

From *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, vol. 4.1, 1529-30*, edited by Pascual de Gayangos. London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1879, pp. 797-806.

13 Nov. [1530]
K. u. K. Haus-
of-u.-Staats Arch.
Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*,
c. 226, No. 45.

492. EUSTACE CHAPUYS TO THE EMPEROR.

Last Thursday Your Majesty's letter of the 22nd ult^o, brought by my own secretary, was duly received. I should immediately have gone to the King—who had just arrived in London—had I not heard from the Papal Nuncio (Borgo) that he himself was about to have an audience. I, therefore, delayed going to Court, that I might first communicate with the Nuncio, and learn from him what had been the result of his conference, and how the matters entrusted to his care had been received by the King.¹

On the ensuing Friday the Nuncio came to see me, and confirmed his previous statement. He had gone to Court and presented the [Pope's] answer to the petition,² which this king had caused to be signed by some noblemen (*aucung's grans*) of this kingdom, *which answer, as the report goes, was anything but agreeable to the King, who used very threatening language on the occasion, as I have already informed Your Majesty, telling the Nuncio, among other things, that God had lately testified his displeasure at the Pope's conduct by the sudden overflowing of the Tiber, and subsequent inundation of Rome, through which the city and the Pope himself had well nigh perished. Many other similar things did the King say of the Pope*, at which the Nuncio was so shocked that he assured me he would on no account go to Court again without an express mandate from the Pope, and that should he have any communication to make in virtue of his charge, he should limit himself to making extracts from the Pope's letters and forwarding them to Court. It was mere folly, he said, to try and negotiate personally with the King; at no interview had he been able to obtain from him any definite and reasonable proposal. The Nuncio further said that the King had greatly complained *of his having acquainted the French ambassador (Jehan Jocquin) with what had passed between them touching the choice of judges as co-arbitrators (juges co-arbitres)*, and also that he strongly suspected that he (the Nuncio) had communicated *with me, at which he seemed to be somewhat angry*.

I have told the Nuncio that I had been informed—not [798] indeed by Your Majesty's letters, but by private correspondence—of what has been decided concerning the Council, and that perhaps, *when speaking to the King on German affairs in general, he might suggest, as he had done many a time before*, the convocation of a general one. I further told him that as there could be no doubt that the Pope, in view of the good that was to result therefrom, and the great necessity there was of it, would willingly agree to the measure, *I might, if he approved of it, urge the affair with the King when I next saw him*. If he (the Nuncio) did not consider this step advisable under present circumstances, I was ready *not to mention the subject until compelled to do so*. For it might well be that these people (*ceulx çy*), in order to sew discord (*semer sizanie*) between the Pope and Your Majesty, would not speak of the Council but at their own pleasure (*a leur playsir*.)

The Nuncio replied that he did not deem it advisable, *unless he received from Rome a special mandate to that effect*, to take that step openly; but if I (Chapuy's) could in my future conferences with the King introduce the subject, and speak of it incidentally, *he would be well pleased to be excused doing so himself, and would attach as much faith to my report as if the King himself had told him his mind thereupon*

Yesterday morning, Saturday, I went to Court, and met there the lords Norfolk and Wiltshire,³ who repeated to me the same news with which they had greeted me on All

1 "A ceste cause ausy pour premierement communiquer avec luy de son besongnier en cort, et de la matiere dont yl avoit pleu a vostre maieste commander ainsy fere, differe[r]ay ma dite allee."

2 "Il me confirme ce quil mavoit dit au paravant que la cause de son allee en court avoit este pour presenter la reponse a la lettre, &c."

3 "Iallay en court ou eu pour rencontre les seigneurs de Norphoc et de Vulchier que me refre-

Saint's Day, namely, that the Vayvod had overrun Hungary, taken some towns and done much mischief. Told them *that if it had been the Cardinal who had given me such news I should have thought it was done for his own gratification, both on account of the ill-will he bore Your Majesty and also because he wished it to be understood that the money he had sent to the said Vayvod had borne fruit.* Further, that people could no longer nowadays be lulled with the idea that it was the Vayvod who was making these inroads on his own account; they must now be awake to the fact that it is the Turk who is plotting not only against Hungary but against the rest of Christendom, and that they must therefore rouse themselves to efficient resistance. Spoke afterwards of the reformation of the Church, which has led to this proposal of a council, a matter which is certainly being discussed now in the King's Council, for the earl of Wiltshire made some remarks thereupon which were afterwards repeated to me by the King, among others, that the convocation of councils, excepting on matters of Faith, was the province of secular princes, not of the Pope, *and that in neither case ought the Pope to be the head of them.* After much had been said on this topic, and many questions asked and answered, I replied that I knew on sufficient authority, from the opinion of doctors, that for [799] the due convocation of a General Council it sufficed that Your Majesty should propose and the Pope sanction it, at which they were much surprised and silenced for the time.

I then went to the King, who, among many other familiar topics (*familliers propos*), inquired after my servant who had died of the plague, and told me that he heard from Spain that the plague was raging there so terribly that the Empress could hardly find a safe place of residence: also that from other letters he had seen, he learnt that 30,000 men had been assembled to march upon Bayonne. Was much amazed to hear such monstrous pieces of intelligence, and told the King that some one must have invented them for his gratification.

Then followed a discussion on German affairs, the King telling me that Your Majesty, in his opinion, had not paid them that attention which the immeasurable importance of the case required. That considering that the points to be decided were now reduced to four, viz., communion in two kinds; marriage of the Clergy; the removal of the communion reed during mass, and the depriving ecclesiastics of their temporalities, Your Majesty might well have granted the Lutherans⁴ such just requests as these; the last-named article being one that would especially commend itself to many besides the Lutherans, as it did indeed to himself; *but* Your Majesty, he said, had in this point shewn more regard for private interest than for *the public weal and the repose of Christendom.*

Seeing how very ill-informed the King was of what had lately passed [in Germany] I shewed him the report of the acts of the Diet, telling him of the great pains Your Majesty had taken for the redress of the said evils, and also how very inexpedient it would have been for yourself to sanction the said articles, which could not have been done without previous deliberation in a General Council. Indeed should such a council be convoked, the King would see that no personal motive would influence you. He (the king) was wrong in supposing that on account of the Queen's cause and for fear of its issue—in which Your Majesty sued simply for justice—you had been induced to delay attending to this important work for which you had purposely left Spain and encountered so much trouble and expense. The King did not reply to my observation respecting the fears he said you entertained of the issue of the cause, but somewhat excused himself for what he had at first said by throwing all the blame on the ecclesiastics who, he said, surround you, and who, not caring for any but their own personal interest, had advised Your Majesty in a way that might lead to more mischief than [800] had ever been done before. He then began to argue

schirent les nouvelles dont yl mavoint envoye entretenir le bon jour de tous saintz questoent, &c.”

4 “Cart puyque les choses estoit reduytes jusque a quatre articles a sçavoir: de la communication soub deux especes, du mariage du prestres, de hoster le cane (?) de la messe et priuer les gens desglize de biens temporelz, vostre maieste pour le bien de paix et union pouroit bien condescendre a cella et en ce gratiffier aux Lutheriens, vehu que nestoient choses que ne se puyssent raysonnablemant octroyer, speciallemant la derniere questoit celle dont plus se fussent contentes les ditz Lutheriens.”

with me and say that it would really be doing God's service to take away the temporalities from the Clergy, which opinion I did not oppose in the least, but said that supposing his statements to be substantially true, in any case the question was one to be determined by a General Council, the only authority to which the Pope, to whose prejudice the measure would work, was amenable.⁵ The King replied that there was no need of any fresh council to reform the German Church, and deprive the Clergy of their temporalities; this concerned Your Majesty alone; other princes had no power in Germany, and it would have answered all the purposes of a council if you yourself had initiated these reforms there; other princes would then have followed your example in their own territory. For his own part he said he could redress the evils in his own country without the intervention of any council whatever, for that his kingdom lay in a corner of the world separated by its natural position from contact with other countries, in whose affairs he did not much care to meddle.

The conversation on these matters lasted a long while; did not try to draw the King away from them, as they were closely connected with that of the Council, which I wished to explode. At last having clearly gathered from the King's words what his intentions and views were, I resolutely asked him what reason he thought there was for Your Majesty thus to yield to the obstinate persistence of four Lutheran princes, at the same time offending and scandalizing so many other princes, and the whole of the Christian community. The King could only answer that there were more than four princes for that, besides those I had alluded to as being present at the Augsburg diet, the duke of Cleves and several others had offered the same opposition, and that among those on the other side he knew many who would not regret seeing the wings of the Clergy clipped. *This allusion was evidently directed against the Pope*, although when I mentioned his name the King suddenly interrupted me by saying: "*I am not speaking of the Pope*" and I saw plainly that his object was to arouse jealousy and suspicion on my part.⁶

I have mentioned this to the *Nuncio*, who takes the same view that I take, and says that the thing has occurred to him more than once in his interviews with the King, whenever there was a question of specially naming Your Majesty.

I subsequently asked the King whether he could, in order to assist Your Majesty in the redress of German affairs, suggest any measure other than the first-mentioned one, which I could neither advise nor communicate. Any such suggestion from him, I said, would be welcomed by Your Majesty, bound as you [801] were to the King both by blood and friendship, and respecting as you did, the King's great learning (on which last subject I dwelt amply), and that especially on these matters relating to Faith, on which he had written books, Your Majesty would be glad of his guidance and advice. The King took this very well, modestly excusing his ignorance and incompetence, yet saying that Your Majesty had formerly been none the worse for his advice, *but that since your affairs had been more prosperous you had ceased to have any regard for him*. That there were other princes *who applied to him for advice and derived benefit from it*. I then reminded him that from the first time that I had spoken to him on Your Majesty's part I had explained how you were about to visit Italy and Germany, in the hope of being able, with his aid and counsel, to redress all the evils existing in those countries; that when his (the King's) ambassadors went to Bologna on the latter as well as former occasions, I had distinctly begged and requested him to give them instructions for such redress as well as powers for treating upon it; that I had also on that occasion and continually afterwards communicated what news I had from Germany, and sought his advice. The King *seemed caught in his own net*, and soon after said, "Had the Emperor entrusted the arbitration of those German affairs to the king of France and to myself, I take it that all would have been set to rights by this time." I said in reply that Your Majesty in proposing to the Lutherans the convocation of a General Council had virtually made the most Christian King and himself arbiters, as they would naturally be among the chief personages in the Council; that he (the King)

5 "Cart autre superieur na le pape du prejudice du quel yl se agisoit."

6 "[Et ouvertement le tout sadressoit contre le pape] toutesfoys quant je le nommez ung coup il me dit tout soudain quil [ne parloit point du pape, [ce] que ue fut synon pour me engendrer quelque jalousie et suspicion]."

would see by the report I had put into his hands that the rashness and obstinacy of the Lutherans had reached such a degree that their proposals were inadmissible; that indeed this Council was needed not only for the suppression of heresy (which attacks other princes even more directly than Your Majesty, whose authority and rank are founded upon the Gospel), but also for obtaining united action against the Turk, whom it would take the combined effort of all Christendom to resist effectually; and that however thoroughly he (the King) might hope to suppress Lutheranism in his own dominions, he would find it no easy matter to control his people, naturally prone to revolution, when they saw every other country infected by heresy, even Lower Germany, which is so near to them, and Denmark also. The King acknowledged that England had already been somewhat contaminated by the neighbourhood of Lower Germany, for that the Osterlings (*Austrelins*) residing here had received many Lutheran books, and that the Dansich (Dantzic) in the said country was Lutheran, notwithstanding all the efforts the king of Poland (Sigismund) had made to prevent it. As to resisting the Turk, the King said that everyone must try to defend his own, and God would [802] be the protector of all. Replied that it was not right to tempt God; everyone should do their part in the work, and then look for God's help; upon which the King acknowledged that it would be quite impossible for one or even two Christian princes alone to resist the Turkish power, and that besides the general iniquity was so evident, and our sins were so great, that there was little hope that God would materially help till some amendment took place. Notwithstanding the above and other considerations, the King *maintained his coldness and want of cordiality, clearly intimating (common writing) that the whole was caused by this cursed divorce*; I was, therefore, moved to repeat to the King the very same arguments I had once made use of to the duke of Norfolk both at Windsor and here, as Your Majesty has been already informed.

I have endeavoured to ascertain, in many private ways, what the King's real feeling is about this Council and have at last come to the conclusion that he will oppose it with all his power, for two principal reasons; one, and the first, because Your Majesty desires it, and he thinks it will be more beneficial to you than to anyone else; and the second, because he fears that the Council once assembled, one of the first things brought under discussion will be his own divorce suit, for in order that this united assembly should bear good fruit it would first be necessary to remove every cause of discord and rancour. Indeed this business once decided upon in the Council the King would have to submit and take patience, for there would be no further appeal possible. No Council being held, his hope is that there will be a thousand delays and appeals, and that meanwhile either the Pope or the Queen may die. I think, moreover, that he (the King) is fully convinced that he would be at once condemned by the Council, for besides the fact that the Queen has truth and justice on her side, there would be besides the support of the Emperor and of the king of Hungary, and also of all the Lutherans, who would certainly oppose him. There is, therefore, no chance of inducing him to consent unless it be through the king of France, with whom on this and other matters he seems to have a good understanding, in proof of which he told me the other day that Monsgr. de Noircames⁷ had been in France, and that he (the King) was much surprised to hear that in the credentials of that ambassador no mention whatever was made of his having to negotiate about this Council, as he perceived must have been the case⁸ from the tenor of his proposals. My reply was that I believed no instructions had been given on this particular; but that I had been told the king of France, as a very Christian and very wise prince, had spoken strongly of the necessity of this Council to Monsgr. de Noircames, and that the Queen Regent (Louisa) had done the same. The King, however, affected not to believe this statement of mine, either because he wished to persuade me that he had been deceived on this point, or else to wake it appear as if nothing was done in France without his cogni- [803] zance.⁹ While on this topic the

7 Written Norcarives.

8 "En tegmonniage quil me dit que [monseigneur de norcariues avoit este en france, et quil estoit esbey que en sa credence il navoit eu aucune charge dentrer en propoz de ce concille, commil avoit veu par la teneur de tout ce quil avoit propose.]"

9 "La quelle chose ne croyoit pour autant que [les françois lont ausi abbuse, ou quil le se

King also said that there could be no *hope of carrying out any ecclesiastical reforms in a General Council, as so many of the Clergy would be present, who would never consent to giving up their temporalities, and that the [present] Pope claims to have authority over the Council*¹⁰ *in virtue of a decretal of Pius, his predecessor, excommunicating all those who should appeal to the Council; which decretal I have no doubt the King has studied and examined carefully for his own guidance in case he should be condemned by the Pope.*¹¹

Whilst speaking on the above matters *the King* at every possible opportunity introduced the subject of his divorce, on which he spoke with much eagerness (*avec grosse affection*), and this not without good cause, for *at a small window in the King's chamber, commanding the gallery where the King and I were speaking, was the Lady overlooking and overhearing all that passed.* Begged the King from the very first *not to enter upon so delicate a subject*, for I had resolved not to say anything more upon it without express command from Your Majesty. And this I said because I was convinced *the King would not listen to reason; but the more I tried to avoid the subject the more did the King insist on bringing it forward.* He began as usual by complaining that *Your Majesty thwarted him in every possible way, expecting from him what was dishonest and unreasonable;* upon which I reminded the King how many *things* you might have done in this cause which you had refrained from doing; and that as to the *dishonest demands to which he referred there was no one in the world to whom this could apply so little as to Your Majesty, who had always acted as an honourable and virtuous prince.*

The King perceiving the warmth with which I uttered these last words, and that I was ever *ready* with my arguments, fearing, moreover, lest the *Lady might overhear something that would offend her; moved away from the window and taking me to the middle of the room,* said that if he had spoken so unceremoniously about Your Majesty it was for the purpose of inducing you to reprimand your ambassadors in Rome and in France, who were inventing a thousand falsehoods about him, and ended by saying that in spite of them all he would carry his purpose through. The King added that I myself had frequently sent advices from this country to Rome which had greatly contributed to embitter his case, for the Pope himself had mentioned the fact to his ambassadors. To this new attack I answered for myself, a task easy enough to accomplish, considering that I had right on my side and [804] that my accusers were far off. The King, however, spoke with regret of the late dealings in France.¹²

After this the King observed in general terms that all the *princes with whom he had anything to do had broken faith with him.* Replied that if among these he included Your Majesty, *he was decidedly in the wrong,* for I had hitherto refrained from *forwarding unpleasant news,* as he might perceive from *Your Majesty's manner of writing, but that henceforth,* whenever he (the King) made observations of this nature to me, I should make a point of replying without reserve, and of at once advising you thereof. Upon which the King somewhat modified his first statement by saying he did not mean to say *that Your Majesty had broken faith with him as to words and promises, but only as to friendship.*

Seeing that in spite of all my endeavours *at conciliation the King remained still obdurate,* and also that he seemed still to adhere to his former proposition, and to maintain that Your Majesty, *unable to bring your affairs to a good issue unsupported,* was ready to fall back upon those whom you had lightly treated in the days of your prosperity, I determined not to let him have this glorification; and therefore said¹³ that I could not think *donne [a] entendre que rien se passe en france dont il ne soit aduert[y].*"

10 "Et que la pape pretendoit estre sur ce concille par une constitution du pape pie que excommunie ceulx qui appellent au concille."

11 "La quelle constitution ainsy que croys yl a apprins [en se conseillant commil le pourroit fere quant il seroit condempne du pape.]"

12 "Sur tout se douloit yl du porchas que dernièrement a este fait en france."

13 "Voyant que le roy non obstant toutes remonstrances et gracieusetez demouroit en son obstination, ausy quil mavoit dit que vostre maieste ne pouvant [venir a chief de ses afferes recoroit volentiers a ceulx dont en sa prosperite faisoit peu dextime, je ne le vouluz laysser en telle [gloire], et luy dis, &c."

what led him (the King) to make such an assertion, for that in all that had just passed I had not said one single thing or made any request *that concerned Your Majesty* more than himself; *all I had said was on my own responsibility without any especial charge from Your Majesty.*

The King kept me from nine o'clock in the morning till the afternoon, and but that he had not yet heard mass, I really think he would have kept me still longer. During this time he told me many things which I omit for brevity's sake and not to annoy Your Majesty with too much prolixity.

Yesterday evening, after my return from Court, the duke of Norfolk sent word to the Nuncio begging him to call at his house this very morning as secretly as possible, which he has accordingly done. *All the Duke said to him was not to take any notice (se ranger) of the King's violent words but to try and induce the Pope to grant the King's wishes, for that he (the Duke) would take good care that none of the King's threats should be carried into execution.* The Nuncio then asked the Duke for what purpose I had been to Court, but the Duke only said that nothing fresh had occurred concerning this new marriage, and that I had made no allusion whatever to it.

Eight days ago the Cardinal (Wolsey), by the King's command, was removed from the keeping of Northumberland, and placed again in the charge of Tallebot (Talbot), his ancient [805] enemy;¹⁴ the Cardinal's physician, moreover, has been sent to the Tower as a traitor (*en forme de malfaytteur*). At the same time two Genoese, great friends of Jehan Jocquin, were arrested and their papers seized. They were at once set at liberty on Jocquin offering to be security for them; but their papers are still retained to see if there be among them letters from the Cardinal or from his people. Monsgr. de Norfolk says that he cannot yet tell me the cause of the Cardinal's arrest, only that he was beginning to do worse than ever, and that Your Majesty ought to be very glad that he has been imprisoned. Shortly before his arrest the Cardinal had changed his place of residence, taking no less than 600 horsemen in his train, which has by no means improved his case. At that time he used *to keep me well informed of all his movements, begging me to find out whether the Nuncio had not instructions [from Rome] concerning him,* and assuring me that he was again on the road to *his former position.*¹⁵ *The Nuncio, upon inquiry, says that his instructions were to be guided in this affair by the advice of Jehan Jocquin,* but that as *Jocquin* was not on good terms with the other (the Cardinal) he had not been able to speak [to him] about this business.¹⁶ I have found *the Nuncio hitherto very energetic in his work. It would be a still further encouragement to him* if Your Majesty would write him a letter in acknowledgment of his services.

The Queen has heard lately of the fresh suspension of the proceedings at Rome. This she much regretted at first, but having since heard of Your Majesty's ever-increasing care for her interests, and of the efforts made in all directions for her sake, she has laid aside her regret, and trusts that the delay will prove rather useful than otherwise. She is now engaged in procuring *witnesses to attest that she did not live with prince Arthur as his wife.* If that only could be proved the whole case would be at an end at once. *I fear,* however, that such a proof will be a very difficult one to establish. Many able books are being written here in her favour, which will be sent at once to Messire Mai. As to the information, and documents which that ambassador mentions in his letters all that could be obtained has already been sent to him.

I venture again to bring my own private affairs before Your Majesty. The great

14 "Fut prins de northamberlan et remys entre les mains de tallebot, son ancien malveuil-liant."

15 "Peu de temps avant quil fust prins yl se deslougea de la ou yl estoit pour aller ailleurs, et eust bien vi. c. chevaux de compagnie, que ne luy a pas esmende son cas. De ce temps la il madvertit de ses nouvelles, me priant que voulsisse entendre du nonce sil [n] auoit point charge de parler de son affere et quil estoit en chemin et espoir de revenir au dessus."

16 "Le dit Nonce me declaire auoir eu charge du dit affere et en icelle se conduire et guider par laduis et volente du dit Jehan Jocquin, et que le dit Jocquin nestoit pas bien avec lautre pour ainsy quil navoit riens [peu] parler sur le dit affere."

expenses and considerable losses which I once had to sustain whilst in the service of Monseigneur de Bourbon (whom may God forgive), the unsettled [806] state of affairs at Geneva, whence I can draw no resources, embolden me again to beg Your Imperial Majesty to remember the promises made respecting my pension and salary. Indeed if the dearth of provisions in this country, which has increased to double the amount during the last two years, and the smallness of my salary, inferior to that of most other Imperial ambassadors, be taken into account it will be found that I have great difficulty in maintaining the reputation and honour of the post to which I have been appointed. I, therefore, humbly beseech Your Majesty to grant me some ecclesiastical benefice or pension with which I may provide for the duties and expenses of this my office, if not as a reward for my services and good-will, at least for the sake of the memory of the above-named Prince (Monsieur de Bourbon), that the world at large may know in various ways that Your Imperial Majesty has not forgotten the good services and commendable memory of the said Prince.—London, 13th November 1530.

Signed: “Eustace Chapuys.”

Addressed: “To the Emperor.”

Indorsed: “From the ambassador in England. Received at Spiers (Spire) on the 4th of December.”

French. Holograph, pp. 11.