

SOME ENGLISH DOCUMENTS ON THE END OF WALLENSTEIN

By ALBERT E. J. HOLLAENDER, Ph.D., F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S.

THE fall of the imperial generalissimo Albrecht Eusebius Wenzel Wallenstein, Duke of Friedland and Mecklenburgh and Prince of Glogau and Sagan, from the vertex of unparalleled power, and his violent death at Eger in the early hours of the night of 25 February 1634, represent not merely one of the most incisive events of the Thirty Years' War. They are one of the *causes célèbres* in European history. The great strategist, the ingenious and merciless economic planner, the warrior whose maxim it was that war had to feed, and to pay for, itself, the adventurer who, in the words of a contemporary, not altogether favourable, account of French origin "from a private gentleman . . . had bin advanced to supream charge, such as formerly had not binn conferred on any other", who had "of a subiect become a soveraigne",¹ fell and ended as a traitor to his lord the Emperor and his cause.

Wallenstein's treason is today an indubitable and generally unquestioned historical fact. His defection from the Emperor Ferdinand II, for whose weak, ever-hesitant and bigotted attitude he felt nothing but contempt and whose closest friend and German ally Duke Maximilian of Bavaria he openly hated, is irrefutably proven by his continued negotiations with the enemies

¹ P(ublic) R(ecord) O(ffice), S(tate) P(apers) Foreign, Germany (Empire), 80/238. The account in question is a small quarto pamphlet entitled *La vie et les maximes du Duc de Fridtlandt*, 5 (8) pp., without year and printer, filed at present with undated miscellaneous documents of the class. It is possibly the pamphlet referred to in a joint report from the two English agents in Paris Henri De Vic and René Augier to Secretary Sir John Coke, dated 7 March 1634, which relates that Wallenstein's death had now been printed and his life story (as given by the French) intended "to make him odious", S.P. France, 70/95, fol. 145^r (with Coke's endorsement). See also *infra*, p. 366, note 1. A contemporary English translation is to be found in Trinity College, Dublin, MS. G.4.8, fol. 69^r—72^v. This is given as an Appendix to this paper.

of the House of Austria : Sweden and France, Duke Johann Georg of Saxony and Duke Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar, and the Czech protestant emigrants who looked to him as their saviour after the disaster which had befallen them following the bloody suppression of their revolt in 1620. It is further proven—if indeed proof were still needed—by his two attempts to obtain from his officers written pledge of their unconditional obedience and loyalty to his person. These attempts had taken place on 12 January and 20 February, 1634 at Pilsen in West-Bohemia where Wallenstein had retreated for the winter after months of inactivity, interrupted only by one or two major—and victorious—encounters, which to the Emperor had meant not merely the loss of Regensburg but large parts of south Germany. It was the knowledge of the first of these two “Pilsener Reverses” which finally moved Ferdinand to dismiss him from his command, though the decree of his dismissal, dated 24 January, was in the first place kept secret. But less than a month later, on 18 February, the Emperor issued an order later known as the “Proskriptions-Patent”, to capture the generalissimo “dead or alive”. To ascertain the loyalty of the imperial army, Ferdinand had taken several generals who had hitherto served under the duke into his confidence : Matthias Count Gallas, friendly and kind-hearted but without imagination or humour, somewhat pedantic—an ever-obedient servant to his lord ; Johann von Aldringen (or Aldringer), a courageous and efficient field commander of unshakable honesty and faith in the imperial cause ; and Lieutenant-General Octavio Piccolomini, a native of Siena, scion of a dynasty of soldiers and scholars, an opportunist who over the years had become Wallenstein’s most perfidious and indeed most powerful adversary—and not merely in the army. These generals sounded the officer corps and succeeded in bringing the majority of them to the Emperor’s side. There is every reason to assume that Wallenstein received information of these secret investigations. As soon as the letters patent promulgating his proscription were published, he withdrew with some few reliable remnants of his forces from Pilsen to Eger. It was there that he, with four of his closest adherents, was slain by a small band of ambitious officers of his own army, before he was

able, as was certainly his intention, to join with the Swedes under Duke Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar. His immediate successor as commander-in-chief was Gallas, pending the promotion of Archduke Ferdinand, king of Bohemia and Hungary, the Emperor's ambitious son and heir presumptive, to that appointment.

This, very briefly, is the story of Wallenstein's treason and end. No serious historian of the post-Ranke generations has ever doubted his guilt.¹ His motives, however, are to this day shrouded in mystery and it is there that opinions widely differ. Heinrich von Srbik, the most advanced protagonist of the apologetic school of thought,² sees, like Schiller, Ranke and Max Lenz before him, in Wallenstein the bearer of the idea of a universal German peace founded on religious toleration throughout the Empire, a peace which after more than fifteen years of disastrous struggle had to be made, if necessary against the Emperor's will and the intentions of those with and behind him. True, Srbik argues, Wallenstein stands indicted of treason, but he had higher aims than treasonable defection from his lord for the sake of satisfying his own ambition, or worse, avarice and pathological craze for personal gain—even if he dreamed of himself as the ultimate bearer of the crown of Bohemia. Yet, even Srbik has to admit that at the time of his death Wallenstein was probably no longer capable of carrying his designs to conclusion: he was a disappointed, tired, very sick, rapidly ageing, nervous, irritable, and superstitious man, who had not only lost all faith in others but also much of his former trust in himself and certainly all his old vigour and energy. Srbik's weightiest opponent, the Czech historian Josef Pekař,³ does not

¹ For the following see the excellent summary of recent research by E. W. Zeeden in Bruno Gebhardt's *Handbuch der Deutschen Geschichte*, 8th edn. (Stuttgart, 1956), ii. 149-53. For informative accounts of the facts the reader is referred to C. Veronica Wedgwood, *The Thirty Years War*, 2nd edn., in Pelican Books (No. A 397) (Harmondsworth, Middx., 1957), pp. 306 ff.; and Francis Watson, *Wallenstein—Soldier under Saturn* (London, 1938). The latter work is a forceful, yet unpolemical, though by no means uncritical narrative.

² Heinrich Ritter von Srbik, *Wallenstein's Ende. Ursachen, Verlauf und Folgen der Katastrophe*, 2nd edn. (Salzburg, 1952).

³ Josef Pekař, *Wallenstein, 1630-1634: Tragödie einer Verschwörung*. German translation of 2nd edn., 2 vols. (Berlin, 1937).

assess Wallenstein with any higher aims at all. Though he does not question his outstanding abilities as a soldier and economist, he charges him with selfishness, thirst for revenge and a complete lack of self-discipline. The Emperor's decision—which amounted with the pious monarch to a formidable *causa conscientiae*—to eliminate his rebellious generalissimo was, according to Pekař, not merely justified but a sheer necessity. The chief motives for his defection were, in Pekař's view, the duke's hatred of the Emperor and of Duke Maximilian and his ever-present wish to see himself in a more powerful position, though he did not have the format to carry out his plans—he was not endowed with such virtues as determination and judgement and he never really matched his opponents. His egotistic and hard-hearted disposition had no room for ideas such as a universal peace or indeed any patriotic feeling—all this was pretext. And yet: even such a severe judge as Pekař cannot deny that one last part of his character remains inscrutable and enigmatic.

Whatever Wallenstein may or may not have been, it is beyond any reasonable doubt that he had achieved great things in the service of his sovereign whom he despised and finally betrayed. It was Wallenstein, that strange cross-breed of condottiere and statesman, to whom Ferdinand owed the position he held in the Empire until 1630 when he dismissed his generalissimo for the first time; the secure tenure of his dominions, and not only the hereditary ones, at a time when Gustavus Adolphus had reached the zenith of his success and influence; and, last but by no means least, the army, Wallenstein's own creation, which even after its creator's sudden end remained the chief instrument of imperial policy.

One question, therefore, remains to be answered, if indeed it is answerable. Was the action against Wallenstein in the form in which it, or at least the last part of it, was taken, legally and morally justified, or justifiable? Even in an age in which *Raison d'État* had invested Authority with the power to assassinate, i.e. to "liquidate" the alleged defaulter without any interrogation or trial, an age in which there was, in a monarchical state, no room left for military adventurers and political condottieri, the method employed, or tolerated, in rendering Wallenstein "harmless"

was, to say the least, seriously questionable.¹ His end was not just a case of removing a treacherous officer from his command with subsequent sentence and execution. It was a case of premeditated wanton destruction of an important man whose merits could not be denied or belittled even in the face of his treason. Very many contemporaries guessed that. Posterity knows it.

In this paper we are not concerned with Wallenstein's tragedy as such. All we have set out to do is to try and see what information of the events at Eger reached the English Government and English politicians of the day and what impact such information had on them. It is hoped that by printing, briefly interpreting, or annotating, some few English documents relating to Wallenstein's end some little service may be rendered to English no less than continental scholars interested in the period of the Thirty Years' War.

There is reason to suppose that by October 1633, if not rather earlier, Charles I and his advisers were in possession of certain information concerning the Duke's political machinations. On 21 October, Vincenzo Gussoni, the Venetian ambassador in London, wrote to the Doge and Senate on an audience he had been given by the king in the course of which the latter mentioned a report just then circulating that Wallenstein had rebelled, but added rather cautiously that it was spread by the letters of merchants. Gussoni replied that no authentic news on the subject had reached him and intimated that the advice was "rather desirable than credible". The king agreed and added "*there are circumstances which give it some air of probability*".² What these circumstances were Charles did not say, or at least Gussoni recorded nothing about them, though we know that since June occasional scraps of intelligence had found their way to

¹ On the question of the Emperor's conscience see Hans Sturmberger, *Kaiser Ferdinand II. und das Problem des Absolutismus* (= *Österreich Archiv, Schriftenreihe des Arbeitskreises für österreichische Geschichte*, No. 2), Vienna 1957, pp. 35-37, who points out that Ferdinand, in spite of his undoubted moral objections, in the end let himself be convinced that as the supreme judge he could dispense with open judicial proceedings.

² *Cal. S.P. Ven., XXIII, 1632-1636*, ed. Allen B. Hinds (1921), p. 155 (no. 205). My italics.

him.¹ But there is in the State Papers, Germany, a document which may perhaps provide an answer. It is either a condensed agents' report or an English translation of a German news-letter—though the latter appears less likely, to judge from its form and arrangement—containing a version of the proposals for the conclusion of a future peace treaty which Wallenstein had placed before Saxony and Brandenburg either at or immediately after the first Silesian armistice at Heidersdorf and Strehlen early in June.

Of this set of "peace conditions" about whose authenticity and evidence value there used to be some doubt—some specialists were inclined to class it rather as a tendentious fabrication designed to undermine Wallenstein's authority as a commander-in-chief and his political position—two versions were hitherto known: a shorter one drawn up for secret transmission to Duke Maximilian; and a longer, more detailed one drafted in utmost secrecy for the Emperor's information. Whichever version is the more authentic, the essence at any rate, of such a document can no longer be rejected as either an entire falsification or a wicked insinuation.² And what matters most is the fact that it was the tenor of these proposals that gave the existing rift between Emperor and Generalissimo its finality.

As the English version differs to some degree from the two known ones it is given here in full.³

Points propounded by Generall
Wallenstein.

1. To let the exercise of Religion free.—
2. To help them⁴ to root out the Jesuites of the Roman Empire.

¹ Ibid. p. 112 ff. (no. 161), and p. 128 (no. 178). See also the letter from Queen Elizabeth of Bohemia to Sir Thomas Roe, lately ambassador to Sweden, then living in semi-retirement in England, dated The Hague, 10 October, about "tales of Wallenstein's changing"; and the letter from Sir Edward Nicholas, then secretary to the Admiralty commissioners, to Captain John Pennington, gentleman of the Privy Chamber, dated Westminster, 10 October, who writes that Wallenstein had revolted from the Emperor and that some said that the Duke of Bavaria was dead. *Cal. S.P. Dom., 1633-1634* (1863), p. 241 (no. 55), and p. 242 (no. 59).

² Moriz Ritter, "Der Untergang Wallensteins", *Historische Zeitschrift*, xcvi (1906), 271 ff. and 295 ff.; Pekař, loc. cit. i. 311-16, and ii. 130-2; Srbik, loc. cit. pp. 73 ff. and 347 (notes).

³ P.R.O., S.P. 80/9, fol. 6^r. In the following transcript all contractions are extended. Capitals are kept.

⁴ i.e. the protestant allies.

3. To restore all the exil'd Bohemish Lords.
4. To give satisfaction to His Highnes the Heyre of Frederic late Prince Elector Palatine in all things.¹
5. Contrarywise He demands for His charges the Kingdom of Bohemia & ye Marquisat of Meern² therby to command Meckelenburg & quitt Glocaw.³
6. He graunteth that ye Electors of Sax : & Brandenburg for the charges they have ben at, may retayne⁴ & possesse the wholle Silesia.
7. To content the Suedish Army, they may hold Bavaria & pay themselves.
8. For the more security he knowes noe better caution then that they should elect & crowne a King of ye Romans.—
9. At this present the newes is come that the places of Richebach are surrendered to Wallensteyn & he has forsaken Citaw.⁵

In Leipsigh, 25 June 1633.

During the months following October very little is to be found in the State Papers about Wallenstein's movements—apart from some scanty remarks on his retiring out of Silesia towards Austria⁶—and political activities ; nothing about his negotiations with Sweden and the German Protestant powers, especially his vicissitudinous contacts with Fieldmarshal Hans Georg Arnim von Boitzenburg, the commander-in-chief of the army of Saxony, who had been his intermediary in his negotiations with Gustavus Adolphus—a political tactician of great talent, a steadfast protestant, yet loyal to the Empire and no personal enemy of Ferdinand. We learn nothing about the storm gathering in Vienna against the generalissimo, nothing about the story of his dismissal and proscription. When next we hear of Wallenstein the catastrophe had happened.

¹ Elizabeth, widow of Frederic V. the Elector Palatine, and former Queen of Bohemia had in 1633 levied a small army on behalf of her eldest surviving son Karl-Ludwig to whom part of the Palatinate was later restored by the peace of Westphalia.

² = Mähren, Moravia.

³ = Glogau.

⁴ Between "retayne" and "&" one word deleted.

⁵ Zittau, south-east Saxony (district of Dresden-Bautzen) suffered heavily in the course of the war. In June 1633 it was taken by the Protestant troops and Wallenstein withdrew to the nearby Reichenbach. His state of health at that time is alluded to in a letter from Heinrich Mathias Count Thurn, Czech emigrant, to the Swedish Chancellor Axel Count Oxenstierna, dated Schweiniz, 7 July, in which he says that the duke was carried to Reichenbach in a sedan chair. Georg Irmer, *Die Verhandlungen Schwedens und seiner Verbündeten mit Wallenstein und dem Kaiser von 1631 bis 1634* = *Publicationen aus den K. Preussischen Staatsarchiven*, 39, pt. ii (1889), no. 208, p. 254.

⁶ *Cal. S.P. Dom., 1633-1634*, p. 329 (no. 70) and p. 430 (no. 33).

It would appear that the first confirmable reports of the events at Eger did not reach London much before 9 March, information received being invariably brief, rather general and somewhat blurred. In a private letter signed "J. Semple", possibly a London merchant, to John, the elder son of Secretary Sir John Coke, dated Blackfriars, 10 March, it is said that "out of Germany it hath been long spoken of how the Emperor hath been very jealous of Wallenstein. There came several letters to the Exchange yesterday that Wallenstein is slain. . . ." ¹ On 14 March, Secretary Coke wrote from Newmarket to his colleague Sir Francis Windebank in London that he need not enlarge on Wallenstein's death, reports of which he, Windebank, had surely received from all sides : what will be the effect, time will discover ; this only, however, he finds considerable, that it has brought some hopes and designs of the French to a halt. ² Of interest in this communication is the brief reference to French "hopes and designs". It is known that since May 1633 Wallenstein had been in contact with France through his emigré friend and fellow-conspirator Wilhelm Count Kinsky, who acted on his behalf in Dresden. It was through Kinsky that Richelieu's envoy to Germany Isaac Manassés de Pas Marquis de Feuquières had promised Wallenstein to recognize him as King of Bohemia in return for treason to the Emperor, whose unshakable alliance with Spain was one of the main obstacles to a more vigorous pursuance of French anti-Spanish policy. Richelieu did not care whether the electors, princes, soldiers and statesmen of Germany were Catholic or Protestant, as long as he was certain to obtain their co-operation against the central power in Vienna no less than against his arch-enemies in Madrid. Seen in this light, Wallenstein's hatred of the Spaniards, his wild opposition against the maintenance of a Spanish army operating in Germany under the Duke of Feria, Regent of Milan, finds some explanation. How double-faced, however, at that particular juncture, the French attitude could be, and indeed was, becomes evident from the fact that whilst on the one hand information could be

¹ *Cowper MSS.*, H.M.C., 12th Report, Appendix, part ii, vol. 2 (1888), p. 48. The heading of the extract is not strictly correct in that the recipient given as "Sir John Coke the Younger" was not knighted before 16 July 1636.

² P.R.O., S.P. 16/262, fol. 129v; *Cal. S.P. Dom., 1633-1634*, p. 504 (no. 68).

disseminated in Paris and elsewhere, doubtless not without official backing, intended to make Wallenstein "odious",¹ on the other it was soon known in London that the French Court mourned for Wallenstein who had agreed "to strengthen their party".² It appears, that the duke had gone much further than to promise his support of the French cause. In December 1633 he seems to have finally accepted the offer of his recognition by the French as the bearer of the Crown of St. Wenczeslas.³

As far as can be seen from the documents, the first coherent and more detailed account of the atrocities committed at Eger came from Flanders. It is contained in a dispatch from "his Maiesties Agent at Brussels", Sir Balthazar Gerbier—that curious blend of artist and courtier (like his friend Rubens, but here the resemblance ceases), diplomat and double-agent, if not traitor, chevalier of fortune and eternal litigant, and also, and more important to us, indefatigable and prolific correspondent. He was a man in whom Charles continued to place special trust, sending him direct orders, occasionally in contradiction to those sent through the Secretary of State, even after he had, in November

¹ See *ante* p. 358, note 1. The relevant passage in De Vic and Augier's joint dispatch of 7 March, referred to there, runs: ". . . Notre derniere depesche du 3/13 de ce mois estoit accompagnée d'une relation que l'on avoit faite imprimer icy touchant la revolte de Wallestein du depuis l'on a fait mettre sous la presse celle de sa mort en la forme cyoincte, et l'on est a la veille de faire publier les passages de sa vie et de ses actions le plus odieuses pour faire accroire que cet accident sans ressource est arrivé par sa propre faute, et que d'icy l'on n'avoit point contribué a ce sien estoignement du service qu'il debuoit à son Maistre. Le dit accident estonne pourtant ces gens-cy et dans la recontre d'iceluy ils s'assemblent journellement pour des nouvelles resolutions. . . ." The beginning of Coke's endorsement, dated Newmarket, 21 March, reads thus: "Wallenstein's death printed. The storie of the life intended to make him odious, therefore take of all opinion of the french treatie with him. His death puts the french to new resolutions. . . ." The day before, De Vic had written to Coke, "Your Lo:p will have had the newes of Wallensteins death. I sende you herewith the particulars of it as they have been published here where these men have not been a little surprised with this accident, for the greate hopes they had conceived of his defection from the Emperor whereof they had received the newes by an express a few dayes before. . . ." P.R.O., S.P. 78/95, fol. 143^r.

² P.R.O., S.P. 16/263, fol. 43^v, and *Cal. S.P. Dom., 1633-1634*, p. 517 (no. 17), John Durie, the Protestant divine, to Sir Thomas Roe, Westminster, 19 March 1634. Durie adds: ". . . They (the French) are like to breake quite with the Swedish." This is an assumption for which no corroborative evidence can be found in the documents.

³ Wedgwood, *loc. cit.* p. 313.

1633, betrayed to the Infanta Isabella for the sum of twenty-thousand crowns the king's secret negotiations with the malcontent nobles of the Spanish Netherlands. Whether Charles ever became aware of the treason or not would have made no difference—Gerbier was and remained his particular favourite because he had been a favourite with Buckingham.¹ So much for an estimate of the king's confidant, who speaks for himself in the paragraphs which follow. What cannot be denied is that he was the centre of an extensive information service.² It is for that reason that his dispatches are worth reading, though in his evaluation of the information received he displays an appreciable degree of credulity.

Gerbier's dispatch is dated Brussels, 7/17 March, and was received by Sir John Coke according to his own endorsement on 17 March "our style". Its text, as far as it relates to Wallenstein is as follows :³

This weeke hath filled all mens mouthes here with the newes of ye Duke of Fritlands death which the Nuremberg and Saltzburg letters mention ; the said Duke (as said) become traitor to the Emperour, marching with sixteen regiments towards Egra, the place appointed to meete parties, and from thence to pursue his designes ; to have there ben murdered the 25/15 past with such of his company as were at supper with him, don by the governour of that towne, who used an Irish captayne to give the first blow to Fritland, some write it was with a sable, others a pertuisane, that this tragedy was acted by 25 men who spared not fower pages which served at ye table : the dead bodies were throwne on dung carts and carried about ye streets. Some letters beare the governour of the towne of Egra received the Emperours order to seize on Fritland but two howers before his arrivall there ; that the said Duke entred into the towne, but with two compaignies of his gard. Its wondred here he ventured himselfe so in his

¹ Samuel H. Gardiner, *History of England from the accession of James I to the outbreak of the Civil War, 1603-1642*, new edn. (London, 1899), vii. 345 ff. It may be added here that Gerbier never stood in high esteem with the Spaniards. Captain Richard Plumleigh, apparently on hearing of Gerbier's departure for Flanders—he sailed with his family on 17 June 1631—wrote from The Downs on 22 June to Secretary Nicholas, "Mr [sic] Gerbier is not well treated by the Spaniards who slight him much". *Cal. S.P. Dom., 1631-1633*, p. 85 (no. 46).

² In the account dated 4 May 1632, of fees probably paid at the Exchequer on the issue of certain sums principally to persons on foreign service between 16 December 1631 and 3 May 1632, Gerbier is shown as having received £786, being the fourth highest payee on the roll. *Cal. S.P. Dom., 1631-1633*, p. 324 (no. 19).

³ P.R.O., S.P. 77/24/i, fol. 99^r-100^r (with two copies); and S.P. 105/10, Gerbier's Letter books (unfoliated), the last paragraph headed there as postscript.

dangerous designe ; of its discovery and the said Dukes death many rejoyce & many remayne in doubt if the successe will mend much the affaires of the Emperour since the confusion is said to be great in the Army, and that its thought parties will loose noe time. The towne of Pilsen, said to contayne Fritlands treasure, is thought will cause parties to venture a faire rest.

Its written Fritlands general of the horse was to act his part att Prague where he is said taken. Its given out here he was to kill the Emperour and the King of Hungary who made from Vienna towards Prague accompanied with the troupes of Gallas & Aldringer, so ye letters of the 22th past from that place mention. The confirmation of the aforesaid tragedy is expected every hower. . . .

Letters of the 6th present from Frankfort confirme the death of Fritland, that he who killed him is named Gordon. The remayner of Fritlands forces to be with Duc Bernard Weimar and therewith Egra blocqued up. Duke Albert of Saxen-Lawenburgh taken prisoner in Egra.

The above dispatch is perhaps best read in conjunction with a private letter from Gerbier to the Duchess of Buckingham, the widow of his late patron and promoter, dated 14 March.¹ He writes :

I wish my letter might be filled up with some occurences worth your Graces reading. Most here busy their tongues to discover as much of Fritlands death as before of his life, both strange and violent, for though these latter yeares he was said to have ben more reserved, before his end he appeared to have bin taken with a relapse which could hardly free him, or any shall take the like resolution of a violent end. Its thrice confirmed the said Duke of Fritland had forsaken the Emperours party, endeavoured to make his, to joyne with the Germans in league with the Suedes, of which the Emperour being advertised sent orders to the governour of Egra, a frontier towne in Bohemia, to seice on Fritland and send him to Vienna live or dead. Between Fritland and this order seemed a great simpathie, for each run with speede to one place to meete. Fritland made in diligence towards Egra with 16 regiments of his troupes and arrived there one hour after the gouvernour had received the said order. There Fritland purposed to meete with Duke Weimar and Arnheim, general to the Duke of Saxe. Both mistrusting Fritlands designe were as slow to advance as Fritland was hasty and undavored to seeke his death which (as is written) he mett thus. Having left his troupes about Egra, entred into the towne only with two companies of his guard, lodged in a private mans house where the gouvernour (with certaine of his companie), an Irish man, tooke the supper time to act the tragedie : kild first the count Tertzky, Collonell Illo, count Kinsky & Coll Neuman ; Fritland retired to a next roome, the doors broken, was killed with three trusts of a pertisan, two of his pages & his trompeter were also slained ; also throwne out of windowes, & trained up and downe the streets. Fritlands head is sent to Vienna & his body to Prague ; his treasure said to be a million in all, the canon and munition left in Pilsen is recovered by one of the Emperours generalls called Piccolomini.

Fritland took this resolution to fall from the Emperour upon advertisements his enemies had wrought soe far as the Emperour resolved to depose him. Its

¹ P.R.O. S.P. 105/10 (Letter book).

uncertain what change this will cause in the affaires of the Emperour who makes towards Prague with the King of Hungary and designe to appeare in person in the field.

And on 21 March Gerbier reported from Brussels to Coke : ¹

. . . These [here] have entertayned themselves much with the newes of Fritlands death of which & the treasons discovery publicke thanks have ben rendred throughout theire churches warranted thereunto by the archbishop of Meckelen (Mecheln). The treason is much enlarged, Fritlands designe said to have ben his adherents to kill Emperour, King of Hungary & the young Prince, so exterminate the house of Austria.

The Marquis d'Aytona impartinge the newes to Monsieur said Spaine had not moved the Emperour to dismisse Fritland, less to have him murthered, that the Germans unanimously fell on him & were as eager to fall from him as he from the Emperour.

These spare not to publish the french negotiants to have moved Fritland to his rebellion, (and) say to follow his worke many here would have sturred, soe the discovery of such evils of which the house of Austria hath ben threatned is accounted for great lucke.

No advanced scholarship is required to see that all the three foregoing communications from Gerbier represent in the main a record of stories, rumours and unconfirmed statements derived, certainly, from a variety of sources. In the first of the three documents Wallenstein and such of his faithful friends and adherents as were at supper with him were slain together, whereas it was at the time of drafting reasonably well known abroad that the Duke's four lieutenants, Adam Erdmann Count Trčka, his "general of the horse", together with General Christian Count Ilow, Count Wilhelm Kinsky and the cavalry captain Heinrich Nieman who had been in charge of Wallenstein's field orderly room, had been massacred by Colonel Walter Butler's dragoons at the infamous banquet at Eger Castle to which they had been invited by Colonel John Gordon, the commandant of the citadel and town, whilst Wallenstein had met his end a little later the same night at the Pachelbel house in the lower market place.² Further, a little more sifting of incoming evidence would, even at this early date, have prevented Gerbier

¹ P.R.O., S.P. 77/24/iii, fol. 117^r; and S.P. 105/10 (unfoliated).

² The present Town hall, called after its former owner Alexander Pachelbel, late mayor of Eger, who, as a Protestant, had emigrated after the Roman Catholic Council had his residence confiscated. The house served as Lt.-Col. Gordon's headquarters. Upon Wallenstein's arrival at Eger in the later afternoon of 24 February, Gordon moved to the Castle. Srbik, loc. cit. pp. 168 and 170.

from reporting that Trčka had been apprehended in Prague. That he repeats lurid stories about the duke's intentions to do away physically with the Dynasty—stories which almost definitely originated at the Palace in Vienna¹—that he is despite the large number of sources at his service singularly badly informed about the course of events on the night of the “execution” we will not hold against him: too much was talked and written about the event too soon.² That he makes no attempt to grasp at least

¹ See the letter from P. Guilielmo Lamormaini, S. J., the Emperor's Father confessor, to the P. General S. J., Mutio Vitelleschi, dated Vienna, 3 March, reproduced by Srbik, loc. cit. pp. 310 ff. (from a contemporary copy in the Vatican Library, Cod. Barber. Lat. 6515) which begins: “Machinationes internae Fridlandi tandem 12. Januarii in coniurationem eruperunt. Volebat ille [sc. Wallenstein] perdere imperatorem, extirpare domum Austriacum, regnis et provinciis Austriacis potiri ipse et fidelium caesaris ministrorum ditiones ac dominia coniurationis sociis distribuere. . . .”

² See e.g. the (private) letter from Charles Franckland, very probably a London merchant (and almost certainly identical with the bearer of that name who was the son of Robert Franckland, of London, and died in 1662 at Guildford, Surrey, cf. *The Visitation of Surrey 1662-8*, ed. Sir George Armytage, *Harleian Society Publications*, lx (1910), 44 with facsimile of a late signature) to a friend of his, Richard Harvey, at Sir William Calley's, Burderop (Wilts.), dated St. Anne Street (Westminster ?), 20 March, the relevant passage of which runs: “. . . It is certain Walestein is murdered and Gallas hath his gouvernement. Some say one Pittalomine [sic] who Walestein imployed about the death of the Prince of Denmark did the act and was set aworke by Arnham; others that it was with the consent of the Emperour for that Walesten was revoltinge and sought to bringe in the French, but his wicked act hath caused manie of his armie to become friends to the Swedes and Gustavus Horne upon this accident is gone downe into Bohemia with 8 or 10000 brave souldiers. What the event will be time will tell. . . .” He further quotes rumours about a great fleet of French and Hollanders about Calais and a great army in Picardy, “but some English gentlemen lately come from thence say there is noe such matter”. P.R.O., S.P. 16/263, fol. 51^{r/v}. The passage referring to Piccolomini as having been “imployed about the death of the Prince of Denmark” is an allusion to the murder, on 11 August 1633, during a conference in open field, of Prince Ulrich of Denmark, Duke Holstein (son of Christian IV) who had acted as Saxon negotiator with Trčka and other emissaries of Wallenstein. There appears to be little doubt that Piccolomini had a hand in this, but that Wallenstein was a party to it is not only entirely unproven but altogether an untenable invention. Cf. *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1633-1634, pp. 211 and 241; Irmer, loc. cit. ii, no. 224, pp. 284 f; no. 227, p. 291; no. 228, p. 293; no. 267, p. 357; and no. 282, p. 385 (documents of Lars Tungel Nicolai, the Swedish resident in Dresden); also Herman Hallwich's informative article “Piccolomini” in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, xxvi (Leipzig, 1888), 100. For the above references to Charles Franckland I am indebted to Mr. Donovan A. Dawe, Principal Assistant Librarian, Guildhall Library, London.

something of the political and military background, if only, as was his duty, to brief his chief as best as he could, is a more serious fault. And yet, there are one or two redeeming features about his communications, both official and private, which prove that he had some excellent informants. That Arnim and—though perhaps to a lesser degree—also Duke Bernhard of Weimar mistrusted Wallenstein's designs and "were as slow to advance as Fritland was hasty" is, to say the least, a very sound appreciation of a state of affairs which in the weeks immediately following upon the tragedy remained obscure to all but the initiated in the Saxon camp. It may thus be surmised that Gerbier based his observations on intimations which reached him directly from those quarters, and it is to be regretted that of the very numerous private "letters" and reports directed to him and to which he occasionally refers, mostly in vague terms, virtually none has come down to us. In his dispatch of 21 March he produces, perhaps unwittingly, an altogether very correct piece of information, namely in his reference to the disclosures made by the Marquis d'Aytona to the new Regent of the Netherlands, the Cardinal Infant Ferdinand, brother of King Philip IV—the Infanta Isabella had died on 22 November 1633—"that Spaine had not moved the Emperour to dismisse Fritland lesse to have him murdered". This is perfectly true, as we now know. The official policy of the Council of State in Madrid, led by the shrewd Gaspar Guzmán Count Olivares, backed Wallenstein in his position as imperial generalissimo until as late as December 1633 if not January 1634, and not merely because they regarded him as a military genius: to the Spaniards he appeared as the only effective political counterpoise against the growing influence on the Emperor of Duke Maximilian of Bavaria whom they hated; and also because they hoped—though in vain—that Wallenstein would be moved to promote a firm alliance between the Emperor and Spain and to transfer a large contingent of his forces to the troops now under the Cardinal Infant who succeeded the Duke of Feria after the latter's death in December 1633 as commander-in-chief of the Spanish army in Germany, now destined to fight on the Upper Rhine and in Alsace. In their antagonism to France the Spaniards were even prepared to accept help from the

Protestant powers. At any rate, it is known that Olivares sharply rebuked the then Spanish ambassador to the Court of Vienna, Marquis de Castañeda, who belonged to the party of Archduke Ferdinand, King of Hungary, and was one of Wallenstein's most embittered enemies, for his relentless attitude towards, and undisguised activities against, the generalissimo. And this, despite his strategic lethargy, which was strongly resented in Madrid, even despite his violent anti-Jesuit utterances! An instruction to Castañeda of 23 January 1634 pointed out that only if treason on the part of the generalissimo could be clearly proven, and it was hardly assumed that it could, then the imperial generals should be contacted and the traitor be taken prisoner and, if unavoidably necessary, killed. However, neither Castañeda nor his colleague, the Ambassador extraordinary in Vienna Inigo Velez de Guevara Conte d'Oñate, whose previous negotiations with Wallenstein about the hoped-for alliance and formal conclusion of a defence treaty and a contingent of forces for the Cardinal Infant had produced no result whatever, proceeded strictly in accordance with their instructions. In closest association with the Palace party in Vienna, who worked assiduously towards Wallenstein's final destruction, they preferred to follow their own maxims.¹ Thus, Gerbiers information was, in this respect, absolutely correct.

In London the news of Wallenstein's end was, officially at least, treated with reserve. Whilst during the summer of 1633, at the height of the armistice negotiations between the Duke and Saxony, hopes for the protestant cause had been placed in what was generally expected to be an almost imminent "composition",² such hopes appeared now, though not altogether lost, considerably diminished. On 31 March, Vincenzo Gussoni, the Venetian ambassador, wrote from London that what was now known of the generalissimo's death had come as a great relief to all those who openly sided with the House of Austria and that they anticipated great advantage from that event to the imperial arms in the

¹ See G. Mecenseffy, "Habsburger im 17. Jahrhundert. Die Beziehungen der Höfe von Wien und Madrid während des Dreissigjährigen Krieges", *Archiv für Österreichische Geschichte*, 121. Bd, Heft 1 (Vienna, 1955), pp. 21-6.

² *Cal. S.P. Ven.*, xxiii, 1632-1636, pp. 112 f. (no. 161) and p. 128 (no. 178).

future. But the wisest, so he adds, *and those of the government in particular, seem to refrain from forming an opinion, until they can see better what results such a great change is likely to produce, since the Lords here are advised from several quarters that outbreaks of disorder have manifested themselves very strongly in the imperial army, in spite of the fall of Wallenstein and of those commanders who depended on him.*¹ Just over a week later, on 4 April, the same diplomat, after an interview with Secretary Sir John Coke, reports to his authority that Sir John remarked that two things had astonished the King and the Lords here, one that Wallenstein had *allowed himself to be caught*, the other that his death had not, as the first advices seemed to indicate, been followed by consequences more disadvantageous to the "Imperialists" than they heard had been the case so far.² Here, it would appear, Charles shared surprise with the French, if importance is attached to the words of the French general G. J. Peblis who wrote on 31 March from Frankfurt, to James, second Marquis of Hamilton (then still in Swedish military service), that the enemy after the assassination of Wallenstein by the Scots and Irish had found means to appease their army to strengthen themselves "at which I marvel as I firmly believed that after such a tragedy a great change would follow".³

We now turn to what seems to be at least the most comprehensive document relating to Wallenstein's end contained in the

¹ *Cal. S.P. Ven.*, xxiii, 1632-1636, p. 206 (no. 276). My italics.

² *Ibid.* p. 209 (no. 281). My italics. No direct reference to "outbreaks of disorder in the imperial army" can, as far as I am able to see, be traced in the State Papers. But from Venice the English resident Sir Thomas Rowlandson writes to Coke on 4 April that news had been received of the Emperor's imminent departure to Prague, one of the purposes being "to allure ye kingdome of Bohemia from ye innovation that might araise by Wallesteins kindred and friends, for it seems ye Germaines are not well satisfied with ye manner of the proceedings against his life . . .". On the same day he reports to the Lord Treasurer: ". . . It seems that Wallesteins kindred and friends that are verye potent in ye kingdome should attempt some innovation there which may easily be prevented by the Emperours presence. . . ." P.R.O., S.P. 99/34/ii, fol. 188^r and 189^r. That the Emperor, advised by Gallas, planned to visit his forces at Budweis, obviously to inspire the rank and file by his personal presence, is known. Rumours of mutinies and bloodshed which persisted especially in Nuremberg and Regensburg were, at any rate, gross exaggerations. Srbik, *loc. cit.* pp. 202 and 401.

³ *Hamilton MSS.*, H.M.C., 11th Report, Appendix 6, pt. vii, p. 88.

State Papers. Only its publication can show whether it is what it purports to be. It is a relation “*exhibited*”, as is stated in its heading, “*at Vienna to his Imperial Ma^{tie} in . . . 1634 by Captaine Denis M^{ac}Donnell, Irish, of the regim^t of Colonell Buttler . . .*” and consists of two folio paper sheets (four pages) covered by close writing.¹ Though today bound with the State Papers, it is not certain whether the document is in fact a state paper in the strict, that is to say, archival sense of the word. For, side by side with the official ink stamp of HER MAJESTY’S STATE PAPER OFFICE, there is what appears to be a private stamp CONWAY PAPERS.

The “Conway Papers”, or better “Conway and Throckmorton Papers” are a collection of documents the main portion of which contains the papers of Edward first Viscount Conway and Killultagh who was from 1623 until 1628 one of the principal Secretaries of State, thereafter Lord President of the Council, and who died in London on 3 January 1631. After several wanderings they came eventually into the possession of John Wilson Croker, one of the Commissioners for printing and publishing State Papers. On 10 August 1857—ten days before his death—he offered them to the Home Secretary for permanent transfer to the Public Record Office. His offer was accepted and the papers reached the office on 26 August 1857 and were thereupon, as far as they related to public affairs, incorporated in the series of State Papers Domestic as well as Foreign.²

Since the first Viscount died in 1631, our document cannot

¹ P.R.O., S.P. 80/9, fol. 23^r–24^v.

² The story of the transfer is told in the *Reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Record Office*, xix (1858), p. 17 f., xx (1859), p. xxi, and xxii (1861), p. 54. See also Florence M. Greir-Evans (Mrs. C. S. S. Higham), *The Principal Secretary of State: A survey of the office from 1558 to 1680* (London, 1927), pp. 179 ff., 183 f. and 369 ff. For much kind help and valuable information my hearty thanks go to Dr. Neville J. Williams, Assistant Keeper at the Public Record Office. That the collection must, at some time prior to its transfer to the P.R.O. have been somewhat tampered with is shown by the fact that some strays from it, bearing the stamp CONWAY PAPERS are still—February 1958—at large: two purely domestic letters addressed to the first and second Viscount respectively by a Torrington (Devon) correspondent and dated 2 December 1629 and 5 January 1640/1 have turned up on the London autograph market. See Ifan Kyrle Fletcher (of 22 Buckingham Gate, London, S.W.1), *Autograph Letters, Manuscripts, etc.*, Catalogue no. 182, p. 28, item no. 171.

have formed part of his papers. His son and heir Edward, the second Viscount (1594-1655), was in 1624 elected M.P. for Warwick, in 1626 for Yarmouth (Isle of Wight). Soon afterwards he was appointed Privy Councillor and eventually, in 1639, Marshal of the Army and General of the Horse. Since September 1625, when Sir John Coke became Joint Secretary, he and the first Viscount had been close colleagues, and after the latter's death Sir John maintained contact with his son. We know that the second Viscount whose town house was in the Strand near the church of St. Martin in the Fields, left England soon after 14 July 1633 for Ireland,¹ to devote himself to the care of his family estates and to various pastimes, and that he did not return before the end of 1634 or the beginning of 1635.² Where, when, from whom and under what circumstances he received the document if indeed it ever reached him personally, must remain unknown. The possibility of its having found its way into the collection as an antiquarian curiosity of partly Irish interest at a later, perhaps much later, date cannot *a limine* be ruled out. So much for the the provenance of the document whose classification as a "state paper" remains questionable.

One thing, however, is certain : it is a contemporary manuscript. Written in a steady though somewhat pressed and spidery English hand, its palaeographical character points to a period definitely not later than the middle of the century. And it must have been written for some purpose. This becomes evident from an examination of its full and rather long-winded heading which is *A relation exhibited at Vieña to his Imperiall Ma^{ty} in the year of our Lord 1634 by Captaine Denis / M^{ac}Donell Irish of the regiment of Colonel Buttler / & most graciously accepted as a token of eternall / memorye of the renowned Irish nation repayer & preserver of the mangnificent howse of Austria / to eternize their their names in historyes of present & / future adges couched in Spanish by John Pinzell / de Rumeran a Biscani Spaniard borne in the Province of Guipusca.*³

¹ *Cal. S.P. Dom., 1633-1634*, p. 140 (no. 68).

² *Ibid. 1634-1635*, p. 583 (no. 6).

³ This title-copy is for reference only. The oblique strokes mark line endings. The original arrangement of the heading is given in the transcript below.

One need not have much of a historian's acumen to feel at once that this heading poses a number of problems. Who was Captain Denis MacDonell, and in what position was he to "exhibit a relation"? And when the relation had been exhibited why did it have to be "couched in Spanish"? Who was John (or Juan) Pinzell de Rumeran, a native of the smallest Spanish province of Guipúzcoa? And lastly, at whose instance was the Spanish text translated into—excellent—English? Before we can attempt to answer some of these questions—some only, because again not all of them are answerable—we must take a brief glance at a small group of documentary narratives which are perhaps best called "immediate reports", that is to say, reports written by persons who were personally participants in, and responsible for, the "execution" and its preparation though not necessarily eye-witnesses to the entire course of events; in other words—and by their use no moral judgement is passed—the reports of the accessories.¹

There is, to begin with, a draft report in the Vienna State Archives, headed *Wahrhaffte Relation all dess jenigen, was sich von dem 24. Febr biss den 28. eiusdem bey des Herzogen von Fridtlands und seiner Adhärenten Ankunfft und darauf erfolgten Execution begeben und zugetragen*. This is, as the late Heinrich von Srbik has convincingly demonstrated, most probably the work of John Gordon, the commandant of the citadel and town of Eger, and was drawn up at the latest on 28 February, before Duke Bernhard's liaison officer, Duke Franz Albrecht of Saxe-Lauenburg, captured on his way to Wallenstein, of whose death he was absolutely ignorant, was delivered at Eger. The document, originating directly at the scene of events so to speak and containing valuable details of the atrocities both at the castle and thereafter at the Pachelbel house, was on or about 1 March re-edited, by way of very extensive deletions, additions and corrections, by Piccolomini himself who, coming from Mies, had arrived at Eger on 28 February, to act as a commissary in establishing the *species facti*. He took an inventory of the movable effects of the dead, and sent their remains, together with such of their writings as were found and some of their private chattels, and last, but by no means least,

¹ For the following see the masterly analysis by Srbik, loc. cit. pp. 145-59.

Wallenstein's field treasury as well as the captured Duke of Lauenburg, to Gallas at his Pilsen headquarters. It is more than likely that he submitted the draft of the relation to Gallas whom he joined for a short conference before setting off in haste for Vienna on 6 March to report to the Emperor.¹

The next document in this group is a rather brief account by the "Oberst-Wachtmeister" (Colonel-Sergeant-Major²) of the Trčka regiment Walter Leslie (later Count Leslie) of Balquhain,³ who reports in the name of the three leaders of the action against Wallenstein, namely Butler, Gordon and himself. His narrative gives, as regards the actual liquidation of the generalissimo and his adherents, hardly more than the bare facts, but is of great importance as setting forth the motives of the "loyal" officers for their final resolution to do away with the rebels. More particularly, it reproduces in some detail a conversation between himself and Wallenstein on the latter's march to Eger on 24 February when the Duke disclosed that he had decided on being his own master, of which he was fully capable in every respect, should the Emperor no longer require his service. It goes on to describe Ilow's attempt on the morning of the following day, 25 February, to win them over to Wallenstein's side, and their reaction to it.⁴ Leslie had been ordered by Butler on 27 March to go to Vienna to deliver his report in person to the Emperor. He went first to Pilsen to present himself to Gallas, the commander-in-chief, who directed him on to Vienna where he arrived in the evening of 3 March, thus preceding Piccolomini by three days.

At the same time, however, yet another "loyal" officer was fast approaching the capital. This time it was Butler's personal and special envoy: an Irish captain serving with his dragoons, hitherto known by the name of Dionysius Macdaniel. He is beyond any doubt identical with our Captain Denis MacDonell.⁵

¹ Srbik, loc. cit. pp. 149 f.; text, edited critically, *ibid.* pp. 313-16.

² Lieutenant-Colonel of Cavalry.

³ About him Herman Hallwich in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, Bd. 18, (1883), pp. 437-77, and J. M. Rigg in *D.N.B.*, xi (1909), pp. 988 f.

⁴ Srbik, loc. cit. pp. 151 f., and text (after a copy by an unknown hand in the Vienna State Archives) *ibid.* pp. 317-21.

⁵ In the *Relationsbericht so des Wallensteinischen und seiner anhangertods verlauf, so den 24 Februarii a. 1634 sich zu Eger verlofen*, printed by Irmer, loc. cit.

He is not merely an eye-witness but one of the principal actors in the drama at Eger castle and afterwards at the Pachelbel house. On 28 February, Butler had advised the Emperor of MacDonell's imminent ride to Vienna and had stated expressly that the captain was the bearer of a relation written by himself in his own hand. Upon completion of his report MacDonell immediately set off for the capital. He was just about to pass through the gates of Eger when Butler sent him an urgent message informing him of the capture of the Duke of Lauenburg. Thereupon MacDonell returned to his colonel from whom he received additional orders, namely to convey to the Emperor that he, MacDonell, had seen Duke Franz Albrecht with his own eyes, and to hand over the papers found on him when he was seized containing aggravating material against Wallenstein. MacDonell arrived in Vienna on 4 March and it can be assumed that he amplified his relation with an account, in writing, of the most recent developments.

The original of this allegedly holograph relation has to this day not come to light. Its essence, to say the least, is, however, as Srbik has shown, contained in a long contemporary manuscript narrative in unliterary, even clumsy Italian, known as "Compilation L", so called by its discoverer, Srbik, after its archival location, a collectanea volume of papers of the renowned diplomat of Emperor Leopold I, Franz von Lisola, in the Vienna State Archives.¹ This compilation gives the whole story of Wallenstein's tragedy and begins with an account of the debt of gratitude owed by the Duke to the Emperor. This is followed by a translation of the "Pilsener Revers" of 12 January and an enumeration of Wallenstein's treasonable intentions and actions, whereupon the order issued to Piccolomini to apprehend him at Pilsen "dead or alive" is mentioned. The next portion is an almost verbatim translation of Leslie's relation in which certain factual mistakes occur. It is after this that MacDonell's report is worked in. In it Butler's officers and their exploits occupy the

iii. 286-96, from a partly decayed, partly deficient, manuscript copy in the Hauptstaatsarchiv Munich (the text was published as a pamphlet under two slightly different titles, Srbik, loc. cit. p. 146) he is spelt "Magdonal".

¹ Srbik, loc. cit. pp. 153 ff.; text ibid. pp. 321-9.

central position, MacDonell being familiarly referred to as "capitano Dionyggio". It further gives a detailed account of the capture of Duke Franz Albrecht. The end is a eulogy of the cavaliers and soldiers and their virtues, particularly their selflessness. This compilation prepared by a mind and hand unknown from a variety of sources, most likely at the instance of Butler and his brother-officers at an early date—one might think of the first half of March—and certainly meant for publication, was, a very little later, extensively drawn upon for publication purposes. It formed the basis of at least two important pamphlets which had their origin in closest proximity to government circles and were put into print long before the official version of the tragedy, the *Ausführlicher und gründlicher Bericht*, which condemned Wallenstein before the eyes of the world and justified the action taken by the Emperor and his government, and also the strongly defamatory yet not altogether uninformed accusation by the "loyal" councillor of the Prague Treasury, Johannes Putz von Adlersturn, the notorious *Perduellionis Chaos*, were launched.¹

Before returning to Captain Denis and his patriotic deeds, we have to take a glance at one or two other documents more or less connected with the "accessories". A very important relation, inspired by Piccolomini and corrected and edited by his secretary and adjutant Fabio Diodati before 21 April, was found by Mgr. Dr. Hubert Jedin in the Vatican Library in 1929.² It was compiled on the Emperor's orders and gives a good though merely historical conspectus of Wallenstein's treason and his plans against the Habsburg dynasty, and also of his, Piccolomini's, and Gallas' secret counter-action in Vienna. Though ending with the arrest of Wallenstein's chancellor Johann Eberhard Eltz on 1 March, it is, as regards the "execution", only of secondary significance. Two successive field chaplains of Butler, Thomas Carve, of Tipperary, and Patrick Taaffe, S.J., have left memoirs based, as they purport, on information received directly from Butler and his captain Walter Deveroux—yet another prime

¹ Pekař, loc. cit. i. 13 f. and ii, pp. 5 f. ; Srbik, loc. cit. pp. 230-9.

² Hubert Jedin, "Die Relation Oktavio Piccolominis über Wallensteins Schuld und Ende", in *Zeitschrift des Vereins für die Geschichte Schlesiens*, Bd. 65 (1931), pp. 328-57.

actor as we shall see : the officer who killed Wallenstein. As for Carve, he was at the critical period in Ireland and can thus be eliminated as an accessory or as an eye-witness, and, though he may have learned some few details from Deveroux, his *Itinerarium* was not published before 1639 and deals with the events only retrospectively. Father Patrick Taaffe is doubtless the better observer, but he, too, did not disclose his knowledge by way of a letter to another priest in Regensburg before 1653 and must as Butler's friend and confidant be deemed biased.¹

The question we have to ask ourselves now must be formulated thus : is what follows a true and authentic English translation of MacDonell's relation ? Almost certainly not. The bombastic heading, which raises the "renowned Irish nation" to the rôle of "repayer & preserver of the magnificent howse of Austria", as well as the constantly recurring praise of Irish officers as the exclusively reliable and trustworthy ones in the imperial forces, are quite incompatible with any form in which official reports were at the time submitted to any government department or superior officer, let alone the Sovereign. At the same time, we do not think we can lightly dismiss the suspicion that the—untraceable—original of MacDonell's holograph account may soon after its presentation to the Emperor have been handed to the Spanish faction at the imperial court headed by the King of Hungary, and that it may at the instance of Castañeda and Oñate have been translated into Spanish for immediate transmission to the Council of State in Madrid, if only to convince Olivares of the futility of his illusions about Wallenstein's loyalty and professional integrity as an imperial officer. The title, in the form in which we find it, however, suggests even more : the translation was meant to be published and given the widest possible circulation. Who the linguist was who "couched" it in Spanish we have unfortunately been unable to discover. It is pure surmise to say that he may have been a clerk on the permanent embassy staff or have belonged to Oñate's suite. No biographical or bibliographical source consulted has yielded the slightest bit of information on Juan Pinzell de Rumeran or indeed given any lead to such. Likewise, we have to confess to complete ignorance regard-

¹ Srbik, loc. cit. pp. 147 f. ; text of Taaffe's letter *ibid.* pp. 330-2.

ing any specific reason for its being “ re-couched ” as it were into English and by whom and on whose request. Whilst it is quite possible that a Spanish copy reached the Secretary of State, or the second Viscount Conway, at some time in or other around 1634—the latter is known to have been a man “ well versed in all parts of learning ” and as having been “ possessed of no mean powers as a scholar ”¹ —and was done into English for both or either of them, we have no documentary or other proof for such an assumption. Lastly, there are certain signs, to judge from the relevant text portion of Compilation L, that the Spanish version itself, if translated in its entirety, may have somewhat curtailed MacDonell’s original text, provided always that what is now bound up with the State Papers is in itself complete and no part of it is missing. There does indeed seem to be some reason to believe that a rather significant little passage which must have more or less concluded the original relation was either intentionally omitted in the Spanish translation, or else our copy is deficient. It is the short speech with which Butler addressed MacDonell after having recalled him for additional instructions with regard to his report about the capture of Duke Franz Albrecht.²

Here, then, is the text of Captain Denis MacDonell’s relation as contained in the State Papers. We shall supply annotations.

A relation exhibited at Vieña to his Imperiall Ma^{tie}. }
 in the yeare of our Lord 1634 by Captaine Denis }
 M^{ro} Donell Irish of the regim^t of Colonell Buttler }
 & most graciously accepted as a token of eternall }
 memorye of the renowned Irish nation repayrer & }
 preserver of the magnificent howse of Austria }
 to eternize their names in historyes of present & }
 future adges couched in Spanish by John Pinzell }
 de Rumeran a Biscani Spaniard borne in the }
 Province of Guipusca.

In the yeare afforsaid in the moneth of february Generalissimus Walstaine, Duke of Frittland, sendeth a straight Mandate from Pilsne to all Imperiall forces to give him meeting uppon the 22th of the same moneth with all their magazin uppon the white Mount neere Prage famous through the victory of the yeare 1620. Deeminge it now full time to putt in execution the designes he had of a longe time hatched ; to which intent he prepared for his march from Pilsne towards the

¹ Cf. G. E. Cokayne’s *Complete Peerage*. . . . New edn., revised and enlarged by Vicary Gibbs, iii (London, 1913), 401, particularly note (b).

² See *infra*, p. 386.

afforsaid place of armes. But having understood that his treachery was detected, the forces for the most part reestablished in their alleadgiance to Cesar, disawowing any faith lately pledged unto him,¹ he determined to bend his course towards Eger, to which march he sommoneth the forces wintringe in the quarters aboute Pilsna, amongs which there was Colonell Water² Buttlers regiment of 1000 Dragoons, a stronge regiment of the Earle of Thirskes, another regiment of foot was left to guard Pilsna beinge the Arsinall, & the Lieutenant Colonell of the same sworne not to deliver the Cittye, where there was sixtye great peeces of artillery with a world of warlike munition without expresse commission from his Altes, vižt Valsteine & withall to have at a call all other provision thought necessarye for his interprise. He expected besides these forces the two regiments of the Infantaria of Eger to be ready at his lievior;³ of these had the commaund Lord Thirsky to whom John Gordon, Scotchman, was lieutenant & vicegouvernour of the Cittadell of Egar, & Coronell⁴ Brayner⁵ who wintered upon the borders of the afforsaid cittye. Valstainer in his way to Egar attempted to corrupt Colonell Buttler through great offers & glorious promises in the presence of Thirsky & the rest of the chiefe officers of the armyes to gaine to sticke to⁶ him in his faction & ioyne with him in all his attempts. Colonell Buttler discoveringe by his carriadge the intended mischiefe, intereth into serious consultation with his countrymen officers in whose integritye & onely constancye he reposed confidence in a businesse of soe high and perillous a strayne; and to them he unfouldied the wicked stratagem of Valstaine, withall propoundinge how they might yeild prooffe of their loyaltye & faithfull service to God, the Emperour, the whole howse of Austria & to the Christian world by cuttinge⁷ off such an ungratious impe, who in lieu of gratitude for unparalleld favours brued detestable treacherye against the giver: whereupon they consulted whither were it better to kill him in the way or to apprehend his person & send him prisoner to the Emperour. The smale trust he reposed in the rest of his souldiers except the Irish, & the feare of the overreachinge strength of as well the rest as Thirskyes regiment who marched in the reare checked the execution of this generous intent for the present, & soe differred it to his cominge to Egar. Here he mett with an entyre friend of his, Lieutenant Gordon to whom & to his Sargeant Mayor Leslye, Scotchman [he] breaketh his secrett. Whereuppon Buttler his sargeant maior Robert Fitz Gerald⁸ and fower other Irish captaines, with Irish underofficers were called to his counsell, namelye, Captaine Water⁹ Deurox,¹⁰ captaine Denis M^acDonell, captaine Edmond Boorke,¹¹ & captaine John Browne. The resolution of this counsell was to venture life and fortune & to kill Valstain & the rest of his chiefe complices there present in testimonye of their zeale & willingnesse; they swore with drawn swords & bendinge knees to one another to be secrett & faithfull in the prosecution of this

¹ The "Pilsener Revers" of 12 January.

² Sic MS.

³ Corrupt form of "levée" in the sense of "meeting", or "assembly".

⁴ Sic MS.

⁵ Philipp Friedrich Freiherr von Breuner, 1601-38, who partook in all campaigns led by Wallenstein. In 1635 he captured Heidelberg which was stubbornly defended by the Swedish.

⁶ Superscript over "with" (deleted) MS.

⁷ Between "by" and "cuttinge" the syllable "putt" deleted MS.

⁸ Geraldin.

⁹ Sic MS.

¹⁰ Deveroux.

¹¹ Burke.

enterprise. Hereuppon each one received his owne chardge, captaine Boorke & captaine Browne allotted to oversee the watch & to order the dragoones in the streets to hinder any stirringe duringe the time of the execution. Sargeant Maior Geraldine appointed with a certaine number of Irish souldiers (to whose fidelitie this whole action was recommended) to kill generall Ilo; Captaine Dennis MacDonell with 20 muscatyres to kill Walstaine, Captaine Deuroxe with as many more to kill Thirskye, Kinskye & Newman. But providently, reflectinge that such a separation & division might scatter & extenuate their forces consistinge onely of Irish (for noe other nation would they trust) they altered this resolution, & determined to procede a securer waye which was this, to witt, to invite these last fower to supper, vizt, Earle Thirsky, Ilo, Lord Baron Kinskye & Captaine Newman sometymes Walstaine[s] chauncelor & secretarye and now Earle Thirskyes captaine of garde. Without further delaye Sargeant Maior Geraldine was sent to invite those gallants in the behalfe of Buttler & Gordon to supper to the castle, they answered the invitation and came thither in their coaches, beinge in the midst of supper iovally & drinking, fortye Irish souldiers & officers entered unto the castle by two & two through the Germanian garde, tollerated almost ¹ by the lieutenant of the Garde amongst whom was one Spaniard. They rancke themselves in the castle that if any tumult had bein rased or their attempts not succede, they might make good some quarter for their safety: Captaine Denis with twenty muscotyres is left to guard the foremost ² gate, that in case any of those principall heades might make an escape, he might prevent his goinge further. The hale where they supped had two doores; Sargeant Mayor Geraldine with eight souldiers came to one of these doores: Captaine Deuroxe with twelve came to the other: Geraldine advanched his voyce & couradge, ruisheth in, with sword drawen, & cryeth, Vivat Ferdinandus Imperator, Deurox answereth t'entering the other, Et tota Domus Austriaca. The feastinge Lords beinge consciuous of their owne guilt, surprised with fear & astonishment, attempteth tumultuously to rise from the table & stretch to their weapons; but Buttler with his complices slew Kinskye, Ilo and Newman at the same instant: though the lights were out, Thirsky, bruised with blowes, escaped woundlesse through the defence of a garment of prooffe he wore. He came to the first gate, where meetinge with Captaine Dennis cryed unto him for quarter: the Captaine demaunded the watch word, he gives St. James: The Captaine replyeth, The word is of the traytour Walstains givinge & not of the Emperours. Thirsky heruppon receiveth a heavye blowe in his head & upon his retyringe to the hale was knocked to death.³ Some of the servants of the Ilo & Thirskye gott to the same gate & in their furye made at the garde whereof two were wounded, but the servants were soone dispatched & cutt in peeces. This sceane of the tragedye beinge played in the

¹ Deleted *MS*.

² = foremost.

³ In Compilation L Tčrka's last moments are described thus: "Haveva i Trczka si buon colieto, che anchor che havesse ricevuto più colpi, non fù però ferito, laonde fuggito di salle cerco verso le porte del castello haver scampo, ma vedutte le occupate gridò chiedendo quartiere, cui il capitano Dionyggio chiese il moto, et rispondendo il Trczka il moto dato dal Fridlando ciò è p. Giacomo ' non piu vale ' rispose il capitano, ' Austria è il nome ', è ciò detto l'uccise. Vi fu tra servi chi in difesa del padrone posero mano alle spade, ma doi di loro pagarono l'ardire col sangue, così gli altri lasciarono la zuffa. . . ." *Srbik*, loc. cit. p. 326

castle, Colonell Buttler leaveth Gordon with a guard of Irish in the afforsaid Castle and commaundeth it to be soe guarded as none uppon any tearme may be suffered to goe in or out. Buttler with a select company of Irish Captaines & officers goeth from the Castle to the execution of Walstaine who lodged within the towne, & as they were going, out the gate in the thor . . . [?] ¹ slipped foorth a Padge of Thirskyes & runneth to the ladyes of Thirskye & Kinskye & to them revealeth the passadges of the castle. In the meane tyme, Buttler commaunds Leslye to rancke 100 dragoones in the markt & streetes with straight mandatt that none of them should stirr out of their appointed place howsoever greate a tumult should be raysed. The affayers beinge thus ordered they heare a ruthfull crye of the Ladyes to ² whose hearing the death of their lords hath bein vented by the afforsaid page. Whereuppon Buttler was stirred to hasten the execution, seeinge the opportunitye which further delaye might turne to danger. He commaunds captaine Dennis to admonish Sargeant maior Leslye that the season of the execution was at hand : he commaunds captaine Deuroxe to Walstaine his howse, who, being out of his sleepe awaked by the cryes of the ladyes stood in his naked shirt at a windowe. Deurox curageously entereth & undertaketh to make short worke. As he entered some of the drawinge chambers next to Walstaines bedchamber, he was bouldly rebuked by some of the pages & servantes for his boysterous carriage, advertisinge how dangerous it was to disturbe his Altese uppon soe unreasonable an hower. One of Deurox his souldiers runneth this expostulatinge through & left him stone-dead, the rest fledd away. Walstaine his chamber havinge two doors, Colonell Buttler stayeth to garde one, & appointeth Captaine Denis to follow Deurox & helpe him in the execution but before he came, Deurox breaketh open the door that he was appointed to enter uppon, though boulded & locked withinside & findinge Walstain standing behind the doore in his shirt, revyleth him sayinge : Thou unworthy traytor against thy master the Emperour & empire, here thou shalt dye, wherewith he runneth him through with a broade partisan edged of both sides, who without words or further resistance with stretched armes received his dyinge stroke, ³ & uppon his fall to the ground gave such a belch of soe fearfull a noyse, that captaine Denis with the rest that were hastinge uppstayres, were, as they profest, amazed. They that were present doe swere that the fume of his belch was like the smoake of tobacco. ⁴

¹ Paper rubbed MS.

² Suprascript MS.

³ According to Gordon's relation, Wallenstein's last words before receiving the death stab, were, upon Deveroux' entering the room, a half stammered "*Ah Quartier!*" to which Deveroux brutally replied "*Du schlimmer meineidiger alter rebellischer Schelm*"—no time being granted to the victim between the executioner's insulting words and the actual killing. Srbik, loc. cit. pp. 192 and 315.

⁴ That this colourful but highly fantastic passage, which may serve to demonstrate how the somewhat hypocritical but at the time quite fashionable disapproval of smoking tobacco came to be used of Wallenstein's end, actually formed part of MacDonell's report, may be doubted. It is contained in an anonymous report from Vienna written in Latin and dated 8 March, the text of which was reproduced in one of the contemporary pamphlets entitled *Alberti Fridlandiae ducis proditio et caedes* and used in slightly different form in at least two more similar products. A manuscript copy, slightly damaged, of the Vienna report in P.R.O., S.P. 80/9, fol. 12^{r/v}, where the passage reads thus : "Constanter

One Neill Garne ¹ of a high stature tooke the body in his armes & would cast it foorth the windowe had he bene suffered by the captaines. At this execution were Colonell Buttler, Sargeant mayor Fitz Gerald, captaine Deurox & captaine Dennis McDonell : the rest of the captaines stayed with sargeant mayor Leslye in the marquett place. Many others of Buttlers regiment would willingly be present & have a hand in this service whereof they gave sufficient demonstration in their iourne from Pilsna, but that they were commaunded to keepe the watch. This greate service beinge effected they wrapped this unworthy carcasse in a coverlet & layd him under the table. Buttler searcheth the chauncelerye of Walstain & the studyes of all the rest of the lords that were killed, sealet with his signett all the papers he findeth & leaveth centenells to watch them untill further advertisement from the Emperour. These papers are thought to be of that importance as when they are produced strange matters to the worldes admiration wilbe detected. This beinge accomplished they take Walstaines bodye and carryed it in a coach to the castle (where) Gordon with the Irish garde was. The next day ensueinge ye 26th of February Buttler commaunded to keepe the gates of the citty stedfast & to suffer none to enter or to goe foorth. In the meane time he consulted with the rest what was fitt to be don ; for they neither trusted cittizens or souldiers of any other nation : but after some deliberation they admitted fower hundred muscatyers of Brayners regiment who together with Buttlers dragoones stood day & night in armes with match lighting & bullet in mouth. The 27th day of the same moneth Buttler with other officers went to parlye with Thirskyes regiment of horse and asked them whether they would serve the Emperour ; who answered with one accord that they would. Buttler heruppon chalketh out fifty of these horsemen, & together with his owne scowereth all the passadges rounde aboute Eager in hope to apprehend the Duke Frances Albertus Saxon generall of the duke of Saxoñ his armye who was expected that same veye day to come to Walstain ; but havinge not mett with him returned to Eager. The next day after, beinge the eight & twentieth of Februarye, Buttler appointed a troope of horse with a lieutenant as scoutes to harken after the enemye & to ride some distance aboute the passadges towards Eager : which troope beinge thus sent meeteth with the expected Franciscus Albertus accompanied with a smale trayne of servants & two trumpeters whom the lieutenant ceremoniously saluted, as beinge sent by Wallstain to conduct his excellencye to Eager : the other securely and confidently goeing on suspecting nothing lesse then the tragedy of Walstaines death his singular good friend ; the lieutenant abruptlye called unto him sayinge, Lord Duke : what if Colonell Buttler had sent you prisoner to the Emperour? The other surprised with a contumelious furye before he had allowance of much replying, his person was seised uppon in Buttlers behalfe, his coach ransacked and searched where a box of letters of huge importance was founde, which he posted to Buttler. The Duke seeinge that it was like to prove noe iesting matter, intreated the souldiers that were ransacking his coach and carriadge that they would leave him some linen for changinge. He was soone after brought to Eager & delivered to Colonell

adseverant, ad ictum tanquam maioris tormenti bellici bombum ex corpore eius intonuisse, *fumumque ex ore non secus ac si quis tobaccum biberit, exivisse* ", Srbik, loc. cit. pp. 192 and 398. My italics.

¹ In the *Relationsbericht* etc. (see *ante*, p. 377 n. 5) this soldier is called Nielcarff. Irmer, loc. cit. iii. 293.

Buttler. Captain Denis being newlye goen for the gates towards Vienna, was recalled by a poast backe to Colonell Buttler.

Here ends—somewhat abruptly—the English translation of Captain Denis MacDonell's relation. Compilation L adds at this point : ¹

Haveva spedito il Buttler à Sua Maestà il capitano Dioniggio ² dando nova della morte dello Fridlando ; hora veduta si bella preda nelle sue mani spedi chi richiamasse il detto capitano, volendo andassero queste nuove unite. Rittornò il detto capitano allhorche sedeva il Buttler à tavola con il duca, et entrato il capitano con voce alta : Signor capitano (disse il Buttler) direte à Sua Maestà che già l'ucello è in gabia et l'havete con vostri occhi veduto ; aggiundendo che non scrivo, ma mando in vece delle mie coteste lettere, quali ho trovato appresso questo mio prigioniero, et sia il signor con voi.

The nucleus of this solemn address by Butler, or the mere fact of it having been delivered, must, we may conclude, have been recorded in MacDonell's original relation. Are, then, some few lines missing in our copy ? Or did Juan Pinzell de Rumeran or whoever instructed him think that there was already enough self-praise and self-advertisement of Butler and his " cavaliers " in what had so far been " couched in Spanish " ?

Returning to London for one more moment, let us end with an extract from a letter written by that well-informed protestant divine—later to be one of King Charles' chaplains—John Durie, whom we have met before, to Sir Thomas Roe, dated Westminster, 16 April. Durie, who had, ever since his return from Germany where he had served as a Lutheran minister to the English company of merchants at Elbing, West Prussia, maintained valuable connections with protestant theologians and politicians, quotes letters from Erfurt (Thuringia) as his source when writing that " those that killed Wallenstein have made an apologie for themselves and shew reasons why they attempted such a fact without knowledge of the Emperours, for now they take all upon themselves and clear the Emperour. It is thought for certain that Wallestein had contracted with the French King and hadde received two millions in hand which now maketh the French King not well able to proceede in his designes, yet his

¹ Srbik, loc. cit. pp. 328 f.

² In the manuscript transcribed by Srbik the words " con le lettere " after " Dioniggio " are deleted.

Ambassador ¹ will be att the dyett ² and his commission to speake very bigge and words of threatning if they give him not Philipsburg. . . .”³

APPENDIX

AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF A CONTEMPORARY FRENCH TRACT ON WALLENSTEIN'S CHARACTER

Introductory

The English translation of the anonymous and perhaps government-inspired French tract referred to on p. 358, note 1 of this paper is contained in a manuscript volume of transcripts and translations of miscellaneous historical documents and mainly political pamphlets in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, MS. G. 4. 8. The small-folio tome formed part of the library of Sir Jerome Alexander, Justice of the Common Pleas, who died in 1670 (before 10 August, when his will was proved in Dublin) and bequeathed the bulk of his extensive collection of legal and political books and manuscripts to Trinity College where they were received in 1674.⁴ Attention to the volume was first drawn by the Historical Manuscripts Commission, whose report on the College's manuscripts entitles it, not very accurately, *Characters of Projectors and Puritans*.⁵ There are altogether nineteen items collected in this volume of which our translation, fol. 69^r-72^v, is the sixth, placed between *An Experimental Discovery of y^e General Defects of all sorts of Wines, with helps for y^e same. Collected by H. B. and A True Relation of Sir Rich Weston, Lord Treas^r., his negotiations with the Archdutchess in 1622*.⁶

The fact that the volume was—as it may have been for a number of years—made up and in the possession of Sir Jerome Alexander at the time of his death helps at once in dating the manuscript more closely. The French tract must have been translated and the translation copied between 1634 and 1670 and the script cannot therefore be described as of “late seventeenth century” date. It is perhaps best characterised as a corrected fair copy. The translator or copyist, whose

¹ Feuquières.

² At Frankfort.

³ P.R.O., S.P. 16/265, fol. 141^v; incomplete in *Cal. S.P. Dom., 1633-1634*, p. 554 (no. 73). There is no reason to suspect that Wallenstein had made specific promises to the French with regard to that strategically important and fortified crossing point directly on the bank of the Rhine, near Bruchsal.

⁴ Cf. Charles Rogers, “Notes in the History of Sir Jerome Alexander”, in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 1st ser., ii (1873), 94-141; and F. Elrington Ball, *The Judges in Ireland 1221-1921* (New York, 1927), i. 284-6 and 348 f.

⁵ 8th Report, part 1 (1881), Appendix, p. 584, col. 2.

⁶ A detailed table of contents is given by Thomas K. Abbott, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College* (Dublin, 1900), pp. 148 f. who, giving no heading or date, assigns to the volume the number “MS. 861”. This is not the official press mark. Sir Jerome's manuscripts were arranged in Press G, shelves 3 and 4 of the Library, hence the volume is known as MS. G. 4. (no.) 8.

ductus is somewhat crude, aimed, generally speaking, at legibility, yet made mistakes both in wording and spelling necessitating numerous corrections.¹ A careful collation with the printed French text in the State Papers satisfies us, however, as to the accuracy and completeness of the translation.

As a matter of interest it should be added here that during the earlier stages of his career, particularly after 1626, Sir Jerome was employed under the auspices of Edward, second Viscount Conway in connection with the administration of the latter's estates in counties Down and Armagh and on other duties in the province of Ulster.²

Herewith the transcript.

Walsteins Character
Or
The life and Maximes of
the Duke of
Fridland³

The Duke of Fridland, commonly called Walstein, was tall of stature, slender, leane, & allmost perpetually mallanchollyc. From a private gentleman he had bin advanced to supream charge, such as formerly had not binn conferred on any other and of a subiect became a soveraigne being honored with fower very good dukedoms, to witt, Fridlandt, Glogav, Suagan⁴ and Meckelbourge, lastly with the title of Excellency from whence hee⁵ arrived to the title of Illustrious Highnes⁶ which was given him by allmen. He was much honored by his owne and foraigne souldiers by whome, once knowne, hee was almost adored. He was rigorous and pardoned noe fault nor suffered he any man to passe unrewarded whoe beare himself bravely. He punished severely and gave librally. Above all, he expected extraordinary obedience and reverence. He had as splendid a Courte as any soveraigne prince could have and well treated those whoe served him but whosoever sought to be inrolled in his service was to take very good heed for he dismissed none unlesse it came of his own accord. Nor would he that any other spake for him, for if any did he was sure to be cast into prison or to fare worse. He punctually paid his servants and would have them well provided for and orderly.

There was not any in his Courte whose nativity he would not cause to be cast (afforehand) by astrologers whome he perpetually had aboute him. These kind of people were very pretious with him for he was not onely a very good master in his art but above all things infinitely delighted therein. He likewise made the nativities of all his colonells and commanders to be calculated in this matter of auguries and foretelling of the Romain Rules. There was an astrologian in his

¹ I wish to record my gratitude to the Librarian of Trinity College, Dublin, for kindly providing me with photostat copies of the relevant folios.

² Rogers, loc. cit. p. 107.

³ Heading on covering fol. (69^r; 69^v blank) repeated at commencement of text (fol. 70^r).

⁴ " u " suprascript MS

⁵ hee suprascript MS.

⁶ h suprascript MS.

court much esteemed named Signor John Baptista Seni a Genoan borne, to whome he gave 2000 Rex Dollors ¹ for an Intertaynment and the fredome of the table of the greatest ² cavileirs of his court, not withstandinge that Seni had binn a poore scrivener ³ residing in the howse (of) Rapata, a marchant of Vienna. He had fore(cast) many things which succeedinge the Duke gave him for addition of bounty 6000 Rex Dollers in goods.⁴ He would not suffer any man to come into his courte nor nere the place of his abode either on horse backe or in coach. In his Anticamera he had aboute threscore gallants, princes and men of princely qualities, yet no more noyse was to be heard there ⁵ then in a devoute church. If any one speake alowde, were he a man of qualitee he was reprehendyd, but if of meaner ranck, he caused him to be bastanaded by some intertayned to that purpose. Wheresoever he came, he instantly comanded all cats and doggs to be killed not induring in any sorte to heare a noise. No collonell nor officer of foote service might weare bootes or spurrs and this under most heavey penallties which without remission were inflicted. He changed the sound of drumme and trumpette having found out others to his liking. The companies both horse and foote must have all necessary provision. When he went out of his howse either on ⁶ horse backe or in coach he was not pleased that any one should stand to salute him, nor that any body should behold or looke on him or salute him as he passed. Noe man might have audience or speake to him of what condition soever he were, but he must be first seen in courte where having taken his ⁷ physiognomye (which he in private endeavored to see) if he disliked him not, he called him to him and used him graciously and if it came into his head would conferre many honors and extraordinary favours upon him. When any one came into the chamber he must be very circumspecte in doing reverence and speaking to him, for if too ceremonious, he turned himself to the other and spake no more. When he commanded, no man must open his mouth but execute without repleye. He had in his court men versed in all sciences, payeing them well not soe much for instruccion of his pages as for applause and greatness to have men famous and excellent in all professions. He tooke noe pleasure in musick, huntinge or any other pastime being very seriously bent to disspach buissines, to study plots and understand from astrologye what might happen from day to day, wherein he infinitlye excelled: he was very liberall and when he gave greate presents he verye much reioysed and indeed was a man whoe gave most to him whoe least expected it, but his giffts were golden snares which indissoluebly obliged and wherein he who was tyed must take heed not to offende him, for in an instant he forfeited his life. No letters of recomendacion must be brought to him although

¹ = Reichs-Taler.

² "the greatest" suprascript *MS*.

³ "scrivener" suprascript *MS*.

⁴ Unpublished researches by Dr. Josef Bergl seem to suggest that Giovanni Battista Seni (1600-1656; in Friedlands service since 1629) was during the last few months of Wallenstein's life employed by Gallas and Piccolomini as an intelligence agent in the Duke's suite, supplying information about his plans and movements. See the Addendum on Seni by Taras von Borodajkewycz in Srbik, loc. cit. pp. 441 ff.

⁵ "there" suprascript *MS*.

⁶ "on" suprascript *MS*.

⁷ "his" suprascript *MS*.

from Princes and when any one unexperienced ¹ presented him with any such, he reade them not nor would he cast an eye upon what was sent. He would not have in his army any collonell but such as were made by himselfe, most of which were men of meane condition rayseed onely by him to greatnes to the end that they should be the better affected unto him. The more partiall and dependant and the old especially such as were souldiers of note, he entertayned because he could doe noe lesse, but they were so little respected and so ill intreated that it was necessary for them to have their charges and seeke out other services. He kepte the Army together, for although he gave no money, he at least held them in hope and suffered them not to want bread, for he caused it to be made from the Emperours hereditary provinces which they through fear consented very willingly unto: not daring to doe otherwise. His principall aime in this warre was ² to draw it at length; to intertayne the Army; to practise deversions, as if he would remove some confederate, stirre up the Polax ³ or some other prince or to attempte some treason concerned by the French.

To conclude this Relacion I say that the Duke of Fridlandt was severe, liberall and ⁴ prowde, an excellent Politician and a Greate Machivilian //

Finis

¹ "experienced" *MS*. This is an obvious lapse on the part of the translator or copyist, as the French text clearly runs " & quand quelqu'un *mal pratique* les luy presentoit ". . .

² "was" suprascript *MS*.

³ = Polaks, or Polacks, i.e. the Poles.

⁴ "and" suprascript *MS*.