

**From** *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, vol. 4.1, 1529-30*, edited by Pascual de Gayangos. London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1879, pp. 271-79.

8 Oct. [1529]  
K. u. K. Haus-  
Hof-u.-Staats Arch.  
Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*,  
c. 226, No. 23.

**182.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS, IMPERIAL AMBASSADOR IN ENGLAND, TO THE EMPEROR.

(*Cipher.*) As a proof of this King's obstinacy in the matter of the divorce, as I had the honour to inform Your Imperial Majesty [in my despatch of the 27th ult<sup>o</sup>], I will add that [272] he has lately sent for the Auditor of the Apostolic Chamber [Ghinucci] merely to confer with him on the marriage affair The Auditor told the King, as I have since learned from very good sources, that he consents to lose his head if the dispensation brief is not found to be a forgery for many reasons. The first and principal on account of its date, as I have already had occasion to inform Your Imperial Majesty; the second, that the wax-seal is not where it ought to be;<sup>1</sup> and the third, that the secretary's signature is not in his handwriting as appears from other documents of the kind. The Auditor, I am told, further adds that he saw once an inventory of papers and deeds of the time of Ferdinand the Catholic, concerning him and Henry VII., the father of this King, in which no mention whatever occurred of the said brief, whence it might be easily inferred that no such a document was ever issued from the Roman Chancery. They say that after telling the King all these fine things, he (Ghinucci) begged and entreated that the information should be kept secret for fear of Your Majesty parrying the blow.

The Auditor has had a very good reception here, and is since gone back to Rome with a mission to the Pope, as this King's ambassador. He will no doubt exert himself there to prove the invalidity of the brief founded on the three above-mentioned conclusions.<sup>2</sup> Thus, independently of his affection for the Lady [Anne Boleyn], the King is encouraged in his obstinacy by the persuasions of many who, like Ghinucci and others, support him in his belief, as likewise by certain hopes thrown out in a Papal brief lately received here, wherein His Holiness remits the penalty of 10,000 ducats contained in the inhibition, and promises that notwithstanding the advocacy of the whole case to Rome, he (the Pope) will keep his word and do whatever has been agreed between them.

(*Common writing.*) These promises of the Pope have been gladly accepted here, and in order the more to stimulate him to their observance, an answer has been prepared, in which the King declares that "inasmuch as His Holiness has failed in many of his promises up to the present time, it is reasonable to expect that he will now attend more to them; otherwise no trust or reliance can henceforward be placed in him, and the utmost caution must be used in negotiating."

(*Cipher.*) The Auditor (Ghinucci) took his departure for Rome this very day, and I have just been told by the merchant, at whose house he was lodged, that he goes well provided with money, both in cash and in letters of credit, for the King, it is said, has given him as much as 3,000 ducats, to be spent exclusively in the divorce case.<sup>3</sup> I have written to Miçer Mai about it that he may be on his guard.

[*Common writing.*] On the return of Cardinal Campeggio [from Grafton] I called upon him, according to the Queen's [273] desire, to thank him<sup>4</sup> in her name and in that of Your Majesty, and to inquire at the same time whether he had, or had not, according to promise made any notification (*rencharge*) to the King on this matter of the divorce. Also to learn his own opinion of a case so often discussed and debated in his very presence. He assured me that he had had no opportunity whatever of speaking about it, which circumstance he considered rather favourable for the Queen's case than otherwise, for had he attempted to make inquiries, or tried to ascertain the King's sentiments thereupon, he might have done harm instead of good, for the King, he observed, suspected him, and was very angry at his

1 "La seconde que la cire n'est mise á son devoir."

2 "Et va en bonne intention de prouver son *triacle* (?) sur les dits points."

3 "Tant y a que le Roy luy a fait donner jusques á trois mille ducas pour despandre á la pour-  
suyte du divorce."

4 "Luy faire les merciations de la part de Votre Majesté."

refusing to proceed with the case, so much so that he made no secret of his disappointment and ill-will towards him; neither would he allow of his speaking to the Queen or taking leave of her before his departure from England.

(*Cipher*;) I am inclined to believe that Campeggio does not wish the matter to remain as it is, and, therefore, that the King's suspicions apply more to the future than to any previous doings of that Cardinal in England, and that the fear of his talking more freely about the divorce on his departure—especially as the bishopric promised to him in this kingdom is not forthcoming—has been the real and principal cause of the King's anger and suspicion, and of his not allowing him to take leave of the Queen.<sup>5</sup>

(*Common writing*;) Campeggio, however, stated to me that wherever the case might be tried or discussed [in England or at Rome] he had not the least doubt that it would be decided in favour of the Queen and the marriage declared indissoluble.

(*Cipher*;) He thought, moreover, that the King after this would take no further judicial steps in the affair, and if so, that the Queen should be advised not to stir or pursue her defence. But having informed him of some of the particulars above alluded to, and others contained in my former despatches, he (the Cardinal) changed his opinion and agreed with me that the Queen had better, all things considered, prosecute her defence as best she could.

(*Common writing*;) Campeggio left yesterday morning for Home taking with him silver plate valued at 3,000 ducats, besides a present of 4,000 more which he received on his arrival. It was very fortunate that he did so, for on the very day of his departure one of his most favourite chamberlains was struck by the plague, and 24 hours after he was dead.

(*Cipher*;) The Queen's Council, fearing to bring on themselves the King's displeasure, or perhaps wishing to fish in [274] troubled waters<sup>6</sup> for their own individual advantage had once almost persuaded her to desist (*surseoir*), giving her to understand that in time everything would be set to rights, and that upon the arrival of Your Majesty at Rome a declaration might easily be obtained from His Holiness respecting the validity of the dispensation brief, without further proceedings. But it appears that the Queen hearing that her enemies are at work, and knowing also that delay in these matters is often fraught with danger; doubting, moreover, whether His Holiness will be persuaded to make such a declaration without a previous trial, has rejected the opinion of the majority of her Council. Others tell her that if Your Majesty could only persuade His Holiness to write [to the King] about it, the whole thing might be satisfactorily settled. In this last opinion, if adopted, I see two dangers: one is, that the Pope, considering his engagements and promises to this King—to which I have alluded in the former part of this despatch—may not dare to address him on the subject; the other is, that if this King comes to hear of Your Majesty's exertions at Rome in favour of Your Majesty's aunt, the opposite party may allege that unfair means have been used to obtain the Pope's grace (*gratieusetez*).

(*Cipher*;) The Queen has likewise been intimidated by the announcement of this new Parliament, which is to meet soon. She has been told that should the Commons hear that the King has actually been summoned to appear personally or by proxy at Rome some motion detrimental to her interests might easily be made and carried out. This, however, in my opinion, is not to be apprehended, for the love and affection which the English people bear Your Imperial Majesty and the Queen is indeed very great. This last fear has so perplexed her of late that she actually hesitates as to the best course to follow under present circumstances. The only resolution she has come to is to inform Your Majesty through me of her perplexity and fears, and to beg that the matter be taken entirely out of her hands and placed in those of Your Majesty, for Your Majesty to act and proceed as best suite the Imperial interests and her own. And in case of Your Majesty deciding for the prosecution

5 "Cela me fayt penser qu'il (Campeggio) ne veult ainsi laisser la chose, et que la suspicion que le Roy a heu est sur l' advenir, non point sur le passé; pensant qu'a son partement il parleroit plus librement que paravant, mesme-ment comme l'one (*sic*) ne luy a donne l'evesche que luy a este promise."

6 "Ou qui par aventure voudroit tousjours pescher en cest trouble."

of the suit at Rome, that a prudent letter be addressed to the King, her husband, stating the reasons for such proceedings, exculpating<sup>7</sup> her there from and giving him (the King) to understand that the prosecution of the affair is as much in his favour as in the Queen's, all this being expressed in words similar to those contained in my instructions.

One of the reasons which this King alleges as an excuse for proceeding, as he has done, against the Queen, and trying to have his marriage declared invalid, is that he himself has never been a party to it; and yet, strange to say, he now [275] reproaches her with shewing herself a party!<sup>7</sup> (*Cipher*.) Hence it follows that if the Pope only consented to enforce justice there would be no occasion for excuse or reproach, for having appointed the Legatine commission "*ex officio* and *motu proprio*," it stands to reason that he could now proceed "*ex officio*" without the request or appeal of the parties concerned, since the cause is still the same once committed to the two Legates, and which is now being advoked to Rome with its appurtenances and incidents; besides which, there is no more reason now for fearing scandal and publicity than there was at first.<sup>8</sup> So that, rightly speaking, were the parties by common consent to institute an action at law, as the affair is spiritual and touches the soul, it would prove a very profitable move for Your Majesty and likewise for the Queen, as it would discharge their consciences and everything afterwards would go on well.<sup>9</sup> I have written to Miçer Mai in this sense, that he may insist upon the advocacy. (*Common writing*.) As I have already informed Your Majesty, they make much here of this brief of dispensation, fancying that if they only succeed in having it condemned as a forgery—which they never will do—they will ultimately gain their point. Hitherto they have adduced no sound proofs against its authenticity, and I am really astonished how they can be so quiet about it when the Queen herself has declared by a public act—a copy of which is here enclosed—that she could not publicly avow or make use of the brief in her defence, inasmuch as it is explicitly said therein that Prince Arthur, her former husband, had consummated matrimony; which fact she declares to be untrue, as her present husband has often confessed before witnesses.<sup>10</sup> Indeed, the Queen says that a short time ago, whilst conversing with the King, her husband, after dinner, he said to her: "You wish to help yourself and defend the validity of the dispensation by saying that your former husband, Prince Arthur, my brother, never consummated marriage. Well and good, but no less was our marriage illegal, for the bull does not dispense *super impedimento publicæ honestatis*, and, therefore, I intend disputing and maintaining against all people that a dispensation thus conceived! is insufficient." I confess that an argument of this sort may appear strong enough to a person like the Queen, but to people of another class it would be found to rest on very brittle footing (*la glace d'une nuyt*). The Queen, however, answered that whatever arguments were used to convince [276] her that she was not his lawful and legitimate wife would be of no avail; she considered herself such. That was not the time or place to dispute about such matters, and that they had better go to Rome, and have the question determined by the Pope.

On Tuesday evening Cardinal Wolsey sent me one of his secretaries with a message from the King's Privy Council appointing 8 o'clock in the morning as the hour at which the Council would assemble and communicate with me certain affairs relating to Your Imperial Majesty. I promised to be present at the appointment and listen to what the King's Council had to say. Whilst I was talking to the Secretary, the French ambassador approached the door of my house, with an intention no doubt to call; but finding that Cardinal Wolsey's secretary and other English gentlemen were with me, he went off, and sent one of his own men to say he wished to speak to me, for he had been for the last two days debating and

7 "La chose que le Roy poyse autant pour son excuse du procès qu'a este *icy esmeu sus la validité du mariage, est qu'il dist qu'il ne se trouvera qu'il ayt jamais fayt part en icelluy, et maintenant il raproche (sic) à la Royne que c'est elle qui fayt part.*"

8 "Et d'ailleurs ne se peut plus disposer à esclandre ni divulger que premiers."

9 "De sorte que pour forme de droit quant bien les parties commenceroyent de commung accord au procès, puisque la matière concerne la spiritualité de l'ame, tenant tel moyen, seroit une grande decharge pour Votre Majestè."

10 "Et pense que le Roy ne le mettroyt en ny, cars plusieurs foyz yl l'a dit et propalé."

hammering (*il avoit desbatu et martelle*) with the King's Privy Councillors about King Francis' jewels, which, he said, he wished to recover as soon as possible, that his master might in return fulfil his engagements to Your Majesty. The King and his Council (he said) were ready enough to give up the pledge in their hands, but they did not know whether Your Imperial Majesty would approve of it or not. It had, therefore, been resolved in Council to send for me and ask me the question; accordingly he (the ambassador) wished to inform me thereof, and to request that I would make every effort for the said jewels and rings to be restored as soon as possible. My answer to the ambassador's man was that I had no instructions whatever respecting his master's rings, and if interrogated by the Council should be at a loss how to shape my reply, inasmuch as when I took leave of Your Majesty [at Barcelona] there had been no talk of peace, and that I imagined the treaty of Cambray would contain some clause and stipulation as to the manner in which such pledges were to be restored.

Wednesday morning, as I was preparing to go to the Privy Council, a second message came from the French ambassador, requesting that, since I could do nothing to help him in the matter, I would at least put off the interview till after dinner. Replied that, had I been sure that the King's Council had no other object in view than the affair of the rings, I would, to please him, have postponed the interview; but that having already accepted the appointment, and not being quite certain that their communication only referred to that matter, I must attend the summons.

**At the appointed hour, therefore, I was in the Council room, where most of the English lords were already assembled. On my arrival there Cardinal Wolsey, and the two Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk left the Council room, and after much welcoming and greeting—for the two last named personages had not yet seen me—they took me to a corner of the anti-room, [277] and there all four of us standing, the Cardinal began to say:** “You must know that by the treaty of Cambray the King of France has engaged to pay into the hands of His Imperial Majesty certain debts of his own to the King of England, our master, in consequence of which a settlement of our accounts with him has been made, the bonds and obligations returned, &c. But inasmuch as the King, our master, has still as pledges for the said debt certain jewels originally belonging to the old house of Burgundy—to which the Emperor Charles has since succeeded—besides other old relics, which may have a certain value, the King, our master, wishes to know whether it is the Emperor's pleasure that the said jewels be at once restored to the King of France without passing through so many hands. For this reason we have sent for you to learn what your instructions are on this point, as neither the King, our master, nor ourselves would do anything that was disagreeable to His Imperial Majesty.”

My answer was that I had no instructions whatever respecting the jewels. At my departure from Barcelona the Emperor had no certain information about the conference at Cambray, which had just then begun. Perhaps the Imperial messenger who was to bring to England the ratification of the treaty, would also bring instructions as to the manner of disposing of the jewels and relics. As to the treaty itself I had not seen it yet, nor did I know its contents. The King, their master, who had been the principal promoter of the peace (*desbatu et martellé*) ought to know what the terms and stipulations of it were. I ended by thanking them for their good-will towards Your Majesty and the affectionate care they took of your affairs, and assured them that I should not fail to acquaint my Court thereof. As to their suggestion, that Your Majesty might perhaps be better pleased to leave the said pledges in the hands of their King than in those of many others, I did not hesitate to say that so it was, inasmuch as Your Majesty had often given them ample proofs of the utmost confidence in their good faith, by trusting his own person and patrimonial dominions in their hands, upon which the Duke of Norfolk replied: “You have spoken the truth. In a like manner the King, my master, trusts more in His Imperial Majesty than in any other Christian prince, and that is the reason why, in the present case, for the sake of the old mutual friendship and the King's goodwill towards the Emperor, you, Chappuis, (*sic*) have been consulted by us on this occasion before doing in this matter anything that

might perchance be disagreeable to your master.”

It was, therefore, resolved at the Council not to deliver the said jewels into the French ambassador’s hands until Your Majesty’s pleasure should be known. And the Cardinal added that a special messenger should be sent post haste [to Italy] to that effect. After which we took leave of each other, the Cardinal and the two Dukes returning to the Council Chamber, and I myself retiring to my lodgings in the town. [278]

By the Queen’s advice, and that of many good servants and friends of Your Imperial Majesty also, I have purposely avoided calling upon the above-mentioned personages, not to give as it were cause for jealousy and suspicion, and to see in the meantime what turn the affairs of Cardinal Wolsey will take, for, in my opinion, not many days will elapse before we have a new Government in this country, and then we shall have to sail with them before the wind.

On my way home I called on the French ambassador for the purpose of returning his two visits and informing him of what had been resolved at the Council. I told him what my answer had been, and that there could not be much delay in the delivery of the jewel, as an express would be dispatched immediately to consult Your Majesty thereupon. I told him more; I said that my impression was that even if my instructions had been most categorical on the subject, they (the Lords of the Council) would have refused to give up the rings without a special mandate from the King, his master, determining the manner in which the jewel was to be surrendered and received, as well as the sort of document and voucher which he (the ambassador) was to give to the English. He confessed that I was right, but that he was exceedingly disappointed and sorry (*marry*), observing that the King himself and the principal members of his Privy Council, including the Cardinal, had expressed an opinion that the pledges should he at once restored, whereas some of the new Government (*nouveau regime*), wishing to appear as wise and exact as their predecessors in office, had raised the difficulty. He said more; he assured me he had protested before the Council that inasmuch as he considered he had done his duty respecting the jewel, he cared not a straw whether it was restored or not, as his master would easily find means, with the ring or without it, of maintaining Your Majesty’s friendship, and giving the equivalent. He then told me in full detail the news from Hungary, which he said he had direct from the French ambassadors residing with the princes of the two leagues,<sup>11</sup> who, according to his information, had sent a messenger to the Imperial Diet. (*Cipher*;) But he told me this piece of news as if he were not at all concerned about it, yet observing that the gravity of the case was such that it well needed the co-operation and help of all the Christian princes without losing time in the wording of treaties, thereby implying no doubt what I recollect his saying to me on another occasion, namely, that Madame, the Archduchess (Margaret), had made many promises which had not, and could not be [279] fulfilled, and confidently asserted besides that peace once concluded everything else would be settled to the satisfaction of the parties.

I have just heard from a very good source that this King is so blindly and passionately fond of his Anne, that he has, at her persuasion, consented to treat of a marriage between the Princess Mary, his daughter, and the son of the Duke of Norfolk, who is a near relative of the lady.

(*Common writing*;) Madame, the Archduchess, writes to me in date of the 25th September, that the ratification of the treaty of Cambray by Your Imperial Majesty has been duly received at Brussels. Also that Mr. de Rosymboz and I have been commissioned to present the same to this King, and ask him whether he wishes to sign at once or wait until his ambassadors have reached the Imperial Court, in order that on the same day and at the same hour the treaty may be duly signed and ratified here and there. Having immediately written to this King on the subject I have this very day had an answer from

11 Puis me conta bien amplement des nouvelles d’Hongrie qu’il avoit re en des ambassadeurs de France que sont aux liguees (*sic*), qu’avoint envoye ung homme   la Diete Imperiale.” Thus in the original. If the word liguees is meant for “leagues,” the Suabian and that of the Protestant princes must be meant; but one might be inclined to think that *lignes* for frontiers or advanced army in front of the enemy is here meant.

him, assuring me of his readiness to ratify and swear to the treaty, and that as to the time and mode of signing he entirely subscribes to any arrangement between Madame and his own ambassadors, recently appointed, *i.e.*, the Grand Squire to the Royal Household, Nicolas Caro (Carew), and Dr. Sampson, the Dean of the Chapel, who left yesterday. The Queen sends word to say that she has always found the Grand Squire very affectionately inclined to Your Majesty's service and her own, and begs me to write in his favour and commendation.

No other news of importance.—London, 8th October 1529.

*Signed:* "Eustace Chapuys."<sup>12</sup>

*French. Holograph occasionally in cipher. pp. 8.*

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<sup>12</sup> I have already observed that the name of this ambassador is variously written in these despatches: *Chapuis*, *Chapuy*s,