Parc, (which was the place where he kept himself,) but his domestic servants, and his archers, which were four hundred, some of which kept constant guard at the gate, while others walked continually about to prevent its being surprised. No lord, nor person of quality was permitted to lie in the castle, nor to enter with any of his retinue; nor indeed did any of them come in, but the Lord de Beaujeu, the present Duke of Bourbon, who was his son-in-law. Round about the castle of Plessis he caused a lattice, or iron gate, to be set up, spikes of iron planted in the wall, and a kind of crows-feet, with several points to be placed along the ditch, wherever there was a possibility for any person to enter. Besides which, he caused four watch-houses to be made all of thick iron, and full of holes, out of which they might shoot at their pleasure, and which were very noble, and cost above twenty thousand francs, in which he placed forty of his cross-bows, who were to be upon the guard night and day, with orders to let fly upon any man that offered to come near before the opening of the gate in the morning. He also persuaded himself that his subjects would be mighty fond of divesting him of his power, and taking the administration of

affairs upon themselves, when they saw their opportunity ; and, indeed, there were some persons about the court, that consulted together how they might get in, and despatch those affairs, which at present hung in suspense ; but they durst not attempt it, and they acted wisely ; for the king had provided against every thing. He often changed the gentlemen of his bed-chamber, and all the rest of his servants, alleging that nothing was more delightful to nature than novelty. For conversation, he kept only one or two with him, and those of inferior condition, and of no great reputation ; who, if they had been wise, might well think, as soon as he was dead, the best they could expect would be to be turned out of all their employments ; and so it happened. Those persons never acquainted him, with any thing that was sent or writ to him, unless it concerned the preservation of the state, and defence of the kingdom ; for he concerned not himself for any thing, but to live quietly and peaceably with all men. He gave his physician ten thousand crowns a month, and within the space of five months he received of his majesty above fifty-four thousand. He also promised large endowments to the church, but it was never made good ; for they were thought to have had too much already.

A Treaty between Louis XI. of France, and Maximilian Duke of Austria, as well for himself as his Children, at Arras, December 23, 1482.

1. THERE shall be a perpetual peace, union and alliance between the king, dauphin, and kingdom, their countries, territories, and subjects on the one part; and Duke Maximilian of Austria, Duke Philip, and the Lady Margaret of Austria, his children, their countries, territories, and subjects on the other; laying aside all rancour and enmity towards one another, any or all manner of injuries, either in word or deed.

2. For the more firm establishing of the peace, a treaty of marriage is agreed to between the dauphin, the king's son and heir-apparent to the crown, and the Lady Margaret of Austria, only daughter of the said duke, and of the late Mary of Burgundy, only daughter of Duke Charles of Burgundy, to be solemnized when the said lady shall be of age fit for it.

3. As soon as the peace is proclaimed, the said lady shall forthwith be conducted to Arras, and be put into the hands of Monsieur de Beaujeu, or another prince of the blood authorized by the king for that purpose; and the king shall take care to bring her up as his eldest daughter, the wife of the said dauphin.

4. Upon the delivery of the said lady, Monsieur de Beaujeu, &c., shall swear solemnly, in the presence of the princes and lords who shall conduct

her, in the king's name, that the dauphin, when she comes of age, shall take her in marriage, and proceed to the consummation of the same.

5. The like oath Monsieur de Beaujeu shall take in the name of the dauphin, being authorized thereunto by the king upon the account of his youth.

6. In consideration of this marriage, the Duke of Austria, and the states of his country, agree in their own names, and in that of Duke Philip, that the countries of Artois, Burgundy, the lands and seigniories of Masconnois, Auxerois, Salnis, Bar-sur-Sein and de Noyers, shall be given in dower with her to the dauphin, to be enjoyed by them, their heirs by that marriage; whether male or female, for ever; but for failure thereof, to return to Duke Philip and his heirs: And seeing these countries, and the greatest part of the province of Artois, are at present in the king's possession; it is agreed they shall be the dowry and inheritance of the said lady, to be enjoyed by the dauphin, her intended husband, and her heirs. But in case those countries should come into any hands than those of the dauphin, and the heirs of this marriage, the king, dauphin, and their successors, Kings of France, may in that case retain the said counties of Artois and Burgundy, with the other seigniories, till the king's pretensions to Lisle, Doway, and Orchies are determined. And in case they are not adjudged to return to him, he and his successors shall pretend no right to them; but the earls and countesses of Flanders shall enjoy them

as formerly. Moreover, as soon as the said lady shall arrive at Arras, she shall be there received and declared Countess of Artois and Burgundy, and lady of the other territories.

7. From thenceforward the said county of Artois, except the castle and bailiwick of St. Omer, shall be governed according to its ancient rights and privileges, as well the cities as the open country, by and in the name of the dauphin, her future husband; and the domain and revenue, with the officers, and justice, and others, shall appertain to him.

8. The same thing shall be done in respect to the county of Burgundy, and the other seigniories.

9. The king, at the request of the said duke and states, to restore Arras to its ancient government under the administration of the dauphin, by appointing officers for that purpose; the king is content that the dauphin shall do so.

10. As to the town, castle, and bailiwick of St. Omer, (which is in the province of Artois,) it is comprehended with the said county of Artois, in the dower of the said Lady Margaret, and so shall be forthwith delivered into the possession of the dauphin, upon the completing and consummating of the marriage with her.

11. The guarding and government of the said town, castle, and bailiwick, from hence forward is to be put into the hands of the inhabitants, in order to be given up to the dauphin, upon the consummation of his marriage; and they shall make solemn oath before the king or his commissioners, that

during the minority of the lady, they shall not deliver them up to the Duke of Austria, Duke Philip, or their agents.

12. The like oath shall be taken by them to the Duke of Austria, that they shall not deliver them up to the king, dauphin, or their agents, during the minority, and till the consummation of the marriage.

13. For the better support of the town, the domain thereof, &c., shall be applied towards it during the minority; neither shall the town and bailiwick pay the tax called the Ordinary Aid of Artois.

14. As to the appointing of officers, such as bailiff, &c., the duke, as father of the lady, shall have the nomination during the said time, and the dauphin, as her intended husband, the institution: But, if the said lady should happen to die before the consummation of the marriage, the inhabitants shall restore the town, with its appendices, to the Duke of Austria, and Duke Philip, his son, or successors.

15. The privileges of the town shall be maintained, and justice administered in the same manner as formerly; and the estates of the place shall take care to provide for the guard of it.

16. As to the neighbouring forts and castles, the lords of them shall oblige themselves not to injure, but to assist, them in defence of the same.

17. If a war should break out between the king and the duke, they shall not intermeddle, or receive a garrison from either.

18. It shall be free for the inhabitants of all conditions to go and traffic, or otherwise, into France, or the dominions of the Duke of Austria, and other neighbouring kingdoms and countries.

19. Upon the surrendering of the town up to the dauphin, and the Lady Margaret, upon the marriage, those princes shall make oath to maintain it, as a member of the county of Artois, and the county of Artois in all its privileges, as their predecessors, the counts and countesses of Artois have done, without innovation in the government there.

20. The king consigns the provision made for the town, by the late Duchess of Austria, and the duke, [her husband, for the discharge of the debts and rents due from it.

21. The king and the dauphin oblige themselves to pay the debts contracted by the duchess, the Duke of Burgundy, her father, and their other predecessors, by mortgaging the revenues of the said county.

22. The yearly pensions assigned by the duchess, Duke Charles, &c., upon the domain of the said counties and seigniories of Burgundy and Artois, shall be continued.

23. In consideration of this lady's dowry, the king and dauphin renounce all claims and pretensions upon the duchies, counties, goods, moveables and immoveables, whatsoever, remaining after the death of the duchess, the lady's mother.

24. In case, upon the account of death, or otherwise, the said marriage should not be consummated, the dowers, and the said counties and seigniories,

shall be restored to the Duke of Austria; but at the same time with a salvo to the king's pretensions to the towns and chastellanies of Lisle, Dower and Orchies.

25. If, after the consummation of the marriage, the dauphin should die, (whether he leaves children or not by the said lady,) she shall enjoy the counties of Artois and Burgundy as her portion, and withal fifty thousand livres of Tournay yearly in dower, assigned to her in Champagne, Berry, and Touraine.

26. If she should happen to die before the dauphin, the children shall succeed in those territories that are her portion; and in case there are no children, they shall revert to the next heirs.

27. Neither the king nor dauphin shall, during the minority of Duke Philip, pretend to have the government of the said countries of Brabant, Flanders, &c., but shall leave them in the condition they are.

28. If Duke Philip should die under age, and the said lady becomes his heir, the king and dauphin shall agree that the government of the said countries shall continue upon the same footing.

29. In case Duke Philip die without issue of his body, and that his dominions fall to his sister, and her heirs, who shall also be heirs to the crown of France, the king and the dauphin shall engage, that the said countries shall be maintained in all their ancient rights and privileges.

30. The king's sovereignty over the country of Flanders is acknowledged by the duke and the

states, and Duke Philip, when he comes of age, shall do homage for the same in the usual form.

31. The king confirms all the ancient and modern privileges of the three members of Flanders, and particularly the towns and corporations of the country of Flanders, the towns and chatellanies of Lisle, Doway, and St. Omer.

32. The inhabitants of Antwerp shall have also their privileges maintained.

33. Customs and tolls shall be paid as usual.

34. Margaret Duchess of Burgundy, widow of the late Duke Charles, is comprehended in this treaty, and she shall have the full enjoyment of the lands of Chaussins and La Pierriere, upon the repaying of twenty thousand crowns in gold to the country of Burgundy; and in case, by the death of the young duke, those countries should come into the hands of France, she shall be maintained fully in her dower, and find all kind assistance, as a cousin and relation, from the king and dauphin.

35. A general act of indemnity is agreed to on both sides, in as ample manner as could be desired by offenders.

36. The subjects and adherents of both parties shall be reinstated in their dignities, benefices, fiefs, lands, seigniories, and other inheritances, rents, &c., without being called in question for any thing that happened during the war, and notwithstanding any declarations, confiscations, and arrests, to the contrary whatsoever.

37. If the inheritances of any persons who followed the fortune of the adverse party have been

sold in court for the payment of their debts, they shall forthwith re-enter upon the peace, and pay their debts within a year after, if not, the order of court shall stand.

38. In case the debts were purely personal, for which the inheritance of the followers of the opposite party have been sold, the debtor shall return to his inheritance, without making any compensation to the purchaser.

39. The subjects on both sides shall return to the possession of their immoveable goods, as well before the troubles begun in Duke Charles's time, as after.

40. As to the profits and income of estates, which have been levied by the commanders of the respective parties, those that received them shall never be accountable for them, and no prosecution in law, upon that account, shall take effect against them.

41. All personal debts granted by the princes, or pursuant to their order, shall be theirs who had the grant of them: As to all other moveables in being upon the peace, they shall belong to those that had them before the war, without any molestation, or any impediment whatsoever.

42. The town of St. Omer and its dependencies, are fully discharged of all rewards, remissions, &c., which have been granted them.

43. The Duke of Austria and his children are, by this treaty, fully discharged of all debts they may owe to those who adhered to the contrary party, and they and their descendants shall never be molested for them.

44. Upon returning to their possessions, nobody shall take any oath to the prince or lord under whom the said possessions are, saving vassals and feoffees.

45. The widow of the late Peter of Luxemburg, and the ladies Mary and Frances, her daughters, shall be restored to their estates, as well those which they enjoyed in the lifetime of Lewis de Luxemburg; Count of St. Paul, Madame Jane de Bar his wife, and John de Luxemburg, Count of Marle, their eldest son : In like manner, Monsieur de Croy, Count of Porcien, particularly to the county of Porcien, the granaries belonging to the castle of Cambarsay; Montcornet, and other appanages, in the seigniory of Bar-sur-Aube, and other places in Picardy.

46. The king shall favour the Count de Romont, in his pretensions to the county of Romont; and the county of Vaux; and as for the Princes and Princesses of Orange, the Count of Joigny, Liepart de Chalon, the Lord of Lorme, Messieurs William de la Beaume, Du Lain, Claude de Thoulongeon, and the Sieur de la Bastie, they are comprehended in this peace, and shall be repossessed.

47. In like manner, the monks of Anchin are restored to their abbey; so are those of the church and abbey of St. Wast d'Arras, and the inhabitants of Arras, whether they have withdrawn into the one or the other prince's country, shall freely return home, and follow their respective occupations, without any let or hinderance, as before the war.

48. The heirs of those who have been put to

death for adhering to the party opposite to him under whom they lived, shall return to their estates and succeed : The widows also of such, shall have their rights and dowries.

49. As to persons enjoying their own, they shall not be obliged to go and reside where their estates are, either in the one or the other countries.

50. The king consents to free the county of Artois, the towns of Arras, Aire, Lens, Bapaum, Bethune, their villages, and the chastellany of Lilliers, from the tax called the ordinary aid of Artois, and all other extraordinary ones, for the space of six years, from the day of the date of the peace : And seeing the late Duchess of Austria hath exempted the hospitals of Doway, &c., from paying any taxes to the country of Artois for their inheritances, the king and dauphin confirm the same privileges.

51. Those who shall return to their possessions shall not be accountable for any rent due during the war ; and the lands which, by reason of the war, have been untilled, shall have no rent paid for them till next Christmas.

52. Those who, at their entry upon fiefs and inheritances, are obliged to pay fines and other duties to their lords, shall have three months allowed them to do it in after the peace, and so remain unmolested.

53. The nobility and feoffees of the territories of the Duke of Austria, and his son Philip, shall not be obliged to serve under any but them, or their lieutenants ; and in case that they, or one of them,

should be in the king's service, if they are not there in person, the other shall not be obliged to serve in person, but may send another.

54. The decrees and sentences made in the court of Malines, as also of the grand council of the dukes Philip and Charles, the duchess Mary and the present duke, shall remain firm, and not be brought before the parliament of Paris, or any other sovereign court. But those suits and clauses which are not yet decided in the said courts, shall be brought before the parliament of Paris, and there be determined.

55. In like manner, mortmains, compositions, new acquests, and ennoblings, made by the said dukes and duchess, shall remain good; only the subjects of the county of Artois shall be obliged to take new patents for their nobility, which shall be granted without any charge to them.

56. The abolitions, remissions, and pardons, granted by duke Charles, his daughter, and the dukes of Austria, to the countries of Flanders, Lisle, Doway, Artois, and Burgundy, shall be valid, only the subjects of Artois shall sue them out as before.

57. The inhabitants on the frontiers of the duke, and others subject to the French crown, cited to appear in person in the court of parliament, or before royal judges, shall appear only by their proctors, during the minority of the said lady; and the same privilege is granted to St. Omer. Those preferred to livings by duke Charles, his daughter, &c., shall remain in quiet possession of them, not-

withstanding any pretence of a pragmatic, or the like, to the contrary.

58. Tournay, Tournesis, St. Amand, and Mortagne, &c., are comprehended in this treaty; and any places the king may have in the duchy of Luxemburg, shall be restored to the arch-duke, and his son Philip; so shall also the houses of Flanders, and of Conflans, and the house of Artois, in the said country.

59. After the lady shall be delivered into the hands of those appointed to receive her for the dauphin, the troops, for the benefit of trade, shall be withdrawn by the king from the little places on the frontiers; and for the larger ones, the garrisons shall be regulated to the satisfaction of the Duke of Austria, and the states of the country.

60. As for the duke's desiring to have the King of England and Duke of Bretagne comprehended in the treaty, it is answered, "the English are in truce with France, and for the Duke of Bretagne, the king is at peace with him."

61. The king, after the peace, will assist the duke against William de Aremberg, a Liegeois, and all others that shall invade Brabant, &c.

62. The duke's subjects shall have all manner of protection and encouragement, in respect to navigation and commerce, with those of France.

63. Any prizes taken after the publication of the peace shall be restored, for the prevention whereof, the peace shall on both sides be proclaimed without delay.

64. Such as are malefactors and delinquents,

after the peace, shall be seized on both sides, and returned to be punished by the parties to whom they belong.

65. The infractors and violators of this peace, be they who they will, shall be punished unfeignedly for an example to others, in the places where they are taken.

66. In case this peace should any way be contravened, it shall not however be reputed an infraction, or rupture; but the breach shall forthwith be made up, and reparation made, without coming to hostilities either by sea or land, before the king and the duke's ambassadors have met together to adjust the difference in an amicable way.

67. It is agreed, that as soon as the said lady is brought to Lisle or Doway, and before she be conducted to Arras, the promises and sureties which follow shall be given the duke and states: That in case the dauphin do not accomplish the marriage in due time, the said lady shall be returned, at the king's or dauphin's charge, to her father or brother, in one of the good towns of Brabant, Flanders, or Hainault, in the duke's possession; and the king and dauphin, in that case, shall quit all pretensions for keeping the territories and countries of Artois, Burgundy, Charolois, Masconnois, Auxerrois, the lordships of Salms, Bar-sur-Seine, and Noyers, and surrender them to the duke in the name of his son Philip, while under age, or to Philip when at age; reserving only the homage and sovereignty to him.

68. The king shall also, upon the failure of the

marriage, renounce his right to Lisle, Doway, and Orchies, and consent they shall belong for ever to the counts and countesses of Flanders.

69. The signing, sealing, and ratifying, of all the premises in ample and due form, shall be done by the parties on either sides. The treaty shall also be registered and verified in the court of the parliament of Paris, chambers of accompts, and of the finances.

The rest of the articles being mere matter of form, concerning the observation of the treaty, we shall omit them.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the King's sending for the Holy Man of Calabria to Tours, supposing he could cure him; and of the strange things that were done by the King during his sickness, to preserve his authority.—1482.

AMONG men renowned for devotion and sanctity of life, he sent into Calabria for one friar Robert, whom, for the holiness and purity of conversation, the king called the "Holy Man," and in honour to him our present king erected a monastery at Plessis-du-Parc, in compensation for the chapel near Plessis at the end of the bridge. This hermit, at the age of twelve years, was put into a hole in a rock, where he lived three and forty years and upwards, till the king sent for him by the steward of his household, in the company of the Prince of Taranto, the King of Naples' son. But this hermit would not stir without leave from his holiness, and

from his king, which was great discretion in a man so inexperienced in the affairs of the world as he was. He built two churches in the place where he lived ; he never eat flesh, fish, eggs, milk, or any thing that was fat, since he undertook that austerity of life ; and truly I never saw any man living so holy, nor out of whose mouth the Holy Ghost did more manifestly speak ; for he was illiterate, and no scholar, and only had his Italian tongue, with which he made himself so much admired. This hermit passed through Naples, where he was respected, and visited (with as much pomp and ceremony, as if he had been the Pope's legate) both by the King of Naples and his children, with whom he conversed as if he had been all the days of his life a courtier. From thence he went to Rome, where he was visited by the cardinals, had audience three times of the Pope, and was every time alone with him three or four hours ; sitting always in a rich chair placed on purpose for him, (which was great honour for a person in his private capacity,) and answering so discreetly to every thing that was asked him, that every body was extremely astonished at it, and his holiness granted him leave to erect a new order, called the Hermits of St. Francis. From Rome he came to our king, who paid him the same adoration, as he would have done to the Pope himself, falling down upon his knees before him, and begging him to prolong his life : He replied as a prudent man ought. I have heard him often in discourse with the king that now is, in the presence of all the nobility of the kingdom ; and that not

above two months ago, and it seemed to me, whatever he said or remonstrated, was done by inspiration; or else it was impossible for him to have spoken of some things that he discoursed of. He is still living, and may grow either better or worse, and therefore I will say nothing. There were some of the courtiers that made a jest of the king's sending for this hermit, and called him the Holy Man, by way of banter; but they knew not the thoughts of that wise king, and had not seen what it was that induced him to do it.

Our king was at Plessis, with little company but his archers, and the jealousies mentioned before, against which he had carefully provided; for he left no person, of whom he had any suspicion, either in town or country; but he sent his archers not only to warn, but to conduct them away. No business was communicated to him but what was of great importance, and highly concerned him. To look upon him, one would have thought him rather a dead than a living man. He was grown so lean, it was scarce credible: his clothes were now richer and more magnificent than they had ever been before; his gowns were all of crimson satin, lined with rich martens' furs, of which he gave to several, without being demanded; for no person durst ask a favour, or scarce speak to him of any thing. He inflicted very severe punishments for fear of losing his authority, as he told me himself. He removed officers, disbanded soldiers, retrenched pensions, and sometimes took them away quite; so that, as he told me not many days before

his death, he passed away his time in making and ruining men, which he did in order to be talked of more than any of his predecessors, and that his subjects might take notice he was not yet dead ; for few were admitted into his presence, (as I said before,) and when they heard of his vagaries, nobody could easily believe he was sick. He had agents in all foreign courts. In England, their business was to carry on the treaty of marriage, and pay King Edward and his ministers of state their pensions very punctually. In Spain, their instructions were to amuse that court with fair words, and to distribute presents as they found it necessary for the advancement of his affairs. In remoter countries, where he had no mind his indisposition should be known, he caused fine horses or mules to be bought at any rate whatever ; but this was not in France. He had a mighty curiosity for dogs, and sent into foreign countries for them ; into Spain for one sort ; into Bretagne for another ; to Valentia for a third ; and bought them dearer than the people asked. He sent into Sicily to buy a mule of a private officer of that country, and paid him double the value. At Naples, he caused all the horses and strange creatures to be bought up that could be found, and a sort of lions in Barbary no bigger than a fox, which he called Adits. He sent into Sweden and Denmark for two sorts of beasts those countries afforded ; one of them called an elk, of the shape of a stag, and the bigness of a buffalo, with short and thick horns ; the other, called Rengiers, of the shape and colour of a fal-

low deer, but their heads much larger ; for each of which he gave the merchants four thousand five hundred Dutch florins. Yet, when all these rarities were brought to him, he never valued them, and many times would not so much as see the persons who brought them to court. In short, he behaved himself after so strange and tyrannical a manner, that he was more formidable, both to his neighbours and subjects, than he had ever been before ; and indeed that was his design, and the motive which induced him to act so unaccountably.

CHAPTER IX.

Of the Conclusion of the Marriage between the Dauphin and Margaret of Flanders, and her being carried into France ; upon which Edward IV., King of England, died with Indignation.—1482-3.

BUT to return to our principal design, the conclusion of these Memoirs, and the affairs of all the illustrious persons of the age in which they were transacted, it is absolutely necessary for us to speak of the conclusion of the marriage between our present king (then Dauphin of France) and the daughter of the Duke and Duchess of Austria, which was effected by the mediation of the citizens of Ghent, to the great displeasure of the King of England, who found himself deluded in the hopes he had entertained of marrying his daughter to the dauphin, of which marriage both himself and his queen were more ambitious than of any other match

in the world; and never would believe any man, whether subject or foreigner, that endeavoured to persuade them that our king's intentions were not sincere and honourable. For the parliament of England had remonstrated to them several times, when our king was in Picardy, that after he had conquered that province he would certainly fall upon Calais and Guynes, which are not far off. The ambassadors from the Duke and Duchess of Austria, as also those from the Duke of Bretagne, who were in England at that time, represented the same thing to him, but to no purpose; for he would believe nothing of it, and the nation suffered for his negligence and incredulity: yet I am entirely of opinion it proceeded not so much from ignorance as avarice, as being afraid to lose his annual pension of fifty thousand crowns, which our master paid very punctually; and, besides, he was unwilling to leave his ease and pleasures, to which he was extremely given. There was a conference at Halots, in Flanders, about this marriage, where the Duke of Austria, (now King of the Romans,) was present, with several commissioners from the three estates of Flanders, Brabant, and other territories belonging to the duke and his children. There the Gantois acted several things contrary to the duke's inclination; they banished his officers, removed whom they pleased from about his son, told him their desire to have the marriage concluded, in order to peace, and forced him to an accommodation, whether he would or not. The duke was very young, had but few about him that

were proper to manage an affair of that importance ; for all the brave men belonging to the house of Burgundy were either slain or revolted, (as I said before,) or at least the greatest part, I mean of such as were fit to be statesmen, and capable of advising him ; so that coming thither with a small retinue, and having lost his duchess, who was sovereign in those provinces, he lost much of his former confidence, and durst not speak so boldly to his subjects as when she was alive. In short, the king was informed of all these proceedings by the Lord des Cordes, was very well pleased, and a day was set for the young lady to be conducted to Hesdin.

A few days before, in the year 1481, Aire was delivered up to the Lord des Cordes, by the Lord de Cohem, (born in Artois,) for a sum of money, who had held it under his captain, the Lord de Beurs, for the Duke of Austria, a good while. The surrender of this town, which was very strong, and situated in the Artois, at the very entrance into their country, spurred on the Flemings to hasten the marriage, for though they were well enough pleased at the diminution of the duke's power, yet they did not care to have the king so near them upon their frontiers. As soon as measures were concerted, as I said before, ambassadors were sent to the king from Flanders and Brabant ; but all depended upon the Gantois, by reason of their force, that the duke's children were in their hands, and they always the most forward in every commotion : with them there came, in behalf of

the King of the Romans, certain young noblemen much about his own years, and but indifferently qualified to make terms of peace for their country; Monsieur John de Berghes was one, and Monsieur Baudouin de Lannoy was the other, besides some few secretaries. Our king was very ill, had no inclination to be seen, and pretended great difficulty to swear the treaties in the manner agreed on: but it was because he was unwilling they should see him: however, he was persuaded, and swore them at last, being much to his advantage; for whereas in all his former overtures for the match, he proposed only the county of Artois, or Burgundy, or which of the two they pleased to assign him: now, the states of Ghent, (as he called them,) were contented he should have both, and the country of Masconnois, Charolois, and Auxerois, into the bargain; and if they could have delivered them, he should have had Hainault, Namur, and all the subjects of that family, (whose inhabitants spoke French naturally,) on purpose to weaken their sovereign. Our master was a cunning politician, and understood well enough that Flanders was of little importance to him, unless he could have Artois with it, which lies betwixt France and them; and is as it were a bridle to the Flemings, affording good soldiers upon occasion, to correct their wantonness and effeminacy; and therefore in taking from the Earl of Flanders the county of Artois; he should leave him the most inconsiderable prince in Europe, without either subjects or authority, but by the permission of the

Gantois; whose commissioners, William Rym and Coppenole, whom I mentioned before, (governors of Ghent,) were at that time principal in the embassy. Upon the return of the ambassadors, the Lady Margaret was conducted to Hesdin, and delivered into the hands of the Lord des Cordes in the year 1483, and with her Madam de Ravestein*, Duke Philip of Burgundy's natural daughter: there were appointed, and ready to receive them, the present Monsieur and Madam de Bourbon, the Lord d'Albret, and others from the king; they brought her to Amroise, where the dauphin attended her. If the Duke of Austria could have taken her from her convoy, he would willingly have done it, before she had passed his dominions; but the Gantois had placed too strong a guard about her, for they began to abate much of their obedience to him, and many considerable persons joined with them, as having the custody of the young heir, and power of placing and displacing whom they pleased. Among the rest of the nobility who were resident in Ghent, there was the Lord of Ravestein, brother to the Duke of Cleves, and chief governor to the young prince, whose name is Philip, still living, and like to possess vast territories, if it please God to spare his life. But whoever was pleased with this match, the King of England was highly affronted; for he thought himself deluded and baffled, and in danger of losing his pension or tribute, as the English called it. He

* Anne de Burgundy, second wife of Adolphus de Cleves, Lord of Ravestein.

feared likewise it would render him contemptible and mean at home, and occasion some rebellion, because he had rejected the remonstrances of his parliament. Besides, he saw the King of France encroaching upon, and ready to invade his dominions with a very great force; which made such a deep impression upon his spirits, that he fell sick upon it immediately, and died not long after; though some say of a catarrh*. But let them say what they please, the general opinion was, the consummation of this marriage killed him in the month of April, 1483. It is a great fault in a prince to be obstinate, and rely more upon his own judgment than the opinion of his council; and sometimes it occasions such losses and disappointments as are never to be repaired. Our king was presently informed of King Edward's death; but he still kept it secret, and expressed no manner of joy upon hearing the news of it. Not long after, he received letters from the Duke of Gloucester, who was made king, styled himself Richard III., and had barbarously murdered his two nephews. This King Richard desired to live in the same friendship with our king as his brother had done, and I believe would have had his pension continued; but our king looked upon him as an inhuman and cruel person, and would neither answer his letters nor give audience to his ambassador; for King Richard, after his brother's death,

* There were various opinions concerning this prince's death; some attributed it to poison, others to grief, but the generality to a surfeit, which is most probable.

had sworn allegiance to his nephew, as his king and sovereign, and yet committed that inhuman action not long after, and, in full parliament, caused two of his brother's daughters *, (who were remaining,) to be degraded, and declared illegitimate, upon a pretence which he justified by the Bishop of Bath, who having been formerly in great favour with King Edward, had incurred his displeasure, was cashiered, imprisoned, and paid a good sum for his releasement. This bishop affirmed, that King Edward being in love with a certain lady which he named, and otherwise unable to have his desires of her, had promised her marriage ; and caused him to contract them, upon which he enjoyed her, though his promise was only to delude her ; but such delusions are dangerous, as the effects frequently demonstrate. I have known many a courtier who would not have lost a fair lady for all the swearing in Christendom. This malicious prelate smothered this revenge in his heart near twenty years together, but it recoiled upon himself ; for he had a son, whom he was extremely fond of, and to whom King Richard designed to give a plentiful estate, and to have married him to one of the young ladies whom he had declared illegitimate, (who is now Queen of England, and has two fine children.) This young gentleman being at sea by commission from King Richard, was taken upon the coast of Normandy ; and upon a dispute between those that took him,

* There were at that time five of King Edward's daughters alive, viz., Elizabeth, Cicely, Anne, Katharine, and Bridget.

he was brought before the parliament at Paris, put into the Petit Chastellet, and suffered to lie there till he was starved to death: this King Richard himself reigned not long, for God on a sudden raised him up an enemy without power, without money, without right *, (according to my information,) and without any reputation but what his person and deportment contracted; for he had suffered much, been in distress all the days of his life, and particularly as prisoner in Bretagne to Duke Francis, from the eighteenth year of his age, who treated him as kindly as the necessity of his imprisonment would permit. The King of France having supplied him with some money, and about three thousand Normans, the loosest and most profligate persons in all that country, he passed into Wales, where his father-in-law, the Lord Stanley, joined him with twenty-six thousand men at the least; in three or four days' time he met the bloody King Richard, fought him, slew him in the field of battle, crowned himself King of England, and reigns at this present time. I have discoursed on this subject already, but it is not improper to mention it again, if only to shew that God in our times has taken vengeance for such cruelties immediately, without delaying his judgments: several other princes besides have met with the same

* If no other right is to be allowed but what we call hereditary, in the strict meaning of it, it is certain Henry VII. had none; since he claimed under his mother, who was then alive, and even outlived him, without ever renouncing; and if we should look farther back into his descent, we should find it so far from being clear in his favour, that quite the contrary would appear to us from history.

reward of their villanies, in our days, had we but leisure to enumerate them.

CHAPTER X.

Of the King's Behaviour towards his Neighbours and Subjects during his Sickness; and of the several things that were sent him from several parts, for the Recovery of his Health.—1483.

AFTER the consummation of this marriage, which our king had so earnestly desired, the Flemings were perfectly at his command: Bretagne (which he hated so much,) was at peace with him, but he kept them in great awe by the number of his forces, which he quartered upon their frontiers. Spain was quiet, and that king and queen desired nothing more than to live in peace and amity with him, for he kept them likewise in perpetual fear and expense about the country of Roussillon, which he held of the house of Arragon, and had been given him by John King of Arragon, father to the present King of Castile, as security for some conditions which were never performed. The princes of Italy were all ambitious of, and courted his friendship; some of them were entered into an alliance with him, and sent their ambassadors often to his court. In Germany the Swiss were as obedient as his own subjects. The Kings of Scotland and Portugal were his allies. Part of Navarre was perfectly at his disposal. His subjects trembled at his nod, and whatever he commanded was executed without

the least difficulty or hesitation. Whatever was thought conducive to his health, was sent to him from all corners of the world. Pope Sixtus*, who died last, being informed that the king in his devotion desired the corporal, or vest, which the apostle St. Peter used when he sung mass, he sent it immediately, and several relics besides.

The holy vial at Rheims, which was never stirred before, was brought to his chamber at Plessis, and stood upon his cupboard's head when he died, for he designed to be anointed with it again, as he was at his coronation. Some were of opinion, he designed to have anointed himself all over, but that was not likely, for the vial was but small, and no great store of oil in it. I saw it myself at the time I speak of, and also when he died, for he was interred in the church of Notre Dame de Clery. The Great Turk† that now is, sent an embassy to him, which came as far as Riez, in Provence; but the king would not hear him, nor permit he should proceed any farther, though he brought him a large roll of relics which had been left at Constantinople, in the hands of the Turk; all which, and a considerable sum of money besides, he offered to deliver into the king's hands, if he would secure a brother of the Turk's‡, who was then in France;

* Innocent VIII. succeeded him in the year 1492, from whence one may guess pretty near the time when the author composed these Memoirs.

† This was Bajazet II., who succeeded his father Mahomet II., in the year 1481, and died in 1512.

‡ Sultan Zemi, who was afterwards imprisoned by Pope Alexander VI., in 1494.

in the custody of the knights of Rhodes, and is now at Rome, in the hands of the pope. From all which one may be able to judge of the great esteem and character he bore in the world for wisdom and grandeur, when religious things, dedicated only to devotion, were employed for the lengthening of his life, as well as things temporal and secular*. But all endeavours to prolong his life proved ineffectual; his time was come, and he must follow his predecessors. Yet in one thing God Almighty favoured him in a peculiar manner, for, as he had made him more prudent, liberal, virtuous, and greater in every thing than the contemporary princes, who were his neighbours and enemies; so he suffered him to survive them, though it was not very long. For Charles Duke of Burgundy, the duchess his daughter, King Edward of England, Duke Galeas of Milan, and John King of Arragon, were all dead: but King Edward and the Duchess of Austria a very little before him. In all of them there was a mixture of bad as well as good, for they were but mortals. But, without flattery, I may say of our king, that he was possessed of more qualifications suitable to the majesty and office of a prince, than any of the rest, for I knew the greatest part of them, and was acquainted with most of their transactions, so that I do not speak altogether by guess or hearsay.

* Some say he drank children's blood for the recovery of his health.

CHAPTER XI.

Of King Louis's sending for his Son Charles a little before his Death ; and the Precepts and Commands which he laid upon him and others, before he departed.

IN the year 1483, the king had a great mind to see the dauphin his son, whom he had not seen for several years before ; for, besides his being of opinion it was for his son's health to have but few come near him, he was afraid lest he should be taken out of his management, and give occasion for some conspiracy against him, as had been done by him against his father, King Charles VII., when, at eleven years old*, he was taken away by some lords of this kingdom, and engaged in a war called la Praguerie, which yet lasted not long, and was rather a court faction than a solemn war.

Above all things, he recommended to the dauphin certain of his servants, and laid his commands expressly upon him not to change any of his officers, declaring that upon the death of his father Charles VII., and his accession to the throne, he had imprudently turned out all the good officers of the kingdom, both military and civil, who had assisted his father in the conquest of Normandy and Guyenne, served him in the expulsion of the English, and contributed much to the restoration of peace and tranquillity ; which rash method of proceeding

* He must have been at least eighteen years old, for he died in the sixtieth, or sixty-first, year of his age, and was born at Bourges, the 6th of July, in the year 1423.

proved highly to his prejudice, for that was the foundation of the war called the public good, which I mentioned before, and which had like to have cost him his crown. After the king had given these documents to his son, and concluded the marriage above mentioned, upon a Monday his fit seized him, (of which he died,) and held him till the Saturday following, which was towards the latter end of August, 1483, at which time I was present, and therefore I think myself obliged to say something of his death. Not long after his being seized with this last fit, he was deprived of his speech, as he had been formerly; and though he recovered that again, yet he found himself much weaker, though indeed he was too weak before, had scarce strength to lift his hand to his mouth, and was grown so meagre and lean, every body that saw him pitied him. The king, perceiving he had not long to live, called for the Lord de Beaujeu, (who married his daughter, and is now Duke of Bourbon,) and sent him to Amboise, to his son the king, as he called him. He recommended his son to him, and all his servants, gave him the command and government of the young king, and obliged him, for several good reasons, not to permit certain persons to come near him; and the Lord de Beaujeu observed his commands strictly, or at least the best part of them, (for some were contradictory, and not to be observed,) I am of opinion, considering what has since happened, it had been much better both for the kingdom and himself. After this he sent the chancellor, with all that were under him,

to carry the seals to the king his son. He also sent him a good part of his guards, his captains, the officers of his hounds and hawks, and all others which depends upon his sports: he desired all that came to wait on him to go to Amboise, and pay their respects to the king, as he called him, begging of them to be faithful and true to him; and by every one he sent him some message or other, but more especially by Stephen de Vers, who had lived all along with the young king, in quality of first gentleman of his bed-chamber, and was made Bailiff of Meaux by King Louis. After the recovery of his speech, his senses never failed him, and indeed were never so quick, for he had a continual looseness upon him, which kept the vapours from ascending to his head. In all his sickness he never was the man that complained, which most other people do when they are ill, at least I am of that nature, and I have known several of the same temper, and the common opinion is, that complaining does alleviate our pain.

CHAPTER XII.

A Comparison of the Troubles and Sorrows which King Louis suffered, with those he brought upon other People; with a Continuation of his Transactions till the Time of his Death.—1483.

He was continually discoursing on some subject or another, and always with a great deal of sense and judgment. His last fit (as I said before) con-

tinued from Monday to Saturday night. Upon which account I will now make comparison between the evils and sorrows which he brought upon others, and what he suffered in his own person: for I hope his sufferings and torments here on earth, have translated him into Paradise, and will be a great part of his purgatory: and if, in respect of their greatness and duration, his sufferings were inferior to what he had brought upon other people, yet, if you consider the grandeur and dignity of his office, and that he had never before suffered any thing in his own person, but been obeyed by all people, as if all Europe had been created for no other end, but to serve and be commanded by him; you will find that little which he endured was so contrary to his nature and custom, that he was as great a sufferer as any. His chief hope and confidence was placed in the hermit I spoke of, (who was at Plessis, and came thither from Calabria,) he sent continually to him, believing it was in his power to prolong his life if he pleased; for, notwithstanding all his precepts and recommendations to his son, he had great hopes of recovering, and if it had so happened, he would quickly have dispersed the throng he sent to Amboise, to wait upon his son. Finding his thoughts were so intent upon this hermit, it was the advice of a certain grave divine, and others who were about him, that it should be declared to him, that his condition was desperate, that he did but flatter and delude himself, and that there was no hopes left for him but in the mercy of God; and it was also agreed among

them, that his physician, Dr. James Coctier, (in whom he had great confidence,) should be present when this declaration was made him. This Coctier received of him every month ten thousand crowns, as if that would have lengthened his life. This resolution was taken by Monsieur Oliver, to the end that he should lay aside all thoughts of hermit and doctor, and apply himself wholly to the settlement of his conscience. As he had advanced Monsieur Oliver and others, as it were in an instant, and against all reason, to employments beyond their capacities, so they took upon them impudently to open an affair to him, that had been more proper for other people ; nor did they observe that reverence and respect towards him, which was proper in such a case, and would have been used by those persons who had been brought up with him a long time, and in a mere whim had been lately removed from court but a little before. But, as he had sent a sharp message of death to two great persons whom he had formerly beheaded, (the Duke de Nemours and the Count de St. Paul,) by commissioners deputed on purpose, who in plain terms told them their sentence, appointed them confessors, and acquainted them that in a few hours they must resolve to die ; so with the same bluntness, and without the least circumstance of introduction, these imprudent persons told him : “ Sir, things are now come to that pass, we must do our duties ; do not place your hopes any longer in this hermit, or any thing else, for you are a dead man. Think therefore upon your conscience, for that is

the only remedy you have left." Every one added some short saying to the same purpose ; to which he answered, " I hope God will assist me, for perhaps I am not so sick as you imagine."

What sorrow was this to him to hear this news, this sentence of death ? Never man was more fearful of death, nor used more things to prevent it than he. He had, all his life long, commanded and requested his servants, and me among the rest, that whenever we saw him in any danger of death, we should not use any long stories, but admonish him at a distance to confess himself, without ever mentioning that cruel and shocking word Death, which he did believe he should not be able to bear with any tolerable patience. However, he endured that and several more things as terrible, when he was ill, and indeed more than any man I ever saw die. He spoke several things, which were to be delivered to his son, whom he called king ; confessed himself very devoutly, said several prayers according to the sacraments he received, and called for them himself. He spoke as judiciously as if he had never been sick, discoursed of all things which might be necessary for his son's instruction, and among the rest gave orders that the Lord des Cordes should not stir from his son in six months ; and that he should be desired to attempt nothing against Calais, or elsewhere, declaring, that though he had designed himself to undertake such enterprises as those, and with good intention both to the king and the kingdom, yet they were very dangerous, especially that of Calais, lest the English should

resent it ; and he left it in charge, that for six or seven years after his death, they should, above all things, preserve the kingdom in peace, which during his life he would never suffer. And indeed it was no more than was necessary ; for, though the kingdom was large and fertile, yet it was grown very poor, upon the marching and counter-marching of the soldiers up and down in their motions from one country to another, as they have done since, and in a worse manner. He also ordered that nothing should be attempted against Bretagne, but that Duke Francis should be suffered to live quietly and in peace ; that both he and his neighbours might be secure, and the king and kingdom remain free from wars, till the king should be of age, to take upon him the administration of affairs himself.

You have heard with what indiscretion and bluntness they acquainted the king with his approaching death ; which I have mentioned in a more particular manner, because in a preceding paragraph I began to compare the evils, which he made several others suffer, who lived under his dominion, with those he endured himself before his death ; that it might appear, though they were not perhaps of so long a duration, that they were as great and terrible, considering his station and dignity, which required more obedience than any private person's and had found more ; so that the least opposition was a great torment to him. Some five or six months before his death, he began to

grow jealous of every body*, especially of those who were most capable and deserving of the administration of affairs, He was afraid of his son, and caused him to be kept close, so that no man saw or discoursed with him, but by his special command. At last he grew suspicious of his daughter, and his son-in-law the Duke of Bourbon, and required an account of what persons came to speak with them at Plessis, and broke up a council which the Duke of Bourbon held there by his order. At the time the Count de Dunois and his son-in-law returned from conducting the ambassadors, who had been at Amboise to congratulate the marriage betwixt the dauphin and the young queen, the king being in the gallery, and seeing them enter with a great train into the castle, called for a captain of the guards, and commanded him to go and search some of the lords' retinue, to see whether they had any arms under their robes; and that he should do it in discourse, and so as no notice might be taken. Behold then, if he had caused many to live under him in continual fear and apprehension, whether it was not returned to him again; for of whom could he be secure when he was afraid of his son-in-law, his daughter, and his own son? I speak this not only of him, but of all other princes who desire to be feared, that revenge never befalls them till they grow old, and

* It always happens, says Seneca, that those who endeavour to render themselves formidable to others, sooner or later feel the effects of living in continual fear and apprehension; a dreadful punishment no doubt of it, but it is what all tyrants justly deserve.

then, as a just penance, they are afraid of every body themselves ; and what grief do you think it must be to this poor king to be tormented with such terrors and passions ?

He was still attended by his physician, Doctor James Coctier, to whom in five months' time he had given fifty-four thousand crowns, in ready money, besides the bishopric of Amiens for his nephew, and other great offices and estates to him and his friends ; yet this doctor used him so scurvily, one would not have given such unbecoming language to one's servants, as he gave the king, who stood in such awe of him, he durst not forbid him his presence. It is true he complained of his impudence afterwards, but he durst not change him, as he had done all the rest of the servants ; because he had told him after a most audacious manner one day, " I know some time or other you will remove me from court, as you have done the rest ; but be sure, (and he confirmed it with an oath,) you shall not live eight days after it." With which expression he was so terrified, that ever after he did nothing but flatter and present him, which much needs be a great mortification to a prince, who had been obeyed all along by so many brave men much above the doctor's quality.

The king had ordered several cruel prisons to be made, some of iron, and some of wood, but covered with iron plates both within and without, with terrible cages about eight foot wide and seven high ; the first contriver of them was the Bishop

of Verdun*, who was the first that hanseled them; being immediately put in one of them, where he continued fourteen years. Many bitter curses he has had since, for his invention, and some from me, having lain in one of them eight months together, in the minority of our present king. He also ordered heavy and terrible fetters to be made in Germany, and particularly a certain ring for the feet, which was extreme hard to be opened; and like an iron collar, with a thick weighty chain, and a great globe of iron at the end of it; most unreasonably heavy; which engines were called the King's Nets. However, I have seen many eminent and deserving persons in these prisons, with these nets about their legs, who have afterwards been advanced to places of trust and honour, and received great rewards from the king: Among the rest, a son of the Lord de la Grutase, (who was taken in battle,) whom the king married very honourably afterwards, made him his chamberlain, and seneschal of Anjou, and gave him the command of a hundred lances. The Lord de Piennes and Verger, both prisoners of war, had commands given them in his army, were made his or his son's chamberlains, and had great estates given them. Monsieur de Rochefort, the constable's brother, had the same, as also one Roquebertin, a Catalonian, and prisoner of war; besides others of

* Perillus heretofore was put into the brazen bull that he had made for the tyrant Phalaris, to punish his subjects in.—Plin. l. 34. chap. 8.

several countries, too numerous to be mentioned in this place. This by way of digression. But to return to my principal design. As in his time this barbarous variety of prisons was invented, so before he died he himself was in greater torment, and more terrible apprehension than those whom he had imprisoned, which I look upon as a great mercy towards him, and part of his purgatory; and I have mentioned it here, to shew that there is no person, of what station or dignity soever, but is punished some time or other, either publicly or privately, especially if he has been the cause of other people's sufferings and misfortunes. The king towards the latter end of his days caused his castle of Plessis-les-Tours, to be encompassed with great bars of iron in the form of a grate, and at the four corners of the house four watch-towers of iron, strong, massy, and thick, to be built. The grates were without the wall on the other side of the ditch, and went to the bottom. Several spikes of iron were fastened into the wall, set as thick by one another as was possible: He placed likewise ten bow-men in the ditches, to shoot at any man that durst approach the castle till the opening of the gate; ordered they should lie in the ditches, but retire to the watch towers upon occasion. He was sensible enough that this fortification was too weak to keep out an army, or any great body of men, but he had no fear of such; his great apprehension was, that some of the nobility of his kingdom having intelligence within, should attempt to make themselves masters of the castle by night,

and having possessed themselves of it partly by affection, and partly by force, should deprive him of the regal authority; and take upon themselves the administration of public affairs; upon pretence he was incapable of business, and no longer fit to govern. The gate of Du Plessis was never opened; nor the draw-bridge let down before eight in the morning, at which time the courtiers were let in; and the captains ordered their guards to their several posts, with a main guard in the middle of the court, as in a town upon the frontiers that was closely besieged: nor was any person admitted to enter but by the wicket, and those only by the king's order, unless it were the steward of his household, and such officers as were not admitted into the presence.

Is it possible then to keep a prince, (with any regard to his quality,) more strictly confined than he kept himself? The cages which were made for other people, were about eight feet square; and he, (though so great a monarch,) had but a small court of the castle to walk in, and seldom made use of that; but generally kept himself in the gallery, out of which he went into the chambers, and from thence to mass, but not through the court. Who can deny but he was a sufferer as well as his neighbours? considering his being locked up, guarded, afraid of his own children and relations, and changing every day those very servants whom he had brought up and advanced; and though they owed all their preferment to him, yet he durst not trust any of them, but shut himself up in those

strange chains and enclosures. If the place where he confined himself was larger than a common prison, his quality was as much greater than a common prisoner's. It may be urged that other princes have been more given to jealousy than he, but it was not in our time; and, perhaps, their wisdom was not so eminent, nor their subjects so good. They too might, probably, be tyrants, and bloody-minded, but our king never did any person a mischief who had not offended him first. I have not recorded these things purely to represent our master as a suspicious and mistrustful prince; but to shew, that by the patience which he expressed in his sufferings, (like those which he inflicted on other people,) they may be looked upon, in my judgment, as a punishment which God inflicted upon him in this world, in order to deal more mercifully with him in the next, as well in those things before-mentioned, as in the distempers of his body, which were great and painful, and much dreaded by him before they came upon him; and, likewise, that those princes, who are his successors, may learn by this example, to be more tender and indulgent to their subjects, and less severe in their punishments than our master had been. I will not accuse him, or say I ever saw a better prince; for though he oppressed his subjects himself, he would never see them injured by any body else.

After so many fears, sorrows, and suspicions, God, by a kind of miracle, restored him both in body and mind, as is His divine method in such kind of wonders. He took him out of the world

in perfect ease, understanding, and memory; having called for all the sacraments himself, discoursing without the least twinge, or expression of pain, to the very last moment of his life. He gave directions for his own burial, appointed who should attend his corps to the grave, and declared that he desired to die on a Saturday of all days in the week; and that, he hoped Our Lady would procure him that favour, in whom he had always placed great part of his trust, and served her devoutly. And so it happened; for he died on Saturday; the 30th of August, 1483, about eight at night, in the castle of Plessis, where his fit took him on the Monday before. His soul, I hope, is with God, and enjoys an everlasting rest in the kingdom of Paradise.

CHAPTER XIII.

A Digression concerning the miseries of Mankind, especially of Princes, by the example of those who reigned in the Author's time, and first of King Louis.—1483.

SMALL hopes and comfort, ought poor and inferior people to place in the riches and honours of this world, considering what our king suffered and underwent to obtain them, and was at last forced to leave them all, and could not with all his care and diligence protract his life one single hour. I knew him, and was entertained in his service in the flower of his age, and the height of his pros-

perity, yet I never knew him free from labour and care. Of all diversions he loved hunting and hawking in their seasons, but his chief delight was in dogs. As for ladies, he never meddled with any in my time ; for about the time of my coming to court he lost a son called Joachim, who was born in 1459, for whose death he was extremely afflicted, and made a vow in my presence never to be concerned with any other woman but the queen ; and though this was no more than what he was obliged to, by the canons of our church, yet it was much, that his command of himself would be so great, that he should be able to continue his resolutions so firmly, considering the queen, (though an excellent princess in all other respects,) was not a person in whom a man could take any great delight.

In hunting, his eagerness and pain were equal to his pleasure, for his chase was the stag, which he always run down. He rose very early in the morning, rode sometimes a great way to his dogs, and would not leave his sport, let the weather be never so bad ; and when he came home at night was always very weary, and, generally, in a violent passion with some of his courtiers, or huntsmen ; for hunting is a sport not always to be managed according to the master's direction ; yet, in the opinion of most people, he understood it as well as any man of his time. He was continually at his sports, lying up and down in the country villages as his recreations led him, till he was interrupted

by the war, which, for the most part of the summer, was constantly between him and Charles Duke of Burgundy, and at winter they made a truce. He was also involved in some trouble about the county of Roussillon, with John, King of Arragon, father of Peter of Castile, who, at present, is king; for though both of them were poor, and already incumbered with their subjects in Barcelona and elsewhere, and the son had nothing but the expectation of succeeding after the death of Don Frederick de Castile, his wife's brother, (which fell to him afterwards,) yet they made considerable opposition; for that province being entirely devoted to their interest, and being universally beloved by the people, they gave him abundance of trouble, and the war was spun out till that king's death, in which several brave men lost their lives, and his treasury was exhausted; so that he had but a little time during the whole year, to spend in pleasure, and even then the fatigues he underwent were troublesome to him. When his body was at rest his mind was at work, for he had affairs in several places at once, and would concern himself as much in those of his neighbours as his own, putting officers upon all the great families, endeavouring to divide their authority as much as possible. When he was at war he laboured for a peace or a cessation, and when he had obtained them, he was as impatient for war. He troubled himself with many trifles in his government, which he might better have let alone; but it was his temper, and he

could not help it; besides, he had a prodigious memory, he forgot nothing, but knew every body, as well in other countries as his own.

And certainly he seemed to be born for universal monarchy rather than to govern a single kingdom: I speak not of his minority, for then I was not with him. But when he was eleven years old, he was, by the advice of some of the nobility, and others of his kingdom, embroiled into a war with his father Charles VII., which lasted not long, but was called *La Praguere*. When he was arrived to man's estate, he was married much against his inclination to the King of Scotland's daughter*; but he never had the least tenderness or affection for her during the whole course of her life. Upon her decease, by reason of the broils and factions in his father's court, he retired into Dauphinè, (which was his own,) whither many persons of quality followed him, and indeed more than he could entertain. During his residence in Dauphinè he married the Duke of Savoy's daughter, and not long after had great difference with his father-in-law, and a terrible war was begun between them. His father, King Charles VII., seeing his son attended with so many good officers, and raising men at his pleasure, resolved to go in person against him, with a considerable body of forces in order to disperse them. As he was upon his march, he put out proclamations, requiring them all, as his subjects, under

* Her name was Margaret, she was daughter to James I. King of Scotland. She had a loathsome complexion, and a stinking breath, which were the two reasons why Louis XI. never loved her.

great penalty, to repair to him ; and many obeyed, to the great displeasure of the dauphin, who, finding his father incensed, resolved to retire, and leave that country to him ; and accordingly removed with but a very slender retinue, into Burgundy, to Duke Philip's court, who received him honourably, furnished him nobly, and maintained him, and his principal servants, by the way of pensions, as the Count de Comminges, the Lord de Montauban, and others ; and the rest he presented as he saw occasion, during the whole time of their residence there. However, the dauphin entertained so many at his own expense, that his money often failed, to his great disgust and mortification ; for he was forced to borrow, or his people would have forsaken him, which is certainly a great affliction to a prince who was utterly unacquainted with those courses : So that during his residence at that court, too, he had his anxieties, for he was constrained to flatter and fawn upon the duke and his ministers, lest they should think he had been too burdensome, and had laid too long upon their hands, for he had been with them six years, and his father King Charles was still pressing and soliciting the Duke of Burgundy, by his ambassadors, either to deliver him up to him, or to banish him out of his dominions. And this, you may believe, gave the dauphin some uneasy thoughts, and would not suffer him to be idle : In which season of his life then was it, that he may be said to have enjoyed himself ? I believe from his infancy to his death, his whole life was nothing but one continued scene of troubles and fatigues ; and I am of opinion, that

if all the days of his life were computed in which his pleasures out-weighed his pain, they would be found so few, that there would be twenty mournful ones to one pleasant. He lived about sixty-one years, yet he always fancied he should never out-live sixty, giving this for a reason, that since the time of Charles le Grand there had not any king of France lived beyond that age; but he was far advanced in his sixty-first.

What ease, what pleasure, did Charles, Duke of Burgundy, enjoy, more than our master King Louis? In his youth, indeed, he knew but little trouble, for he did not begin to enter upon any action, till the two and twentieth year of his age; so that before that time, he lived in great ease and quiet. His first quarrel was with his father's chief officers; and the father taking their part, he immediately withdrew from court, retired in a huff into Holland, where being well received, he fell immediately into intelligence with the Gantois, and went and visited them sometimes. He had no allowance from his father; but Holland, being a rich country, they made him great presents, as several other great towns did; hoping thereby to insinuate themselves into his favour, and reap the advantage after Duke Philip's death. And it is the common custom of the world to adore the rising sun, and court him whose authority will be greater, rather than him who is already at the height, and can never be higher. For this reason, as soon as Duke Philip was informed that the Gantois had expressed a great kindness for his son, and that he understood

how to manage it: He answered, "They always love him who is to be their sovereign; but as soon as he is invested with the power they hate him as much." And his saying was true, for from the time of Duke Philip's death, and Charles's possession, their love began to decline, and they shewed it to the purpose; and he on the other side cared as little for them; yet they did more mischief to his posterity than they could possibly do to him. But to continue these memoirs. From the time Duke Charles undertook his war for the towns in Picardy, (which our master had redeemed from Duke Philip,) and joined himself with the lords of the kingdom, in the war called the "Public Good:" what pleasure, what tranquillity had he? He had continual trouble and labour, without the least cessation or refreshment, either to his body or mind; for glory having got the entire possession of his heart, it spurred him on to attempt new conquests, and invade the dominions of those princes that bordered upon his: He was always in the field during summer, exposing his person to the greatest danger, taking the care and command of the whole army upon himself; and yet he thought it too little. He was the first that rose, and the last that went to bed in the camp; and took as much pains as the poorest foot-soldier in the army. In winter, when the campaign was over, his mind was busily employed about raising of money; six hours every morning he set apart for conferences, and giving audience to ambassadors, and in this perpetual hurry of affairs he ended his days, and was killed by the Swiss in

the battle of Nancy, as you have already heard ; so that it cannot be said, that he enjoyed one happy day, from the time of his setting up for conquests to the hour of his death, and then what were the fruits of all his pains and labour ? Or, what necessity was there of it, since he had towns and territories large enough already to have made him happy, if he could have been contented.

The next whom we shall have occasion to mention is Edward IV., King of England, a great and powerful prince : in his minority he saw his father the Duke of York defeated, and slain in battle, and with him the father of the Earl of Warwick, who governed the king in his youth, and managed all his affairs, and, to say the truth, it was the Earl of Warwick who made Edward king, and dethroned his old master, King Henry VI., who had reigned many years in that kingdom, and (in my judgment, and the judgment of the world,) was their lawful king : but, in such cases, the disposition of kingdoms and great states is in the hands of God, who orders them as He pleases, for indeed all things proceed from Him. The reason of the Earl of Warwick's espousing the interest of the House of York against King Henry, who was of the Lancastrian family, was upon a difference that happened at court betwixt the Duke of Somerset and the Earl of Warwick. The king not having wisdom enough to compose it, it grew to that height, that the queen* (who was of the house of

* Her name was Margaret, who after the death of her husband, Henry VI., returned into France, where she died, and made over her right to the kingdom of Sicily to Louis XI.

Anjou, and daughter to Renè, King of Sicily,) interposed in it, and inclined to the duke's party against the Earl of Warwick; for every body had acknowledged Henry his father, and grand-father, for their king. The queen had acted much more prudently in endeavouring to have adjusted the dispute between them than to have said, "I am of this party, and will maintain it;" and it proved so by the event, for it occasioned many battles in England, and a war which continued nine-and-twenty years, and in the end all the partisans of both sides were destroyed: so that factions and parties are still very fatal, especially to the nobility, who are too prone to propagate and foment them. If it be alleged that by this means both parties are kept in awe, and the secret minds of the subject are discovered to the prince; I agree a young prince may do it among his ladies, and it may be pleasant and diverting enough, and give him opportunity of finding out some of their intrigues; but nothing is so dangerous to a nation as to nourish such factions and partialities among men of courage and magnanimity; it is no less than setting one's own house on fire; for immediately some or other cry out, "The king is against us," seize upon some fortified town, and correspond with his enemies. And certainly the factions of Orleans and Burgundy ought to make us wise in this case; for they begun a war which lasted seventy-two years, in which the English were concerned, and thought by these unhappy divisions to have conquered the kingdom. But to return from this digression. This King Ed-

ward was a very young prince, and one of the most beautiful of his age: as soon as he had overcome all his difficulties, he began to give himself up wholly to pleasures, and took no delight in any thing but ladies, dancing, entertainments, and such like effeminate diversions; and in this voluptuous course of life, if I mistake not, he spent about sixteen years, till the quarrel happened between him and the Earl of Warwick, in which contest, though the king was driven out of the kingdom, yet his misfortune lasted not long; for he quickly returned, fought his adversary, defeated and killed him, and re-assuming the government, fell again to his pleasures, and indulged himself in them after a more violent manner than before. From this time he feared nobody; but, living a luxurious life, he grew very fat, and his excess inclining him to diseases, in the very flower of his age, he died suddenly (as it was reported) of an apoplexy, and his family lost the kingdom, (as you have heard,) as to the succession in the male line.

In our time also, there reigned two wise and valiant princes, Matthias, King of Hungary, and Mahomet Ottoman, Emperor of the Turks. This Matthias was the son of a valiant young gentleman, called "The White Knight of Walachia*," a person of great honour and conduct, who for a long time had governed the kingdom of Hungary, and had fought several battles with the Turks, who are neighbours to it, by reason of the territories

* It was so that they called the famous John Corvin, alias Hunniades.

which they have usurped in Slavonia and Greece. Not long after his death, Lancelot came to man's estate, who was heir to that kingdom, and to the kingdoms of Bohemia and Poland besides. This Lancelot was advised by some persons (as was reported) to seize upon the two sons of the white knight, pretending that their father having usurped and exercised so much power in that kingdom during his infancy, it was not improbable but his sons might do the same. Upon which the said Lancelot resolved to have them both apprehended, and his orders were accordingly obeyed. He put the eldest to death, and sent the other, which was Matthias*, a prisoner to Buda, the chief town in Hungary, but he did not remain long under that confinement: (God Almighty being perhaps pleased with the services of his father :) for, awhile after, this Lancelot was poisoned at Prague, in Bohemia, by a lady of quality, (whose brother I have seen;) he had been in love with her, and she with him; but being incensed at his marriage in France, with the daughter of King Charles VII. †, (called now the Princess of Vienne,) which was contrary to his engagement to her, she poisoned him in a bath, as he was eating an apple, by conveying the poison into the haft of his knife. Upon the death of Lancelot, the barons of Hungary assembled at Buda for the election of a king, according to an

* Matthias Corvin, son of John Hunniades, was chosen King of Poland at the age of eighteen, after the death of Ladislaus, about the year 1458.

† Her name was Magdalen, daughter to King Charles VII., afterwards married to Gaston de Foix, Prince of Vienne.

ancient privilege they had when he died without issue. Whilst they were mightily divided, and in great controversy about the election, the widow of the white knight, and mother of Matthias, entered the town in a very splendid equipage, for she was rich, especially in ready money; which her husband had left her, by the power of which she was able to raise men immediately; and, besides, it is not improbable but she had a party in the town, and among the electors, upon account of the services and authority of her husband. As soon as she came into the city, she marched directly to the prison, and released her son*, upon which part of the barons and prelates that were assembled fled out of the town, and those that remained chose this Matthias for their king, who reigned among them in great prosperity, with as much applause and esteem as any of his predecessors, and in some things more. He was a man of as much courage as any of that age; and obtained many signal victories over the Turks, without any loss to his own kingdom, which he much enlarged, as well on that side as towards Bohemia,

* Other historians differ extremely from Philip de Comines in this particular; for they make no mention of Matthias's being released out of prison by his mother, but say, that King Ladislaus, being hated by the Hungarians, retired into Bohemia, and took this Matthias along with him as a prisoner; where, soon after, the king died of poison, that was given him by a Bohemian lady, according to our author. After the death of King Ladislaus, George Boiebrac usurped the kingdom of Bohemia, and kept Matthias still a prisoner at Prague; but the nobility of Hungary, having chosen him to be their king upon the account of his father's eminent services, sent to this Boiebrac to demand his releasement, who not only set him at liberty, but gave him his daughter in marriage, and sent him into Hungary, with a splendid and numerous retinue.

(which was most in his possession,) as in Walachia, (where he was born,) and Sclavonia; on that side towards Germany he took the greatest part of Austria from the Emperor Frederic, and kept it till his death, which happened in Vienna, the chief city of Austria, 1491. He was a prince who managed his affairs discreetly both in peace and in war. Towards the latter end of his days, finding he was become formidable, he began to affect grandeur and a splendid way of living, and provided a world of rich hangings, jewels, and plate, for the ornament of his palace. All his business relating to the public was despatched by himself, or his direction: he had also an inclination to make himself terrible to his own subjects, and turned a very tyrant towards his latter end; after which he fell into a grievous and incurable distemper, as it were in his youth, (for he was but eight-and-twenty years of age*,) and died: his life having been one continued scene of labour and sorrow, without any considerable pleasure or ease.

The Great Turk, whom I mentioned before, was a wise and valiant prince, but he made more use of his cunning than courage. His father was a valiant prince, took Adrianople, (that is to say, the city of Adrian,) and left his son very great; but his son, at the age of twenty-three, took Constanti-nople, or the city of Constantine; I have seen his

* This place is certainly corrupted. For Matthias was born the 24th of February, 1443, and died the 4th of April, at Vienna, in the year 1491. So that by this computation he was eight-and-forty years old, and therefore this twenty-eight years ought to be forty-eight.

picture drawn at that time, which represented him vigorous and sprightly. It was a great shame and reflection upon all Christendom to suffer that city to be lost; he took it by assault, and the Emperor of the East (whom we called Emperor of Constantinople,) was slain at the breach. Many brave men were killed with him in this assault, many great ladies ravished, and all manner of cruelties committed. This was his first exploit, but he continued to perform wonderful actions, and so many, that I heard a Venetian ambassador say once in the presence of Charles Duke of Burgundy, that this Mahomet had conquered two empires, four kingdoms, and two hundred cities; he meant, indeed, the empires of Constantinople and Trebisonde; the kingdoms of Bosnia, Syria, Arminia, and I think Morea was the fourth. He conquered likewise several fair islands in the Archipelago (where the Venetians have two,) as Negropont and Mitylene; besides which he subdued most part of Albania and Sclavonia: and as his conquests were great over the Christians, so were they no less considerable over those of his own religion, among whom he destroyed several great princes, as the Prince of Caramania*, and abundance of others too tedious

* In some French books it is Carnia, in others Carmania, but certainly it should be Caramania, which is a sea province, on the south-east of Natolia, containing the old provinces of Lycia, Pamphilia, Pisidia, and part of Cilicia. For the better understanding of this passage, and who this Caramanian prince was, it will be necessary to acquaint the reader that, about the year 1290, four illustrious families, to wit, the Ottomans, Assembecks, Scandelors, or Candelors, and the Caramans, with powerful armies, commanded by their respective captains, came out of Persia. Every one of these families conquered

to mention here. The greatest part of his affairs were transacted by himself, according to the practice of our king and the King of Hungary, who were without all dispute the wisest princes that had reigned for a hundred years before. But the generosity of our master's conversation, and his liberality to his servants, as well foreign as others, distinguished him very much from the rest, and made him more venerable than either of the other two, and it is no wonder, for he was styled the most Christian King. As to worldly pleasures and enjoyments, this Turk had his share, and spent most of his time in them; and it was well he did so, for otherwise he would have done more mischief to Christendom, had he not been so employed. He indulged his genius in all kinds of sensuality, and was strangely given to gluttony, which brought him

some province or another. The Ottomans subdued Bithynia, Phrygia, and Galatia; the Assemebs, Syria, Armenia, Cappadocia, and Paphlagonia; the Scandelors possessed themselves of the greatest part of Pontus; and the Caramans, of Cilicia, Lycia, Lycaonia, and Pamphylia. But the Ottoman house at last swallowed up the other three. This Mahomet conquered the Assemebs in the year 1459. However, it was some considerable time before these people could be subdued, for their king, Usumcassanes, fought three bloody battles with Mahomet, in two of which he got the better of him; but in the third, Mahomet, by the help of cannon, which was utterly unknown to the eastern nations, entirely defeated Usumcassanes's army, and slew his son Zeinalde in the field of battle. After this defeat, Mahomet conquered Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, took Trapezonde, the seat of the Assemebs' empire, with the greatest part of Armenia and Syria, as is mentioned in our author. After this, Mahomet took the greatest part of Cilicia from Pyramitus, Prince of the Caramans; and after the death of Mahomet, his son Bajazet slew Abraham, the last prince of the Caramans, in battle, and utterly destroyed that family. As for the Scandelors, after the destruction of the Assemebs and Caramans, their prince surrendered his country to Bajazet, who gave him, in lieu of it, certain revenues in Natolia.

an ill habit of body, and occasioned a numberless train of diseases, which continued upon him as long as he lived. Every spring he had a swelling in one of his legs, that made it as big as a man's middle, (as I have heard from those who have seen it,) which never broke, but dispersed of its own accord, and no surgeon could tell what to make of it, but all agreed his intemperance was the occasion of it, though perhaps it was a judgment from heaven ; and one reason why he suffered himself to be seen so seldom, and shut himself up in his chariot when he went abroad, was, lest he should discover that infirmity, and grow contemptible to the people. He died about the fifty-second year of his age, and suddenly ; yet he made a will, and I have seen it, and, if it be true, he seemed to have some remorse for a tax which he had lately laid upon his subjects. Let Christian princes consider what they do, since they have no more power to raise money, without the permission and consent of their subjects, than he.

THE AUTHOR'S CONCLUSION.

THUS have you seen the death of several illustrious persons in a short time, who have borne so much sorrow, and endured so many fatigues, only to extend their dominions, and advance their fame and glory, beyond that of their neighbouring monarchs, perhaps not only to the shortening of their lives, but to the endangering the welfare of their immor-

tal souls. I am not speaking here of the Turk, for I question not but that he is gone to his predecessors, but of our king and the rest, of whom I hope God will have mercy. But to speak freely, (as one that is no great scholar, but has had some experience in the world,) would it not have been better for them, and for all other great princes and subjects whatever, to be less ambitious in all their desires; that is, not to be so solicitous and careful about temporal things, and have such vast and unreasonable designs in view; but to be more cautious of provoking God, oppressing their subjects, and invading their neighbours, by so many cruel and unchristian ways, as I have said before, and rather employ their time in tranquillity and innocent diversions? Their lives would be longer, their infirmities the later, their deaths less desirable to other people, and less terrible to themselves. Can we desire any clearer examples to prove how poor and inconsiderable a creature man is, how short and miserable his life, and how little difference betwixt princes and private persons, since as soon as they are dead, whether rich or poor, their bodies are abominable, all people fly and shun them, and their souls are no sooner separated but they prepare to receive their doom, which is given by God at that very instant of time, according to every man's works, and this is called the particular judgment.

SUPPLEMENT

TO THE

MEMOIRS OF PHILIP DE COMINES;

CONTAINING

THE MOST REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES, BOTH IN FRANCE AND OTHER NEIGHBOURING KINGDOMS, FROM THE DEATH OF LOUIS XI., TO KING CHARLES VIII.'S EXPEDITION TO NAPLES, VIZ., FROM 1483 TO 1493, OR 1494.

CHAPTER I.

Of King Charles's Accession to the Crown, the Death of Monsieur Oliver, King Louis's Barber, and others; and of the Resumption of King Louis's exorbitant Grants.—1483.

UPON the death of Louis XI., who died the 30th of August, in the year 1483, his only son, Charles VIII., then Dauphin of France, came to the crown. He was but thirteen years and two months old when his father died; and therefore the solemnity of his coronation was deferred till the June following, that he might be full fourteen before he was crowned. The king, his father, had educated him at Amboise in such a private and solitary way, that none but his domestics were ever permitted to have access to him; neither would his majesty suffer him to learn any more Latin than this single sentence, *Qui nescit dissi-*

mulare, nescit regnare ; not that he had any aversion to human learning, but only out of fondness and paternal care, he was afraid that too great an application to his studies might weaken and spoil the delicate and tender constitution of the prince. However, King Charles, after his coming to the crown, grew extremely desirous of learning ; applied himself very closely to the reading of history, and other books of humanity in the French language, and even endeavoured to make himself master of the Latin.

Before the king's coronation, the princes of the blood, and the nobility of the kingdom, (who had so often been injured and affronted in the late king's reign, by Oliver le Dain, his barber ; one Daniel, a Fleming, Monsieur Oliver's servant ; and Monsieur John Doyace, who had managed the affairs of the whole kingdom during part of the reign of Louis XI.) caused informations secretly to be exhibited against them, for several murders, rapines, and other enormous offences, which they had formerly committed ; though some of them were by the express command of the late king. These informations being brought before the court of parliament, they were immediately apprehended, their process made out against them, and at last they were all three condemned to death : and the year following, which was 1484, Monsieur Oliver and his servant Daniel were executed at Paris ; and Monsieur Doyac had his ears cut off, and his tongue bored through. One of the crimes committed by Monsieur Oliver, and his servant Daniel,

and for which they were executed, was this: a certain gentleman was committed to prison by the order of Louis XI., and having a very young and beautiful lady for his wife, Monsieur Oliver falls desperately in love with her, and promises to release her husband by his intercession, provided she would consent to prostitute herself to his loose desires. Accordingly she did; but instead of performing his promise, the very next day he ordered his servant Daniel to put him into a sack, and throw him into the Seine, where he was drowned. This Oliver was by birth a Fleming, had been barber to King Louis, and of greater power and authority with the king than any nobleman in France. This power and influence which he had over the king, was gained by vile and slavish offices about his royal person, too low to mention here; but among the rest, he generally used to suck his majesty's piles, with which he was terribly afflicted; and this base and loathsome office he performed, not out of any love or respect to the king, but through avarice, and an ambition to maintain his power and credit at court; which ended immediately upon the death of his master, as you have already heard, notwithstanding the strict charge the king gave his son upon his death-bed, to continue his favour to Monsieur Oliver; and not to suffer what he had generously given him to be taken from him, since by his service, his life had been long preserved. But notwithstanding princes in their life-time support and countenance such base and scandalous ministers, and how ready

soever such may be to execute their masters' unlawful and arbitrary commands, yet at last they find that credit at court is no inheritance; and that God, who leaves no villany unpunished, finds a time to reward them according to their deserts. Besides, immediately after the death of Louis XI., a strict inquiry was made into all the exorbitant and superstitious grants that were made by him in his life, all which were resumed; and whatever lands had been alienated from the crown, were united to it again.

CHAPTER II.

Of the Assembly of the States held at Tovers; of the Duke of Orleans's pretending to the Regency of France; of the Civil War raised by him, and of his retiring into Bretagne—1484, 1485.

THE King, in the July after his coronation, which was in the year 1484, held a general and free assembly of the states of the kingdom, at Tovers, after a far different manner from what had been done in the reign of his father, who summoned none but such as were of his own choosing, and in the court interest, neither durst any of the members speak their minds freely; but in all matters of debate the whole assembly were forced to act entirely according to the king's will and pleasure, which generally was violent and arbitrary. But at this convention there was a glorious appearance of the nobility, commons, and clergy; their votes

were free and unbiassed; and every member had the liberty to remonstrate, and complain freely of whatever injury or injustice, (contrary to the laws of the realm, and the customs of their ancestors) they had received in the late king's reign. In this convention it was unanimously agreed upon, that there should be no regent chosen in France, but that Anne Duchess of Beaujeu, the King's eldest sister, should be intrusted with the government of his royal person, according to the last will and testament of his father Louis XI.: and that the privy council should consist of twelve persons chosen out of the body of the nobility, by whose advice the whole affairs of the kingdom should be transacted and despatched, but all in the king's name, and under his hand and seal. After this John Duke of Bourbon was created constable of France, and by degrees the affairs of the whole kingdom were entirely managed by the Duchess of Beaujeu, upon the account of her having the government of her brother in her own hands.

However, Louis Duke of Orleans, being the next prince of the blood Royal of France, by the persuasion of some that were about him, who expected great preferment, if the administration of affairs was in his hands; and especially at the instigation of the Count de Dunois, son of John, commonly called the Bastard of Orleans, (a person of an enterprising genius and a subtle wit,) remained still at Paris, and came daily into council, notwithstanding the resolution of the three states; and with that boldness, as plainly showed him to be a

person from whom it was impossible to hide any of their designs and intrigues. This assurance of the Duke of Orleans did not a little displease the Duchess of Beaujeu; upon which the Prince of Orange, the Marshal de Rieux, and the rest of the Barons of Bretagne, that were exiles at that time in France, understanding how affairs went, came to the Duchess of Beaujeu, and offered their service to her and the king; at which the Duke of Orleans was highly incensed. Besides, the duke used his utmost endeavours to vilify and disparage her female administration; but it did not much prevail upon the people, because the duke himself was not yet four and twenty years old, and still under his mother's guardianship; and it seemed unreasonable to place him at the helm of affairs, who was not capable to manage his own private concerns; so that the same reason hindered him from the government at this time, that excluded his grandfather heretofore, during the lunacy of Charles VI. But this reason did not satisfy the duke nor his friends; upon which the Duchess of Beaujeu finding that the Duke of Orleans continued still at Paris, and daily brought over by his cunning insinuations, those that were in authority, to his own party; (endeavouring by that means to obtain the regency of the kingdom,) sent certain persons, by the advice of the privy council, to Paris, to arrest his person. The duke being informed of their designs as he was playing at tennis, immediately withdrew; (and pretending to go to his palace,) leaves Paris attended only by

one Guyot Pot, and John de Louen one of the gentlemen of his bed-chamber, and lay that night at Pontoise. The next morning he went to Vernueil, and from thence to Alençon, where he staid some time; during which he endeavoured to draw the Count d'Angoulesme, the Duke of Bourbon, and the Lord d'Albret, over to his party; and at last they all declared themselves for him, and unanimously resolved to stand by him, and support him in this undertaking, with their lives and fortunes. All these great lords, (who had considerable places in the government,) were immediately removed, upon their declaring for the Duke of Orleans; however, they raised a considerable army out of the vassals of their own territories, and contrived the matter so nicely, as to gain the Duke of Lorraine, the Prince of Orange, and the Count de Foix, over to their side. The Duke of Orleans, being assisted by these princes and lords, assembled his army at Blois, with a design to march directly to Orleans; but the citizens of that place finding their duke was coming thither with a design to surprise it and make it the seat of the war, shut their gates upon him, and would not suffer him to enter it. Upon this refusal he marched with an army of about four hundred men at arms, and a good body of foot to Bougenzey being attended by the Counts de Dunois and Foix, and other French officers, where they halted for some time, and whether the king sent a considerable body of forces to besiege them; but finding the place not to be of any great strength in itself, and not in a good pos-

ture of defence at that time, and perceiving that the mal-contents of the kingdom did not come into them as they expected they would have done, they immediately clapped up a peace with the king; by the articles of which it was agreed, that the Duke of Orleans should make his submission to the king; and that the Count de Dunois, who was the contriver and fomentor of this rebellion, should depart the kingdom; which he did, and retired to Asti. But, notwithstanding this peace, the Duke of Bourbon and the Count d'Angoulesme, who had raised their armies on purpose to assist the Duke of Orleans, marched towards Borges; whither the king followed with a numerous army, accompanied by the Duke of Orleans, who was forced to take arms against his friends and allies. The two armies were now in sight of each other, and nothing less than a battle was expected; however, by the wisdom and management of the Marshal de Giè, and the Lord de Graville, (two persons of great authority in the French court during the Duchess of Beaujeu's administration,) a peace was concluded between the king and his nobility, in which the Lord d'Albret was comprehended; and, after this matter, all these armies separated without any bloodshed; and the king retired to Amboise, the Duke of Orleans to Orleans, and the Count de Foix with the Cardinal his brother, to the Duke of Bretagne at Nantes, who had married their sister. This rebellion was called the Mad War, and happened in the year 1485.

Immediately after the conclusion of the peace

the Count de Dunois returned from Asti, and retired to his own town of Partenay in Poictou, which was at that time strongly fortified with a double ditch and a triple wall. The king having intelligence of this, and of his adding new fortifications to the town, and knowing him to be a cunning enterprising person, sent to the Duke of Orleans, (who was then at Orleans diverting himself with justs and tournaments,) to come to him at Amboise. After three or four messengers, the last of which was the Marshal de Giè, the Duke of Orleans went to Blois, and the next day, being twelfth-eve, in the year 1485, he left Blois, early in the morning, with his hawks, pretending he went to fly them in the fields, and without stopping by the way, rode that day to Fronteraux, of which his sister was then abbess; from thence he went to Clisson, and from Clisson to Nantes, where he was honourably received by the Duke of Bretagne. This was the second time of the Duke of Orleans's coming into Bretagne, as by the sequel of this short history will more plainly appear. The king having intelligence of his leaving Blois in this clandestine manner, resolved to besiege the Count de Dunois in his town of Partenay, and found a way, (before the secret was discovered,) to draw over to his party, the Marshal de Rieux, and the other barons of Bretagne, who were retired to Chateaubrian to the Lady de Laval, who was mistress of it. For the Duke of Bretagne, by the assistance of the Duke of Orleans, and the Count de Dunois, endeavoured to be revenged of the said barons, for

the death of Peter Landois, treasurer of Bretagne, of which we shall say something in the following chapter.

CHAPTER III.

Of the Civil Wars in Bretagne between the Duke and his Nobility ;
and of the Death of Peter Landois, Treasurer of Bretagne.—1485.

ABOUT the same time, or a little before, that the Mad War happened in France, a disturbance of the same nature broke out in Bretagne, though not with the same success. The seeds of this rebellion were sown in the late king's reign, but did not spring up for fear of a foreign war, (with which Louis XI. always threatened the Bretons,) till after his death. But all apprehensions of a foreign invasion being then vanished ; the fire, which upon this occasion was first kindled, began to break out. Monsieur Chauvin, chancellor of Bretagne, (a very worthy person,) died miserably in the castle of L'Hermite, where the duke had imprisoned him, at the request and instigation of his treasurer, Monsieur Peter Landois, a hosier's son of Tours, who, after the treasurer's death, entirely governed and managed the duke at his pleasure. This so highly affronted the nobility, that some of them, to wit, the Prince of Orange, the Marshal de Rieux, and several others, (who were then at Nantes, and hated this Landois, as being the occasion of the chancellor's death,) entered

into a conspiracy against him, and, for the better executing their design, they watched an opportunity to surprise him, either in the castle with the duke, or in his own house, called Pabotiere, about a mile from Nantes; in order to which they divided themselves into two bodies, with one of which they besieged his house, and with the other entered the castle; and, that they might be sure to prevent his escape, they shut up the gates, searched every corner of the castle, not so much as sparing even the duke's chamber, into which they violently rushed, as believing that Monsieur Landois might be retired thither by way of safety and protection. But he, being a mile from Nantes, in the above-mentioned house, had time enough to make his escape at a back gate, before it was surrounded; and so saved himself that time. Immediately there was a great uproar in the town, for one of the Duke of Bretagne's servants, who was let down the castle wall by a rope, upon the nobility's entering the castle, made a great noise and disturbance, aggravating the heinousness of the attempt, and affirming that the castle was stormed, the duke assaulted, and his person in imminent danger, unless he was speedily succoured. The poor deluded citizens, (being ignorant that this attempt was made only for the surprising of Monsieur Peter Landois,) immediately armed themselves, and with great fury ran to the castle; threatening to put all the nobility to the sword, of whom not one durst appear upon the walls, to speak to the enraged multitude, who had planted cannon against the

castle; and resolved to seize upon whoever appeared, except the duke himself. At last the duke, attended by his nobility, shewed himself to the people; who presently fell on their knees before him, expressing abundance of joy and satisfaction at his being safe, and out of danger; and thus was the insurrection ended in a moment, and every one departed quietly to his house.

Though the duke was so gracious as to pardon the nobility, yet they were immediately banished Bretagne, upon which they retired into France to Charles VIII., as you have already heard. After the pacification of these troubles, Monsieur Peter Landois recovered his former credit and interest with the duke; and prevailed with him to write to his cousin-german the Duke of Orleans, to desire the favour of him to come into Bretagne, which he did by the persuasion of the Count de Dunois, who endeavoured to divorce him from the king's sister, and marry him to Anne, the Duke of Bretagne's eldest daughter and heir; which also happened after the Duke of Orleans came to the crown, though it was not accomplished at that time. The Duke of Orleans, accompanied by the Duke of Alençon, arrived at Nantes, after the above-mentioned insurrection, in April 1484, where they were honourably received by the Duke of Bretagne, who made heavy complaints to them of the insolence offered him by the Prince of Orange and the Marshal de Rieux; and desired their assistance to revenge himself on those two lords, which they promised him in general terms, and then took their

leave of him, to go to Rheims to King Charles's coronation. After this some difference happened between the king and the Duke of Orleans; but, at last, matters were amicably adjusted, in the year 1485, as you have already heard.

Monsieur Peter Landois, seeing the duke his master in alliance with the Duke of Orleans, and the Duke of Orleans and his faction at peace with the king, was resolved to be revenged of his enemies; and prevailed upon the Duke of Bretagne to publish a proclamation, commanding all the houses of the nobility that were in the above-mentioned conspiracy, to be razed; and, to put it in execution, an army was raised in the duke's name, to raze Ancenix, where the Prince of Orange and the Count de Commings were retired; who, having intelligence of it, by the assistance of their friends, and the banished lords, raised also another army to oppose the designs of Monsieur Peter Landois; but, when these two armies came to face each other, the remembrance and love of their native country altered their resolutions so, that they threw down their arms, and embraced each other like friends. After this mutual and friendly agreement, the Prince of Orange and the Count de Commings were restored to the duke's favour, and to the administration of affairs under him; so that the whole storm fell upon Monsieur Landois alone, whom, (knowing him to be in the castle,) they immediately resolved to seize upon, even though he were in the duke's arms. Upon this resolution, one, (whom the nobility and commons

had by consent chosen to be their new chancellor,) went by compulsion, and acquainted the duke, that nothing but his delivering up Monsieur Peter Landois would appease the tumult; and, that they would proceed against him only in form of law, without doing any thing to him, till his cause was fairly heard and examined into. After this manner, and upon these fair promises, he was surrendered to them, immediately imprisoned, and for form's sake, examined. Several heinous crimes were objected against him, and, in the end, he was condemned and executed, before ever his trial was known to the duke, who designed to have granted him his pardon, however the proceedings of the court went; and, to prevent that, his execution was hastened. This action, (which the duke esteemed as an high affront offered to himself in particular,) rendered the nobility more odious to him than they were before. The duke created a new chancellor, and to oppose his nobility, very kindly received the Duke of Orleans, who, about the same time, retired out of France to his court, with several of his faction; upon which the nobility, being greatly alarmed, fled a second time into France, where the king, (designing to make war upon the Duke of Bretagne for entertaining the Duke of Orleans,) willingly received them into his service, and entered into an alliance with them, as in the end of the last chapter you have already heard. There was a report that the Duke of Orleans had a design to get himself divorced from the Lady Jane, the king's sister, who was forced upon

him against his inclinations, by Louis XI., and to marry Anne, the Duke of Bretagne's eldest daughter and heir; the hopes of which match was the occasion of his journey into Bretagne. But the Lord d'Albret had entertained also great hopes of that match, which drew him into the Duke of Bretagne's service; nay, he had even assurances of the marriage, under the hands of all the nobility that were with the Duke of Bretagne, except the Duke of Orleans.

CHAPTER IV.

On the King's making War in Bretagne, and the Count de Dunois's Embassy to the King for Peace.—1486, 1487, 1488.

THE only thing that the banished nobility of Bretagne desired was, to be recalled, and to remain in peace and quiet in their own country. The king's desire, on the other hand, was to be revenged of the Duke of Bretagne, for entertaining and protecting the Duke of Orleans in his rebellion against him. To carry on his intended designs against Bretagne, the king entered into an alliance with these noblemen, and to assist them, raised an army and commenced a war against the Duke of Bretagne, in the year 1486. This army invaded Bretagne in three several parts: the Lord de St. André, with a body of four hundred lances, and five or six thousand foot, penetrated into Bretagne on one side; the Count de Montpensier, with a considerable detachment, on another; and

Louis de la Trimouille, Viscount of Tovar, (who had married the Count de Montpensier's sister,) in a third ; so that the province of Bretagne had three French armies in it at once, with whom also the above-mentioned barons joined, and by their interest occasioned several castles in Bretagne to be surrendered to the king's forces, at which the duke was extremely surprised : but the Duke of Orleans, the Counts de Dunois and Comminges, who were with him, used all their arguments to encourage and keep up his spirits, and under pretence of a marriage to be concluded between the Lady Anne, his eldest daughter, and the Lord d'Albret, who had the command of a hundred lances, and was capable of raising a considerable body of foot in Gascony and Guienne, (where he had large possessions,) they persuaded the Lord d'Albret to join with them, who presently left the king's service, and came into the duke's. However, the Duke of Bretagne leaving Nantes in the possession of his cousin, the Prince of Orange, retired to Malestroit, a castle of great strength, where he assembled an army of six hundred lances and sixteen thousand foot, in order to relieve Ploermel, (about three or four leagues from Malestroit) which the king had besieged. While the duke's army was marching towards Ploermel, one of the officers began to talk after a mutinous manner, saying, " he knew no reason for this war, neither could he tell the design of it ; affirming that their duke was governed and managed by the French, and they made the Bretons, at their pleasure,

revenge French quarrels upon the French; and therefore he persuaded them to return home to their wives and children, and not venture in other people's quarrels, to lose their lives so ridiculously." This speech so intimidated and discouraged the whole army, that they separated immediately, and returned every man to his own home; by this means, for want of being reinforced, the garrison of Ploermel was forced to surrender upon terms: yet, notwithstanding the articles of capitulation to the contrary, the town was plundered, the most substantial inhabitants made prisoners, and a considerable ransom demanded for them. The Dukes of Bretagne and Orleans, and the rest of the lords that were with them at Malestroit, being informed of the separation and return of their army, as also of the surrender of Ploermel, went to Vennes, on Whitsun-eve, in the year 1487, whither the king's army pursued them so closely, that they had scarce time to get on ship-board, and sail to Corisick, and from thence up the river Loire to Nantes, being forced to leave part of their baggage behind them at Vennes, which surrendered immediately after they had left it, without any manner of resistance. Sometime after the taking of this town, the French in a small skirmish, at a place called Jove, between Chateaubrian and Nantes, defeated a great body of Bretons, under the command of Amaulry de la Mossy, near Nantes: the king himself was at Ancenix at that time. After the taking of Vennes, the king's army marched to Nantes, which he in-

vested on the 19th of July, in 1487; within the town there was the Duke of Bretagne and his two daughters, Anne and Isabella, the Duke of Orleans, the Prince of Orange, the Ladies de Laval and Chateaubrian, the Bishop of Nantes, the Count de Comminges, and several other lords; all which left the castle, and took up their lodgings in the town. The people of the town having some jealousy of the bishop and the Lady de Laval, whom they suspected to be in the French interest, they were put into the custody of some of the chief citizens. The king besieged this town with an army of ten thousand men, and a large train of artillery, with which they sorely battered the walls and towers both of the town and castle; but the besieged fired as briskly upon the king's troops, and made several bold sallies, in which both sides behaved themselves with a great deal of valour and intrepidity.

You must now understand, that the Count de Dunois, who was in Lower Bretagne, in order to embark for England, where he designed to solicit for some supplies, being hindered by contrary winds, brought with him fifty thousand of the commons of Bretagne, to relieve the town of Nantes; and the French supposing they were unfit for service let them pass quietly, without attacking them. The king at last, finding the heat of the weather increase, and that he could not carry the town by force, raised the siege on the 6th of August, and marched with his army and besieged Dole, which he took without any resistance, plun-

dered, and made all the garrison and the inhabitants prisoners of war. Besides, the king's army spoiled and ravaged all the country round about, killed the people, and drove away their cattle: but the Marshal de Rieux, and the greatest part of the banished lords of Bretagne, that were in the king's army, being concerned at, and lamenting the miserable condition of their native country, began to grow weary of the war; and alleged that their alliance with the king was not with a design to destroy, but to recover their country, and that the French that were fled into Bretagne might return into their's; wherefore, since the French lords residing in Bretagne had protested solemnly that they were willing to return into France, provided the king would pardon their going over to the duke; and that the duke on the other hand had, with the unanimous consent of all his subjects, offered the banished lords of Bretagne not only their pardon, but also the restitution of all their goods and lands; they saw no reason for the continuance of the war any longer, and therefore were for having each party return home in peace. These allegations, though there was a great deal of truth in them, did but little move and affect the French, nor several of the Bretons themselves, who were still for carrying on the war. Upon this, the Marshal de Rieux, who was Lord of Ancenix, a town very commodious for the king to erect magazines in, for the subsistence of his troops, and which (notwithstanding he held it for the king) he garrisoned with his own tenants and servants, sur-

rendered the place to the Duke of Bretagne, and made the townsmen swear allegiance to him. And besides, before the news of this revolt was spread abroad, he marched with a good body of troops to Chateaubrian, which was also held for the king, and being received into the town after a friendly manner, he put a garrison of his own soldiers in it, and forced all those to leave the town that would not return to the obedience of the duke. From thence he marched to and besieged Vennes, on the 25th of January, which was held by the French, under the government of Gilbert de Grassay, and Philip de Moulins, two experienced commanders, who surrendered the place upon terms, on the 3d day of March following.

On the other hand, the king's army was not idle, for they took Ancenix by storm, and, by the king's express command, razed the walls, towers, and houses, so that one stone was not left upon another ; and this the king did to spite the Marshal de Rieux, to whom the town belonged, and who had lately revolted from him, as you have already heard. Chateaubrian was also recovered by the king's forces, and the castle razed. From thence the king's army marched to Fougères, a frontier town, and of considerable strength, which they also besieged ; upon which the Duke of Bretagne, fearing he should lose all his country, resolved to send the Count du Dunois on an embassy to the king, of which you shall hear more in its proper place.

About this time, which was in the beginning of

the year 1488, the Lord d'Albret, who had been long resident at the court of Spain, came by sea, and landed in Lower Bretagne with four thousand men; his forces marched immediately to Rennes, but he himself came directly to Nantes, to wait on the Duke of Bretagne. Upon his first arrival, he demanded the accomplishment of the marriage between him and the Lady Anne, the duke's eldest daughter; but the lady would not consent to it, to the great displeasure of her father, who was ignorant of her having placed her affections on the Duke of Orleans, by the management and persuasion of the Count de Dunois, for which reason, and to save his honour, he endeavoured to withdraw the instrument he had given for the accomplishment of the said marriage, and which was in the hands of the Lady de Laval, sister to the Lord d'Albert, among the rest of the writings of the other Lords of Bretagne. And he managed the affair so cunningly, that at last he got it, for he gave the Lady de Laval to understand that this match could never be accomplished without obtaining an instrument under the Duke of Bretagne's hands, and that he had prevailed with him to give one, provided it it was written word for word by that which the Count de Dunois had already sealed; therefore, if she would be pleased to order his writing to be delivered to him, he would make his secretary take an exact copy of it, which should be presented to the duke, in order to have him sign it. The Lady de Laval, supposing his intentions to be just and honourable, delivered him his own writing, which

he never restored, for immediately after this he was sent, with certain lawyers, in an embassy to the king, who was then at Angiers, to know what his majesty demanded in Bretagne, and the reason of his destroying so many towns and castles in that province.

The Duke of Bretagne, as we have already observed, being in a great consternation to see Fougères invested by the king's army, sent the Count de Dunois, by the unanimous consent of his nobility, in an embassy to the king. The Count de Dunois all along in his journey to the French court, so magnified and extolled the blessings and advantages of peace, that the eyes of the whole kingdom were fixed upon him, as the only person by whose mediation they were to obtain it. Upon his being admitted to an audience of the king, who was then about eighteen years old, he, after a very eloquent manner, remonstrated the present circumstances of the Duke of Bretagne, and the other French lords that had retired to his court, alleging, " That the duke being grown old, worn out with diseases, having buried his wife, being destitute of issue male, having only two daughters, one twelve years old, and the other less ; and lastly, being forsaken by his nobility, upon account of their hatred to Monsieur Peter Landois, and not through any maladministration on his part, began to languish in grief and sorrow, and therefore the nobility of France that were nearly allied to him, out of a natural and sincere affection, were retired to his court, purely to comfort him in his afflictions,

among whom none were so near to him as the Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Orange, except his own children, one being his uncle's son, and the other his sister's; and that these and others of his near relations, that were still at his court, staid there upon no other design; adding, that the duke was not to be accused of secret practices against his majesty, in not forbidding them his dominions, since they came purely to comfort him in his distress. But perhaps, (continued he,) it will be objected, that there are several others of the nobility of France with him, who have made war against the king: But what war? Why, as the Bretons were marching with an army to raise the siege of Ploermel, being informed that it was impossible to do it, without venturing a battle with the French, out of respect to his majesty, they declined fighting, marched home, and suffered their towns to be taken and plundered, rather than engage the king's troops. Besides, as soon as the duke knew the king's royal pleasure, in relation to the return of the banished nobles of Bretagne, he immediately restored them to his favour, and the possession of their estates. What offence, (added he), has the duke committed? What is the cause of the war against him? Certainly none. But, on the other hand, many reasons why the king should commiserate the present circumstances of the Duke of Bretagne, and consent to give him peace. This was the substance of the speech, which, as he said, he was commanded to deliver to the king; but he would not have undertaken so weighty a charge, had he not been entirely convinced

of the duke's singular affection to his majesty, and that the French lords that were in Bretagne were honest and faithful subjects to their king, and were ready to sacrifice their lives and fortunes in the defence of him and his kingdom." This speech of the Count de Dunois inclined the king to hearken to overtures of peace, which was already set on foot, and which was broken off by the sudden news of a battle, of which you shall be informed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER V.

Of the Battle of St. Aubin, in which the Duke of Orleans was taken Prisoner. Of the Treaty of Peace between the King and the Duke of Bretagne, and of the Death of that Prince.—1488.

You have already been informed of the siege of Fourgeres, which still continued, and notwithstanding the Count de Dunois's embassy to the king was carried on with so much vigour and success, that the town was reduced to great extremity; upon which the Duke of Orleans, and the rest of the nobility of Bretagne, being fearful of losing the town, immediately left Nantes, and went to Rennes, where they assembled their forces, in order to raise the siege of Fougères. Their army consisting of four hundred men at arms, and twelve thousand foot of their own country, as some write; but others say but eight thousand, besides three hundred English, and eight hundred Swiss, and a large train of artillery. This army, which was

commanded in chief by the Duke of Orleans, and under him by the Lord d'Albret, the Marshal de Rieux, the Lords de Chateaubrian, Leon, Crenettes, Pont l'Abbe, Plessis, Balines, Montigny Montuet, and the Lord Rivers, an English peer, encamped as soon as they were assembled, near a village called Andouille, on Wednesday, the 23d of July, in 1488. In the night there was some disturbance in the camp among the Gascons, which was like to have occasioned a quarrel between the Duke of Orleans and the Lord d'Albret, but the matter was soon adjusted. In the mean time these great lords, who lay encamped at Andouille, received an express with the news of the taking of Fougères, by the French, upon terms of agreement, by which the garrison was permitted to march out with their bag and baggage. No sooner had these lords received the news of the surrender of Fougères but they called a council of war, in which it was unanimously resolved to decamp, and march directly to St. Aubin, being of opinion they might easily take the town, in which there was but a small garrison of the French, especially since they might be joined by the garrison that marched out of Fougères, which would be a considerable reinforcement to their army. On the other hand, it unluckily happened, that the French army bent their march also towards St. Aubin, with a design to cover the place, and prevent the Bretons from besieging it. However, neither of the armies entered the town, because, before they arrived at it, both met and fought; for you must understand,

that the same day that the Bretons received the news of the surrender of Fougères, they broke up from Andoville, and marched to Orange, a village about two leagues from St. Aubin, where they received intelligence that the king's army was marching directly, with a full resolution to fight them.

The next day, early in the morning, the Bretons consulted how to draw up their army in order of battle ; and because the infantry were jealous of the French horse, and especially of the Duke of Orleans himself, it was judged proper that he and the Prince of Orange should quit their horses, and fight on foot, among the Swiss ; and so they did. The van-guard was commanded by the Marshal de Rieux ; the main-battle, by the Lord d'Albret ; and the Lord de Chateaubrian brought up the rear. Upon the right wing was placed their artillery ; and to dismay and terrify the French the more, by making them believe they had a greater number of English than really there were, (for there were but three hundred, under the command of the Lord Talbot,) seventeen hundred Bretons, dressed and armed after the English manner, were ordered to join them. On Monday morning they drew up in the above-mentioned order of battle near a great wood, in expectation of the French. The king's army (which was commanded by the Lord de la Trimouille, Viscount of Tovar) marched from Fougères with a full resolution to give the Bretons battle. The van was led by Adrian de l'Hospital and Gabriel de Montfalzois ; before which a small party of French officers advanced to get intelligence

of the Bretons, and as soon as they had discovered in what order they were drawn up, and how posted, they returned to their army, which boldly marched on to attack the Bretons. After some cannonading, which killed abundance of men on both sides, the French attacked the Bretons' van-guard with incredible fury and intrepidity, and they were as warmly received by the Marshal de Rieux, who commanded it; so that, being repulsed there, they wheeled off, and marched directly to the main battle, which being vigorously charged sword in hand, the cavalry of Bretagne began to give ground, which dispirited those in the rear, that, without fighting a stroke, they immediately fled. The French pursued them, and made sad havoc among the infantry: the van-guard, seeing this disorder and confusion, and that there were no troops left to support them, fairly turned their backs, and fled too. In short, the French obtained a complete victory, and killed all those that wore the red cross, supposing they had been English, besides twelve or thirteen hundred Bretons more, horse and foot. The Duke of Orleans was taken prisoner by some of the foot, as was also the Prince of Orange, who had pulled off his black cross, and laid himself flat upon the ground among the dead, as if he was killed; he was known by a French archer, and both he and the Duke of Orleans were brought prisoners to St. Aubin, under a strong guard. The Lord d'Albret, seeing the battle was lost, mounted on horseback, and made his escape; the Marshal de Rieux also saved himself, and retreated to Di-

nan ; but the Lords de Leon, Pont l'Abbe, Montfort, and several other lords of Bretagne, were slain, and about six thousand common soldiers. Of the king's side about twelve hundred or a thousand common soldiers, and but one officer of note, which was Monsieur James Galeot, a brave soldier, and much lamented in the army. This battle was fought on Monday the 28th of July, 1488, soon after which the Duke of Orleans was carried prisoner to the castle of Luzignan, and from thence he was removed to Poitiers, where he remained for some time, and lastly to the great tower of Bourges.

The second day after the battle, the Lord de la Trimouille sent an herald to Rheims, to summon the town to surrender to the king ; which, after some consultation, returned this answer : “ That the king had no right to the town ; that he had, unjustly, and without any provocation, invaded Bretagne ; and that, notwithstanding his numerous army, it would not be in his power entirely to ruin and destroy their country as he intended ; for God, who defended the Bretons in their rights and liberties, was able to shew his power against him now, as he did against King John at Poitiers, and King Philip of Valois, at Crecy ;” adding farther, “ that if the Lord de la Trimouille thought fit to invest the town, and lay formal siege to it, he would find in it forty thousand men, twenty thousand of which were able to bear arms, and resolved to make a vigorous defence.” This answer was brought to the Lord de la Trimouille, who considered a long

time before he made any reply to it; and afterwards sent the same herald to Angiers, where the king was, to acquaint his majesty with it. Upon which the king convened his council, to resolve what measures were to be taken in this nice affair. The greatest part of them were for besieging the town; but William de Rochfort, Chancellor of France, was on the contrary opinion, which was founded on the king's title to the duchy of Bretagne, which was commonly reported to come by means of a certain writing that the Lord John de Bross, Lord of Boussac, husband to Dame Nicola of Bretagne, daughter and heir to Charles of Blois, Earl of Ponthieure, had made to the king's ancestors, together with several other titles, which were not as yet proved in due form of law: adding farther, that if his majesty had no lawful title to it, it would be base and tyrannical in him to usurp another prince's dominions: therefore the chancellor's advice was, that, according to the desire of the ambassadors, certain grave and judicious persons, learned in the law, should be chosen to examine and inquire into the right on both sides. This opinion at last prevailed, and accordingly the king agreed to the demands of the ambassadors of Bretagne, that both he and their master should appoint some of their council, who should meet in some indifferent place, to examine the charters and writings on both sides, and fairly and equitably determine to whom the duchy belonged; and that, in the mean time, the king should keep all the towns that his majesty was possessed of already in

Bretagne. The Duke of Bretagne was extremely pleased with this agreement; and, because the plague was hot in Nantes, he removed from thence, with his own daughters, the Lady de Laval, the Lord d'Albret, the Count de Dunois, the Marshal de Rieux, the Count de Comminges, and several other persons of quality, to Coizon upon the Loire, about three leagues above Nantes, where soon after, to wit, on Wednesday the 27th of September, 1488, he died of an illness occasioned by a fall, and left the government of his duchy of Bretagne, and his two daughters, to the Marshal de Rieux, with whom also the Count de Comminges was joined as an assistant. His body was carried to Nantes, and interred in the church belonging to the Carmelites of that place.

CHAPTER VI.

Of the King's Marriage with Lady Anne of Bretagne, by which that Duchy was united to the Crown of France.—1489.

Nor long after the Duke of Bretagne's death, died also his younger daughter, the Lady Isabella, by whose decease the Lady Anne became his sole heir. Her marriage occasioned great contention among the nobility of Bretagne; for some of them were for marrying her to the Lord d'Albret, a powerful lord in Guienne, to whom (as it was falsely reported) she was contracted by her father's consent the day before he died; but this faction was soon

dispirited by the young lady's positively refusing to consent to this match. Others openly declared themselves for Maximilian, son to the Emperor Frederic ; alleging, that he would not only be a protector of their liberty, but also a strong defence against any designs or attempts of France. The King of France was not ignorant of this treaty, but knew that several ambassadors had been sent between Maximilian and the nobility of Bretagne ; and so far was this affair advanced, that Maximilian himself thought the business was done, began to grasp the whole duchy of Bretagne in his imagination, and believed no enterprise too great for him to undertake, provided, if to the Low Countries, (which he got by his first marriage,) he could join the duchy of Bretagne by a second. The King of France often assembled his privy-council, about ways and means how to break off this match, and divert the terrible storm that threatened the kingdom ; but it was Maximilian's own remissness in the affair that furthered their designs the most. At last, after some consultation, it was resolved in council, that the king should not stand to his contract with Maximilian's daughter ; but should send her back to her father, and with all expedition endeavour to accomplish a marriage between him and the Lady Anne of Bretagne ; alleging that the neighbourhood of so powerful a prince as Maximilian was, could not but be of dangerous consequence to the kingdom of France, being one from whom his majesty could expect nothing but dissembled friendship now, and certain war hereafter ;

considering that having already forgotten his alliance and affinity with the king, began one war after another against him, and by that means shewed himself to be an open enemy to the king and kingdom. Upon this resolution ambassadors were despatched to the court of Bretagne, to treat of a marriage with the Lady Anne. At first she was extremely surprised at this proposal, and told the ambassadors, that she had already given her faith and honour to Maximilian, which she could not break ; and, besides, she was solemnly married to him, (according to the usual manner of princes,) by his proxy, Wolfgangus Poleme of Austria, sent by him into Bretagne, for that purpose. However, the Lady de Laval, and other ladies of quality, who were her chief favourites, being corrupted by French gold, and large promises, persuaded her that this French match would be most for her safety and advantage, cunningly insinuating, that if she married Maximilian, he would scarce be able to defend Bretagne, considering he had always disappointed them of the succours he had promised to send them. As for her scruple of conscience, they told her that the Pope, who had power over ecclesiastical laws, would easily be prevailed with to dispense with her vow to Maximilian, since this match would be so much for her advantage, and the preservation of her territories. The young princess, though she was a person of great wit and virtue, yet, being overcome by these artful and insinuating persuasions, consented to the request of the king's ambassadors, and delivered up both herself and her dominions

into his majesty's hands ; and soon after the marriage was solemnized, to the great joy and satisfaction of the French court. Thus Bretagne came under the French power, to the unspeakable grief of all its subjects, who desired still to be governed by a particular duke of their own, as they had ever been in times past.

Soon after this marriage, the Count de Dunois, who had been the chief promoter of the peace, and a great instrument in this match, (by which he entirely regained the King's favour,) died suddenly on horse-back, and, according to common report, for want of something to eat. As soon as the king had settled affairs in Bretagne, he returned into France, and ordered the Lady Margaret of Flanders to be still kept, attended by the Princess of Tarento, in the castle of Melun, upon the Seine.

Maximilian was informed of the secret designs and practices of the French, and seemed not to value them ; but when he found the marriage was solemnized, he began to double his hatred against the king ; openly exclaimed against him, swore he would destroy France with fire and sword, and immediately invaded Picardy with a numerous army. The Lord des Cordes, who was governor of that province, opposed him, and valiantly defended the country, to his own honour and the advantage of France : However, Maximilian being resolved to be thoroughly revenged of France, stirred up the English, (the ancient enemies of that kingdom,) to invade it on that side, and promised them great supplies both of men and money. Upon this account,

we are obliged to say something of the affairs of England, because the English are our next neighbours, and both in peace and war, have always concerns with us, and we with them.

CHAPTER VII.

Of the Troubles in England; of the King of England's besieging Bologne; of the Peace between the King and him; and of the surprising Arras and St. Omers by the King of the Romans. 1489-90.

KING Edward IV., the same that had an interview with Louis XI., at Picquigny, (where the French outwitted the English in the treaty of peace that was concluded there,) dying in the year 1483, left behind him two sons* and several daughters†. The government of the two sons was

* Edward and Richard, both inhumanly murdered, and as obscurely buried by their own uncle Richard Duke of Gloucester, who afterwards usurped the kingdom by the title of Richard III.

† His eldest daughter the Lady Elizabeth was married to Henry Earl of Richmond, afterwards known by the name of Henry VII., by which match the two contending houses of York and Lancaster were united. The younger daughters were bestowed, one in a nunnery, and others on inferior lords. Cicely was married to John Viscount Wells: Anne to Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk, Bridget was a professed nun at Dartford. Mary was contracted to the King of Denmark, but died before consummation of marriage: Margaret died an infant: and Catharine married William Courtney Earl of Devonshire. All these younger princesses died without issue, except the Lady Catharine; and her posterity also failed in the third descent. Henry her son, Marquis of Exeter, suffered by attainder in the reign of Henry VIII., his cousin-german; being not long before designed heir-apparent to the crown, (an honour fatal in England,) and his son Edward untimely came to his end in Padua in Italy, in the reign of Queen Mary; by whose favours he had regained his father's honours and possessions.

committed to the Duke of Gloucester, King's Edward's brother, who barbarously murdered them, slew those of the nobility whom he thought would oppose his designs, and usurped the crown. At last the Duke of Buckingham, (who had espoused the Duke of Gloucester's interest, even to the usurpation of the crown,) fell out with him, and invited Henry Earl of Richmond, who had been an exile in Bretagne for many years, to come over into England, promising to join him with a powerful army immediately upon his landing. The Earl of Richmond communicated this affair to Peter Landois, by whom the Duke of Bretagne was entirely governed at that time; who, being in hopes that the Earl, (if by his interest he obtained the kingdom of England,) would assist him against his enemies, persuaded the Duke of Bretagne to assist him with men and money, to carry on this enterprise, who accordingly furnished him with three large ships and a considerable body of land forces, with which he put to sea, and sailed immediately for England. As soon as they were arrived on the coast of England, and ready to disembark, the Earl of Richmond received the unwelcome news of the death of the Duke of Buckingham, (whom King Richard had beheaded,) the defeat of his troops, and King Richard's being upon the sea-coast with a powerful army, in expectation of his landing. Upon this intelligence the Earl of Richmond returned, in hopes of recovering the coast of Bretagne, from whence he set sail; but a tempest overtook him and drove him upon that of Normandy, where he

was forced to land. The Duchess of Beaujeu having notice of his landing, sent a gentleman belonging to her household, to invite him to court ; where the king received him very graciously, and where he made some stay, after which he returned to Vennes in Bretagne, to remain there till a more favourable opportunity. Peter Landois seeing himself disappointed in his designs, altered his mind, and made overtures to King Richard to deliver the Earl of Richmond into his hands ; but the earl, being secretly informed of it, under pretence of going a hawking one morning, fled with about ten or twelve horse into France to King Charles VIII., who afterwards furnished him with ships and some soldiers, to assist him in his design upon England ; by whose help, and that of his own relations, who had invited him over, and espoused his interest, he fought, vanquished and slew King Richard in the field ; and was himself crowned king in his room. This generous assistance of King Charles's joined to the King of England's desire of living peaceably and growing rich, was the reason why Henry VII., during all the wars and troubles in Bretagne, never invaded France, though he had often been earnestly solicited to do it, both by the Duke of Bretagne, the Count de Dunois, and the rest of the lords of that faction. For generally when any troubles arose in France, our neighbours, especially the English, within a year, are invited to take part of the feast, and so was Henry VII., King of England ; and he had certainly invaded France, if the above-mentioned reasons,

joined to some other private ones, to wit, fear of a civil war in his own kingdom, had not kept him at home.

However, notwithstanding the King of England's backwardness to invade France; yet, in the year 1493, partly by the instigation of Maximilian, who had promised him great assistance in his wars, (but disappointed him,) and partly to please his own subjects, who already began to think him too much in the French interest, by suffering them, to the prejudice of England, to annex the duchy of Bretagne to the crown of France; he passed the seas, and besieged Bologne*, whither the Lord des Cordes, and the Bastard of Cardonne, governor of Arras, were sent with a small body of troops to reinforce the garrison, and put the place into a posture of defence. Besides, the king raised an army in order to relieve the town; but, those forces not being assembled in any great haste, the two above-mentioned officers took upon them the command and defence of it. The siege was not carried on with any vigour, so that the French sent an herald into the English camp to make some overtures of peace, to which King Henry seemed not to be averse, as well for the affection he bore the King of France, who had assisted him in his obtaining the crown of England, as also fear of sedition at home, which hindered him from being long absent out of his dominions; because Maximilian had broken his word with him: and, lastly, because he

* According to our English chronicles, the siege of Bologne was in the year 1491.

hoped, by this peace*, to receive of the king a vast sum of money, which he loved extremely well, as being the most covetous prince that every reigned in Europe. The Lord des Cordes finding the King of England's inclinations for peace, went and had a conference with him in his camp. His majesty's demands were, first, a great sum of money, which he said he had lent the late Duke of Bretagne; and, secondly, that the king should pay him all the charge he had been at in this war. To all these demands the King of France agreed, and an order was signed, by which the King of England was to receive annually such a certain sum of money till the whole demanded by him was paid; and, in this shameful and dishonourable manner the King of England returned home. In the mean time, while the Lord des Cordes and the Bastard of Cardonne, were at Bologne, treating with the King of England; the citizens of Arras knowing the town not to be well fortified, tampered with the garrison to persuade them to deliver it up to Maximilian, who accordingly sent a detachment thither, which secretly, and with great diligence, approached the walls of the place. When all things were in readiness, and the gates being so slightly guarded, that the traitors, with their false keys, had opened them, they began a song, in which they desired

* Sir Francis Bacon, in the life of Henry VII., says it rather deserves the name of a bargain than a treaty of peace; and that the king being ashamed of the inglorious terms he had made with the French king, a little before the peace was concluded, under-hand procured some of the chief officers of his army and captains of his fleet, to address him to make peace in an earnest manner, and in the nature of a supplication.

the enemies to hasten their march, who immediately came up to the gates, and were admitted into the town. Paul Carquelevant, a Breton, who was governor of the town in the absence of the Bastard of Cardonne, retired upon the enemy's first entrance, with his garrison into the castle ; but, fearing least it should be taken by storm, presently abandoned it after a most shameful manner ; for if he had but held out till the next day a considerable body of French troops had been sent to relieve it. The town was plundered, and several people killed, neither did they spare the churches nor the houses of those that betrayed it. The author of this treason was a poor smith, that lived upon the town-wall, and was the only person that was suffered to remain in the town when Louis XI. transported the townsmen as a colony into France. Carquelevant, the governor, when the town was surprised, lay fast asleep, and dead drunk, as it was reported. The town was plundered by reason that Maximilian owed his soldiers some months' pay, and were forced to do it for subsistence. St. Omers was also surprised at the same time, though some refer it to another ; but, whenever it was taken, it is certain it was owing to the negligence of the guards that were posted at the gates : for the enemy, whose troops were commanded by Monsieur George Deberfin, made a shew upon their first investing the town, as if they designed to have scaled it, at which time the French garrison were in arms upon the walls and ready to receive them ; and the town was strong and very defensible both by art

and nature. Upon this the enemy pretended to be afraid, retired to their camp, nay, even farther, when the French garrison sallied out to fall upon their rear; and thus they continued to retreat for eight days together, and, by this piece of policy and dissimulation, made the French careless and negligent in their duty, which, being perceived by the Burgundians and Germans, they, with great expedition, planted scaling ladders against the walls and bulwarks of the town; and easily entered it, the guards being fast asleep, and in some places none at all. As soon as they had scaled the walls, they forced open the gates, put the French garrison, and the greatest part of the citizens, to the sword, and so became masters of the town.

At the same time also Amiens was attempted by the Burgundians in the night, and like to have been surprised by the same negligence of the guards; but Catharine de Liques, (a woman of an heroic courage,) awakened the guards out of their dead sleep, by which means the alarm-bell was rung, and the garrison and the townsmen repaired immediately to their arms; part of which defended the walls, and the rest of them made a sally, fought and defeated Maximilian's troops, who generously owned, that the vigilance and industry of one woman had wrested the victory out of their hands.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the Restitution of Roussillon and Perpignan to the King of Spain; of the Emperor Frederic's Death; of the Peace between the King of the Romans and the King; and of the Duke of Orleans's releasement out of Prison.—1492-3.

FERDINAND, King of Arragon, desired nothing more than to recover the countries of Roussillon and Perpignan out of the king's hands, which were mortgaged by him, (as he said,) to Louis XI. for fifty thousand crowns. The nobility of France would not consent to this restitution, because those two countries were a barrier to the kingdom on that side towards Spain, alleging that they were not engaged to King Louis, but absolutely sold; and though the King of Spain maintained, that Louis XI., by his last will and testament, had ordered those countries to be restored, as knowing them to be unjustly detained; yet his remonstrances and allegations were but of little force. Therefore finding he could do no good that way, he began to tamper with priests and holy people; hoping, by their preaching up conscience and justice to the king, to gain of his majesty what was impossible for him to obtain by any other means. In order to effect his designs, he corrupted, with a large sum of money, Father Oliver Maillard, or, according to other authors, John de Mauleon, a Franciscan friar, and confessor to the Duchess of Beaujeu, the king's sister; who, under pretence of religion, hiding his hypocrisy and avarice, persuaded her,

that if restitution of these territories were not immediately made to the King of Spain, that the king her brother could never expect a prosperous and happy reign. The Duchess of Beaujeu being touched in conscience by this friar's persuasions, opened the whole matter to Lewis d'Amboise, Bishop of Alba, the king's school-master, who, in conjunction with her, so terrified the king's conscience, that he not only made restitution of the said territories by the hands of the above-mentioned bishop, but also gave the King of Arragon the money that his father, Louis XI., had paid for them; upon these conditions, that the said King of Arragon and his successors should, for the future, be in friendship and amity with the kingdom of France; that he should make no war against it, nor aid or assist with either money, troops, provisions, or counsel, the enemies thereof; nor to grant them a passage through his dominions. And after this manner were these provinces restored, to the universal dislike and mortification of the subjects of France; but, in reality, the king was rather inclined to restore them, because his majesty began already, by the persuasion of some of his courtiers, to have some thoughts of his expedition to Naples, for the recovery of that kingdom; which afterwards succeeded, though the king, both at that time, and long afterwards, kept his designs secret to himself, and one or two more; which intended expedition, we believe, was the principal cause of his restoring the above-mentioned provinces, to oblige the King of Spain to

stand neuter, and not give him any disturbance in his designs. But he was mistaken; for no sooner had the king passed the mountains with his army, but the King of Spain forgot all his favours and obligations, and endeavoured to form an alliance with his enemies against him.

During these transactions in France, the Emperor Frederic died; to whom his son Maximilian succeeded, who, however, was never crowned, neither was he ambitious of that honour; for if he had, he might easily have obtained it.

The Emperor Maximilian, designing to quiet and pacify the state of the empire, which his father's death had involved in some troubles, seemed more desirous to make peace with the king than he had formerly been, which happened very fortunately for the king's affairs; for, without a peace with Maximilian, it had been impracticable for his majesty to have undertaken his expedition to Italy; but both parties being inclined to peace, it was soon concluded. The emperor's daughter was restored to him, and with her the county of Artois, and all the towns his imperial majesty demanded. And thus the king, being in peace with all his neighbours, to wit, the Emperor and the Kings of England and Spain; and being by his marriage in the quiet possession of the duchy of Bretagne, and by that means having no enemy to fear, he began wholly to think of his intended expedition to Italy, on which he had long fixed his mind.

Besides, about this time, the king, at the earnest request and solicitation of his sister Jane, (a lady

of singular piety and virtue,) restored, not only to his liberty, but his favour, Louis Duke of Orleans, (the Lady Jane's husband,) who was taken prisoner at the battle of St. Aubin, in Bretagne, as you have already heard ; by which action of generosity the king not only deserved the highest commendations for his clemency in preserving his enemy, and restoring him to his former dignity and honour, but by it took care that no discontented subject at home should disturb the tranquillity of the kingdom in his absence, in his expedition to Italy, to which the Memoirs of Philip de Comines now call us ; which history, from the death of Louis XI. to this present time, have been supplied out of other good and valuable authors ; because Philip de Comines himself, who was either in prison or in disgrace at court, almost from the death of Louis XI. to the above-mentioned expedition into Italy, (in which he was present,) has been silent, and has left nothing in writing to posterity of what occurrences happened during that space of time.

END OF THE SUPPLEMENT.

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE,

GIVING AN ACCOUNT OF THE DESIGN OF HIS MEMOIRS CONCERNING THE REIGN OF CHARLES VIII., THE SON OF LOUIS XI., BUT WITH INTERMISSION OF SOME YEARS, FROM THE DEATH OF LOUIS XI., TILL HE RE-ASSUMES HIS DISCOURSE, WHICH IS FROM THE YEAR 1483, TO 1494.

TO continue these Memoirs, which were begun by me, Philip de Comines, concerning the exploits and reign of our late King, Louis XI., I will now give you an account what induced his son Charles VIII. to undertake his expedition into Italy, in which I was present. The king set out from Vienne, in Dauphinè, the 23d of August, 1494, and returned into his kingdom in the year 1495. Before he undertook this enterprize, it was warmly debated whether he should go or not, for to all persons of experience and wisdom it was looked upon as a very dangerous undertaking; nor indeed was any body for it but himself, and one Stephen de Vers, a native of Languedoc, of very mean extraction, and one who had never seen or had the least knowledge of military affairs. There was also one Brissonet, who was of the council, and belonged to the finances, but his heart failed him, and he shrunk his neck out of the collar. However, this expedition turned much to his advantage afterwards, for he had great preferment in the church, was made a cardinal, and his fortune advanced by the addition of several spiritual promotions. De Vers was possessed of a plentiful estate before, was made seneschal of Beucairie, and president of the accounts at Paris, for in his youth he had served the king faithfully, in quality of gentleman of the bed-chamber, and, by his persuasion, Monsieur Brissonet was brought over to his party; so that they two were the chief promoters of this expedition, which the greatest

part of the kingdom rather blamed than commended them for ; because not only all things necessary for so great an enterprise were wanting, but the king was young, foolish, and obstinate, without either money, officers, or soldiers. So that before he began his march he was forced to borrow a hundred thousand francs of the bank of Genoa, at an extravagant interest, from mart to mart, besides what he took up in other places, as you shall hear hereafter. They had neither tents nor pavilions, though it was winter when the army entered into Lombardy : one thing, indeed, was very handsome, and that was a brigade of young volunteers, who were lively and brisk, but under no command or discipline. So that we may conclude this whole expedition, both going and coming, was conducted purely by God ; for, as we said before, the wisdom of the contrivers of this scheme contributed but little. However, they may boast of this, that they were the occasion of highly advancing the honour of their king.

THE MEMOIRS OF
PHILIP DE COMINES,
LORD OF ARGENTON.

BOOK THE SEVENTH.

CHAPTER I.

Of Renè, Duke of Lorraine's coming into France, to demand the Duchy of Bar and the County of Provence, which the King had in his Possession, and his being disappointed in his Pretensions to the Kingdom of Naples, to which he laid Claim as well as the King, with an Account of their Titles.

AS soon as the king was fourteen or fifteen years old, which was an age fit to be crowned *, the Duke of Lorraine came to demand the duchy of Bar, which King Louis XI. had kept from him, and the county Provence, which King Charles of Anjou, his cousin-german, dying without issue, left to Louis XI. by his last will and testament. The Duke of Lorraine laid claim to it, as being son to the daughter of Renè King of Sicily, Duke of Anjou, and Earl of Provence, alleging that the King of Sicily had highly injured him, for that the said Charles of Anjou was but his brother's son, whereas he was descended from his own daughter. But the king

* He was crowned at Rheims, the 30th of May, 1484.

pretended that Provence could not be transferred by will to a daughter. The conclusion of this affair was, Bar was restored for a sum of money which the king insisted upon ; and the Duke of Lorraine being in great favour, and having many friends at court, (especially John Duke of Bourbon, who was old, and desirous to marry his sister,) had the command of a hundred lances given him, and a pension of thirty-six thousand francs for four years, in which time his title to Provence was to be examined into. I was one of his council which was chosen on purpose, which consisted of the king's relations, and the three estates of the kingdom, to determine the matter. Stephen de Vers, whom I mentioned before, was another, who had got some estate in Provence, which he was unwilling to part with, and therefore made the king, young as he was, to declare, (in the presence of his sister, the Duchess of Bourbon,) the Count de Comminges, and the Lord du Lau, (both likewise of the council,) and myself, that we should have a care he did not lose the county of Provence, and this was transacted before the above-mentioned agreement.

Before the expiration of the four years, some persons of Provence produced a new will of Charles I., who was brother to St. Louis, and of other Kings of Sicily of the house of France. By these it was pretended, that not only the country of Provence belonged to the king, but the kingdom of Sicily also, and other places possessed by the house of Anjou, and that the Duke of Lorraine had no title to any of them, (which other people denied ;) those

who were against the Duke of Lorraine's title, were influenced by this Stephen de Vers, who possessed his master that the last King Charles, Earl of Provence, son of Charles of Anjou, Count du Maine, and nephew to King Renè, had left it to him by his will ; for he had made him his heir before he died, and preferred him before the Duke of Lorraine, who was his own daughter's son ; and this, they urged, was done by King Renè, in consideration of the wills of Charles I. and his wife the Countess of Provence, by which they had enjoined that that kingdom and the country of Provence should not be separated, nor descend to a daughter, whilst there was a son living of the line. And they affirmed that the wills of their successors were to the same effect, and particularly the will of Charles II.

During the time of these four years, they that had the management of the king, who were the Duke and Duchess of Bourbon*, one Graville †,

* Madame de Beaujeu, Duchess of Bourbon, was appointed by Louis XI. and the three estates of the kingdom, to be Regent of France, during the minority of her brother, Charles VIII. But the Duke of Orleans, who was afterwards Louis XII., opposed that decree, and in conjunction with some of the nobility, took up arms, and demanded the regency, as the first prince of the blood; and it was against this confederacy that the Duchess of Bourbon invited and called in the Duke of Lorraine to her assistance.

† Louis Malet, Lord of Graville, Marcoussy, and Bois-malesherbes, Governor of Picardy and Normandy, and made Admiral of France in the year 1485. He enjoyed that post once more after the death of his son-in-law, Charles de Amboise, Lord of Chaumont, lieutenant-general for the king and governor of Paris, Milan, Genoa, and Normandy, knight of the king's order, marshal and lord high-steward of France; nephew to the famous Cardinal George d'Amboise; who arrived to the honour and dignity of being admiral of France, by the resignation of his father-in-law, the Admiral de Gra-

and others, lords of his bed-chamber, who were in great power, sent for the Duke of Lorraine to court, and put him into places of great trust and authority: that being a person of a more enterprising temper than the rest of the courtiers, he might aid and assist them in their undertakings; besides, they questioned not to find a way to get rid of him when they had no farther service for him, as they did afterwards, when they found they were able to manage affairs by themselves; and the power of the Duke of Orleans, and the rest of the nobility in his faction was weakened, and began to decline apace: and to say the truth, after the expiration of the four years, the Duke of Lorraine would stay no longer at court, unless they would put him into possession of the county of Provence, or secure it to him in writing at a prefixed time, and continue his pension of thirty-six thousand francs; but not agreeing in the point, the Duke of Lorraine left France, highly disgusted with the court.

Four or five months before his leaving the court, a very advantageous overture was made him, if he had known how to have accepted it. The whole kingdom of Naples was in rebellion against King Ferrand, for his and his son's tyranny, so that all the barons, and three parts of the kingdom, submitted themselves to the church; but the said King Ferrand, with the assistance of the Florentines,

ville, and died two years afterwards, in the year 1508, at Corregio, in Lombardy. The Admiral de Graville died the 30th of October, in the year 1516.

pressed them very hard ; upon which the pope, and the lords who were in arms against them, sent to the Duke of Lorraine, to have him made king, and they were so far in earnest in the matter, that the galleys, under the command of the Cardinal of Saint Peter ad Vincula, waited for him a long time at Genoa, whilst he was quarrelling at court, though ambassadors from all the nobility of that kingdom were with him, and pressing him daily to be gone. The result of all was, the king and his council expressed great readiness to assist him. He was promised six hundred thousand francs, and received twenty thousand of them, the rest he lost ; he had leave to carry his hundred lances along with him, and was told that the king would send ambassadors to foreign courts, to espouse his interest. However, though the king was now nineteen years of age, yet he was still governed by the persons above-named, who were always filling his ears with his undoubted title to the kingdom of Naples, which I insert the rather, because persons of little consideration are often capable of raising greater troubles ; and so I understood they did here, by several of the Duke of Lorraine's ambassadors to Rome, Florence, Genoa, and elsewhere ; as also by the duke himself as he passed by Moulins, where I then resided, upon account of the dispute between the court and John Duke of Bourbon. But the Duke of Lorraine's opportunity was half lost already by his own delay ; however, I went out to meet and compliment him, though I had no obligation

to do it; for he was partly the occasion of my being removed from court, and had given me very abusive language; but nobody so dear to him as I; he caressed me at a most extravagant rate, and complained heavily of those who had the present administration of affairs. He continued two days with John Duke of Bourbon, and then he set out for Lyons.

In short, his friends were so weary and tired with expectation, that both pope and barons came to an accommodation with King Ferrand, upon which the barons adventuring to Naples, were all seized and imprisoned, though the pope, the Venetians, the King of Spain, and the Florentines, were all of them their guarantees, and had promised and sworn to the contrary. The Prince Salerno escaped into France, refusing to be comprehended in the treaty of accommodation, 'as knowing the revengeful temper of King Ferrand; and the Duke of Lorraine returned with great shame and dishonour into his own country. He was never afterwards in any credit with our king, who took away his lances, stopped his thirty-six thousand francs for the county of Provence, and in that condition he stands this very day*, 1497.

* It is presumed the Author finished these Memoirs in this year.

CHAPTER II.

Of the coming of the Prince of Salerno, a Neapolitan by Birth, into France ; of the Endeavours that were used by him and Lodowick Sforza, surnamed the Moor, to persuade the King to make War upon the King of Naples, and the Occasion of it.

THE Prince of Salerno with three of his nephews, sons to the Prince of Bisignan, fled to Venice, where they were kindly received. Their business was to consult that senate, (as the prince told me himself,) to know what prince they should address themselves to, whether to the Duke of Lorraine, the King of France, or the King of Spain. He told me this answer was, that the Duke of Lorraine's affairs were in a desperate condition, and it was impossible for him ever to relieve them ; that the King of Spain would be too powerful by the addition of the kingdom of Naples to the Isle of Sicily, and what he had already in the gulf of Venice ; and that his strength at sea was very considerable already : but if they might advise, they would rather have them apply themselves to the King of France, for with the Kings of France who formerly reigned in Naples they have held very good friendship and amity ; and this I believe was spoken without any prospect of what happened afterwards. The conclusion of all was, the barons came into France, were well received, but indifferently supplied ; they solicited very hard for two years together, and all their application was to Stephen de Vers, at that time seneschal of

Beaucaire, and chamberlain to the king. One day they were in hopes, another in despair; however, their friends used the same diligence in Italy, especially in Milan, where John Galeas was duke, not the great Galeas, who was buried in the Charterhouse in Pavia, but the son of Duke Galeas and the Duchess Bona, a daughter of the House of Savoy, which duke being a weak prince, the duchess had the education of her children; and I have seen her, (when she was a widow) in great authority, but managed by one of her secretaries called Cico, who had been a long time in that family, and had driven out or imprisoned all the brothers of this Duke Galeas, to secure the duchess and her children. Among the rest he banished one Lodowick, (who was since Duke of Milan,) whom he recalled, though he was her enemy, and actually in arms against her; as also one Robert di St. Severino, a person of great valour and experience in military affairs, whom by the advice of this Cico she had likewise banished. At last, by the persuasion of one Anthony Tassino, who was her carver, (a native of Ferrara, and of mean extraction,) she recalled them very indiscreetly; presuming that according to their oaths and promises, they would do no harm to Cico. But the third day after their return they took Cico, put him in a tub, and in derision carried him in triumph through the town. This Cico had married with one of the family of the Visconti, and had they been in the way, those durst not have seized him. This was a contrivance of Lodowick's,

that Robert di St. Severino, being to pass that way, might have the pleasure of beholding him in that posture, for he knew he abhorred him: after which Cico was conducted to the castle of Pavia, where he died a prisoner.

They paid the lady all possible respect, and, as she thought, complied with her in every thing; but they held private cabals among themselves, and never communicated any thing to her but what was of little importance, and she took it for the greatest kindness imaginable not to trouble her with any thing.

They gave her leave to caress Anthony Tossino, and make him what presents she pleased: they assigned him an apartment near her own, and permitted him to carry her on horseback behind him quite through the town, and nothing but feasting and dancing was to be seen in her palace. This way of living did not continue long, scarce half a year, during which time she made him several rich presents, and all packets were directed to him, which rendered him odious to, and highly distasted Lodowick, (uncle to the children,) who intended to make himself sovereign, as he did afterwards. One morning the children were both taken from their mother, and carried to the castle, which they called "the Rock," where they were secured by the appointment of Lodowick, Robert di St. Severino, and one Pallevoisin, the young duke's governor,) and captain of the castle*, who before the death

* This captain had no ill design upon the children as the rest had; but only consented to their being put into the castle, as believing them safer there than under the government of their foolish mother.

of Duke Galeas never stirred out of it, nor a long time after ; till at length he was taken by the circumvention of Lodowick, and the folly of his master, who took after the mother, and was no wiser than he could be. When these persons had secured the children in the castle, they seized upon the treasury, (which at that time was the richest in Christendom,) and took an account of it ; after which they caused three keys to be made, of which she had one, but she never touched one farthing of the money afterwards. They made her renounce the guardian of her son, and Count Lodowick was deputed in her place ; besides, they wrote letters full of reflections on her into several places, and particularly into France, which I saw, and those contained severe remarks on her conduct, in relation to her favourite Anthony Tessino ; yet they sent him away without any other punishment, for the Lord Robert was his friend, and would not suffer either his person or estate to be touched. But these two great men could not as yet get admittance into the castle when they pleased ; for the captain had a brother in it, and near a hundred and fifty men, who always ordered the gate to be very strictly guarded when they entered, and would not suffer above one or two to come in with them, and this caution was used for a long time.

In the mean while a great dispute arose between Lodowick and Robert di St. Severino, as is usual, for it is impossible for two persons in authority to agree long ; but Lodowick getting the upper hand, the other quitted Milan, and went into the Vene-

tian service. Yet since that two of his sons, the Lord Galeas and the Count di Cajazzo, came back, and served the Count de Lodowick and the state of Milan; some say they came with their father's consent, others say not; be it which it will, Lodowick entertained them very kindly, and they have, and do still, serve him very faithfully. You must know that this Robert, their father, was of the house of St. Severino, but by a natural daughter, which in Italy is no great matter; for a natural daughter with them is as good as one lawfully begotten. I mention this particular upon account of their assisting us in our enterprise in that country in favour of the Prince of Salerno, (who is chief of the house of St. Severino,) and for other reasons, which you shall hear in another place.

This Lodowick began presently to make it appear, that he would stick at nothing to establish his authority; caused money to be coined with the duke's effigies on one side, and his own on the other, which disgusted abundance of the people of Milan. The duke was married to the Duke of Calabria's daughter, who, after the death of his father, Ferrand King of Naples, was king himself by the name of Alphonso; the young lady was very courageous, and would fain have irritated her husband to the vindication of his authority; but he was a weak prince, and still discovered all she said. The captain of the castle maintained his reputation for a long while, but never stirred from his command. Jealousies began now to arise, so that both

the sons never went abroad together ; but when one went forth the other staid behind. In short, about a year or two before our expedition into Italy, this Lodowick having been abroad with the young duke, and designing some mischief against him, waited on him back to the castle. The captain having ordered the draw-bridge to be let down, and advanced a little way upon it with some of his officers to receive the duke, and kiss his hand, according to the usual custom ; the duke being at some distance from the bridge, the captain was forced to step forward a pace or two ; upon which the two sons of St. Severino, and others that were with them, seized on him and secured him. Those of the castle pulled up the draw-bridge, upon which this Lodowick, causing the end of a candle to be lighted, swore he would cut off the captain's head if they did not surrender the castle before that candle was burnt out ; upon which they submitted, and he fortified it, and put a strong garrison in it for himself, though all was done in the duke's name. Lodowick caused a charge to be exhibited likewise against the captain, upon pretence that he would have delivered up the castle to the emperor ; and seized upon several Germans, which (as he gave out) were agents in the business, but discharged them again ; and beheaded one of his secretaries as a principal manager of that affair, and another for carrying messages betwixt them. Lodowick kept the captain a long while in prison, but at last he released him, pretending, that when the Duchess of Milan had upon a certain time corrupted

one of his brothers, and hired him to kill him as he was entering into the castle, the captain had prevented it; and upon that account he had now spared his life. Yet I am of opinion, had he been guilty of a design of delivering that castle to the emperor, (who had a double title to it, as Emperor and Duke of Austria, which family pretends to it likewise,) he would scarce have excused him, for it would have produced great disturbance in Italy, and the whole state of Milan would have revolted in a day; for whilst they were under the dominion of the emperors, every house paid but half a ducat taxes; but now, both clergy, nobility, and people, are miserably oppressed, and, to speak the truth, under perfect slavery.

Lodowick, being in possession of the castle, and finding all the soldiers belonging to the family devoted to his service, resolved to proceed; for he that is master of Milan has the whole government, and the senate, at his mercy; because the principal senators, and those who have the charge of other places in that government, have their residence there; and for the bigness of it I never saw a richer or finer country than the duchy of Milan: and if the prince could content himself with a yearly revenue of five hundred thousand ducats, the subjects would grow wealthy, and the prince be secure; but he raises six hundred and fifty or seven hundred thousand ducats every year, which is absolute tyranny, and makes the people so fond of revolutions. Upon this consideration, and what has been said before, Lodowick (being married to the Duke of

Ferrara's daughter, by whom he had several children) prepared to accomplish his designs, and took care to strengthen himself with friends, both in Italy and abroad. He first entered into an alliance (for mutual preservation) with the Venetians, to whom he had been a great friend, to the prejudice of his father-in-law, from whom, not long before, the Venetians had taken a small territory called the Polesan, encompassed entirely with water, and wonderfully fruitful, which place (though but half a league distance from Ferrara) the Venetians keep to this day, and in it there are two pretty towns, Rovigo and Labadio, which I have seen. This country was lost upon the Duke of Ferrara's making war upon the Venetians at first by himself; but before the end of the war Alphonso, Duke of Calabria, (whilst his father Ferrand was alive,) Count Lodowick with the forces of Milan, the Florentines, the pope, and the city of Bologna, came in to his assistance: yet, when the Venetians were conquered, or at least very low, their treasury exhausted, their soldiers corrupted, and several of their towns lost; Lodowick made an honourable and advantageous peace for them, by which all was to be restored to every body but the poor Duke of Ferrara, who had begun the war at the instigation of Ferrand, and this Lodowick, who had married his daughter; for the Duke of Ferrara was forced to let the Polesan remain in the hands of the Venetians, who kept it to this day. It was reported that Lodowick had sixty thousand ducats for his pains; whether true or false, I cannot yet de-

termine; but I am sure the Duke of Ferrara was of that opinion himself. At this time he was not married to his daughter, and therefore the friendship between him and the Venetians continued.

None of all the subjects or relations of John Galeas, Duke of Milan, gave Lodowick the lest disturbance in his designs upon the government, unless it were the young duchess; who was a wise lady, daughter to Alphonso, Duke of Calabria, (as I said before,) eldest son to Ferrand, King of Naples. In the year 1493, Count Lodowick began to solicit Charles VIII., now reigning in France, to an expedition into Italy, to conquer the kingdom of Naples, and to supplant and exterminate those who possessed it; for whilst they were in authority, Lodowick durst not attempt what he did afterwards; for at that time Ferrand, and Alphonso, his son, were both very rich, of great experience in the wars, and had the reputation of being very valiant princes; though it appeared otherwise upon occasion. This Lodowick was a wise man but very timorous and humble where he was in awe, and false when it was for his advantage; and this I do not speak by hearsay, but as one that knew him well, and had many transactions with him. But to proceed, in the year 1493, Count Lodowick began to tickle King Charles, (who was but twenty-two years of age,) with the vanities and glories of Italy, remonstrating (as is reported) the right which he had to the kingdom of Naples, which he knew well enough how to blazon and display. He addressed himself in every thing to Stephen de Vers (who was now become

seneschal of Beaucaire; and much enriched, though not to the height of his ambitious desires) and General Brissonet, who was rich, well skilled in the management of the finances, and a great man with the seneschal of Beaucaire, by whose means, Count Lodowick persuaded Brissonet to turn priest*, and he would make him a cardinal; but the seneschal was to have a duchy: For the better management of these affairs, Count Lodowick, in the year 1493, sent a formal embassy to the king at Paris: The chief of the embassy was the Count di Cajazzo, eldest son of Robert di St. Severino, (whom I mentioned before.) This Count di Cajazzo met the Prince of Salerno, at Paris, who was his cousin, and chief of the house of St. Severino, and being banished his own country by Farrand, was then in France, pressing and soliciting that king to an enterprise against Naples. With the Count di Cajazzo came also Count Charles de Bellejoyeuse†, and the Lord Galeas Visconti of Milan; both of them were well attended, and in great splendour; but their discourse was only in public, and then in general terms by the way of compliment and visitation; and this was the first solemn embassy that ever Lodowick sent to the king. He had formerly sent one of his secretaries to endeavour to procure that his nephew, the Duke of Milan, might be permitted to do homage for Genoa, by proxy, which was granted against all appearance of reason. It is true, the king was at

* He must certainly be in orders before that time, or else he could not have been in possession of the bishopric of St. Malo.

† Belzioso, in Marco Guazzo, whom P. Jovius, in the history of his time, names Balbianus; and the Italian, Balbiano.

liberty to do him that favour, and depute some person or other to receive his homage ; for, when he was under the guardianship of his mother, I (being then ambassador at Milan for the late King Lewis XI.) received it by commission from the king in the castle of Milan ; but then Genoa was out of his hands, and in the possession of Baptista di Campoforgoso, and now Count Lodowick had recovered it, and gave eight thousand ducats (to some persons about the king) to be invested : But they did their master a mighty injury, for they might have had Genoa as well for him ; or, if it must be sold, why for so little ; since Duke Galeas paid my master, King Lewis, fifty thousand ducats at one payment, of which I had thirty thousand given me by his majesty ; and yet they pretended they received the eight thousand ducats by the king's consent. Stephen de Vers was one of the number of those that received them, who beat down the price to prepare and oblige Lodowick to his interest, when his design should be fit for execution. The ambassadors being arrived at Paris, (as I said before,) and having had their public audience, the king took the Count di Cajazzo into his closet, and had a private conference with him for some time : This Count di Cajazzo was in great reputation in Milan, and his brother, John Galeas di St. Severino, was in greater, especially in military affairs, who began to make large offers of his interest and assistance to the king, both in men and money ; for his master had already as absolute a command of the state of Milan as if it had been his own, and could dispose

of it as he pleased. He represented the business very easy to the king, and the next day he and the Lord Galeas took their leave of his majesty and departed; but Count Charles de Bellejoyeuse remained behind, and to solicit it still, and immediately after they were gone, he put himself into the French habit, and managed this affair so dexterously, that several of the courtiers began to approve of the design. The king sent into Italy one Peron de Bashe, (educated in the family of Anjou, under John, Duke of Calabria,) as his ambassador to Pope Innocent, the Venetians, and the Florentines. These embassies from one court to another, and secret negotiations continued seven or eight months, and among those who were privy to it, the enterprise was talked of several ways; but none of them ever imagined that the king designed to have gone himself in person.

CHAPTER III.

Of the Peace that was concluded between Charles VIII., the King of the Romans, and the Archduke of Austria; and the returning of the Lady Margaret of Flanders, before this Expedition to Naples.

DURING this suspension of affairs, a peace was negotiated at Senlis betwixt the king and the Archduke of Austria, heir to the house of Burgundy: and, though a truce was already concluded, yet new occasion of difference arose; for the king forsook the daughter of the King of the Romans, and sister to the archduke (upon account of her being too

young,) and married the daughter of Francis, Duke of Bretagne, that he might keep that province peaceably ; the greatest part of which at the time of the treaty was in his possession, except the town of Rennes, where the young lady lived under the guardianship of her uncle, the Prince of Orange, who had been instrumental in making the match between her and the King of the Romans, and married her by proxy publicly in the church, about the year 1492. In favour of the archduke, the Emperor Frederick sent a solemn embassy, and offered his mediation. The King of the Romans, the Count Palatine, and the Swiss did the like, in order to compose this difference ; for they all were of opinion great disputes would arise, and that the King of the Romans had very great injury done him ; not only to take from him a person whom he thought was his wife, but to send back his daughter who had been lawfully married, and Queen of France for several years together. In short, a peace was concluded ; for every body was weary of war, especially Duke Philip's subjects, who had suffered so much both by their wars with the king and their distractions and divisions at home, that they were not able to carry it on any longer. The peace was made only for four years, to give some repose ; and Maximilian's daughter was to be sent back, though with some difficulty ; for there were some persons both about the king and the lady that strenuously opposed it. I was at this treaty myself with the rest of the commissioners, who were, Peter, Duke of Bourbon, the Prince of Orange, the Lord des Cordes, and

several other persons of quality. It was concluded, that all the king was possessed of in the province of Artois, should be restored to Duke Philip, according to the agreement in the treaty of marriage in 1492, and that if that was not accomplished, that then all the lands which went in dower with the daughter, should be restored, either to her or Duke Philip. But the archduke's subjects had already surprised Arras and St. Omers, so that there remained nothing to be restored but Hesdin, Aire, and Bethune; the revenue and lordship of which places were immediately delivered, and they put in what officers they pleased, only the king was to remain in possession of the castles for the term of four years; during which he might put what garrisons he pleased into them; but at the end of four years, which were to expire on St. John's Day, 1498, the king was obliged, both by oath and promise, to restore them to the archduke. Whether these changes of marriages were according to the laws and canons of the church or not, I cannot resolve, and, therefore, shall leave it without any determination; for I find the doctors divided about this point, and as some have told me they were not lawful, so others have maintained that they were. Be it which way it will, the ladies were all unfortunate in their children. Our queen had three sons successively in four years, but all of them died, though one lived to be three years old. Madam Margaret of Austria was married to the Prince of Castile, only son to the King and Queen of Castile and several other kingdoms; which prince died the

first year of his marriage, (which was in the year 1487,) leaving his princess with child, and she miscarried of a son not long after his death, to the unspeakable affliction of the King and Queen of Castile, and the whole kingdom. Presently after these changes, the King of the Romans married the daughter of Galeas, Duke of Milan, sister to the above-mentioned Duke John Galeas; which marriage was contracted by Count Lodowick, highly to the dissatisfaction of the princes of the empire, and several other of the King of the Romans' friends, who looked upon the lady as not of an extraction illustrious enough for him. For, as for the Visconti, from whom the present Dukes of Milan are descended, there is no great matter of nobility among them, and less among the Sforzi; for the first of that house was Duke Francis, whose father was a shoemaker in a little town called Cotignole; but he was a brave and magnificent person, and his son was a greater; for he made himself Duke of Milan, by the assistance and management of his wife, (who was the natural daughter of Duke Philip Mary,) conquered it, and possessed it, not as a tyrant, but as a good and lawful prince; being equal in virtue and goodness with most (and those of the best) princes of his time. Thus much I have written that I might shew what has already been the consequence of these changes; nor can I tell what there is still remaining behind.

A Treaty of Peace between King Charles VIII. and Maximilian I., King of the Romans, and his Son, Philip Archduke of Austria, concluded at Senlis, May 23, 1493.

1. A good peace, firm friendship, and perpetual alliance, is and shall ever remain between the most Christian king, the dauphin, their kingdom, territories, and subjects, and the King of the Romans, and Archduke Philip his son, as well in their own name, as in the name of the Lady Margaret of Austria, the said king's daughter, and the archduke's sister, for themselves, their countries, territories, subjects, &c., laying aside all malevolence, and forgetting all past injuries:

2. Seeing the most Christian king, after his marriage to the queen, hath notified by his ambassadors to the King of the Romans and the Archduke, his desire to send back the said Lady Margaret, and to have her conducted suitable to her quality, to any place agreed on, and for this end had sent her as far as Amiens; he does still offer, at his own charge, to conduct her suitable to her quality, from the town of Meaux, where she now resides, before the 3d of June next, to St. Quintin, and to put her from thence forward into the hands of the ambassadors of the King of the Romans and the archduke.

3. Upon such a delivery of the said lady into the hands of the commissioners appointed by the King of the Romans and the archduke, the said princes shall give proper instruments to the king, freeing

him from all obligations of marriage with her, who shall also do the same by her.

4. The most Christian king and the archduke reserve to themselves the liberty of recovering any rights in an amicable way, and by course of law, to such things as are not adjusted by this peace.

5. The counties of Burgundy, Artois, and Charolois, and the lordship of Noyers, with all their appurtenances, shall be delivered up to the King of the Romans, as guardian to his son the archduke; and also the towns and castles of Hesinde, Aire, and Bethune, now in possession of the King of France, shall be deposited in the hands of the Mareschal de Querdes, who shall keep them without any charge to the archduke, save the usual profits taken by the commanders of the said places; and he shall take an oath to the king and archduke both for the due maintenance of their rights, and shall keep no guard therein, as may be prejudicial to either party; who shall engage not to oblige him thereunto on either side: and if they do, he shall then be discharged of all his oaths, till the archduke shall arrive at the age of twenty, which will be on St. John Baptist's Eve, in 1498.

6. The archduke, after he is of age, having done homage to the king in due form, those towns and places shall be given up to him by the mareschal, or others who ought to do it, and have the command therein.

7. The officers shall continue in their places, having commissions from the archduke till he comes of age and does homage.

8. As to the city of Arras, its revenue and temporalities, it shall be deposited in the hands of the bishop and chapter, to whom it belongs, under the ordinary jurisdiction of the bailiwick of Amiens, in the usual manner ; and as to the captainship, which is in the king's disposal, he shall be content to appoint the person that now is, or shall be, nominated by the archduke till of age, under the usual obligations, but the city shall be entirely in the king's power, when the archduke comes of age.

9. The houses of Flanders, Artois, and Conflans, so called in and near Paris, shall be delivered to the archduke.

10. The archduke shall not be obliged to do homage till he is of age ; but the king shall, at the same time, enjoy his usual rights and prerogatives.

11. The counties of Masconnois, Auxerrois, and Bar-sur-Seine, shall be enjoyed by the king, till the pretensions of the parties are decided.

12. What rights the archduke pretends to have acquired by the treaty of 1482, shall remain in being, and the king shall be free to controvert the same.

13. The ecclesiastical preferments conferred by the king in Artois, Burgundy, Charolois, and Noyers, shall remain as they are.

14. Free commerce shall be restored both by sea and land, and on fresh waters, paying the usual customs as before the breaking out of the war.

15. The cities, towns, and villages of Tournay, Tournesis, Mortagne, St. Amand, &c., as the king's

subjects, are expressly comprehended in this peace ; so are the allies of both parties.

16. Cambray, the Cambresis, with all its inhabitants, are, by common consent, included in the peace, and maintained in all their rights under either prince to whom they belong, and the infractors on either side shall be punished by the conservators of the peace.

17. A general act of indemnity shall be granted by both parties, upon the account of taking up arms, &c., for the contrary side, no process being ever to be formed against them : and those who have a mind to sue out a pardon, it shall be freely granted them.

18. All persons, as well ecclesiastics as laics, shall, by this peace, return to the peaceable possession of their dignities, benefices, and inheritances, wherever situated, on either side, and be kept in the peaceable possession of the same, notwithstanding any declarations, confiscations, sentences, and arrests to the contrary ; and the judges, magistrates, &c., shall be obliged to be assisting herein.

19. Under this article of returning to their estates and rights are comprehended the old servants of the late Dukes Philip and Charles, who, after the death of Duke Charles, stuck to the king, who, by virtue of this peace, shall enjoy their pensions assigned them in his lifetime, upon the demesnes of the counties of Artois and Burgundy.

20. If any inheritance have been sold for contumacy, or on the account of personal debts owing, the debtors shall, within a year after the proclaiming

of the peace, return to their possessions, paying the said debts, &c.

21. As to the rents, profits, and incomes of those inheritances, granted in a way of reward, or the like, by either party, all that has been done of that kind since 1470, to the present peace, shall never be accounted for ; but yet with an exception to any inheritances that, in due course of law, have been adjudged to creditors for arrearages of rents, which arrearages have been given away or remitted, such gifts or releasements shall not take place, but for such arrearages as have escheated in time of war.

22. As to moveables which have not been made away, but are found upon the premises which the subjects of either party shall return to, the debts and arrearages that have not been given away nor adjudged by law, they shall belong to the said subjects, and not those who shall have a general list of their moveables.

23. The enjoyments of the dignities, benefices, inheritances, &c., by the subjects of either party, shall not oblige them to reside where they are ; neither are they by that bound to take an oath to the prince in whose dominions they are, unless they are fiefs, and their vassals.

24. Those who shall return to their estates by virtue of this peace, shall not be prosecuted for rent charges escheated during the war ; and those lands which lay waste and uncultivated during the war, shall be liable to the payment of no rents.

25. No reprisals shall be made after the peace, upon the account of damages sustained by the sub-

jects of either party, nor any letters of mart, contramart, or the like granted.

26. By this peace all the people of Arras, of whatever condition, that have absented themselves since the surprise of that city, wherever they are, are free to return and traffic there, notwithstanding any promises or otherwise to the contrary: And whether they do return or not, they shall, as much as any of the other subjects, enjoy their estates, rights, benefices, moveables, and utensils yet in being, without any molestation whatsoever.

27. In like manner the people of St. Omer, of what calling or quality soever, who resided therein while it was neuter, and afterwards by reason of the taking and re-taking it, absented themselves from it, shall, notwithstanding any interdiction or sentence against them, return, and enjoy their estates, benefices, &c., without any manner of molestation; and all offences and injuries shall be entirely remitted.

28. The Lady Margaret, widow of Charles, late Duke of Burgundy, is comprehended in this treaty. The king consenting she shall enjoy the lands and seignories of Chauchnis and la Perriere, with all their appurtenances in the viscounty of Auxonne, in the same manner as the late Duchess Isabella, the mother of Duke Charles, enjoyed them, upon the payment of twenty thousand crowns in gold.

29. The most Christian king names for his allies, his imperial majesty, the kings of Castile, England, Scotland, Hungary, Bohemia, and Navarre, the Duke of Bavaria, the Count Palatine, and all

the dukes and branches of the house of Bavaria, the electors of the Holy Empire, the duke and house of Savoy, the duke and house of Milan, the doge and republic of Venice, the Duke of Lorraine, the Duke of Guelderland, the marquis and house of Montferrat, the bishop and city of Liege, the Swiss Cantons, the commonwealths of Florence and Genoa. And, on the part of the said King of the Romans and archduke, his most sacred imperial majesty, the kings of Castile, Hungary, Portugal, Denmark, England, and Scotland, the electors of the Holy Roman Empire, as the king of Bohemia, and others, the marquis and house of Montferrat, the bishop and city of Liege, and all the princes of the empire, the Swiss Cantons, cities and communities of the empire are comprehended.

30. In this peace are also comprehended the king's counsellor William de Harancourt, bishop and count of Verdun, as well in his own person as for his bishopric and county of Verdun lordships, subjects, &c. So are also, by the consent of the said princes, the archbishop, and even all the inhabitants of Brianson.

31. The respective parties obliged themselves, in the most solemn manner, to the observance of this treaty; so they do also their subjects, vassals, &c.

32. Any contravention which may happen of this treaty on either side, shall be repaired at farthest in the space of six weeks.

33. For the greater confirmation of this peace, the King of France will procure to the king of

the Romans and the archduke, the instruments and seals of the dukes of Orleans, Bourbon, Nemours, the counts of Angoulesme, Montpensier, and Vendosme; of the Prince of Orange, of the mareschals and admirals of France: and of the cities, towns, and communities, of Paris, Rouen, Lyons, Poitiers, Tovers, Angers, Orleans, Amiens, and Tournay. And the King of the Romans and archduke, engage to procure those of the Dukes of Saxony, Marquis of Baden, Monsieur de Ravestein, Counts Nassau and of Zollern, Prince of Chimay, and Messieurs de Bevres, Egmont, Fiennes, Chievres, Walhain, Molembais, du Fay, Fresnoy, great bailiff of Hainault, of the town and communities of Louvain, Brussels, Antwerp, Boisleduc, Ghent, Bruges, Lisle, Doway, Arras, St. Omer, Mons, Valenciennes, Dort, Middleburg, and Namur. And whoever shall contravene this treaty, without reparation made in six weeks, these guarantees are then obliged to leave the contravener, and give assistance to the injured party, and be discharged of their oaths.

34. The instruments on both sides shall be registered and verified in the most regular and authentic manner.

35. The conservators of this peace for the marches on the side of the country of Burgundy, on the king's part, are, the Prince of Orange, M. de Baudricout, governor of Burgundy, and the bailiffs of Dijon, Chaalons, Anthun, and Mascon, or their lieutenants. For marches of Champaign and Rhetelois, M. de Orvat, governor of Cham-

paign, the bailiffs of St. Peter le Monstier, Troyes, and Vitri, or their lieutenants; and, for the marches of Picardy, the Mareschal des Quardes, the bailiffs of Amiens and Vermandois, the seneschals of Ponthieu, Boulonois, and the governors of Mondidier, and Roye, or their lieutenants; and for the sea, the admiral, &c. The conservators on the King of the Romans and the archduke's part, for the marches of Flanders and Artois, are, M. de Nassau, with the governors of Lisle, Arras, and the bailiffs of the said countries respectively; for the marches of Hainault, the princes of Chimay, and the grand bailiff of Hainault; for Luxemburg, the Marquis of Baden; for Burgundy, the governor of the county of Burgundy, and the bailiffs of Damont, Daval, and Dole; and for the sea, Monsieur de Braves, admiral, &c.

36. No manner of protection or shelter shall be given to vagrants, thieves, and robbers, on either side; but they shall be banished, or otherwise brought to condign punishment, wherever they are found.

37. The same thing is to be done in respect to rovers, or pirates by sea.

38. Neither party shall receive or support those who shall any way contravene this peace; but they shall be punished for the infractions they make; but the peace at the same time shall not be violated.

39. The said princes and their officers shall assist one another against all those who shall delay or refuse to keep this peace; and they shall on both

sides be taken for common enemies ; and those who shall any way assist or favour them, shall in like manner be answerable for the mischiefs done by them, and be punished as violaters of the peace.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the King's sending to the Venetians, in order to induce them to enter into an Alliance with him, before his undertaking his Expedition to Naples, and of the Preparation in order to it.—1493.

You have already been informed of the Count di Cajazzo, and other ambassadors, taking their leave of the king at Paris ; of the several secret negotiations that were carried on in Italy ; and how the heart of our king, (though very young,) was strangely bent upon this expedition ; which, however, he discovered to nobody but the two persons above-mentioned. His request to the Venetians was, that they would give him their assistance and council in this expedition ; and they returned this answer : That he should be very welcome in Italy, but that they were wholly incapable of assisting him, upon account of their continual apprehensions of the Turk ; (though at that time they were at peace with him ;) and to undertake to advise so wise a king, who had so grave a council, would savour of too much presumption ; but they would rather assist than disturb him in his designs.

This they believed a very discreet answer, and truly so it was ; and I am of opinion, that their

affairs are managed with more prudence and discretion at this day, than any princes or states in the world: but God will still have us know, that the wisdom and policy of man is of no force, where he pleases to interpose; for he orders things many times quite otherwise than they were expected. The Venetians did not imagine that the king would come in person, and, (whatever they pretended,) they had no apprehension of the Turk; for the Turk, who then reigned, was a man of no courage nor activity. But their design was to be revenged of the house of Arrogan, both father and son, for whom they had a mortal hatred, because, (as they said,) it was at their instigation that the Turks fell upon them at Scutari. I mean the father of this Turk *, called Mahomet, who did abundance of mischief besides to the Venetians. They had several complaints against Alphonso Duke of Calabria, and among the rest, that he had been the occasion of the war which the Duke of Ferrara made upon them, which was very expensive, and had like to have proved their ruin. They complained also that he had sent a man to Venice to poison their cisterns, at least, such as he could come at; for some are kept under lock and key. In that city they use little other water; (for they are wholly surrounded by the sea;) but that water is very good, and I drank of it eight months together in my first embassy thither, (for I was there since.)

* Bajazet II., son of Mahomet, who succeeded his father in 1481, and died in 1512.

But these were not the true reasons of their animosity to the house of Arragon ; the real occasion was, because the father and son restrained them, and kept them from extending their conquests both in Italy and Greece ; for their eyes were upon them on every side, and yet without any title or pretence, they had lately subdued the kingdom of Cyprus*. Upon these considerations the Venetians thought it highly for their advantage, that a war should be begun between our king and the house of Arragon ; hoping it would not have been brought to a conclusion so soon as it was, and that it would only weaken the power of their enemies, and not utterly destroy them : and then, (let what would happen,) one side or other would give them towns in Apuglia, (which borders upon their gulf,) for their assistance ; and so it happened, but they had like to have been mistaken in their reckoning. Besides, they thought to have transacted affairs so secretly, that nobody could have accused them of inviting our king into Italy, since they had neither given him counsel nor assistance, as appeared to the world by their answer to Peron de Basche.

In the year 1494 †, the king advanced to Lyons, to examine into his affairs ; but nobody ever imagined he would have passed the mountains himself. He was met there by the Lord Galeas di St. Severino, brother to the Count di Cajazzo,

* The Venetians conquered the kingdom of Cyprus in the year 1473, which was taken from them by Selim II., Emperor of the Turks, in 1571.

† Some authors say it was in the year 1493.

with a numerous retinue, on the part of Count Lodowick, whose lieutenant and chief minister he was. He brought him arms, and abundance of fine horses dressed on purpose for a tournament: He tilted very well himself, was young, and a fine gentleman; and the king used him according to his merit, entertained him with a great deal of honour, and made him a knight of his own order; after which he returned into Italy, but the Count de Bellejoyeuse staid with the king to promote his expedition. By this time a great fleet was preparing at Genoa, where the Lord d'Urse master of the horse, and several others, were negotiating the king's affairs. At length, about the beginning of August that year, the king removed to Vienne in Dauphinè, and the nobility of Genoa resorted to him daily. The king also sent to Genoa at that time Louis* Duke of Orleans, now King of France, a young prince, and very handsome, but much addicted to his pleasures. It was the opinion of every body at that time, that he was to command the army in chief; and that it was to have been embarked and landed in the kingdom of Naples, by the assistance and direction of the Prince of Salerno and Basignano, whom we have mentioned before. They had gotten fourteen great ships, besides several galleys and galeons, ready at Genoa; and the king was as much obeyed in those parts as at Paris, for the city belonged to the state of Milan, where Count Lodowick governed, without

* Louis Duke of Orleans, Brother-in-law to Charles VIII., afterwards XII., King of France.

any competitor but the duke his nephew's wife, daughter to King Alphonso, (for at that time his father King Ferrand was dead:) But the poor lady had no great power, since the king's army was ready to march, and her husband a weak prince, and discovered whatever she said to her uncle, who had already caused a messenger to be drowned that she had sent to her father.

The equipping of this fleet was very expensive, and I believe cost no less than three hundred thousand francs, which quite exhausted the king's treasury ; and yet did him no great service after all his expense, for as I observed before, neither his exchequer, his understanding, nor his preparations, were sufficient for such an important enterprise, and yet by the mere favour of Providence he succeeded in it, which was visibly manifest to all the world. I do not say that the king wanted wisdom, considering his age ; but he was but two and twenty years old, and not as yet capable of understanding state affairs. Those who were the chief managers of this affair, (I mean Stephen de Verseneschal of Beaucaire, and Monsieur Brissonet, at present cardinal of St. Malo,) were two persons of indifferent fortunes, and less experience, which made the power of God more conspicuous ; for our enemies were reputed wise, warlike, and rich, well furnished with counsellors and officers, and in possession of the whole kingdom ; I speak of Alphonso of Arragon, (newly crowned by Pope Alexander,) who was in amity both with the Florentines and the Turks. King Alphonso had a son

called Don Ferrand, a hopeful gentleman of about two or three and twenty years old, performed his exercises very well, and was extremely beloved in that kingdom; and a brother called Don Frederic (who was king after the death of Ferrand,) a wise prince, and admiral of their fleet, who was educated a long time on this side the mountains, and one that you, my Lord of Vienne have often, (by your skill in astrology,) assured me would be king; and he promised me, (upon my telling him of it,) a pension of four thousand livrès, if it proved true, as it did twenty years afterwards.

But to proceed. The king changed his resolution, being prevailed upon by the Duke of Milan's letters, the importunity of Charles de Bellejoyeuse his ambassador, and his two ministers above-mentioned; but by degrees Brissonet's courage began to fail him, finding that all sober and rational persons condemned the expedition, as beginning in August, without money, and every thing else that was necessary to carry it on. So that the seneschal was the only man that was consulted; for the king looked sour upon Monsieur Brissonet for three or four days, but he was reconciled to him afterwards. About this time one of the seneschal's servants died of the plague, and he durst not appear at court; which was a great mortification to him, for there was nobody else to carry on the design. The Duke and Duchess of Bourbon were with the king, and used all their interest to hinder this expedition, and Monsieur Brissonet did the same; so that one day it was laid aside, and the

other revived. At last the king resolved to march, and thinking to pass the mountains more commodiously in small bodies, I mounted on horseback, and advanced before; but was countermanded, and assured that design was given over. The same day fifty thousand ducats were taken up of a merchant of Milan, but the Count Lodowick was security to the merchant. I was engaged for six thousand of that sum, and others for the rest; but it was borrowed without interest. Before that, we had borrowed of the bank of Soly in Genoa, a hundred thousand francs, the interest of which in four months amounted to fourteen thousand francs; but some people said the persons above-mentioned kept part of the money for their own private use.

CHAPTER V.

Of King Charles's setting out from Vienne, in Dauphinè, to conquer Naples in person; and the Action that was performed by his Fleet, under the command of the Duke of Orleans.—1492-4.

IN short, the King, on the 23d of August, 1494, set out from Vienne, in Dauphinè, towards Asti. At Suza the Lord Galeas di St. Severino came post to meet his majesty, who advanced from thence to Turin, where he borrowed the jewels of Madame de Savoy, daughter to the late William Marquis of Montferrat, and widow to Charles Duke of Savoy. Having pawned them for twelve thousand ducats, he removed a few days after to Casale, to the Marchioness of Montferrat, widow of the late

Marquis of Montferrat, a young and prudent lady, and daughter to the King of Servia. The Turk having over-run her country, the emperor, (in respect of the relation betwixt them,) took care of her, and married her there. She also lent the king her jewels, and they were engaged as the other for twelve thousand ducats; by which you may see what a prosperous beginning there was of this war, had not God himself interposed. The king continued at Asti for some time. The wines in Italy were sour this year, and therefore not at all agreeable to the French, no more than the excessive heat of the air. Count Lodowick and his lady came with a numerous retinue to wait on his majesty; they staid there two days, and then removed to a castle called Non, about a league from Asti, belonging to the duchy of Milan, to which place the king's council resorted to him daily.

King Alphonso had two armies in the field, one in Romania towards Ferrara, under the command of his son; who was attended by the Lord Virgil Ursin, the Count de Pittelhane, and the Count John James di Trivulce, who at this time are in our interest. To face this body of forces, there was the Lord d'Aubigny on the king's side, a wise man and a brave officer, and with him about two hundred Frenchmen at arms, and five hundred Italians in the king's service, commanded by the Count di Cajazzo above-mentioned, as an officer under Count Lodowick. They were in great pain for this brigade, for if they had been defeated, we should have retired, and have left Count Lodowick to shift

for himself; and the enemy had a strong party in the duchy of Milan.

The other army, which was commanded by Don Frederick, Alphonso's brother, was at sea; and the fleet that had this body of forces on board, lay at Pisa and Leghorn, (for the Florentines espoused their interest,) and with it a certain number of galleys, commanded by Breto di Flisco, and other officers of Genoa, by whose assistance they were in hopes of making themselves masters of that city; and they missed it but narrowly. They landed some thousands of men at Specie and Rapalo, and had they not met with a timely opposition, it is probable they had carried their point; but that very day, or the next, the Duke of Orleans arrived there with some ships, a good number of galleys, and one great galeass, which was mine, and commanded by Albert Mely. The duke and chief persons in that army were on board my galeass, and several great pieces of cannon, (for she was very strong;) and getting as near the shore as possible, they cannonaded the enemy so briskly with their great guns, (which till that time were unknown in Italy,) that they beat them from their post, landed what soldiers they had in the ships; and from Genoa by land, where the whole army lay, there came to them a considerable body of Swiss, commanded by the bailiff of Dijon. There were other reinforcements also sent from the Duke of Milan, under the command of the Lord John Lewis di Flisco, brother to the above-mentioned Breto, and the Lord John Adorni; these were not in the engage-

ment, yet they did their duty, and maintained several passes with a great deal of courage and resolution. In short, by the strength of these reinforcements our army attacked and utterly defeated the enemy, of whom about a hundred or sixscore were killed in the pursuit, and about eight or ten taken prisoners, among whom there was one Signior Forgosa, son to the Cardinal of Genoa. Those who were taken were stripped by the Duke of Milan's soldiers, and dismissed; for in Italy that is the law of arms. I had a sight of all letters which brought an account of this victory to the king and the Duke of Milan; and after this manner was the army defeated, and never afterwards durst approach us. Upon our return to Genoa the citizens began to rise in arms, and slew several Germans that were in the city; but the tumult was soon appeased, after some of the ring-leaders of the insurrection were killed.

Something must be said of the Florentines, who sent two embassies to the King of France before his setting out upon this expedition: but their design was only to wheedle and amuse him. The first time the seneschal, Monsieur Brissonet, and myself, were deputed to treat with their ambassadors, who were the Bishop of Arezzo, and one Peter Soderini. Our demands were only to grant us passage for our troops, and a hundred men at arms to be paid by them after the Italian establishment, (which is but ten thousand ducats a month.) The ambassadors replied according to the instructions that were given them by Peter de Medicis, a young

man of no extraordinary parts, son of Laurence de Medicis lately deceased, who had been one of the wisest men of his time, governed the city almost as a prince, and left it in the same condition to his son. Their family had been of about two generations, Laurence the father of this Peter, and Cosmo who founded it, and was worthily to be reckoned among the chief of that age: considering their profession, (which was merchandising,) I think this family was the greatest in the world; for their factors and agents had so much reputation upon their account, that it is scarce credible. I have seen the effect of it in England and Flanders: I saw one Gerard Quanvese, who kept King Edward upon his throne, almost upon his own credit, during the time of the civil wars in that kingdom; for he furnished the king at different times with sixscore thousand crowns, but not at all to his master's advantage, though at length he got it again. I knew also another, one Thomas Portunay, who was security between King Edward and Charles Duke of Burgundy, for five hundred thousand crowns, and another time for eighty thousand. I cannot commend merchants for doing so; but it is highly commendable in a prince to be punctual with them, and keep his promise exactly; for he knows not how soon he may want their assistance; and certainly a little money at some critical juncture of affairs does wonders.

This family of the Medicis was looked upon to be in a declining condition, (as illustrious houses will decay in all kingdoms and governments,) for

the authority of his predecessors was a great prejudice to Peter ; though indeed Cosmo, the first of it, was mild and gentle in his administration, and behaved himself as he ought to do in a free government. Laurence, the father of Peter, (of whom we are now speaking,) upon occasion of the difference betwixt him and the Pisans above-mentioned, (in which several of them were hanged,) had a guard of twenty soldiers assigned him, for the security of his person, by an order from the senate, which at that time acted nothing without his direction and approbation. However, he governed very moderately ; for, (as I said before,) he was a wise man ; but his son Peter thought it his due, and employed his guards to the terror and vexation of his people, committing great injuries and insolencies by them in the night, and invading the common treasure, which his father had done too before him, but managed it so prudently, that the people were almost satisfied with his proceedings.

The second time Peter sent as his ambassadors to Loin, Peter Caponi and others, excusing himself, as he had done before, that King Louis XI. had commanded the Florentines to make peace with King Ferrand, in the time of John Duke of Anjou, and to forsake the alliance of the Duke ; alleging, that since it was by command of the late King of France that they had entered into an alliance with the House of Arragon, and the term of the said alliance not being to expire for some years, they could not in justice desert it : however, if his ma-

jesty entered their territories, they would rather assist than oppose him ; but they thought no more of his coming in person than the Venetians did. In both these embassies there was somebody still who was an enemy to the Medicis, and at this time more particularly Peter Caponi, who often informed us what measures were to be taken in order to make the city of Florence revolt from Peter de Medicis, traducing him more sharply than he really deserved : he advised the king to banish all Florentines out of our kingdom, and so he did. I mentioned this particular that you may more easily understand the sequel of these Memoirs ; for the king had conceived a great enmity against Peter de Medicis ; and the seneschal and Monsieur Brissonet held great intelligence with his enemies in the city, especially with this Caponi, and with two of Peter's cousin-germans of his own name.

CHAPTER VI.

Of the King's Resolution at Asti to go in person into the Kingdom of Naples, by the Persuasion and Advice of Lodowick Sforza : of Philip de Comines being sent on an Embassy to Venice : of the Duke of Milan's Death, and of Count Lodowick's making himself Duke in prejudice of a Son of the late Duke of Milan.—1494.

I HAVE given an account of the engagement at Rapalo by sea : Don Frederic (upon this defeat) retired to Pisa and Leghorn, without staying for the forces which he had put on shore ; at which the Florentines were highly disgusted, as being always

in their own minds more inclinable to favour the French than the house of Arragon: and our army in Romania, though the weaker of the two, yet it had better fortune than the other, and forced the Duke of Calabria to give ground by degrees; which the king observing, he took a resolution to march forward, being solicited to do it by Count Lodowick, and others whom I have mentioned before; and at his arrival Count Lodowick saluted him after this manner:

“ Sir, do not fear the success of this enterprise in the least; Italy consists but of three estates that are considerable: Milan, which is one of them, is yours already; the Venetians are neutral, and you will have to do only with Naples. When we were united, and joined together in a mutual alliance, several of your predecessors have been too powerful for us. If you would be ruled by me, I would assist in making you greater than Charlemagne; for when you have conquered the kingdom of Naples, we will easily drive this Turk out of the empire of Constantinople.” If he meant it of the Turk who now reigns, it was likely enough; but affairs on our side must have been managed more wisely. Upon this the king began to be wholly governed by Count Lodowick, which highly displeased some of our courtiers, among whom there was one of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber, and I know not who besides; but their resentment was to no purpose, nobody took notice of them; for what they did was but in complaisance to the Duke of Orleans, who pretended to the duchy of Milan. But, above

all, none was so much disgusted as Monsieur Brissonet, who now began to look upon himself as a considerable person, and was become the seneschal's rival in power ; and Lodowick having proposed to the king and the seneschal to leave him behind, he was highly incensed against the count, talked bitterly against him, and endeavoured to possess all people that he would leave them in the lurch. It had been more wisdom in him to have been silent ; but he was never employed in, nor indeed fit for, any affairs of state ; for he had not the command of his tongue by any means, though otherwise he was very well affected to his master. The conclusion of all was, that several ambassadors should be sent, and I among the rest, to Venice. I put off my journey for some days, because the king was fallen sick of the small-pox, and being taken with a high fever besides, was thought to be in danger ; but it lasted not above five or six days, so that I resolved upon my journey, and left the king at Asti, not suspecting in the least that he would have proceeded any farther. In six days' time I arrived, with my mules and train, all safe at Venice ; for the way was extremely good. I was very unwilling to depart, as fearing the king would have gone back ; but God had otherwise appointed. The king marched directly for Pavia by the way of Casale, where he visited the Marchioness of Montferrat, a lady much in our interest, but a great enemy to Count Lodowick, and he as much to her. The king was no sooner at Pavia, but jealousies began to arise ; they would have had the king to

lodge in the town, and not in the castle ; but nothing would serve his turn but the castle, and lie there he did, and his guards were doubled ; and not without cause, for, as some told me since, who were then with him, he was in manifest danger. Count Lodowick was much surprised at it, and questioned the king about it, whether he was suspicious of him. In short, things were so carried on both sides, that the amity was not like to last long : but our people were the most indiscreet in their language ; not the king, but some of his nearest relations. In this castle of Pavia there was at that time John Galeas, Duke of Milan, (whom I have mentioned before,) and his duchess, the daughter of King Alphonso. The duchess looked very melancholy ; for her husband was dangerously sick, and kept in that castle under a kind of restraint, with herself, her son, and one or two of her daughters : her son is still living, and was then about five years of age. Nobody might see the duke, but any one might see the child. I passed that way three days before the king, but was informed of the duke's illness, and of his not being willing to give me leave to pay my respects to him : however, the king was permitted to visit him when he came, for he was his cousin-german. His majesty told me since the subject of their discourse was only in general terms, for he was unwilling to disoblige Count Lodowick in any thing : yet he had a great mind (as he said) to have given him notice of the designs against him. At the same time the duchess threw herself at Count Lodowick's feet,

and begged of him to have compassion on her father and brother; he replied it was not in his power; but she had more reason to have petitioned for her husband and herself, for she was young and very beautiful.

From thence the king marched to Placentia, where Count Lodowick was informed that his nephew the Duke of Milan lay a dying; he took his leave of the king, and being pressed to return, he promised it faithfully. Before he reached Pavia, the duke was dead, upon which he went post immediately to Milan; this I saw in a letter which the Venetian ambassador that was with him wrote to Venice, assuring the senate of his design to make himself duke. It is certain both the Duke of Venice and the senate were much against it, and asked me if my master would not espouse the young duke's interest? Though the thing was but reasonable, yet knowing how necessary the count's interest and assistance were to the carrying on our designs, my answer was in doubtful terms. In short, he made himself Duke of Milan, and, as many affirmed, that was his design of inviting and drawing us into Italy. He was charged also with the death of his nephew, whose friends and relations put themselves into a condition to have wrested the government out of his hands, and they might easily have done it, had it not been for his alliance with our king; for they had already assembled their forces in Romania, as you have heard, but the Count di Cajazzo, and Monsieur d'Aubigny made them retire, for Monsieur d'Aubigny, with about a

hundred and fifty or two hundred Frenchmen at arms, and a good body of Swissers, advancing upon them, Don Ferrand and the rest retreating towards their friends, decamping still about half a day before us, towards Forli*, which belonged to a lady that was a bastard of the house of Milan, and widow of Count Hieronimo, nephew to Pope Sixtus. It was reported that she favoured their party, but our men having battered a small town of hers for some time, they took it by storm, upon which, and the inclination she had to us before, she came over to our side. The people of Italy began generally to assume new courage, and be desirous of novelty; for they saw that which they had never seen before, and that was the use of great guns, which, though frequent in France, was not till then known in Italy. Don Ferrand retreated towards his own kingdom, and marched for Cesenna, a city of the pope's, in the marquisate of Ancona; but the people stripped and plundered all the stragglers they could meet with, for they were disposed all over Italy to revolt, had things been managed wisely on our part, without violence and plunder. But all was done quite contrary, at which I was extremely concerned, for, by this ungenerous way of proceeding, we lost all the honour and renown that the French nation might otherwise have gained in that expedition. At our first entrance into Italy we were adored like saints, and every body thought us people of the greatest goodness and sincerity in the world, but that opi-

* It was anciently called Forum Livii, according to the description of old Italy.

nion lasted not long, our own disorders, and the clamours and false reports of our enemies quickly convinced them of the contrary, for they accused us wherever they came with all imaginable rapacity, plundering and robbing their houses, and ravishing their wives and daughters, whenever they fell into our hands. Nor could they have invented any thing to have rendered us more odious, for they are the most jealous and avaricious people in Italy of any in Europe. As to our ravishing of the women they wronged us, but for the rest there was too much truth in it.

CHAPTER VII.

Of Peter de Medicis's putting Four of his strongest Garrisons into the King's possession, and of his restoring Pisa, which was one of them, to its ancient Liberty.

THE king, as you have heard, was at Placenza *, when he ordered a solemn funeral for his cousin-german, the Duke of Milan, and indeed he knew not how else to spend his time, since Count Lodowick the new duke had left him. Those who had an opportunity of being well acquainted with these affairs have told me, that the whole army understanding how ill they were provided with every thing necessary for such an expedition, had a great inclination to have returned ; and that those who were the chief promoters of it at first, began now to con-

* A neat populous and pleasant city in the dukedom of Parma, situated upon the Po.

denn it, as the Lord d'Urse, master of the horse, (though at that time sick at Genoa,) for he wrote a letter upon some intelligence that he pretended to receive, which increased and heightened their former fears and apprehensions; but God, as I said before, conducted this enterprise, for the king had received the unexpected news that the new Duke of Milan was upon his return, and that the Florentines were disposed to an alliance with us, in opposition to Peter de Medicis, who played the tyrant among them; to the great dissatisfaction of his nearest relations, and several other considerable families in that city, as the Caponi, the Soderini, the Nerli, and almost the whole town; upon which the king left Placenza, and marched towards the territories of the Florentines, to force them to declare for him, or to seize upon their towns, which were but in an ill posture of defence, and take up his winter quarters in them, which was already begun. Several small places received him very readily, and among the rest Lucca, which at that time was at war with Florence. The Duke of Milan had always advised the king to take up his quarters in those parts, and advance no farther that winter, in hopes, by the king's interest and favour, to get into his own possession Pisa, a strong and fair city, Sarzana and Pietro Sancto, for the two last had belonged lately to Genoa, and had been taken from them by the Florentines, in the time of Laurence de Medicis.

The king marched by Pontremolo, which belongs to the duchy of Milan, and besieged Sarzana, the strongest castle the Florentines had, but ill pro-

vided, by reason of their divisions ; and, to say true, the Florentines never fight willingly against the French, for they have been always faithful and serviceable to them, in respect of their trade and interest in that kingdom, as also upon account of being Guelphs*. Had Sarzana been furnished as it ought to have been, the king's army had certainly been ruined in besieging it, for the country is mountainous and barren, full of snow, and not able to supply us with provisions. The king lay before it but three days, and the Duke of Milan came to him before any composition. Having passed through Pontremolo, the citizens and garrison fell out with our Germans, which were commanded by one Buffer, and in the dispute some of our Germans were slain. I was not present at this action myself, but I have been informed of it both by the king, the duke, and several others that were there ; and this accident produced great inconveniences, as you will know hereafter. Our affairs went smoothly on at Florence, and were brought to that height, that fifteen or sixteen persons were deputed to attend the king, the citizens publicly declaring they would not expose themselves to the displeasure of the king and the Duke of Milan, who had a resident in Florence, and Peter de Medicis was forced to concur, for as matters, then stood, he knew not how to avoid it, and to have done otherwise would have ruined them, considering how ill they were both provided

* The Guelphs and the Gibellines were two factions that begun in Italy in the reign of the Emperor Frederic II. The former espoused the pope's interest, and the latter the emperor's, in the year 1240.

and disciplined. Upon their ambassadors' arrival, they offered to receive the king into Florence, and what other places his majesty pleased, the designs of most of them being fixed upon his journey to Florence, which they thought would conduce to the expulsion of Peter de Medicis, and they pressed it very earnestly by the friends they had gained about the court, whom I have often mentioned before.

On the other hand, Peter de Medicis managed his affairs as diligently, by one Laurence Spinoli, his factor, who, (governed his bank at Lyons,) was a man of integrity, and had lived a considerable time in France; but could not get intelligence of the secret affairs of our court; nor indeed could they who lived constantly in it depend upon any thing, their counsels were so various. However, Spinoli practised with those who had authority there, as the Lord de Bresse, (since Duke of Savoy,) and the Lord de Myolans, who was chamberlain to the king. As soon as the Florentine ambassadors were returned, Peter de Medicis, and some of his friends, waited on the king, with their answers to what had been demanded. They perceived the inevitable ruin of the city would be the consequence of disputing any thing the king thought fit to require; wherefore they resolved to gain his favour, by doing something extraordinary, beyond what the rest of the states of Italy had done. Upon the news of their approach, the Lord de Piennes, a native of Flanders, and chamberlain to the king, and Monsieur Brissonet, (whom I have so often mentioned before,) were appointed to meet them.

They proposed the surrender of Serzana to Peter de Medicis, which was immediately done. They demanded farther, that he would give the king possession of Pisa, Leghorn, Pietro Sancto, and Librefacto, and he granted it, without communicating with his colleagues, who were told, that the king was to be received into Pisa, and stay there some time to refresh his troops; but they never thought those places were to be continued in his hands. However, he had put their whole power and fortunes into our custody. Those who managed this treaty with Peter de Medicis, have often told me and other people, (smiling and laughing at his condescensions,) that they were astonished at them, and that he had made several concessions, which they had scarce the confidence to demand. In short, the king entered Pisa, and the ambassadors returned to Florence, where Peter de Medicis ordered lodgings to be prepared for the king in his own house, which is the fairest and best furnished for a merchant and man of his quality of any in Europe.

We must now say something of the Duke of Milan, who was already grown weary of the king; and heartily wished him out of Italy, that he might still keep the possession of such places as were delivered up by the Florentines. He pressed the king very hard to have Sarzana and Pietra Sancta restored to him, which, he said, belonged to the Genoese, and, at the same time, he lent the king thirty thousand ducats, upon which, (as he told me, and several others since,) he was promised he

should have them; but, finding he could not get them, he was highly disgusted at it, and pretending his affairs required him at home, left the king, who never saw him afterwards. But he ordered the Lord Galeas di St. Severino to stay with the king, giving him instructions that he should be present in all councils with the Count Charles de Bellejoyeuse, whom I have mentioned before. During the king's stay at Pisa, the Lord Galeas, at his master's instigation, invited several of the chief citizens of the town to his lodging; and persuaded them to rebel against the Florentines, and petition the king to restore them to their liberty, hoping, by this means, that the city would fall again into the Duke of Milan's hands, where it had formerly been in the time of Duke John Galeas the first Duke of Milan of that name; which John was a great tyrant, but lived very honourably. His body lies in the charter-house at Pavia, not far from the park, it is laid much higher than the altar; the monks shewed it me, (or, at least, his bones,) with a ladder, which were no sweeter than nature permitted. One of the monks, who was born at Burges, in discourse, called him Saint; I whispered him in the ear, and asked him why he gave him the title of Saint; for one might see painted about him, the arms of several cities which he had wrongfully usurped; besides, his horse, and he being of fine marble, were placed above the altar, and yet his body lay under the feet of his horse: he answered me softly, "In this country we call all saints who do us any good, and

he built this church ;” which is of fair marble, and, indeed, the best I ever saw in my life of that kind.

But, to proceed, this Galeas di St. Severino had an ambition to be a great man, and Lodowick, Duke of Milan, (whose bastard daughter he had married,) seemed ambitious of making him so; for his own children were not old enough as yet. The Pisans had been cruelly treated by the Florentines, and used as their slaves; for they had been conquered by them about one hundred years, much about the time in which the Venetians subdued the country and city of Padua, which was their first acquisition upon the terra firma. These two cities were much alike; they had been long enemies to those who had the government of them; they were almost equal in power, and it was a great while before they could be conquered. The Pisans called a council, and finding themselves encouraged by so a great person, and being naturally desirous of liberty, as the king was going to mass, a great number of women and men cried out to him, “Liberty, Liberty,” begging of him, with tears in their eyes, that he would vouchsafe to restore it. There was at that time one Rabot, a counsellor of the parliament of Dauphinè, and then either actually master of the requests, or executing that office for somebody else, who, (having promised to do so, or not well understanding the nature of their demands,) acquainted the king, (as he was walking before him,) with the deplorable condition of the Pisans, and told his majesty, he ought

in justice to redress their wrongs, for never people had been so tyrannically dealt with. The king not understanding what they meant by that word Liberty, and beginning to commiserate the afflictions of Italy, and the miseries the poor subject endures, both under prince and commonwealth, replied, he was willing it should be so; though, (to speak truth,) he had no authority to do it; for the town was not his own, and he was received into it only in friendship, and to relieve him in his present necessities. Monsieur Rabot having told them the king's answer, the people began immediately to fill the streets with acclamations of joy, and running to the end of the bridge upon the river Arno, they pulled down a great lion, called Mazorco, which stood upon a marble pillar, and represented the government of Florence, and threw it into the river. When they had so done, they caused another to be set up of the King of France, with his sword in his hand, and the Mazorco, or lion, under his horse's feet. After that, when the King of the Romans came to that town, they served the King of France's statue as they had served the poor lion; for it is the humour of the Italians to side with the strongest always; but these Pisans were, and are still, so barbarously treated, they ought in justice to be excused for what they do.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the King's Departure from Pisa towards Florence; and of the Flight and Destruction of Peter de Medicis.

THE king stayed not long there, but departed for Florence; where they complained to him of the injury he had done to the Florentines, and that it was not according to his promise, to restore the Pisans to their liberty. Those whom he appointed to answer their memorial, excused it in the best manner they could; alleging, that his majesty was not rightly informed, nor did he understand any thing of another agreement, of which I shall say something hereafter. But in the first place I must speak of the fortune of Peter de Medicis, of the king's entrance into Florence, and of the garrisons that his majesty left in Florence, Pisa, and other places, which the Florentines had lent him. After Peter de Medicis, by the consent of some few of his colleagues, had delivered up the above-mentioned towns to the king, he returned to Florence, supposing the king would not have kept them, but that after he had refreshed himself for three or four days, and had left Pisa, they would have been delivered him again. I am of opinion, that had the king proposed to them to have staid there the whole winter they would easily have consented to it; though Pisa, except in the numbers of the people, and the richness of their furniture, is of greater value and importance to them than Florence itself. Peter de Medicis, upon his return to

Florence, was but coldly received by the people, who looked discontentedly upon him, and not without reason; for he had disarmed them of their power and authority, and robbed them of all the conquests they had gained for a hundred years before; so that their hearts seemed to presage the calamities which have happened to them since. For this cause, (which I believe was the principal, though they never declared it,) for the hatred they bore him, (as I have said before,) and for the recovery of their liberties, which they desired impatiently, (without any respect to the services of Cosmo and Laurence his predecessors,) they resolved to drive him out of the town. Peter de Medicis having some intelligence, but no certain knowledge of their designs, went to the senate to acquaint them of the king's approach, who was within three miles of the city; but coming according to his usual custom, with his guards, and knocking boldly at the palace gate, he was denied entrance by one of the Nerli, (of whom there were several brothers, that I was well acquainted with, and their father, all very wealthy people,) who told him he might enter if he pleased alone, but otherwise not; and he that gave him this answer was armed. Upon which, Peter de Medicis returned to his house, put himself and his domestics in arms, and sent word of it to one Paul Ursini, who was in the Florentine service; for by the mother's side Peter de Medicis was akin to the Ursini, of which family his father and himself had always had several in their service; resolving to stand

upon his guard, and oppose any insurrection that might happen in the city. But not long after hearing a great cry of "Liberty, Liberty," and the people being assembled in arms, he left the city, according to the prudent advice that was given him by this Ursini; though it was a sad parting for him, for in power and riches he and his predecessors had been equal with the greatest princes, and that day fortune began to be adverse, and he lost both authority and estate. I was at Venice myself, but the news of it was communicated to me by the Florentine ambassador, who was there, and was extremely concerned at it; for I had a great respect for his father. Had this Peter believed me formerly, he had not then been in that condition; for upon my first arrival at Venice I wrote to him, and offered to make his peace with the king, and it was in my power to have done it; for I had commission from the seneschal and Brissonet both to do it, and the king would have been contented barely with passage for his troops, or at the worst, to have had Leghorn put into his hands, for which he would have done whatever Peter could have desired; but by the persuasion and ill counsel of Peter Caponi, whom I have mentioned before, did but laugh at me for the offer I made him.

The next morning the Florentine ambassador delivered a letter to the senate of Venice, importing that Peter de Medicis was banished Florence for endeavouring to make himself sovereign of that city, by the assistance of the Ursini, and the house of Arragon; besides other complaints

against him, which were not true. But such are the accidents and successes in this world; he who is beaten and flies, is not only sure to be pursued by his enemies, but shall be forsaken, and perhaps persecuted by his friends, as was too visible in the behaviour of this ambassador, Anthony Solde-rini, (one of the wisest statesmen in all Italy.) The day before the delivery of this letter, he mentioned Peter de Medicis to me with the respect due to his sovereign lord, now he declared himself his enemy by order from the state; but to do him justice, he said nothing, of himself that was to his prejudice. The next day I was informed that Peter de Medicis was coming to Venice, that the king had made his triumphal entry into Florence, and that the senate had recalled their ambassador, telling him, "They were necessitated, to sail by that wind," that was their expression. I saw their letter myself, for he showed it me upon his leaving Venice. Two days after his departure, Peter de Medicis arrived at Venice, in the disguise of a servant in a livery. The Venetians were at a loss how to behave themselves towards him; they were afraid of disobliging the king, and yet they could not in reason refuse to give him protection; however, they made him wait two days before they would declare their resolutions, desiring to know of me how my master would take it: I had never received any orders from the king to resent it, and being willing to serve him, I answered, "That I supposed this flight was from the people, not from the king." Upon which he was received, and the

next day after his appearance before the senate, I made him a visit. The senate ordered a handsome apartment for him, permitted himself and about twenty of his retinue to wear their swords, and showed him a great deal of honour and respect ; for though his grandfather Cosmo had formerly hindered them from making themselves masters of Milan, yet they had a reverence for the honour of his family, which had been so renowned all over Europe. When I came into his presence, methought he seemed not to answer my expectation : He gave me a narrative of his misfortunes, and I gave him the best consolation I could : Among the rest of his complaints, he told me he had lost all ; but that which made the deepest impression on his spirits, was, that having written to a factor of his in town, to furnish him with cloth for himself and his brother, and only to the value of a hundred ducats, he had been refused ; which was a strange thing, considering his estate and authority, which had continued in great lustre in that family for threescore years together. Not long after, he heard the good news from the Lord de Bresse, since Duke of Savoy, and the king wrote to him to come to him. However, the king left Florence about the same time, as you will find hereafter ; but I was forced to say something of this Peter de Medicis by the by.

CHAPTER IX.

Of the King's Entrance into Florence, and what other Towns he passed through in his march to Rome.

THE next day the king made his entrance into Florence, where Peter de Medicis had prepared a noble apartment for him in his own palace, and appointed the Lord de Ballassat* to attend him; but as soon as his majesty was informed of the flight of Peter de Medicis, he fell a rifling the palace, upon pretence that the bank of Lyons was in arrear to him for a considerable sum of money; and among other things he seized upon a whole unicorn's horn, valued at six or seven thousand ducats, besides two great pieces of another, and several other things; and other people followed his example. The best of his furniture was conveyed into another house in the city; but the mob plundered it. The senate got part of his richest jewels, twenty thousand ducats in ready money that he had in bank in the city; several fine agate cups, besides an incredible number of seals admirably well cut, which I have seen, and three thousand medals of gold and silver, weighing near forty pounds' weight; which I believe was more than in all Italy besides: so that his losses in the city that day, might be computed at a hundred thousand crowns, if not more: but the king being got into the

* Ferron, in his Supplement to Paulus Emilius, calls him Mathæus Balassius, which comes pretty near the name; but others, who pretend to know the family, call him De Balnac.

city, a treaty was set on foot between him and the Florentines, and I am of opinion the citizens embraced it very heartily. They gave the king six-score thousand ducats, paid him fifty thousand down, and the rest in two short payments afterward. They lent him all the above-mentioned places, and changed their arms, which were the red fleur-de-lis, and bore the king's, who took them into his protection, and swore upon the altar of St. John to restore the towns which they had put into his possession, within four months after his arrival at Naples, or sooner, if he should return in France; but matters succeeded otherwise, as you will find in the sequel of these Memoirs.

The king made but a little stay at Florence; but advanced with his army to Sienna, where being well received, he advanced to Viterbo, where the enemy, (Don Ferrand being retreated towards Rome) designed to post and fortify themselves, and fight if they saw an advantageous opportunity, as King Alphonso's and the pope's ambassadors at Venice told me; and truly I expected the arrival of King Alphonso in person there, (for he had the reputation of being a man of courage,) and that he would have left his son in the kingdom of Naples to have managed affairs in his absence. According to my judgment the place would not have been altogether improper for them; for he would have had his own kingdom, and the patrimony of the church, and the towns and places belonging to the Ursini behind them. And I was extremely surprised to hear

by letters, that the king was at Viterbo*, and that one of the commanders had delivered up the castle upon the intercession of the cardinal Petri ad Vincula, (who was governor of it,) and the Colonna. I fancied then that God would put an end to this affair, and began to repent of my having advised and written to the king to come to an accommodation; for they offered him very fair. Aqua Pendente, Montefiascone, and all the adjacent towns were delivered up before the surrender of Viterbo, as I was informed by letters from the king and others to the Senate at Venice, who had daily intelligence of what passed from their ambassadors, which they shewed me, or else ordered their secretaries to give me an account. From Viterbo the king marched towards Rome, through the dominions of the Ursini, which were all surrendered to him by the Lord Charles Ursini, pretending that he had orders from his father to do so, (who was always in King Alphonso's service,) and that whilst Don Ferrand was entertained in the territories of the church, so long was he commanded to wait on the king, and no longer. This was exactly according to the custom in Italy, both among princes and captains, and all persons; for there they carry fair with their very enemies, for fear it should be their misfortune to be of the weakest side. The king

* A commander in this place signifies a person, who being in possession of some spiritual preferment must not marry; but yet is not obliged to take holy orders upon him; as the grand prior of France, and all the knights of St. John's of Jerusalem.

therefore was received into Bracciano, the chief place belonging to Virgil Ursini; it was strong, beautiful, and well furnished with provisions. I have heard the king often commend the place, and the entertainment he met with there; for at that time his army was in great distress for want of provision, and indeed they could hardly be in greater: so that if we do but consider how often this army was inclinable to mutiny, and not to march any farther, since its first arrival at Vienne in Dauphinè, and the many unexpected accidents by which it was supplied and advanced, it must of necessity be acknowledged, that God Almighty conducted it.

CHAPTER X.

Of the King's sending the Cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula, (who was afterwards Pope by the name of Julius II.,) to Ostia; what the Pope did at Rome in the mean time; of the King's Entry into Rome, notwithstanding all the endeavours of his Enemies to the contrary; and of the Factions between the Ursini and the Colonna, in Rome.

FROM Bracciano the king sent the Cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula to Ostia, of which he was bishop. Ostia is a town of great importance, possessed by the Colonna, who had taken it formerly from the pope; but not long since it was recovered from the cardinal by the forces of the church. It is a town of no great strength, and yet it kept Rome in subjection a long time, by means of the said cardinal; who was a great friend to

the Colonna, which family embraced our interest, at the instigation of Cardinal Ascanio, the Duke of Milan's brother, and in opposition to the Ursini, with whom they have been always at difference. The faction of these two houses has occasioned as great troubles to the church as the animosity betwixt the Luce and the Grandmonts have been to us, or the Hocus and Caballans to the Hollander; and were it not for this dissension, the territory of the church was one of the best habitations for the subject in the world; for they pay no taxes, their duties are few, and they would be sure to be well governed; for the popes are always wise, and have good council about them. But because of these emulations, it is subject to many calamities, as murders and plundering, &c., of which sort we have seen frequent examples within these last four years, since that time the Colonna have been our enemies much to their dishonour; for the king had given them twenty thousand ducats a year, and better, in the kingdom of Naples, as in the county of Tagliacozzo, and other places, (which was before the estate of the Ursini,) besides whatever else they demanded, whether in men or money: so that what they did was done treacherously and unhandsomely without any manner of provocation; but they had been always for the house of Arragon against the French, as being Ghibellines, and the Ursini (being Guelphs,) were always on our side with the Florentines.

The king sent along with the Cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula, to Ostia, Peron de la Basche the

steward of his household, who three days before had brought the king twenty thousand ducats by sea. which was part of the money lent him by the Duke of Milan: This Peron de la Basche landed at Piombino, and left the fleet (which was but small) under the command of the Prince of Salerno, and the Barons of Serno in Provence, but being taken suddenly with a storm, their ship was much shattered, and driven upon the coasts of Sardinia and Corsica, where they lay a long time without doing us any service till they could be repaired, though they were at a vast expense, and came not to us, till the King was in Naples.

There were with the Cardinal at Ostia about five hundred men at arms, and two thousand Swiss under the command of the Count de Ligny*, the king's cousin-german, by the mother's side, the Lord de Allegre, and others. The design was to have passed the Tyber, and enclosed Don Ferrand in Rome, by the favour and assistance of the Colonna, of whom the chief were Prospero, and Fabricio Colonna, and the Cardinal di Colonna; who had two thousand foot under his command, to pay whom, the king remitted money by Peter de la Basche, though they had raised and mustered them at their own pleasure, at Sansonna, a town belonging to them.

We must observe that several affairs are coincident in this place, and of every one of them some-

* Lewis de Luxembourg, Count de Ligny, son of Lewis, constable of France; by his second wife, Mary of Savoy, sister to Charlotte of Savoy, Queen of France, and mother of Charles VIII.

thing must be said. Before the king had made his entrance into Viterbo, he had sent the Lord de la Trimouille, his chamberlain, the President of Guiennay*, who had the seal, and Monsieur Bidaut, to Rome, to treat with his Holiness; who was never without some underhand practices, according to the mode of the Italians. While they were at Rome, the Pope in the night received Don Ferrand and his whole army into the town, so that some few of our people were seized, but dismissed the same day by the Pope; only the Cardinal Ascanio, vice-chancellor and brother to the Duke of Milan, and Prospero di Colonna were detained; (some say by their own consent.) I had news of all this immediately, by letters from the king; and the senate of Venice had a more ample account of it from their agents, and it happened before the king got into Viterbo, for neither side staid above two days in a place, and all things succeeded better for our interest than we could have expected or hoped, and no wonder, for God's providence appeared so visibly in our assistance, that nobody could deny it.

The badness of the weather had rendered this army in Ostia utterly unserviceable. You must understand that the forces under the command of the Lord d'Aubigny were marched back, and he himself had no farther employment there. The Italians were likewise dismissed, which had been

* John de Gannay, Lord of Persan, first president of the parliament of Paris, and chancellor of France, under Louis XII. He had formerly been chancellor of the kingdom of Naples. He died in the year 1512.

raised in Romania, and brought to the army by Count Rodolphus de Mantua, the Lord Galeot de la Mirandola and Fracasse, brother to Galeas di St. Severino, who were well paid by the king, and were in all about five hundred men. At his departure from Viterbo, the king advanced to Naples*, of which the Cardinal Ascanio was then governor. It is most certain, whilst our forces were in Ostia, twenty fathoms of the wall fell down at Rome, on that side where we designed to enter. The Pope observing this young prince to advance so briskly, and with such unexpected success, consented to receive him into Rome, (and to speak truth he could not help it) upon condition he would give safe conduct under his hand and seal to Don Ferrand Duke of Calabria, and only son to Alphonso; but Ferrand marched away in the night towards Naples, and the Cardinal Ascanio† conducted him to the very gate. The king entered Rome in arms, as a prince who at that time might do what he pleased wherever he came. There came out to meet him several cardinals, and the governors and senators of the town, who attended him to his lodgings in the palace of St. Mark, (which belonged to the Colonna who were then his creatures and friends) and the Pope himself retired to his castle of St. Angelo.

* Several historians name this place Naples, though by the description of Italy it ought to be Nepe; in Blondus it is Nepesum; in Volaterran, Nepet; and in Marco Guazzo, Nepi.

† Ascani Maria Sforza, brother of Lewis, Duke of Milan, created cardinal in 1484, by Pope Sixtus IV., degraded of that dignity, and afterwards restored to it by Pope Alexander VI. in 1495. He died of the plague or poison, in 1505.

CHAPTER XI.

Of King Alphonso's causing his Son Ferrand to be crowned King ; his Flight into Sicily, and of the Mischief his Father (old Ferrand) and he had done in their Reigns.—1494.

COULD any man have imagined that so imperious a prince as Alphonso, inured all his lifetime to wars ; that his son and the Ursini having so great a party in Rome, should have been afraid to have made a stand there? Especially when they perceived the Duke of Milan and the Venetians wavering, and an alliance on foot underhand, which would certainly have been concluded, had any resistance been made either at Viterbo or Rome, that might have stopped the progress of the king's arms, though but for three or four days. But God was willing to demonstrate to the world, that all these things were beyond the contrivance and comprehension of human wisdom. We said before, that above twenty fathoms of the city wall fell down ; so now there fell down above fifteen of the wall of the castle of St. Angelo, as I have been told by several persons ; and particularly by two cardinals who were there. But now we must say something of King Alphonso.

As soon as the Duke of Calabria, called the young Ferrand, (whom we have already often mentioned), was returned to Naples, his father, King Alphonso, thought himself not worthy of the crown any longer, for the mischiefs and cruelties he had committed against several princes and lords who had trusted to his and his father's honour, causing

them to be put to death, (to the number of four-and-twenty,) after the decease of his father, who had kept them alive some time after their wars against him. Two more he also caused to be executed, who had surrendered upon his father's security; one was the Duke of Sessa*, a person of great authority, and the other was the Prince of Rossano, who had married Ferrand's sister, and had by her a son of very great parts and understanding. To make sure of him, (for the Prince and Lord of Rossano was engaged against him in a most abominable treason, and had deserved the worst punishment that could have been inflicted; had he not surrendered himself upon assurance of a pardon.) As soon as he had done it, the king ordered him to be closely confined in a nasty stinking prison, where he continued for the space of four-and-thirty years, and whither he sent his son, when he was about fifteen or sixteen years old, to bear him company. Alphonso, immediately upon his accession to the throne, ordered all the prisoners to be removed to a small island not far from Naples, called Ischia, (of whom you shall hear further hereafter,) and put all of them to death after a most barbarous and inhuman manner, except Rossano's son and the noble Count di Popoli, whom he still kept prisoners in the castle of Naples. I inquired very carefully how they were murdered, (because many people believed them alive when the king entered

* Jovianus Pontanus, who wrote a history of the wars of John of Anjou and Ferrand the elder, makes the Prince of Rossano and the Duke of Sessa to be one and the same person.

into Naples,) but I was assured by their principal servants, that they were knocked on the head by a Moor of Africa, who, immediately after the execution, was despatched into Barbary, that no notice might be taken of it. I was informed he did not excuse those ancient princes, some of which had been kept in prison four or five-and-thirty years. Never was any prince more bloody, wicked, inhuman, lascivious, or luxurious, than he. Yet his father was more dangerous, because no man knew when he was angry or pleased ; for he would betray people in the midst of his entertainments and carresses, nobody knew why or wherefore, as he served Count James, whom he caused on a sudden to be apprehended, and put to death, though he was in the quality of an ambassador at his court from Francis Duke of Milan, whose natural daughter he had married : but to that barbarous action Francis was consenting, for they were both afraid of his interest with the Bracci*, and being son to Nicolo Picinino. In the same manner (as report goes) he served several others, for this Ferrand had nothing of tenderness or compassion in him, as I have been informed by his nearest friends and relations, nor ever was known to take the least pity of his own necessitous subjects in relation to their taxes. The whole trade of buying and selling he engrossed himself, and that quite through his kingdom. He delivered hogs to his people to feed, and required them to make them fat ; and if any of them chanced

* They were soldiers, that took their name from one Brachivo di Fortibraci, a famous captain in his time.

to die, they were sure to pay for them. In Apuglia, and other countries which were plentiful in olives, he and his son bought them all up, and almost at their own pleasure ; the same they did with their corn, at a cheap rate, before it was ripe, and then sold it again as dear as they could ; but if the price of any of their commodities happened to fall in the mean time, they obliged the people to take it off their hands at the same price they bought it ; and whilst they were disposed to sell, nobody durst buy of any one else. If a baron, or the lord of any country, was a good husband, and saved any thing out of his revenue by management and industry, they sent presently to borrow it, and they were forced to comply with their unreasonable demands. They took away their breed of horses, (in which in those parts people are very curious,) and caused them to be managed and dressed for them and their use by the owners themselves ; so that they had in horses, mares, and colts, many millions, which they sent up and down the kingdom to be kept for them, to the great detriment of the masters. Both father and son had ravished several women : they made no conscience of sacrilege, nor retained the least respect or obedience for the church. They sold their bishoprics, as that of Tarento, which the father sold for thirteen thousand ducats to a Jew to give his son, whom the Jew pretended was a Christian. He gave abbies to his falconers, and several others for their children, telling them, “ You shall keep me so many hawks, you shall mew them, and keep me such a number

of soldiers at your expense." The son never kept Lent in his life, nor so much as pretended to do it: he never was at confession, nor ever received the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. In short, it is scarce possible that any prince could be guilty of greater villanies. Some will have the young Ferrand to be the worst of the two; though at his death he grew humble and civil, but then indeed he was in distress.

Perhaps the reader may think, that what I have written of these two princes, proceeds from some particular pique against them; but upon my conscience that is not the motive that induced me to do it; for I have given you a short history of their lives, only to continue my Memoirs, in the beginning of which I freely declared my opinion, that I thought it impossible for those, who had the management of our affairs, to have carried on this expedition so prosperously, had not God himself undertaken to conduct it for this young king; and whom he supplied with provisions in the extremity of his wants, and made him his instrument to scourge and chastise these Italian princes, who were wise, rich, powerful, and understanding in the affairs of the world; had a wise and able ministry to defend and take care of their dominions, and supported and engaged in a powerful alliance; and though they beheld the storm afar off, yet had not courage or wisdom enough at that time either to resist or avoid it. For, except the castle of Naples, there was not one place in the progress of the king's arms for a day, which occasioned Pope

Alexander VI., to say, that the French came into Naples with wooden spurs, and only chalk in their harbingers' hands to mark out their lodgings, which they took up without any more trouble: the wooden spurs he mentioned, because it was the custom at that time, when young gentlemen rode about the streets, for their pages to put a sharp piece of wood into the heel of their shoes, with which they pricked their mules forward. In short, this expedition into Italy was performed with so much ease, and so little resistance, that our soldiers scarce ever put on their arms during the whole expedition, and the king marched with his army from Asti to Naples in four months and nineteen days; an ambassador with his retinue could hardly well have got thither sooner. I concluded, therefore, with several pious and religious men, and the general vote of the people (which is the voice of God) that God intended to make an example of these princes, that by this chastisement others might be excited to conform their lives according to the precepts of his holy gospel: For these princes of Arragon lost their honour, their kingdom, and their treasure, besides their rich furniture of all sorts, which was so strangely dispersed, it is hardly to be known what is become of it, or that they ever had any; and after all, their tyranny and cruelties, they died themselves, three in one year, or a little more; but I hope their souls are in paradise. King Ferrand, natural son to Alphonso the Great (who was a wise and an honourable prince) was highly concerned to see his

kingdoms invaded with such a powerful army, and himself not in a condition to oppose it. He was also sensible of the notorious lives that he and his son had led, and of their being become odious to the people. And besides, in the pulling down of a chapel (as I have been assured by several of his nearest relations) there was a book found with this title, Truth, with its secret Counsel; in which (by report) was contained the whole series of his misfortunes; but there were only three persons who had a sight of it, for as soon as he had read it, he committed it to the flames. Another thing that troubled him was, that neither his son nor grandson could be persuaded of the king's coming into Italy; but they talked arrogantly and contemptuously of him, hectoring and threatening that they would go as far as the mountains to meet him: But some were so wise as to make it their solemn petition to God Almighty, that a King of France might never come into Italy; for they had seen a poor indigent prince of the family of Anjou, who had troubled all Italy before it could be rid of him, meaning Duke John, King Rene's son. Ferrand laboured hard the year before by his ambassador Camillo Pandone to stop the king's expedition into Italy, before he left France; offering him a tribute of five thousand ducats a year, and to do him homage for that kingdom: But finding he could neither purchase his peace with the King of France, nor compose the differences of Milan, he fell sick, confessed, and died, and I hope repented of his sins. His son Alphonso, who was so cruel and

terrible, and in such reputation for his experience in military affairs, before the King of France's departure from Rome, renounced the crown, and was seized with such a panic fear, that in the night he would cry out he heard the French, and the stones and the trees sounded, "France, France;" nor durst he ever stir out of Naples, but upon his son's return from Rome, he resigned the government of that kingdom to him, caused him to be crowned, and rode on horseback through the streets of Naples, attended by the chief persons of the city, as his brother Don Frederic, the Cardinal of Genoa (the new king riding betwixt them) and all the foreign ambassadors that were there; and after all this pomp and solemnity was performed, Alphonso himself fled into Sicily, and took with him the queen his mother-in-law, sister to Ferrand King of Castile, who is now reigning, and heir to the kingdom of Sicily, to a place where she had a strong garrison. This was looked upon as a very surprising turn of affairs all over Europe, but especially at Venice, where I was then in quality of the king's ambassador. Some said he was retired to the Turkish court, others that his resignation was only in favour of his son, who was less odious to the people; but I was always of opinion, it proceeded from nothing but cowardice; for never any person that was cruel was courageous, as all histories inform us; for so Nero and several other tyrants, when pressed by their subjects, fled from the administration of their affairs, and perished in despair. In short, Alphonso was in so great a

consternation, that (as I was informed by some who were about him) he told his mother-in-law, the very day of their departure, that if she would not go, he would leave her; and when she entreated him to put off his departure but for three days longer, that it might be said she had been a whole year in his kingdom; he replied, that rather than not go then, he would throw himself out of the window: For do not you hear (saith he) how every body cries out, France; France? Upon which they immediately went on board a vessel he had prepared on purpose. He took along with him all sorts of wines (which he loved above all things) and seeds for his gardens, without taking any care of his estate or rich furniture, which was left at random in the castle of Naples; some jewels and a little money he carried with him besides, and away they sailed for Sicily to the garrison above-mentioned, and from thence to Messina, where he picked up and carried along with him certain monks, to whom he pretended and swore he would have no further conversation with the world. Among the rest, he took particular fancy to the monks of Mount Olivet, whose habit is white (as they told me at Venice, where the body of St. Helen is deposited in their cloister) and with them he lived a strict and austere life, serving God at all hours both of the day and night, as they did in their convents, spending his time in prayers, abstinence, and alms; by which austerity and severe way of living he contracted a sad distemper of excoriation and gravel: They told me they never

saw any man in greater misery, and yet he endured it with abundance of patience, having resolved to spend the remainder of his days in a monastery at Valentia Major, and to have taken upon him the habit; but he was surprised with a violent fit, and died in a short time after. If we may judge from the greatness of his penitence, we may conclude his soul is in paradise. His son outlived him not long, for he died of a fever and a flux, and I hope they are better where they are. To conclude, in less than two years' time, there were five kings crowned in Naples, three I have mentioned before Charles VIII. of France, and Don Frederic* Alphonso's brother, who now reigns.

CHAPTER XII.

Of Ferrand the Younger's being crowned King of Naples; his encamping with his Forces at St. Germain, in order to oppose King Charles, and of the Agreement King Charles made with the Pope during his stay at Rome.—1494.

Now for the better understanding of all these affairs, you must know that King Ferrand, after his coronation was over, became a new man, supposing all the odium and resentment of past injuries were buried in oblivion, upon his father's abdicating the throne. He assembled all the forces he could raise both of horse and foot, and marched with

* He was crowned King of Naples in 1495. He reigned but six or seven years, before he was dethroned; after which he retired into France, where he died.

them to St. Germain, which is a strong place, (though the French had passed it twice,) upon the frontiers of that kingdom. Having encamped there, and put a strong garrison, with all manner of provisions, into the town, his friends began to take heart. The town is defended two ways, a small river that is fordable sometimes, and by a great mountain which seems to hang over it.

The king in the mean time was at Rome, and continued there twenty days, during which time several affairs of importance were transacted: There were with him about eighteen cardinals, and others from several parts; among whom there were Signior Ascanio, vice-chancellor and brother to the Duke of Milan, and Peter ad Vincula, (great friends to one another, but mortal enemies to the Pope,) the cardinals de Gurce *, St. Dennis †, St. Severino ‡, Savelly §, Colonna ||, and others; all of them earnest for a new election, and that the pope might be deposed, who was then in his castle. Twice our great

* Raimund Perauld, a native of Surgeres in Xaintonge, Bishop of Xaintes, afterwards of Gurce in Germany, created Cardinal by Pope Alexander VI. in 1493. He died in 1505, and was interred at Viterbo in the Augustin's church.

† John de la Grolaye, or de Villiers, a Monk and Abbot of St. Dennis in France, afterwards Bishop of Lombez; created a Cardinal in 1493, by Pope Alexander VI. He died in 1499, and was buried at Rome, in the French chapel of St. Peter's Church of the Vatican.

‡ Frederic di St. Severino, Son of Robert, Count di Cajazzo, and Joan di Corregio, promoted to the Cardinalship by Pope Innocent VIII. in 1489, and confirmed in it by the College of Cardinals after that Pope's death, in 1492. He died in 1516.

§ John Baptista Sebelli, an Italian, made a cardinal in 1480, by Pope Sixtus IV. He died in 1498, in the eightieth year of his age.

|| John Colonna, an Italian, son of Anthony Prince of Salerno, and nephew to Cardinal Prospero Colonna. He was made a cardinal in 1480, by Pope Sixtus IV. and died in 1508.

guns were ready to fire, (as I have been told by several persons of quality,) but both times the king opposed it. The place is not defensible, being built upon a small hill, and that forced and artificial. It was alleged that the walls were fallen down by prodigy, and they charged his holiness with having given money for the papacy; but Ascanio was the principal merchant, for it was he that drove the bargain, and received most of the money, besides the house in which the pope lived when he was vice-chancellor, all the rich furniture, his vice-chancellorship, and several other places of St. Peter's patrimony besides; for they two were competitors for the popedom. However, I am of opinion they would both have consented to a new election at the king's pleasure, though it had been of a Frenchman. I will not pretend to say whether he acted well or ill, but I think the king's best way was to compose matters amicably, as he did; for he was a young man, and incapable of performing so important a work as the reformation of the church, though, perhaps, his strength might have been sufficient. Could he have undertaken and gone through with it, I question not but all men of wisdom and reason would have acknowledged it to have been a good work; but there were several things wanting: However, the king's intentions were good, and are so still, if he were vigorously assisted.

The king came to such an accommodation with the pope, as could not possibly last long; for it was too violent in some points, and gave great umbrage to the making an alliance, of which we shall speak

more hereafter. By this agreement, there was to be a peace between the pope, his cardinals, and all their adherents; and the said cardinals were to receive all the rights and perquisites belonging to their dignities, as well absent as present: And that the pope should deliver four towns to the king, Terracina, Civita Vecchia, Viterbo, (which was in his hands already,) and Spoleto; but this last he never delivered, notwithstanding his promise. All these towns were to be restored to the pope upon the king's return out of Naples, which was performed on the king's part, though the pope had not dealt fair with him. By this agreement, he also delivered the Grand Seignior's brother*, to the king: for whom he received constantly every year of the great Turk sixty thousand ducats, lest he should attempt another rebellion against him. He promised not to put a legate into any place under the jurisdiction of the church, without the king's approbation. There were other articles relating to the consistory, for which and the rest, the cardinal of Valentia was given in hostage, who attended the king instead of a legate. The king on his part did his filial obedience with all imaginable humility, and the pope created two cardinals at his request;

* Sultan Zemi, Brother to Bajazet II., who having raised a rebellion against his brother, fled to the Soldan of Egypt for assistance; but being defeated in a set battle, he fled to Rhodes, from whence he was sent into France to Louis XI., in order to hinder him from making his escape; and to encourage the Knights of Rhodes to have a watchful eye over him, the Grand Seignior allowed them four hundred thousand crowns a year. Louis XI. gave him to Pope Innocent VIII., in whose hands he remained till the delivering him back again by Charles VIII. to the Pope himself.

one was Monsieur Brissonet, before made Bishop of St. Malo : the other was the Bishop of Mons*, of the house of Luxembourg, and then resident in France.

CHAPTER XIII.

Of the King's Departure from Rome to Naples; of the Transactions in that Kingdom in the mean time; an Account of what Places the King of France passed through in his March.—1494.

MATTERS being adjusted after this manner, the king left Rome seemingly in great friendship with the pope, but eight cardinals left the town in a huff, of which six were of the vice-chancellor's party † and the cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula's, though it was supposed but a copy of Ascanio's countenance, and that at the bottom he was agreed with the pope, but his brother had not then declared himself our enemy. The king marched with his army to Saussaona, and from thence to Velitri, where the Cardinal of Valenza gave him the slip.

The next morning the king took Monte-fortini by storm, and put the garrison to the sword. The place belonged to James Visconti, who had entered

* Philip de Luxembourg, created cardinal in 1495. He was the son of Thibaut, Lord of Fiennes and Gavre, who having buried his wife, Philippa de Mulan, turned monk of the order of White Friars, in the abbey of Igny, in the diocese of Rheims, of which he was afterwards Abbot, and then Bishop of Mans. He was nominated to be a cardinal by Pope Sixtus IV., to whom he was sent in an embassy by Louis XI. in 1472.

† He was afterwards made pope, by the name of Julius II., in 1503, and died in 1513.

into the king's service, and afterwards deserted him, for the Visconti are of the faction of the Ursini. From thence the king marched to Valmonton, which belonged to the Colonna, and thence advanced to a strong place within four miles from Mount St. John, battered it seven or eight hours with his heavy cannon, and then took it by storm, and put all the garrison to the sword. It was church land, and belonged to the Marquis di Pescara; and there our whole army joined. From thence the king marched about sixteen miles to St. Germain, where the new King Ferrand was encamped, as I said before, with all the force he was able to assemble. There was now no remedy; this was the place for him to fight in or no where, for it was the entrance into his kingdom, and he was advantageously posted, both in respect of the river and the mountain. He had also sent a strong detachment to secure the pass at Canello, which is among the mountains; about six miles from St. Germain; but before the king's approach Ferrand retired with great precipitation, and abandoned both the town and the pass. Monsieur de Guise commanded the van that day, for the Lord de Rieux was ordered to take the pass at Canello, which the Arragonians ought to have defended; but they had abandoned their post before he arrived there, so that the king entered St. Germain without any resistance. King Ferrand retreated to Capua, where they received him and some few of his retinue, but refused to admit his whole army. He made no long stay among them at that time, but only entreated them to continue

faithful to him, promising to return the next day, and away he posted to Naples, suspecting the defection which afterward happened there. The greatest part of his army he left behind, and commanded them to attend him at Capua, but when he came back the next day they were all fled. Virgil Ursini, and his cousin the Count de Pettilane, fled to Nola, where they and their party were taken by our men. They affirmed that they had a pass, and that we did them wrong, and it is true enough, but their passport was not come to their hands; however, they paid nothing for their ransom, only they were plundered, and, to speak the truth, their loss was very considerable.

From St. Germain the king marched to Mignano and Tiano, and encamped at Caluy, two leagues from Capua, where the inhabitants of that city came to treat with him, and the king entered it with his whole army. From Capua he marched the next day to Aversa, in the midway between Capua and Naples, about six miles distant from both. The chief of the Neapolitans waited on his majesty there, and they came to an accommodation, by which their ancient liberties and privileges were secured to them. The king sent thither before him the Marshal de Giè, the Seneschal of Beaucaire, the President Gannay, who kept the seals, and his secretaries. King Ferrand, finding how matters went, and seeing the people and nobility in arms against him, and his stables plundered before his face, got immediately aboard a galley, and made the best of his way for Ischia, which is a small

island, about eighteen miles from Naples. The King of France was received into the city with all possible solemnity and acclamations of joy* ; all the people came out to meet him, and those who had been obliged to the house of Arragon came first, as particularly the family of the Caraffi, who held at that time of the house of Arragon above four hundred thousand ducats a year, in lands and employments, for the kings in that country can dispose of their own demesnes, as well as other people's ; and I am of opinion there are not three considerable estates in the whole kingdom but they consist either of crown lands, or other men's.

Never people expressed so great a zeal and affection to any king or nation, as they did to our's, supposing themselves delivered from all tyranny, so that every where they willingly submitted to us. The whole country of Calabria yielded; and the Lord d'Aubiny and Peron de Basche were sent to command them, without any forces of their own ; Abruzzo revolted of its own accord, and the town of Aquila, which was always in the French interest, set them an example. In Apuglia they did the same, all but the castle of Brindisi, which is strong and well manned ; and the town of Gallipoli, which had also a strong garrison in it, or else the inhabitants would have revolted. In Calabria there were three places which held out for king Ferrand ; two of them were Mantia and Tropea,

* This triumphal entry of Charles VIII. into Naples, in the year 1495, is to be seen at large in the first volume of the *French Ceremonial*, p. 982.

anciently creatures of the house of Anjou, and had at first set up the arms of France, but because he had given them to Monsieur de Persi, and would not make them of his own demesnes, they pulled down his arms, and erected the banners of Arragon. The third place was the castle of Rheggio, which continued firm to the house of Arragon; but all that stood out did so for want of being summoned, for there were not a sufficient body of troops sent into Apuglia and Calabria to have kept one castle for the king. Taranto surrendered both castle and town, and so did Ottranto, Monopoli, Trani, Manfredonia, Barletta, all but what I excepted before. They came three days' journey to meet our army, and begged of them to receive their respective cities into our protection. They sent likewise all of them to Naples, and all the princes and great lords of that kingdom came thither to do homage to our king, except the Marquis di Pescara, but his brothers and nephews came. The Count d'Acri and the Marquis di Squillazzo fled into Sicily, because our king had given their estates to the Lord d'Aubigny. There was lately arrived at Naples the Prince of Salerno, newly come from sea, but he had done nothing considerable. His cousin, the Prince of Basignano, was there also with his brothers, and the Dukes of Melfi and Graveline, and the old Duke of Sora, who heretofore had sold his duchy to the Cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula, and his brother enjoys it at this day. The Counts di Monterio, di Fondi, di Tripaldi, and the Count di Celano, who had been banished a

long time, and was returned with the king, came also to Naples. The Count de Troye, a young Scotch gentleman, but educated in France, was there also, and the Count di Popoli, whom we found prisoner in Naples. The young Prince of Rossano, who, as we said before, was prisoner with his father, who had been confined thirty-four years, was released, and accompanied King Ferrand to Ischia, but whether voluntarily or by compulsion I cannot resolve. There came also to Naples the Marquis di Venafro, all the Caldoresques, the Count di Matalon, and the Count di Merillano, they and their predecessors having always governed the house of Arragon; and, in short, all the nobility of that kingdom, but the three persons which I excepted before.

CHAPTER XIV.

King Charles's being crowned King of Naples; the Errors in his Government of that Kingdom; and of the Discovery of a Design in his favour against the Turks by the Venetians.—1494.

KING Ferrand, when he fled from Naples, left the Marquis di Pescara and some Germans in the castle*, and sailed himself into Sicily to demand succours of his father. Don Frederic still kept at sea with some galleys, and came twice (with a passport) to treat with our king. His demands were, that some part of that kingdom might remain to his nephew, with the title of king; and that he

* He means Castle Nuovo; for there are four in Naples.

himself might enjoy all the lands which belonged to him and his wife. His request was not unreasonable; for his own estate was but small: the king offered to give both him and his nephew an equivalent in France; and I am of opinion his majesty would have given them some considerable duchy, but they did not think fit to accept it: besides, there was no trusting them in the kingdom of Naples; for they would have observed no articles of agreement any longer than it had been for their advantage. We erected our batteries against the castle of Naples, and began to fire upon it. The Marquis di Pescara was gone out of it, so there were only a few Germans in it. Had we sent but four of our great guns into the island we had certainly carried it; and from thence our misfortunes returned. Then all the rest of the towns (which were not above four or five) would have followed of course; but we spent our time in gaiety, entertainments, dancing, and tournaments, and grew so insolent and vain, we scarce looked upon the Italians to be rational creatures. Our king was crowned, had his lodgings in the castle of Capoana, and sometimes went to Mont-Imperial: to the subjects of that kingdom he did many good acts, and abated their taxes; so that I believe of themselves the people would never have rebelled, (though they are naturally inconstant,) had we but obliged some few of the nobility; but they were slighted, and treated uncivilly at their very entrance into the gates. Those of the house of Caraffi (though friends to the house of Arragon) were used the

best ; yet they escaped not quite without loss, for every one was deprived of his offices and estate ; and the partisans of the house of Anjou fared a great deal worse than the creatures of Arragon. Orders were sent into the county of Merillino, and the president Gannay, and the seneschal (lately made Duke of Nola, and grand chamberlain of that kingdom) were suspected to have taken money for it : by those orders every one was to be confirmed in his possession, only the partisans of the house of Anjou were to be excluded, unless they could make good their titles by law ; and for such as had entered of their own accord (as the Count di Celano) they were to be ejected by force. All the estate and offices were conferred upon two or three Frenchmen, and all the stores of provision in the castle of Naples (which were found to be very considerable upon the taking it) were given to any man that asked, with the king's knowledge and consent.

During these transactions, the Germans capitulated, and delivered up the castle ; keeping all the goods that were in it (to a vast value) to themselves. Another castle, called Castel del Ovo, was taken by storm ; by which it may be perceived, that what was done was not so much by the conduct or dexterity of the agents, as by the providence of God ; but the great faults that were committed were the works of man puffed up by vain glory, and unwilling to acknowledge from whence their success and honour proceeded ; and their misfortune, the pure product of their own depraved nature and expe-

rience : so that their fortune changed as suddenly and visibly as the day rises in Norway or Iceland, where the days in summer are longer than in other parts ; and one day is scarce shut in, but within a quarter of an hour after the next begins to draw. In the same manner a wise man might have observed the face of their good fortune alter, and that enterprise miscarry, (which if it had been ascribed to the true manager of it,) would have contributed mightily to the honour and advantage of all Christendom ; for the Turkish empire had been as easily shaken as Alphonso's kingdom ; that emperor being still alive, who was a man of no reputation nor courage, and his brother in our king's hands, (though he lived but few days after the Cardinal of Valenza made his escape, and was supposed to have been poisoned,) and the sultan dreaded him above all the persons in the world ; besides, in the very heart of his empire there were millions of Christians ready to take up arms ; and from Otranto to Apollonia was not above sixty miles, and from Apollonia to Constantinople about eighteen days' journey, as I have been informed by those that have often travelled between those places, and in all the way not above two or three strong towns, the rest having been dismantled. The countries that lie between are Albania, Sclavonia, and Greece, all of them very populous, and acquainted with the fame and character of our king by their correspondents in Venice and Apuglia, to whom they wrote constantly, and expected nothing but their directions to rebel. The king sent thither to them the

Archbishop of Durazzo, who was an Albanian born, and, discoursing with multitudes of the children and grand-children of several great lords, as of Scanderbeg, one son of the old Emperor of Constantinople, several of the nephews of the Lord Constantine, at present Governor of Montferrat, and nephews or cousins to the King of Servia,) he found them all inclinable to revolt. In Thessaly above five thousand men would have appeared, and Scutari would have been surprised, which I understood by my intelligence, and from the mouth of the Lord Constantine, who lay concealed several days in my house at Venice, and certainly he had reason; for Macedonia and Thessaly, which formerly belonged to Alexander the Great, were his inheritance. Apollonia is situated in them; Scutari and Croia are not far off: in his time his father or uncle mortgaged them to the Venetians, who lost Croia, Scutari was surrendered to the Turk upon articles of peace. The said Lord Constantine was at that time within three leagues; and the enterprise had been begun, had not the Archbishop of Durazzo staid at Venice some time after Constantine's departure. I pressed him hard to depart, for I thought him a person that could not keep a secret long; and he went up and down boasting that he was about an affair which would make him talked of all Christendom over, and eternize his name for ever. By ill fortune the very day that the Venetians had news of the death of the Turk's brother, whom the pope had delivered to our king, the very same day they resolved to give

notice of it to the sultan by one of their secretaries: and being assured, that whoever brought the first news would be certain of a great reward, they ordered that no vessel should pass between the two castles in the night, (which castles commanded the mouth of their gulf,) to prevent which they posted guards at both of them, being fearful of nothing so much as the small vessels, and grips, as they call them, of which there are great numbers in the port of Albania, and their islands in Greece. The poor archbishop happening that very night to set out upon the Lord Constantine's enterprise, and carrying along with him abundance of swords, bucklers, and javelins, for the use of his confederates who wanted them; as he passed between the two castles he was stopped and taken, and himself and servants secured in one of them; but the vessels had leave to go on. They searched him, and found letters about him that discovered the whole plot; and the Lord Constantine has told me since, that the Venetians sent immediate notice to all the Turkish garrisons that were near, and an express to the grand seignior himself; so that had it not been for the grip, which they suffered to pass, (whose master was an Albanian, they gave him notice,) the Lord Constantine had been taken; but escaped by sea, and got away into Apuglia.

CHAPTER XV.

A long Digression of the Author's concerning the State and Government of the Venetians; and of the Transactions which he saw and observed during his residence in that City, as Ambassador from the King of France.—1494.

It is now high time for me to say something of the Venetians; and of the occasion of my being sent thither in an embassy, while the king was employed in his affairs at Naples. I was sent from Asti to return them thanks for the civil and obliging answers they had given to two former ambassadors from his majesty, and to endeavour, if possible, to continue them in his friendship, and to cultivate a good understanding with them: for he saw their power and conduct was more like to disturb him than any other in Italy. The Duke of Milan hastened my despatch, and wrote to his resident there, (where he was constantly one,) to assist me, and give me instructions to whom I should apply myself. His ambassador had an allowance from that senate of a hundred ducats a month, his lodgings well furnished, and three gondolas to carry him about the town, without a farthing of expense; and the Venetian ambassador has the same at Milan, excepting the boats; for there they visit on horseback, and at Venice in boats. In my journey thither I passed by several of their cities, as Brescia, Verona, Vincenza, Padua, and other places. They treated me very civilly wherever I came, in honour to the person who sent me, and came out to meet me in great bodies, with

their Podestate, and their captain; not that both of them came out together, for the captain came no farther than the gate. When I was entered the town, I was conducted to my lodgings; the master of the house was commanded that I should want nothing, and my whole charges were borne, and mighty good words into the bargain; yet, if you compute what is of necessity to be given to the drums, trumpets, and the officers in those ceremonies, the ambassador will be found to be but little a saver; but, however, my reception was honourable. The day that I made my entry into Venice, they sent to meet me as far as Liccia, which is five miles from Venice; there they leave the boats, which bring them down the river from Padua, and put themselves into little boats covered with tapestry very neat, with fair carpets within, and velvet cushions to sit upon. To this place they come from Venice by sea, as being the next place to it upon the terra firma; but the sea, (unless agitated by some storm,) is very calm, which is the reason of their great plenty of all sorts of fish. I was extremely surprised at the situation of this city, to see so many churches, monasteries, and houses, and all in the water, and the people have no other passage up and down the streets but in boats, of which, I believe, they have near thirty thousand, but they are very small. About the city within less than the compass of half a French league, there are seventy religious houses both of men and women; all situated in little islands, very beautiful and magnificent both in building and furniture,

with fair gardens belonging to them, without reckoning those in the city, where there are the four orders of mendicants, seventy odd parishes, besides several fraternities; and, indeed, it is almost incredible to behold so many stately churches in the sea.

I was met and complimented at Laccia by five and twenty gentlemen, richly dressed in their silks and scarlets; they received me with abundance of civility, and conducted me to St. Andrew's church, which was near the town, where the same number of gentlemen met and complimented me. They were accompanied by the ambassadors of Milan and Ferrara, and, after they had made another speech to me, I was conducted into other larger boats, which they called Plats, two of which were covered with crimson satin, and spread with tapestry at the bottom, big enough to hold forty persons; and placing me between the two ambassadors, (the middle being the most honourable place in Italy,) I was conducted through the longest street, which they call the Grand Canal, so wide that the galleys do frequently cross one another; I have seen vessels of four hundred ton or more ride at anchor just by the houses. It is the fairest and best built street I think in the world, and goes quite through the city; the houses are very large and lofty, and built of stone, the old ones are all painted; those of about an hundred years standing are faced with white marble from Istria, which is about a hundred miles from Venice, and inlaid with porphyry and serpentine. Within they have

most of them two chambers at least, with gilt ceilings, rich chimney-pieces, bedsteads of gold colour, their portals of the same and gloriously furnished. In short, it is the most magnificent city that I have seen, the most respectful to all ambassadors and strangers, governs itself with the greatest wisdom, and serves God with the most solemnity; so that, though in other things they may be faulty, I believe God blesses them for the reverence they shew in the service of the church. In the company of these fifty gentlemen I was conveyed to St. George's, (which is an abbey of reformed black monks,) where I had an apartment prepared for me. The next morning they came to wait on me again, and conducted me to the senate, where I delivered my credentials to the Doge, who presides in all their councils, and is honoured as a king. All letters are addressed to him, but of himself he cannot do much; yet he has greater authority than any of his predecessors had, for he had been duke above twelve years; and I found him a prudent man, of great experience in the affairs of Italy, and civil and courteous in his person. The first day of my arrival was spent in receiving their compliments, and viewing three or four chambers in the duke's palace; in which the ceilings, beds, and portals, were all richly gilt, the apartments were very fine, but the court is not large. The duke from his own chamber can hear mass at the high altar in the chapel of St. Mark, which, for a chapel, is the most magnificent piece of building in the universe, being built of Mosaic work, of which

they pretend to be the inventors; and, indeed, it is a trade amongst them, as I have seen. In this chapel their treasure, (so much talked of,) is kept, and intended only for the decoration of their churches; there are twelve or fourteen ballais rubies, the largest I ever saw, one of them weighs seven, the other eight hundred carats, but both of them unpolished; there are twelve other stones in cases of gold, the edges and forepart set richly with very fine jewels; there are also twelve crowns of gold, wherewith, anciently, upon certain festivals in the year, twelve women of that city were crowned, and being styled and attended as queens, they passed in great pomp and solemnity through all these churches and islands; but, at length, certain thieves from Istria and Friuli, (which are not far off,) skulking about those islands, took their opportunity, and surprised most part of the women of the city. Their husbands pursued, overtook, and recovered them; upon which they offered up their crowns to St. Mark, and founded a chapel, to which the senate repairs every year upon the day of their victory. There is great store of rich ornaments for the church, several fair pieces of gold, many fine amethysts and agates, and some emeralds. But this is not a treasure of equal value with ready money, and, indeed, they have not much of that kind of treasure; for the duke told me in the senate-house, that it is a capital crime among them to mention any such thing as a treasure of that nature; and they have reason, lest it might cause dissension among them. After they had

shewed me their treasure, I was carried to see their arsenal, where their galleys are equipped, and all things necessary provided for their navies; which, perhaps, is the finest in the world, and under the best order and regulation.

In short, I resided there eight months at their expense, and all the other ambassadors who were there did the same; in which time I can assure you I found them so wise, and so intent upon the enlarging their territories, that, if it be not prevented in time, all the neighbouring states may lament it too late: for since our king's expedition into Italy, which taught them the use of artillery, they are much more dexterous and skilful in attacking and defending themselves than formerly; for they are still at war with him, and yet they have extended their dominions, and lent money upon seven or eight cities in Apuglia, which I am not sure will ever be restored. Besides, at the king's first coming they did not imagine towns could have been taken so easily, (contrary to their custom,) nor in so short a time; but, since they have been better instructed in the art of war, have fortified their towns very strongly, and other commonwealths have done the same. It is not to be expected that they should arrive to the perfection and grandeur of the old Romans, for their bodies are not so able to bear fatigues of war, neither are they of such a martial genius; for they never make war upon the continent in their own persons, as the Romans did: but they send their Proveditori, and their officers, with their general, to furnish with pro-

visions, and assist him in his councils of war. But their naval expeditions are wholly managed by their own people: their fleet, both galleys and ships, being manned with their own subjects, and commanded by their own nobility. Another great advantage they have by not going in person to the wars upon the terra firma, and that is, there is no man of that boldness or interest, as to dare to make any attempt upon the government, as they did in Rome; which is great wisdom, and prevents many civil contentions, against which they have provided several ways, and all very wisely. They have no tribunes of the people, as they had in Rome, (and those tribunes were in part the cause of its destruction;) the people among them are of no authority, consulted in no affair of state, and incapable of bearing any office; for all their officers, except the secretaries, are chosen out of the gentry, and besides they are generally strangers. Titus Livius has acquainted them perfectly with the defects of the Roman government, they have his history in great esteem, and his bones are preserved in their palace at Padua; so that for these and many other reasons which I observed amongst them, I do once more affirm, that they are in a fair way to be a very powerful people hereafter.

But to come to the business of my embassy: It was to thank them for their civil answers, which they had given to two of our king's ambassadors, who had been sent to them before; by which answers, he was encouraged to go on boldly in his enterprise; and all this passed before his majesty

left Asti. I gave them a large remonstrance of the old alliances between the kings of France and their republic, and offered them Brindisi and Otranto, upon condition they would engage to restore them, when my master should deliver them two better towns in Greece. They spoke very honourably both of him and his affairs; for they did not imagine he would have proceeded so far. As to the offer which I made them they replied, that they were his friends and well-wishers, and would not permit him to purchase their alliance, (for our king had not yet these towns in his power,) they told me that they were not altogether unprovided for war, if they thought fit to engage; but they were resolved not to do it, though the Neapolitan ambassadors solicited it daily, and offered them very advantageous terms. King Alphonso, (who then reigned,) confessed he had behaved himself very ill towards them; and laid before them the ill consequences of our master's succeeding in his designs. The Turk, on the other hand, sent an ambassador immediately to them, (and I saw him several times,) who, at the pope's request, threatened them heavily, if they did not declare war against our king. They gave fair answers to all the ambassadors; but they had no apprehension of us at that time, and did but laugh at our expedition. The Duke of Milan told them by his ambassador, that they should not concern themselves in this affair, for he knew how to send our king back again, without getting any footing in Italy; and he sent the same message to Peter de Medicis,

as he told me afterwards. But when they and the Duke of Milan saw he had got those towns of the Florentines in his possession, and especially Pisa, they began to grow jealous of his designs, and to contrive how they might hinder him from advancing farther ; but their consultations were tedious, and in the mean time his majesty's affairs went prosperously on. However, messengers passed constantly from one to the other, and the King of Spain began to be afraid of his isles of Sicily and Sardinia. The King of the Romans began also to be jealous of the imperial crown, upon which he was persuaded by some persons that our king had a design, and that he had requested it of the pope ; but there was nothing in it. For these reasons the two kings sent their formal ambassadors to Venice during my residence there. The King of the Romans, being their neighbour, first sent the Bishop of Trent as the chief in that embassy, and with him there were two gentlemen, and a doctor at law ; they were received with great ceremony and respect, entertained as handsomely as myself, had ten ducats a day allowed them for their expense, and the charge of their horses, (which were left at Trevi,) borne besides. Not long after this there arrived a person of quality from Spain, with a numerous retinue, and in a very splendid equipage ; who was received as the other, and his charges also borne. The Duke of Milan, besides the ambassador he had there already, sent the Bishop of Coma, and Soignior Francisco Bernardino Visconti. They began to have private conferences in

the night, and at first by their secretaries; for they durst not declare publicly against the king, (especially the Duke of Milan and the Venetians,) not knowing what the success of this confederacy might be. The Duke of Milan's ambassadors made me a visit, brought me letters from their master, and told me their coming was in return of two ambassadors which the Venetians had sent to Milan, whereas the custom was only to have a resident there, and at last they had no more. But all this was but artifice and cunning; for they all came on purpose to make an alliance against our king, and so many secret cabals could not be carried on long, without being known. They asked me if I did not know what was the cause of the coming of the ambassadors from the two kings, that they might give their master an account of it. But I was informed before, (both from the servants, ambassadors, and others,) that the Spanish ambassador passed through Milan in disguise, and that the Germans were wholly managed by the duke. Besides, I had notice that the Neapolitan ambassadors delivered several packets of letters hourly from their master, (for all this was before our king's departure from Florence.) I was at some charge for my intelligence, but what I had, I could depend on. I had notice of the treaty that was on foot, and what were the first proposals that were made, but not agreed to; for in such consultations the Venetians are very long. For these reasons, and seeing the alliance go on, I would not pretend ignorance; but answered the Milan ambassador, that since they

carried things so secretly, I would let them know; that my master would not lose the friendship of the Duke of Milan if there was a possibility of preserving it; that I would acquit myself as an ambassador, and excuse whatever ill reports might have been made to the Duke of Milan against my master. That the duke, I did presume, was misinformed, and that he would act wisely to consider, (before he lost the recompense of so great a service as he had already done the king,) that the kings of France did not use to be ungrateful; that a rash or inconsiderate word ought not to break a friendship that was of such importance to both of them; and then I desired that they would inform me of their grievances, that I might acquaint my master with them before they proceeded any farther. They swore to me all of them, and wished many imprecations, if they had any such thoughts; but they did but equivocate, for they came thither on purpose to negotiate this alliance.

The next morning I went to the senate to expostulate with them about, and to say what I thought proper in the affair; among other things I told them, that by their alliance with my master, and their former alliance with his father, it was mutually provided that neither should support the enemies of the other; and that therefore this new league that was so much talked of, could not be entertained by them, but by infraction of the former. I was desired to withdraw, and being called in again by and by, the duke told me, that I ought not to believe all the flying reports of the

town ; and that in Venice all people had the liberty of saying what they pleased. . . However, he assured me they never had any thoughts of entering into an alliance against the king, nor ever had heard of it ; that their designs were quite contrary, and rather to make a league between my master, the two other kings, and all Italy, against the Turk, and that each might bear his proportion in the charge of the war ; and that if in Italy there should be any state or prince that refused to pay his share, that the king and they should join to compel him to do it. As to the war in which my master was at present engaged, they told me that they would endeavour to make an honourable peace for him ; and the terms which they proposed were, that my master should accept of a good sum of ready money, which they would advance upon the caution of certain towns in Apuglia, (which are now in their possession ;) that the kingdom of Naples should be held of him by the pope's consent, and pay him an annual tribute ; and that my master should keep three towns in his hands as a security. I wish to God he had accepted those advantageous offers. I replied, that I had no instructions to enter into any such treaty : I desired that they would not be over-hasty in the conclusion of their alliance, that I might have time to acquaint my master with their proceedings, and receive his orders ; requesting, (as I had done to the other,) that they would acquaint me with their jealousies, and not conceal them as the ambassadors of Milan had done. Then they plainly told me, that they

were not pleased with the king's having seized upon the pope's towns, much less with what he had taken from the Florentines, and particularly Pisa; alleging that my master had written to several princes, and to them among the rest; that he would meddle with nothing in Italy but the kingdom of Naples, and that having conquered that, he would undertake something against the Turk. That, however, he seemed desirous to get all he could conquer in Italy, and not meddle with the Turk at all. They told me also, that the Duke of Orleans's continuance at Asti was a great terror to the Duke of Milan; and that the ministers of the Duke of Orleans had threatened him highly; however, they promised to conclude nothing before I had an answer from my master, or at least before a convenient time to receive it was past; and they shewed me more respect than they did the ambassadors of Milan. I acquainted his majesty with every particular, but his answer was but cold; after which they had conferences every day; for they knew their designs were discovered. The King of France was at Florence in the mean time; and if he had met any opposition at Viterbo, as was expected, they had sent forces to Rome; or if King Ferrand had continued there, which they could not imagine he would have abandoned; but when they saw he was retired, they began to be afraid: yet the ambassadors from the two kings pressed them hard to come to some resolution, declaring they would otherwise be gone; for they had been there four months, every day so-

liciting the senate ; and I was as diligent in making an interest against them.

When the Venetians understood that several towns in Italy were surrendered, and were informed of the king's being at Naples, they sent for me to tell me the news, and pretended to be extremely pleased with it ; yet gave me to understand, that the castle held out still against him ; that there was a strong garrison in it, and provided with every thing necessary for its defence : and I could perceive they had great hopes it would never be taken ; upon which score they had consented the Neapolitan ambassador should raise forces in Venice to be sent to Brindisi, and were just upon the conclusion of their league, when their ambassadors acquainted them by letter of the surrender of the castle of Naples. They sent for me again one morning, and I found about fifty or sixty of them assembled in their duke's chamber, who was at that time ill of the cholic. The duke with a composed countenance, or rather inclining to joy, told me the news ; but there was none in all the company could counterfeit so well as himself. Some of them sate upon low seats, with their elbows upon their knees, and their heads between their hands ; others in other postures, but all expressing great sorrow at the heart ; and I believe after the battle of Cannæ there was not more terror upon the senators of Rome ; for not one of them had courage enough to look upon me, or speak to me, but the duke himself, which I thought was very strange. The duke asked me

whether the king my master would observe now what he always promised, and I always told them? I assured them he made them certain overtures: and promised them to use my utmost endeavours, by way of mediation, in hopes by this means to pacify their fears and jealousies; and then I took my leave of them.

Their league as yet was neither broken off nor concluded; but the Germans in their passion pretended to be gone. The Duke of Milan would not consent to some of the articles; but at length he sent instructions to his ambassadors to despatch, and in a short time the league was concluded. Whilst this affair was in agitation, I wrote constantly to our king, advising him to a peace, or else that he would continue in that kingdom, and provide himself better with men and money; but if he did not approve of my advice, that he would be pleased to make his retreat towards France, before the confederates had assembled their forces; and putting strong garrisons into the chief towns of Italy, would dismantle the rest. I wrote also to the Duke of Orleans, who was at Asti, but attended with his own domestics only, (for his forces were with the king) that he would throw more men into that town, assuring him that he would suddenly be besieged in it. I sent likewise to the Duke of Bourbon (whom the king had left to be his lieutenant in France) to send what forces he could spare to reinforce the garrison of Asti; for if that were lost, no supplies could be sent to the king. I gave notice of it to the Marchioness

of Montferrat, who (was true to the French, and a great enemy to the Duke of Milan) that she might be ready to assist the Duke of Orleans with her forces, if there should be occasion; for the taking Asti would be the loss of the two Marquisates of Montferrat and Saluzzo.

The league was concluded one night very late; the next morning I was sent for to the senate, and somewhat earlier than formerly. As soon as I came thither, and had taken my seat, the duke told me, that in honour to the Holy Trinity they had entered into an alliance with the Pope, the Kings of the Romans, and Castile, and the Duke of Milan, upon three principal ends; one was to defend Christendom against the Turk; the second for the defence of Italy; and the third for the preservation of their territories; which they desired I would notify to the king my master. They were in all about a hundred, or more, looked very gay, their noses tossed up into the air, and no such sadness in their countenances, as upon the surrender of the castle at Naples. They also told me that they had written to their ambassadors, who were attending our king, to take their leave, and come to Venice. One of their ambassadors names was Dominick Loredon, and the other Dominick Trevisan. I was extremely troubled and concerned for my master's person, as being fearful that he and his whole army were in great danger; for I thought the confederates were much forwarder than they were, (as they also thought themselves) and that some German troops had been near at

hand. If it had been so, the king could never have got out of Italy. I resolved with myself to speak little in my passion, but they provoked me beyond the bounds I had set myself: I told them that the night before I had given my master notice of their alliance (as I had done often) and that he wrote me word he had news of it before, both from Milan and Rome. The duke seemed to be surprised at what I had written concerning the alliance the night before; for there are no people in the world so jealous, nor keep their counsels so secret as they; and upon bare suspicion they many times imprison their dearest friends. Upon that consideration I told them; that I had written to the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, to take care to reinforce the garrison of Asti; and said so, in hopes to discourage them from attempting to surprise it, which they might certainly have done, had they been as ready as they pretended; for it was in a weak posture of defence a long time after. They replied, That they had no intentions against the king; that what they had done, or should do, would be only in defence of themselves; and they could not suffer, that my master should amuse all Europe with his fair words, as he had done; and that when he had promised to concern himself with nothing but the kingdom of Naples, and then to turn his arms against the Turk, he should falsify his word, act quite contrary, possess himself of what he could in the territories both of the Florentines and the pope, and endeavour to destroy the Duke of Milan. To which I answered,

That the kings of France had been so far from defrauding the church of any of their revenues, that on the contrary they had always augmented them, and defended their rights: That those could not be the reasons for their league, as they pretended; but that they had a desire to involve Italy in new troubles, to make their advantages out of them, and that I thought they intended to do it. They resented that expression of mine, as I was informed afterwards, however it proved true, as appeared by what King Ferrand engaged to them in Apuglia, to assist him against us. I rose up to have been gone, but they made me sit down again; and the duke asked me, if I had any overtures of peace to make, because the day before I had said something to that purpose; but that was in case they would have protracted the conclusion of the league for fifteen days longer, that I might have had time to have writ to his majesty, and have received his answer. After this I retired to my lodgings, and they sent for the rest of the ambassadors one after another. At my coming out of the senate I met the Neapolitan ambassador in a new gown: and very gay; and indeed he had reason, for this was a lucky turn of affairs for him. After dinner, all the ambassadors of the league met together upon the water (which in Venice is all their recreation) the whole number of their boats (which are provided at the senate's charge, and proportioned to every man's retinue) were about forty, every one of them adorned with the arms of their respective masters; and in this

pomp they passed under my window, with their trumpets and other instruments of music. The ambassadors of Milan, (at least one of them) who had often visited me, and was my particular acquaintance, would take no manner of notice of me now. For three days together I and my domestics kept within doors; though indeed, I cannot say, either they or I were affronted all the while. At night there were extraordinary fire-works upon the turrets, steeples, and tops of the ambassadors' houses, multitudes of lights were placed; and the cannon all round the city were fired. I was in a covered boat rowing by the bank's side, to see this triumphal sight, about ten o'clock at night; especially before the ambassadors' houses, where the hubbub was extraordinary. But this was not the day in which the peace was proclaimed; for the pope had sent to them to defer it for some days; till Palm-Sunday, at which time he had ordered that every prince in whose dominions it was published, and all the ambassadors then with him, should carry an olive-branch in their hand in token of their alliance and peace: and that upon the same day it should be published both in Germany and Spain. At Venice they made a gallery or large scaffold of wood, a good height above the ground, (as they were wont at the inauguration of their dukes) which reached from the palace to the end of the piazza of St. Mark; upon which (after mass was sung by the pope's nuncio, and all people absolved who were present at the solemnity) they marched in procession; the senate and the am-

bassadors all very splendidly dressed, several of them in crimson velvet gowns, which the senate presented them, especially the Germans, and all their train in new gowns, but a little of the shortest. After the procession was ended, a great many pageants and pictures were exhibited to the people; as first of all, Italy, in one, and then the several kings and princes, and the Queen of Spain. At their return, at a porphyry-stone, were such things as are usually done, proclamation was made, and the alliance published. There was at that time a Turkish ambassador, who looked privately through a window, and saw the solemnity: He had his despatch, but would needs stay to see this formality, and at night (by the assistance of a Greek) he gave me a visit, and staid four hours in my chamber; and his great desire was to cultivate a friendship betwixt his master and mine. I was twice invited to this feast, but desired to be excused; yet I staid a month after in the town, and was all the while civilly entertained, as before the publication of this alliance. At length I was recalled, and having had an audience of leave, they gave me a passport, and conducted me to Ferrara at their own expense. The duke of Ferrara came in person to meet me, and entertained me two days very handsomely at his own charge. The same civility I received at Bologna from John Bentivoglio, and being sent for to Florence, I continued there in expectation of my master's coming, in the relation of whose affairs I shall now proceed.

BOOK THE EIGHTH.

CHAPTER I.

Of the Order in which the King left his Affairs in the Kingdom of Naples upon his Return into France.—1494.

TO continue my Memoirs, and for your better information, we must return to our discourse of the king ; who from his first arrival at Naples to his departure, minded nothing but his pleasures, and his ministers nothing but their own advantage. His youth might excuse him in some measure, but nothing could excuse them ; for the king referred all to their management ; and if they had had the discretion but to have advised him to have put strong garrisons into three or four of the chief castles, and furnished them well with provisions ; nay, if it had been only the castle of Naples, (whose magazines and furniture were given away, and embezzled as you have heard,) the kingdom of Naples had been his at this day ; for if he had been master of that castle the town would never have revolted, nor by consequence the kingdom. Upon the conclusion of this alliance, he assembled all his forces together, and ordered five hundred Frenchmen at arms, two thousand Swiss, and some French foot for the guard of the kingdom ;

and with the rest he resolved to march back into France by the same way he came, while the confederates were as busy to stop him. The King of Spain had sent, and was still sending his caravals* into Sicily, though but few men on board them. However, before our king's departure, they had garrisoned and furnished with ammunition and provisions Rheggio in Calabria, which is the next town to Sicily. I had often acquainted my master with their designs of sending supplies thither, for the ambassador of Naples had told me so, supposing they had been there already; and if the king had sent any forces thither in time, he would certainly have taken the castle, and the town had declared for him before. For want of sending thither, they landed forces at Mantia and Tropea. The townsmen in Otranto and Apuglia had set up our king's colours; but being informed of the new alliance, and considering how near neighbours they were both to Brindisi and Gallipoli, and how difficult it would be to furnish themselves with troops, they pulled them down again, and erected the standard of Arragon: and Don Frederic being at Brindisi supplied them with a garrison. There was an universal change in the minds of the people through the whole kingdom; and fortune, which had been so propitious but two months before, began now to frown upon us, both in relation to the alliance, the king's departure, and the great want in which he left the kingdom, and that rather in

* A sort of vessels with sails and oars much used in the Mediterranean.

respect of officers than soldiers. The supreme care was committed to Monsieur de Montpensier, of the house of Bourbon, a brave soldier and a fine gentleman, but his valour was greater than his wisdom ; besides, he was so intolerably lazy, he would never rise till noon. In Calabria he left the Lord d'Aubigny, a Scotchman, (a brave and worthy person,) to command in chief. The king had made him constable of that kingdom, and given him (as I said before) the country of Aen, and the Marquisate of Squillazzo. At his first coming thither the king had made the seneschal of Beaucaire, Stephen de Vers, governor of Cajeta, Duke of Nola, lord high chamberlain, and all the money in that kingdom passing through his hands, he took more upon him than he was able to perform ; yet he was very desirous of keeping the kingdom of Naples. The king created Don Julian of Lorraine a duke, and made him governor of Saint Angelo, in which post he behaved himself with a great deal of honour and reputation. He left Gabriel de Montfaucon at Manfredonia ; a person for whom the king had a great esteem ; but he managed things imprudently there ; for though he found it well provided with corn, and every thing else, yet he delivered it up in four days for want of provisions ; and to all these the king gave great estates in land, for several sold whatever they met withal in the castle : and it was reported, that Gabriel stole away in the night, and left William de Villeneuve to defend the town ; but being betrayed and sold by some of his own servants to Frederic, he was kept by him a

long time in the galleys, He left Taranto to the command of George de Sully, who behaved himself well, and held it out, till he was forced by famine to surrender, and then died there of the plague. In Aquila he placed the Bailiff de Vitry, who discharged his duty as he ought to do; and Gratian des Guerres did the same in Abruzzo: he left them very little money, only assignments upon the revenue, and of that but very little was ever raised. The king took care to make an handsome provision for the princes of Selerono and Bisignano, who served him faithfully, as long as it was in their power to do so. He also gratified the Colonna in whatever they demanded, and gave them and their friends the possession of about thirty towns; which if they had defended as they ought, and as they swore to do, they had done his majesty singular service, and reaped the honour and advantage of it themselves; for I do not believe they had been so great in a hundred years before; But they had no patience to stay till the king had left Italy, but fell to caballing. It is true they were engaged with us upon the Duke of Milan's account, for they are naturally Gibellines: However, they ought not to have broken their oaths, especially having been so civilly treated; besides, the king had obliged them farther than all this; for under pretence of friendship he carried prisoners with him the Lord Virgil Ursini, and the Count de Patillane, and several others of the Ursini, who were their enemies, which indeed was a little severe; for though they were prisoners of war, yet the king knew they were to have had passports;

for he had signed and intended it so himself, and declared his resolution as to that point to all people: But his intention was to carry them no farther than Asti, and then to dismiss them upon their parole of honour. This he did at the request of the Colonna; and yet before he could get thither, they revolted, and appeared the first against him without the least pretence or occasion.

CHAPTER II.

Of the King's Departure from Naples, and his Return to Rome, from whence the Pope fled to Orvieto; of the Conference the King had with the Lord of Argenton, upon his return from Venice: His Deliberation about the Restitution of the Florentine Towns, and the memorable predictions of Friar Jerome of Florence.—1494.

As soon as the king had settled his affairs as he designed, he began his march with what forces he could spare; which I believe were about nine hundred men at arms, (including his guards) and two thousand five hundred Swiss; in all of his standing army about seven thousand men, besides about fifteen hundred more which followed the camp, as servants, and were able to bear arms. The Count de Petillane, who had reviewed them, and knew their number better than I did, told me since the battle, that they were nine thousand effective men. The king bent his march directly towards Rome, (where his Holiness, having no mind to attend him) determined to go to Padua, and put himself under the protection of the Venetians, and lodgings were

assigned him; but afterwards they changed their minds, and both they and the Duke of Milan sent forces to him to Rome, for the defence of the town, which arrived time enough; yet the pope durst not stay, though the king had done him all imaginable honour and service, and sent an ambassador on purpose to desire him to stay: but he retired to Orvieto, and from thence to Perugia, leaving the cardinals to attend his majesty at Rome. The king was received very honourably by them, but he made no stay among them, nor suffered the least injury to be done to any body. From thence I was sent for to attend him at Siena, where I waited on his majesty, who received me graciously. He asked me in a jesting way, whether the Venetians had sent any forces to fall upon his rear? For his men were all young, and he thought no troops were able to engage with them. I humbly replied, that upon my leaving Venice, the Senate informed me in the presence of one of their secretaries, called Lordinano, that they and the Duke of Milan would bring forty thousand men into the field, not to molest him, but to defend themselves; and the same day I set out from Venice they ordered one of their proveditors who was employed against us, to inform me at Padua, that their army should not pass such a river, near Parma*, (which, if I mistake

* Instead of Parma we ought to read Crema or Bergamo; for the Venetians have not territories near Parma; besides the river Oglio is not near Parma, and the Pau runs between Parma and that river: So that the Venetians were obliged to pass the Pau after their passing the Oglio, before they could have reached Parma. Perhaps the author means a little brook called in the description of Italy, Occa, and in Blondus, Ocha; but indeed he speaks doubtfully of the name.

not, was called Oglio) unless his majesty invaded the Duke of Milan; and the said proveditor and I took private tokens and directions how we might correspond with each other, if there should be any occasion upon a treaty of peace; for I was unwilling to refuse any overture of that nature; because I knew not how my master's affairs might succeed. There was present at our conference, one Monsieur Lewis Marcel, who (as a kind of treasurer) had that year the command of the Mots Viers*, and was sent by them to conduct me. There were besides in the company some of the Marquis of Mantua's servants, who carried him money; but they were at a distance, and heard nothing of our discourse. From these or somebody else I procured a list of the confederate army, their horse, foot, and estradiots, and the chief officers that commanded them all, but few about the king believed what I told him.

After the king had halted two days at Siena to refresh his troops, I earnestly pressed his majesty to march, for the enemy was not yet joined, and I feared nothing till the Germans came up; and the King of the Romans was mighty busy in raising both men and money. But whatever I said to the contrary, two things must be first solemnly debated in council, which took up but a little time. One was, whether he should restore all the Florentine

* It is so in all the French copies; but certainly it should be Mont Vieil, in Italian Monte Vecchio, which is a certain treasure set apart by the Venetians for the payment of interest due to the ancient creditors of their republic, as appears by the book of Donato Gianotti.

towns, and receive thirty thousand ducats, (which was an arrear of a former gift) and ninety thousand more which they offered to lend him ; besides a reinforcement of three hundred men at arms, (under the command of Francisco Secco, an experienced and brave commander, and one in whom the king put great confidence) and two thousand foot to secure his passage into his own kingdom. It was my opinion, (and several others agreed with me) that the king should restore all but Leghorn, which he should keep till he had reached Asti. If he had followed our advice he would have been able to have paid his army, and had enough to have bribed the enemy, and then might have fought them as he pleased ; but we could not be heard : Monsieur de Ligny obstructed it, (who was a young gentleman, and cousin-german to the king) but he scarce knew why he did so, unless it were in compassion to the Pisans. The other point to be debated was set on foot by Monsieur de Ligny himself, and proposed in council by one Gauchcher de Tinteville, and by a party in Siena, who would needs have Monsieur de Ligny for their governor ; for that town was divided into factions, and governed the worst of any in Italy. My judgment was demanded first, and I answered, that I thought it would be better for the king to march forward, than to amuse himself with things of so little importance which could not be of any service to him a week to an end ; besides, that town belonged to the emperor, and to dispose of it in that manner, was to pull the whole empire about

our ears. Every body gave in to my opinion ; and yet it was carried against us, and Monsieur de Ligny was made their governor, with large promise of a revenue, but he never received any. Upon this trifling debate we stayed six or seven days ; during which time the king diverted himself among the ladies, having left in this town above three hundred of his choicest troops, to the great weakening of his army. He advanced towards Pisa by the way of Poggio Bonzi, a castle belonging to the Florentines ; but those who were left at Siena were driven out in a month.

I had almost forgot to tell you that while I was at Florence in my way to the king, I went to pay a visit to a certain friar called Friar Jerome, who by report was a very holy man, and had lived in a reformed convent fifteen years : There went along with me one John Francis, a very prudent person, and steward of the king's household. The occasion of my going to visit him, was upon the account that he had always, both in the pulpit and elsewhere, spoken much in the king's favour, and his words had kept the Florentines from confederating against us, for never any of his profession had so much authority in that town. Whatever had been said or written to the contrary, he always affirmed our king would come into Italy ; that he should be sent by God himself to chastise the tyranny of the princes ; and that nothing should be able to oppose him. He foretold likewise that the state of Florence should be dissolved on the very same day that his majesty entered the town, and so it fell

out; for Peter de Medicis was driven out that very day. Many other things he presaged long before they came to pass, as the death of Laurence de Medicis; and he openly declared that he had it by revelation; as likewise that the reformation of the church should be owing to the sword. This is not yet accomplished, but it escaped very narrowly, and he still maintains that it shall be. Many persons blamed him for pretending to divine revelations; but others believed him; for my part I think him a good man. I asked him whether our king would return safe into France, considering the great preparations of the Venetians against him? Of which he gave a better account than I could, that lately came from Venice. He told me he would meet with some difficulties by the way, but he would overcome them all, and gain immortal honour by it, though he had but a hundred men in his company; for God, who had conducted him thither, would guard him back again. But because he had not applied himself as he ought, to the reformation of the church, and because he had permitted his soldiers to rob and plunder the poor people, (as well those who had freely opened their gates to him as the enemy who opposed him) therefore God had pronounced judgment against him, and in a short time would execute it. However he bid me tell him, that if he would have compassion upon the people, command his army to do them no wrong, and punish them when they did, as it was his office to do, that then God would mitigate, if not revoke, his sentence. He told me

it would not be sufficient for him to plead: he did them no wrong himself, and that he would meet him when he came, and tell him so from his own mouth, and so he did; and pressed hard for the restitution of the Florentine towns. When he mentioned the sentence of God against him, the death of the dauphin came very fresh into my mind; for I knew nothing else that would touch the king so sensibly. This I have thought fit to record, to make it the more manifest, that this whole voyage was a mystery conducted by God himself.

CHAPTER III.

Of the King's retaining Pisa, and several other Towns in his hands, while the Duke of Orleans on the other side entered Novara, in the Duchy of Milan.—1494.

WHILE the king (as I said before) was at Pisa, the people of the town, both men and women, begged of us that for God's sake we would intercede for them to the king, that they might not again be subject to the tyranny of the Florentines; who, indeed, treated them very barbarously, but they fared as well as their neighbours. Pisa and Florence had been at war three hundred years, before the Florentines subdued them. These supplications being delivered with tears in their eyes, wrought strangely upon our soldiers; so that, forgetting what our king had promised and sworn before the altar of St. John in Florence, they all

unanimously (to the very Archers and Swiss) interposed in their behalf; and threatened all such as were for the king's keeping his oath, and particularly the Cardinal of St. Malo, who, in another place, I called General of Languedoc; and him I heard an archer threaten myself, and others talked as boldly to the Marshal de Gie. The president Gannay, for three nights together, durst not lie in his own quarters; and the great promoter of all this was the Count de Ligny. The Pisans made sad complaints to the king, and moved us all to compassionate, though we had no reason to relieve, them. One day after dinner, as the king was playing at tables with the Lord de Piennes, and only two or three of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber waiting on him, forty armed gentlemen of his court entered the room, and in the name of the rest, the son of Sallezard, the elder, made a speech to the king, in favour of the Pisans, and charging some of the persons above-named of no less than betraying him; but the king reprimanded them severely, and there never after was any such thing.

Six or seven days the king spent to no purpose at Pisa; and having altered the garrison, put into the castle one Entragues, a servant to the Duke of Orleans, but an ill-humoured man; Monsieur de Ligny had recommended him to the king, and by his interest a detachment of the infantry of Berry was left with him. This Entragues managed his affairs so well (I suppose by his money) that he was made governor of Pietra Sancta, and another town not far off, called Motrone; besides all which, he had

another government at Librefacto, near Lucca. The castle of the town of Sarzana was extremely well fortified, and by the interest of Monsieur de Ligny, the command of it was given to the bastard of one Roussi, who was the Count's servant. Another castle, called Sarzanella, he put into the hands of one of his own domestics ; so that the King of France left great bodies of his forces in these places, (though he will never have so much need of them again,) and rejected the assistance and proffers of the Florentines, who, upon his refusal, grew desperate, and yet at the same time he had intelligence that the Duke of Orleans had taken the city Novara, from the Duke of Milan, and was certain the Venetians would declare war against him ; for they had sent him word that if he invaded the Duke of Milan, they should be obliged, by the alliance they had lately made, to assist him ; and their army, which was numerous, was ready to take the field. But you must understand, that just upon the conclusion of the league, the Duke of Milan had a design upon Asti, supposing he should have found no troops in it. But my letters prevented him, and hastened the supplies which the Duke of Bourbon sent thither ; and first there arrived forty lances of the Marshal de Gie's troops, which were left behind in France, all very well appointed ; and after them five hundred foot from the Marquis di Saluzzo. The arrival of these forces diverted the Duke of Milan's army commanded by Galeas di St. Severino, who was posted at Nom, a castle belonging to the said duke, within two miles of Asti.

Sometime after, they were joined by three hundred and fifty men at arms, with the gentry of Dauphinè, and all the Franc-Archers of that country, and two thousand Swiss ; so that they were in all seven thousand five hundred fighting men. It was a prodigious expense and trouble to assemble these forces, and when that was done they did not answer the end for which they were designed ; for they were sent for to have assisted the king, and instead of that he was forced to support them. The king had written to the Duke of Orleans and the chief officers, that they should attempt nothing upon the Duke of Milan, only have a care to secure Asti, and come to meet him as far as the river Tesino, where they were to assist and favour his passage, there being no other river where he could be stopped ; for the Duke of Orleans was left at Asti, and never went further with the king. However, notwithstanding the king's orders to the contrary, he was so pleased with the honour of having Novara delivered into his hands, (which was but ten leagues from Milan) that he could not contain, but entered it in a triumphal manner, and the whole city, both Guelphs and Gibellines, received him with all the demonstrations of joy imaginable, and the Marchioness of Montferrat was a great instrument in the plot. The castle held out two or three days, but if he had gone or sent to Milan, where his party was great, he had been received with more joy (as I have been told by great persons of that duchy) than at his own castle at Blois ; and the first three days he might have done it with ease, for the Duke of Milan's forces

were at Nom, near Asti, when Novara was surprised, and came not up till four days after ; but, perhaps, he durst not rely upon his intelligence.

CHAPTER IV.

Of King Charles's dangerous Passage over the Mountains between Pisa and Sarzana ; of the Germans burning Pontremoli, and the Duke of Orleans's Behaviour at Novara, in the mean time.—1494.

FROM Siena the king was come to Pisa, as you have already heard, and from Pisa he marched to Lucca, where he was well received by the town, and stayed with them two days ; and from thence to Pietra Sancta, where Monsieur Entragues was governor, neither he himself, nor any that were about him, having the least fear or apprehension of the enemy. Yet he found great difficulty in his march over the mountains betwixt Lucca and that place, where there were several passes very easy to have been defended by small bodies of foot, but the confederates were not joined as yet. Not far from Pietra Sancta, on one side there is the pass of Seierre, or Salto della Cerva, and on the other that of Roctailiè, or Rotaio, with a deep marsh at the foot of it, over which we were forced to march upon a causey, as if it had been through a standing pool. This was the pass of which I had heard so much talk, and which I dreaded more than all the rest between Pisa and Pontrema ; for a small body of troops, with a cart overturned in the midst of it, and two pieces of cannon, would have stopped our

passage, had our army been never so numerous. From Pietra Sancta the king marched to Sarzana, where the cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula met him, and offered, (if he pleased to send some of his forces thither) to make Genoa revolt to him. It was referred to a council of officers, among which I was one, and concluded by all that it should not be meddled with; for if the king got the victory, Genoa would surrender of course; if he lost it, it would do him no good, and this was the first time we ever heard them mention fighting. Our resolution was reported to the king, but for all that, he sent for the Lord de Bresse, since Duke of Savoy, the Lord de Beaumont de Polignac*, my brother-in-law, and the Lord d' Aubijoux† of the house of Amboise, with sixscore men at arms, and five hundred archers, newly sent him by sea out of France. I admired a prince of his age should not have one minister of state about him, that durst be plain with, and tell him the dangers to which he exposed his person; but indeed he put no confidence in what I said. We had a few forces at sea, which came from Naples, under the command of Monsieur di Miolans, governor of Dauphinè, and one Stephen de Neves, of Montpellier; they were in all about eight galleys, and were arrived at Specie and Rapalo, where they were defeated at the time I speak of, and in the same place where our men had

* John de Polignac, Lord of Beaumont and Rendam. He married Joan de Jambes, eldest sister of Helena de Jambes, wife of Philip de Comines.

† Hugh de Amboise, Baron of Aubijoux, brother to the famous Cardinal George de Amboise.

beaten King Alphonso's forces in the beginning of this expedition, and by the same party who had been on our side at that battle, (that is to say, Signior John Lewis di Flisco, and Signior [John Adorni) and all of them carried prisoners into Genoa. It had been better management to have had them with the king, and all little enough. Monsieur de Bresse and the cardinal advanced into the suburbs of Genoa, expecting their party in the town would raise some disturbances; but the Duke of Milan had taken care to prevent any insurrection; and the Adorni and Signior John Lewis di Flisco had given such orders about that affair, that our forces were in great danger of being handled as they had been at sea, considering the smallness of their numbers; nor did any thing prevent it but the fear the prevailing party in Genoa had, that if they should have sallied out of the town, the Forghosi would have risen up in arms and shut the gates upon them; however, our men met with difficulty enough before they got to Asti, to which they marched on directly, and were not at the battle, where they might have been more serviceable and better employed. From Sarzana the king marched on towards Pontrema, which he was forced to pass, it being the entrance into the mountains. The town and castle were strong, and the country about it almost inaccessible; and had they been well garrisoned, they could never have been taken; but what Friar Jerome told me proved true, that God would lead him, as it were, by the hand, till he was out of all danger; for the enemy was blind

and stupid, and had not put above three or four hundred men to defend that important pass. The king sent his vanguard to Pontrema, under the command of Marshal de Gié and Signior John James di Trivulce, whom he had entertained in his service ever since King Ferrand's flight out of Naples; this John James* was a gentleman of Milan, of a noble family, a good officer, a rich man, and a great enemy to the Duke of Milan, as having been banished by him; and by his means the place was presently delivered, and the garrison marched out; but a great inconvenience ensued upon this; for as I have already mentioned, when the Duke of Milan was there last, there happened to be a dispute between the townsmen and some of the Germans, (forty of which were slain by the townsmen,) so that the Swiss in revenge, and contrary to their articles, put all the men to the sword, plundered the town, put fire to it, and burned it and all their magazines, with about ten of their own men, who being drunk, could not get out; and it was not in the Marshal de Gié's power to prevent it. After they had committed this outrage, they besieged the castle, in order to have used them after

* John James di Trivulce, a native of Milan, Marquis of Vigeve, governor of Milan, captain of an hundred Italian men at arms, and two hundred archers, and lieutenant-general of all the king's forces in Italy. He did the king signal service at the battle of Forneva and Aignadel, and had considerable employments under Charles VIII. Louis XII. and Francis I. He was created a marshal of France in 1500, and died in 1518. He was uncle to Théodore Trivulce, who was also governor of Milan, and marshal of France. Their eulogies are to be seen in Brantome's Lives of Illustrious Foreigners, tom. ii. page 476.

the same manner, though the garrison consisted of none but Signior John James di Trivulce's troops, which were put into it when the enemy marched out; neither would they give over their attack till the king himself came in person, and commanded them to desist. The destruction of this place was a great inconvenience to the king, not so much for the dishonour (though that was considerable) as for the provisions that were spoiled, of which there was great plenty, and we in extremity of want: Yet the people were not much against us, only those about the town who had suffered more particularly; but if the king had hearkened to the overtures made him by Signior John James di Trivulce, several places and persons of importance would have surrendered and come in to him; for he advised him to set up the young duke's standard, who was son of John Galeas, the last Duke of Milan, that lies buried at Pavia, as you have heard; which young duke was in Count Lodowick's power. But the king would not be persuaded to do it, out of kindness to the Duke of Orleans, who pretended to the duchy. Upon which the king marched from Pontrema, and encamped in a small valley, where there were not ten houses, and the name I have forgot. He lay in that camp five days, (I know not why,) his army in great distress for provisions, the main body thirty miles behind the van, (which was marched before,) and to march over high and steep rocks where such great cannon were never seen till then; for those which Duke Galeas had passed that way with were but four, and they small, and

not above five hundred weight a-piece, and yet that was then looked upon as a miracle.

But to return now to the Duke of Orleans : As soon as he had taken the castle of Novara, he lay still for some days, and did nothing, and at length marched to Vegievene. Two little towns hard by sent to him, and offered to receive his troops, but he wisely refused the overtures they made him. The citizens of Pavia sent twice to him likewise, and there he was mightily to blame in refusing their offer. In short, he drew up in battalia before the town of Vegievene, where the Duke of Milan's whole army was encamped, and commanded by the sons of Galeas St. Severino, so often mentioned before. The town is worth nothing, not a jot better than Saint Martin de Candie. I came thither not long after, when the Duke of Milan and all his chief officers were there, and they shewed me the places where their armies were drawn up both within and without the town ; and if the Duke of Orleans had advanced but a hundred paces farther, the enemy had retreated over the river Tesin, where they had made a large bridge of boats, and were drawn up on the bank ; besides, I saw them demolish a fort which they had built on the other side to secure their pass ; for they had resolved to quit both the town and the castle, which would have been a great disadvantage to them. This is the place where the Duke of Milan generally resides, and indeed it is the best seat for hunting and hawking, and all kind of sports, that I ever yet saw. But perhaps the Duke of Orleans thought the town

stronger than it really was, and that he had done enough already, without attempting any thing farther; and therefore he marched off to a place called Trecane, the lord of which place had a conference with me not long after, and he had something in charge from the Duke of Milan. To the town of Trecane they sent the chief citizens of Milan to invite him thither, and tempt him into the town; offering their children as hostages, and they could easily have put him into the possession of it, as I have been credibly informed since by persons of great authority who were there at that time; for the Duke of Milan would not have found men enough to have defended the castle, and the nobility and commons conspired the destruction of the house of Sforza. The Duke of Orleans also, and his men, have told me the same, but they durst not trust them; and they wanted a person that understood them and their ways better than they; besides, his great officers were not all of the same opinion in relation to that affair. A body of two thousand Germans sent by the King of the Romans, and about a thousand horse under the command of Monsieur Frederic Capelare, born in the county of Ferrette, joined the Duke of Milan's army. With this reinforcement Galeas and the rest of the officers were so mightily encouraged, that they marched directly to Trecane, and offered the Duke of Orleans battle; but he was advised not to fight; though his army was more numerous than theirs. Perhaps the officers were unwilling to hazard this army, lest the loss of it should be the ruin of the

king, of whom they could have no intelligence, by reason the couriers were all stopped. Upon this the Duke of Orleans retreated with his whole army, having with great indiscretion neglected the favourable opportunity of supplying the town with provisions, or preserving as they ought what was already in their magazines, though they might have had enough at that time in the country round about it without money, and for fetching; but when they wanted it afterwards, the enemy was within half a league of the town.

CHAPTER VI.

Of the King's passing the Apennine Mountains with his Train of Artillery, by the assistance of the Swiss; the great Danger which the Marshal de Gié and his whole Vanguard was in; and the King's arrival at Fernova^a—1494.

WE left the king encamped in a valley on this side Pontrema, in great want of provisions; and yet he stayed there five days without any manner of occasion. Our Swiss, who had committed the great fault at Pontrema, did us a singular piece of service at this time; they were fearful their crime should give the king a displeasure against them, that his majesty would never endure them more; and therefore, to atone for what was past, they came to him of themselves, and offered to convey his great guns over those almost unpassable mountains, (and well I may call them so for their height and steepness,) there being no track or path to

direct them. I have seen most of the chief mountains both in Italy and Spain, but none of them are to be compared to these ; and this offer they made upon condition the king would forgive them, which he did. Our train consisted of fourteen extraordinary great guns. At the farther end of the valley we began to climb up a steep way, where our mules could scarce get up ; these Swiss corded themselves two and two together, and drew a hundred, sometimes two hundred in a company, till they were weary, and then they were relieved by as many more ; besides these, there were the horses belonging to the train, and the waggons ; for every one of the courtiers who had any carriage lent a horse to hasten their passage, but had it not been for these Swiss, their horses would never have done it ; and to speak truth, they helped over not only the artillery but the whole army, for had it not been for them, not a man could have passed the mountains. Finding themselves so necessary, it encouraged them exceedingly ; and besides, they had as great a desire to be over as the rest of the army ; they had committed many faults, but this good action did sufficiently atone for all. However, the greatest part of the difficulty was not to get the artillery up, for as soon as they were at the top, they saw great deep valleys below them, to which there was no way but what nature had prepared ; for they had never been passed before, so that our horses and men were forced to draw backward, and the letting it down was infinitely more trouble than the hauling it up ; and besides, the smiths and the carpenters were

forced to be constantly by; for if any of the guns slipped, they were to be mended before they could go on. Many advised the king for expedition sake to break his great guns, but he would by no means consent to it.

The Marshal de Gié lay thirty miles before us, and pressed the king to hasten his march; and yet it was three days before we could reach him, and by that time the enemy was advanced within sight. Their army was encamped in a large field, about half a league from him; and if they had attacked him he had certainly been defeated. The marshal afterward took up his quarters at Fornova, a strong town at the entrance into the plain, and this he did to keep them from assaulting us on the mountains; but we had a better guardian than he to protect us, for God put other thoughts into the heads of our enemies, and so blinded their understandings with avarice, that they were resolved to wait for our coming into the plain, that they might cut us all to pieces; for they thought if they should attack us upon the mountains we might retreat to Pisa, or some of the towns we kept in Florence: but they were mistaken; for those places were too remote, and if they had beaten us, they might have pursued as fast as we could have fled, and they would have had the advantage of knowing the country better than we. Thus far on our side the war was not begun; but the Marshal de Gié sent the king word that he had passed the mountains, and that having sent out a party of sorry horse to discover the enemy, they had been charged by their estradiots, and one of

them (called *le Beuf*) being slain, the *estradiots* cut off his head, put it upon the top of a lance, carried it to their *proveditor*, and demanded a ducat. These *estradiots* are of the same nature with the *Janisaries* in Turkey; they are horse and foot, and habited like Turks, only they wear no turbans upon their heads. They are hardy people, and lie abroad all the year round, like their horses; they were originally Greeks, from the places which the Venetians have in their hands in those parts, some of them from Naples and Romagna in the Morea, others from Albania; and others from Durazzo. Their horses are all Turkish, and very good; the Venetians employ them often in their wars, and put great confidence in them. I saw them all upon their first landing at Venice, and mustered in the island where the abbey of St. Nicholas is built, and their number was near fifteen hundred; they are stout nimble fellows, and will plague an army terribly when they once undertake it. These *estradiots*, as I said before, having beaten our party, pursued them to the marshal's quarters, where the Swiss were posted, of whom they killed three or four, and carried away their heads according to their custom. For the Venetians having war against the Turks formerly, in the time of Mahomet, this great Turk's father, that Sultan Mahomet would not suffer his soldiers to give quarter, but allowed them a ducat a head, and the Venetians did the same. My opinion is they did it on purpose to terrify us, and indeed so they did; but the *estradiots* themselves were no less affrighted with our artillery; for a shot from a

faulcon having killed one of their horses, they retired with great precipitation ; but in their retreat they took one of our Swiss captains, who was gotten on horseback, and, following to observe their motions, and being unarmed, was run through the body with a lance. The captain was a wise man, and they carried him before the Marquis of Mantua, (who was captain-general for the Venetians) and his uncle the Lord Rodolphus of Mantua, and the Count di Cajazzo, who commanded for the Duke of Milan, knew him extremely well. The enemy's army had taken the field (at least all that were joined, for some were still to come up) about eight days before, but lay still in expectation of their confederates ; so that the king might have gone back into France without any impediment in the world, had he not squandered away his time to no purpose by the way, as you have heard : but God had ordered it otherwise.

The Marshal de Gié, fearing to be attacked, retired to the mountains. He had with him (as he told me) about eight score men at arms, and eight hundred Swiss and no more, and from us he could not expect any assistance ; for, by reason of our heavy cannon, we could not join him in less than a day and a half. The king, in his march, lay at two little marquisses' houses. Our vanguard, being posted upon the mountain, was afraid of being attacked by the enemy, who were drawn up in order of battle at a good distance in the plain ; but God (who had always preserved our army) infatuated our adversaries' understanding. The Swiss captain,

being examined by the Count di Cajazzo, who commanded their army, and was then in their van, was asked what number of men at arms were with the marshal, though the count knew our strength as well as we did ourselves, for he had been with us the whole campaign.

The Swiss magnified our forces, represented us much stronger than we were, and told him the marshal had with him three hundred men at arms and fifteen hundred Swiss. The count told him plainly he lied, for in the whole army we had not above three thousand, and it was improbable we would send half of them before ; upon which the captain was sent prisoner to the Marquis of Mantua's tent, where a council of war was called, in order to consult how to attack us. The marquis believed what the Swiss captain had said, urged that their infantry were not so good as the Swiss, that all their forces had not joined them, that it would be a great injury to the allies to engage without them, and that, if they should lose the battle, the senate would have just reason to blame their conduct ; that it would be better, therefore, to wait for our coming into the plain, where we could not pass but under their noses ; and the two proveditors being of the same opinion, they durst not oppose. Others affirmed, that if they routed this vanguard, the king must of necessity be taken prisoner ; but, for all that, it was concluded to expect us in the plain, and they confidently believed that none of us could escape. This I have been informed of since by the very persons whom I have mentioned ; for, after the fight, we dis-

coursed together, and the Marshal de Gié and I had this relation from their own mouths. Upon this they retired with their army into the plain, being assured that within a day or two the king must of necessity come to Fornova, and in the mean time the rest of the confederate forces arrived in their camp, and the way was so narrow we were obliged to march close by them.

Upon our descending from the mountains we had the prospect of the plain of Lombardy, which is the pleasantest and best country in the world, and most plentiful in every thing: yet, though I call it a plain, it is scarce passable for a horse, for it is as enclosed as Flanders, or rather more, but much better, and more fruitful both in corn, wine, and fruit; and their ground never lies fallow. It pleased us exceedingly to see so fine a country after the wants and hardships which we had suffered since our departure from Lucca; but our train of artillery was our greatest trouble, especially to let down, so steep and difficult was the direct way. In the enemy's camp there were great numbers of tents and pavilions, which represented it very large; and indeed so it was. The Venetians having made good their message by me to the king, when they promised that the Duke of Milan and they would bring forty thousand men into the field, and if they had not their full number, they wanted not much of it, for they were five and thirty thousand effective men, and of them four parts in five were in the Venetian pay. They had at least two thousand men at arms barbed, every one with his bowman on horseback,

or some other person in livery, and four horses attending him. Their estradiots and other light horse were about five thousand, and the rest were all infantry, encamped very strong, besides a large train of artillery with them.

The king descended from the mountains about noon, and took up his quarters in Fornova the 5th of July, being Sunday, in the year 1495. We found good store of provision both for our horses and ourselves. The people received us very kindly, for nobody of any fashion did them the least injury: they brought us victuals and bread, but their bread was small and black, and they sold it very dear, and their wine was three parts water; they brought us likewise some of their fruits, and were mighty diligent in attending our army. I ordered them to bring me a little of every thing, which I laid before me, but durst not venture to eat any of it; for we had great suspicion that this plenty of provisions was left there on purpose to poison us; so that at first nobody touched them; and our jealousy was much increased by the death of two of our Swiss, who were found dead in a cellar, having killed themselves with excessive drinking, or else died with cold afterwards, but before night our horses began to eat, and at last the soldiers following their example, we refreshed ourselves very well. I must say this, in honour of the Italians, we never found that they endeavoured to do us any mischief by poison; if they had, we could hardly have secured ourselves in this march. On the Sunday (as I said before) we arrived about

noon at Fornova ; most of our people of quality eat nothing but a crust of bread at the place where the king alighted, and drank ; and, indeed, at that time there was little else to be got ; for the provisions that were in the town nobody durst venture on.

Presently after this refreshment their estradiots sallied out of their camp, and pickering up to our very army, gave us a strong alarm. Our men, being unacquainted with their way, drew out into the field, and put themselves very formally into order of battle, with a van, a body, and a rear, so exactly well distanced that they were not a bowl's cast one from another, so that upon any disaster they might easily be supported, but no action happened at that time, and both parties retired to their camp. Our tents were but few, and our camp extended so near to their's, that twenty of their estradiots were enough to give us an alarm at any time : wherefore they lay still in our front, having the benefit of a wood, through which they might march up to us before they were discovered. We lay betwixt two hills in a valley, divided by a small river called Tarro, fordable sometimes on foot, unless it was swelled by the waters from the mountains, which fall suddenly, and are as suddenly gone. The valley in which we lay encamped, being full of gravel and great stones, was very incommodious for our cavalry ; it was about a quarter of a league over, and upon the hill on our right hand ; within half a league of us the enemy was posted ; so that we were obliged to pass in sight of their whole

army, and only that river between us. There was on that side we were quartered, beyond the hill on the left hand, another road which we might have marched; but then we should have seemed to have been afraid of them. About two days before, it was proposed to me by some prudent persons in our army, who now began to be apprehensive of their danger, that I should go and desire a parley with the enemy, and should take another along with me, to observe their number, and situation of their camp. I had no great inclination to undertake this affair, (and without a safe conduct there was no going at all) wherefore I told them, that at my departure from Venice, and at Padua, I had taken my leave very kindly of the proveditors, and that we had promised correspondence upon occasion, and therefore I did not question but upon any overture of a treaty they would meet me half way; whereas, if I should condescend to go to them, it would but make them the more arrogant; besides, I feared it was too late. The same Sunday I wrote to the proveditors (one of them was called Luques Pisano, and the other Melchior Trivisano) desiring that according to the agreement between ourselves at my departure from Padua, they would send me a passport, in order to have a conference with them. They sent me word, they would have done it with all their hearts, had we not begun a war against the Duke of Milan: however, one of them, (as they should agree) would meet me in some place in the mid-way between the two armies. I had their answer the same night, but none of those who were

great with the king took any notice of it. I was fearful of meddling too far, lest they should have interpreted it cowardice; so that I pressed it no farther that night, though I would willingly have done any thing to have delivered the king and his army out of danger, with any safety to myself.

About mid-night the Cardinal of St. Malo being come from the king, and his tent being near mine, came to me, and told me, that the king would march the next morning; that he was resolved to pass by them, and when he began to march, that he would fire some of his great guns into their army by way of defiance, and then march on in as good order as they could. I am of opinion it was the cardinal's own advice, for he was ignorant in such cases, and knew not what counsel to give; and it had been much more prudent in the king to have called a counsel of his officers, and all the grave men about him, to have consulted what measures had been proper to have been taken in that exigence of affairs; but the case had been the same, for in this very march I had seen many things concerted into council with very great prudence, but managed quite contrary when they came to be executed. I told the cardinal that if we came so near as to fire into their camp, they would certainly come out and skirmish with us, and that then it would be impossible to avoid a general battle; besides, it did not consist with the overture I had made, so that I was extremely concerned to hear the resolution the king had taken. However, such was my condition from the beginning of this king's reign, that I durst

not intermeddle; for fear I should disoblige his favourites, and make them my enemies, who had, indeed, greater authority with him than they ought to have had.

That night we had two great alarms, and all through our own negligence, in not having taken the same precaution to secure ourselves against the incursions of the estradiots, as we used to do against the light horse, for twenty of our men at arms with their archers would have stopped two hundred of them, but they were new to us then. We had great rains that night also, and such claps of thunder and lightning, as if heaven and earth were coming together; or that this was an omen of some impending mischief: but we were at the foot of great mountains, in a hot country, and in the height of the summer, so that the thing was natural enough; however it was very terrible, and our consternation was increased by our enemies being so numerous before us, and no possibility to pass without fighting them, which must be done upon great disadvantage; for our army was but small, not amounting to above nine thousand men in the whole; and of them, I believe, two thousand were servants, and such as followed the camp, without reckoning pages and footmen belonging to the officers.

CHAPTER VI.

The Battle of Fornova, in which the French defeated their Enemies ; and of the Count de Petillane's making his Escape from his Imprisonment during the Fight, and his rallying their Army.—1495.

THE next morning, the 6th of July, 1495, being Monday, by seven o'clock, the king mounted on horseback, and called for me several times : I came to him, and found him completely armed, and mounted upon the best horse I ever saw in my life. The horse was called Savoy, of the Bressian breed, and presented him, according to common report, by Charles, Duke of Savoy. It was a black horse, with but one eye, of no extraordinary stature, but tall enough for him that was to ride him. This young prince seemed that day quite another thing than what one would take him to be by his nature, proportion, and complexion. He was exceeding bashful, especially in speaking, and is so to this day ; and no wonder, for he had been brought up in great awe, and in the company of inferior people ; but now, being mounted on his horse, his eyes sparkled with fire, his complexion was fresh and lively, and all his words showed wisdom and discretion,—so that I partly believed the predictions of Friar Jerome, (and I thought of it at that time,) when he told me that God would conduct him, as it were, by the hand, and that he should meet with some difficulties in his return to his own dominions, but that he should overcome them all, and gain immortal honour by it. The king's business with

me was, that if those people would treat, I might go treat with them; and the cardinal being by, he nominated him to go along with me, as also the Marshal de Gié, who at that time was in a violent passion, occasioned by a dispute between the Counts de Narbonne and de Guise, both of which pretended to the command of the van that day. I replied, "Sir, I shall observe your commands;" but I never saw two great armies so near, but they fought before they parted.

Our whole army marched out of their camp in good order, the battalions near one another as the day before; but yet methought they did not make so fine an appearance as those I had formerly seen under Charles, Duke of Burgundy, and his father King Louis XI.,—nor, indeed, were they half so numerous. The cardinal and I withdrew a little, and dictated a letter to the two proveditors, which was written by one Monsieur Robertet, one of the king's secretaries, in whom he had great confidence. The substance of the letter was, that it was the cardinal's duty, by virtue of his quality and function, to procure peace, if it lay in his power; and mine also, for having been ambassador lately at Venice, it would not be improper to be a mediator now. We signified to them that the king's resolution was only to march through the country in his way to France, without committing any hostilities; and, therefore, if they desired a conference, as was proposed the day before, we were ready to meet, and would employ all our interest to accommodate matters. By this time the fight was begun, and

there was skirmishing in all places. As we were marching on slowly, with the river between us, we came within a quarter of a league one of the other, they being also drawn up in order of battle; for it is their custom to make their camp so large, that they can put themselves into battalia within it.

They sent out a party of their estradiots and bowmen on horseback, and some few men at arms, which marched directly, by private roads, to the village of Fornova, which we had just left, with a design to pass the little river Tarro in that place, and fall upon our carriages, which were very numerous (in all I believe, besides waggons, about six thousand sumpter-horses, mules, and asses). Their army was drawn up in as good order as possible, which they had practised several days before; and they relied much upon the superiority of forces. They attacked the king's army on every side, so that, if we had been beaten, not a man of us could have escaped, considering the country we were in. Those which I mentioned before fell upon our baggage. On the left hand, there were the Marquis of Mantua, his uncle, the Lord Rodolphus, the Count Fortebracio di Montone, with the flower of their army, consisting of six hundred men at arms, as they told me since; and these charged our rear. All the men at arms were well-barbed, with their plumes of feathers, their bourdonnasses*, their cross-bows on horseback, their estradiots, and their infantry, to sup-

* Bourdonnasses were hollow horsemen's staves, curiously painted and used in Italy by their men at arms.

port them. Against the Marshal de Gié and our vanguard, the Count di Cajazzo advanced with about four thousand men at arms well accoutred, and supported also by a good body of foot. There was, also, another brigade of men at arms, commanded by Signior John Bentivoglio, of Bologna, a young gentleman who had never been in a battle; and, to speak the truth, they wanted good officers as well as we. These were to second the Count di Cajazzo, and fall upon our van; and there was, also another squadron, in the nature of a *corps de reserve* to the Marquis of Mantua, which was commanded by Anthony d'Urbin, a bastard to the late Duke d'Urbin; besides all which there were two great bodies left firm in their camp, This I understood afterwards from themselves, and the next day I saw it with my eyes; for the Venetians would not venture all at one stake, nor leave their baggage unguarded, for fear of being plundered; yet, in my judgment, they had better have put all to a push, since they were so far engaged.

I shall now acquaint you with what became of the letter which the cardinal and I sent by a trumpet. It was received by the proveditors, and as soon as they had read it, our great guns began to play, and they answered us; but their's was not so good as ours. The proveditors sent the trumpet back, and the marquis sent another of his with this message, that they would willingly treat, and upon condition we would give over cannonading, they would do so too. I was then at a distance from the king, who was riding up and down from rank

to rank : I sent back the trumpets to let him know that our cannon should cease firing ; and sending to that purpose to the master of the artillery, both sides gave over for a time ; but on a sudden they fired a gun among us, and ours began to play more fiercely than before with three fresh pieces which we had levelled against them. As soon as our two trumpets were arrived in their camp, they were carried to the general's tent, where it was solemnly debated whether they should treat, or engage. The Count di Cajazzo (as they told me, who were present) urged that we were half vanquished already ; that this was no time for a treaty ; and one of the proveditors (who told me the story) was of his judgment, but the other not. The marquis was of that mind too, but his uncle was against it ; and being an honest and discreet man, strenuously opposed it, for he loved us well, and served against us unwillingly. At length they were unanimous in their opinion for fighting.

You must know that the king had placed his greatest strength in his van ; for in it there were about three hundred and fifty men at arms, three thousand Swiss, (the hopes of the whole army,) three hundred archers, and two hundred cross-bow men of his own guard, (which was exposing his royal person more than he ought to have done,) and which he ordered to fight among the foot. Besides these Swiss we had very few foot ; but what we had were distributed among them. There fought on foot among the Swiss the Lord Englebert, Monsieur de Cleves, brother to the Duke of

Cleves, Lornay, and the bailiff of Dijon, who commanded them; and the artillery was placed in their front. The forces that were left in the town of Florence, and those which were sent to Genoa against the judgment of all people, would have been of very great service to us at this time. Our van-guard had by this time marched on as far as the enemy's camp, and every body expected when they would have attacked us; but our two other bodies were neither so near, nor so well ordered as the day before; and because the Marquis of Mantua (who had already passed the river, and entered the plain) was within a quarter of a league of our rear ready to attack them, but marching slowly on, and in such close order, that it was a very fine sight to behold; the king was forced to turn his back upon his own van-guard, and face about to the rear. I was at that time with the cardinal attending an answer; but I told him it was no time to wait any longer, and so I passed by the Swiss squadron, and went to find out the king. In my passage I lost a page, (who was my cousin-german,) a valet-de-chambre, and a foot-boy, who followed at a distance; and I did not see when they were slain.

I was not come a hundred paces, when I heard a great noise in the place from whence I came, or a little behind it; it was the estradiots, who were gotten into the king's quarters, where there were not above three or four houses, and they rifled his baggage, and killed or wounded four or five men which belonged to them, the rest escaped; they killed about a hundred footboys and servants be-

longing to our carriages, and put our whole train in very great disorder. When I came where the king was, I found him making of knights. The enemy being come very near him, he was advised to give over: I heard Matthew the bastard of Bourbon, (who was in great favour with the king,) and one Philip de Moulin, (a private, but a very brave gentleman,) call to the king, and say, "On, sir, on;" upon which he went to the head of the army, and placed himself directly before his standard, so that there was not a man that I saw nearer the enemy, unless it were the bastard of Bourbon. I had not been with the king a quarter of an hour before the enemy was advanced within a hundred paces of his majesty, who was as ill guarded and attended as any prince that I ever saw; but he is well guarded who is guarded by God: And it was true what Friar Jerome had presaged, who said, "That God would lead him as it were by the hand." His rear was posted on the right, drawn up a little behind him. The next battalion to him on that side was the Duke of Orleans's troops, consisting of about eight hundred lances, commanded by Robinet de Frainzelles, about forty more by the Sieur de la Trimouille, and the Scotch archers about one hundred, who put themselves into as close order as if they had been men at arms. I was on the left among the gentlemen des Vint Escus, the pensioners, and others of the king's household: I will not mention their several captains, for brevity's sake; but the rear was commanded by Monsieur de Foix.

About a quarter of an hour (as I said before) after my arrival, the enemy being advanced as near the king as you have heard, began to couch their lances, advance upon a gentle gallop, and in two bodies charged our two squadrons on the right of them, and the Scotch archers: our's advanced towards them, and the king as bravely as any. On the left, where I was posted, we charged them on the flank much to our advantage; and, indeed, to say truth, never charge was brisker on both sides. Their estradiots, who were in the rear of that division, seeing our mules and sumpter-horses making with all speed to our van-guard, and their comrades beginning to plunder, quitted their men at arms, and ran to them to have their share of the booty; but certainly, if the weakest regiments in their army had but attacked us with only their scimitars in their hands (which is a terrible weapon) considering the smallness of our number, we must needs have been beaten; but God assisted us, for no sooner had they charged us with their lances, but their Italian men at arms fled, and all their infantry, or the greatest part of them, gave ground also. At the same time that this squadron charged us, the Count di Cajazzo attacked our van; but they came not so close, for when they should have rested their lances, their hearts failed, and they put themselves in disorder, and the Swiss took fifteen or twenty of them in a company, and put them to the sword: the rest fled, and were but indifferently pursued; for the Marshal de Gié with much ado kept his forces together, for he perceived ano-

ther great body of them not very far off: However, some followed the chase, and the enemy fled over the ground where we had charged along the highway with their swords only in their hands; for their lances they had thrown away. But you must know that brigade which charged the king, was warmly pursued; for all of us made after them: some of them fled to the village from whence we were come, others made to their camp, and all of us after them: only the king staid behind with some few of his troops, and put himself in no little danger by doing so. One of the first men of the enemy which was slain was the Lord Rodolphus of Mantua, the marquis's uncle, (who was to have sent orders to the Lord Anthony d'Urbin, when it was time for him to march,) for they thought the battle would have lasted a long while, according to the custom of Italy, and the Lord Anthony excused himself upon that score; but I believe he saw nothing to encourage him to advance. We had a great number of grooms and servants with our wagons, who flocked about the Italian men at arms, when they were dismounted, and knocked most of them on the head. The greatest part of them had their hatchets (which they cut their wood with) in their hands, and with them they broke up their head pieces, and then knocked out their brains; otherwise they could not easily have killed them, they were so very well armed; and to be sure there were three or four of our men to do their business. The long swords also, which our archers and servants wore, did very good execution. The

king continued on the ground where he was charged, declaring that he would neither follow the chase, nor retire to our van-guard, which was at too far a distance. He had appointed seven or eight young gentlemen to attend constantly about him. He had escaped very well the first charge, considering how near he was to the enemy; for within twenty paces of him the bastard of Bourbon was taken prisoner, and carried off to their camp.

The king, (as I said before,) remained in the same place, and so ill attended, that of all his squadron he had none left him but Anthony des Ambus, a gentleman of his bed-chamber, a little man, and but ill armed; the others were all dispersed, as he told me himself at night before their faces, and they ought to have been ashamed: but they came to his assistance very seasonably; for a small party of the routed enemy coming by upon the road, and perceiving it so thin of men, fell upon the king and the gentleman of his bed-chamber; but the king, by the activity of his horse, (which was the best in the world,) kept them in play till other of his men came up, which were not far off; and then the Italians were all cut in pieces. Upon this the king took their counsel, and retired to his van, which had never stirred from its ground. Thus the king came off victoriously with the main battle, and if the van had advanced but a hundred paces, the enemy's whole army had fled; some said they ought to have advanced, and others, that they ought not.

Our troops which pursued, followed them to their very camp, which was extended towards Fornova;

and I saw none of our men touched but one Julian Bourgneuf, who fell down dead with a blow that was given him by an Italian man at arms who passed by him ; for he was very ill armed. Upon that accident we stopped, and cried, " Let us return to the king ;" and that very word stopped the whole party to give our horses breath, which had been very hard ridden, and were tired with the length of the way, which was full of sharp stones and gravel. Not far from us we saw a party of about thirty of the enemy's men at arms march along ; but we were in disorder, and suffered them to pass. When our horses had taken a little breath, we went in search of the king, not knowing where he was ; we marched a good trot, but we had not gone far before we perceived him at a great distance. We caused our servants to alight and gather up the lances, which lay very thick upon the field, and especially the bourdonasses ; but they were good for nothing, for they were hollow and light, and weighed no more than a javelin, yet finely painted ; so that we were better furnished with lances than the day before, and marched directly towards the king. In our way we fell in with several bodies of the enemy's foot, who were of the Marquis's division, and had hid themselves behind the hills, when he made his charge upon the king. Several of them were slain, but others got over the river, and escaped, and we never troubled ourselves about them. Some of our men in the heat of the action cried out to them, " Remember Guynegate," which was a battle we had lost in King Louis's time, in Picardy, against

the King of the Romans, where our people fell a plundering the wagons, though there our men had got nothing; but here their estradiots took what they thought good, and pillaged as they pleased; but they carried off only five and fifty of our richest and best covered sumpters, which belonged to the king, to the two chamberlains, and one of the king's gentlemen of his bed-chamber called Gabriel, to whose care were committed all the relics and curiosities, which of a long time had belonged to the Kings of France, and were then in the army, because the king was there in person. Several other of our sumpters and wagons were overturned, lost, and plundered by our own men; but the enemy had no more than I have already mentioned. We had, indeed, several rogues and wenchers which followed the camp on foot, who stripped the dead, and did a great deal of mischief. To speak the truth, (upon impartial information on both sides,) we lost only Julian Bourgneuf, the captain of the king's gate, nine of the Scotch archers, a gentleman of the household, about twenty horse of the vanguard, and seventy or eighty servants belonging to our baggage. On their side, they lost three hundred and fifty men at arms upon the place; for no prisoners were taken, which perhaps never happened before. Few of their estradiots were slain, for they were busy in plundering when they should have been fighting. In the whole, (as I have been informed by several of their nobility,) they lost three thousand five hundred men, (others say more,) and among them several persons of quality. I myself

saw a list of eighteen, all of them considerable persons, and among the rest four or five of the Gonzagues, which is the marquis's own family. The Marquis of Mantua in this battle lost sixty gentlemen of his own subjects, all horse, and not one foot among them. It is strange, that so many should be killed with the sword, for our artillery killed not ten in both armies, and the battle held not a quarter of an hour; for as soon as the enemy had broke their lances, they fled, and the chase lasted about three quarters of an hour; but their battles in Italy used not to be managed at this rate; their custom was to fight squadron after squadron, and the fight lasted sometimes a whole day together, and at last neither wins the victory.

The rout was great on their side; three hundred of their men at arms, and most part of their estradiots ran away, some to Reggio*, and others to Parma, which was about eight leagues from the field of battle. When our army was first engaged in the morning, the Count de Petillane and the Lord Virgil Ursini fled from us: the Lord Virgil only retired to a gentleman's house of his acquaintance hard by, and staid there upon his parole; but the truth is, we had done him an injury. The Count de Petillane ran quite to the enemy; he was a person well known in their army, for he always had a command under the Florentines, or King Ferrand; he began (as soon as he was got amongst them,) to cry out, "A Petillane, a Petillane," following those

* This is not Reggio in Calabria, but another city of the same name in the dukedom of Modena, fifteen miles from Parma. It is called in Latin, *Regium Lepidi*.

who fled above three leagues, calling out to them, and assuring them that there was no danger, and that if they faced about, the day would still be their own: by which means he rallied a great part of them, and gave them good hopes; and if it had not been for him it had been a total defeat; for it was a great encouragement to have such an officer escape from us, and come into their assistance.

He was eager for attacking us again that very night, but all the rest of the officers opposed it. He told me so since himself, and the Marquis of Mantua confirmed it, and owned that advice to be his; and this is certain, had it not been for him, their army would not have kept together till morning.

As soon as we were got up to the king, we discovered a great body of men at arms drawn up in order of battle without their camp, with some foot; but we could only discover their heads, and the tops of their pikes and lances. They had stood there all day, but they were farther off than we imagined; before we could have come at them, we must have passed the river, which was deep, and increased every hour; for it had thundered, lightened, and rained most prodigiously all that day, especially during the fight, and while we were in the pursuit. The king immediately called a council of war, in which it was debated whether he should advance against this new body or not. There were then with him three Italians, persons of very good quality and conduct; one of them was Signior John James di Trivulce (who is yet living, and behaved himself very well that day,) another was Francis Secco, a

'brave man of seventy-two years of age, and bred a soldier under the Florentines ; the third was Signior Camillo Vitelli, (who, with three of his brothers, was then in the king's service,) came unsent for from Civita-del-Castello as far as Sarzana, (which is a great way,) to be at this battle ; and, finding that it was impossible to come time enough with his troops, he left them to march slowly after, and advanced before with all speed to overtake the king. The two last were of opinion, that we should attack the body that was still unbroken ; but the French officers, being consulted, gave their judgment against it, pretending we had done enough, that it grew late, and was time to think of quarters. Secco persisted, and pressed hard to have that body charged, he showed them people passing to and again upon the great road that led to Parma, (which was the next town they had to retreat to,) assuring them that the enemy was either flying or rallying again, and, as we heard afterwards, he was in the right of it. His behaviour and counsel denoted him to be a great man ; for, all the officers told me afterwards, and some of them before the Duke of Milan's face, that if we had but advanced against them, we had certainly obtained the greatest and most glorious victory that the French nation had won in ten years before ; for, had we known how to have improved it, and obliged the people by our civil treatment of them, in eight days' time the Duke of Milan would not have had any thing left but the castle of Milan, so inclinable were his subjects to revolt from him. And the Venetians had

been much in the same condition, so that he needed not to have concerned himself any farther about Naples ; for the Venetians would have been able to have raised men only in Venice, Brescia, and Cremona, (which is but a small place,) for all the rest of their territories would have been lost. But God dealt by us as Friar Jerome had foretold, and we had the honour of the day, though, to speak truth, our ill conduct did not deserve it, nor did we know then how to manage our victory ; but, now it being in the year 1497, if such good fortune should happen to the king, I suppose he could order it better.

Whilst we were in this suspense, the night drew on, and the enemy that had faced us, marched off into their camp. We on the other side, took up our quarters about a quarter of a league from the field of battle. The king lay in a farm-house, or (by the meanness of the building) a cottage ; but the barns belonging to it were full of unthreshed corn, which served for provender for our horses. There were a few houses besides that in which the king lay, but worse than the other, so as they were but little benefit to us, and every one was forced to quarter as he could. For my part, I remember I lay in a little pitiful vineyard upon the ground, without any thing under me ; for the king had borrowed my cloak in the morning, and my baggage was not to be found. He that had any thing to eat kept himself from starving, but very few had any victuals more than a crust of bread, or so, which they took from their servants. I saw the king in his chamber, where there were several wounded, amongst the rest, the

seneschal of Lyons and others, whom he caused to be dressed. The king was very cheerful, and every one was pleased he had escaped so well; but we did not huff and swagger as we used to do, for the enemy was at hand. All our Swiss were that night upon the guard; the king gave them three hundred crowns, and they watched very diligently, and their drums beat bravely during the whole night.

CHAPTER VII.

Of the Lord of Argenton's going alone to parley with the Enemy, upon the refusal of those that were deputed to go along with him, and of the King's safe arrival with his whole Army at Asti.—1495.

THE next morning I resolved with myself to pursue our negotiation for a peace, being always very solicitous about the king's passage in safety; but I could scarce find a trumpet that would venture to the enemy's camp, because nine of their trumpets had been slain (unknown) in the battle, and they had taken one of ours, and killed another, whom, (as I mentioned before,) the king had sent to them before the fight began; but at last, one of our trumpets was prevailed upon to go, and went to the enemy with a passport from the king, and brought me another to meet and confer in the midway between the two armies. I judged it to be dangerous; however, I resolved not to break with them, nor pretend any difficulty. The king nominated the cardinal of St. Malo, the Lord de Gié Marshal

of France, the Lord de Piennes* his chamberlain and myself. The enemy appointed the Marquis of Mantua captain-general of the Venetians, the Count di Cajazzo general for the Duke of Milan, and formerly of our side, and Signior Luques Pisano and Melchior Trevisano the two proveditors. We approached so near, that we could plainly discern them, and that there were only those four upon the bank and the river between us, which was much swelled the day before. Nobody but they appeared out of their camp, and on our side, there was nobody but we and a sentinel that stood over against them. We sent a herald to know whether they would pass the river to us, which I thought a hard matter to persuade them too, because I believed it was what both sides would scruple to do. Their answer was, that by agreement, the conference was to be in the midway between the two armies; that they had advanced already above half way, and being the chief officers in their army, they could not pass over without danger, which they did not think prudence to venture. Ours were as careful of themselves, and made the same difficulty on their side, but would needs have me go and confer with them without farther instructions. I told them I could not in discretion go alone, and that I would at least have one witness along with me; upon which, there went with me, one of the king's secretaries called Robertet, a servant of my own, and a

* Lewis de Hallewin Lord of Piennes, or rather Peene in Flanders, chamberlain to Louis XI. and Charles VIII., and governor of Picardy. It is the same that is mentioned in BRANTOME'S *Memoirs of illustrious Frenchmen*.—Vol. I.

herald, with whom I passed the river in confidence, that if I could not come to any accommodation, I should yet discharge myself as to them, since by my means, the conference was accepted. When I came within hearing, I told them they were not come half way as they pretended, and that they ought at least to have come to the river's side; however, since they were so near, I did not think it fit to let them return without being spoken with. They replied, that the river was broad, and the noise of the waters so great, that they could not hear one another to the other side; and I could use no argument powerful enough to persuade them to advance any farther; but they asked me for my proposals: I answered, that I had no such commission, and that alone I could say nothing to them; but if they pleased to offer any thing, I would acquaint the king with it. While we stood talking in this manner, a messenger came to me to let me know that our commissioners were going back, and I might make what overtures I pleased; but I refused to do that, for they understood the king's pleasure better than I, as being of his cabal; besides they had whispered in his ear at their coming away; but as to the business then in agitation, I knew as much as the best of them. The Marquis of Mantua began to discourse about the battle, and asked me if the king would have put him to death, if he had taken him prisoner. I told him, no, but he would have treated him honourably; for the king had reason to esteem him for the great honour he had gained by his attacking him. Then he spoke

to me in the behalf of the prisoners, and particularly of his uncle the Lord Rodolphus, whom he thought to be alive, but I knew the contrary; however, I assured him they should be all civilly used; and then I recommended to him the bastard of Bourbon, who was their prisoner. It was no hard matter to use our prisoners well; for we had given no quarter, which perhaps, was more than had been known in any battle before; and the marquis had lost seven or eight of his near relations, and about sixscore of his men at arms. After which discourse I took my leave, and promised to return before night, till when we agreed on a cessation of arms.

Upon my return to the king, and his secretary with me, he asked me what news? and immediately called a council of war in a pitiful poor chamber; but every body's eye was fixed upon his neighbour, and we came to no resolution. The king whispered something in the cardinal's ear, and then told me I should go back, and see what they would say; (but the proposition of a conference proceeding from me, it was probable they would insist that I should make some overtures first) after which the cardinal told me I should conclude nothing; but that was trifling, for it was not in my power to conclude any thing without instructions from them. However, I would neither say nor do any thing that might hinder my going, for I resolved to do no harm, and I was in hopes to discover something by the enemy's looks, who, without doubt, were more fearful than we; and perhaps something or other might fall from them, that

might be improved to the benefit of both parties. So I set out for their camp ; but it was night before I reached the banks of the river. One of their trumpets met me there, from their four commissioners, to desire I would advance no further that evening ; for their estradiots were upon the guard, who would know nobody, and therefore, in all probability, it would be dangerous for me to venture ; but if I pleased, he told me he would stay with me all night, and conduct me in the morning. However, I sent him back, and told him I would be there again next morning by eight o'clock, where he should expect me ; or if any thing happened to the contrary, I would give them notice by a herald ; for I had no mind he should know any thing of our condition that night, nor could I tell what resolution the king would take ; for I saw people whispering in his ear, which made me suspect ; and so I returned to give his majesty an account of what I had done.

Every man supped on what he could get to eat, and took up his lodging upon the ground. About midnight I went to the king's chamber, where I found the gentlemen of his bed-chamber booted and spurred, and ready to mount on horseback ; they acquainted me with the king's resolution of retreating with all expedition towards Asti, and the territories of the Marchioness of Montferrat ; and desired me to stay behind, and amuse the enemy with the treaty. I heartily thanked them for their love, told them I took no delight in being killed, and that I would be on horseback, as soon as the best. A while after, the king awaked ; and

having heard mass, he mounted immediately. An hour before day, one of our trumpets sounded the bon guet, but when we decamped we made no use of our trumpets, nor indeed was it proper to do it: However, this silent stealing away in the night was enough to have discouraged the whole army, especially those who knew what belonged to the wars; for we turned our back upon the enemy, and consulted nothing but our safety, which in an army is of dangerous consequence. Besides, at our first decampment we had a very ill marching; for the ways were deep and woody, and having no guides, we lost ourselves several times. I heard the soldiers call for guides to their ensigns; the master of the horse and all of them answered, there were none: but we had no need of any, for God had conducted us thither, and (as Friar Jerome said) he would carry us back again; otherwise it could not have been supposed that so great a prince would have marched in the night without a guide, where so many might have been had. Besides, God gave us a greater evidence than this of his immediate protection; for the enemy perceived nothing of our decampment till noon the next day, still depending upon the treaty which I had set on foot; and then the river was so swelled, it was past four in the afternoon before any party durst venture over to pursue us. The first that passed was the Count di Cajazzo with two hundred Italian horse, but the current was so strong, they passed in a great deal of danger, and, as I was told afterwards, a man or two were drowned. In the mean time, we marched

on through woody and uneven ways, where we could go but one abreast for near six miles together; but at last we came into a fair plain, where our van, artillery, and baggage were arrived before, and were so numerous and great, that at first sight they frightened us, when we saw the white colours chequered with red, which belonged to Signior John James di Trivulce, and were like those which were carried before the Marquis of Mantua in the fight. Our van were in no less fear of our rear, seeing them at a distance out of the road, and marching towards them as fast as they could; upon which both parties stood to their arms, and drew up in order of battle: but that fear was soon over, for our scouts met immediately, and knew one another; so we marched to Borgo San-Donino, where we halted and refreshed our men, and where also a false alarm was given, on purpose to get our Swiss out of the town, lest they should have plundered it. From thence we marched, and took up our quarters that night at Florensola, and the second night near Placenza, where we passed the Trebia, but left two hundred lances, our Swiss, and all our artillery, except six pieces, on the other side of the river: and this the king did, that his army might encamp more commodiously, not doubting but that those troops might have passed it when he pleased; for the river is commonly low, and especially at that time of the year. However, about ten o'clock at night it swelled so fast, nobody could get over either on foot or on horseback; neither could one party have relieved the other, in case of necessity, which was

very dangerous, considering how near the enemy was to us. All that night was spent on both sides in contriving a remedy, but nothing would do till the water fell of itself, which was about five in the morning. Then we threw over ropes to the other side, to help the passage of our foot, who were forced to wade up to the waste. When they were over, the horse and artillery came after, but with great difficulty and danger, not only from the garrison of Placenza, but from the Count di Cajazzo, who was got into the town, upon intelligence that there were designs to betray it to the king, but it was upon the title of a young son of John Galeas, the last duke of Milan, who died not long before, as you have heard. If the king would have accepted such overtures as these, several other persons and towns would willingly have come in, by the interest of Signior John James di Trivulce; but he would not hearken to any thing prejudicial to the pretensions of his cousin the Duke of Orleans, who was then in Novara; and yet, to speak impartially on the other hand, his majesty was not pleased with the grandeur and power of his cousin; but his chief design was to march on with his army, and leave those disputes to be adjusted as they could. The third day after the battle the king dined at Castel San-Giovanni, and lay in a wood; the fourth he dined at Voghera, and lay at Pont-Curon; the next night he lay near Tortona, where he passed the river Scrivia, which Fracasse was to make good; for the garrison of Tortona was for the Duke of Milan, and commanded by him: but when

he was informed by our quarter-masters that the king intended not to stay, he retired into the town, and sent us word, that he would furnish us with what provisions we pleased; and he faithfully performed his promise; for our whole army marching under the walls of the town, Fracasse came out (in his arms) to wait upon the king, but attended only by two persons; he excused himself as handsomely as he could for not quartering us in the town, sent out for more provisions, (so that our army was plentifully furnished,) and came again at night, to pay his respects to the king at his tent. But you must know he was of the house of St. Severino, Brother to the Count di Cajazzo, and the Lord Galeas; and not long before had served the king in Romania, as has been already observed. From thence our next march was to Nice de la Paille, which belonged to the Marquisate of Montferrat, and glad we were to reach that place; for then we were safe, and in the country of our friends. Before our arrival there, the enemy's light horse, under the command of the Count di Cajazzo, were perpetually at our heels, and gave us great disturbance; for few of our horse were willing to be in the rear, because the nearer we approached to a place of security, the more difficult it was to persuade them to fight. Some say it is the nature of the French, and Italian authors have written, that in their attacks they are more than men, but less than women in their retreat. The first part of their character I believe, for certainly upon a charge they are the fiercest nation in the world (I

mean their cavalry); but at the end of an engagement, there is no nation in the world but is less daring and courageous than they were in the beginning of the action. But to continue our discourse: Our rear was brought up by three hundred Swiss, with several field-pieces, and a strong body of Arquebusiers on horseback, who bear off their estradiots. However, the grand army which fought us was pursuing with all possible diligence, but beginning their march a day after us, and being heavily armed, they could not get up to us; so that we lost not a man in our retreat, nor could they ever come within a mile of our rear. When they found they could not come up with us, (and perhaps they never desired it,) they turned off towards Novara, where, as we said before, the Duke of Milan and the Venetians had another army; but if they could have reached us as soon as we began our retreat, in all probability they had succeeded better than in the valley of Fornova.

I have said in several places of these Memoirs, that I have seen and by experience found, that God was our conductor in this expedition into Italy; yet it is convenient for me to repeat it again, for though from the time of the battle to our arrival at Nice de la Paille, our quarters were unequally taken up; yet we bore the hardships and inconveniences of the long march, without raising any mutiny or murmuring in the least. Our great want was of provisions, yet we were in some measure supplied by the country people, who might easily have poisoned us if they had pleased, not only

in our victuals and wine, but in our waters too, and our wells, which might have been dried up in a moment; for I do not remember I saw any but what were very small, and would in a moment sometimes be dried up. If they had had a mind to have destroyed us by poison, it was in their power to have done it, and therefore we may reasonably believe our Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ prevented that desire in them. I have seen our men so dry, that our foot in great numbers have lain down upon their bellies, and drank out of ditches about the little villages through which we marched. Our marches were long, and our drink nothing but standing water that stunk; and yet our men were so greedy, they ran themselves up to the waist to come at it; for we had multitudes which followed the camp, and were not soldiers, but belonged to our mules. The king always marched before day, but never took a guide with him, nor baited till noon, and then he dined; and those that attended him took what care they could of themselves. No man in the whole army, though of the best quality, was excused from looking to his own horse, but every one brought his own straw or hay in his arms. Twice I did it myself, and was two days without eating any thing but bread, and that none of the best; yet I suffered not so much hardship as others did. Our army was highly to be commended for one thing, and that is, that I never heard any of our soldiers complain; and yet it was the most painful and incommodious march I ever made,

though I have been in several bad enough with Charles Duke of Burgundy. We marched no faster than our artillery, and were often forced to halt, on purpose to mend them, which besides the want of horses to draw them, incommoded us extremely; but whenever we were hard put to it, we were generously supplied by the officers of the army: so that we lost not one piece, nor one pound of powder in our retreat; and yet I am of opinion never any man saw guns of their bigness conveyed with such expedition through such impassable places. When I have mentioned any thing of disorder or inconvenience in our quarters elsewhere, it was not for want of good officers, and men of experience in our army; but (as fortune would have it) they had no authority with the king, who was young and untractable, as I said before; so that to conclude, our Saviour Jesus Christ did most manifestly reserve the glory of that voyage to himself. The seventh day after the battle we marched from Nice de la Paille, and encamped all together in the field, not far from Alexandria. We doubled our guards that night, and kept very strict watch, and the next morning we marched to Asti, (that is to say, the king and those that attended on him) for the army continued in the field. We found the town of Asti well furnished with provisions, which was a great refreshment to our wearied troops, who wanted them sufficiently, having endured much hunger, thirst, labour, heat, and watching; and after all had no clothes to their backs, to defend them from

the weather. As soon as the king was in Asti, about an hour before bed-time, I despatched one Philip de la Coudre (who had formerly been mine, but was then a servant to the duke of Orleans) to Novara, where the duke was besieged, though not so close, but people might get in and out; for their design was only to starve them. I sent him word by this gentleman, that our king had several treaties on foot with the Duke of Milan, (one of which I managed by the Duke of Ferrara's means) for which reason I thought it convenient he should immediately wait on the king, after he had assured his party in the town that he would return in a short time, or send them relief. They were no less than 7500 men in pay, and as fine a body of troops (for their number) both French and Swiss, as ever was seen in the field. By that time the king had been a day at Asti, he had intelligence from the Duke of Orleans, and other places, that the enemies' two armies were joined before Novara; and the duke pressed for supplies, for (by reason of their imprudence at first) their provisions began to fail; but had they been so provident when they came into the town, as they ought to have been, they need not have been in distress; for there was plenty enough in the villages about it, especially of corn, which if brought timely into the town, and carefully laid up in magazines, they would not have been forced to surrender: for had they held out but one month longer, they had come off honourably themselves, and the enemy with shame and confusion.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the King's fitting out a Fleet with an intention to have relieved the Castles of Naples ; and of the Miscarriage of that Design.—1495.

As soon as the king had refreshed himself some few days at Asti, he marched to Turin ; and at his departure from Asti he despatched one Peron de Basche, the steward of his household, to set out a fleet with all speed for the relief of the castles of Naples, which held out for the king. He obeyed his majesty's orders, rigged out his fleet, and gave the command of it to the Lord d' Arban, who sailed with it as far as the city of Pisa, or the isle of Pro-cita, within sight of the enemy ; but the weather was bad and would not suffer them to engage, so that the fleet came to nothing ; for the Lord d' Arban returning to Leghorn, most part of his men got on shore, and ran away from their ships, and the enemy came with their fleet into the port of Portobarato, not far from Piombino, where he continued two months complete, so that our men sent some small supplies into Naples, by reason that the nature of this port is such, that unless it be by one single wind they can hardly get out, and that wind blows seldom in winter. The Lord d' Arban was valiant* in his person, and a very skilful admiral.

During the king's stay at Turin many proposals passed between the king and the Duke of Milan, and some by the mediation of the Duchess of

* Guicciardini says that the Lord d'Arban was no good admiral, and therefore in all probability this passage is corrupted.

Savoy, who was the Marquis of Monferrat's daughter, a widow, and mother to the young duke that was then living: Others were transacted by other people: I was also concerned; for the confederates (by whom I mean the commanders at that time before Novara) had a great desire to have me employed in it, and sent me a passport; but (as there are always emulations at court) the cardinal would not suffer it, but prevailed that the overture by the Duchess of Savoy might be preferred, which was managed by the cardinal's landlord, who was treasurer of Savoy, a wise man, and a good servant to his mistress: this treaty took up a long time, upon which the Bailiff of Dijon was sent into Switzerland, to raise five thousand of their men.

I have already mentioned the equipping our fleet at Nice, and its setting sail for the relief of the castles of Naples, but it could not be effected for the above-mentioned reasons; upon which the Lord de Montpensier, and the rest of the officers that were in the castles aforesaid, (perceiving their condition) by the means of the army, which was left in divers places for the defence of that kingdom, and was then drawn as near the castle as possible, resolved to quit it, leaving a number to defend the castles proportionable to the provisions which were left; for they were too little to sustain them all along, and having given the command of them to Ognas and two other officers of conduct and experience, the Lord de Montpensier, the Prince of Salerno, the Seneschal of Beaucaire and others, marched off with two thousand five hundred men,

for Salerno. King Ferrand pretended it was contrary to their treaty, and that the hostages which they had given him a few days before, which were the Lord d' Alegre, Monsieur de la Marche d' Ardain, the Lord de la Chapel d' Anjou, Monsieur Roquebertin, a Catalonian, and one Monsieur Genly, were at his mercy, and he might lawfully put them to death. You must understand that some three months before, by the intelligence of the enemy, and our ill order, King Ferrand got into the town, though our men had notice of all his designs. I would enlarge upon this, but I can say nothing but by hearsay, (yet I had it from very good hands,) however it is not my method to insist upon any thing that I was not an eye-witness of. While King Ferrand was in Naples, he received the news of our master's being killed in the battle of Fornova; and our men in the castle had the same, from several letters and stories forged by the Duke of Milan, which they believed as readily as the Colonna, who revolted from us immediately, as desiring to be always of the strongest side, though (as we said before) they were extremely obliged to the king. Upon these reports, but chiefly because our men were retired in great numbers into the castle (where provisions were scarce) and had lost all their horses and household-stuff in the town, they came to a treaty the 6th of October, 1495, (after they had been besieged three months and fourteen days) and about three weeks after the treaty, they marched away. They had promised, that if they were not relieved by a certain day, they

would march off into Provence, and leave the castles without farther act of hostility against that kingdom, either by sea or by land; for performance of which the said hostages were given. And as King Ferrand alleged, they had broken their promise by departing without leave; so ours affirmed the contrary; but the hostages were in no little danger, and not without cause. Whatever their articles were, I think our men did wisely to march away; but they had done better if they had delivered up the castles when they went, and taken their hostages along with them: for by reason of their want of provisions and their despair of relief, they were forced to surrender them within twenty days after, and the loss of the castle of Naples was the loss of the whole kingdom.

CHAPTER IX.

Of the Famine and Misery the Duke of Orleans and his Army were reduced to at Novara. Of the Death of the Marchioness of Montferret. Of the Death of the Duke of Vendome; and the conclusion of a Peace for the preservation of the besieged after several Negotiations.—1495.

THE king, during his stay at Turin, or at Quiers, (whither he went sometime for his diversion) grew impatient for the Swiss he had sent the bailiff of Dijon to raise in Switzerland; being extremely desirous, if possible, to restore the young Duke of Milan, having but little regard to the distress of

his cousin the Duke of Orleans, who began to be straitened in provisions, and sent couriers to us every day to hasten our march in order to relieve him. The enemy was advanced in their approaches, and gotten nearer the town than ever; besides, they were reinforced with a thousand German horse, under the command of Monsieur Frederic Capelare, of the county of Ferrete, a brave soldier and an excellent officer, and brought up both in the wars of Italy and France; they had a recruit likewise of eleven thousand Dutch foot, out of the territories of the king of the Romans, commanded by Monsieur George Dabecfin, a native of Austria, a person of great valour, and the very same that took St. Omers for the King of the Romans.

The king seeing the enemy's army daily reinforced, and that no honourable terms were to be expected, was persuaded to retire to Vercelli, and there to concert measures how to relieve the Duke of Orleans, who, as is said before, had taken no care to erect any magazines for the subsistence of his army upon his first entrance into Novara; and certainly it had been much better for the duke to have followed the advice which I gave him upon the king's return to Asti, to put all useless persons out of the town, and repair himself to the king; for his presence would have advanced his affairs, at least the troops he had left behind would not have been reduced to such extremity of hunger, for he would have capitulated sooner, when he had found there was no hopes of relief. But the archbishop of

Roan *, who was with him at the taking of Novara, and was then with the king, to solicit in his behalf, sent him word not to stir, and assured him of relief; grounding his confidence upon the promises of the Cardinal of St. Malo, who was the only man with the king. The archbishop spoke as his affections prompted him; but I was assured of the contrary, for nobody had any inclination to return to the battle, unless the king went in person, and his majesty had no inclination to that, the dispute being only about that town, which the Duke of Orleans desired to keep, and the Duke of Milan to recover; because, being within ten leagues of Milan, he thought it necessary that they should be both under one jurisdiction, there being nine or ten great cities within a small compass depending upon the said duchy. However, Ludowick Sforza offered fair, that if we would deliver up Novara, and not disturb him in Genoa, in other things he would serve the king to the utmost of his power.

Several great convoys of provision, both of corn and meal, were sent into Novara; but they always left half by the way; and once a small one of sixty men at arms, under the command of Chastillon, a young gentleman belonging to the court, was quite broken, some taken, some few entered, and others with great difficulty escaped; so that it is not to be imagined the extremity the garrison was reduced to. Every day some or other were starved to death, two parts in three were afflicted with distempers,

* George d'Amboise, afterwards a cardinal, and chief minister of state to Louis XII. from 1498 to 1509. He died at Leon.

of which we had pitiful and continual accounts, both in ciphers and otherwise, which came to us with very great difficulty. We constantly gave them fair promises, and as constantly deceived them; those who had the sole administration of affairs were very inclinable to fight; but they did not consider that nobody desired it besides themselves, for the great officers, as the Prince of Orange, (whom, upon his late arrival, the king often consulted in military affairs,) and all the officers of the army, desired things might be composed and adjusted by a peace, because winter was approaching, money wanting, their army but weak and sickly, and soldiers deserting daily, whilst others were dismissed by the king. Yet all the wise men in the camp were not able to persuade the bishop of Roan from encouraging the Duke of Orleans, and writing to him not to leave Novara; by which advice they brought him into a great deal of danger; but this advice proceeded from an expectation of great recruits out of Switzerland, which the bailiff of Dijon had assured them he could raise. Some of our courtiers wrote to him to bring as many troops as he could assemble; thus our councils were divided, and every man wrote as he pleased. Those who were averse to an accommodation, or to any meeting about it, pretended the enemy ought to make some overtures first, and that it did not consist with the king's honour to begin; and the enemy being as high on their side, the poor garrison in Novara suffered incredibly, and their letters were full of nothing but relations of their miseries, as-

suring us first they could not hold out above ten days, then eight, and at last three ; but they had exceeded the time which they had formerly set. To be short, such necessities had not been known in our time, nor so great a famine in an hundred years before.

During this posture of affairs the Marchioness of Montferrat died, and left her country involved in some troubles in respect of the competition for its government. The Marquis of Saluzzo pretended to it on one side, and the Lord Constantine, uncle to the Marchioness, on the other, who was a Greek as well as his niece, who was the King of Servia's daughter, but both of them ruined by the Turks. This Lord Constantine had fortified the castle of Casale, where he kept as prisoners the two sons (the eldest being scarce nine years old,) of his nephew the marquis, by that beautiful and discreet lady his niece, who died in the twenty-ninth year of her age, and was a constant friend to the French. Other persons pretended likewise to the government, and there was great contesting before the king by their respective agents, who endeavoured to support the interest of their respective masters. The king commanded me thither, with instructions to settle things for the advantage of the young children, and the general satisfaction of the people ; fearing lest by those differences the Duke of Milan should be brought in, for the lord of that country was his very good ally. I was extremely concerned at my orders, especially being to depart before I could set the treaty of peace on foot again ; for I

was sensible in what condition the town was. I saw winter approaching, and apprehended lest the prelates* should bring the king to a new battle, who (unless mightily supplied from Switzerland) would be probably too weak, and if the supplies were as numerous as they were reported to be, it would not be safe for the king to venture himself in their hands; besides, the enemy was powerful, strongly encamped, and very well fortified. Upon these considerations, I presumed to let the king know, that in my judgment he would put himself and his kingdom in very great hazard, upon a small and trifling occasion; that the danger which he escaped at the battle of Fornova ought not to be forgotten, but there he was under a necessity, here he was not. Wherefore I did humbly recommend to him not to defeat himself of an honourable accommodation, upon the ceremony of the first overture; yet, if he pleased to authorize me, I questioned not but to make a peace without the least dishonour to either side. He replied, that he would have me mention it to the cardinal; and so I did, but he gave me strange unaccountable answers, expressing an inclination to fight, and making sure of the victory; and he told me the Duke of Orleans had promised, whenever he came to the duchy of Milan, to give him ten thousand ducats a-year for one of his sons. The next morning I went to wait on the king, and take my leave of his majesty, in order to begin my journey to Casale, (which would

* The cardinal of St. Malo, and the archbishop of Roan.

cost me about a day and a half.) I met the Lord de la Trimouille there, acquainted him with what had passed, (he being in great favour with the king,) and desired his judgment whether I ought to mention the affair to him again; he told me by all means, for every body was very desirous of peace. The king was at that time in the garden; I revived the discourse before the cardinal, who told me that he, being an ecclesiastic, it was most proper for him to begin it. I answered, if he did not, I would; for I perceived the king was inclinable enough, and all that were about him. After which I took my leave; and at my departure I told the Prince of Orange, (who commanded the army in chief,) that if I began any thing in that business, my addresses should be to him; and so I went to Casale, where I was well received by all of that family, and found them all unanimous for the Lord Constantine, as a person fitter for the guardianship of the children, as being incapable of the succession, to which the Marquis of Saluzzo pretended a right. I caused a convention several days together, both of the nobility, clergy, and townsmen, and at the request of most of them, I declared that it was my master's pleasure that the Lord Constantine should be continued in the government; for, considering the king's forces on that side of the mountains, and the affection that court had always retained to the court of France, I presumed they would not contradict the king's desires.

I had scarce been three days at Casale before there arrived a gentleman from the Marquis of

Mantua, captain-general for the Venetians, in a compliment of condolence upon the death of the late marchioness, as being related to the family of Montferrat. This gentleman was steward of the marquis's household; and he and I by degrees began to consult how we might prevent the battle that was likely to be shortly; for all things tended to war, and the king was encamped not far from Vercelli; though, to speak the truth, he himself only passed the river, and let his army encamp there, which was but ill provided with tents and pavilions, for they had brought but few with them, and those few were lost; besides, the ground was moist,—for winter was coming on, and the country but low.

The king lay but one night in the camp, and returned next morning to the town; but the Prince of Orange remained with the army, and with him the Counts de Foix and Vendosme, the latter of which fell into a dysentery and died, to the unspeakable sorrow of the whole army; for he was a person of great valour and conduct, and came thither post upon the report of a battle; but he was not with the king in his voyage into Italy. There were, likewise, the Marshal de Gié, and several other commanders; but their principal force were the Swiss, who had been in Italy with the king; for the French, being so near home, were very unwilling to stay any longer in the camp, and several had already left it, some with leave, and others without it. From Vercelli to Novara was ten good Italian miles, that is, six French leagues, the coun-

try enclosed and dirty, with ditches on both sides the road, much deeper than those in Flanders; in winter the ways are full of dirt, and in summer of dust. Between our army and Novara there was a little town called Borgo, which we had taken possession of; and they had another, about the same distance from them, called Camarian: but, the waters being up, the passage was very difficult from one army to the other.

But, as I was saying, the steward of the Marquis of Mantua's household and I continued our conferences. I gave him several reasons why his master ought to be cautious of coming to a battle. I put him in mind of the danger he had lately escaped, and that he would expose himself for a people who had never rewarded him for any service he had done: and that, therefore, his wisest method would be to endeavour an accommodation, and I promised to do all the good offices that lay in my power towards it. He replied that his master was well enough inclined, but that it would be necessary (as I had received word before) that we should make the first overture, because they looked upon the alliance, consisting of the pope, the King of the Romans, the King of Spain, and the Duke of Milan, to be of greater dignity than a single monarch. I answered that that punctilio was idle and trifling, and that in justice our king was to be preferred, because he was there in person, and the confederates only by their lieutenants. But I offered, if he pleased, that he and I would set the treaty on foot, provided I could be assured his master would continue it, and

stand to the determination. It was concluded that I should send a trumpet to their army the next morning, and that I should write to Signior Luques Pisano and Signior Melchior Trevisano, the two proveditors, which are commissioners appointed to advise their generals, and inspect the affairs of the army. In pursuance of what we concluded, I wrote to the proveditors what I had mentioned before to the Marquis of Mantua's steward, and had a fair opportunity to offer my mediation, upon the agreement between us at my departure from Venice. Besides, I knew the king was desirous of peace, and I thought it necessary,—for there are always enough to perplex and exasperate an affair, but few that have the good fortune and courage together to compose so great a difference, or to endure so many hard words as are inseparable from the plenipotentiaries in such negotiations; for in great multitudes there is variety of opinions. The proveditors were glad of the news, sent me word I should have an answer very suddenly, sent post to Venice for instructions; and, having a speedy answer from the senate, a count belonging to the Duke of Ferrara was sent to our army. The Duke of Ferrara had one son in the Duke of Milan's service, and another in the king's. The count, also, was in the Duke of Milan's service, his name was Albertini; but his pretence of coming into our army was to visit Signior John James di Trivulce, and to inquire after a son of his who was then in his service. He made his applications to the Prince of Orange, according to the agree-

ment between the steward and I, and told him he had a commission from the Marquis of Mantua to desire a passport for the Marquis and fifty horse, to meet and confer with such persons as the king should depute, to acknowledge that in reason they ought to make the first overture to the king, or such as he should appoint, or to declare that they would pay him that honour ; and then he desired he might have a private conference with his majesty, which was granted him, and in which he advised him not to set any treaty on foot, assuring him that their army was in great consternation, and would break up in a very short time. By these words he seemed desirous to obstruct that peace which he was sent to promote, though his commission was, as you have heard. John James di Trivulce was present when he gave the king this advice, and being a great enemy to the Duke of Milan, he had no mind to the peace ; but, above all, no man was so averse as Count Albertini's master, the Duke of Ferrara, who desired the continuation of the war upon an old pique against the Venetians, for taking and detaining from him several territories, as the Polesan and others, and was come himself into the army of the Duke of Milan, who had married his daughter. As soon as the king had heard what the count had to offer, his majesty sent for me, and it was warmly debated whether a passport should be granted or not. Those who were against the peace (as Signior John James di Trivulce and others, who thought themselves great favourers of the interest of the Duke of Orleans) were for fighting by all means ;

but they were most of them churchmen, and not like to be in the battle, and they pretended to have certain intelligence that the enemy must suddenly raise the siege or be starved to death. Others objected (and I was of that number) that we should be starved first; that they were in their own country, and their power too great to be so easily destroyed, and that such counsels proceeded from persons who had a mind to engage us in their quarrels, and set us together by the ears purely to gratify their own revenge and ambition. Yet for all this the passport was granted and sent, signifying, besides, that the next day at two o'clock in the afternoon, the Prince of Orange, the Marshal de Gié, the Lord de Piennes, and myself, with our retinue, should be between Borgo and Camarian, near a certain tower, in which they had a guard, and that there we should be ready to enter into a conference. At the appointed hour we went to the place under a strong guard. The Marquis of Mantua, and a Venetian who had the command of their estradiots, came to us, and in very civil language told us, that for their parts they were for peace. For better convenience of treating, it was agreed, that the next day some of their deputies should come into our army, and that the day after some of ours should go into their's, which was done. The next morning there came to us Francisco Bernardino Visconti in the name of the Duke of Milan, and a secretary from the Duke of Mantua. On our side, besides the persons abovementioned, we had added to us the Cardinal St. Malo, and we began to treat.

They demanded Novara, and we insisted upon Genoa, (as feudatory to the king), which the Duke of Milan had confiscated. They excused themselves as to that, assured us that their master had acted nothing against our's but what was in his own defence ; that the Duke of Orleans had taken Novara from them by force, and began the war with our king's forces, and that therefore they did believe their masters would be hardly persuaded to agree to our demands, but in any thing else would be ready to comply. Our conferences lasted two days, after which they returned to their army, whither the Marshal di Gié, the Lord de Piennes, and myself, sent after them, to press the restitution of Genoa. We would have been content that Novara should have been surrendered to the king of the Roman's forces, which were commanded by Signior George di Pierrapiana, the Lord Frederic Capellare, and another called Monsieur Hance ; for we found it was not to be relieved without a battle, which we had no great inclination to venture, and by this means (as we pretended) we proposed to acquit ourselves very honourably to the emperor, upon whom the whole duchy of Milan depended. Several goings and comings there were between our camp and their's, but we came to no manner of conclusion. I continued with them by our master's direction (who was unwilling the treaty should be broken off), and at last we came to them again, and with us we brought the President de Gannay, and one Monsieur Morviller, bailiff of Amiens, to treat with them in Latin, for till then I had managed

the conferences in Italian, which I spoke but very indifferently), and draw up the articles. Our manner of treating was to go to the duke's quarters, and he, in complaisance, used to meet us with his duchess at the end of a gallery, and then to put us all before him into his chamber, where there were two great rows of chairs ready set, as close as was convenient, and opposite to each other. They placed themselves on one side, and we on the other. The first on their side was the commissioner for the king of the Romans, then the Spanish ambassador, then the Duke of Mantua, after him the two Proveditors, then the Venetian ambassador, then the Duke and Duchess of Milan, and last of all the Duke of Ferrara. On their side none spoke but the Duke of Milan, and on our side nobody but one. It is not our method to discourse with that sedateness of temper as they do, for sometimes two or three of us were speaking at a time; but the duke interrupted us with, "Hold, gentlemen, one to one is fair." Being obliged to digest all into articles, whatever was agreed upon was immediately put into writing by one of our secretaries for us, and by another of their's for them, which were read aloud by the secretaries, one in Italian, and the other in French, as was done also at our next meeting for expedition sake, and to see whether any thing had been changed, and it is a good way of despatch in any affair of importance. This treaty held about a fortnight, or longer; but the first day of our conference it was concluded the Duke of Orleans might have liberty to come out of Novara, to which end a

cessation of arms was agreed upon for that day, and continued from day to day till the conclusion of the peace ; and for surety for the passage of the Duke of Orleans, the Marquis of Mantua delivered himself as an hostage into the hands of the Count de Foix ; but he did it voluntarily, and more upon his own pleasure than any fear we had of the person of the Duke of Orleans ; yet first they made us swear that we proceeded with sincerity and *bonâ fide* in the treaty of peace, and that we did not do it purely to deliver the duke out of danger.

CHAPTER X.

Of the Deliverance of the Duke of Orleans and his Army upon terms of accommodation ; of the Misery they suffered during their being besieged in Novara ; and of the Arrival of the Swiss that came to the relief of the King, and the said Duke.—1495.

THE Marshal de Gié went into the town of Novara, with others deputed from the Duke of Milan, and dismissed the Duke of Orleans, and some few of his attendants, to their very great satisfaction. The garrison and the inhabitants were so pressed with hunger and sickness, that the marshal was forced to leave his nephew Monsieur de Romifort as an hostage, promising they should all depart within three days. You have heard how the bailiff of Dijon was sent into Switzerland to raise five thousand men in all the cantons ; but when the Duke of Orleans marched out of Novara they were not arrived, and it was well they were not, for had they joined our army, certainly, (at

least in my judgment) we should have ventured a battle ; but if their number had been far greater than it was, we could not have staid till their arrival, by reason of the extreme famine in the town, where two thousand people were already dead, some with hunger, some with diseases, and the rest so lean and meagre, they looked more like dead than living people ; and truly I believe never men endured more misery, (unless at the siege of Jerusalem) all which had been prevented, if they had been so prudent to have brought in all the corn and provisions about the town upon their first coming into it : Had they acted so wisely, they had never plunged themselves into those exigencies, for the enemy would have been obliged to have abandoned the siege, and to have marched shamefully off.

Some three or four days after the Duke of Orleans had left the town, it was agreed on both sides that the whole garrison should march out, and the Marquis of Mantua and the Lord Galeas di Saint Severino (who commanded both the Venetians and the Duke of Milan's army) had orders to see them safely conducted, which was performed, and the town left in the hands of the inhabitants, with an oath not to deliver it either to the French or the Italians till the conclusion of a general peace, only thirty men were put into the castle, who were supplied with provisions by the Duke of Milan, but it was for their money, and they were never to have more provision at a time than was sufficient for one single day. No man that did not see it can believe the poverty of the garrison that marched

out. They had few or no horses left, for most of them were eaten: Of the five thousand that marched out, scarcely six hundred of them were able to defend themselves, they fell down frequently in the road as they marched along, and the enemy was forced to help them up again. I know those who saved fifty of them for a crown not far from the little castle called Camarian, which was in the enemy's possession, by lodging them in a garden, and giving them warm broths, so that but one of them died. Upon the way (it being ten miles between Novara and Vercelli) four more of them died. The king (as a token of his compassion) caused eight hundred francs to be distributed amongst those who came to Vercelli, as a benevolence besides their pay, which was paid to a farthing, both for the living and the dead, and particularly for the Swiss, of whom there were near four hundred dead; yet notwithstanding all the care that could be taken, about thirty of them died in Vercelli, some with eating too much, others by diseases contracted with eating too little, and some with the ill air and nastiness of the town.

About the time that all of them had evacuated the town, except the thirty in the castle (and of them one or other came away every day) the Swiss arrived in our army to the number of eight or ten thousand, in which we had already about two thousand remaining of our expedition to Naples; there were ten thousand more, but they were quartered at some distance from Vercelli; for the king was advised not to suffer the conjunction of two such

great bodies, which would have amounted to twenty-two thousand men, the greatest number (I think) that ever came out of their country at one time, and I have been informed by those that were well acquainted with the affairs of Switzerland, that they scarce left as many more fighting men behind them; those who did come, came most in spite of our teeth, and their wives and children would also have come along with them, had we not set guards upon the avenues in Piedmont on purpose to stop them. It may be demanded whether this extraordinary alacrity proceeded from any extraordinary affection; for King Louis XI. had done them many good offices, and contributed much to make them considerable in the world. Indeed there were some old soldiers who had a respect for the memory of King Louis; and some of their officers were above seventy years old, and had been in the same commands against Charles Duke of Burgundy; but the chief motive that induced them to leave their own country was avarice and poverty. To speak truth, all their best men came along with them, and such a number of brave fellows I had never seen before together in my life; and to me it seemed impossible to conquer them, unless by cold, famine, or some other distress.

But to return to the principal point of our treaty. The Duke of Orleans having lived eight or ten days at his ease and pleasure, and attended by all sorts of people, was told, that it was some diminution to his honour that such a numerous garrison as was in Novara should be reduced to such necessi-

ties for their affection to him; upon which he began to talk of fighting again, and one or two that were about him encouraged him to it. Monsieur de Ligny and the Archbishop of Roan being highly for his interest, bribed thirty of the Swiss to come of themselves and offer the enemy battle; but without any reason, for the Duke of Orleans had only thirty men left in the castle, and there was now no farther occasion to fight, for the king pretended no quarrel of his own, but was come thither only to rescue his brother and his friends; besides the enemy was very powerful, and it was impossible to attack them in their camp; for besides the natural strength of the place, they were strongly entrenched, all the ditches were full of water, and there were no forces but our's to give them any disturbance, there being no sallies to be expected out of the town. Their army consisted of two thousand eight hundred men at arms barbed, five thousand horse, and eleven thousand Germans, commanded by good officers, as Signor George di Pierrapiana, Count Frederic Capellare, and Monsieur Hance, besides a great number of other foot, so that to talk of attacking them in their intrenchments, or beating them so easily, was but a rodomontade, and spoken in flattery. Another great jealousy we had, and that was, lest if the Swiss should join and make one body, they would seize upon the king and all the chief officers of his army (who were not able to resist their power) and carry them into their own country; and of this there was some design, as you will see by the conclusion of the peace.

CHAPTER XI.

Of the Peace that was concluded between the King and the Duke of Orleans on the one part, and the League on the other; and of the Conditions and Articles contained in that Treaty of Peace.—1495.

THE debate about this affair grew at last so fierce amongst us, that in the heat of the argument, the Duke of Orleans gave the Prince of Orange the lie; but at last, the Marshal de Gié, the Lord de Piennes, the President Gannay, the Lord Morvillier, the Vidame of Chartres, and I, returned to the enemy's camp, and concluded a peace, though by several indications, we judged it unlikely to continue long; but we were under a necessity of doing it, both in respect of the season of the year, our want of money, and that we might come off honourably in the business; to which end the peace was concluded and engrossed, so as it might be published in the world, which was done afterwards by the king's express order in council, and in the presence of the Duke of Orleans. The substance of it was, that the Duke of Milan should do homage to the king for Genoa, and serve him against all opposers; that, at his own proper charge, the Duke of Milan should set out two ships for the relief of the castles of Naples, which yet held out for the king; that the next year, (in case the king made a new invasion upon that kingdom,) he should furnish him with three ships, and assist him in person, and give free passage to his troops; that in case the Venetians did not accept the said peace in two months' time, but continued to assist the House of Arragon, that then the duke

was to take part with the King of France, and employ his person and interest in his service, upon condition that whatever was taken from the enemy should be delivered to the duke, for which terms he was to remit to the king eighty thousand of the hundred and eighty thousand ducats which he had lent him in his voyage to Naples; that for the affair of Genoa, he should put two hostages into the king's hands; that the castle should be committed to the Duke of Ferrara to remain neuter for two years; that the Duke of Milan should pay one half of the garrison, and the king the other; and that if it should happen the duke should at any time attempt to surprise the castle, that then the Duke of Ferrara was to deliver it to the king; he was likewise to give two hostages for Milan, which was performed, and had done as much for Genoa, had not the king been in such haste to be gone; but as soon as he went away, the duke made use of shifts and evasions to excuse himself from doing it.

Immediately upon our return from swearing the Duke of Milan, and bringing word that the Venetians had taken two months to accept or refuse, (for to other terms we could not persuade them) the king swore likewise to the peace; and the next day he resolved to begin his march, both he and his whole army having a great desire to return into France; but that very night the Swiss which were in our camp began to cabal, and hold private consultations according to their several cantons, beating up their drums and standing to their arms, (as their manner is when they call any councils), and

this I was informed of by Monsieur Lornay, who was then (and had been long before) one of their chief officers, and was well acquainted with their language, and he gave the king intelligence of it.

Some proposed to seize upon the king, and all the chief officers of the army; others went not so high, but moved, that they should demand three months' pay, pretending an old promise made them by the late king, that such a sum should be paid them whenever they came out of their own country into his service, with their colours displayed. Others were for securing the chief ministers about the king, without meddling with his person; and this they designed to put in execution, having already got a great number of their own troops into the town; but before they could come to an agreement among themselves, the king had left Trino, (which is a town belonging to the Marquis of Montferrat,) and in this, they were much in the wrong, for there was never but one month's pay promised them, and they had done nothing for that. At length, this troublesome affair was adjusted; but first, those Swiss who were with us in the expedition to Naples, had seized upon the Bailiff of Dijon and Monsieur Lornay (who had commanded them all along,) and pressed hard for a fortnight's pay before they marched; but the rest insisted upon three months, which in all amounted to five hundred thousand francs, for the raising of which, they should secure them as hostages; and to this, they were animated by the French themselves, who were averse to the peace; and of this, the Prince of

Orange was informed by one of their captains, and he immediately informed the king of it.

The king, upon his arrival at Trino, sent the Marshal de Gié, the president Gannay, and me, to the Duke of Milan, to desire that he would come to him thither. We used several arguments to persuade him, and told him it would be a great confirmation of the peace ; but he gave as many to the contrary, and excused himself upon a proposition which Monsieur de Ligny had formerly made to have had him seized upon, when he was with the king at Pavia, and upon certain expressions which the cardinal of St. Malo had used, who, at that time, was the only minister of state in credit with the king. It is certain that several idle words were spoken by some about the court, but yet the king had a great desire to cultivate a friendship with him. The Duke of Milan was at a place called Bolia, and consented to a conference, provided it might be upon some river, with a barrier between them. As soon as the king had received his answer he removed to Quiers, where he staid but a night or two, and then marched away for the mountains, having despatched me for Venice, and others for Genoa, to see the ships equipped which the Duke of Milan was to lend him ; but the duke put the king to a great expense in preparations, and at last would not let them go ; for instead of keeping his promise, he sent two of them to the enemy.

CHAPTER XII.

Of the King's sending the Lord of Argenton to Venice again, to invite the Venetians to accept of the terms of Peace that were offered. The Venetians' Refusal, and the Tricks and Jugglings of the Duke of Milan.—1495.

THE business of my embassy to Venice at this time was to know whether they would come into the peace, and subscribe to three articles. The first was to restore Monopoli, which they had lately taken from us; the second was to recall the Marquis of Mantua and his forces out of the kingdom of Naples, and the service of King Ferrand; and the third was to declare that King Ferrand was not comprehended in their league, in which mention was made only of the Pope, the King of the Romans, the King of Spain, and the Duke of Milan. Upon my arrival at Venice they received me very honourably, but not in the same manner as when I was there first,—for then we were at peace, but now at war with each other. I delivered my message to the Duke of Venice, who complimented me highly, and told me I was very welcome; that he would consult with the senate, and in a short time return me an answer. For three days together they appointed solemn processions, public alms to be given, and sermons all over the city, beseeching God of his grace to direct them in their consultations, which, as I was informed, was no more than what they frequently do upon extraordinary occasions; and truly, in religious affairs,

and in the beautifying and adorning their churches, it is a city of the greatest reverence and decency that ever I saw ; and in those things I esteem them equal to the ancient Romans, from whose example I question not but that their senate derives much of its grandeur, and it is worthy rather to be augmented than lessened. But to the business of my embassy, I waited a fortnight before I had an answer, and then it was a refusal of all I had demanded. They told me they had no war with the king, and that what they had done was only to assist and support the Duke of Milan, who was their ally, and whom the king had a desire to destroy ; yet they permitted their duke to talk with me alone, and he offered very advantageous terms, which were, that King Ferrand should do homage to our king for the kingdom of Naples, and by the pope's consent ; that King Ferrand should pay him a yearly tribute of fifty thousand ducats, besides a sum of money down upon the nail, which they would deposit, (intending to have the towns of Brindisi, Otranto, Trani, and others in Apuglia, to be put into their hands for security for the said money,) that king Ferrand should deliver up or leave the king in possession of some towns or places in Apuglia for his security, (and they meant Tarento, which our king has still in his hands,) and (if he pleased) two or three more, which they offered should be on that side, because farthest from them, though they pretended it was for the convenience of his designs against the Turk, of which our king had talked much at his first entrance into Italy, de-

claring he undertook that enterprise for no other end but to be nearer and more ready to invade him ; but it was an ill invention, a mere fraud, and we cannot so easily conceal our thoughts from God. The Duke of Venice offered besides, that if our king would attempt any thing against the Turk, he should have free passage for his troops, through all those places ; and all Italy should contribute : The king of the Romans would give him diversion on his side ; that the king in conjunction with them, would be able to govern all Italy, in such a manner, as to compel any of the princes as should refuse to comply with their orders ; and that for their part they would assist his majesty, at their own charge, with a hundred galleys at sea, and five thousand horse at land.

When I had my audience of leave, I told the duke and senate I would report all faithfully to the king. I returned by Milan, and found the Duke of Milan at Vegievene, and the king's ambassador with him, who was one Rigault d'Oreilles, steward to his household. The duke pretended to go a hunting, and came out to meet me, (for they are very civil to ambassadors,) and ordered me a very noble apartment in his castle. I begged the favour that I might have the honour of having a private conference with him, which at last he promised me, but with some signs of reluctancy. The castle of Naples holding out still for us, I was resolved to press for the ships which he was obliged to furnish us with by the treaty at Vercelli : The ships were ready, and he willing in appearance ; but Peron de

Basche and Stephen de Neves being at that time at Genoa from our king, and understanding I was at Vegievene, wrote to me immediately, complaining of the Duke of Milan's treacherous way of dealing, who pretended to furnish us with ships, and had sent two of them against us ; that the governor of Genoa had told them one day, that he could not suffer the ships to be manned with French ; and another, that there could not be above five-and-twenty of them permitted to be in any one vessel, with many such trifling excuses to protract and gain time, till they had heard the news of the taking the castle of Naples, in which the Duke of Milan knew there was not provision enough for above a month, and that the king's forces in Provence would be unable to raise the siege without the assistance of those ships ; for the enemy had blocked it up by sea with a great fleet, as well as of the Venetians and the King of Spain's as their own. I was three days with the duke ; the first he spent most in conference with me ; and seemed to be concerned that I was not satisfied with his answer about the ships ; to which he added, that though at the treaty of Vercelli he had promised to serve the king with two ships, yet he had never promised that they should be manned with French ; I replied, that in my judgment that excuse was but weak and trifling ; for if he should send me a good mule to pass the mountains on, what favour would it be if he should oblige me to lead her ? I should only have the liberty to see her, but no advantage without I had leave to mount her. After a long

conference he conducted me into a gallery apart, where I took an occasion to remonstrate the great pains which others and myself had taken about the treaty at Vercelli ; and the danger he would bring upon us by acting so contrary, and causing the king to lose his castles in Naples, which would be the loss of that kingdom, and an occasion of perpetual animosity between my master and him. I offered him the principality of Tarento, and the duchy of Bari, which duchy was already his own. I represented to him the inconveniences he brought upon himself and all Italy, by consenting that the Venetians should hold those places in Apuglia, and he confessed that what I had urged was true, especially in relation to the Venetians ; but told me plainly at last he could repose no confidence in our king.

After this discourse I took my leave of the Duke of Milan, who conducted me a league in my way home, and even at my departure he invented a more cunning lie (if it be decent to use such an expression towards a prince) than any of his former: Perceiving I was melancholy, he told me on a sudden (as a man who had quite changed his resolutions) that he would shew himself my friend at the last, and do that which should make me acceptable to my master: He promised me that the next day he would send the Lord Galeas (who was the fittest man 'for that purpose) to see his ships at Genoa equipped and sent away to join our fleet: That he would do the king that service as to save his castle, and by consequence the whole

kingdom of Naples, (and if he had performed his promise he had acted like a man of honour) and that when the ships were sailed, he would give me an account of it by a letter under his own hand, that the king might have the first news of it from myself, and be sensible of the service which I had done him; adding also that his letters should overtake me before I got to Lyons. Big with these hopes, I departed, and continued my journey over the mountains. I knew the man, and durst not be too confident; yet I never heard any post behind me, but I fancied he brought me those letters. I passed on till I came to Chambery, where I found the Duke of Savoy, who received me very graciously, and obliged me to stay a whole day with him. From thence I proceeded to Lyons; (but no letters overtook me) to give the king an account of my transactions; for he was there at that time, giving himself up wholly to feasting, justs and other gay entertainments, without the least regard to any thing else.

Those who were enemies to the peace of Vercelli were extremely pleased with the Duke of Milan's prevarication; and indeed they had reason, for their authority was increased by it, and I was traduced, which in the like cases is an ordinary thing in the courts of princes.

I was very melancholy and angry: I gave the king a relation, and shewed him in writing the offers which the Venetians had made him; but he seemed not to value them much, and the cardinal of Saint Malo, who at that time had the sole

administration of affairs, valued them less. However, I pressed the king again, believing it better to accept that offer than lose all; for I saw nobody about him fit to manage such an important affair, and those who were able were never consulted, or at least as seldom as possible. The king was inclinable enough of himself, but loth to displease those to whom he had committed his affairs, especially those who managed his treasury, as the cardinal, his brothers and relations. This is a fine example for princes. It is necessary that they take upon themselves the conduct of their own affairs, at least sometimes, and not only call others to council upon occasion, but to give them equal authority and countenance; for if any minister of state be grown so great as to become terrible to the rest, and to manage the whole affairs of a kingdom according to his will and pleasure, (of which sort King Charles VIII. was never without one) that favourite is king in reality, and his master ill served, as he was always by his ministers, who did their own business well enough, but neglected his, to his great prejudice and dishonour.

CHAPTER XIII.

Of the King's forgetting those that were left behind at Naples, upon his return into France; and of the Dauphin's Death, which was a great Affliction to the King and Queen.—1495.

I ARRIVED at Lyons the 12th December, 1495, where I found the king and his army. The king

had been abroad in his expedition about a year and two months. The castles of Naples held out still for him, as you have heard: The Lord de Montpensier, his lieutenant in that kingdom, was at Salerno with the prince of that place; the Lord d'Aubigny was in Calabria, where he had done signal service, though under a long fit of sickness; the Lord Gracian des Guerres was in Abruzzo, Don Julian at Mont St. Angelo, and George de Sully at Tarento; but all of them most miserably poor, and so far abandoned by our court, that they could seldom or never receive advice out of France; and when they did, it was nothing but shams and promises without effect; for (as is said before) the king did nothing of himself, and if they had been supplied with money in time, a sixth part of what was spent afterwards to no purpose, would have saved that kingdom from being lost. At length when all was recovered, they sent them forty thousand crowns in part of a year's pay; and yet if that had arrived but a month sooner, the calamities and disgraces which they endured, had never befallen them, and the divisions had been prevented; all which was occasioned through the sloth and negligence of the king, who managed nothing himself, and would not so much as hear any body that came from them, and those he employed were careless and inexperienced, and I fear some of them held a correspondence with the pope; so that in appearance God had forsaken our king, and taken away that grace with which he had hitherto conducted him. The king had

not been at Lyons above two months, or thereabouts, when he received the unwelcome news, that the dauphin* lay dangerously ill, and three days after letters came, that gave an account of his death. The king was extremely concerned at first, as he ought to be out of paternal affection; yet his sorrow soon wore off: But the queen (who was Anne Duchess of Bretagne) took it more to heart than perhaps any other woman would have done, and it sat longer upon her; and I am afraid, that besides the natural affliction of mothers upon the loss of their children, her mind misgave her, and she was apprehensive that some greater misfortune would happen to her. The king (as I said before) having weathered it himself, had a great desire to give the queen some diversion at a ball of young gentlemen, which the king had appointed; among the rest of the dancers the Duke of Orleans was one, who was at that time about thirty-four years old; but he behaved himself so, that it was visible to all the court he rejoiced at the dauphin's death, as being (after him) next heir to the crown. Upon which the king and he never spoke to one another for a long time after. The dauphin was about three years old when he died, yet very handsome, forward, and undaunted, and not concerned at those things wherewith our children are frightened; for which reason his father was the sooner recovered, as being fearful already he should

* His name was Charles Orleans, and the whole ceremony of his christening, which was in 1492, is described at large in the second volume of the French Ceremonial, pages 138 and 139.

have grown considerably too fast, and his courage increasing with his years, that he would have entrenched upon his power and authority; for the king was not excellent either in person or understanding, but of the mildest and best disposition in the world. By this example we may see to what miseries great kings and princes, who grow jealous of their own children, are subject. His father Louis XI., a wise and virtuous prince, was yet fearful of Charles VIII., but he provided prudently against the worst, and left him the crown when he was but fourteen years old. Louis XI. had been no less terrible to his father Charles VII., for at the age of thirteen years he was in arms, and confederated against him with certain of the nobility, upon some court-quarrels, and exceptions against the government (and this King Louis has often told me himself;) yet these troubles lasted not long: But when he came to man's estate, he had great controversy with his father Charles VII., retired into Dauphine, and from thence into Flanders, leaving Dauphine to his father, as has been observed at the beginning of these memoirs, in the reign of Louis XI. No creature is exempt from adversity, every man eats his bread in pain and sorrow: God Almighty promised it to our first parents, and he has performed it very punctually ever since to all people. Yet there are degrees and distinctions of sorrow, and the troubles and vexations of the mind are greater than those of the body; the anxiety of the wise is of one sort, and that of the fool of another, but

that of the fool's is the greater of the two (though some are of a contrary opinion) because they are less capable of comfort. The poor people, who labour, drudge and sweat to maintain themselves and their children, and pay their taxes and subsidies to their princes, would have but little comfort in this world if princes and great lords were sensible of nothing but pleasure, and they of nothing but sorrow. But the thing is quite otherwise; for should I endeavour to give an account of the passions and disorders in which (for these thirty years) I have seen several persons of quality of both sexes, it would swell to a volume. I do not mean such persons as Boccace mentions in his book, but such as raise the envy of all people, by their riches, health, and prosperity. Those who have not conversed with them so much as I have done, believe the condition of great persons to be the happiest in the world; but I have seen their troubles and disquiets, and upon such trifling occasions, as persons at a distance could hardly believe; an idle apprehension or an extravagant report disturbs them extremely; and this is the secret distemper that reigns in the courts of great princes, from whence many mischiefs do arise to the sovereign, his ministers and subjects, and is so great a shortener of life, that there is scarce a king of France (since the time of Charlemagne) who lived to be sixty years old. Upon this bare suspicion, when Louis XI. came to be about that age, being sick of that disease, he concluded himself gone. His father Charles VII., who had done so

many memorable things in France, took a fancy that his courtiers had a design to poison him, and upon that account ate nothing. Charles VI. had his jealousies too, and became crazed in his understanding, and all upon report. Certainly princes are guilty of a great error in not examining, or suffering other people to examine, such tales as concern them, though perhaps of themselves of no great importance; it would keep them from being so frequent, especially if they brought them face to face, and confronted the accused with the informer; by that means nothing would be reported but what was true. But there are some princes so stupid as to engage and swear to the accusers they will never discover them; and these are they who are subject to those anguishes and torments of mind which I speak of, and do many times abhor and injure the best ministers they have, upon the bare reports and calumnies of evil-minded and designing people, by which means they occasion great mischiefs and disquiets to their subjects.

CHAPTER XIV.

Of the King's receiving the News of the Loss of the Castle of Naples; the selling of the Towns belonging to the Florentines to several persons; the Treaty of Atella in Apuglia, much to the prejudice of the French; and the Death of Ferrand King of Naples.—1496.

THE death of the Dauphin (only to Charles VIII.) happened about the beginning of the year 1496, and was the greatest loss that happened or could possibly happen to the king, for he had never

any child afterwards that lived. But this misfortune came not alone; at the same time he received advice that the castle of Naples was surrendered by those whom the Lord de Montpensier had left in it, being forced to it by famine, and for the safety of their hostages, who were delivered into the enemy's hands by the Lord de Montpensier. The hostages names were Monsieur d'Alegre, one of the sons of de la Marche d'Ardaine, one called de la Capelle, a Loudonnois, and John Roquebertin, a Catalonian. Those who were in the castle were sent back again by sea. After this, another accident befel him, and that was, one Entragues, who was governor of the citadel of Pisa (which was strong, and commanded the whole town) delivered it up to the Pisans, which was contrary to the king's oath, for he had sworn twice to the Florentines to deliver the said citadel to them, and other places, as Sarzana, Sarzanella, Pietra Sancta, Librefacto, and Motron, which the Florentines had lent the king in his necessities, at his first coming into Italy, and had given him six score thousand ducats, of which there were not above thirty thousand in arrear when he returned into France, as has been mentioned in another place. In short, all these places were sold, the Genoese bought Sarzana and Sarzanella, and they were sold by the bastard of St. Paul. Monsieur Entragues sold Pietra Santa to the citizens of Lucca, and Librefacto to the Venetians, to the great dishonour of the king and his subjects, and to the detriment (and I may say loss) of the kingdom of Naples.

The first oath King Charles VIII. took for the restitution of those places was at Florence, upon the high altar in the great church of St. John ; the second was at Asti, in his return, where they furnished him in his extremity with thirty thousand ducats more, upon condition that if Pisa was surrendered to them, the king should be discharged of the said sum ; all his jewels and pawns were to be restored, and they were to lend him threescore thousand more, to be paid down in the kingdom of Naples, to those whom his majesty had appointed to manage his affairs there, and to maintain at their charge three hundred horse for the service of our king in the kingdom of Naples, which were to continue there during the whole expedition ; but upon the selling of Pisa and the rest of the towns all was quashed, and the king obliged to repay the thirty thousand ducats which the Florentines had lent him, and all this by the disobedience and whisperings of some persons about the king, who had given private encouragement to Entragues in the business.

About the same time, and in the beginning of the year 1496, the Lord de Montpensier, the Lord Virgil Ursini, Signior Camillo Vitelli, and the rest of the French officers, seeing all lost, took the field, and made themselves masters of several small towns ; upon which King Ferrand, the son of Alphonso (who was turned monk, as you have heard before) with the Marquis of Mantua, brother to the Lord Montpensier's lady, and Captain-General of the Venetians, drew out against them, and found the

Lord de Montpensier in a town called Atella, situated upon a hill, and very commodious for the supplying it with provisions. The enemy immediately encamped, and fortified themselves as strongly as they could, as not daring to venture a battle, for King Ferrand and the Marquis of Mantua had been beaten in every engagement they fought. The Venetians had sent the Marquis to King Ferrand's assistance, and with him a sum of money, but inconsiderable for the places which they received as security, for the six towns* in Apuglia are of very great importance, viz., Brindisi, Trani, Gallipoli, Crana, Otranto, and Monopoli, all which they had taken from us. And they valued the service of their forces in that kingdom so high, that it was computed and charged upon the said towns at two hundred thousand ducats, besides what they demanded for the fortifications and other expenses in the keeping them; so that I am persuaded they never had any intentions to restore them †; for it is not their custom to part with any thing that is for their convenience, as those towns were, lying all upon the Gulf of Venice, and making them absolute lords of it, from Venice to Otranto, which

* This passage was mightily corrupted in the original, and, instead of six places, there were but five, of which Trani was named twice, and Crana for the last, which is a town near Trani, according to the map of Italy. Paulus Jovius put Polignano and Mola, for Crana and Gallipoli; but the Italian translator forgets the first of these two, and for Mola and Polignano, puts only Sypontus, which he turns into Manfredonia. In short, it is doubtful whom we ought to follow in the translation of this place.

† The Venetians lost their towns afterwards by their defeat at Agnadella on the 18th May, 1509.

is nine hundred miles complete. The pope, indeed, has some few other towns between them, but they pay duties to the Venetians, or there is no passing for them through the Gulf; so that it was a great advantage to them to have those towns in their hands, and perhaps more than many people do imagine, for they receive from them great quantities of corn and oil, which are two commodities very beneficial and necessary for them.

At the town of Atella, above-mentioned, our troops began to mutiny, not only for provisions (which were but beginning to fail) but for their pay, for there was already an arrear due to them for above eighteen months, and they had suffered very great hardships. The Swiss, too, were largely behind, but not altogether so much, for all the money the Lord de Montpensier could raise in that kingdom went to the payment of those forces, and yet they had above a year due to them. They had plundered several little villages, and got a considerable booty. If the forty thousand ducats which were promised had been sent in time, or had they known they should have received it at Florence, this mutiny had never happened; but now all that was transacted proceeded merely from despair. Several of the commanders have told me since, that if our men had been unanimous, and would have agreed to have ventured a battle, in all likelihood the victory would have been their's, or if they had lost it, it could not have been with the destruction of so many as they lost by their base and dishonourable surrender. The Lords de Montpensier

and Virgil Ursini would willingly have fought, and they died in prison, not one of their articles being observed to them. These two gentlemen accused the Lord de Percy (a gentleman of Auvergne) to have been the occasion of their not fighting; and the truth is, the Lord Percy was an ill-natured and mutinous person.

There were two sorts of Germans in that army, one was the Swiss, of which we had about one thousand five hundred, who had been with us from the beginning of our expedition, and they served faithfully and as well as men could do to the very last. There was another commonly called Lansquenets, which is as much as to say, Companions of the Country, and these have a natural antipathy to the Swiss; they are a collection of all the countries upon the Rhine, out of Swabia, the Pais de Vaux in Semonia*, and Gelderland, and consisted of about seven or eight hundred men lately sent thither with two months' advance, which was spent before they could be assembled. Seeing themselves in such danger and distress, they retained not that affection to us as the Swiss did, but began to hold intelligence, and by degrees revolted to the enemy; upon which, and the division among our commanders, the soldiers made a dishonourable agreement, which king Ferrand swore to observe; for the Marquis of Mantua took great care to secure the person of the Lord de Montpensier, his brother-in-law.

* In one of the French copies it is Sionnie, which is the country called in Latin Valesia Sedusiorum; of which Sedunum, in French Sion, is the chief town; or else it should be Vaux in Savoy, which our author mentions Book V. Chap. I.

By the said agreement they delivered themselves up into the hands of their enemies, gave them all the artillery which belonged to our king, and promised to restore all the places which our king was possessed of in that kingdom, as well in Calabria, where the Lord d'Aubigny commanded, as in Abruzzo, where the Lord Gracian des Guerres, besides Cajeta and Tarento. Upon which terms King Ferrand was obliged to send them into Provence by sea, and their baggage with them, which was worth little or nothing. They were about five or six thousand men, and King Ferrand caused them to be conducted to Naples. So ignominious an agreement had not been made in our times, nor did I ever read of any like it, unless it was that which (as Titus Livius reports) was made by the two Roman consuls with the Samnites, (which are now supposed to be the inhabitants of Beneventum,) at a certain place upon the mountains, which was then called *Furcæ Caudinæ*; but the Romans refused to ratify and confirm it, and sent the two consuls back prisoners to the enemy.

If our army had engaged and been defeated, we had not lost so great a number of men as we did; for two parts in three died of the famine and plague on ship-board, and in the Isle of Pricita, whither they were sent afterwards by King Ferrand; among the rest, the Lord de Montpensier died there, some say of poison, others of a fever, (which I rather believe,) and I believe of their whole number there came not above one thousand five hundred back; for of the Swiss, which were one thousand three

hundred, there returned not above three hundred and fifty, and those in a weak and miserable condition. These Swiss were highly to be commended ; for they would never bear arms under King Ferrand, but chose rather to die, as many of them did in the island of Procita, some of a calenture, some of other diseases, and some of very hunger ; for it is not to be imagined in what want of victuals they were kept on ship-board, and how long. I had a view of those which returned, and particularly of the Swiss, who brought back all their colours ; but by their looks one might see what they had suffered ; for all of them were so very sick, that when they came ashore to take a little air, they could not walk without being led. The Lord Virgil Ursini by his articles was to have had the liberty to go into his own country with his son, and his whole regiment ; but they detained him, and his lawful son with him (of which sort he had but one ;) yet he had another which was a brave man, called Signior Carlo ; but he was a bastard, and was killed by certain Italians which were in his company upon the road. Had this misfortune fallen upon any but those who had a hand in the treaty, it had been a very deplorable accident.

Not long after King Ferrand had gained this honour, and newly married the daughter of his grandfather old King Ferrand, which he had by the present King of Castile's sister, (so that his queen was sister to his own father King Alphonso,) and a young lady not above thirteen or fourteen years old ; he fell into a hectic fever, and died in a

few days, leaving the possession of that kingdom to King Frederic (now reigning) who was his uncle. I cannot think of this marriage without horror, though there were several of the same nature in that family within the memory of man, and that within the space of thirty years. King Ferrand, when he was living, and Frederic since his accession to the throne, excused themselves, because, as they pretended, the Lord de Montpensier had not surrendered the towns that were mentioned in the articles of agreement; neither was it in his power, for Cajeta and other places were not in his hands; and indeed though he was our king's lieutenant in that kingdom, yet the governors of the respective towns were not bound to deliver them at his command, though if they had, our king had been no great loser by the bargain; for they cost a great deal to repair and victual them afterwards, and yet lost them at last. I was present myself when provisions were sent, once to the castles of Naples, and thrice to Cajeta; and I think I should not mistake if I said those four voyages cost the king above three hundred thousand francs; and yet all came to nothing. King Ferrand died not long after that infamous treaty of Atella in the year 1496.

CHAPTER XV.

Of several Plots that were formed (in favour of our King,) by some of the Italian Princes, not only for the recovery of Naples, but for the destruction of the Duke of Milan; of their miscarrying for want of Supplies; and of another Design against Genoa, which came to the same ill end.—1496.

THE king, after his return from his expedition to Naples, as we have already mentioned, continued a long time at Lyons, entertaining himself with justs and tournaments; and yet desirous to regain the places in the kingdom of Naples, whatever it cost him, but would take no pains to manage his own affairs, or to preserve them when they were in his possession. He had very good intelligence in Italy, and great designs were set on foot in his favour; which though in themselves dangerous and chargeable, yet could easily be managed by the kingdom of France, which is very populous, and plentiful in corn, especially Languedoc and Provence, and other countries, out of which it is no difficult task to raise money. But if any other prince besides the King of France should embrace the practices of the Italians, and undertake their assistance, it would impoverish and exhaust him; for they do nothing without money; nor, indeed, are they able, unless it be the Duke of Milan, or some of the great states. But a private governor or general, how well affected soever he may be to the House of France, its pretensions to the kingdom of Naples, or the duchy of Milan, let him be as partial as he will to its interest, yet he cannot serve that house

long after the pay begins to fail ; for the poor general would be deserted by his own soldiers, and himself utterly undone, because for the most part they have nothing wherewith to raise men, but their reputation and credit ; and the soldiers are paid by the general, and the general by him who employs him in his service : nor do the Italians desire any thing more than to declare themselves of a party. But as to the designs which I have mentioned, they were so considerable, that they began before the surrender of Cajeta, upon the Duke of Milan's not keeping his promise, and continued for two years after our king's return. As for the Duke of Milan, he did not break his promise so much out of malice and ill-nature, as through fear ; for he was jealous the king could not have so great an addition of power, but by the diminution of his own ; besides, he did not think our king a prince of any firmness or resolution. At length it was concluded that the Duke of Orleans should march to Asti with a considerable body of forces ; and I saw him and his equipage ready to set out. We were secure of the Duke of Ferrara with five hundred men at arms and two thousand foot, (though he was the Duke of Milan's father-in-law ;) for he joined with us to preserve himself against the danger he was in between the Duke and the Venetians, who not long since, (as I said before,) had taken from him the Polesan, and endeavoured all they could to ruin him : upon which account he preferred his own and his children's safety before the friendship of his son-in-law ; and perhaps he was of opinion that

his son-in-law would come to some agreement with the king, when he found himself in danger. Besides, by the interest of the Duke of Ferrara, we had also engaged the Marquis of Mantua to our party, who had been, and was at that time general for the Venetians; but they were so jealous of him, and he so dissatisfied with them, that he quartered with three hundred men at arms with his father-in-law the Duke of Ferrara, though his lady was sister to the Duchess of Milan, the Duke of Ferrara's daughter. Signior John Bentivoglio (who was governor, and as it were Prince of Bologna,) was to have provided a hundred and fifty men at arms, besides the horse and foot which his two sons were to have brought with them, and his country was well seated to invade the Duke of Milan. The Florentines, who saw they were utterly undone, and were afraid they should be dispossessed of Pisa and the rest of their towns, unless they exerted themselves, and did something extraordinary to this critical juncture of affairs, agreed to assist us with eight hundred men at arms, and two thousand foot, and to maintain them at their own expense; and they had six months' pay ready in bank. The Ursini and the Governor of Rome, who was brother to the Cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula, (so often mentioned before,) being both in the king's pay, would have brought a thousand men at arms; but you must know the retinue and equipage of their men at arms is not after the manner of our's; for they have no archers, but their pay is alike; the pay of a man at arms (and he is well paid,) is one hundred ducats

a year, but with archers it is double. These soldiers the king would have paid, but the Florentines were to have paid their own forces. The Duke of Ferrara, the Marquis of Mantua, and Bentivoglio desired only their charges; for they designed their reward out of the towns which they should take from the Duke of Milan; and certainly had he been suddenly invaded by the Duke of Orleans' forces, and those who were entered into the alliance against him, the Venetians, who were his confederates, could not have been in a condition to have assisted him, under eighty thousand crowns' expense before he would have been constrained to have submitted to the king, (who could have been able to have kept all the Italians together a long time,) and if the Duke of Milan had been conquered, the kingdom of Naples would have fallen of course.

The miscarriage of this important design proceeded merely from the Duke of Orleans' inconstancy. He had orders over-night to set out in the morning; he had sent all his equipage, baggage, and whatever else belonged to his person, before; so that there was nothing to follow but himself. His army, consisting of eight hundred Frenchmen at arms and six thousand foot, (among which he had four hundred Swiss,) lay ready at Asti, and their advanced money in their pockets; yet on a sudden he changed his mind, and made two several addresses to the king, that that expedition might be once more debated before the council; and it was done twice. I was present both times: the result was, *nemine contradicente*, (though there was

always ten or twelve in council,) that he should proceed in their expedition, because they had given their above-mentioned friends in Italy repeated assurances of his coming; and they had raised men, and been at great charge in expectation of him. But the Duke of Orleans, who was also present at the debate, (either by the advice of some other person, or through his own unwillingness to go, on account of his brother's illness, and his being the next heir to the crown,) plainly told them he would not undertake that enterprise upon any quarrel of his own; but as he was the king's lieutenant, if his majesty pleased to command it, he would go with all his heart; and so the council broke up. The next day, and several after, the Florentine, and the rest of the ambassadors, pressed the king, that he would lay his commands upon him; but the king's answer was, that he would never send him to make war against his inclinations. And thus was that enterprise quashed in a moment, to the king's great displeasure, who had been at vast charges, and had great hopes of revenging himself on the Duke of Milan, considering his own intelligence at that time, and what he might have had by Signior John James de Trivulce, who was lieutenant-general for the king; and the Duke of Orleans was born, and had great interest and alliance in the duchy of Milan.

But though this design miscarried, another revived, nay two or three at a time, in Genoa, which is a place ever subject to revolutions. One was contrived by Signior Baptista di Campoforgoso, a

great man in the faction of Genoa; but he was banished, and his party could do nothing, nor the family of the Dorei neither, who were gentlemen; but the Campoforgosi were not. The Dorei are of the same party with the Campoforgosi, but cannot be dukes themselves, because they are gentlemen; for no gentleman is capable by their laws. But this Baptista* had been duke not long before, but was supplanted by his uncle the Cardinal of Genoa, who put the government into the hands of the Duke of Milan, under whom the city was governed by the Adorni, who were also no gentlemen; yet they have been often dukes, and were supported by the house of the Spinoli, who were gentlemen too. The nobility in Genoa make dukes, but cannot be made so themselves. This Signior Baptista expected his whole party (both in the city and abroad) would have taken arms in his favour, and that the senate should be chosen by the king, but the government would fall into the hands of him and his party; and they did not question but to deal well enough with the rest. The other design was set on foot by several persons in Savona, who had addressed themselves to the Cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula, assuring him they would deliver up the town, provided their liberties and privileges might be secured to them; for it was then under

* Baptista Fregosa, who is here named Campoforgoso, inveighs bitterly against this Cardinal of Genoa, his uncle, in a book which he made concerning his memorable actions; and in which he accuses him of treason, for having deposed him with a design to make his natural son Doge of Genoa, of whom mention is made in the 7th Book, chap. 5.

the jurisdiction of Genoa, and paid duties as the rest. If he could have made himself master of this town, he would have reduced Genoa to great straits, considering Provence was our king's own country, and Savoy at his command. Upon these intelligences the king sent to Signior John James di Trivulce to assist the said Baptista di Campoforgoso with such supplies as might carry him to the very walls of Genoa, to see whether his party would appear. On the other side he was pressed hard by the Cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula, who had obtained a letter to him from the king, commanding the said James to furnish the cardinal with men enough to conduct him to Savona; and he gave the same message by word of mouth to the Lord of Servon in Provence, who was the cardinal's friend, and would deliver it boldly. The king also sent orders to Signior James di Trivulce to contrive matters so, as he might support both parties, and yet act nothing against the Duke of Milan, or contrary to the peace that was made with him the year before; but these orders were downright contradictions. And after this manner the affairs of great princes are managed, when they are not curious themselves, or otherwise are too hasty in commanding letters and messengers to be despatched without mature and requisite deliberation. In this case, if one considers what was required by Signior Baptista di Campoforgoso and the cardinal, we shall find that it was impossible to supply them both at a time. For to approach the walls of Genoa without a considerable body of forces, was ridiculous

and impracticable, not only by reason of the numbers, but of the courage of the inhabitants ; and to have supplied the cardinal had been to have divided his own army into three bodies, for part must of necessity have remained with Signior John James ; and, besides, the alarm was taken, and the Duke of Milan, the Venetians, Don Frederic, and the Pope, had all of them sent forces to Genoa and Savona, as suspecting their revolt.

Besides these two, Signior John James Trivulce had a third design of his own, and that was, to have marched directly with all his forces against the Duke of Milan, and laid those enterprises aside ; and certainly if it had been permitted to have pursued his own scheme, he would have performed some great action ; for, under pretence that he could not otherwise protect such as were engaged in the designs upon Genoa and Savona, he posted himself upon the great road from Alexandria to Genoa, (and indeed the Duke of Milan could send forces no other way to molest us,) and possessed himself of two or three small towns without any resistance, pretending that this was no violation of the peace with the duke, for he was forced to it of necessity ; and that the king could not be said to have made war upon the duke for endeavouring to recover Genoa and Savona, because they held of the king, and had forfeited their allegiance. However, to satisfy the cardinal, Signior John James di Trivulce sent part of his army to Savona ; but he found the garrison reinforced, and his designs defeated, and so he marched back. He sent other troops to

Signior Baptista, to attempt something upon Genoa, and great matters were expected from thence ; but before they had marched four leagues, both French and Swiss grew jealous of him, (though I think it was wrongfully,) and it was well things happened so ; for their number being very inconsiderable, they would have exposed themselves to great danger if their party in the town had not appeared. Thus all their enterprises and designs miscarried, and the Duke of Milan was become strong, who had run a great deal of danger if Signior John James had not been countermanded. Our army marched back, our foot were disbanded, our small towns restored, and the war was concluded, but with little advantage to the king, considering what expense he had been at in military preparations.

CHAPTER XVI.

Of certain Differences that arose between Charles King of France, and Ferrand King of Castile ; and the Ambassadors which were sent to both of them to accommodate the Affair.—1496.

FROM the beginning of 1496, (the king having been four months on this side of the mountains) till the year 1498, our forces lay still, and did nothing in Italy : I was present all that while with his majesty, and privy to most of his affairs. He went from Lyons to Moulins, and from Moulins to Tours, spending his time in nothing but justs and tournaments wherever he came, without ever

thinking of his affairs in Italy or France. Those who were in greatest reputation with him, were in great dissension among themselves, and it could hardly be greater. Some (as the Cardinal and Seneschal) were for carrying on the war in Italy, because it was for their profit and advantage; the admiral on the other side (who before that expedition had been the king's greatest favourite,) opposed it in hopes to be restored to his former authority, and to supplant his competitors; and in this posture things stood about a year and a half.

In the mean time our king sent ambassadors to the King and Queen of Castile, for his majesty desired to be at peace with them, because they were very powerful both at sea and land; and though at land they had done no extraordinary matter, yet by sea they had given King Ferrand and Frederic both very considerable assistance; for the Island of Sicily is distant from Rhegio and Calabria but a league and a half*. Some are of opinion it was formerly joined to the continent, and in process of time separated from it by the

* Virgil was also of this opinion, as appears by the following verses :

Ast, ubi digressum Siculæ te admoverit ora
 Ventus, et angusti rarescent lustra pelori,
 Læva tibi tellus, et longo læva petantur
 Æquora circuitu : dextrum fuge littus et undas
 Hæc loca, vi quondam et vasta convulsa ruina
 (Tantum ævi longinqua valet mutare vetustas)
 Dissiluisse ferunt : cum protinus utraque tellus
 Una foret, venit medio vi pontus, et undis
 Hesperium Siculo latus abscondit : avaque et urbes
 Littore diductas, angusto interluit æstu.

VIRG. *Æneid.* III. V. 410, &c.

sea. It is now called the Streights of Messina. From this Island of Sicily, which belonged to the King and Queen of Castile, considerable supplies were sent to Naples, as well in Caravels from Spain, as in men from the island, out of which several men at arms passed the sea into Calabria, with a good number of Spanish Genets, where they made war against those who appeared for our king. Their fleet was continually joined with the confederates, and when they were united, the king was too weak for them at sea; otherwise the King of Castile had not done him much mischief. It is true a good body of his horse made an inroad into Languedoc, plundered some few towns, and quartered up and down for three or four days; but that was all, and no considerable damage done. Monsieur de St. Andre* (a Bourbonnois) being then upon the frontier with some troops belonging to the Duke of Bourbon, who was governor of Languedoc, attempted to take Sausses, a small town in Roussillon, from whence the enemy made all his excursions about two years before; for the king had restored the said Roussillon to them, in which province there is the territory of Perpignan, and this Sausses in the middle of it. The design was great, because the town was strongly garisoned with a detachment of the King of Castile's guards, and within a league lay their whole army more numerous than ours, and ready

* John d'Albon, son of Giles Lord of St. Andre and Anne de Semur, and father of James d'Albon Marquis of Fronsac, Lord of St. Andre, and Marshal of France.

to engage us. However Monsieur de St. Andre managed his affairs so prudently, and with so much secrecy, that in ten hours' time he took the town (which I have seen) by assault, and in it there were thirty or forty Spanish gentlemen of good quality slain, and among them the Archbishop of St. James's son, besides three or four hundred more. They did not suppose we should have been masters of it so soon, because they knew not the goodness of our cannon, which certainly are the finest and the best in Europe.

No other but this action happened between these two kings, which was much to the dishonour of the King of Castile, who had such a numerous army in the field. But when God Almighty is pleased to chastise a nation for their sins, he begins with smaller and more supportable afflictions; for the King and Queen of Castile were visited afterwards with great mortifications, and so were we too. The King and Queen of Castile acted very imprudently, and were ill-advised to forswear themselves to our master, especially after he had been so kind as to restore Roussillon, which had cost his father so much to fortify and defend, and had been mortgaged to him for 300,000 crowns, all which were remitted to hinder him from disturbing our king in his intended conquest of Naples. Besides which, they renewed the ancient alliances with not only king and king, kingdom and kingdom, but the individual subjects on both sides were mutually obliged; and they promised not to interrupt us in our conquest, nor to marry

any of their daughters either with the houses, of Naples, England, or Flanders; which offer came first from themselves, and was made by one Friar John de Mauleon on the part of the Queen of Castile. Yet as soon as they saw the war begun, and the king at Rome, they sent their ambassadors to all the neighbouring princes to make an alliance against our king; and particularly to Venice, where I was resident at that time; and there the league (which I have spoken of so much) was made between the pope, the king of the Romans, the State of Venice, and the duke of Milan, and immediately they began to act offensively against our king, and to declare that their former obligation became void, and they were no longer bound to observe it, especially that article about the marriage of their daughters, (of which they had four, and but one son) though they first made that offer of themselves, as you have already heard.

But to proceed in my history. After the wars in Italy were over, and the king had nothing left in the kingdom of Naples but Cajeta, which he lost afterwards; after the pretensions in Roussillon were adjusted, and every prince was in possession of what was his own, they sent a gentleman to King Charles, and with him certain monks of Montferrat, it being the custom of Spain to manage all their negotiations by such people, either out of hypocrisy and pretence of religion, or the frugality of their expense; for, as I said before, the treaty about Roussillon was managed by Friar John de

Mauleon. These ambassadors, at their first audience, besought the king that he would forget the injury that was done him by the King and Queen of Castille, (the king and queen are always mentioned together, because Castille came by her, and she had there the principal authority, it having been a marriage of more than ordinary honour for them.) Then they began to propose a truce, in which their whole league was to be comprehended, and our king to keep Cajeta in his possession, and what other places were then in his hands in the kingdom of Naples; that during the truce, his majesty might erect what magazines in them he pleased, and that a time and place should be appointed, to which ambassadors from all the parties of the league, (or as many as desired it,) should be sent to conclude a final peace; after which, the King and Queen of Spain intended to pursue the conquest of Granada, and having finished that, to pass over into Africa against the King of Fez, whose kingdom reaches to the coasts on the other side of that sea. However, some will say they never designed it, but were resolved to sit down with the conquest of the kingdom of Granada, which indeed was a glorious action, and the fairest acquisition which had been gained, not only in our times, but by all their predecessors; and I wish for their own sakes they had rested there, and kept their promise with our king. With these ambassadors of theirs our king sent back the Lord of Clerieux, in Dauphinè, and endeavoured to conclude either a separate peace or a truce with them, without comprehending

any of the rest of the confederates ; but if the king had accepted their overture, he had preserved Cajeta, which might have been sufficient for the recovery of the whole kingdom, considering what friends his majesty had in it. When the Lord de Clerieux returned he brought new propositions, for Cajeta was lost before he got to Castille. The proposition was, that the ancient alliance between the two crowns should be renewed, and that by common consent and expense they should endeavour the conquest of Italy, and that both the kings should be personally present in that expedition. But first they insisted that a general truce might be concluded, the whole league be comprehended, and a day and place appointed in Piedmont, to which each of them might send their ambassadors, being desirous (as they pretended,) to acquit themselves honourably towards their confederates. But all this overture, in my opinion, (and I have understood as much since,) was but an artifice to gain time, and suffer King Ferrand to breathe a little, and recruit whilst he lived, and King Frederic since his decease. However, they could have been contented to have had that kingdom to themselves, and their title was better than their's who possessed it ; but the king's title, (which was the house of Anjou's,) was better than both of them ; yet, considering the nature of the country, and the people which inhabit it, I think he has best right to it that can keep possession of it, so strangely are they inclined to revolutions. After this, the king sent Clerieux back again into Spain, and with him one

Monsieur Michael de Gamont, with certain new proposals. This Lord de Clerieux had some little affection for the house of Arragon, and hoped to have the marquisate of Cotrona, in Calabria, which the King of Spain retained of the last conquest which he made in that province. Clieux pretended it was his, for he is an honest sincere man, but something too credulous, especially of such persons. The second time he returned, he brought back with him another ambassador from them, and the Lord de Clerieux reported that the King and Queen of Castile would be contented to take Calabria, (which is the part of Italy that lies next Sicily,) for their whole interest in that kingdom, and that our king should have the rest; he offered likewise that the King of Castille should assist in person in this intended expedition, and contribute as much towards paying the army as our king; and, indeed, he was at that time master of four or five fortified towns in Calabria, and among the rest Cotrona, which is not only a strong, but beautiful, city. I was present when the ambassador made his report, and most were of opinion he was imposed upon, and that it would be necessary to send another ambassador of greater cunning and sagacity, to search more narrowly into the affair. Upon which the Lord du Bouchage was joined in the same embassy. He was a person of great wisdom and penetration in state affairs, had enjoyed places of great trust and honour in the late king's reign, and was still highly valued and esteemed by his son. The Spanish ambassador, who came along with the

Lord de Clerieux, would never confirm what he had said, only he told us, that he did believe Monsieur de Clerieux would not have made that report, if the King and Queen of Castille had not said it; which gave us the more suspicion it was a trick; and besides, nobody could believe the King of Spain would go thither in person, or that he would, or indeed, could bear an equal share with our master.

As soon as the Lord du Bouchage, Monsieur de Clerieux, Michael de Gramont, and the rest of our ambassadors, were arrived at the court of the King and Queen of Castile, they ordered them to be lodged in apartments where none of their subjects could converse with them, appointed persons to have an eye over them, and they were admitted to three private audiences of the king and queen. When the Lord du Bouchage had acquainted them with what the Lord de Clerieux had reported to his master, and Michael de Gramont had confirmed it, they answered, that they might have said some such thing by way of discourse, but not otherwise, yet they would readily engage themselves in any peace that should be for our master's honour and advantage. The Lord de Clerieux was very uneasy, and much displeas'd at their answer, (and he had reason,) and justified to their faces in the presence of the Lord du Bouchage, that they had given it in commission. However, the Lord du Bouchage and the other ambassadors concluded a truce for two months, without comprehending the league; but the princes who married their daughters, and their fathers-in-law, were comprehended, as the King of

the Romans, and the King of England, (for the Prince of Wales was but very young at that time.) The King and Queen of Castile * had four daughters; the eldest was a widow, and married to the King of Portugal, who died last, having broke his neck in her sight as he was passing a career upon a genet before her, three months after their marriage; and they had another unmarried. As soon as the Lord Bouchage was arrived, and had informed the king of his reception at the Spanish court, his majesty was sensible he had acted wisely in sending him, for now he was assured of what he but suspected before, and that was of the credulity of the Lord de Clerieux. The Lord du Bouchage told him moreover, that all he could obtain was that truce, which, however, his majesty had liberty either to accept or reject. The King confirmed it, and sure he did wisely, for it broke that confederacy which had given so much disturbance to his affairs, and which hitherto he could not effect, though he had tried all ways possible to dissolve it. The Lord du Bouchage also acquainted his majesty, that they would send ambassadors after him with power to conclude a peace; and this the King

* Their eldest daughter, whose name was Isabella, was married at first to Alphonso, Prince of Portugal, son of John II., King of Portugal, who broke his neck, as our author here mentions, and afterwards to Emanuel, King of Portugal, but died in childbed. The second, whose name was Jane, was married to Philip, Duke of Austria, son and heir to Maximilian, King of the Romans. Catharine, who was the third, was married to Arthur, Prince of Wales, son of Henry VII., King of England. And the fourth, whose name was Margaret, and who, according to our author, was unmarried at that time, was married to the same Emanuel, King of Portugal, her eldest sister's husband.

and Queen of Castile assured him of when he had his audience of leave. He told our king also, that at his coming away he left their only son, the Prince of Castile, very dangerously ill.

CHAPTER XVII.

A Digression concerning the Misfortunes which happened to the House of Castile in the Author's time.—1496.

THE Lord du Bouchage, ten or twelve days after his return into France, received letters from an herald, which he had left behind to wait on the ambassadors which were to come from thence. The letters were to this purpose, that he should not wonder at their deferring the embassy, because it was done upon the account of the death of the Prince of Castile (as they called him) who was lately dead, to the unspeakable grief of the king and queen, but especially of the queen, who was more like to die than to live; and certainly I never heard of so solemn and so universal a mourning for any prince in Europe. I have since been informed by ambassadors, that all the tradesmen put themselves into a coarse kind of black, and shut up their shops for forty days together; the nobility and gentry covered their mules with black cloth down to their very knees, and all over their body and heads, so that there was nothing of them to be seen but their ears; and set up black banners upon all the gates.

of the city. When the Lady Margaret (daughter to the King of the Romans *, sister to the Archduke of Austria †, and wife to the said prince) was informed of the news of his death, she miscarried of a daughter (being six months gone with child) which was born dead. What a terrible blow must this be to a family, which had known nothing before but felicity and renown, and had a larger territory (I mean by succession) than any other family in Christendom! And besides the late acquisition of Granada, they had forced the greatest monarch in Europe out of Italy, and defeated his enterprise, which was looked upon to be a mighty action even by the pope himself, who, under pretence of the conquest of Granada, would have taken away the title of most christian from the King of France, and conferred it on the King of Castile, to whom several briefs were addressed with that title superscribed; but because some of the cardinals opposed it; he gave them another, which was, “The most Catholic,” by which title he is called now, and I believe he will be styled so for ever at Rome. What a sad and surprising turn must this accident be! at a time when they had reduced their kingdom to obedience, regulated the laws, settled the administration of justice, were so well and happy in their own persons, as if God and man had conspired to advance their power and honour above all the rest of the princes in Europe.

* Maximilian I., afterwards emperor.

† Philip I., Archduke of Austria and King of Castile, in right of his wife Jane; daughter and heiress of the King of Castile.

Nor was this their only affliction, their eldest daughter (the dearest thing to them in the world after the death of her brother) was forced to leave them, having some few days before been married to Emanuel, the young King of Portugal. He was then indeed but Prince of Portugal; but the crown of Portugal fell to him by the death of the last King of Portugal, who most barbarously caused the head of his father-in-law to be cut off, killed his brother with his own hand (who was elder brother to the king that now reigns in Portugal) kept this present king in perpetual fear, and killed his own brother before his wife's face, as they were sitting at dinner, to make way for one of his bastards to be king. After which cruelties he lived in continual fear and suspicion, and not long after his only (legitimate) son broke his neck off his mule, as you have heard, who was the first husband to the lady of whom I am now speaking, and who is Queen of Portugal at present, into which kingdom she has been twice married, and by report is one of the wisest and most honourable persons in the world. But to continue our relation of the miserable accidents which in a short space befel the King and Queen of Castile, who had lived in so much glory and felicity to the fiftieth year of their age, or more. You must know they had married their eldest daughter to the King of Portugal, that all Spain might be in peace; for they were entirely possessed of all the provinces, except the kingdom of Navarre, which they governed as they pleased, and of which they had also four of the strongest towns. Secondly, to adjust and com-

pose the difference about her dower and marriage-portion: and thirdly, for the benefit and advantage of some of the grandees of Portugal, who were in the King of Castile's interest; for by this match those lords who were banished that country upon the death of the two princes above-mentioned, and had their estates confiscated (which continued to that day, though the crime of which they were accused was only endeavouring to set this king up who now reigns) had estates given them in Castile; and their lands in Portugal, which were forfeited by the attainder, were assigned to the queen's use. And yet for all these considerations the king and Queen of Castile were extremely troubled at this match; for you must understand there is no nation in Europe that the Spaniards abhor and deride more than they do the Portuguese. So that it was no small mortification to them that they had married their daughter to a person that was not pleasing to the Castilians, and the rest of their subjects, and had it been to do again, it would never have been done; which must needs be a great affliction to them, and the greater, because she must leave them. But having mastered their passion as well as they could, they conducted them through all the chief cities in that kingdom, caused the King of Portugal to be received as their prince, his queen as princess, and declared them their successors after their decease. But to finish all, and consummate their sorrows, this young lady, whom they loved and valued so highly, died in child-bed of a son about a month since, and it is now October, 1498.

Though the queen died, yet her son lived, and is called Emanuel*; yet I am informed their affliction is so great, they would have given God thanks to have taken them with their daughter.

All these great misfortunes happened in three months' space; nor were we without our share of afflictions; for before the death of the above-mentioned princess, we in this kingdom were chastised and afflicted by the death of Charles VIII. (of whom I have spoken so much) and who died after the manner as you shall hear hereafter; as if God had been offended with both these illustrious families, and would not suffer the one to triumph over the other. No such revolution happens in a kingdom, but it is generally attended with very sad consequences, and though possibly some may be gainers, yet there will be a hundred losers to one of them, besides the changing of a man's whole life and conversation; for that which pleases one king will hardly be agreeable to another. And (as I have said in another place) he that reflects upon the sudden and severe [chastisements which God has inflicted on the great princes of Europe within these thirty years, shall find more and greater than in two hundred years before, including France, Castile, Portugal, England, the kingdom of Naples, Flanders, and Bretagne; and if any should attempt to give a particular account of all the fates and misfortunes which I have known, (and perhaps most of

* Other authors say his name was Michael; but he died young, and the crown of Spain descended to Jane the second daughter, who was wife to Philip, Duke of Austria, and mother to Charles V.

the persons on whom they fell) it would swell into a vast volume, and astonish the whole world, though it contained no more than the occurrences of ten years past. By these afflictions, the power of God ought to be acknowledged and remembered ; for the troubles which he lays upon princes are heavier, more grievous, and more lasting than those he lays upon inferior persons. So that in short, (upon a full and just consideration of all,) the lives of princes are as much subject to afflictions and anxiety of mind as other men's, at least if they regard their own affairs themselves, and endeavour to prevent such miseries from falling upon them as they see have ruined their neighbouring princes. It is true they punish their subjects at their pleasure, and God does the same by them ; for besides him, there is none above them. But that kingdom is most happy whose king fears God, and manages his own affairs.

Thus have you seen, in few words, the misfortunes which befel these two potent kingdoms, and all within the space of three months, which not long before were so incensed one against the other, so busy to subvert one another, and so intent upon their interest and advancement, that nothing which they enjoyed was sufficient to satisfy their boundless ambition. I confess (as I said before) no change happens in government but some people are the better for it ; yet when a prince dies suddenly, the first news of his death is terrible to all.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Of the magnificent Building which King Charles began not long before his Death ; his good inclination to reform the Church, the Laws, the Treasury, and himself ; and of his dying suddenly in this resolution in his Castle at Amboise.—1498.

I HAVE now done with the affairs of Italy and Spain, and shall return to speak of our own misfortunes in France (at which some people might possibly rejoice, especially if they gained any thing by them,) and give you an account of the death of Charles VIII., our king, who died suddenly at his castle of Amboise where he began the most august and magnificent building that any prince had undertaken for one hundred years before, both in the town and the castle ; and this appears by the remaining towers, to the top of which one may ride on horseback. As to his building in the town, the design was admirable, the model lofty, and would have required a great deal of time. He had brought his artificers (as his carvers, painters, and such) from Italy, so that the whole fabric seemed the enterprise of a young prince who thought nothing of dying so soon ; for he collected whatever was commended to him, either in France, Italy, or Flanders. Besides this great work, his mind was so bent upon another expedition into Italy, being sensible he had committed many great errors in his first ; he spoke often of them, and resolved if ever he recovered what he had lost in that country, he would keep it better than he had done ; and having a party and intelligence in all places, he thought it

not impossible but he might return and recover the kingdom of Naples. To which purpose he resolved to send thither a body of fifteen hundred Italian men at arms under the command of the Marquis of Mantua, the Ursini, the Vitelli, and the governor of Rome, brother to the cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula; the Lord d'Aubigny, who had done such wonders in Calabria, was to march into the territories of the Florentines, who were to bear half the charges for six months. His first attempt was to have been upon Pisa, or the adjacent towns, and then joining with the rest, to march in one body into the kingdom of Naples, from whence he was solicited continually. Pope Alexander VI., who now reigns, being offended with the Venetians, endeavoured to come into the alliance, and had private intrigues with him by an agent that lay incognito, whom I privately conveyed into the king's chamber not long before his death. The Venetians were ready to join with us against the Duke of Milan, and our negotiations with Spain were as you have heard; the king of the Romans desired nothing so earnestly as the friendship of our king, and that they two might manage their own affairs in Italy by themselves. This king of the Romans was called Maximilian, a mortal enemy to the Venetians, because they had taken and kept several places belonging to the house of Austria, of which he was next heir, and to the empire besides.

The king had also resolved with himself to live a more strict and religious life than he had formerly done, to regulate the laws, to reform the church,

and so to rectify his revenue that he would not raise above one million two hundred thousand francs upon his subjects by way of tax, which was the sum given him by the three estates at their convention at Tours, upon his accession to the throne. He intended the said sum should be employed in the defence of the kingdom, and for himself he would live upon his crown lands, as his predecessors had done before him, which he might easily have done, if it had been well managed, for his revenue (comprehending his duties and customs) came to above a million a year. Had he done as he resolved, it would have been a great ease to the people, who pay now above two millions and a half. He was very earnest likewise to have reformed the order of St. Benedict, and others. He got good preachers about him, and was a constant hearer of them. He would fain have ordered it so that a bishop should have enjoyed but one bishopric, a cardinal two, and both be obliged to be resident upon their benefices; but he would have found it a difficult task to have persuaded the clergy to it. He gave alms liberally to the poor not many days before his death, as I was since informed by his confessor the bishop of Angiers, who is a very eminent prelate. He had erected also a place for public audience, where he heard and despatched several causes, especially for the poor; in which place I saw him two hours together not above a week before he died, after which time I never saw him again. Matters of great moment were not despatched there, but he had set up that court to keep people in awe,

especially his officers, some of whom he suspended for bribery and corruption.

The king being in great glory in relation to this world, and in a good mind as to God, on the 7th of April, 1498, being Palm-Sunday eve, took his queen (Anne of Bretagne) by the hand, and led her out of her chamber to a place where she had never been before, to see them play at ball in the castle ditch. They entered together into a gallery called la Galerie Haquelebac, upon the account of its being formerly kept by one Haquelebac. It was the nastiest place about the castle, broken down at the entrance, and every body***** in it that would. The king was no tall man, yet he knocked his head as he went in. He spent some time in looking upon the gamesters, and talked freely with every body. I was not there myself (for I was gone to my country-seat about a week before) but his confessor the bishop of Angiers, and the gentlemen of his bed-chamber, who were then about him, told me what I write. The last expression he used whilst he was in health was, that he hoped never to commit a mortal sin again, nor a venial if he could help it; and with those words in his mouth he fell down backwards, and lost his speech. It was about two in the afternoon, when he fell, and he lay till eleven o'clock at night. Thrice he recovered his speech, but he quickly lost it again, as his confessor told me, who had confessed him twice that week, one of course, and the other upon occasion of his touching for the king's-evil. Every one went into the gallery that pleased. He was laid upon a coarse bed at first, and he never went

off it till he died, which was nine hours after. The confessor told me, that every time he recovered his speech he called out upon God, the glorious Virgin Mary, St. Claude, and St. Blaise, to assist him. And thus died that great and powerful monarch in a sordid and filthy place, though he had so many magnificent palaces of his own, and was building another more stately than any of them, yet he died in a chamber much unsuitable to himself. How plain, then, and natural is it, from these two examples, for us to acknowledge the power and omnipotence of God, that our life is but a span and a trifle, though we are so greedy and ambitious after the riches of this world, and that a prince has his fate as well as a peasant.

CHAPTER XIX.

Of the burning Friar Jerome at Florence by the Malice and Solicitation of the Pope, and several Venetians and Florentines who were his Enemies.—1498.

IN my relation of the affairs of Italy I have mentioned a jacobin friar, who lived at Florence for the space of fifteen years, was very remarkable for the sanctity of his life, and whom I saw and conversed with in the year 1495. His name was Jerome, and he had foretold several things which afterwards came to pass. He affirmed the king should make another voyage into Italy, declaring it publicly in his sermons, and pretending he had

both that and other things by revelation from God, by whom he pronounced our king to be chosen to reform the church by force, and chastise the insolence of tyrants. But his pretending to revelation created him many enemies, made him incur the displeasure of the pope, and gained him ill-will from several in Florence: His life and his discourse (as far as could be discovered) were the severest and most holy in the world, declaiming perpetually against sin, and making many proselytes in that city. In the same year 1498, and within four or five days after the death of King Charles VIII., died this Jacobin also; which I mention the rather, because he had always publicly asserted that the king should return again into Italy, to accomplish the commission which God had given him for the reforming of the church by the sword, and the expulsion of the tyrants of that country; and that in case the king refused or neglected it, God would punish him for it severely; all which former sermons, and those he preached at this time, he caused to be printed, and they are to be seen at this day. His threats to the king of God's severe anger if he returned not into Italy; he wrote several times to his majesty a little before his death; and he told me as much at my return out of Italy, assuring me that sentence was pronounced in heaven against the king, provided he refused to observe what God had commanded, and did not keep his soldiers from plundering. About the time of the king's death there were great divisions among the Florentines. Some expected the king's

return, and very earnestly desired it, upon confidence in Friar Jerome's assurance, and in that confidence they exhausted and ruined themselves in their expenses for the recovery of Pisa, and the rest of the towns which they had delivered to the king; but Pisa was in possession of the Venetians. Some were for siding with the league, and deserting our king, and they alleged that all was but folly and delusion, and that Friar Jerome was a heretic and a hypocrite, and that he ought to be put into a sack and thrown into the river; but he had friends in the town which protected him against that. The pope and the Duke of Milan wrote often against him, assuring the Florentines that Pisa and the rest of their towns should be restored, if they would abandon our king and punish Friar Jerome. It accidentally happened, that at the time of the king's death the senate consisted of several of Friar Jerome's enemies (for the senate in that country is changed every two months) who suborned a cordelier to quarrel with him, and to proclaim him a heretic, and an abuser of the people, in pretending to revelation, and to declare publicly that there was no such thing; and to prove what he said, he challenged him to the fire before the senate. Friar Jerome had more wit, but one of his brethren offered to do it for him, and another of the cordeliers would do as much for the other; so that a day was appointed when they were to come to their trial, and both of them presented themselves with all the friars of their orders. The Jacobin brought the host in his hand,

which the senate and cordeliers insisted he should lay by; but the Jacobin being obstinate to the contrary, and resolved not to part with it, they returned all to their convents. The people, encouraged by Friar Jerome's enemies, and authorized by the senate, went to his convent and fetched him and two more of his brethren out, and tortured them most cruelly, killing the chief man in the city (called Francisco Vallori) only for being his friend. The pope sent them power and commission to make out process against him, and at last he and his two brethren were burnt. His charge consisted only of two articles; that he created disorder in the city, and that he was an impostor; and what he pretended by revelation he understood by his friends in the council. For my own part I will neither condemn nor excuse him, nor will I say they did ill or well in putting him to death, but I am sure he foretold several things which afterwards came to pass, and which all his friends in Florence could never have suggested. And as to our master, and the evils with which he threatened him, they happened exactly as you have heard, first the death of the Dauphin, and then his own, of which I have seen letters under his own hand to the king.

CHAPTER XX.

The Obsequies and Funeral of Charles VIII. The Coronation of his Successor Louis XII., with the Genealogies of the Kings of France to King Louis XII.—1498.

THE distemper of which the king died was an apoplexy, or a catarrh, which the physicians hoped would have fallen down into one of his arms, and though it might have taken away the use of that, they were in no fear of his death. His majesty had four physicians about him, but his greatest confidence was in him that had the least knowledge and experience in physic, and by his directions he was so entirely governed, that the other three durst not give their judgments, though they saw the indications of death, and would have ordered him a purge three or four days before. All people addressed themselves to the Duke of Orleans immediately, as next heir to the crown; but the gentlemen of King Charles's bed-chamber buried him in great pomp and solemnity. As soon as he was dead service was begun for his soul, which continued day and night; for when the Canons had done the Cordeliers began; and when they had ended, the Bons-hommes or Minimes took it up, which was an order of his own foundation. He lay eight days at Amboise, part of them in a chamber very richly furnished, and part in the church: In short, he lay in great state, and the whole solemnity was more costly than any of his predecessors had been. The gentlemen of his bed-

chamber, all that belonged to his person, and all the officers of his court, never stirred from his corpse, but waited constantly ; and the service continued till his body was interred, which was about a month after, and as I have been told by some of the officers of his exchequer, cost forty-five thousand francs. I came to Amboise two days after his death, went to pay my devotions upon his tomb, and stayed there five or six hours. To speak impartially, I never saw so solemn a mourning for any prince, nor that continued so long ; and no wonder, for he had been more bountiful to his favourites, to those gentlemen of his bed-chamber, and ten or twelve gentlemen of his privy-chamber, had treated them better, and given them greater estates than any king had ever done before ; and indeed he gave them too much. Besides he was the most affable and sweetest natured prince in the world. I verily believe he never said that word to any man that could in reason displease him ; so that he could never have died in a better hour to make himself memorable in history, and lamented by all that served him. I do really think I was the only person in the whole world he was unkind to ; but being sensible it was in his youth, and not at all his own doing, I could not resent it.

Having lain one night at Amboise, I went and paid my respects to the new king, with whom I had been formerly as intimate as any other person about the court, and much of my troubles and losses were for his sake ; but then all our former acquaintance and the service I had done him were forgotten.

However, he entered upon his government with great wisdom. He altered not any pensions for that year, though they were six months behind. He retrenched nothing of his salaries, but declared that every officer in his kingdom should continue in the same post he found him, which was very honourable and discreet. As soon as all things could be got ready, he proceeded to his coronation *, and I was there among the rest. The peers of France, (according to ancient custom,) were represented by these following: The Duke of Alenson represented the Duke of Burgundy; Monsieur de Bourbon the Duke of Normandy; and the Duke of Lorraine the Duke of Guienne. The first of the earls was Monsieur de Ravestein, who represented the Earl of Flanders. The second was Engilbert de Cleves, who represented the Earl of Champagne, and the third was Monsieur de Foix, who represented the earl of Thoulouse. The said inauguration was at Rheims the 27th of May, 1498, and this Louis XII. was the fourth king who came collaterally to the crown. The two first were, Charles Martel, or Pepin his son, and Hugh Capet, both of them mayors of the palace, or governors of their kings; afterwards they turned usurpers, deposed their masters, and took the government upon themselves. The third was King Philip of Valois, and the fourth King Louis who now reigns. But the two last came by a just and indisputable title to the crown. The first race of the Kings of France is deduced from

* The coronation of this prince, at which the author assisted, is to be seen at large in the volume of the French ceremonial, p. 231.

Meroveus ; there had been two kings before this Meroveus, that is to say, Pharamond, who was the first that was elected King of France ; for, before his time they were called Dukes or Kings of Gaul, and after him one of his sons called Clodion. Pharamond was chosen king in the year 420, and reigned ten years ; his son Clodion reigned eighteen, so that Pharamond and his son reigned twenty-eight years. Meroveus who succeeded was not Clodion's son, but his kinsman ; so that there seems to have been five interruptions in the royal line. However, as I said before, the Genealogy of the Kings of France begins generally at Meroveus, who was made king in the year 448 ; so that the right line is derived from thence, and runs down to Louis XII., who was crowned one thousand and ninety years after the pedigree of the said kings began. They who would divide it from King Pharamond, need only add twenty-eight more, and the number will amount to one thousand and seventy-eight years since they were called kings of France. From Meroveus to King Pepin there were three hundred and thirty-three years, during which time the line of Meroveus lasted. From King Pepin to Hugh Capet there were two hundred and thirty-seven years, and that time the line of King Pepin and his son Charlemagne continued. Hugh Capet's line lasted three hundred and thirty-nine years, and expired before Philip de Valois, and then the line of the said Philip de Valois extinguished in Charles VIII., who. (as is said before,) died in the year 1498, and was the last of that family which had continued kings one

hundred and sixty-nine years, during which time seven kings had succeeded of that line, that is to say, Philip de Valois, King John, King Charles V., King Charles VI., King Charles VII., Louis XI., and King Charles VIII., who was the last of the right line of Philip de Valois.

END OF THE MEMOIRS.

THE
SECRET HISTORY
OF
LEWIS XI. KING OF FRANCE,
OTHERWISE CALLED
THE SCANDALOUS CHRONICLE.

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

TO the honour and praise of God, our sweet Saviour and Redeemer, and the blessed glorious Virgin Mary, without whose assistance no good works can be performed. Knowing that several kings, princes, counts, barons, prelates, noblemen, ecclesiastics, and abundance of the common people, are often pleased and delighted in hearing and reading the surprising histories of wonderful things that have happened in divers places both of this and other Christian states and kingdoms, I applied myself with abundance of pleasure, from the 35th year of my age, instead of spending my time in sloth and idleness, to writing a history of several remarkable accidents and adventures that happened in France, and in other neighbouring kingdoms, as far as my memory would permit me; but especially from the year 1460, in the reign of Charles VII., to the death of Louis XI., his son, who died the 30th of August, in the year 1483. However, I nei-

ther design nor expect that this historical essay of mine should be called a Chronicle, being wholly unfit for so bold an undertaking; neither indeed was I ever employed or permitted to write one; but what I have here ventured to record, is purely by way of amusement to please and divert those who will give themselves the trouble of reading or hearing it read; whom I also humbly entreat to excuse, and supply my ignorance, by correcting and altering whatever they find amiss; for abundance of these remarkable accidents have happened after so very different and so strange a manner, that it would have been a very difficult task, either for me or any other writer, to have given an exact and particular account of every thing that happened during so long a series of time.

THE
SCANDALOUS CHRONICLE.

AND first of all, then, concerning the goodness and fertility of the earth in the year 1460, which was so prodigiously fruitful throughout the whole kingdom of France, and bore such plenteous crops of corn, that at the very dearest time a quarter of wheat was sold but for twenty-four Parisian sols; but there was a great scarcity of fruit, and as for the vines, there was but little wine, especially in the isle of France, so that they had scarce an hogshhead to every acre of ground, but the wine was extraordinary good, and that which grew in the fat vineyards round Paris was sold very dear, and bore the price of ten or eleven crowns a hogshhead.

About that time several poor indigent wretches that were guilty of thieving, sacrilege, house-breaking, and other enormous crimes, were made an example of; and severely punished at Paris, amongst whom some were only whipped at the cart's tail, and afterwards pardoned, as being their first offence; and others, who were old offenders, and had been often guilty of crimes of the like nature, were condemned to be hanged, and executed accordingly.

Much about that time also a certain woman, named Perrette Mauger, was condemned to be burnt alive for having committed several robberies, and for harbouring and concealing several notorious thieves and house-breakers, who had committed divers robberies in and about Paris ; as also for having sold and disposed of the said goods that were stolen by these thieves, and sharing with them the money that arose from the sale thereof : for which crimes, and several other besides, which she confessed at last, she was condemned by M. Robert Destouteville, mayor of Paris, to be burnt alive at the stake before the gallows, and all her goods and chattels to be forfeited to the king. From which sentence she formally appealed to the court of parliament, upon the account of which appeal her execution was deferred for some time ; but after the parliament had examined into her trial, they confirmed the above mentioned sentence, and having declared that the said Perrette Mauger had no manner of grounds for her appeal, ordered it immediately to be executed ; upon which she declared herself to be with child, which deferred the execution a little longer ; and presently a jury of midwives and matrons were impannelled, and ordered to search her, who, upon a strict examination, reported to the judges that she was not breeding, upon which report she was immediately ordered to be burnt before the gallows by Henry Cousin, hangman of Paris.

*Strange Adventures that happened in England in
the same Year, 1460.*

In this year the pope sent a legate into England, who preached to the people of that country, but especially in London, the chief city of that kingdom; where he made several remonstrances to the inhabitants of that and the adjacent parts much to the prejudice, and contrary to the interest of, Henry VI., king of England; which remonstrances the Cardinal of York, who accompanied the legate, explained in their own language, with a long exposition on the same. Upon which the common people, who were wavering and fickle enough at the best, began to rise up in rebellion against King Henry, and his queen, daughter of Rene, King of Sicily and Jerusalem, and their son the Prince of Wales. The common people chose the Earl of Warwick for their head, who was governor of Calais, in the room of Richard, Duke of York, who pretended to be king, and boldly maintained the kingdom of England belonged to him, as being the next heir of the family of King Richard II. A little time afterwards the Duke of York, who had assembled a great number of the populace in arms, took the field, and marched directly to a park where Henry VI. was, attended by several dukes, princes, and other lords, all in arms also. There were eight avenues that led to this park, and these were guarded by eight barons of the kingdom, all of them traitors and rebels to King Henry; who, as soon as they were informed of the Duke of York's arrival, immediately gave him admittance into the

park, with the Earl of Warwick, and several others, who went directly to the place where the king was, whom without any farther ceremony* they seized upon. Immediately after this action, they slew several princes and great lords of the blood royal that were with him. When the Earl of Warwick had so done, he took King Henry and brought him directly to London, carrying the naked sword before him, as if he had been his constable; and, upon his arrival at London, he led him straight to the tower, in which there were four barons of the kingdom of King Henry's party, that were kept prisoners there; to whom King Henry some time after, and the Earl of Warwick gave very fair words, and released them out of the tower, after they had solemnly proposed them that their persons should be protected from all manner of danger whatsoever, and in confidence of these fair promises they consented to go out of the tower. But as they were leading these four barons after King Henry and the Earl of Warwick, there happened to be an insurrection of the mob, and some of them came and killed one of the barons, and gave him several blows and contusions; and the next day, notwithstanding all the fine promises that were made them, the three other barons were executed on Tower-hill.

* Thomas, the son of Edward Talbot, of Lancashire, apprehended King Henry VI. as he sat at dinner at Waddington Hall in Cleatherwood, in Lancashire; and, forgetting all respect due to so great a prince, like a common malefactor, with his legs tied under his horse's belly, guarded him up towards London. By the way the Earl of Warwick met him, who arrested him, and taking off his gilt spurs, led him prisoner to the Tower.

At the same time there arose a great quarrel between the king's officers belonging to the court of Aids, and one of the beadles of the University of Paris, for some affront that the said beadle had given to two counsellors of the same court; for which misdemeanor the said beadle was put into the common gaol of Paris; which method of proceeding the whole University highly resented, and were so extremely displeas'd with it, that, till the affair was accommodated, and the beadle restored to his liberty, they refused either to preach, pray, or read to the people; but, upon his enlargement, they were well satisfied, and performed their usual duty.

About this time a certain person, called Anthony the Bastard of Burgundy, came into Paris in a disguise, and staid there only one day and a night; and when the inhabitants of the city were informed of his coming in that manner, several officers and men of note could not imagine what should be the meaning of it, and immediately despatched certain persons to carry the news of it to the king, who spoke very favourably of the citizens, and declared they were not the least privy to his coming in that clandestine way. Upon which the king in all haste sends the Marshal de Loheac, and M. John Bureau, Treasurer of France, to inquire into the truth of the relation that was brought him, and to take all the care imaginable to prevent whatever designs this emissary of the house of Burgundy might have formed in the city. At the same time also the citizens of Paris, (to free themselves from all man-

ner of suspicion of their consenting to his coming *incognito*), deputed some of the chief of their citizens, amongst whom were M. John de Lolive, Doctor of Divinity, and the Chancellors of the Church of Paris, Nicholas de Louviers, M. John Clerebourg, Master of the Mint; M. John Lullier, Town Clerk; James Rebours, Attorney; John Volant, Merchant, and several others, to represent the matter fairly to the king. His majesty received them very graciously; and, after they had ended their speech, which was made to clear their innocence, he was extremely well satisfied with them, and having given them a very mild and gracious answer, they returned to Paris with great joy and gladness of heart.

At that time M. Robert Destouteville, who was mayor of Paris, was committed prisoner to the Bastille, and afterwards to the Louvre, by the command of the Marshal de Loheac and M. John Bureau; for some injustice and abuses he had committed in the exercise of his office, though it was never fairly proved upon him. About that time also several rude and uncivil actions were committed by M. John Advin, counsellor of the parliament of Paris, in the house of the said Destouteville, such as searching of boxes, trunks, and other places for letters; not to mention the several incivilities he offered to the Lady Ambroise de Lore, his wife, who was a woman of great virtue, honour and wisdom.

In this year the rivers of Seine and the Marne were swoln so prodigiously, that in one night's

time the Marne rose above six foot high about St. Maur des-Fossez, and did a great deal of damage in several places; but among the rest the river came up so high in a village called Claye, in which there was a palace belonging to the Bishop of Meaux, that it washed away all the brick-work of the front of it, where there were two stately towers newly erected, in which there were fine and large apartments, richly furnished and adorned with tapestry, pictures, &c., but the river swept all away.

About that time also it happened, that the body of the church of Fescamp in Normandy was burnt down to the ground by a fiery exhalation that came from the sea towards the Marquis of Cornwall; and caught hold of the steeple of the said abbey which was quite consumed, and all the bells melted down, to the great loss and detriment of the abbot and his whole fraternity.

At the same time there was a great noise and discourse all over the kingdom of France, and other places, of a young girl of about eighteen years of age, who lived in the city of Mans, and played several ridiculous pranks and follies; such as foaming at the mouth, leaping into the air, screaming out aloud, putting her body into a thousand convulsive motions, and pretending to be tormented by the devil; by which antic tricks, and several others too tedious to mention here, she imposed upon and cheated abundance of people that came to see her. But at last she was discovered to be an idle hussy, and that she played

all her devilish pranks by the instigation and contrivance of some of the officers belonging to the Bishop of Mans, who maintained her for that purpose; and had so far brought her to their beck, that she would do any thing they bid her, and they had trained her up from her infancy to play these pranks.

About the same time it happened in England, some time after the earl of Warwick's seizing upon the person of King Henry, that the Duke of Somerset the king's cousin, in conjunction with several young noblemen, relations and heirs to those who were slain at the taking of King Henry, having got together a considerable body of men, took the field, and marched directly against the Duke of York, found him encamped in the plains of St. Albans*, where they gave him battle, and cut him and his whole army to pieces. In this battle the Duke of York was slain himself, and when his body was found they cut off his head, and by way of derision, because he pretended to the crown of England, they fixed it upon the point of a lance, and put a crown of straw in the form of a royal crown upon it. With him there fell in

* The battle was not fought at St. Albans, but at Wakefield in Yorkshire, on the 30th of December, 1460, in which the Duke of York was killed, and afterwards had his head cut off, and by way of derision a crown of paper, not of straw, as our author writes, set upon it, and presented to Queen Margaret, who not long after sent it with the heads of other lords to be fixed upon poles over the gate of the city of York. The person that committed this ungenerous action was the Lord Clifford, who, after the battle of Wakefield, in cold blood murdered the young Earl of Rutland, the Duke of York's third son.

the battle six and twenty barons, knights, esquires, and persons of note in the kingdom; besides a great number of common soldiers, amounting in all to above eight or nine thousand men.

And on Wednesday the third of February in the same year 1460, were read and published at Roan, and in several other places in the duchy of Normandy, in the public market-places by sound of trumpet, the king's letters patent; by which he declared it was his royal will and pleasure that the whole country of Normandy together with its sea-ports, should be free and open to all English men and women, of what rank or condition soever; and in what habit soever they shall think fit to wear, (provided they were of King Henry's party) and without having any passport, to have free liberty of trade and commerce throughout his whole kingdom.

In the year 1461, in the month of July, it happened that King Charles VII. fell sick at the castle of Meum upon the Yeure, of a distemper that was incurable, and of which he died on Wednesday the 22nd of July, between one and two o'clock, in the afternoon, much lamented by the whole kingdom; as being a very wise and valiant prince, and leaving his kingdom in a very peaceful and flourishing condition.

Immediately after the death of the king was publicly known, the greatest part of the officers of Paris, and several others of the kingdom, went to pay their respects to the Dauphin, who resided at the Duke of Burgundy's court at Hainault; and who by the decease of his father came to the crown

of France. The occasion of their waiting on him there, was, to know his royal will and pleasure; and whether they should be continued in the same posts and employments they enjoyed under his father: At which place after his death he made a promotion of several officers in the chamber of accounts or exchequer, at Paris: Amongst the rest, he made M. Peter l'Orfeure Lord of Derme-nonville and Nicholas de Louviers counsellors of the same exchequer, and M. John Baillett master of the requests and reporter of the court of chancery: He also confirmed M. Simon Charles, who was carried in a litter into Hainault, in the place he was possessed of in the exchequer: and the rest of the officers that came thither to beg the favour of being continued in their respective posts and employments, were ordered back to Paris to wait for the king's coming thither.

And upon the 24th of July, 1461, M. Ethiene, knight, who was treasurer or chief director of the finances in the reign of the late King Charles, and whom he appointed to be one of the executors of his last will and testament, and also M. Dreux Bude, the grand audiencier* of France, went from Paris to the king's corps that lay in state at Meum; but the Lord d'Aigreville, captain of Montargis, at the earnest solicitation of a certain gentleman named Vuaste Morpedon caused them both to be seized at Montargis; where they remained prisoners for some time, till the king sent orders for

* One of the chief officers of the Chancery of France, who examines all letters-patents, &c., before they pass the seals.

their release, and continued them both in their respective employments of treasurer and audiencier.

But it was very observable, that on the 23d of July, in 1461, which was the next day after the king's death, a large blazing star was seen in the sky about seven o'clock at night, which cast such a glaring and resplendent light through the air, that all Paris seemed to be in a flame; but Heaven in its mercy has been still pleased to preserve that good city.

On Thursday the 6th of August, 1461, the body of the late King Charles VII. was brought from Meum with great solemnity, to the Church of Notre-Dame in the Fields, without the gates of Paris: And the next day the clergy, nobility, officers, citizens, and abundance of the populace repaired thither; and conducted it from thence to Paris, with a great deal of pomp, ceremony; and respect, as is usual upon such occasions. The funeral procession was thus regulated. Before the corps were borne two hundred wax-candles of four pounds each, adorned and painted with the arms of France, and carried by two hundred inferior persons dressed in long mourning robes and black caps; the body was borne in a litter by the salt-porters of Paris, which was lined and covered with a rich cloth of gold, valued at one thousand two hundred crowns of gold; and upon the top of it was placed the effigies of the late king Charles dressed in his royal robes, with a crown on his head, holding in one hand a sceptre; and in the other a regal truncheon; and in this state it was carried to the great

Church of Notre-Dame in Paris ; all the bellmen of the city clothed also in black, and bearing on each side of their gowns the arms of France, marching before it; and after them came those that bore the candles, adorned and painted with the same arms, before the litter. After the litter came the Duke of Orleans and the Count d'Angouleme as chief mourners, accompanied by the Counts d'Eu and Dunois ; M. John Jouvenelle des Voisins, knight and chancellor of France, and the master of the horse, all clothed in deep mourning, and mounted on horseback : Next to them marched all the officers of the household to the late king, on foot, by two and two, dressed in deep mourning also ; and close to the litter rode six pages in black upon six fine horses covered all over with black velvet, which was a very dismal and melancholy sight to behold. And there was such an universal concern and lamentation for his death, that scarce a dry eye was left in the whole city ; nay, it is reported, that one of his pages took his master's death so to heart, that for four whole days together, he neither ate nor drank any thing. The next day, which was the 9th of August, his body was removed from the Church of Notre-Dame, in Paris, about three in the afternoon, and carried with the above-mentioned pomp and ceremony to St. Denis, where it was deposited, and now lies.

Towards the end of this month our most gracious sovereign Louis XI. then only dauphin and eldest son of Charles VII. lately deceased, was crowned King of France at Rheims by the Arch-

bishop Jouvenal, where he was attended by the greatest part of the nobility of his kingdom.

Upon the last day of this month of August, the king set out from an hotel named Les Porcherons which was in the suburbs near the gate of St. Honnore, belonging to M. John Bureau, who was knighted at his coronation at Rheims, in order to make his public entry into Paris; upon which the whole body of the nobility, clergy, and gentry came out to pay their homage to him, and welcome him to their city; amongst whom were the Bishop of Paris named William Chartier, the whole University, the Court of Parliament, the Mayor of Paris, all the officers of the Exchequer, and the provost of merchants, with the aldermen in their damask robes lined with sables: And the mayor and aldermen, after they had saluted and paid their respects to the king, presented him with the keys of the city gates, through which he was to make his entry, which he very graciously returned; and then the way was ordered to be cleared, to make room for others to approach his majesty, and make their compliment to him, of which number he made a great many knights on the spot. As the king passed through the gate of St. Dennis, he found near the Church of St. Ladre a herald mounted on horseback, and clothed in the city livery, who presented him with five ladies on the part of the city, richly dressed, and mounted on five fine horses sumptuously accoutred with rich furniture, on which were embroidered the city arms; and these five ladies were habited after a sort of a manner re-

presenting the five letters of Paris, and every one of them made a speech to the king, which was prepared for them beforehand.

There was a very great appearance at the king's public entry into Paris, both of his own nobility, and of foreign princes and noblemen, amongst whom were the Dukes of Orleans, Burgundy, Bourbon, and Cleves, the Count de Charolois, the Duke of Burgundy's eldest son, the Counts d'Angoulesme, St. Paul, and Dunois, besides several other earls, barons, knights, captains, and a great number of persons of note and distinction, who, in honour of the day, and to augment the splendour and magnificence of the triumphal entry, had bestowed vast sums in rich and costly furniture, with which their horses were caparisoned; some of their housings were of the richest cloth of gold, made after different fashions, and lined with sables; others were of crimson velvet, lined with ermine or rich damask, embroidered with gold and silver, and hung round with great silver bells, which were of a considerable value; and upon the horses rode fine young pages, the very flower of youth and beauty, richly dressed, and wearing an embroidered scarf over their shoulders, that hung down to the crupper, which made a very noble and gallant show.

The Parisians on this occasion caused a very fine ship to be cast in silver, which was borne aloft upon men's shoulders, and just as the king made his entry through the gate of St. Dennis, it was placed upon the draw-bridge near the said gate, to represent the city arms. In it were placed three

persons representing the three estates of the kingdom, and in the stern and the poop sat two more personating justice and equity, and out of the scuttle, which was formed in the shape of a fleur-de-lis, issued a king dressed in royal robes, and attended by two angels. A little farther at the fountain du Ponceau there were wild men that played the parts of gladiators, and near them were placed three handsome wenches, representing mermaids, sporting and singing gay enlivening airs, which were honoured and accompanied with the melodious harmony of soft music. And to comfort and refresh the people, there were several pipes in the said fountain that ran milk, wine, and hipocras, of which every one drank what he pleased, and a little below the fountain the passion of our Saviour was represented as he was crucified between two thieves. At a little distance from this crucifix there were posted a band of men richly dressed, representing hunters that had just run down a stag, whose death was accompanied with the melodious noise of dogs and horns; and in the Rue de Boucherie there were large scaffolds erected in the form of the Bastile at Dieppe. And when the king was passed by them, the English who were within the Bastile were furiously attacked by the king's soldiers, taken prisoners, and had all their throats cut. Opposite to the gate of the Chastellet there was a fine appearance of persons of quality; all the windows were hung with rich tapestry, and the streets through which the king

passed were crowded with a prodigious number of people. In this pompous manner he proceeded to the Church of Notre-Dame, and having performed his devotions to the blessed Virgin, he returned to his royal palace, where he had a splendid and magnificent entertainment, and lay there that night. The next morning, which was the first of September in the year 1461, he removed from thence into his Hotel des Tournelles, near the Bastile de St. Antoine, where he staid some time, during which he made several acts and ordinances, and turned several of the officers of his kingdom out of their posts and employments, amongst the rest the Chancellor Juvenal des Ursins, the marshal, admiral, the first president of the Court of Parliament, and the provost of Paris, and put new ones in their places.

He also made a new regulation in all his courts of justice and offices belonging to the crown, especially in the Exchequer, Treasury, and the Mint, turning out abundance of counsellors, secretaries, receivers-general, clerks, and other officers of an inferior nature, and putting others in their room.

The 3d of September, 1461, the king, attended by some of the lords and gentlemen of his court, was entertained at supper in the house of one M. William de Corbie, a counsellor of the court of Parliament, whom he made President of Dauphinè that very night. There were abundance of fine ladies and honest citizens' wives to see the king at supper; and during his stay at Paris he ordered

several feasts and entertainments to be made in divers places of the city on purpose to treat and divert them.

About this time it happened, that a beautiful young woman named Joan du Bois, wife to a certain officer belonging to the Chastellet of Paris, made an elopement from her husband, but afterwards, by the counsel and advice of his intimate friends, he took her home again ; she became a very good woman, and lived a sober and virtuous life with her husband.

In the years 1462 and 1463 nothing material or worth recording happened, and therefore I have passed them over in silence. And as for the year 1463, as I have already observed, there was nothing happened in it worth taking notice of, unless it was the shortness of the winter and the length of the summer, which was extremely pleasant, and very favourable to the vines, so that we had plenty of good wine that very year, but a great scarcity of all other fruits of the earth.

In the year 1464, upon Tuesday the 15th of May, the king came from Nogent le Roy, where the queen was brought to bed of a young princess, and on the same day in the evening supped at M. Charles d'Orgemont's Lord of Mery, and from thence he set out for the frontiers of Picardy, where he concluded to have found the ambassadors whom Edward King of England had promised to send thither to him, but they never came; whereupon the king left Picardy and made a progress to Roan, and several other places in Normandy. About that time it happened, that a small vessel of Dieppe was seized

upon the coast of Holland by some of the Duke of Burgundy's ships, in which there was a person named the Bastard of Rubempre, who with the rest of the ship's crew was immediately clapped into prison, upon pretence that their design of hovering about those parts was purely to seize upon the person of the Count de Charolois : and this report the Flemings spread abroad every where, but there was nothing in it.

About that time the king set out from Normandy in his return to Nogent, from whence he went to visit Tours, Chinon, and Poitiers, at which place arrived the deputies that were sent by the city of Paris to desire his majesty to grant them farther privileges ; but all they were able to obtain of him was, only to be exempted from a small tax called the Foreign Impost, which was no great matter ; and even that small gift they did not enjoy, for the clerks of the Exchequer, to whom their letters patents were directed, were negligent, and would not despatch their business in time. The ambassadors of the Duke of Bretagne were likewise to wait on him there, whom he heard upon several articles, that were brought him, in relation to the affair between the duke and him ; which articles, or at least the greatest part of them, were granted and allowed of by his majesty ; and by those articles of agreement the said ambassadors did promise and engage that their master the Duke of Bretagne should wait on his majesty either at Poitiers or elsewhere, to confirm and ratify the said articles. After which, the ambassadors took their leave of the king, pretending to return into

Bretagne; but they did quite the contrary, as you will find hereafter. The day they set out from Poitiers, which was Saturday, they went but four leagues, where they stayed till the Monday following; and upon Sunday the Duke of Berry, the king's own brother, departed from Poitiers also, and lay that night with the ambassadors, who received him with abundance of kindness and civility, and the next morning early in great haste they all set out together for Bretagne, fearing lest the king should be informed of his brother's going with them, and upon that account follow them: besides the Count de Dunois was already arrived at the Duke of Bretagne's court, which would be apt to give the king a suspicion of some secret designs on foot against him.

Soon after the departure of these ambassadors, the Duke of Bourbon declares war against the king, and invades his dominions, seizing upon whatever belonged to the king, in his territories, and putting the Lord de Croussol, a great favourite of the king's, under an arrest. This Lord de Croussol was only passing through his country with his lady and the rest of his family; however, they were all of them arrested and confined in the city of Cosne in Bourbonnois.

After this, William Juvenal des Ursins Lord of Traynel, formerly chancellor of France, and M. Peter Doriolle the late treasurer, were also arrested in the city of Molins, where they endured a long imprisonment; but at last the Duke of Bourbon

released them, and gave them liberty to go back to the king.

On Sunday the 12th of March, in the year 1464, after the Duke of Berry's departure from Poitiers, Anthony Chabannes Count de Dampmartin, who was a prisoner in the Bastile de St. Antoine, made his escape and fled into Berry and Bourbonnois, where he was kindly received. But several who were suspected to be accessory to his escape, were immediately committed to prison.

On Wednesday the 15th of March, M. Charles de Melun the king's lieutenant, M. John Balue Bishop of Eureux, and M. John the mayor, with the king's secretary, met together in the town-house, where they caused several articles that the king had given them in charge, to be read; and after the reading was over, they made several acts and ordinances for the better defence and security of the city; amongst the rest, there was a particular order to appoint a strong watch to guard the city gates by night, to shut them at a constant hour, to have iron chains fastened at the end of every street, to bar them up upon any occasion; and several others, which being too long to be inserted here, I shall for brevity's sake omit them.

But after the escape of the Count de Dampmartin, the king found out a stratagem to surprise the two strong places of Fourgeau and Morue, which were defended by Jeffery Cueur, son of the late James Cueur, whom he made a prisoner, and seized upon all the riches he found in them.

As soon as this business was over the king, attended by the King of Sicily and the Lord du Maine, marched towards Angiers and Pont de Ce, to demand of those who had so basely deserted him, what reasons induced them to retire and withdraw themselves into Bretagne. He ordered his army, which was chiefly composed of the standing forces of the kingdom, and amounted to twenty or thirty thousand men immediately to follow him ; but after he had been there for some time, and found he could not possibly finish the war on that side so soon as he expected, he marched with a strong detachment and some cannon into the duchy of Berry, towards Yssouldon, Viarron, Dreux, and other neighbouring towns, leaving the King of Sicily and the Count du Maine with a good body of troops to defend and guard the passes, and to hinder the Bretons from penetrating either into Normandy, or into any other part of his kingdom.

The king made but a short stay in the Duchy of Berry, and from thence he marched into Bourbonnois, leaving the city of Bourges behind him, in which there was a strong garrison commanded by Monsieur the Duke of Bourbon's bastard, who held it for the Duke of Berry, he marched into Bourbonnois, where the town and castle of St. Amant Lalier were taken by storm on the day of our Lord's ascension, and a little after the town and castle of Molucon surrendered upon articles of capitulation, in which were James de Bourbon with about thirty-five lances, who took an oath never to bear arms against the king again, upon which they were suf-

ferred to march out without being plundered, and had the liberty of going where they pleased.

Upon Ascension-eve the Chancellor Traynel, M. Estienne knight, Nicholas de Louviers, and M. John de Molins arrived at Paris, by whom the king wrote to his good people and citizens of that place, thanking them for their good inclinations and loyalty to him, exhorting them to continue firm and steadfast in their allegiance, and commanding them to conduct the queen safe to Paris, where he would have her lie-in, as loving that city above any in his kingdom.

On Thursday the 30th of May, in 1465, it happened that one John de Hure, merchant of the city of Sens, came with his nephew and some other company to lodge in a mill, which was called the Little-Mill; on the other side of Moret in Gastinois, and about midnight thirty or forty horse well armed came and beat up their quarters, plundered them of all they had, and carried away the merchant and his whole company prisoners. At the same time the king ordered the bridges of Chamois and Beaumont on the Oise, with several others, to be broken down.

About that time the Bastard of Burgundy and the Marshal of Burgundy, with a considerable body of the Count de Charolois's forces, invaded the king's dominions, and took from him the towns of Roye and Montdidier. Upon which the Count de Nevers and Joachim Rouault Marshal of France, who were in Peronne with a garrison of about four thousand men, retired with part of them to Noyon

and Compeigne, leaving some of the nobility with about five hundred Frank archers in Peronne for its defence.

At the same time the king, who was then in Bourlonnois, left that country and retired to St. Poursain, whither his sister the Duchess of Bourbon and Auvergne came also to wait on him, being extremely concerned at the difference that there was between the king her brother and her husband the Duke of Bourbou, and hoped by that means to have accommodated matters between them, but it was not in her power to do it. In the mean time however, the Duke of Bourbon evacuated Molins, and retired to Rion.

About this time came orders for the besieging of St. Maurice, which the Count de Dampmartin obstinately held against the king. M. Charles de Meleum Bailiff, of Sens, with several others of the same corporation, had the direction of that siege, but finding the body of men that were under their command too weak for such an undertaking, M. Anthony Bailiff of Meleum was ordered thither with a strong reinforcement of archers and cross-bowmen from Paris, and upon the arrival of these forces St. Maurice beat the Chamade, and surrendered the town upon articles of capitulation.

On the 25th of June, it was ordered by the magistrates of Paris assembled in the town-house, that the streets should be unchained, but that the iron chains should still remain hanging at the corner of every street to which they belonged; in order to have them in a readiness upon any occasion, that

persons should be deputed to examine what condition they were in ; and if they wanted mending to get them instantly repaired, and keep them always fit for service, which was accordingly done. There was also another order issued out, by which every citizen was obliged to take arms, and to lay in a stock of provision and ammunition for the defence of the city in case of need ; and this order was sent in writing to every particular housekeeper in Paris.

It was much about this time that a great body of Burgundians, Picardians, and of other nations subject to the Count de Carolois, marched into France as far as Pont St. Maxence, which one Madre, who was the governor of it, delivered up to the Count de Charolois for a certain sum of money : upon which he advanced with his army into the Isle of France, where he committed great ravages and devastations, notwithstanding he pretended this war was undertaken purely for the public good, and to free the subjects of France from the tyranny of their king.

Soon after this business of Pont St. Maxence, the Burgundians took Beaulieu, which a party of the Marshal Joachim's own regiment had a long time defended, and held out against them ; who at last surrendered upon articles, and marched out with bag and baggage, and the usual marks of honour.

And as soon as the Burgundians had entered the Isle of France, they dispersed themselves in small bodies all over the county, and took Dampmartin,

Nantouillet, Villemonble, and several other considerable places, and afterwards at Laigny they committed great disorders and outrages, tearing and burning all the papers relating to the public accounts of the province, ordering that all commodities should be free from taxes in the town, and commanding the salt which was stored up in the public granaries for the king's use, to be given to whomsoever had occasion for it upon paying custom for it.

About this time the king, who was in Bourbonnois, laid siege to Rion, in Auvergne, in which were the Duke of Bourbon and Nemours, the Count d'Armaignac, the Lord Albret, and several other persons of note. The king had, at that time when he invested the town, the finest army that ever was seen; having, in all, including the nobility and persons of note and distinction, above 24,000 effective men of regular troops.

And, on Wednesday, the 4th of July, in the same year, the king, who was still before Rion, wrote letters to M. Charles Meleum, his lieutenant of Paris, the Marshal Joachim, and the citizens of Paris, which he sent by M. Charles de Charlay, the captain of the watch; and in these letters he heartily thanked his good citizens of Paris for their steadfastness and loyalty to his person, desiring and exhorting them to continue in their duty and allegiance, and assuring them that within fifteen days he would be at Paris, with his whole army. He also ordered the said Charles de Charlay to acquaint them by word of mouth of certain terms

and articles of agreement that he had made with the Dukes of Bourbon and Nemours, and the Lords d'Armaignac and Albret, and how by the compact all and every of them had solemnly and sincerely promised henceforth never to bear arms against him, but to live and die in his service; and that the said dukes and lords above-mentioned had faithfully promised to do their duty, in endeavouring to persuade the other lords that were engaged in the confederacy to accept of the same terms of accommodation; and that the four above-mentioned lords had agreed to send before the feast of August, their ambassadors to the king at Paris, in order to treat of peace; and, that if they could not induce the other lords engaged in the same confederacy to hearken to a peace, they had solemnly vowed and sworn to keep the promise they had made of never bearing arms against the king, but to live and die in defence of him and his kingdom. And, that, as a farther confirmation of this promise, the above-mentioned lords had caused it to be registered by two public notaries at Mossiat, near Ryon, agreeing and consenting to be excommunicated, provided they, or either of them, should act to the contrary.

On the Friday following, a large body of the Count de Charolois's forces, the greatest part of them Burgundians, arrived at St. Dennis, from whence they sent a detachment to Point S. Clou, in hopes of making themselves masters of it, but not being able to effect their project, they marched back to St. Dennis.

On Sunday, the 12th of July, 1465, the Burgundians appeared before Paris, but finding they could not carry their point, they retired to St. Dennis with the loss of a few men, who were endeavouring to scale the walls.

On Monday, the 8th of August, the Burgundians came a second time before Paris, with all their artillery and heavy cannon, but before their army appeared in sight of the town, they sent four heralds to the Gate of St. Dennis, at which M. Peter l'Orfeure, Lord Dermenonville, and M. John de Pompaincourt, Lord of Cercelles, commanded as captains of the guards that day. Their pretended message was to demand provision for their army, and a free admittance into Paris in a peaceful and friendly manner; and to let the citizens know, that if they refused to grant their demands, they would enter the town by force, and give it up to be plundered by their soldiers.

Scarce had the four heralds delivered their message, when the Burgundians (who thought to have surprised the town, and cut in pieces the guard that defended the Gate of St. Dennis, without giving the citizens time to return an answer) appeared with a considerable body of forces, and penetrating as far as St. Ladre, were in hopes of getting within the barriers that led to that gate, which they designed to have forced with their cannon and other warlike engines: but the citizens made a vigorous resistance, and the Marshal Joachim with his own regiment gave them a very warm reception; so that the Burgundians finding that they could not

succeed in their design, retired to their camp, with the loss of abundance of men killed and wounded. Immediately their whole army invested the town, in which they did great execution with their cannon, culverins, and other warlike engines, and killed and wounded a great many men. During this bombardment, there was a cowardly rascal of a bailiff named Casin Chollet, that ran up and down the streets, like one frightened out of his wits, crying out, "Get you into your houses, O Parisians, and shut the doors, for the Burgundians are entered the town;" which put the inhabitants into so dreadful a consternation, that several women with child miscarried, and others died of the fright.

No action happened before Paris on the Tuesday following, only the Count de St. Paul, who was at St. Dennis, with the Count de Charolois, marched from thence with a detachment of Picardians and Burgundians, in order to possess himself of Point St. Clou, but the project failed at that time. And on the Wednesday following, there arrived in his camp a fine train of artillery, consisting of about fifty or sixty pieces of cannon, which the Count de Charolois had ordered to be sent him: and on the same day, a brigade of M. Peter de Breze's regiment marched out of Paris, to intercept the Burgundians in their march to St. Clou, two of which they killed, and took five prisoners; one of which received so terrible a blow as clove his head asunder, and the fore part of it hung down by a bit of skin upon his breast. The Burgundians also took an archer, servant to M. John Noyer, of the same

regiment; and in the evening they made a vigorous attack upon St. Clou, and storming the outworks, put the garrison, who held it for the king, into such a consternation, that they agreed to capitulate, and surrendered the town immediately upon condition to be safely conducted to Paris, and to deliver up the five Burgundians they had taken that day; and for performance of articles hostages were exchanged on both sides.

On the Friday following, the magistrates of Paris held a great council in the town-house, to advise and consider what answer they should return to the Burgundians, who required of them to send some commissioners to treat with the Count de Charolois, who would privately inform them, by word of mouth, of the reasons that had induced him to take up arms against the king. At last, after some debate, they resolved to acquaint the Count de Charolois with their resolution of sending some commissioners, (provided he would send them a passport to Paris,) to treat with him, and to hear what propositions he had to make; letting him know, at the same time, that they would communicate whatever he had to offer, either to the king, who was at Orleans, or to his privy council at Paris; who might return what answer they thought most proper in the present posture of affairs. The same day, about six in the evening, two heralds from the Count de Charolois came to the gate of St. Honore for the answer you have already heard; who were told, that if the Count de Charolois would be pleased to come any where near Paris, and send a

passport, that commissioners should be sent to wait on him, but nothing farther could be granted. After this, they desired leave to buy some paper and parchment, which was granted them, but were denied sugar and other things that they wanted in their camp for their sick and wounded; so that they were forced to return without these commodities, which they took very ill of the Parisians.

On Sunday, the 14th of July, 1465, early in the morning, arrived at Paris the Count de la Borde and M. Cousinot, who brought letters from the king to his good citizens of Paris; in which the king, as he had done before, thanked them for their zeal and affection to his person, and for their brave resistance and defence of his capital against the Burgundians, desiring them withal to depend upon whatever the said De la Borde and Cousinot should tell them in his name; the substance of which was, that the king thanked them heartily for their loyalty and good affection towards him, desired them to continue firm and steadfast in it, and that they might depend on his being at Paris, (as a place he desired the most to be in,) the Tuesday following; and that he had rather lose half his kingdom than any misfortune or inconveniency, that was in his power to prevent, should happen to his good citizens of Paris; whom he desired by the said Cousinot to provide lodgings and quarters for his men at arms, and the retinue that he should bring with him, and to set a reasonable price on all manner of provision; to which M. Henry de Liure, the mayor

of Paris, immediately consented, and took all the care imaginable to see it done.

On the Monday following, the Burgundians broke up from St. Clou, and marched with all their artillery and heavy cannon to Mont l'Hery, where they encamped, in order to join the Dukes of Berry and Bretagne, the Count de Dunois, and several others that were coming in to the Count de Charolois. The news of the movement was immediately despatched to the king, who was on this side Orleans on his march towards Paris, and who in all haste, by long and tedious marches, on Tuesday morning, the 6th of July, arrived at Chastres near Mont l'Héry; from whence, without staying so much as to refresh himself, or to wait for the coming up of his whole army, which was composed of the finest horse, (considering their number,) that ever were seen, he marched directly towards the Burgundians, whom he attacked with so much vigour and intrepidity, (though but with a handful of men,) that at the first charge he broke and entirely defeated their vanguard, of which a great number were killed and taken prisoners. As soon as the news of this defeat had reached Paris, above thirty thousand sallied out of the gates, some of which being horse, scoured the country round, defeating and taking several small bodies of the flying Burgundians, as did also the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns round Paris. The Burgundians lost in this action great part of their bag and baggage; and the whole damage they sustained, reckoning every thing, was computed to

amount to two hundred thousand crowns of gold. The king, not being content with defeating the enemy's vanguard, and hoping to gain a complete victory over them, without refreshing either himself or his troops, once more attacked, with only his own guards and four hundred lances, a strong party of Burgundians who had rallied under the command of the Count de St. Paul, who did the Count de Charolois good service that day. The Burgundians gave the king's troops a warm reception, and being drawn up in order of battle, with their cannon playing upon them, sorely galled them, and killed abundance of them, among whom were several officers of the king's own guard, who behaved themselves handsomely during the whole action, and stood firmly by the king, who was hard put to it that day, and several times in danger of his own person; for he had but a handful of men, and no cannon. The king was pressed so hard by the Burgundians, that he knew not which way to turn himself, and was forced to charge at the head of his troops during this engagement; and though he had but a small body with him, yet he still maintained his ground; and if he had had a reinforcement but of five hundred Frank archers to have pushed the Burgundians when they began to give way, he would have gained the completest victory over them that ever was known in the memory of man. The Count de Charolois lost all his guards, and the king a great part of his; the Count de Charolois was twice taken prisoner by Jeffery de St. Belin and Gilbert de Grassay, but

was afterwards rescued. Abundance of men and horses were killed that day, the greatest part of which were killed by the rascally Burgundian foot, with their pikes and other weapons tipped with iron, and not a few men of note fell on both sides. And after the battle was over, the number of the slain was computed at three thousand six hundred men; and towards night, the Scotch guards, considering the danger the king was in, and the great loss they had sustained, and finding that the Burgundians were still pursuing those squadrons they had already broken, took his majesty, who had been in arms all day, without eating and drinking, and much fatigued and dispirited, and conducted him safe to the castle of Mont l'Hery; which was the reason that several in the army, who knew nothing of the king's removing thither, and not knowing where to find him, reported he was either killed or taken prisoner. Upon the news of which the greatest part of his army ran away, and among the rest the Count du Maine, the Admiral de Montaulban, the Lord de la Bardé, and several other officers, with about eight hundred lances, without ever being engaged at all that day, by which means the Burgundians remained masters of the field of battle, on which were found amongst the slain several persons of quality and distinction on the king's side, to wit, M. Peter de Breze, knight and senechal of Normandy; Jeffery de St. Belin, bailiff of Chaumont; Floquet, bailiff of Eureux, besides several other knights and esquires. The Burgundians also lost abundance of men, and had more

taken prisoners than they took of the king's army. After the king had refreshed himself a little at the castle of Mont l'Hery, he marched with a strong detachment of his forces to Corbeil, where he staid till the Thursday following, on which he arrived very late in the evening at Paris, and supped that night at M. Charles de Meleun's, his lieutenant-general, with several lords and ladies of his court, besides several of the chief citizens and their wives, to whom his majesty related the particulars of the action at Mont l'Hery in such moving and pathetic terms, as drew tears from the eyes of the whole company; adding withal, that he designed by the blessing of God to attack the enemy once more on the Monday following, and either die on the spot, or drive them out of his dominions; but he was advised not to hazard another battle, considering the cowardice and desertion of his troops, that would not stand by him in the late engagement. However, it was to no purpose, for he was a prince of an undaunted courage and resolution.

On Friday the 19th of July, 1465, M. William Chartier Bishop of Paris, with several counsellors and clergymen, went to wait on the king at his Hotel des Tournelles, and humbly besought his majesty that he would be pleased to make choice of some wise and prudent council to aid and assist him in the administration of public affairs for the future, to which he graciously consented; and immediately it was ordered that six city counsellors, six counsellors of the court of parliament, and six doctors of the University of Paris, should be added

to the king's ordinary council. And because the king found he had many enemies in his kingdom, they went upon ways and means to raise more forces, and recruit those regiments that had suffered most in the late action of Mont l'Hery. In order to try how many men they could raise in Paris, it was proposed that the number of the inhabitants of every ward should be taken in writing, and that each of them should furnish ten men, but there was nothing done in it.

Upon the king's arrival at Paris, abundance of his troops were forced to be quartered in the villages round that city, Brie, and other neighbouring places, where they committed great disorders, not being content with eating and drinking on free cost, but also plundering the inhabitants of all they had, and seizing upon whatever they could find, though belonging to some of the citizens of Paris. Nay, the king himself was under some difficulties of raising a sufficient sum of money to pay those forces he had in Paris, for some of the princes that had taken up arms against him were in possession of those very towns on which the taxes assigned for that use were to be levied, and they refusing to let any be raised in their dominions, he was forced to borrow money of his officers and wealthy citizens of Paris, some of which, upon their refusal to lend him as much as he proposed, were immediately put out of all their posts and employments both military and civil, among the rest, M. John Chene-teau, clerk in parliament, M. Martin Picard, counsellor of the exchequer, and several others.

On Wednesday the 24th of July, 1465, the king ordered the bridge of St. Maxence to be broken down, upon intelligence that the Lord de Saveuses was marching with a great body of forces in order to beat out the king's troops, and put a garrison of his own into it. On the same day his majesty gave the command of it to John l'Orfeure, who was the governor of it, and charged him to defend it to the last extremity, which he did with so much bravery and resolution, that there was no occasion to break down the said bridge: And on the Friday following, the king ordered that two hundred lances under the command of the Bastard d'Armaignac, Count de Cominges, the Sieur Giles de Symon, bailiff of Senlis, the Sieur de la Barde, and Charles des Mares should stay at Paris; and on the same day, at the desire and request of the Mayor of Paris and some churchmen, his majesty continued M. Charles de Meleun in his former post of lieutenant of the city.

After the battle of Mont l'Hery the lords and princes that were engaged in the confederacy against the king, retired to Estampes, where they stayed for the space of fifteen days, and upon their breaking up from thence, they marched towards St. Mathurin de l'Archant, Moret in Gastinois, Provins, and the neighbourhood of those countries; upon which the king having intelligence of their motions, throws small bodies of forces with some cannon into Meleun, Monstereau, Sens, and other neighbouring towns, to reinforce the garrisons, and make frequent sallies whenever they had an opportunity of falling upon the enemy.

On Saturday the 3d of August, 1465, the king being willing to oblige his good city of Paris by some singular act of grace and favour, changed the tax of the fourth penny on retailed wines to that of the eighth, and granted to all the inhabitants the same privileges they enjoyed in the reign of his father Charles VII. He also took off all the taxes that had formerly been levied in the city, except those on wood, cattle and cloth, sold by wholesale, which were let out to the farmers of the revenue; and on the same day it was proclaimed by sound of trumpet in all the public streets of Paris, by Dennis Hesselin, chief collector of the subsidies; upon the news of which the common people were so overjoyed, that they flocked together from all parts of the city, and filled the streets with bonfires and acclamations of joy.

About this time the Bretons and Burgundians passed the Seine and the Yonne upon a bridge of boats, which were brought from Moret in Gastinois and other places. M. Salezart with a brigade of Marshal Joachim's regiment, had posted himself on the other side to dispute the passage with them, but finding himself too weak, and having no cannon (of which the enemy had great store) he thought fit to retire upon their approach. The Burgundians, to favour the passage of their troops, cannonaded the enemy all the while, and killed abundance of the king's men; at last a random shot took off a page's arm, struck a gentleman named Pamabel, a relation of Marshal Joachim's, in the belly, and killed three soldiers afterwards.

On Thursday the 8th of August, the Lord de Pretigny, one of the king's counsellors, and president of the exchequer, and Chrystofle Paillart, a counsellor also of the same court, arrived at Paris with an answer to some letters that the king had sent by them to the Duke of Calabria, who was then in Auxerrois: And on Saturday the 10th of the same month the king set out from Paris in order to visit Roan, Eureuz, and several other places in Normandy, and lay that night at Ponthoise; but before he left Paris, he ordered several companies of Frank archers that were newly arrived from Normandy, and about four hundred lances drawn out of the regiments of the late Floquet, of the Boulonnois, of the late Jeffery de St. Belin, of the Lord de Craon, and the Lord de la Barde, to remain in garrison for the defence of the city.

About this time M. John Berard, counsellor of the court of parliament, went over to the Duke of Berry, who was then in Bretagne, being highly disgusted at his wife's being committed to prison, and afterwards banished the city, for holding correspondence with the said duke, and the rest of the princes, who were the king's open and professed enemies.

About this time M. Charles de Meleun, who had hitherto been the king's lieutenant of Paris, resigned his place, which was immediately given to the Count d'Eu, but the king, in consideration of the many services M. Charles de Meleun had done, made him steward of his household, and gave him the government of the bailliwick and towns of Eureux and Honnefleu.

About this time also a party of Burgundians and Bretons, who had been refreshing themselves in the town of Provins, returned to Laigny upon the Marne, and the Friday following they came and took up their quarters at Creteil, a house upon the Seine, Sheelle Sainte, Bapteur, and several other places in that neighbourhood. And because the Parisians were fearful that the Burgundians would once more invest Paris, there being a report that M. Gerauld, their chief engineer, had given out that he designed to erect a battery in the lay-stall before the gates of St. Dennis and St. Anthony, in order to bombard the town, and at the same time to make a breach in the walls, they caused an order to be immediately published, by which every one was obliged to repair the next morning to the lay-stall with a pick-ax and shovel, to break it up, and render it unfit to erect a battery on, and accordingly the order was put in execution, but what they did signified little or nothing, so that they were forced to build a great many sheds, erect bulwarks, and throw up trenches to cover and defend the city, as also the soldiers employed in its defence.

On the Monday following the same party of Burgundians and Bretons that were quartered at Creteil and thereabouts, being joined by some more forces of their own country, came to Pont de Charenton, where they erected a battery, and began to play upon the tower that defended it, upon which the garrison, without making the least opposition, retired to Paris, and the Burgundians and Bretons

took possession of it, and in the evening on the same day they appeared before Paris, in which several of them were taken prisoners, and two of the Frank archers of Caen killed. And that night a body of Burgundians and Bretons amounting to about four thousand men, came and encamped in a park belonging to Bois de Vincennes. The Tuesday following, the Count d'Eu sent one M. de Rambures to the princes to know their intentions, and the next day he returned to Paris, but the answer they made him was kept very secret; and the same day the Burgundians came before Paris, upon which the Parisians made a sally, but scarce any action happened between them, only one of the Frank archers of Alenson happened to be killed by a random shot.

On Thursday the 22d of August, the Duke of Berry, who had taken up his head quarters at Beaulcé, with several other princes near allied to him, sent his heralds with four letters to Paris, one to the citizens, one to the university, and one to the ecclesiastics, and one to the court of parliament. The contents of which were, in short, that he and the rest of the princes engaged in the same confederacy had taken up arms for the public good of the kingdom, and that if they would make choice of five or six able men with the character of commissioners to treat and confer with them, he would let them know the reasons that had induced him and the rest of the princes to appear in this open and hostile manner. Accordingly, in pursuance of these letters, the following commissioners were deputed

to wait on the princes to hear what they had to propose. On the part of the city were chosen M. John Choart, the civil lieutenant of the Chastellet of Paris, M. Francis Hasle, advocate in parliament, and Arnold Lullier, banker at Paris. The church of Paris made choice of M. Thomas de Courcelles, Dean of Paris, M. John de Lolive, Doctor of Divinity, and M. Eustace Lullier, Advocate in Parliament. For the court of parliament were chosen M. John de Boulengier, M. John de Sellier, Archdeacon of Brie, and M. James Fournier. And by the university for the sciences in general were chosen M. James Minglisant, for divinity, M. John Lullier, for the law, M. John Montigny, and for physic M. Auerant de Parenti; and all these commissioners were introduced and presented to the princes by William Chartier, Bishop of Paris.

On Saturday following all the above-mentioned commissioners sat in the town-house, where several persons of quality and distinction were assembled on purpose to hear what proposals the princes had made them, but they came to no manner of conclusion that morning; however it was agreed that in the afternoon the whole body of the university, church, court of parliament, and the chief magistrates, should meet together, to take into consideration what the princes had proposed to the commissioners. At this meeting, after some debate, they unanimously agreed, that the calling an assembly of the three estates of the kingdom, which was the chief thing the princes insisted on, was highly just and reasonable; that they would con-

sent to supply their army with provisions for money, and that they should have free admittance into Paris, provided they could give them any security that neither they nor their soldiers would commit any act of hostility within the town to the prejudice of the inhabitants, and the king consented to it. After which the commissioners went a second time to wait on the princes, and acquaint them with their final resolution. During the whole time that this assembly were sitting in council, all the cross-bow men and archers were drawn up before the town-hall, to hinder the mob from crowding and disturbing them, as they would certainly have done, had they not been prevented by this means.

On the same day there was a review made of all the king's forces in Paris, which made a very fine appearance. First of all, marched the archers of Normandy on foot; these were followed by the archers on horseback; and last of all, came the men at arms belonging to the companies of the Count d'Eu, the Lord de Craon, the Lord de la Barde, and the Bastard of Maine, which might make in all about five hundred men, well armed and mounted, without reckoning the foot, which were about one thousand five hundred or better. And on the same day the king wrote letters to Paris, by which he acquainted the inhabitants of his being at Chartres with his uncle the Duke du Maine, and abundance of soldiers with him, and of his resolution of coming to Paris on the Tuesday following. In the afternoon the Admiral de Montaulban arrived at Paris with a good body of troops, and towards the

evening, the Duke of Berry broke up from Beaulce, and marched towards St. Dennis, but being told by some of his officers that were with him, that Beaulce was a much safer place for him to be in than St. Dennis, which lay too near the enemy, and upon hearing the news of the king's coming to Paris, he marched back to his old quarters.

On the Wednesday following the king came to Paris, attended by his uncle the Duke du Maine, the Lord de Pantheure, and several other officers of note; he also brought back the fine train of artillery he carried with him, and a great number of pioneers from Normandy, which were all quartered in his Hotel de St. Paul. And when the king made his entry into Paris, he was received with the universal shouts and acclamations of the people, and the next day very early in the morning the Burgundians and the Bretons planting themselves over against the tower of Billy, saluted him with a triple discharge of their cannon, accompanied with drums, trumpets, clarions, and other warlike instruments of music. The same thing they did also over against the Bastille St. Anthoine, shouting and huzzaing, and crying out, to arms, to arms, which put the whole city into a dreadful consternation, and immediately they mounted the walls, and prepared all things for a vigorous defence. In the afternoon the Burgundians and Bretons appeared again before Paris, upon which a considerable body of the king's regular forces, with some cannon and field-pieces, were immediately ordered to march out

of Paris to beat off the enemy, who falling in with a party of them, killed and took several prisoners that day.

On Saturday the last of August, the king went with a strong guard as far as the tower of Billy, to take a view of the enemy, and commanded the four hundred pioneers that came from Normandy to cross the Seine, and throw up a trench over against the English port, and before the Hotel de Conflans, which was directly opposite to the place where the Burgundians were posted, quite down to the river Seine. And because the Burgundians had given out that they designed to pass that river, the king ordered a good body of troops to be posted there, to hinder them from laying a bridge over it, and to dispute the passage with them ; and as soon as the pioneers had passed the river, the king passed it also in a ferry-boat without alighting from his horse.

On Sunday the first of September, the Burgundians laid a bridge over the Seine at the English port, and just as they were preparing to pass it, a great number of Frank archers, and other soldiers of the king's party, arrived there, who immediately planting some cannon and field pieces at the end of the bridge, fired briskly on the Burgundians, and obliged them to retire with the loss of several men killed and wounded ; and a certain Norman swam across the river, and cutting the ropes with which the bridge was fastened, it went cleverly down the stream. Abundance of cannon was fired that day from several batteries that the Burgundians had

erected ; but from one especially, which played so briskly on the king's troops that were posted at the English port, that they were forced to retire.

And on the Tuesday following, ambassadors were chosen by the king and the Burgundians, in order to adjust the difference between them. On the king's side were chosen the Duke du Maine, M. de Pretigny president of the exchequer, and M. Jon Dauvet president of the parliament of Thoulcuse ; and the Burgundians chose the Duke of Calabria, the Count de St. Paul, and Count de Dunois. And as soon as they were nominated, and had received their instructions, they went immediately upon the business of accommodation ; and there was a truce granted till the Thursday following, during which no acts of hostility were committed on either side ; but both parties took care, in the mean time, to fortify themselves, and make what preparations they could, not knowing how matters might happen.

On Monday the 9th of September, the Bretons and Burgundians marched into the territories of Clingencourt, Montmatre, la Courtille, and other vineyards about Paris, where they spoiled and destroyed the whole vintage, cutting down all the grapes green as they were, to make wine for present drinking ; upon which the Parisians were forced to do the same with all their vineyards round Paris that had escaped their fury, though the grapes were scarce half ripe, and it was not the usual season for their vintage, besides it was the worst year for vines that had been known in France for many

years; so that they called the wine of this year's growth by the name of Burgundy.

About this time several of the nobility of Normandy arrived at Paris to serve the king in his wars, all which had their quarters assigned them in the Faux-bourg de St. Marcel, amongst whose retinue there were some particular persons that committed great thefts and disorders; two of whom were seized by some of the citizens as they were forcing their way into the city, and upon the citizens stopping them, the Normans began to abuse and rail at the citizens, calling them traitors and rebellious Burgundians, vowing to be revenged of them, and telling them that they came from Normandy with no other design but to plunder and destroy the whole city. Of which words a complaint being made, and an information given by the said citizens to the mayor of Paris, the principal offender, who spoke these dangerous words, was condemned to the ignominious punishment of walking barefoot and bareheaded, with a lighted torch in his hand, through the streets; and in the public market-place before the town-house in this shameful condition, to acknowledge his offence before the town-clerk, and to ask the good citizens of Paris pardon and forgiveness for what he had falsely and maliciously spoken, and afterwards to be bored through the tongue, and banished the city.

On the Monday following, the Burgundians came and shewed themselves before Paris, amongst whom was the Count de St. Paul, to meet whom the king

went out of Paris, and had a conference together, which lasted two hours; and as a surety for the Count's safe return, the king delivered up the Count du Maine, who staid in the Burgundians' army till the return of the said Count de St. Paul.

And on the same day a great council was held in the exchequer-chamber, at which, amongst the other officers and magistrates of that court, the sixteen quarteniers*, the cinquanteniers†, and some of the councillors belonging to the court of parliament, were present; to whom, by the king's order, Morvillier, chancellor of France, made a speech, in which he acquainted them how honourably his majesty had acquitted himself towards the princes; and what generous offers he had made them upon their demanding the duchy of Guinne, Poictou, with the country of Xaintoigne, or the duchy of Normandy, as an appennage for the Duke of Berry. He farther told them, that the king's council, who were there present, had informed the princes, that it was not in his majesty's power to give away or dismember any thing belonging to the crown; and that since he was pleased to offer the countries of Champagne and Brie, reserving only to himself Meaux, Monstereau, and Meleun, in lieu of the said appennage, they were of opinion that the Duke of Berry ought not in reason and honour to refuse it. After this, the assembly broke up, and

* Civil officers, having the same power and authority in Paris, as an alderman has in London, there being one to every ward.

† Certain officers or magistrates in Paris, somewhat like our aldermen's deputies in London.

(all hopes of an accommodation being vanished) the young seneschal of Normandy was ordered out with six hundred horse to skirmish with the Bretons and Burgundians, who were drawn up in order of battle on the other side of the Seine, and firing upon them, killed a gentleman of Pictou belonging to M. Panthieu's regiment, called John Canreau, Lord de Pampelie.

On the Saturday following, at break of day, one Lewis Sorbier, whom Marshal Joachim Rouault had left in Ponthoise as his lieutenant, basely and treacherously betrayed his trust, and suffered the Bretons, and other troops belonging to the enemy, to possess themselves of the town, having agreed with them before-hand, that whoever of the Marshal Joachim's regiment refused to enter into their service, should have the liberty of marching out with their bag and baggage, without being examined or molested. And as soon as he had delivered up Ponthoise into the enemy's hands, he marched with some of his confederates to Meulanc, where, not believing that his treason was already known, he thought, that by shewing Marshal Joachim's colours, to have got an easy admittance; but upon his arrival at the gates, the inhabitants of Meulanc, who had been informed of his treachery, and were in arms upon the walls, cried out, "get you gone, vile and despicable traitor," and fired their cannon upon him and his party, which obliged him to retire with the utmost shame and confusion to Ponthoise; and on Sunday by break of day, the enemy came and gave the city an alarm on the side of St.

Anthony's gate, and a great body of them penetrated as far as St. Anthoine des Champs ; and in order to dislodge them, several cannon, field-pieces and culverins were fired, but there were no sallies made.

About this time the Bretons and Burgundians who lay before Paris made songs, ballads, lampoons, and other scandalous verses, on some of the chief officers of the court, which set the king so against them, that he turned them out of their places. Neither did the king's own soldiers, who were quartered in Paris, behave themselves much better ; but spent their time in all manner of lewdness, debauching and seducing the hearts of several wives, maids, and widows, who left their children, husbands, and places, to follow and live with them.

In the evening, M. Balue, Bishop of Eureux, was set upon by some people that owed him a spite, in the street de la Barre du Bec, who at the first stroke beat the two torches that were carried before him out of the servants' hands, and afterwards they came up to the bishop, who being mounted on a stout mule, carried him off cleverly to his own hotel in the cloister of Nostre-Dame ; by which means he saved his life, for his servants, who were afraid of being knocked down, had quite forsaken him ; however, before he made his escape he received two wounds, one in his hand, and another in one of his fingers. The king was extremely concerned at this accident, and ordered a strict inquiry to be made after the assassins, but they were never discovered.

On the Thursday following there was a great

complaint made in the town-house by some of the citizens against the soldiers, for having spoken and published certain words and speeches of a dangerous consequence to the inhabitants. Among other things they boldly affirmed, that neither the city of Paris nor any thing in it belonged to the inhabitants, but to them who were quartered in it; that they would have the citizens know that the keys of their houses were at the soldiers' disposal; that they would turn out the present possessors, and live in them themselves; and, in short, if the citizens pretended to make resistance, they should find to their sorrow they were able to conquer them. And the very same day a foolish Norman said openly at St. Dennis's gate, that the Parisians were very weak to think that chaining up their streets would signify any thing against the forces of their country. A report of these dangerous and insolent words being made to some of the officers of the town-house, they immediately issued out an order, commanding several streets to be chained up, and that every quartenier of Paris should cause great fires to be made in every ward under his jurisdiction, and that one of them should be in arms upon the watch before the town-house all night, which was accordingly done. And that very night there was a hot report that the gate of the Bastille St. Anthoine was left open on purpose to let in the Bretons and the Burgundians into the town; and, to confirm it the more, several cannon were found nailed up, and rendered unfit for service.

On the Friday following two pursuivants at arms

arrived at Paris; one was despatched from Gisors to acquaint the king of the weak condition of that place, which was wholly unprovided with every thing necessary for its defence, and to let his majesty know, that if he did not send them a speedy supply of men, arms, ammunition, and provision, they must be forced to surrender to a body of six hundred horse that lay before the town. The other pursuivant was sent by one Hugh des Vignes, a man at arms belonging to M. de la Barde's regiment, and who at that time was at Meulanc, to inform the king that he was assured from very good hands, that the Bretons had a design of surprising Roan as they did Ponthoise, if they were not prevented. And on the same day the ambassadors that were chosen on both sides dined together at St. Anthoine des Champs without Paris; and on the next day the said ambassadors on both sides were assembled again, but in two distinct parties, that is to say, the Duke du Main and those of his party, who were for the king, with the rest of the lords and princes, were all of them together at the Grange-aux Merciers. There were also several others nominated by the king, who were at St. Anthoine des Champs, but notwithstanding this meeting, very little business was despatched this day.

In the afternoon the king received letters from the widow of the late Peter de Breze, by which she informed his majesty of her having caused the Lord Broquemont, captain of the palace at Roan, to be apprehended upon suspicion of not being well affected to his government, and having a design to deliver it up to the Bretons; but that he should not

give himself the least pain about Roan, for he would certainly find all the citizens hearty and true to his interest. The same day in the afternoon arrived the unwelcome news of the taking of Roan by the Duke of Bourbon, who entered the town by the castle of Roan, which was the weakest side, and lay towards the fields.

As soon as the princes that lay before Paris heard of the taking of Roan, they sent to acquaint the king, that his brother the Duke of Berry, who was before contented with Champagne and Brie, would accept of no other appennage than the duchy of Normandy; so that the king was forced, notwithstanding the former agreement, to give the Duke of Berry the duchy of Normandy, and reserve for himself that of Berry. The Count de Charolois had for his share the towns of Feronne, Roye, and Mondidier, for him and his heirs for ever; besides, the king gave him during his life all the lands and towns that were lately redeemed for four hundred thousand crowns, and had been pawned to his father, Philip, Duke of Burgundy, to which he added the countries of Guynes and Boulogne to be enjoyed by him and his heirs for ever. He also gave to the Duke of Calabria a great sum of money, and lent him a certain number of troops, which were to be paid by the king, and to be employed wherever the Duke of Calabria thought fit. The Duke of Bourbon was to have the same pension, and the same quota of troops allowed him that he formerly had in the reign of the late King Charles, besides the remainder of his wife's marriage-dower, which was left unpaid; and this was all he demanded. The Count de St. Paul was re-

stored to all his places that had been taken from him during this unhappy rupture between the king and the princes, and a considerable pension settled upon him for life. The Count de Dampmartin was also restored to all his lands and possessions that were confiscated by a decree in parliament, and had considerable presents made him by the king. As for the other lords, they had every one of them a large share, and departed well satisfied with what they had got.

And on Tuesday the 1st of October a peace was proclaimed between the king and the princes; and that day the Count de St. Paul came to Paris, and having dined with the king, was conducted into the town-house, where he was created constable of France, and took the oaths accordingly. And on the same day the king ordered a proclamation to be issued out, by which free leave was granted to all the inhabitants to supply and furnish the Bretons and Burgundians with whatever necessaries they wanted; upon which proclamation several merchants of Paris immediately sent a great quantity of all sorts of provision into the fields before St. Anthony's gate, which was quickly bought up, especially the wine and the bread, by the whole army, who instantly repaired thither half-starved, and in a miserable condition, with their thin lank cheeks over-grown with hair, and full of lice and nastiness; and the greatest part of them without stockings or shoes. But every one will be amazed at the inconceivable strength and richness of Paris, which was able to maintain four hundred thousand horse, including the Burgundians, Bretons,

Calabrians, Picardians, and the rest of the enemies' forces for a long time, and plentifully to supply them, without ever raising the price of any manner of provision; nay, immediately after the enemy had left it, things were sold cheaper than they were before; and the whole Thursday following was spent in victualling the Burgundian camp. The same day the king went to make a private visit to the Count de Charolois near Conflans, which was looked upon by all persons that had a respect and concern for his majesty, as a very indiscreet action; nay, the very Picardians themselves, and the rest of the army could not forbear reflecting upon him, and breaking the jests upon the Parisians after this manner, Here take your king, who has at last submitted to the Count de Charolois, and meanly condescended to visit him in private; in a little time we shall have him at our command.

On Friday the fourth of the same month, the king gave orders for the admittance of the Burgundians into the city through St. Anthony's gate; who upon that permission came in large bodies, and committed several riots and disorders, which certainly they would never have done, had they not been encouraged by the king's late condescension in visiting the Count de Charolois in so private a manner.

On the Sunday following several men of quality and officers of the army came and supped with the king at Paris in an hotel belonging to M. John Lullier the town-clerk, at which entertainment several ladies of quality and distinction were also present.

And in this month of October a detachment of the Count de Charolois's troops came before Beauvais and summoned the town to surrender; upon which the inhabitants set down the summons in writing, and sent it to the king, who immediately sent it to the Count de Charolois, with whom he had lately concluded a peace. The Count de Charolois sent back word to the king, that he knew nothing of the summons; and that whosoever had done it, did it without his knowledge or order. The king returned a very civil answer to the Count de Charolois, and told him it was not a fair way of proceeding; that for the future, in pursuance of the articles of peace that was lately concluded between them, he must forbear committing such acts of hostility; and that if he had a mind to Beauvais he should have it.

On the Thursday following several waggon-loads of gold and silver, for the payment of the Count de Charolois's troops, arrived in the Burgundian camp under a strong convoy both of horse and foot commanded by the Lord de Saveuses; and on the same day the Duke of Bretagne and the king came to an agreement in relation to the affair that was between them, by which compact the king was obliged to restore the county of Monfort, and several others; besides a vast sum of money to pay that very army, which he, in conjunction with the rest of the princes, had raised to invade the king's dominions. The next day M. John le Boulenger president of the court of parliament, was sent by the king's order to the town-house to acquaint the mayor and aldermen of Paris, that the

Burgundians had a design to review their army that day before the city gates, and to desire them to acquaint the common people with it, lest they should be surprised and astonished to see them thus drawn up against the town. But after all, the review was not made in sight of Paris that day, but from the Pont de Charenton to Bois de Vincennes, whither the king, attended only by the Count de Charolois, the Duke of Calabria, and the Count de St. Paul, very imprudently went to see the review. As soon as the review was over, the king came back by water to Paris, and the Count de Charolois upon his taking leave of his majesty, in the presence of those lords that attended the king thither, made the following acknowledgment in these words, My lords, you and I are subjects to the king here present, our lord and sovereign, and ought to serve him whenever he pleases to command us.

Not long before this, the king had received a private information of a design formed by some of his enemies either to kill him or seize upon his person; upon which he immediately ordered his guards to be doubled, great fires to be made every night in the streets, the number of the watch to be augmented as well upon the walls, as in the streets, and took all the care imaginable to prevent their designs and secure his own person: and upon hearing of the surrender of Caen and several other towns in Normandy, he immediately reinforced the garrison of Mante with a considerable body of men at arms and frank-archers.

On Tuesday the 22d of October the king made

a private visit to the princes at the Gange-aux-Merciers, where all but the Duke of Berry were met together, and the next day the Duke of Bourbon had a long conference with the king in a place without the gates of Paris on this side of the ditch of the Gange de Ruilly.

On the Saturday following the Count de Charolois with a small detachment left the army, having first caused an order to be published in his camp, by which all soldiers were obliged under pain of death to hold themselves in readiness to march against the Liegeois, who with fire and sword had invaded his territories. Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday, the Duke de Berry lay ill of a fever at St. Maur des Fossezes, but being pretty well recovered of his illness by Wednesday the 30th of October, and able to go abroad, he went to wait upon the king at Bois de Vincennes, where he did homage to him for the duchy of Normandy, which the king gave him for his appennage; and on the same day the articles of peace between the king and the princes were read and published in the court of parliament, and ordered to be registered in the same court.

And on the Thursday following, the Duke of Berry, the Count de Charolois, and the rest of the princes separated and went different ways. The Duke of Berry, whom the king waited on some part of the way to Ponthoise, went into Normandy; and afterwards the king and the Count de Charolois retired to Villiers le Bel, where they stayed two or three days, and from thence the count marched

with all speed through Picardy to make war upon the Liegeois.

On the Monday following, M. Robert Destouteville, Lord of Beine, who was mayor of Paris in the reign of the late King Charles, and had been displaced by the king upon his accession to the crown, was restored to his former office, which had been given to James de Villiers, Lord of Lisle Adam, and that day he sat in the town-house as mayor, and despatched a great deal of the king's business.

On Thursday the 7th of November, 1465, M. Robert Destouteville was conducted to the Chastellet of Paris by M. Charles de Meleun and M. John Dauvet first President of the Parliament of Toulouse, whom the king had acquainted with the said Robert Destouteville's having taken the oaths already as mayor of Paris in the room of James de Villiers, whom upon his first accession to the crown he had advanced to that office. And after the letters patent by which the king appointed and constituted the said Robert Destouteville, mayor of Paris, were read, he was immediately put into possession of his office, without giving the said Villiers any time to lodge an appeal against him.

On Saturday the 9th of November, M. Peter Morvillier, Chancellor of France, resigned the seals, and was succeeded in the chancellorship by Juvenal des Ursins, who was in the same post at the death of the late King Charles VII.

About this time also the king made several alterations and promotions in his court; amongst the

rest, he turned M. Peter Puy out of his office of Master of the Requests, and gave it to M. Regnault des Dormans.

After the settling of this affair, the king went to Orleans, and took with him Arnold Lullier, banker and citizen of Paris, whom he commanded to attend him during his stay there: he also carried along with him M. John Longuejoye the younger, who was newly married to Madame Genevre daughter of M. John Baillet, and made him one of his counsellors of state. Before he left Paris, he made M. Charles d'Orgemont, Lord of Mery, Treasurer of France, Arnold Lullier Treasurer of Carcassonne, and M. Peter Ferteil Comptroller of his Household.

The king during his stay at Orleans, made several acts, laws, and ordinances, turned out several officers of the army, and gave their commissions to others, amongst the rest he took away the command of a hundred lances from Poncet de Reviere, and made him Bailiff of Mont Ferrant, upon which, in a disgust he went beyond sea, and visited Jerusalem, and the Holy Hill of St. Catharine. Several other officers had their commissions taken from them, and given to others that did not so well deserve them. The king also restored Monsieur de Loheac, Marshal of France, to all his former places in the government, some of which had been given to the Count de Cominges, Bastard of Armaignac; and after he had settled these regulations, he leaves Orleans, and marches with his whole army and artillery directly into Normandy towards Argenten, Exmes, Falaiz, Caen, and other places, in order to reduce them to

his obedience, where he found the Duke of Bretagne, who stayed there some time with his majesty.

A little after this, the Duke of Berry went from Roan to Louviers, thinking to find the Duke of Bourbon there, but being disappointed of meeting him, he immediately came back again. Upon his return to Roan, he was with great pomp and ceremony conducted into the town-house by the magistrates of the city, who, according to the usual custom of the place, acknowledged him for their duke by putting a ring on his finger ; afterwards he took an oath to maintain and support them in their privileges and franchises, and immediately remitted them half the taxes they were formerly used to pay. This act of generosity won the hearts of the whole city, and so firmly united them to his interest, that the nobility, gentry, clergy, and the common people, vowed to sacrifice their lives and fortunes in his service, and to remain faithful and loyal subjects for ever. And afterwards they presented him an old book of records that was in the town-house, and made him read an article in it aloud before all the people, which gave an account of a king of France heretofore who at his death left two sons, the eldest of which succeeded his father, and the youngest had the duchy of Normandy for his appennage: how that the elder brother as soon as he was settled in his kingdom, demanded a restitution of the said duchy, and being denied, how he made war upon his younger brother, and thought to have taken it from him by force, but his subjects unanimously joining with him, they dethroned his brother the

King of France, and set up their duke for king. After he had done reading, they boldly told him, they feared nothing; that their fortifications were strong and in good repair; that they had great store of cannon, arms, ammunition, and provision, and could upon occasion make a brave defence, assuring him they would one and all to a man stand by him, and defend him, themselves, and the town, against any opposers whatsoever.

On the 30th of December of the same year the king in his return from lower Normandy arrived at Ponthaudemer, and from thence marched into the county of Neufbourg, from whence he detached the Duke of Bourbon with a body of forces to summon Louviers, which surrendered the Wednesday following, and the Duke of Bourbon took possession of it for the king, into which his majesty made a public entry the same day after dinner. From Louviers the king marched to a town called Du Pont des Archers, about four leagues from Roan, which he formally besieged.

On Monday the 6th of January, a proclamation was issued out at Paris, commanding all the sutlers that were used to supply the army with provisions, to repair immediately to the camp before Du Pont des Archers, and all the prisoners were ordered to be ready by the next morning, to set out for the same place, under the command of M. Denis, one of the four aldermen of the city, who was appointed to take care of them.

On the Wednesday following the king entered Du Pont des Archers, and M. John Hebert with several

others who were in the town retired to the castle, which three days after was also surrendered to the king. After the surrender of the town and castle, the citizens of Roan sent deputies to treat of an accommodation, who highly complained of the Dukes of Bourbon and Bretagne. And amongst other requests and remonstrances that the said deputies were ordered to make to the king, one was, that his majesty would be pleased to be reconciled to them, notwithstanding what they had done; that he would openly declare that they had not been wanting in their duty, nor acted contrary to his interest, and that he would grant them the same privileges and immunities he had granted his good city of Paris, to which his majesty answered, he would consult his council about it.

Whilst this affair was in agitation, several of the king's party had free admittance into Roan, and conversed familiarly with the citizens; in the mean time, the Duke of Berry and several of his adherents retired to Honnefleure and Caen, where they stayed for some time. During these transactions, M. John de Lorraine thought to have made his escape into Flanders, but was taken and brought before the king, who disposed of most of the officers belonging to the duchy of Normandy, putting in new officers, and turning out the old ones. And after the Duke of Berry's leaving Roan, the city was reduced to the king's obedience, upon which the king dismissed all his Frank archers from his service till the 1st of March following, sent all his artillery to Paris, and retired to Mount St. Michael.

in lower Normandy. About that time the king gave the command of one hundred lances which belonged to M. Charles de Meleun to the Count de Dampmartin, who was with him, and not long after deprived him of his office of high steward of his household, and gave it to M. de Craon; however, several people were of opinion that M. Charles de Meleun had done the king signal services, and been very faithful to him, especially in his great care and defence of Paris in the king's absence in Bourbonnois, which he managed and regulated so well, that many sincerely believe, that the preservation of that city and the whole kingdom, is in some measure owing to his conduct and vigilance in that affair.

About that time the king commanded Chaumont upon the Loire (belonging to M. Peter de Amboise lord of the same place) to be burnt, and it was accordingly done.

On Monday the 3d of February, one Gauvain Manniel lieutenant-general of the bailiwick of Roan, was taken in the city and carried prisoner to Pont de l'Arche, and there upon a scaffold erected near the town bridge, was beheaded by the provost-marshal for high treason, his head fixed on a lance on the same bridge, and his body thrown into the river Seine. Just after this the Dean of Roan and six canons were banished the city, and expelled the duchy of Normandy.

After this the king went to Orleans, where he stayed a considerable time with the queen, and then retired to Jargeau and the neighbourhood of that

place, where ambassadors from several potentates upon different affairs came to wait upon his majesty; and about that time he resolved to send an embassy to the King of England, and accordingly the Count de Roussillon Bastard of Bourbon and Admiral of France, the Lord de la Barde, the Bishop and Duke of Langres, M. John de Pompaincourt, and M. Oliver le Roye one of the counsellors of the exchequer, were chosen to go in that embassy, and they set out for England in April, 1466.

On Saturday, Whitsun Eve, an order was published by sound of trumpet in all the public streets of Paris, by the command of the constable of France, in which order was inserted the royal mandate he had newly received from the king, the substance of which was, that the king (having received certain advice that the English, his ancient enemies, had a design to invade the kingdom of France with a powerful army, and for that descent were fitting out a strong squadron of men-of-war,) was resolved to make what preparations he could to oppose and defeat their designs, and therefore had given full power and command to his constable of France to make proclamation of it in all the cities, towns, villages, and hamlets of the kingdom, in order that all the nobility and gentry holding any lands by homage or fealty of the crown, not excepting the Frank archers, should be ready in arms by the 15th of June following, under pain of imprisonment and confiscation of goods.

At the same time a peace was concluded with the English both by sea and land, which was publicly

proclaimed ; and about that time also, the Duke du Maine was for some secret reason turned out of his government of Languedoc by the king, which was given to the Duke of Bourbon.

After the consummation of marriage between the Admiral of France and the king's natural daughter, the king gave the said admiral the castle of Usson in Auvergne, which was looked upon to be the strongest place in the whole kingdom, with the government of Honnefleure, and several other places in Normandy.

In July, several prelates, lords, churchmen, and counsellors, that the king had sent for to make some new regulations in all the courts of justice, and to reform some abuses, arrived at Paris, to whom the king gave full power and authority, and by virtue of the same, he nominated and appointed twenty-one commissioners, of which M. Charles d'Orleans, Count de Dunois, and Longueville were chief and first commissioners, and even these commissioners had no powers of acting, unless thirteen of them besides their president the Count de Dunois and Longueville were assembled together ; and in pursuance of the commission that had been granted them, they began their sittings on Tuesday the 16th, and were called by the people the reformers of the nation. This was just a year since the battle between the king and the Count de Charolois at Mont l'Hery.

About this time a war broke out between the Liegeois and the Duke of Burgundy, upon which he immediately took the field with his whole army,

and being a little indisposed, was carried in a litter, commanding his son the Count de Charolois, with all the nobles and officers that were with him, to march forward with a strong detachment to invest Dinant, and leave him to come up with the rest of the army. Upon his arrival the town was formally besieged, which occasioned several sallies and bloody actions on both sides, much to the disadvantage of the Burgundians in the beginning of the siege, but at last, whether by force of arms or treason, the town was taken by the Burgundians, who, only reserving a few of the chief citizens, whom they made prisoners of war, turned out men, women, and children, and gave it up to be plundered by their soldiers. Nor were they contented with this, they set fire to the churches and the houses, and having burnt and consumed every thing they could lay their hands on, they ordered the walls to be demolished, and the fortifications to be blown up, by which means the poor inhabitants were reduced to extreme want and necessity, and abundance of young women were forced to betake themselves to a vile and shameful way of living.

In August and September in the same year, the heats were so violent as to breed the plague, and several other contagious distempers in France, which swept away, in a little space of time, above forty thousand people in Paris and the neighbouring towns. Some persons of note and learning died also of it, amongst whom we may reckon M. Arnoul, the king's astrologer, a very worthy, learned, and facetious person, several eminent

physicians, and abundance of officers belonging to the city.

During the plague, the king and his council stayed at Orleans, Chartres, Bourges, Mehun, and Amboise, and during his abode in that neighbourhood he received several embassies from foreign princes and states, especially from England and Burgundy, and it was there he declared in council his resolutions of making war upon the Duke of Burgundy, and his son, the Count de Charolois, upon which the ban and arriere-ban were ordered to be raised, and a considerable augmentation to be made to the body of Frank archers.

After this affair was despatched, the king made several new ordinances and establishments for the better defence of his kingdom, and the garrisoned towns in it, and accordingly he made the Marshal de Loheac his lieutenant of Paris and the Isle of France, M. de Geilon had the government of Champagne, and the government of Normandy was given to the Count de St. Paul, constable of France, who formerly was the king's enemy, and had joined with the Duke of Burgundy and the Count de Charolois.

Some time after this, in February 1466, an ambassador from Bretagne arrived at Paris, who, after he had had audience of the king, set out for Flanders, to wait on the Duke of Burgundy and the Count de Charolois, his son. The many civilities that the king shewed this ambassador made some persons of note imagine that the affair between the

king and his brother was amicably adjusted, at which they were extremely glad.

Immediately after this, the king set out from Paris, in order to visit Roan and several other places in Normandy, and during his stay at Roan he sent for the Earl of Warwick out of England, and went by water, attended by several of his nobility, as far as Bouille, to meet him, which was situated on the Seine, about four leagues from Roan. He arrived there on the 7th of June, 1467, about dinner-time, where he found a magnificent entertainment ready prepared for him and his nobility, and after dinner the Earl of Warwick came to pay his compliments to the king, after which he went to Roan by water, and the king and his nobility by land. The magistrates of Roan, in their formalities, were ordered to go out to meet the Earl of Warwick, and receive him, upon his landing, at the Key-Gate of St. Eloy, with abundance of pomp and ceremony, bearing before him crosses, banners, holy-water bottles, and the relics of several saints, attended by the priests in their copes, and after this manner he was conducted to the church of Notre Dame, where he made his offering, and from thence to a magnificent apartment prepared for him in one of the religious houses. Soon after this, the queen and the young princesses came to Roan, and the king stayed there with the Earl of Warwick about a fortnight; after which the earl took leave of his majesty, and returned to England, accompanied by the Admiral of France, the Bishop,

of Laon, M. John de Pompaincourt, M. Olivier le Roux, and several others, whom the king had ordered to wait on him thither.

The king presented the Earl of Warwick, during his stay at Roan, with several valuable and rich presents, amongst the rest a piece of gold plate, and a large gold cup set with precious stones. The Duke of Bourbon also presented him with a fine diamond, and several other things of value; besides he and his whole retinue had all their expenses borne by the king from their first landing in France to their embarking for England. After the earl's departure, the king returned from Roan to Chartres, where he stayed some time; and in this month died Philip, Duke of Burgundy, and his body was carried with great solemnity to Dijon, and interred in the church of the Carthusians.

Immediately after this, the king ordered a proclamation to be published, by which (in order to re-people his good city of Paris, that had been greatly diminished by war, sickness, and other misfortunes) his majesty gave leave to strangers of all nations, of what crimes soever they had been guilty, except high-treason, to come and settle in the city, suburbs, or precincts thereof, promising to grant them the same privileges as his own subjects, and to defend and protect them, even not excepting those that had been banished to St. Maloes and Valenciennes. At the same time, also, by sound of trumpet, was published an order, commanding all the nobles and gentry holding any lands or tenures by homage or fealty, even not excepting those of the Isle of

France, as well in Paris as elsewhere, to be ready in arms by the 15th of August.

About this time, the Admiral of France, and those that were ordered by the king to wait on the Earl of Warwick into England, returned, where they had stayed a long while without doing any thing, and brought with them some hunting-horns and leathern-bottles, as a present from the King of England to the King of France, in return for all the valuable ones his majesty and the Duke of Bourbon had made the Earl of Warwick at his departure from Roan. And on Friday, the 18th of August, the king arrived at Paris, about nine at night, attended by the Duke of Bourbon and several of the nobility.

On Tuesday, the 1st of September, the queen also came from Roan to Paris by water, and landed at Notre Dame, where her majesty was received by all the presidents and counsellors of the court of parliament, the Bishop of Paris, and several persons of quality in their robes and formalities. There was also a certain number of persons richly dressed to compliment her on the part of the city, and abundance of the chief citizens and counsellors of Paris went by water to meet her majesty in fine gilded boats covered with tapestry and rich silks, in which were placed the choristers of the holy chapel, who sung psalms and anthems after a most heavenly and melodious manner. There was also a great number of trumpets, clarions, and other softer instruments of music, which altogether made a most harmonious consort, and began playing when the

queen and her maids of honour entered the boat; in which the citizens of Paris presented her majesty with a large stag made in sweet-meats, besides a vast quantity of salvers heaped up with spices and all sorts of delicious fruits, roses, violets, and other perfumes being strewed in the boat, and as much wine as every body would drink. After the queen had performed her devotions to the blessed Virgin she came back to her boat, and went by water to the Celestins' church-gate, where she found abundance of persons of quality more, ready to receive her majesty, who, immediately upon her landing, with her maids of honour, mounted upon fine easy pads, and rode to the Hotel des Tournelles, where the king was at that time, and where she was received with great joy and satisfaction by his majesty and the whole court, and that night there were public rejoicings and bonfires in Paris for her majesty's safe arrival.

On the 14th of September, the king, who had ordered the Parisians to make standards, published a proclamation, commanding all the inhabitants from sixteen to sixty, of what rank or condition soever, to be ready to appear in arms that very day in the fields, and that those that were not able to provide themselves with helmets, brigandines, &c., should come armed with great clubs, under pain of death; which orders were punctually obeyed, and the greatest part of the populace appeared in arms, ranged under their proper standard or banner, in good order and discipline, amounting to eighty thousand men, thirty thousand of which were armed

with coats of mail, helmets, and brigandines, and made a very fine appearance. Never did any city in the world furnish such a vast number of men, for it was computed there were sixty-seven banners or standards of tradesmen, without reckoning those of the court of parliament, exchequer, treasury, mint, and chastellet of Paris, which had under them as many or more soldiers than what belonged to the tradesmen's banners. A prodigious quantity of wine was ordered out of Paris, to comfort and refresh this vast body of men, which took up a vast tract of ground, extending themselves from the end of the Lay Stall, between St. Anthony's gate and that of the Temple, as far as the Town-ditch upwards to the Winepress, and from thence along the walls of St. Antoine des Champs, to the Grange de Ruilly, and from thence to Conflans, and from Conflans back again by the Grange-aux-Merciers, all along the river Seine, quite to the Royal Bulwark over against the tower of Billy, and from thence all along the Town-ditch, on the outside, to the Bastile and St. Anthony's gate. In short, it was almost incredible to tell what a vast number of people there were in arms before Paris, yet the number of those within was pretty near as great.

About this time a terrible war broke out between the Liegeois, and the Duke of Burgundy, and their bishop, cousin to the Duke of Burgundy, and brother to the Duke of Bourbon, whom they besieged in Huye, and after a long siege took the town, but the bishop made his escape; and towards the latter end of it the king sent four hundred lances under

the command of the Count de Dampmartin, Sallezart, Robert de Conychan, and Steuevot de Vignolles, with six thousand Frank archers, picked and chosen out of Champagne, Soissonnois, and several places in the isle of France. As soon as the Burgundians heard that the Liegeois had taken Huye, they resolved immediately to take the field with their whole army, and to march against them and destroy them with fire and sword, to be revenged of them, for the Burgundians they had slain upon their taking the town. Accordingly they declared war against them throughout all their dominions by the ceremony of a naked sword in one hand, and a burning torch in the other, signifying that this was a war of blood and fire.

About the same time the king sent the bishop of Eureux, who was lately made a cardinal at Rome, M. John de Ladriesme, treasurer of France, and several others, in an embassy to the Count de Charolois, to negotiate some secret affair with that prince.

On Sunday night about nine, there was such terrible thunder and lightning as had scarce been known in the memory of man; and during the whole month there were such prodigious heats as surprised every body, which was looked upon to be very strange and unnatural.

On Thursday the fifteenth of the same month, the king received advice that a great detachment of Bretons had possessed themselves of the town and castle of Caen, in Normandy, and from thence marched to Bayeux, which they also so surprised,

and turning out the garrison, put some of their own troops in it. The king was extremely concerned at this news, and immediately sends the Marshal de Loheac, who had the command of one hundred lances of Bretagne, into Normandy, to see how affairs stood there.

About this time, M. Anthony de Chasteauneuf (Lord of Lau, great butler of France, and seneschal of Guienne, great chamberlain to the king, and the most beloved and rewarded of any favourite the king ever had) was, by his majesty's order, moved from the castle of Sully upon the Loire, where he had been long a prisoner, to the castle of Usson in Avergne, by M. Tristan l' Ermite the king's provost marshal, and William Cerisay, newly chosen register in parliament, and upon this removal there was a discourse, which lasted some time, that he was executed, but it was a false report.

On Tuesday the 20th of October, the king set out from Paris for Normandy, and lay that night at Villepereux, and the next at Mante. Before he left Paris he sent for several of his captains and officers of his army, and ordered them to get the troops that were under their command in readiness to follow him into Normandy, or wherever there should be most occasion for them; and on the same day he published certain letters and ordinances, by which he declared, that it was his royal will and pleasure, that for the future all the officers of his kingdom, both civil and military, should continue in their places, and that no place should become vacant but by death, resignation, or

forfeiture, resolving to dispose of no places but what became vacant by one of the three before-mentioned ways, and therefore it would be in vain for any one to expect or solicit for a post upon any other terms, since he designed to do justice to every one. After this declaration, he set out from Mante for Vernon on the Seine, where he stayed some time, during which the constable of France, who came thither to pay his respects to the king, found out an expedient how to conclude a peace between his majesty and the Duke of Burgundy, for six months from the date of the articles, without including the Liegeois, who were actually in arms against the Duke of Burgundy, in hopes of being assisted by the king, as they were promised, but by this treaty they were baulked in their expectations, and left in the lurch. As soon as the treaty was signed and sealed by the king, the constable of France went to wait on the Duke of Burgundy to acquaint him with it.

Soon after this M. John de Balue, bishop of Euvreux, M. John-Ladrische, and the rest that had been sent into Flanders to negotiate an affair at the Duke of Burgundy's court, came to Vernon, to give the king an account of their embassy; immediately after which the king left Vernon, and came to Chartres, where he stayed till the arrival of the greatest part of his artillery from Orleans, which was to be employed in the reduction of Alenson, and several other towns in the same province. And afterwards the king sent M. John Prevost into

Flanders with the articles of peace to the Duke of Burgundy.

On the 16th the Bishop of Eureux, the Treasurer de Ladrische, M. John Berart and M. Jeffery Alnequin, arrived at Paris, in order to review the banners, and to inspect several other things that the king had given them in charge. After that the king went from Chartres to Orleans, Clery, and other towns in that neighbourhood, and afterwards to Vendosme, from whence he marched with great part of his artillery and a considerable body of troops to Mount St. Michael. In the mean time the Bretons with a strong army left their own country, and penetrated into Normandy as far as the city of Orange, and other towns of that province, and also dispersed themselves in small bodies all over Normandy, as far as Caen, Bayeux, Constances, and other places. About the same time the Duke of Burgundy taking advantage of the peace that was concluded between him and the king, in which the Liegeois were excluded, marches against them with his whole army, and lays siege to their capital city, who being baulked in their expectation of those succours that the king promised to send them, and seeing their ruin near at hand, were at last forced to surrender all their towns to the Count de Charolois, besides giving him a vast sum of money, and consenting to have their gates pulled down, and part of their walls demolished.

On Saturday the 22d of November; the Bishop of Eureux, and the rest of the commissioners ap-

pointed for that purpose, reviewed the bands of the tradesmen as they were drawn up and ranged under their respective banners in several places in the city. And the very same day the king commanded a proclamation to be issued out, commanding all persons that were used to serve in the wars to repair forthwith to certain commissaries appointed to receive and give them pay. And the next day M. John Prevost returned from the Duke of Burgundy's court, whither the king had sent him with the articles of peace, and brought his majesty back the answer the Count de Charolois had given him in relation to that affair. On Thursday the 16th of November, there was another review made of all the banners without the gates of Paris. As soon as the review was over, the Bishop of Eureux, and the rest of the commissioners, with M. John de Ladriesche, Treasurer of France, M. Peter l'Orfeure, Lord Dermenonville, and several other of the king's officers, set out from Paris to wait upon the king, who was between Mans and Alenson with a prodigious army consisting of one hundred thousand horse, and twenty thousand foot, in order to oppose the Bretons; upon which his majesty ordered the greatest part of his artillery to be brought up, to be employed in the siege of Alenson.

During these transactions there were some overtures of peace which hindered the king from entering upon action; and so by consequence his army was forced to destroy and eat up all the flat country for twenty or thirty leagues round Mans and Alenson. In the mean time the Count de

Charolois, who had already destroyed the Liegeois, and over-run the country, retired to St. Quintin; and ordered a proclamation to be issued out through his whole dominions, commanding all his subjects that were able to bear arms, and those forces that were already raised, to repair to St. Quintin by a certain day upon pain of imprisonment, in order to be reviewed by certain commissaries appointed for that purpose. The same proclamation he caused to be published in Burgundy, commanding all his subjects of that duchy to repair to Montsavion by the 22d of December, as a place of general rendezvous, where several commissaries were also appointed to list and enter them in his service; from whence they were ordered to march and join the forces at St. Quintin, which were to act in conjunction with those of the Dukes of Berry and Bretagne, against the King of France. Upon publishing of this proclamation, several merchants of Paris that were gone into Burgundy to buy up some commodities, made a quick return, without doing any business; and the Count de Charolois ordered all his forces to rendezvous at St. Quintin on the 4th of January following.

On Innocents day, which was the 28th of December, the Duke of Bourbon, who came by the king's order to put strong garrisons into his frontier-towns, and to cover his country, that the Burgundians might not penetrate into it, arrived at Paris, and with him the Marshal de Loheac, who, according to common report, was to be lieutenant of the city. The Duke of Bourbon made some stay at Paris; but the Marshal de Loheac set out two days after

for Roan, and several other towns in Normandy, to put them in a posture of defence, according to the king's orders; where he staid a considerable time. The Parisians were extremely civil to the Duke of Bourbon, and during his stay there, he was caressed by several of the chief citizens, who made feasts and entertainments on purpose for him. In the mean time the city of Alenson, which was in the hands of the Bretons, was surrendered to the king by the Count du Perche, son to the Duke of Alenson, who commanded in the castle at the same time that the Bretons were masters of the town. All this time the king did not stir from Mans; and during his stay there, he sent the pope's legate whom we have already mentioned, Anthony de Chabannes, Count de Dampmartin, the Treasurer Ladriesche, and several others in an embassy to the Duke of Berry, to offer terms of accommodation; and at last the king consented to the calling the three estates of the kingdom. Tours was the place appointed for their meeting, where, according to order, they were assembled on the first of April, 1467, upon which the king left Mans, and came to Montils near Tours, Amboise, and thereabouts.

As soon as the three estates of the kingdom were assembled, the king came and acquainted them with the occasion of their meeting; and had, from time to time, several debates and conferences with them concerning the affair between him and his brother the Duke of Berry, till the time of their breaking up, which was till Easter-day, 1468. There were present at this assembly, the king,

the King of Sicily, the Duke of Bourbon, the Count du Perche, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, the Cardinal of Angiers, several other lords, barons, archbishops, bishops, abbots, and abundance of other persons of quality and condition, besides several ambassadors from all parts of France. And by this august assembly it was agreed and resolved, (after a long and mature deliberation, in order to end the dispute between the king and his brother M. Charles concerning his appennage,) that his majesty should allow him twelve thousand livres a-year in land, with the title of count or duke; and that he should be obliged to give and allow him besides an annual pension in money of sixty thousand livres more, without any prejudice to the rest of his majesty's children, who hereafter might come to the crown, and be required to give the same appennage. To which the king, (being extremely desirous to live in perfect peace and union with his brother,) at last consented, and willingly gave him the annual allowance of sixty thousand livres, seeing he generously relinquished the duchy of Normandy, saying, it was not in the king's power to dismember or give away any thing that belonged to the crown. And as for the Duke of Bretagne, who had sided with M. Charles, and had taken several towns in Normandy, being suspected to hold a correspondence with the English, the ancient enemies of France, it was agreed by the said assembly, that he should be summoned to surrender the towns he was possessed of; and that upon refusal, and the king's having certain advice of his having made an alli-

ance with the English, his majesty should immediately endeavour to recover them by force of arms, and the three estates of the kingdom promised to stand by and support him ; the clergy, with their prayers and estates ; and the nobility, gentry, and commonalty, with their estates and persons. And moreover, the king was extremely desirous that justice should be fairly and impartially administered through the whole kingdom ; and therefore he proposed to this assembly the choosing some persons of honour and quality out of the three estates, to regulate and take care of that matter ; and the whole assembly were of opinion, that no body was so fit to be employed in that office as the Count de Charolois, who was a peer of France, and nearly allied to the crown. After this debate was over, the king left Tours, and went to Amboise ; and a little after he sent to the assembly, then sitting at Cambray, to know how they approved of the resolution that had been taken by the three estates of the kingdom that were convened at Tours, as you have already heard.

After the king had despatched this affair, he went to Meaux, in Brie, where he ordered a certain person, born in Bourbonnois, to be beheaded for some crimes he had committed, and amongst the rest for discovering the king's secrets to the English, the ancient enemies of France. Just before this, the king was graciously pleased to grant an act of grace and indemnity ; and the Prince of Piedmont, the Duke of Savoy's son, was sent to

Paris with full power and authority to release all the prisoners out of jail.

About the same time, the Burgundians or the Bretons, who had invaded Normandy, surprised the Lord de Merville between St. Saviour de Dive and Caen, and made him deliver up his castle into their hands, in which there were a small number of Frank archers. As soon as they had surrendered it, they hanged the Lord de Merville, plundered the castle, and afterwards set fire to it. After this the king left Creil, and went to Compeigne, where he staid some time, and then returned to Senlis, and from thence the Duke of Bourbon went to Paris, where he arrived on the Assumption of Our Lady. Some time before this, the king had sent M. de Lyon, the constable of France, and several other lords, in an embassy to the Duke of Burgundy, to endeavour to adjust the difference between them, without coming to an open war, notwithstanding he had already sent an army into Normandy under the command of the admiral of France, who had been so successful as in a month's time to drive the Bretons out of Bayeux. On Saturday, the 20th of August, 1468, M. Charles de Meleun, Lord of Normanville, (who had formerly been steward of the king's household,) was brought out of the castle of Gaillart, where he had been newly committed prisoner, under the command of the Count de Dampmartin, and publicly beheaded in the market-place of Andely, according to the sentence that had been pronounced against him by the provost-

marshal. After this, the king staid some time at Noyon, Compeigne, Chavay, and other places thereabouts, till the 15th of September, where he received the agreeable news of the Duke of Bretagne and his brother Charles's readiness to consent to the terms of accommodation that his majesty had proposed to them, and that his brother M. Charles was ready to accept of his annual pension of sixty thousand livres tournois, till his appennage could be fully settled by the Duke of Calabria and the constable of France, who were the persons he had chosen to settle and manage that affair. The Duke of Bretagne, on his part, offered to surrender all the towns he had taken from the king in Normandy, provided his majesty would restore all those that his troops were in possession of in Bretagne, to which the king readily consented.

The king immediately sent an express to the Duke of Burgundy, who lay encamped between Esclusiers and Cappy, to acquaint him with this accommodation, but he would give no credit to it, till it was farther confirmed by certain advices from the Duke of Bretagne and M. Charles; however, he would not retire with his army, but still continued in the same post between Esclusiers and Cappy, behind the river Somme. During his encampment there, several persons of quality were deputed to wait on the Duke of Burgundy, amongst whom were the constable of France, the cardinal d'Angiers, and M. Peter Doriolle, in hopes of accommodating matters amicably between him and the king, which his majesty was extremely desi-

rous of ; but the officers of his army were of another mind, and begged the king that he would give them leave to attack the Duke of Burgundy in his camp, not questioning but that they should defeat him, and oblige him to accept of what terms his majesty should propose ; but the king would not hear of it, and upon pain of death forbid them to attempt any thing against him. And from that time to the 12th of October, there was a great discourse of the king's having made a truce with the Duke of Burgundy till the April following : and upon the hopes of that truce, the king resolved to return from Compeigne to Creil and Ponthoise ; wherefore he sent his harbingers before to prepare his lodgings, but afterwards he altered his resolution, and went in great haste from Compeigne to Noyon, where he had been but a little time before. In the mean time, Philip de Savoy, Poncet de Riviere, the Lord du Lau, and several others that were confederate with them, did abundance of mischief. And on Saturday, the 8th of October, a proclamation was issued out, commanding all the nobility and gentry within the precincts of Paris, that held any lands or tenures by homage or fealty of the crown, to be ready in arms at Gonesse, and to march from thence on the Monday following wherever they should be commanded ; at which several persons at Paris were astonished, believing by this preparation that no truce had been made. After this, the king left Noyon, and the Duke of Burgundy set out from the army for Peronne, whither the king, attended only by the Duke of Bour-

bon, the Cardinal d'Angiers, and a few of the officers of his household, went immediately to pay the Duke of Burgundy a visit, who received him with all the respect and honour imaginable, as in duty he was obliged to do ; and after a long conference together, the difference that was between them was amicably adjusted. The Duke of Burgundy, on his part, swore homage to the king, and vowed never to attempt any thing against his majesty for the future ; and the king confirmed and ratified the treaty of Arras, and several other things ; upon which a courier was immediately despatched to acquaint the nobility, gentry, and commonalty, with the news of this accommodation, and to order the Bishop of Paris to cause a general procession to be made, and *Te Deum* to be sung in Notre Dame Church, which was accordingly performed ; and the night concluded with bonfires, fountains running with wine, and the usual solemnities on such occasions. In the mean time, news came that the Liegeois had taken and killed their bishop and all his officers ; at which the king, the Duke of Burgundy, and the Duke of Bourbon, were extremely concerned, and there was great talk that the king and the Duke of Burgundy would go in person to destroy the Liegeois, and ruin their country, to be revenged on them for their late barbarous action of murdering their bishop. But immediately the news of the bishop's death was contradicted ; however, the Liegeois obliged him to say mass, and afterwards humbly submitted to him, and acknowledged him for their sovereign

lord, being willing to put an end to those calamities and misfortunes they had already brought upon themselves.

About this time the king went to Hall in Germany, where he made but a short stay; during which, at the Duke of Burgundy's intercession, he pardoned Philip de Savoy, and the rest of his confederates, and received them into his favour again. From Hall his majesty went to Namur to visit the Duke of Burgundy, whom he resolved to accompany to the siege of Liege, and had his quarters assigned him in the suburbs of that city during the whole siege, which lasted some time, and he was attended by the Duke of Bourbon, M. de Lyon, M. de Beaujeau, and the Bishop of Liege, who were all brothers. It seems the Bishop of Liege was sent out of the town to wait on the Duke of Burgundy, in order to make terms of capitulation with him in behalf of the Liegeois, who offered to surrender the town and all that was in it, provided he would spare the lives of the inhabitants; but he would not grant them those conditions, vowing to sacrifice his whole army rather than not to force them to surrender at discretion, and ordered the Bishop of Liege to be detained; notwithstanding he told him, he had solemnly promised the Liegeois to return into the city, and live and die with them, if he could not obtain any honourable conditions for them. As soon as the Liegeois were informed that the Duke of Burgundy had detained their bishop against his will, they made several sallies upon the Burgundians and the king's forces, and

all they took prisoners they put to death. However, notwithstanding all this, on Sunday the 30th of October, the Duke of Burgundy ordered his men to prepare for storming the town, which was done the same day, and after little or no resistance the king, the Dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon, with the Lords de Lyon, de Liege, and de Beaujeu, entered it, out of which the greatest part of the inhabitants that were in health had retired just before the last attack, leaving only a few old men, women, children, priests, and nuns, whose throats were all cut by the soldiers, who committed a thousand other barbarous and inhuman actions, such as ravishing the women, and killing them afterwards, defiling of nuns even in the very churches, and murdering the priests while they were consecrating the host at the altar. And not being satisfied with this scene of blood and horror, they plundered the town, set fire to it, and demolished the walls.

After this action was over, the king returned to Senlis and Compeigne, where he ordered the Court of Parliament, the exchequer treasurers, and the rest of the civil officers of his kingdom to attend him; and upon their arrival he made several laws and ordinances, and having no design of staying there long, he ordered the Cardinal d'Angiers to acquaint them with the terms of accommodation between him and the Duke of Burgundy, which were specified and contained in forty-two articles, which were openly read to them by the said cardinal, who told them, that it was the king's royal will and pleasure that these articles of peace should

immediately be ratified and confirmed in parliament under such penalties as he declared to them. The king having despatched this affair drew nearer to Paris, but would not enter the city, however the Duke of Bourbon, M. de Lyon, M. de Beaujeu, the Marquis du Pont, and several other great lords, came and staid there some time.

On Saturday the 19th of November, the peace between the king and the Duke of Burgundy was proclaimed by sound of trumpet in all the public streets in Paris. At the same time there was another proclamation issued out by the king's order, commanding every body for the future not to speak against or reflect upon the Duke of Burgundy, either by speeches, signs, pictures, libels, or scandalous verses, under very severe penalties, which were explained and specified in the said edict.

In February the Duke of Burgundy's ambassadors arrived at Paris, to hasten the signing the articles of peace that was concluded between the king and him, upon which the king wrote expressly to the mayor, and the rest of the civil magistrates of Paris, to treat and entertain them handsomely, and his majesty's orders were punctually obeyed, and the ambassadors were nobly entertained and feasted. In the mean time the articles of peace we have already mentioned were registered in all the courts of Paris.

In April 1469, M. John Balue, cardinal of Angiers (on whom the king had in a short time conferred vast riches and honours, doing more for him than for any prince of the blood, and whom the

pope by his majesty's recommendation had advanced to a cardinal's cap) most shamefully betrayed the confidence the king had reposed in him, and having neither God in his thoughts, nor the honour nor interest of the kingdom before his eyes, basely betrayed his majesty into the Duke of Burgundy's hands at Peronne, where he advised him to that ignominious peace which was there concluded between them, and then persuaded him to accompany the Duke of Burgundy to the siege of Liege, which had taken up arms against him purely upon the king's account ; so that in short his majesty's going thither was the chief occasion of the ruin and desolation of the poor Liegeois. But to aggravate the matter, the king, the Duke of Bourbon, and the rest of the nobility that attended his majesty, were very near being all killed or taken, which would have been the greatest blow the kingdom of France had ever received since its first establishment. The cardinal not being contented with this piece of villany, immediately contrives how to act a greater ; and therefore upon the king's return to Paris, in his way to Tours, he uses his utmost endeavours to induce his majesty to fall out with his good citizens of Paris, who had hitherto expressed so much zeal and loyalty for his person. After this he employed all his cunning arts and stratagems to foment and inflame the difference that was between the king and his brother M. Charles. But finding himself disappointed there, and having certain advice that all matters were amicably adjusted in the late journey the king made to Tours and Angiers, and that

they were perfectly reconciled to each other, he tries to raise jealousy and misunderstanding between the king and the rest of the nobility, as he had formerly done. And in order to create as much trouble and confusion as possible he could in the kingdom, he despatches a certain emissary of his with letters to the Duke of Burgundy, to acquaint him that the peace or agreement that was lately concluded between the king and his brother M. Charles was directly contrary to his interest and advantage, and made on purpose to turn their arms jointly against him, wherefore he advised him to stand upon his guard, and immediately take the field, to prevent their designs. Several other arguments he made use of to induce the Duke of Burgundy to invade the kingdom of France with a powerful army; but by good fortune his letters were seized and carried to the king, who, upon the discovery of his treacherous designs, immediately ordered him to be sent prisoner to Montbason, where he was committed to the charge and custody of M. de Torcy and several other officers. After this the king seized upon all his goods, lands and chattels, of which he ordered an inventory to be made, and also appointed M. Tanneguy du Chastel governor of Roussillon, M. William Cousinot, M. de Torcy, and M. Peter Doriolle, as commissioners to examine him. The king some time afterwards disposed of the cardinal's goods as his majesty thought fit; his set of plate was sold, and the money carried into the treasury for the king's use; the fine hangings of his palace were given to the

governor of Roussillon; his library to M. Peter Doriolle; a fine piece of cloth of gold valued at one thousand two hundred crowns, with a great quantity of sables, and a large piece of scarlet embroidered with gold was given to M. de Crussol; and his robes with a little more of his furniture were sold to pay the clerks and other officers that were employed to take the inventory.

In the mean time the King and Queen of Sicily came to pay a visit to the king at Tours and Amboise, and were nobly and kindly entertained by his majesty. After which, attended by the Duke of Bourbon and several other lords of his kingdom, he made a tour to Niort, Rochelle, and several other places in that neighbourhood, where he met his brother the Duke of Guienne, and by the grace of God, and the assistance of the blessed Virgin, a firm union and friendship was settled between them, to the great joy and satisfaction of the kingdom; upon which *Te Deum* was ordered to be sung in Nostre Dame church in Paris, and bonfires and rejoicings were made in all the cities and towns in France, and after that the king came back to Amboise, where he had left the queen, who had been very instrumental in his late reconciliation. Some time afterwards the king resolved in council to attempt the reduction of the earldom of Armaignac, and if the enterprise succeeded, promised to give it to his brother the Duke of Guienne; and in order to reduce it to his obedience, he sent a considerable body of forces with some cannon, which were to be followed in case of need by the whole army. After

the king had finished his preparations for this expedition, he went to Orleans, where he stayed five or six days, and then returned to Amboise again.

On Saturday the 4th of November, 1469, was published by sound of trumpet in all the streets of Paris, the league offensive and defensive that was lately concluded between France and Spain, in the presence of both the criminal and civil lieutenants of that city, and the greatest part of the examiners of the Chastellet. And from that time the king, the Duke of Bourbon, and the rest of the nobility that attended on his majesty, stayed at Amboise and in that neighbourhood till Saturday the 23d of December, upon which day the Duke of Guienne, attended by all the nobility of his duchy, came to wait on the king at his Chateau de Montils near Tours, where his majesty was extremely glad to see him. And as soon as the queen was informed of the Duke of Guienne's being there, her majesty immediately left Amboise, and being attended by the Duchess of Bourbon, her maids of honour, and several other ladies of the court, came to pay him a visit, and to feast and entertain him. In the mean time the country of Armaignac was delivered up into the king's hands without any manner of bloodshed, and the king, queen, Duke of Guienne, and the Duchess of Bourbon, spent their time at the Chateau de Montils in feastings and diversions till Christmas. And after the Duke of Guienne had taken his leave of the king and queen and the whole court, and was set out for his dukedom, the king went back to Rochelle, St. John

d'Angeli, and other neighbouring countries, where he called an assembly of the three estates of the kingdom, to consult about some important affair, and to appoint new officers in the duchy of Guienne, who might fairly and impartially administer justice to his subjects. And after the king had settled that affair he returned to Amboise, where he stayed some time, during which he sent his ambassadors to the Duke of Bretagne with the order of St. Michael, which he had lately instituted, as he had done to several other lords of his kingdom; but the Duke of Bretagne at first refused the honour his majesty designed him, and would not wear it, pretending he could not take the oath belonging to that order, having already accepted of that of the Golden Fleece from the Duke of Burgundy, and was become his friend and confederate in arms; at which the king being highly incensed, and not without cause, immediately ordered a considerable body of his men at arms and archers, with some cannon and field-pieces, to be ready to march into Bretagne, and lay the country under contribution; but before those forces were ordered to march, the king gave the Duke of Bretagne ten days' time to consider of it, and to acquaint his majesty with his resolutions.

On Wednesday the 13th of February, was published in all the public streets of Paris the king's mandate, by which his majesty acquainted the mayor of Paris that he had received certain advice from England, that King Edward IV., and the nobility, gentry, and commonalty, with whom that king

had been in wars for some time, were reconciled to each other, and that they had unanimously agreed in parliament to invade the kingdom of France with a powerful army; wherefore the king (in order to oppose and prevent their designs,) had commanded the ban and the arriere-ban to be raised, and ordered the mayor of Paris forthwith to summon all nobles and not nobles, all the privileged persons and not privileged persons, within the precincts of that city, holding any lands by homage or fealty of the crown, to be ready in arms on the first of March following, on pain of imprisonment and confiscation of goods. By the same letters patent the mayor of Paris, and all other officers belonging to the king, were forbidden under the same severe penalties to admit of any excuse or certificate from any persons whatsoever holding lands or tenures by homage or fealty of the crown; and that whosoever should refuse to obey the summons, should be looked upon as enemies to the king and government, and be punished as rebels and traitors to their country. On the same day news was brought to Paris that the Duke of Burgundy was seen in Ghent with a red cross and garter upon one of his legs, which was the order of Edward IV., King of England; upon which the Duke of Burgundy was immediately declared an enemy to the kingdom, and looked upon as an Englishman.

In May, 1470, the Earl of Warwick and the Duke of Clarence, with their ladies, who had been driven out of England by Edward IV. with a slender retinue, and some ships, landed at Honnefleure and

Harfleur in Normandy, where they were kindly received and entertained by the admiral of France, who lodged the Earl of Warwick, the Duke of Clarence, the Count de Vuasonfort, the ladies, and some of the chief of their retinue, in his own palace; and took care to have their ships laid up safely in the harbours of Honnefleure and Harfleur. A little after the ladies and their attendants removed to Valoignes, where fine apartments were prepared for them.

As soon as the Duke of Burgundy had advice of the Earl of Warwick's arrival in France, he immediately sent letters to the parliament to let them know he was informed that the king had favourably received and entertained the Earl of Warwick in some of his towns in Normandy, which was acting directly contrary to the treaty that was concluded at Peronne between his majesty and him; and humbly desired the court of parliament that they would make the king sensible of this infringement, and persuade him not to countenance the Earl of Warwick and his party, whom he had declared were enemies to the kingdom; otherwise he should be obliged to seize upon his person wherever he found him, though it was in the very heart of France; however the Earl of Warwick staid at Honnefleure till the latter end of June. In the mean time the king drew his forces out of several garrisons, and ordered them to march into Normandy and Picardy, where they ruined and destroyed all the flat country thereabouts. In the mean time the king still kept about Tours, Amboise, Vendosme, and other places

thereabouts; whither the Queen of England and her son the Prince of Wales, with several of the English nobility, came to wait upon the king; and, after a long conference with his majesty, the English returned to Honnefleury, Valoignes, St. Lo, and other places in Normandy. During these affairs, the Duke of Burgundy ordered all the effects belonging to the merchants of France, that were in his dominions, to be seized; till some restitution was made to the merchants of his country, from whom the English had taken several ships.

On Saturday the last of June, 1470, between two and three in the morning, the queen was brought to bed at the castle of Amboise of a prince, who was christened Charles by the Archbishop of Lyons; the Prince of Wales, son to the late King of England, Henry VI., standing godfather, and the Duchess of Bourbon godmother. The birth of this prince occasioned great joy at court, *Te Deum* was ordered to be sung at Paris, and bonfires and rejoicings were made in all the cities and towns in France. And soon after this, the King of Sicily, the Duke of Guienne, the Duke of Bourbon, the Lords de Lyon and Beaujeau, and several others, were sent to Angiers, Saumur, and other places thereabouts, to endeavour to accommodate matters between the king and the Duke of Bretagne, where they staid some time before they could settle the point; but, at last, the business was determined to the satisfaction of both of them; upon which the Duke of Bretagne sent his ambassadors to the Duke of Burgundy to deliver up the treaty of alliance that had been lately:

made between them, and when they informed him of the Duke of Bretagne's reconciliation with the king, he seemed highly displeas'd and out of patience. In the mean time, while the Earl of Warwick, (whom we mentioned before,) was making all the preparations imaginable in Normandy, to return for England, the Duke of Burgundy fits out a great fleet, and having well victualled and manned it with English, Burgundians, Picardians, and seamen of other nations, he puts to sea ; and, sailing round by the coast of Normandy, thought to fall in with the Earl of Warwick's squadron near Laire, and fight them ; but, not finding them there, he dropped anchor, and waited in expectation of them, during which time the king left Amboise, and went a pilgrimage to Mount St. Michael ; and, after he had performed his devotions there, he returned by Orange, Tombelaina, Constances, Caen, Honnefleu, and several other places on the coast of Normandy, where the admiral of France put in to victual his fleet ; on which the Earl of Warwick, the Duke of Clarence, and their whole retinue, went on board, together with a few archers and other soldiers, that the king had order'd for the safety and defence of their persons. As soon as they were ready to set sail, the poor English, Burgundians, and Picardians, who had lain all this time in expectation of the Earl of Warwick's squadron, and had spent all their provision, weigh'd anchor, and sail'd home to their duke with hungry stomachs without doing any thing ; at which his highness laugh'd heartily, though he had no reason for it, having spent a great

deal of time and money to no purpose. No sooner was the Burgundian fleet out of sight, but the Earl of Warwick, attended as you have already heard, set sail, and the wind serving, in a little time arrived on the coast of England, and landed in the night at Dartmouth or Plymouth; and immediately upon his landing, he sent a party of his men ten miles up into the country, to seize upon a baron of the kingdom, who little dreamed of that descent, and was sleeping quietly in his bed; but they soon roused him, and giving him but just time to put on his clothes, hurried him away to the Earl of Warwick, who ordered him to be beheaded the next morning. After this he marched from Dartmouth to a neighbouring town, where he was well received, and where he left his artillery and heavy baggage when he went for Normandy. He had scarce been landed three days, and put what forces he had with him into a little order, when sixty thousand men in arms came voluntarily into him, offering to venture their lives and fortunes in his service; whereupon he immediately took the field, and marched directly in search of King Edward, so that it was above a fortnight from the day of his landing before we could hear any news of him in France. And then the king received certain advice that the Earl of Warwick and the Duke of Clarence were in full march with a powerful army in search of King Edward; and that their affairs were in such a prosperous condition, that all the nobility, gentry, clergy, and commonalty of England, (but especially the people of London,) had forsaken King Edward, and were come in to the

Earl of Warwick, who had delivered King Henry VI. out of the Tower, where he had been long a prisoner, and re-instated him in the possession of his kingdom. Upon which the Earl of Warwick was made governor and protector of England under Henry VI., and immediately marched into the city of London, where the citizens feasted and entertained him nobly. After which he released all the French prisoners that were in England, and sent them home without any ransom ; but seized upon all the effects belonging to the Duke of Burgundy's subjects. At last, King Edward, finding himself abandoned and forsaken by all his subjects, leaves his queen in England, and goes over to his brother-in-law, the Duke of Burgundy, with a very slender retinue, to solicit troops and money to recover his kingdom.

After this the king wrote letters to Paris to acquaint them, that the Queen of England wife to Henry VI., the Prince of Wales and his princess daughter to the Earl of Warwick, the Countess of Warwick her mother, the Lady Wiltshire, and several other ladies of the English court, were coming to Paris attended by the Counts d'Eu, de Vendosme, de Dunois, Monsieur de Chastillon, and several other noblemen and persons of quality ; and that it was his majesty's command, that the bishop, university, court of parliament, and the mayor and aldermen of Paris in their robes and formalities, should go out and meet them, and compliment the Queen of England in his name.

Soon after this, the queen, the Duchess of Bour-

bon, the maids of honour, and several other ladies of the court came along with his majesty to Paris, where they all staid till the 26th, and then his majesty set out from thence for Senlis, Compeigne, and the neighbourhood of those places, where the greatest part of his army that was to act against the Duke of Burgundy lay.

He ordered a large train of artillery to be brought from Compeigne, Noyon, and elsewhere, both by sea and land, into Picardy and Flanders; and published a proclamation by sound of trumpet in Paris, commanding all the nobility and Frank archers of the Isle of France to be ready in arms to follow him, and join the rest of the army. During this time great preparations were making at Paris; and a great quantity of cannon, ammunition, and provision were getting ready for the army.

About this time, all the handy-craftsmen in Paris, such as masons, carpenters, joiners, and the like, were pressed by the king's orders; not excepting those belonging to the towns and cities that had lately surrendered to his majesty. The command of this body of workmen was given to M. Henry de la Cloche the king's attorney in the chastelet at Paris, who was a loyal subject, and was to lead them to the town of Roye, where they were to be employed in repairing the old fortifications, and in making new ones; and when they had finished their work there, they were employed in doing the same in other towns that had lately submitted to the king, which took up a great deal of time, and kept them employed till Easter Day, at which time

the king made a truce for a little while with the Duke of Burgundy, who was closely besieged in his park between Bapaumes and the city of Amiens by the king's army, and was reduced to so miserable a condition, that had it not been for the truce, both he and his whole army must certainly have perished, or surrendered themselves prisoners at discretion. Since the beginning of the war to the day the truce was agreed on, the king's army defeated the Burgundians and the Picardians in several smart engagements, and took a considerable booty from them in the duchy of Burgundy, not to mention their incursions into the countries of Charolois and Masconnois, where they enriched themselves by the plunder they got, and took a vast number of prisoners, amongst whom were several persons of quality, who paid handsomely for their enlargement, besides a greater number killed in several actions that happened between them. Some persons of quality on the king's side would have been prodigious gainers by this war, had not his majesty obliged them upon the treaty, to deliver up all they had taken from the enemy; at which, abundance of the nobility that had a great respect for the king, were highly displeased. During this cessation of arms, the king, the Duke of Guienne, and several other lords and men of quality went to Han, and stayed there with the constable of France, who was extremely proud of the honour his majesty did him. During the king's abode at Han, several ambassadors arrived from the Duke of Burgundy, and as many were sent by the king to the Duke of Bur-

gundy's camp, but notwithstanding all their embassies forward and backward, it was a long time before they came to any resolution. At last, a truce for one year only was agreed upon between the king and the Duke of Burgundy, and commissioners were chosen on both sides to accommodate the difference between them, and to terminate the dispute between the soldiers of each side. As soon as this affair was settled, every one retired to his own house, and the towns that had been taken before the treaty were garrisoned by the king's soldiers.

About that time great quarrels and contests arose in England between Henry of Lancaster King of England, the Prince of Wales his son, the Earl of Warwick, and the rest of the lords of the kingdom who were of King Henry's side, against Edward de la Marche, who had usurped the crown from Henry. This civil war had occasioned already abundance of murder and bloodshed, and was not like to be at an end yet, for in June 1471 the king received certain advice from England, that Edward de la Marche with a puissant army of English, Easterlings, Picardians, Flemings, and other nations that the Duke of Burgundy had sent him, had taken the field, and was going to oppose King Henry's forces, which were commanded by the Earl of Warwick, the Prince of Wales, and several other lords of that party. In short the battle was bravely fought, and a vast number of men were killed and wounded on both sides, but at last Edward de la Marche gained the victory, and King Henry's army, partly by the treachery of the Duke

of Clarence, and partly for want of conduct, was entirely defeated. The poor young Prince of Wales, who was a lovely youth, was barbarously murdered after the action was over; and the valiant Earl of Warwick finding himself betrayed, and scorning to fly, rushed violently into the thickest of his enemies and was killed upon the spot. Thus died this great man, who was so desirous of serving his king and country, and who had cost King Henry so much money to bring him over and fix him in his interest.

In July, 1471, died the Count d'Eu, a person of great wisdom, honour, and probity, heartily devoted to the interest of his country, and one that faithfully served the king to the utmost of his power. Upon his death the king took possession of the earldom of Eu, which he gave to the constable of France, which was highly displeasing to his brother the Count de Nevers, who thought to have enjoyed that earldom, with the rest of his estate, after his brother's decease, as being his right and lawful heir.

From this month of July to Christmas nothing of importance happened in the kingdom of France, several conferences indeed there were in the mean time between the commissioners chosen on both sides to adjust the difference and dispute that were between the king and the Duke of Burgundy, in order to settle a firm and lasting peace.

In the same year the Duke of Guienne, after his return from Amiens, began to grow a little dissatisfied with the king, and sent for the Count d'Ar-

maignac, whom the king had banished the kingdom at the same time that he deprived him of his earldom: The count immediately upon that summons waits upon the Duke of Guienne, who gives him the greatest part of his earldom against the king's consent and positive commands to the contrary.

In May the Duke of Calabria, nephew to the King of Sicily and Jerusalem, and to whom the king had offered his eldest daughter in marriage, leaves his duchy of Lorraine, and goes in person to the Duke of Burgundy's court, to treat of a marriage with his daughter, which was very strangely and unaccountably done of him (after the honour which the king, who was his sovereign lord, had designed him) to think of marrying the Duke of Burgundy's daughter, who was only a subject and a vassal to the king. But before this the Duke of Burgundy had often made war in France in favour of the Duke of Guienne, pretending his design was to give him his daughter in marriage, but he never intended it, and did quite the contrary, deluding him, as he had done several other lords, with fair promises and hopes of that match:

On Thursday the 14th, 1472, the king received certain advice from M. Malicorne, a great favourite of the Duke of Guienne's, that his master was dead at Bordeaux. And immediately after M. de Craon, M. Peter Doriolle general of the finances; M. Oliver le Roux, and the rest of the ambassadors that were sent to the Duke of Burgundy, returned, and gave the king an account of their negotiation,

and the truce which was prolonged till the 15th of June following. However the Duke of Burgundy, notwithstanding the truce, took the field with his army, and fortified his old post between Arras and Bapaumes, in a place called Hubuterne in Artois.

After this the Duke of Burgundy still continued to play his mad pranks, and went on in his old obstinate ways, as he had formerly done. On Tuesday the 11th of June, 1472, he sent a great detachment of his forces to summon Nesle, in which there was one named Le Petit Picart, that commanded five hundred Frank archers of the Isle of France, who refused to obey his summons, and sent him word that he would defend the town and castle to the last extremity; upon which the Burgundians made several attacks, but were always repulsed by Captain Picart and his garrison. The next day, about five in the morning, the Countess of Nesle, attended by Captain Picart and the chief of the town, went out to wait on the bastard of Burgundy, who commanded that detachment, in order to capitulate and make some honourable terms for the garrison. At last the bastard of Burgundy agreed to spare their lives, provided they would immediately surrender the town, and march out with leaving their arms, horses, bag, and baggage behind, to which they were forced to submit. Upon their return they acquainted the garrison with what hard terms they must submit to, and accordingly Captain Picart having drawn up his men in a body in the market-place, commands them to dismount and lay down their arms, and impru-

dently delivers up the town to the Burgundians before the articles of capitulation were signed. No sooner were the Burgundians masters of the town but they immediately fell upon the garrison, who were naked and unarmed, and killed several of them, not sparing even those that fled to the church for protection, without any manner of regard to the promise they had made them to spare their lives. Towards the latter end of this barbarous and inhuman action the bastard of Burgundy entered the church on horseback, which swam in blood, and when he beheld the pavement all strewed with the dead bodies of these poor wretches, he said it was a glorious sight, and was pleased to find he had such good butchers in his company. Neither did his thirst of blood and vengeance cease here, for the next day he ordered the captain to be hanged and the town set on fire. After this glorious expedition they marched the next day, which was Sunday, to Roye, in which there was a strong garrison, consisting of one thousand four hundred archers, commanded by Peter Aubert, bailiff of Meleun and Nugon. Besides these forces there were several volunteers and captains of the army, and amongst the rest Loisel de Balagny, governor of Beauvais, M. de Mouy, the Lord de Rubempre, and several others, who had with them about two hundred lances well armed and mounted. However the king had just before caused the old fortifications of the town to be repaired, and new ones to be made, which had added considerable strength to the place, and had provided it with every thing

necessary for a long defence, yet they surrendered the town on the 16th of May to the Burgundians, and marched shamefully out, leaving their cannon, horses, arms, bag and baggage behind them, after the king had been at the expense of one hundred thousand crowns of gold in erecting magazines, and putting it into a posture of defence. After the Duke of Burgundy had turned out the king's garrison in this naked and miserable condition, he took possession of the town, and after some stay there he came before Beauvais, which he likewise summoned, and upon their refusing to surrender he resolved to besiege it; and immediately upon his arrival, which was on Saturday the 27th of June 1472, he commanded his soldiers to storm it on every side, but they were bravely repulsed by the inhabitants of the same place. The very same night William de Valce, the seneschal of Normandy's lieutenant, came to their relief with a reinforcement of two hundred lances, just as the Burgundians were going to make a vigorous attack, upon which they mounted the walls, and repulsed the Burgundians, who little expected so warm a reception. The next day, M. de Crussol, Joachim Rouault Marshal of France, M. de Bueil, Guerin le Groing, M. de Torcy, and several other noblemen of Normandy, with a strong detachment arrived there also, who behaved themselves handsomely during the whole siege, and gave signal marks of their courage and conduct. The Parisians were serviceable also to the besieged, and constantly supplied them with ammunition and provision; and during the siege

several warm disputes and bloody actions happened between the Burgundians and the king's troops, in which several of the former were killed and wounded.

On Thursday, the 2d of July, the Lord de Rubempre arrived at Paris from Beauvais, and brought letters from the governor of that place directed to M. Gaucourt, the king's lieutenant of Paris, and to the mayor and aldermen, in which he acquainted them with the miserable condition that the Duke of Burgundy and his whole army were reduced to, that a halfpenny loaf was sold for three-pence in their camp, that the Duke of Burgundy himself was grown desperate, and was resolved to have the town though with the loss and ruin of his whole army, and therefore begged of them that they would immediately send him some of their field-pieces, a body of their cross-bow men, and a supply of provision and ammunition, which were accordingly sent him under a guard of sixty cross-bow men of Paris, commanded by the bastard Rochouart, Lord of Meru. And on Thursday, the 9th of July, about seven in the morning, the Duke of Burgundy began to batter the town wall over against the gate of the Hotel de Dieu with all his great and small cannon; and having made a breach, ordered his men to fill up the ditch with bavins, timber, and hurdles, and to be ready with their scaling-ladders; which orders were instantly performed, and a party of Burgundians came with great boldness and resolution, and furiously attacked that part of the wall that was opposite to the Hotel de Dieu, but

they were warmly received and repulsed by M. Robert Destouteville, lord of Beyne and mayor of Paris, who was posted there with some of the king's troops. This attack lasted from seven in the morning till eleven, during which action the Burgundians had fifteen or sixteen hundred men killed and wounded, and the number would have been greater, and their loss more considerable, had not all the gates facing the Burgundian army been so strongly barricadoed, that in the hurry and confusion of storming the town they could not get them open to make a sally and fall upon the enemy at the same time; at which all the noblemen and officers were extremely concerned, for if they could have come handsomely to have engaged them, they would certainly have made a terrible slaughter among them, for at that time the garrison consisted of fourteen or fifteen thousand men, commanded by the Count de Dampmartin, Joachim Rouault Marshal of France, Sallazart, William de Valce, Mery de Coue, Guerin le Groing, the Lords de Beyne and Torcy, and several other experienced officers of note and quality. During the whole action, the besieged lost but four men, and that through their own rashness, as the report goes; neither did the Burgundians, from their first investing the town to the 9th of July, kill any more than four soldiers with their cannon, notwithstanding their constant firing from their batteries. The next day after the attack, M. Denis Hesselin, mayor of Paris, sent another body of cross-bow men to Beauvais with arms,

ammunition, provision, and some surgeons to dress and take care of the sick and wounded.

On Friday, the 10th of July, which was the next day after the attack, Sallazart, with a brigade of his own regiment, sallies out of Beauvais, and by break of day gets into the Burgundian camp, where they killed all they met with, and burnt three fine tents with all that was in them, in one of which there were two men of quality killed that offered a vast sum of money to save their lives. At last the whole camp took the alarm, and his soldiers shouting out, "A Sallazart, a Sallazart," made the Burgundians immediately run to their arms, and in a moment's time were ready with a considerable body to oppose him, upon which Sallazart thought fit to retire, which he did in very good order, and brought with him to Beauvais two pieces of cannon, one of which was a fine brass cannon named one of the twelve peers, that the king lost at the battle of Mont l'Hery, and the rest that they could not bring off they flung into a ditch by the way. Sallazart was closely pursued, and received several wounds, his horse was also wounded in several places of the body, however he made a shift to carry him to Beauvais, where he dropt down dead immediately upon arrival there. From that sally to the 21st of July, no great action happened on either side.

On Wednesday, the feast of St. Magdalen, the Duke of Burgundy shamefully raised the siege of Beauvais, after having lain twenty days before it, and bombarding it night and day, without doing

any considerable damage to the town, or killing many men. Twice in that time, indeed, he attempted to storm the place, but was as often repulsed, and in both actions lost a considerable number of men, amongst the rest several persons of note and distinction. In his retreat he lost the greatest part of his artillery, which the garrison of Amiens, who fell upon his rear, took from him. The Duke of Burgundy, being disappointed in his design of taking Beauvais, grew desperate, and commanded his army to burn the standing corn, and to destroy and set on fire all the towns and villages through which they marched in their way to St. Valery near Crotoy, which was immediately surrendered to him, there being but a small garrison in it, and the place itself not being capable of making a long defence against such a powerful army. From thence they marched to Eu, which was also surrendered to him on the same account. On Wednesday, the 29th of July, the constable of France, with several other officers of the garrison of Beauvais, marched out with eight hundred lances, and took the rout towards Arques and Monstier-villier, in the county of Caux, to intercept the Burgundians, who, it was believed, would march that way, and so they did, and encamped between that place, Eu and Dieppe, near a village called Ferriers, where they lay a long time without doing any thing, except taking the new castle of Nicourt, which made no resistance. After staying there three days, and upon their retreat, they set fire to the town and castle, which was a thousand pities, for

it was a fine town and castle, and capable of being made a place of great strength. After this, the Duke of Burgundy set fire to Longueville, Fahy, and several other towns and villages in the bailiwick of Caux, and all the mighty actions his army performed from their raising the siege of Beauvais, to the 1st of December, 1472, was only burning and destroying wherever they came. In the mean time, the king, who was in Bretagne, with an army of fifty thousand men, lay still and did nothing, being wheedled and cajoled by the smooth words and fair promises of the Duke of Burgundy's ambassadors, who still flattered him with the hopes of peace; besides his majesty was tender of the lives of his subjects, and was willing, on any reasonable terms, to prevent the effusion of Christian blood, not delighting in war and slaughter, as the Duke of Burgundy did, who had already given a sufficient demonstration of his bloody and revengeful temper, by the many cruel and inhuman actions he had committed, and the barbarities he was daily guilty of. After the Duke of Burgundy was returned from Caux, where he had burnt and destroyed every thing, as you have already heard, and had been vigorously repulsed before Arques and Dieppe, he broke up from that country and marched to Roan, where he met with a warmer reception than he had hitherto found before any town he had already besieged; so that after some time spent in vain, and a great number of his men being killed and wounded by frequent sallies, he was at last forced to abandon the siege, and shamefully march off towards Abbe-

ville; upon which there was a report that he designed to form the siege of Noyon, whereupon the Lord de Crussol and several other of the king's officers were immediately sent thither with a good body of troops to garrison the town, who ordered some new works to be thrown up, on which they planted a fine train of artillery, and supplied it with ammunition, provision, and whatever else was necessary for the putting the place in a good posture of defence. But after all these preparations, the Burgundians never invested the town; however it suffered considerably on their account, for the officers were obliged to burn down the suburbs to hinder them from making a lodgment there.

About this time there was a discourse that the Burgundians were marching towards Lorraine and Barrois, upon which the king sent a detachment of five hundred lances, with all the nobles of the Isle of France and Normandy, besides a great number of Frank archers under the command of M. de Craon, his lieutenant-general, which were quartered in several towns in Champagne, where they lay above two months, and then marched back without doing any thing.

In the mean time the Duke of Burgundy prevailed with the Emperor of Germany to go as far as Luxembourg, and from thence to the city of Mets; to persuade the inhabitants to admit of a Burgundian garrison, but his imperial majesty, finding them utterly averse to it, returned to Luxembourg, and from thence to Germany.

About the same time, the Duke of Burgundy sent

an agent to Venice to borrow money of the Venetians to pay the six hundred lances belonging to that state, which he had agreed to take into his service for three months. They were forced to march through the duchy of Milan, and from thence to Upper Burgundy, being too weak to engage the king's army, which was posted on the frontiers of Burgundy, and hindered them from joining the Duke of Burgundy's forces any other way.

At the same time, the king married his eldest daughter Anne of France, who was offered to the late Duke of Calabria, to M. de Beaujeu, the Duke of Bourbon's brother.

About this time, the Duke of Burgundy, partly by treason, and partly by surprise, entered Nivernois, where he took several places from the Duke of Nevers, as Roche, Chastillon, &c. At that time also the king's ambassadors that had been assembled before at Senlis, met together at Compeigne in hopes of finding the Duke of Burgundy's ambassadors there according to their appointment, but they did not come; so that after a long stay there to no purpose, the king's ambassadors returned to Paris, afterwards they went back again to Compeigne in January, and staid there till the 5th.

About the 20th of January, 1473, the Constable of France, who had turned the Lord de Creton and the whole garrison out of St. Quintin, and took possession of it for himself, made his peace with the king, and his majesty was very well reconciled to him; and by the agreement that was concluded between them, the constable was to remain in St.

Quintin, and to have Meaux and several other places that the king had taken from him, restored again; commissioners were likewise appointed by the king's order to inquire after those persons that had spoken reflectingly of the Constable concerning the seizure of St. Quintin, in order to have them severely punished; he had also a great sum of money remitted for the payment of his troops, which was stopped immediately after the taking of St. Quintin. About this time, the king came from Amboise to Senlis, and staid some time in that neighbourhood; during which, the king's ambassadors and those of the Duke of Burgundy held several conferences, and at last a truce was agreed upon till the middle of May, in hopes that matters might be so ordered in that time, as to have a firm and lasting peace concluded between their two masters.

On Wednesday the 20th of April, 1474, the king ordered all the officers, citizens, and inhabitants, of Paris to be reviewed; which was accordingly done, and they were all in arms, and drawn up in order without the gates of Paris, from the Bastille St. Antoine all along the town-ditch as far as the Tower of Billy, and from thence to the Grange-aux-Merciers. On the other side also they were drawn up in the same order of battle, and made a gallant appearance in their red coats with white crosses, and were computed to be in all about eighty thousand men, including those that belonged to the train of artillery, of which there was a great store brought out into the field that day. The king,

attended by the Count de Dampmartin, (who made a great figure that day,) Philip de Savoy, M. du Perche, Sallazart, and several other general officers of the army, with all his guards, was at the review. The King of Arragon's ambassadors were also there to wait upon his majesty; and were extremely surprised to see one city produce such a vast number of men in arms. After the review was over, the king went to Bois de Vincennes to supper, and took the ambassadors along with him; and some time after presented the two chief ones with two gold cups richly embossed, that weighed forty marks of gold, and cost three thousand two hundred crowns, and after that his majesty returned to Senlis, where he staid some time; during which he received two embassies, one from the Duke of Bretagne, and the other from the Emperor of Germany; the chief ambassador of the last embassy was the Duke of Bavaria, and the chief of the first was Philip des Essars, Lord of Thieux, the Duke of Bretagne's Steward of his Household, who had formerly declared himself against the king; however, his majesty, laying aside all animosities, received him very kindly, gave him a present of ten thousand crowns, and made him Inquisitor-General and Justice in Eyre, of Brie and Champagne, turning M. de Chastillon out of that post on purpose to oblige the said Philip des Essars.

About the same time of the king's being at Senlis, Ermenonville, and thereabouts; the Duke of Burgundy sent his ambassadors to wait on his majesty, who staid there a great while, but did nothing, and

presently afterwards the king went to Compeigne, Noyon, and several other places in that neighbourhood, where the Constable of France came to wait on the king, in order to adjust some difference that was between them. The king and he had an interview in the open field near a certain village thereabouts, and both were attended by a strong guard for the security of their persons. The Constable of France having thus made his peace with the king, who generously forgave and pardoned all his rebellious actions; he solemnly swore never to be guilty of the like for the future, but henceforward to obey and serve the king, as a loyal and dutiful subject ought to do, against all invaders and opposers whatsoever.

About this time, the king, who had a singular love for his people, and was willing to prevent the effusion of Christian blood, prolonged the truce with the Duke of Burgundy, his mortal enemy, for another year, and in April 1475, though he had received several embassies from the Emperor of Germany, humbly to entreat his majesty not to make any longer truce with him, but that he would give him leave to enter his territories by force of arms, and make him submit to what terms his majesty should offer; promising, moreover, that whatever conquests or acquisitions he should make in any of the Duke of Burgundy's dominions, should be made over to the king without putting him to the expense of either men or money. But notwithstanding all these advantageous offers, a truce was concluded between the king and the

Duke of Burgundy, who immediately broke it, and committed several acts of hostility, ruining and destroying abundance of the king's subjects living in those countries that bordered upon his dominions, for which he never made any reparation, and which was looked upon to be a base and audacious action for a vassal thus to ruin the countries and subjects of his sovereign lord and master.

About this time the Duke of Burgundy (whose restless ambition would not suffer him to sit still) had invaded some part of Germany, and besieged Nuz, a large and strong town, situated upon the Rhine, near Cologne, before which place he lay a considerable time with his whole army, and all his artillery. Not long after this the Burgundians surprised a town in Gastinois called Molins en Gibers, whither his majesty also sent another body of forces with some cannon, in order to retake it. In short, the Duke of Burgundy and his allies (notwithstanding the truce) still continued to make incursions into the king's dominions, to seize his towns whenever they had an opportunity, and to ruin and destroy his subjects.

About this time Edward IV. King of England sent his heralds to the king, to demand the Duchies of Guienne and Normandy, which he claimed as his lawful right, and upon refusal, to declare war against him. The king returned a very civil answer by the heralds, and also sent King Edward the finest horse he had in his stable as a present.

In February following the Germans who were besieged in Nuz, by the assistance of the inhabi-

tants of Cologne, and some other Germans of the circle of Austria, found out a way to throw some provisions into the town in spite of the Duke of Burgundy, who kept it closely besieged, and had caused several large vessels well manned to come up the Rhine, in order to intercept the convoy, but to no purpose, for it safely arrived in the town; and all his ships (in which were about six or seven thousand Burgundians, who were all drowned) were sunk or split in pieces, and besides those a vast number of them had already been killed before Nuz.

About the same time the city of Perpignan was surrendered to the king, on condition that the garrison should march out with their arms, horses, bag and baggage, leaving only their artillery, of which they had a very fine train, for the king's use.

On the 7th of April, 1475, the league that was lately concluded between the emperor and the king was published in Paris, but first of all the king ordered it to be proclaimed before the lodgings of M. du Maine, the Duke of Calabria, and the Duke of Bretagne's ambassadors. In the same month the king received two embassies, one from the Duke of Tuscany, and the other from the Emperor of Germany, and the ambassadors were nobly treated and entertained not only by the king, but by all the nobility of the court. In the beginning of May the king, attended by the Admiral of France, and the other officers of the kingdom, set out from Paris for Vernon on the Seine, whither his majesty went to consult about the military operations of the ensuing campaign, the truce being expired on the

last day of April, and from whence he returned to Paris on the 14th of the same month.

On the feast of the Holy Cross the king's army invested Montdidier, which had also refused to surrender upon the summons, but afterwards they considered better of it, and finding the king's forces were actually preparing to storm the town, on Friday the 5th of April, they beat the chamade, and offered to surrender, provided they might march out, and be safely conducted to the next garrison town belonging to the Duke of Burgundy, which was granted on condition of leaving their horses, arms, bag and baggage behind them ; so the king's troops immediately took possession of the town, which they afterwards demolished, as they did Tronquoy.

On Saturday the 6th of May, the town of Roye and the castle of Moreul was surrendered to the king upon the same terms. The taking of these towns in so short a time by the king's army struck such a terror into the Duke of Burgundy's subjects, that they either fled before it, or else came in and joined it ; so that the king's army being daily augmented by the Burgundian troops that came over to them, all the cities and towns in Burgundy, Flanders, and Picardy, were soon reduced to the king's obedience.

In July, notwithstanding the news that the Constable of France had written to the king, his majesty received advice from the emperor, that he had thrown a fresh supply of troops into Nuz, had taken out all the sick and wounded, and provided

the town with provisions and all other necessaries for a year longer, and that some action had happened between his forces and the Duke of Burgundy's, in which the latter had lost great part of his artillery, plate and money, which was sent to pay his army. On Tuesday the 27th of June the Admiral of France, whom the king ordered to march with a body of men into Flanders and Picardy to plunder and destroy the countries with fire and sword, drew near Arras, and having placed his men in an ambuscade, he ordered forty men at arms to advance towards the city gates, upon which part of the garrison of Arras immediately sallies out and attacks them, who according to their orders retired to the place where the rest of their detachment lay in ambush, who all on a sudden fell so furiously upon the Burgundians, that they entirely broke and defeated them, several of whom were killed; and abundance taken prisoners, and among the latter M. James de St. Paul, Governor of Arras, and several other persons of note and distinction, whom the Admiral of France carried with him when he went to summon the city, and told the inhabitants, that if they would not instantly surrender the town to the king, who was their lawful sovereign, he would certainly behead their governor and the rest of the men of quality he had taken prisoners.

On Tuesday the 29th of August the king, attended by the Duke of Bourbon, M. de Lyon, and several other persons of quality, besides a vast number of officers of the army, consisting of one hundred thousand horse, marched from Amiens to

Picquigny, which was the place that had been appointed for the interview between his majesty and Edward IV. King of England, who had brought with him his vanguard and his rear, which were drawn up in order of battle near Picquigny. Upon Picquigny bridge, the king had ordered two large pent-houses to be erected opposite to each other, one for himself, and the other for the King of England. In the middle between these two pent-houses was built a large wooden grate somewhat like a lion's cage, about breast high, so that the two kings might lean over it and discourse together. The King of France came first to the grate, upon which an English baron, whom King Edward had commanded to wait there for his majesty's arrival, was despatched in all haste to acquaint King Edward with it, who lay strongly encamped with twenty thousand English at a place about a league from Picquigny, and who came attended only by twenty men at arms of his guards, who were ordered to stay on the other side of the river at the foot of the bridge during the whole conference between the two kings. In the mean time it fell a raining prodigiously, which did a considerable damage to the housings and furniture that the nobility and officers of the French court had prepared on purpose for this interview, and which were rich and magnificent. As soon as the King of England came within sight of the king, he threw himself upon one knee, and so he did twice before he came up and saluted his majesty, who received him with all the marks of honour and respect imaginable. After

some compliments had passed between them, they began to discourse about the affair for which this interview was appointed, in the presence of above one hundred persons, among whom were the Duke of Bourbon, M. de Lyon, several other lords, and all the chief officers of the finances. After they had talked together for about a quarter of an hour, the king ordered every one to withdraw, and the two kings had a private conference, which lasted a considerable time, and when it was over, the king openly declared that there was a truce concluded between them for seven years, which was to begin from this day the 29th of August, 1475, and end on the same day 1482. This truce, which was soon after proclaimed in Paris, and all other cities and towns of the kingdom, related chiefly to trade and commerce; and by this treaty the English, whether armed or unarmed, provided they were not more than one hundred in one company, were permitted to go and come when and where they pleased all over the kingdom of France. As soon as this affair was concluded, the king ordered the seventy-five thousand crowns to be remitted to King Edward, made considerable presents to some of the lords that attended on him, and ordered money to be given and distributed among his trumpets and heralds, who highly extolled the bounty and generosity of the king. The King of France besides all this promised King Edward to pay him fifty thousand crowns of gold yearly, and nobly entertained the Duke of Gloucester, the king of England's

brother, to whom he also made considerable presents. King Edward immediately ordered all the English that he had sent to reinforce the garrisons of Abbeville, Peronne, and other towns in the Duke of Burgundy's possession, to evacuate those places and join the army, with which he marched back to Calais, where he embarked for England. M. Herberge the Bishop of Eureux waited on King Edward as far as Calais, where he left two English barons till he had sent the king something out of England that he had promised him. The Lord Howard was one of these barons that were left as pledges for performance of King Edward's promise, and the master of the horse to the king was the other; they were both of them highly valued and esteemed by the King of England, and were very instrumental in concluding the late treaty between the two kings. When the English barons took their leave of the king, his majesty presented them with a set of gold and silver plate, and sent an order to Paris to let them have what quantity of wine they pleased to carry over with them into England, provided they paid for it.

On Monday the 16th of October 1475, the truce in relation to trade and commerce that was concluded for nine years between the king and the Duke of Burgundy, was solemnly proclaimed by sound of trumpet in all the public streets of Paris, and it was to commence on the 14th of September 1475, and to end on the same day of the month 1482. By this treaty all the subjects of Burgundy

were to have full liberty of trading in any part of France, and during the term of nine years to settle and live there if they pleased.

The duke of Burgundy having promised by his ambassadors in October last, when the truce was concluded between him and the king for nine years, to deliver up the Constable of France to his majesty, was now forced, much against his inclinations, to do it, and he was accordingly delivered up into the hands of the Admiral of France, M. de Boucage, M. William de Cerisay, and several others, who brought him to Paris, where he was afterwards beheaded on Tuesday the 19th of December 1475, and his goods confiscated to the king.

After the Constable of France's death, it plainly appeared that he had been guilty of several notorious crimes, and the whole course of his villanous and treasonable practices were openly declared in parliament, and all his underhand dealings and correspondence with the Duke of Burgundy were fully discovered. Then we perfectly knew the whole mystery of that affair, and how the Duke of Burgundy and he had often endeavoured to corrupt and debauch the Duke of Bourbon's principles, and draw him over to their party, and that at last, after many fruitless attempts, how he despatched a subtil agent of his named Hector de l'Ecluse to the Duke of Bourbon, to acquaint him that the English had a design to invade France, and that if he would join with them and the Duke of Burgundy, he questioned not but to conquer

the whole kingdom, and that a great part of it should be annexed to his territories as a reward for his assistance. This was the master-piece of his villany and treason; but it seems the Duke of Bourbon had too much honour to hearken to such proposals, told the said Hector de l' Ecluse that he would have no hand in it, and that he had rather be reduced to beggary, than ever consent to the ruin of either the king or kingdom.

In February 1475 the king, who was at Tours or Amboise, set out from thence for Bourbonnois and Auvergne, from whence he went to Notre Dame de Puy to perform his devotions, and afterwards into Lionnois and Dauphine. While the king was at Notre Dame de Puy he received an express that brought him the news of the defeat of the Duke of Burgundy's army by the Swiss, as he was endeavouring to penetrate into Switzerland, which happened after the following manner. After the taking of Granson the Duke of Burgundy marched with his army along the lake of Verdun towards Friburg, and by the way took two small castles situated upon the mountains, just at the entrance of them; but the Swiss, who had intelligence of his approach, and were also informed of his taking Granson, marched towards him, and on Friday the first of March towards night they arrived at the two above-mentioned castles, which they immediately invested after such a manner as to prevent the garrisons from making any sallies, and placed about 6000 men with fire-arms in a little copse between the two castles near the place

where the Duke of Burgundy lay encamped with his whole army. The next day very early in the morning, as the Duke of Burgundy was marching forward with all his artillery, bag and baggage, this body of Swiss upon a signal given them starts out of the ambush where they had lain all night, and all on a sudden made so terrible a fire with their small arms upon the Burgundian vanguard, as killed most of the chief officers, and entirely broke and dispersed them; and notwithstanding the Duke of Burgundy did all he could to rally his men, and make them face the enemy once more, their consternation was so great, that he could not bring them up to stand a second charge; and the Swiss being animated by this success, and eager to improve the advantage they had gained over the enemy, as soon as they had discharged their muskets, fell on sword in hand, and entirely routed the whole army. At last, the Duke of Burgundy finding the battle was lost, and that he was in danger of being taken prisoner, in great agony and confusion mounts his horse, and being attended by only four officers of his army, made his escape to Joigne, which was sixteen French leagues from the place where this defeat happened. In this action, which happened on Saturday the 2nd of March 1475, the Duke of Burgundy lost the greatest part of the chief officers and men of quality of his army, besides all his artillery, bag and baggage. The Swiss also retook both the castles, and hung up all the Burgundians they found in them. Afterwards they retook the town and castle of Granson,

and ordered the Germans to the number of five hundred and twelve, that the Burgundians had hanged, to be cut down, and so many of the Burgundians that were in Granson to be hanged up in the same halters.

In May 1476 the Duke of Burgundy, notwithstanding his defeat near Granson, was resolved still to push on the war against the Germans, and to besiege Strasbourg, but not being in a condition to do it without a fresh supply of men and money, he sends M. William Hugonot and twelve other deputies into his own dominions to acquaint his subjects, that though he had been defeated by the Swiss, yet he was resolved to be revenged on them, and to push on the war with greater vigour, and therefore being unable to do it without a great supply of men and money, he commanded all his subjects by these deputies of Ghent, Bruges, Brussels, and other towns in Flanders, to exert themselves upon this occasion, and give him the sixth part of their estates, and such a number of men as he should demand. And in order to prevail with them to consent to his demands, he bid the deputies tell them that the Germans were got between him and home, and that without a fresh supply of forces he could not return into his own dominions. To which remonstrance the inhabitants of the above-mentioned towns made answer, that they were resolved to grant no more supplies of either men or money to carry on the war, but that if the German army was too strong for him; and hindered him from coming home, they would

venture their lives and all they were worth to bring him safely into his own dominions.

In the mean time the king stayed at Lyons feasting and enjoying himself, where the King of Sicily his uncle came to wait on him, whom his majesty entertained very nobly, showed him the diversions of the fair that was kept in that city, and made several balls and entertainments, to which the handsomest ladies of Lyons were always invited on purpose to divert and entertain him.

Some time after this, the king, who was at Lyons, and had great part of his army with him, received advice that the Duke of Lorraine, in conjunction with the Swiss and Germans, besides a good body of Lorrainers, were in motion to oppose the Duke of Burgundy, who had rashly and imprudently penetrated into Switzerland, and with his whole army was set down before a little town in that country named Morat. And on Saturday the 22d of June 1476, between ten and eleven in the morning, the Duke of Lorraine at the head of all those forces we have already mentioned, attacked the Duke of Burgundy, and at the first charge entirely broke and defeated his vanguard, which consisted of twelve thousand men, and the slaughter and confusion was so very great, that the Count de Romont who commanded them had much ado to make his escape. After this defeat the garrison of Morat joined the Duke of Lorraine's army which forced the Duke of Burgundy's intrenchments, where they gave no quarter, but killed all they found in them, so that the Duke of Burgundy was

at last forced to retire with the remains of his broken army that had saved themselves by flight, nay, he himself fled as far as Joigne, which was sixteen French leagues from the field of battle, and in this action he lost all his artillery, plate, money, jewels, tents, pavilions, and in short, every thing of value that was in his camp. As soon as the battle was over, the Germans and Swiss returned the Duke of Lorraine many thanks for his care and conduct in the action, and in consideration of the great services he had done them, they presented him with all the Duke of Burgundy's artillery to make him amends for what he lost at Nancy, when the Duke of Burgundy by force of arms sacked that town, and carried away all the cannon that he found in it. The heralds that were appointed to take an account of the slain, report that there were twenty-two thousand five hundred Burgundians killed on the spot, besides a vast number in the rout, for the Duke of Lorraine's army pursued them as far as Joigne, and afterwards burnt and destroyed the whole earldom of Romont in Savoy, putting all to the sword they could meet with, without any distinction of age or sex.

After this the Duke of Lorraine marches to Strasbourg, and from thence with a body of four thousand men detached from the grand army, goes and besieges Nancy, in which there was a garrison of one thousand two hundred Burgundians, and after he had given some directions to the officer that commanded a body of troops under him, he re-

turned to Strasbourg again, from whence he sent several convoys of provision and ammunition, and afterwards set out himself for the camp before Nancy, to command at the siege of that place in person.

After the Duke of Burgundy's defeat at Morat, and the besieging of Nancy, the town was surrendered to the Duke of Lorraine, on condition that the garrison, (who were all Burgundians,) should march out with bag and baggage, and the usual marks of honour, which was granted them ; and as soon as the Duke of Lorraine was master of it, he immediately put a strong garrison of his own troops in it, and provided it with ammunition, provision, and all things necessary for a long defence ; and it was well he acted so prudently, for scarce had he been a month in possession of the town, when the Duke of Burgundy, who was retired to Riviere, a town near Salins in Burgundy, with what forces he could raise comes and besieges it again, upon which the Duke of Lorraine marches into Switzerland to solicit more troops in order to relieve the garrison, and raise the siege of Nancy.

After this, the King of Portugal, who laid claim to the kingdom of Castile, and in short, to all Spain, in right of his queen, left his kingdom and came to the frontiers of France, and from thence to Tours to visit the king ; and to desire his majesty to assist him with some troops to recover those kingdoms. He was received by the king with all the marks of honour and respect imaginable, and during his stay at Tours, he was nobly treated

and entertained by the king and several of the nobility of the court.

In the mean time the Duke of Burgundy, who as you have already been informed, had besieged Nancy in Lorraine, put the garrison to such great straits and necessities, that for want of provision they were forced to capitulate and surrender the town upon articles. And on Sunday the 5th of January, the Duke of Lorraine arrived with an army of twelve or fourteen thousand Swiss and Germans, in order to raise the siege of Nancy, and fight the Duke of Burgundy. On Saturday the 6th of January, the Duke of Lorraine arrived with an army of ten thousand Swiss, besides Germans and Lorrainers at St. Nicholas de Varengeville.

On the Sunday following, the Lords of Switzerland and Lorraine marched from thence to Neufville, and a little beyond that place they halted some time, to consider how they might draw up their forces to the best advantage; and accordingly they divided their army into two bodies, one of which was commanded by the Count d'Abstain, and the governors of Fribourg and Zurich, and the other by the chief magistrates of Bern. About noon the two bodies began to march at once; one towards the river, and the other along the high road leading to Nancy. The Duke of Burgundy, who had intelligence of their coming, had quitted his intrenchments, and drawn up his army in order of battle ready to receive them. In the front between him and one of the enemies' bodies, there was a little brook and two strong hedges; and on the

high road, along which the other was marching to engage him, he had planted all his cannon and field-pieces; and as soon as ever the Swiss came within bow-shot, the Burgundians discharged a whole volley of arrows, which did no execution, upon which that body quitted the high road, and marched higher towards the wood, till they had gained an eminence opposite to the Duke of Burgundy's army. In the mean time the Duke of Burgundy commands his archers, (who were all on foot,) to face about; and at the same time ordered two squadrons of his men at arms, commanded by James Galiot and M. de Lallaing to attack the enemy. As soon as the Swiss had gained the rising ground opposite to the Duke of Burgundy's army, they immediately faced about; and marching up to him with all the fury and intrepidity imaginable, made such a terrible fire upon the body of foot that he commanded, that they entirely broke and defeated them. The other body of Swiss marched at the same time to engage the two squadrons commanded by James Galiot and M. de Lallaing, whom they entirely routed at the first charge. Upon this, the right wing of the Burgundians, who had not yet been engaged, attacked the Swiss, by whom they were repulsed, and at last entirely defeated; so that when the foot began to give ground and run away, the horse presently followed them, and endeavoured to make their escape by the bridge of Bridores, which was about a league from Nancy, in the way to Thionville and Luxembourg. But the Count di Campobasso having secured that pass by a good body

of troops, and the Duke of Lorraine and his men following them close at the heels, vast numbers of them threw themselves or were driven into the river, where they were drowned ; and the rest were either killed or taken, very few or none making their escape : So that there was a greater number killed in the rout, than on the field of battle. Some of the Burgundians finding they could not get over the bridge, retired to the woods in hopes of saving themselves ; but they were pursued thither by the peasants of the country, who killed them as fast as they could find them, so that for four leagues round the fields and highways were strewed with the bodies of dead men. The pursuit lasted till two hours after night, and then the Duke of Lorraine began to inquire what was become of the Duke of Burgundy ; whether he had made his escape or was taken prisoner, but nobody could give any account of him, and immediately the Duke of Lorraine despatched a certain person to one John Dias of the city of Metz, to know if he had passed through that place in his retreat, who sent his highness word the next morning that he had not ; that he was not at Luxembourg ; neither could any body tell what was become of him. On Monday, which was twelfth-day, the Count di Campobasso met with a page that was taken prisoner, belonging to the Count de Chalon, who was with the Duke of Burgundy in the battle. This lad, upon examination, confessed the Duke of Burgundy was killed ; and the next day upon diligent searching after him, they found him stript start naked, and the

bodies of fourteen men more in the same condition, at some distance from each other. The duke was wounded in three places, and his body was known and distinguished from the rest by six particular marks; the chiefest of which was, the want of his upper teeth before, which were beaten out with a fall; the second was a scar in his throat occasioned by the wound he received at the battle of Mont l'Hery; the third was his great nails, which he always wore longer than any of his courtiers; the fourth was another scar upon his left shoulder; the fifth was a fistula on his right groin, and the last was a nail that grew into his little toe. And upon seeing all these above-mentioned marks upon the body, his physician, the gentlemen of the bed-chamber, the Bastard of Burgundy, M. Oliver de la Marche, his chaplain, and several other officers that were taken prisoners by the Duke of Lorraine, unanimously agreed it was the body of their lord and master the Duke of Burgundy.

Immediately after the defeat and death of the Duke of Burgundy, the Duke of Lorraine and the rest of the generals of the army called a council of war, the result of which was, that a considerable body of forces should immediately be sent into the Duchy of Burgundy and other provinces, to reduce the towns that were garrisoned by Burgundian troops, to the king's obedience; which was put in execution, and most of the towns surrendered without any opposition, as did likewise the country of Auxerre, the subjects of which took the oath of allegiance to the king.

In June, the Prince of Orange, who had been highly affronted by M. de Craon, lieutenant-general of the king's army in Burgundy, was resolved to be revenged on him and the king also, who, it seems, had taken the government of a province from him, and given it to M. de Craon; and therefore, he persuades all the countries, cities, towns, and other places, which before had submitted to the king at his request, to revolt and rise up in rebellion against him. There was a Burgundian knight named M. Claude de Vaudray, that joined with the prince in this undertaking, and managed the war with tolerable success against M. de Craon. But at last, M. de Craon having intelligence that the Prince of Orange was in a little town called Guy, marched immediately and besieged it, and about two days after he had invested it, he received advice that M. Chasteauguyon was marching to relieve it, upon which he left a few troops before the town, to hinder the garrison from making any sally, and with the rest of the army, advanced to meet M. Chasteauguyon the Prince of Orange's brother, whom he entirely routed and defeated; and in this action, there were above one thousand four hundred persons of note and distinction killed on both sides; and for this victory, the king ordered general processions to be made in the church of St. Martin in Paris.

In July, 1477, the Duke of Gelders, with about fourteen or fifteen hundred Germans, came and encamped at Pont d'Epierre near Tournay, with a design to burn the suburbs of that place, upon

which, the garrison of Tournay made two sallies ; in the first, the duke himself was slain, and in the last, the whole body of the Germans and the Flemings were entirely defeated, two thousand of them killed upon the spot, and seven hundred taken prisoners, for which, the king ordered *Te Deum* to be sung, and bonfires to be made in the streets of Paris.

About the same time, the king, who was in Picardy, left that country ; having first made the Bastard of Bourbon, (who was Admiral of France,) his lieutenant-general, with whom he left a good body of forces to secure the country, and cover the frontiers of his kingdom. The king's troops under the Bastard of Bourbon's command were quartered in Arras, Tournay, la Bassee, and in several other towns upon the frontiers of Flanders, and in those countries that still held out for the Lady of Flanders, daughter to the late Duke of Burgundy.

In May, 1478. All that the king did during this whole month in Picardy, was only taking a little town called Conde, which was still in the hands of the Burgundians, and which stood very incommo-
dious for the garrison of Tournay ; for all the convoys both of provision and ammunition must of course pass by it. There happened to be some German troops belonging to the Duke of Austria in it, who at first seemed resolved to stand a siege, but when they saw the prodigious army with which the king had invested it, they immediately surrendered the town upon honourable terms, as they did also the castle some time after.

About this time the king, who was gone into Picardy with a design to reduce all the countries, towns, and places that were in the possession of the late Duke of Burgundy at his decease, and which belonged to his majesty, had assembled the greatest army, and provided the largest train of artillery that ever was seen in France. He forebore entering upon any action for a long time, in hopes of accommodating matters between him, the Flemings, and the Duke Maximilian of Austria, whom they acknowledged for their sovereign, to facilitate which the Duke of Austria sends ambassadors to Cambray and Artas to treat with the king about it, who talked mightily of surrendering up to the king the countries of Artois, Bologne, Doway, Orchies, St. Omers, and other towns, besides the whole Duchy of Burgundy; and upon the bare promises only of these ambassadors the king imprudently delivers up Cambray, Quesnoy, Bouchain, and several other towns. The Duke of Austria, upon the pretence of being near the king, and having the conveniency of frequent conferences, came and encamped with an army of twenty thousand men between Doway and Arras, where he amused the king with specious words and fair promises till the end of June; and then, notwithstanding the king had so generously given up those towns to him, he openly declared he would not stand to the promises his ambassadors had made in his name, neither was that affair brought to any conclusion.

In this month the king had better success in Upper Burgundy; whither his majesty had sent a

considerable body of forces under the command of M. d' Amboise, governor of Champagne, to recover some troops that had revolted from him. M. d' Amboise was so fortunate, that in three weeks he retook Verdun, Monsauion, and Semur in Auxois, partly by storm and partly by composition. Afterwards he besieged Beaulne, which also was surrendered to him upon certain articles, the chief of which were, that the inhabitants should pay forty thousand pounds to preserve the town from being plundered; that they should discharge all their debts that were owing to the merchants of Paris, and of other cities in the kingdom, and that the garrison should be allowed to march out with their bag and baggage, and be conducted to such a place mentioned in the articles.

In July the king, who was at Arras, received two extraordinary embassies, one from Maximilian, Duke of Austria, and another from the Flemings; and when the ambassadors had been heard by the king and his council, a cessation of arms was agreed upon between the king, Duke Maximilian, and the Flemings, for one year, during which time there was to be a free intercourse of trade between the subjects of both princes.

In April 1479, the king, who was in the county of Touraine, began to make preparations for the ensuing campaign, being resolved to push on the war with vigour as soon as the cessation of arms between him and the Duke of Austria, which was almost expired, was ended. Besides, the Duke of Austria had sent no ambassadors to him to treat of

a prolongation of the truce, and therefore his majesty might reasonably conclude that his intentions were to renew the war as soon as the treaty was expired.

In May following (notwithstanding the truce was not expired) the inhabitants of Cambrai treacherously admitted the Flemings, Picardians, and other soldiers belonging to the Duke of Austria's army, into their city, which his majesty thought had been safe enough in the hands of so vigilant and loyal a governor as the Lord de Fiennes. As soon as the Duke of Austria's forces were masters of the town, they drove the king's garrison out of the castle, and immediately afterwards a detachment of three or four hundred Flemings and Picardians presented themselves before the town and castle of Bouchain, upon intelligence that the inhabitants would murder the king's garrison, and open their gates to them, which accordingly they did upon their first approach, and killed all the king's soldiers except one archer, who had the good luck to escape. The king was extremely incensed and provoked at this unfair and treacherous manner of proceeding, seeing his troops had not committed the least act of hostility, nor given them any occasion or pretence for violating the truce, and therefore he immediately sends a considerable body of the nobles and Frank archers of the kingdom, with a large train of artillery, under the command of the governor of Champagne, to reduce the towns and places in the duchy of Burgundy and Franche-Compte that had lately revolted from him, who was so very fortunate as to retake

the strong castle of Rochefort by storm, which he plundered, and put all the garrison to the sword. From thence the governor of Champagne, who was also the king's lieutenant-general, marched with his army to Dole, which, upon their refusing to surrender, he immediately attacked, carried it by storm, plundered it, put all the inhabitants to the sword, and razed the city to the ground.

On Saturday the third of July, 1479, the Bishop of Lombes, abbot of St. Dennis in France, arrived at Paris as ambassador extraordinary from the King of Spain, and was met and complimented without the city gates by the mayor and aldermen, and all the persons of quality of that city, whom he afterwards nobly entertained at St. Dennis. About the same time a young prince of the kingdom of Scotland, named the Duke of Albany, who had been driven out of the kingdom by the king his brother, arrived at Paris, where he was received with all the marks of honour and civility imaginable, and treated and entertained at the king's expense during his stay in France.

In the year 1480, the Lord Howard, and several other ambassadors from England, arrived in France, to treat with the king about prolonging the truce that was concluded between him and the King of England. The king received the ambassadors very kindly, feasted and entertained them nobly, and made them considerable presents when they left France in order to return into England.

During winter, and even till April (at which time the truce between the king and the Flemings was to

expire) nothing was attempted on either side, for the Flemings had sent ambassadors to the king at Tours to desire the cessation of arms might be continued a year longer, to which his majesty readily consented, in hopes some expedient or another might be found in all that time to settle an honourable and lasting peace between him and them, which would put an end to a war that had already been the occasion of spilling so much Christian blood.

About the same time ambassadors from Edward IV., King of England, arrived in France to treat with the king about the prolongation of the truce, and his majesty did them the favour to meet them at Chateau Regnault; and, as soon as they had despatched the affair which they were sent to negotiate with the king, they returned into England, and afterwards the prolongation of the truce between the two kings was proclaimed by sound of trumpet at Paris. Some time after this the king fell very ill at Plessis du Parc, near Tours, and his physicians were of opinion that his majesty was in a dangerous condition, but in a little time he grew better, and in less than a month was perfectly recovered of his illness.

In the year 1481, notwithstanding the cessation of arms, the king's troops in the garrison towns upon the frontiers of Picardy committed several hostilities, and had frequent skirmishes with the Duke of Austria's, and all the prisoners that were taken on both sides were immediately hanged up, without permitting any, of what degree or rank soever, to be ransomed.

About the same time the king, who had been very ill at Tours, removed to Tournai, where his Majesty grew worse, and his physicians were of opinion he was in a dangerous condition, whereupon he made several large offerings and gifts to abundance of churches in the kingdom, in hopes to recover his health by these pious acts of charity and devotion. In his sickness he made a vow to go a pilgrimage to St. Claude, which he accordingly performed as soon as he had recovered strength enough to undertake the journey. Before he left the county of Touraine, he went to see the dauphin, whom he had scarce ever seen before, and when he took his leave of him he gave him his blessing, and having committed him to the care and tuition of the Lord Peter de Bourbon, whom he had made his lieutenant-general, he commanded him to obey that lord, and be ruled by him in every thing till his return.

In the year 1482, on Thursday, the 4th of May, between four and five in the morning, died the most noble and illustrious Princess Joan of France, wife to John Duke of Bourbon and Auvergne, in the castle of Molins, in Bourbonnois, of a violent fever, and was buried at the church of Notre Dame at Molins. She was a lady of great wisdom and piety, and was extremely lamented by the duke, her husband, her servants, and all the people of France, upon account of the many extraordinary virtues and amiable perfections she was endowed with.

In the same year, about October, the king fell violently ill, and thought he should have died at

Plessis du Parc, near Tours; and, therefore, as soon as his majesty had recovered a little strength he went to Amboise, where he made several long remonstrances to the dauphin in behalf of his servants and officers of his household and kingdom, exhorting and desiring him to be kind to all of them, but especially to Monsieur Oliver, his barber, and M. John de Doyac, governor of Auvergne, who had done him many considerable services, and always been very loyal and faithful subjects. He also recommended the Lord de Bouchage and the Lord Guyotpot, bailiff of Vermandois, as being very wise and able counsellors, and desired the dauphin to make use of their advice in all state affairs. Moreover, he entreated him to continue all the officers in their posts and employments, and to have a tender regard to his people, whom he had already too much harassed and oppressed. Lastly, he recommended the Lord des Querdes for military affairs, as being an officer of great valour and conduct, and the fittest person to make a general of any in the kingdom of France. After this, the king returned to Montils, near Tours.

In October and November several ambassadors arrived from Flanders to treat of a peace between his majesty and the Flemings, which at last was concluded to the great joy and satisfaction of both parties, by a marriage between the dauphin of France and the Duke of Austria's daughter, upon which the king immediately ordered *Te Deum* to be sung, and bonfires to be made in the public streets of Tours.

In January, the ambassadors that had concluded the peace between the king and the Flemings upon the marriage between the dauphin and the Countess of Flanders, daughter to the Duke of Austria, arrived at Paris, and were met and complimented in the king's name by the Bishop of Marseilles, the mayor and aldermen of the city, and several other persons of quality, who nobly feasted and entertained them, and the next day they set out from thence to wait on the king at Amboise, who received them very kindly, as did also the dauphin; and upon their taking leave of the king, his majesty presented them with thirty thousand crowns, and afterwards they returned to Paris, where the articles of peace were ratified and confirmed in the court of parliament, and afterwards read, and published by sound of trumpet in all the public streets of that city; and as soon as the publication was over, Monsieur le Picard, bailiff of Roan, treated the ambassadors and all the king's officers with a splendid and magnificent dinner.

On Saturday, the 19th of April, 1483, the Lord de Beaujeu and his lady came to Paris, in order to go into Picardy to meet and compliment the dauphiness, whom, by the treaty of peace, the Flemings were to deliver to the Lord de Beaujeu, who was to conduct her to Paris.

In April, Edward IV. King of England, died of an apoplexy, though some say it was of a surfeit, occasioned by drinking too much of some rich wines that the king had made him a present of; however, he lived long enough to settle the affairs of his

kingdom, and to leave the succession of the crown to his eldest son, Edward V.

On Monday, the 2d of June, the dauphiness, accompanied by Madam de Beaujeau, the Admiral of France's lady, and several other ladies of quality, made her public entry into Paris about five in the afternoon, and all the streets through which the dauphiness passed were lined with soldiers, hung with tapestry, and crowded with persons of quality richly dressed, who came thither on purpose to compliment and pay their respects to her; and in honour to the day of her arrival, all the prisoners in Paris were immediately set at liberty.

In July, the nuptial ceremony between the dauphin and the Lady Margaret of Austria was performed with great pomp and solemnity at Amboise, at which all the nobility and chief persons of the kingdom were present.

On Monday, the 25th of August, the king fell very ill at Montils, near Tours, and in two hours time lost his speech and his senses, and the news of his death came to Paris on Wednesday, the 27th of the same month; upon which the mayor and aldermen ordered the city gates to be shut up, and a strong guard to be placed at each of them, that none might go out or in without being examined, which made the common people cry out that the king was dead; but it was a false alarm, for his majesty was only in a fit, out of which he presently recovered, and lived till Saturday, the 30th of August, and then died about six or seven in the evening of the same day.

As soon as he was dead his body was embalmed, and buried in the church of Notre Dame de Clery, at Mortils, having, in his life-time, ordered it should be so, and positively commanded the dauphin not to bury him in the church of St. Dennis, where three kings of France (his illustrious predecessors) were interred. He never gave any reason for it, but some people were of opinion it was for the sake of the church, which he had liberally endowed, and out of a singular veneration for the blessed Virgin, who was worshipped there after a more solemn manner than in any other place in the kingdom. The king had during his whole reign, by the evil advice of M. Oliver, his barber, M. John de Doyac, and several other wicked counsellors that were about his person, committed great injustice in his kingdom, and so miserably oppressed and harassed his people, that the very reflection of his tyrannical usage of them stung him to the heart, and almost drove him to despair; so that when he lay upon his death-bed he sincerely repented of all his sins, and gave prodigious sums of money to the clergy to pray for his soul, and rewarded them for their prayers with what he had by violence and extortion gotten of his subjects. It must be owned that his was a very busy reign, and full of many great and important actions, yet he managed his affairs so well, that he forced all his enemies to submit to his mercy, and was equally dreaded both abroad and at home. He lay for a long time before his death under very sharp and severe illnesses, which forced his physicians to make use of violent

and painful applications, which though they were not so successful as to recover his health and save his life, yet, doubtless, they were very beneficial to his soul, and, perhaps, the chief means of saving it from eternal damnation, and fixing it in paradise, through His tender mercy who liveth and reigneth world without end. Amen.

END.



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