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194. EUSTACE CHAPUYS TO THE EMPEROR.¹

On Thursday, the 21st inst., Your Majesty's letter, dated Piacenza, the 23rd of September, was duly received. Two days after, on Saturday, the 23rd, another one came to hand, dated the 5th October, from the same place, in neither of which, however, was any mention made of those I have written to Your Majesty since my arrival in this country. I am very much concerned and grieved at it, inasmuch as I have sent no less than five consecutive despatches without counting this present, and, in fact, have written home whenever I was told there was a courier going. Two of my despatches went by courier to Lyons [addressed to my correspondents], with instructions to have them forwarded to Genoa, the other two by the Antwerp post, and the fifth was entrusted to the very messenger who left this place at the Queen's express commands. But as I have no doubt Your Majesty has since received them all, or some of them at least, I will not repeat their contents.

However, immediately after the receipt of Your Majesty's letter of the 21st I sent one of my secretaries to Court, then at Winnesor (Windsor), to inform the King that I had received letters for him, which I was ordered to deliver into his own hands, as likewise to make certain communications whenever it might please His Highness to grant me an audience. The sooner, I intimated, the better, as the matter, in my opinion, admitted of no delay.

Meanwhile, and not to lose time, perceiving that the whole government of this country was fast falling into the hands of the Duke of Norfolk; calculating also that the matters I had to communicate would be more to his taste than the marriage question for the reasons specified in my dispatch² of the 8th October, I determined to seize the opportunity for which I have been so long watching, of ascertaining the final issue of the [293] Cardinal's affairs, who, on the festival of St. Luke the Evangelist, was himself disevangelized, set aside, and deprived of the office of chancellor and of his seat in the Privy Council. All scruples being thus removed which had hitherto prevented me from calling on the Duke, I hastened to visit him at his residence in this city. He received me with great cordiality and distinction, and after presenting him Your Majesty's letters, with some excuse for having kept them so long in my possession—which he accepted and took in very good part—I proceeded to express the great esteem and regard in which Your Majesty had always held him, not only on account of his own merits and worth, but also of the personal affection he had so long shewn Your Majesty, and which he (the Duke) would no doubt preserve now that a treaty of peace had been concluded between the King, his master, and Your Imperial Majesty. "The Emperor (I said) trusts that by your mediation this peace shall be made durable and permanent," to which I added a few complimentary sentences of my own to the same effect.

The Duke seemed, to judge from his countenance, highly pleased at my words. After returning thanks for Your Majesty's gracious recollection and good disposition in his favour, he assured me that the love and affection he had always borne Your Majesty were natural and hereditary in him; it could not be otherwise without disavowing his own father and all his ancestors, every one of whom (he said) had been particularly attached to the House of Burgundy. "As proof of my assertion (he added) I pray God and the King, my master, to permit me to serve Your Majesty and the King of Hungary against the Turk."

Respecting the peace and amity of which I had spoken, the Duke assured me that there was no one in England who deplored the late discords and disagreements more

¹ This despatch (text and English translation) may be found at full in Bradford's *Correspondence of the Emperor, Charles V.*, pp. 256-98.

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than himself, or who more cordially rejoiced at the change which had lately taken place. All the evil and misunderstanding which had led to the former state of things was solely to be ascribed to the falsehood of those who then had the government of affairs in their hands, who invented lies, and, more still, often acted upon them on their own will and authority. The King, his master, had often been dissatisfied with such conduct, as he would sufficiently shew before many days were over. As to the peace and friendship, he (the Duke) would do anything in his power to preserve it. He did not anticipate the smallest difficulty on the part of the King, his master, whose perfect sincerity and good-will towards the Emperor no one could dispute.

After some courteous and complimentary words, which I need not repeat, I proceeded to the principal article in my instructions, namely, the Turkish war. I informed him that this was the very point on which I solicited the whole of his attention, and also that for which I had sought the present conference. Having heard from his own lips what his senti- [294] ments were in this respect, there was nothing left for me but to exhort him to continue in so laudable a purpose and use all his influence with the King, and persuade him, as “Defender of the Faith,” to resist and oppose with all his energy that mortal enemy of Christianity, the Turk.

Passing on to the subject of this late peace, and the pains which the King, his master, had taken about it, I took occasion to observe that there still remained an agreement to be made, the accomplishment of which rested wholly in the King’s power, and would redound more to his tranquillity and honour before God and man than anything he had yet done, namely, the difference between the Queen and himself, on which so many exhortations, representations and requests of the most gracious and kind nature had been offered and made by Your Majesty. Presuming (I said) that he (the Duke) had knowledge of the whole affair from the King, I would make no further allusion to it than to observe that, however favourably he (the Duke) might look upon it out of family considerations, and of his relationship to the lady, whom the King wished to marry, Your Majesty considered him such a true and virtuous knight as to preclude all idea of his acting—even were it the case of his own daughter—otherwise than as honour and conscience would prescribe; incapable also of instituting, or even consenting to legal proceedings in a case of such grave and important consequences without manifest reason. Your Majesty being perfectly convinced that he (the Duke) had neither been promoter nor counsellor of such a step.

The Duke’s reply was that he would willingly have lost one of his hands rather than such a question had ever arisen; not that he himself had been a party to it in any way, or been appealed to or otherwise advised the measure; for the affair was entirely one of conscience and canonic law which the King had from the very beginning submitted to the consideration of ecclesiastics, doctors in theology, and other learned persons, a great number of whom had pronounced at once against the validity of the existing marriage. This opinion, however, the King was unwilling to adopt unless he had it confirmed by the highest written authorities which he had most diligently consulted and examined. With regard to the dispensation brief in Your Majesty’s hands (the Duke added), the King had openly declared that he would consider himself the most ill-used prince in Christendom if the said document was not found to be a forgery, since many had told him so, and the King himself, as he believed, had expressed his conviction to me.

The Duke further went on to say that had Your Majesty remained neutral, instead of so openly taking up the part of the Queen, the affair would have been probably much sooner settled and brought to a satisfactory issue; and that it could not appear otherwise than strange that whilst he who was [295] most interested in an affair of this sort kept aloof, and avoided appearing as a party in the suit, Your Majesty should have formally declared himself to be one.

In answer to this I carefully summed up the reasons which had influenced Your Majesty’s conduct, as well as the pressure exercised upon you; and at the same time I could not but remark that the King’s dissimulation, and his unwillingness to appear in the law proceedings, was but too manifest, both from his application to the College of Cardinals

as from what his ambassadors had done—and were still doing—at Rome. Upon which, perceiving that the Duke appeared thoughtful, I deemed it best to change the subject, only remarking that if I had been induced to make the foregoing observation it was rather for Your Majesty's justification, and as a proof of the confidence you were willing to repose in his (the Duke's) integrity and honour.

After the above dialogue, the Duke turning towards me full of gaiety, said: "How delighted the Emperor will be to hear of the Cardinal's fall?" "I think he will," was my reply; "not indeed from any positive hatred His Imperial Majesty bears him, for although the Cardinal has certainly given many causes for it, yet his inability to do either good or evil to the Emperor is so manifest that no feelings of revenge could be excited on this occasion, nor is the Emperor likely to make great matter of his downfall. The pleasure which my master will no doubt feel at the news consists in this, that the King, whose welfare, honour, and prosperity are as dear to him as his own, will now be able, thus tutored by experience, to discriminate between those who wished him well and the evil counsellors, who in all their proceedings endeavoured only to serve their own special profit and advantage." Now (I added) the management of public affairs will fall into the hands of men better qualified by their birth and nobility to promote the welfare and honour of the King and kingdom, as well as the continuation of that sincere friendship and ancient alliance [between England and the Empire], of late so much disregarded; the more so that he himself, in whom Your Majesty placed greater confidence than in anyone else in England, was at the head of government.

I then took occasion to add, for the Duke's still greater gratification, that as I had been the first [ambassador] to break through the long established rule of visiting the Cardinal first, I wished to have the honour of first transacting business with him; and accordingly, that before addressing myself to the King on the subject of the letters and instructions whereof I was bearer, I had hastened to communicate their purport to him, hoping that should the King entrust the negotiation to some other minister, this previous conference might be the cause of his being selected for that purpose.

The Duke thanked me warmly for my intentions and good will towards him, observing that State affairs in England [296] were not now, as I thought, conducted by a single individual but by the Privy Council in general, which he usually attended, and that whatever concerned Your Majesty's service would command his utmost attention.

Although, as previously stated, I had already sent my secretary to the King, yet in order the more to gratify the said Duke, and to impress him with the idea that I was determined to manage Your Majesty's affairs entirely through his advice and mediation, I asked him what I ought to do, and whether I ought not, on an occasion like the present, to address myself first to the King, and inquire the day and hour when he might be pleased to give me audience. This, the Duke informed me, was undoubtedly the proper course to follow. The King, in fact, had given orders that the application for an audience should be made direct to him before any other person whatever was apprized of the intended communication, and, therefore, I should do well to dispatch one of my secretaries to the King, begging his permission to present Your Majesty's letters.

After this I took leave of the Duke, who in spite of all my prayers insisted on accompanying me beyond the Hall, where he had come first to receive me, using the most courteous language and promising to return my visit without delay.

On the evening of the ensuing day, the 22nd [of October], my secretary returned with letters from the King, informing me that he was about to leave Windsor (Windsor) for his palace at Greenwich (Greenwich), where he would be on Saturday; but as he should not arrive till late, I had better not go thither till the next day (Sunday). Accordingly, about 8 o'clock on the following morning I arrived at the said Greenwich, and on getting out of the boat was met by Master Poller (Pollard?), a very civil gentleman, and two others, each with their respective suite of servants, whom the King had sent to receive and conduct me to the royal residence. On entering the second gate I found Monseigneur the Bishop of London (Kuthbert Tunstall), by whom I was led to the King's antechamber, where most

of the courtiers were assembled, and where I was received by the two dukes (Norfolk and Suffolk) and the Archbishop of Canterbury (Warham). Here, whilst waiting for the King, who was about to attend mass, I remained in conversation with those lords, and was asked, among other things, where Your Majesty was, and what you proposed doing at the conferences of Bologna, of which they had already received news; and also what were the real forces, intentions, and military successes of the Turk, which has caused no small alarm amongst them, and not without reason. T

he King passing presently on his way to mass, came up directly to me with the utmost graciousness and courtesy, more so than on a former occasion, and said, taking me by the sleeve: "Have you any news of the Emperor my brother?" I answered that I had, and then he inquired the date of the [297] letters, and being informed, he said: "I see that the Emperor takes special care to inform me of all his movements." No doubt he does, was my reply, for one of his principal cares is to inform Your Highness as soon as possible, through his ambassadors, of any new affairs or deliberations in which he may be engaged, to prove the amity, brotherly affection, and entire trust he places in Your Highness, persuaded as he is that you would feel and act towards him in like manner, to which he cordially assented. I then presented Your Majesty's letters and declared the tenor of my credentials, adding that, although Your Majesty had been informed that the Pope was about to write to him on the subject, it was nevertheless due to the friendly sentiments which subsisted between you, as well as to the importance of the affair itself, that a special communication on Your Majesty's part should be conjointly addressed to him.

It was true, the King said, that the Pope had written on the subject, but it was no less agreeable for him to learn from Your Majesty the motives and object of such a proceeding. As to the particulars referred to in my credentials, he had already sent orders to his ambassadors at Your Majesty's court, who were instructed and had powers to confer upon, treat, and conclude the whole affair.

With respect to the cause and motives of Your Majesty's journey to Italy, I said that in this instance, at least, I was sure he would not be the last to co-operate in so good and holy an undertaking. "Certainly not," replied the King, "I should be very sorry to give cause for any such reproach." But as it was now time for going to mass, the King suspended the conference for a while, and bade me wait until his return.

The mass over, the King came up to me and resumed the subject of our conversation, asking me whether I thought him capable of backwardness in such important matters as the Turkish war. Upon which, I laid before him particularly, and in the most minute details, the great necessity there was of a strenuous and speedy resistance against that formidable enemy of Christendom, the Turk, now that judging from the abstracts of certain letters addressed by the King of Hungary to Your Imperial Majesty, as well as from those which the Lady Margaret had been pleased to write to me, the invasion [of Germany] seemed inevitable. I also told him that I had reasons to fear, from a paragraph in Your Majesty's letter, that the Pope's expected arrival at Bologna on the 5th of this month, would scarcely admit of his ambassadors—who were to set out and travel at their ease—being there in time for the conferences, and therefore that it might be expedient and more sure (I observed) to send fresh instructions and powers by post to his ambassadors at the Roman Court, to treat on all subjects in question, and particularly on this one of the Turk, should the case require it. His reply was, that he had given his ambassadors, now going to Your Majesty, special orders to make [298] all possible speed, without stopping anywhere on the road, and that he would again repeat the order. But as to the help and assistance he was expected to give, he wished it to be clearly understood that it could not be very great, though he would willingly do all in his power.

This remark of the King as to the smallness of his means I could not allow to pass, as it is generally understood that they are not inconsiderable as regards men or principally money, with which he is known to be as well provided, if not better, than any other prince in Christendom. I told him so, and observed that even if it were otherwise, being quite as absolute as the Pope in his own dominions, and having moreover such abundance of

rich ecclesiastics in his kingdom, he could hardly plead want of means. "I shall not be wanting," rejoined the King, "in assisting and promoting the enterprize as far as my own exertions are required, but the Emperor, as principal in this affair, the greatest prince and the most powerful, ought to take the lead, and the more effectually to accomplish it, make peace as soon as possible with the Italian potentates. All the success the Emperor could gain in that country would not add one atom to his greatness and power, and the more he could abstain from wasting his means in that quarter, which might be better employed on a wider field and for a laudable purpose elsewhere, the more would it redound to the Emperor's honour, praise, and reputation in the eyes of the World." It was not (he added) out of any particular favour or affection for the Italian powers—to whom he said he was bound by no tie or obligation—that he spoke thus, but out of a sense of duty towards Your Majesty, for whose exaltation and glory he had been always anxious. Not that he presumed to tender advice to Your Majesty, who not only is provided with an abundant store of wise and faithful counsellors, but has also greatly distinguished himself for prudence and wisdom.

Your Majesty, I assured him, had never relaxed in his efforts to bring about a lasting peace, and ensure the union and tranquillity of Italy, this being the principal object of your journey to that country, as I had already observed. I told him that the parties with whom Your Majesty had to deal were so obstinate and rebellious that they actually refused listening to reason in any way, or accepting the honourable terms offered to them, but on the contrary, proceeded in the negotiations as if there was something in the back ground. With people of this sort, who rejected your offers of friendship, and were upon the whole as little to be trusted as the Turk himself, there was nothing to be done except to make them feel the weight of your power, however ungrateful the task, as happened in the case of the Duke Francesco Sforza.

Now, said the King, interrupting me, what are they about with that poor Duke? What harm can he do? I told him, [299] in the very words of Your Majesty's letter to me what offers had been made to him, and how he had declined them. "But, perhaps," observed the King, "the case is to be referred to arbitrators, whom the Duke may have reason to consider as not very impartial." "Not at all," said I, "no judges can be more fair than those named to investigate his case; no terms more gracious and advantageous for the Duke than those proposed, which have been rendered more so out of consideration to the Pope and to him (the King), who had on more than one occasion interceded with Your Majesty in his favour through his ambassadors."

This the King did not deny, adding that his motive for doing so was simply to bring about a general peace, and as to the Pope, he was bound to it in consequence of the holy league, to which he (the King) had been made a party, he knew not how, but surely without his own consent. With regard to another point, namely, the surrender of Pavia and Alessandria, he allowed that those towns might easily be given up by the Duke as far as Your Majesty was personally responsible for such a charge, but to be handed over to your own people was quite a different thing, as in your absence there would be but little security, if one was to judge from what had lately occurred at Siena, which city, notwithstanding its devotion to Your Majesty, had been entered and plundered by some of the Imperial troops under the Prince [of Orange] When the King saw that I doubted such an unwarrantable assertion, bearing so little appearance of truth or probability, he confirmed it in still stronger terms, declaring that he had the information from his own ambassadors. "As to Pavia," said I, "there can be no question about it, for it has already been surrendered." He then asked me two or three times consecutively whether I was sure of what I said. My reply was: "I have received no letters from the Emperor announcing the surrender of that city, but my information comes from a friend who is not in the habit of stating untruths. I am, moreover, the more disposed to credit his account from the circumstance of his telling me also that Count Gayaz (Gaiazzo) had been taken prisoner on the occasion, but had since made his escape." "I also have heard," said the King, "that Pavia had been given up and afterwards retaken; but, he continued, I cannot help

observing—and this I should like to remain between ourselves—that it is a great shame whilst the Turks are invading Austria, which, after all, is the Emperor’s patrimonial estate, that he should not go to its rescue instead of wasting his time and treasure in war with the Christians.” “Nothing,” I replied, “could be more painful for the Emperor than the mere surmise of so gratuitous an accusation; for certainly it was not the acquisition of territory of which Your Majesty, as I was informed, often says he has more than he wants, that influenced Your Majesty in any such proceedings against Francesco Sforza, whom, as I heard Your Majesty was [300] not only willing to reinstate in the duchy of Milan, but to add to his possessions, provided he behaved as he ought. But it was much to be feared that the moment the Imperial army left for Hungary, the said Sforza on one side and the Venetians on the other will become hostile, and do all manner of mischief perhaps too feign an attack on Brindisi, so as to prevent the removal of the Imperial forces from Naples, and oblige Your Majesty to leave a strong garrison there, which might be very inconvenient, as it might make the enterprize against the Turk fail altogether, whilst the kingdom of Naples would be in danger of an invasion.” “Not so,” replied the King quickly, “for the Duke himself is powerless, and the Venetians have as much as they can manage in guarding their own frontiers. Invasion, therefore, is quite out of the question.” As to withdrawing troops from Italy, the King maintained there was no necessity at all to do that, inasmuch as the Emperor could easily enlist as many lansquenets and Switzers as he chose, who, being better trained to war, might do excellent service. Even supposing that whilst thus engaged with the Turk the Emperor lost anything in Italy, the enemy once driven back to their own country, the recovery of lost territory would be easy work.

My reply was that I supposed his instructions to his ambassadors bore on the same points which had formed the subject of the conference; I had no doubt (said I) that Your Majesty’s explanations on this point would be as frank and explicit as could be expected, and sufficiently clear to shew that it was neither avarice nor lust of power, but the causes which I had just named, which had throughout governed all your actions. “His Imperial Majesty,” I added, “has done more than his duty towards them (the Italian potentates), and has already proved in various ways that it was neither the pompous ceremony of his own coronation, nor the longing after the estates of the Church or of other princes that had brought him to Italy, but only the causes which I had just specified.

To the latter part of this observation the King readily assented, admitting at once its truth, but said: “That would more satisfactorily appear were the aforesaid suggestions attended to, which my ambassadors cannot fail to have laid before the Emperor.” Respecting the Italian princes themselves, he had nothing to say; his instructions to his ambassadors at the Imperial Court were limited to certain recommendations respecting his own personal friends. “Such recommendations, I rejoined, “were surely unnecessary, for His Imperial Majesty being aware of Your Highness’ connexions, and who your friends are, cannot fail to bestow due consideration upon them, even before your ambassadors have mentioned the subject to him.” And I concluded by saying that instead of wasting time in such persuasions, it would be better to employ the same in bringing the said friends and potentates to a juster sense of their own interest and duty.

The King said he had already done so. Then changing his tone, he said to me with great emphasis, and in a tone of surprise: “My brother, the King of France, has, it would appear, made most wonderful offers to the Emperor for this Turkish business, has he not?” This he repeated three times, one after another, and then kept silence, as if he were waiting for my answer. “If he has,” I replied, “he has certainly acted a very virtuous part, and one in accordance with his own professions and promises. King Francis was bound to do so by several considerations, which it would be useless for me to particularize at the present moment, since they are sufficiently notorious; his power is great, and certainly he could not employ it in a better cause.” “As to his power,” said the King, “my brother of France happens just now to be sadly in want of it; he is poorer than any of his neighbours; all the money he owns is owing to the Emperor, and therefore it is for your master to make greater sacrifices.” “No fear of that,” replied I, “the Emperor, my master, will stake everything

God has given him.”

Again changing the subject, the King said that the Pope was sending two ambassadors, one to the King of France, the other to him, respecting, as he presumed, this affair of the Turk, and that he would wait until he heard what they had to say. The person who is coming to him from the Pope is, I am told, the brother of his own ambassador at the Papal Court, and of the one who resides in Venice.³

I then told the King that if he wished for fuller information respecting the Duke Francesco, and the terms offered to him, and also the answer which the Venetians had made when required by the French ambassador to restore the towns they still held in Puglia, I could shew him the abstract of a letter from the King of Hungary. “Certainly,” he said, and accordingly I put into his hands both documents. He looked at them for some time, and observed that as far as the Venetians were concerned it seemed to him that they were not at all in the wrong, considering that the promise which had been held out of including them in the treaty of peace at Cambray had not been kept.

My next duty was to remind him of Your Majesty’s ring, which I did, relating very minutely what his councillors had said to me on the subject, not forgetting to extol the care he has taken for the preservation of what belonged to Your Majesty, as well as of your friendship. “You may well say that,” he replied, “for although I have been often requested to restore the jewel to its owner, yet I am determined to act in this affair as my own discretion and a sense of duty and friendship demand.”

A few more particulars were slightly alluded to in the conference, about which Madame [Margaret] had written to me; but as they are not very important I will defer any observations respecting them until I have fully answered Your Majesty’s letter. With regard to the Queen’s case, not a word was said, besides which it was now getting too late to enter on new matters.

After dinner the King sent to inquire whether I had anything more to say to him. My answer was that I had not, unless it were to request that he would as early as convenient, send off to his ambassadors at Rome the powers he had mentioned, or else command those who are now going to Your Majesty to proceed on their way with all possible expedition. He sent me word in reply that every care would be taken, and that he himself had nothing more to say at present, except that he wished me to communicate to him any news I might receive, as he should not fail in doing the same towards me.

With regard to the treaty of Cambray and the peace there concluded, I need scarcely say that all people, great or small, have shewn the greatest satisfaction at it. These sentiments are universal, as far as I can see, especially on the part of the King, and of the principal people in this kingdom, although they would have much preferred the conditions demanded at Palencia, at which some few persons of no great importance still grumble. The proclamation has been made with great solemnity, no reference having been made in it to any other prince or country save those of Your Imperial Majesty and the King of England. Touching the future observation of it the Queen, as I have already informed Your Majesty, expresses strong doubts, imagining that it will not be of long duration. But for my own part I can hardly suppose that the contracting parties would wish to break it, inasmuch as war has cost them a mint of money, and they have gained little by it. Indeed, it is calculated that from its commencement this King has spent no less than 800,000 ducats, and to try again such expensive and exhausting medicine would not be pleasant for the parties concerned, besides which the people of this country have already shewn symptoms that this sort of thing is not to their taste.

Up to the present all seems to go on well between the French and these people, which state of things will, it is thought, continue until a demand for money be made upon the ambassador of France. About his treatment in this country I can only say that since my arrival in England he has only been once at Court, and that was when his brother was here. On another occasion, as he was on his way thither to see the King, he was countermanded, notwithstanding the bad weather, and obliged to return to London, being informed that he must present himself to the Council, deliver the message he had from the Bang, his

master, and abstain from communicating officially or privately with the Cardinal, by which message the ambassador was so much put out that he went without his dinner that day, and was heard to lament himself sadly and wish himself dead. Soon after my arrival [303] he came to see me, as I have said before, and has ever since been exceedingly courteous and polite whenever we have met.

As to the Italian [ambassadors], namely, those of Venice, Ferrara, and the Duke Francesco [Sforza], they were some time ago very busy about the Court and Cardinal; now they are in perfect repose. The one most in favour with the King is the Milanese, to whom a pension has been assigned for his maintenance. Two years ago he seemed inclined to go away, but I have my suspicions that both he and the rest of them will now be glad to remain at Court.

With regard to the administration of affairs in this country, those who now enjoy most credit with the King are, first, the Duke of Norfolk, to whom Your Majesty would do well to write a letter, next the Duke of Suffolk, for whom a similar letter would not be amiss. One thing further I must mention, although I have no doubt Your Imperial Majesty knows it already through Don Iñigo de Mendoza there is actually no one about the King who has not a pension from France. Almost all profess great affection for Your Majesty, but their love of money is the strongest feeling they have, and therefore no great reliance can be placed in their professions.

Two requests have I addressed to the King respecting Madame and the Low Countries. One is that he should give orders for the sea to be kept clear of privateers and pirates; the other that Mr. de Rosymboz, who must be already on his way to this capital, should be favourably received. Respecting the former, the King denied altogether the existence of privateers and pirates among his own subjects, some of whom, he maintained, had suffered much from those of Your Majesty even in time of peace. He had no doubt Your Majesty would see justice done in this respect, whilst he himself would take care that no such trespass should take place on the part of the English. At the announcement of Mr. de Rosymboz' visit he was highly pleased, so much so, that having learnt from me what were his quality and rank he immediately after dinner gave orders for the two dukes (Norfolk and Suffolk) to see that suitable lodgings should be provided for him, as near mine as possible, and directed the Grand Commander of St. John and his brother to go out and meet the said gentleman, who is thus pretty sure of a good reception.

The news here [in London] is that the Cardinal, who has been long tottering, has at length fallen completely. Having been dismissed from the Council and also from his office as Chancellor, as I said before, he has since been compelled to draw out in his own hand a most minute inventory of all his moveable property, that nothing may be forgotten, and that he may more easily be convicted. It is added that, having of his own free will acknowledged his errors and faults, he has presented all he had to the King, which is no trifling matter. Yesterday the King came by water from Greenwich to view the said effects [presented to him by the Cardinal], bringing [304] with him only his lady friend, her mother, and one gentleman of his chamber; and it is added that the King was much gratified and found the present more valuable even than he expected. **The Cardinal through all his misfortunes kept a brave face until the day of St. Luke, when all his bravadoes turned suddenly into bitter complaints, tears, and sighs, which are unceasing night and day.** The King hearing of this, either moved to pity, or perhaps thinking it inconvenient that the Cardinal should die before making a full disclosure and confession of all his acts, has lately presented him with a ring by way of consolation. He is now living at a place about ten miles from London, with a very small train indeed. A son of his, who is in Paris following his studies, and of whom I have formerly written to Your Majesty, has received orders to return. People say execrable things of the Cardinal, all of which are to come to light before next Parliament, for it may be supposed that whatever be the end of this matter, those who have raised this storm against the Cardinal will not rest until they have entirely done for him, knowing full well that were he to recover his lost ascendancy and power their own lives would be in jeopardy. The person who they say

feels most for the Cardinal and regrets his disgrace is the French ambassador, because all the hopes and expectations of his master rested upon his continuance in office and favour. Fears were entertained by some people here lest the Cardinal should contrive to send his valuables out of the country, and therefore a very strict watch was kept at all the ports. It was on this account that when the custom house guards asked to examine Campeggio's trunks, notwithstanding the passport received from the King, that upon his refusing to surrender the keys of them, the locks were forced, the trunks opened, and their contents inspected to that Cardinal's great displeasure. I am told that he said on the occasion to those about him "You do me great injustice to suppose that the Cardinal [of York] could corrupt a man like myself who has been proof against the King's innumerable presents."

The Chancellor's seals since the said festival of St. Luke have continued in the hands of the Duke of Norfolk till this morning, when in the presence of all the Council they were delivered to Mr. Thomas Moore, who accordingly has been declared Chancellor of the Kingdom, and taken the customary oath before the said Duke. Everyone rejoices at his promotion, for besides the esteem in which he is generally held for his uprightness of character, he is considered the most learned man in the kingdom, and has always shewn himself a good servant of the Queen. He was formerly chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, which office has been now conferred upon Mr. St. Villieurry (Fitzwilliam). Mr. Richard Pace, a good servant of Your Majesty, whom the Cardinal had kept for the two last years in prison in the [305] Tower of London, or in a monastery, has now been set at liberty and recalled to Court. It is thought that unless his mind should again become unsettled, he will rise into greater favour and credit than ever, a circumstance of considerable advantage for Your Majesty's interests.

There has been here for the last ten days a young man sent by one of the two dukes of Saxony,⁴ not the Lutheran, the other one. He comes with a mission from his master to this king; has visited me and dined with me to-day. I have as yet been unable to make out his business at this court. I only know that he often sees the King, and Monseigneur the Bishop of London (Kuthbert Tunstall), and expects to return home in about a fortnight. I will try to ascertain for Your Majesty's satisfaction what has brought him here.

The affair of the Queen, which I have purposely reserved for the last, is in the same state, and I have nothing new to communicate, except that the Bishop of London assures me as a matter of certainty that Dr. Stock (Stokesley) is gone to France for the sole and express purpose of consulting the Parisian doctors. The Queen being also aware of the fact entreats Your Majesty to send thither for a similar purpose some learned canonists, for otherwise, in the absence of a definitive sentence, any attempts made to bring the King to reason will prove unavailing, and he will continue as pertinacious and obstinate as ever.

I have tendered to her the advice recommended by Your Majesty, but she seems to think that delay, far from being profitable, will be injurious to her cause. For which reason, and others of greater force and weight now than ever, which I have already pointed out to Your Majesty, it seems desirable not to agree to the postponement of the suit as demanded by this King. This, however, remains entirely at Your Majesty's pleasure and superior discretion. The Queen also thinks that in order to avoid raising suspicion in the mind of the King, I had better cease visiting her, and she hopes to be able to find means of communicating with me in private.—London, 25th October 1529.

Signed: "Eustace Chappuys."

Two days after the above was written the Cardinal was judicially and definitively condemned by the great Council of the King, and declared a rebel to his authority and guilty of high treason, inasmuch as in defiance of the royal authority and the privileges of the kingdom he had obtained from the Pope, the better to support his legatine powers, the grant of several benefices which were under the direct patronage of the King and others, of which he has disposed by anticipation. Accordingly, he has been deprived of all his offices and Church preferments, and of all dignities and prerogatives. All his property, moveable or immoveable, has been adjudicated to [306] the King, and himself sentenced to imprisonment in one of the royal prisons here in London until the King shall decide on his

4 George and John Frederic.

ultimate fate. The sentence, it is true, was pronounced in his absence, for in this particular his enemies were quite ready to please him, but two procurators were present on his behalf, to whom it was duly communicated. All this will be of difficult digestion for him, and yet I doubt whether he will escape without further punishment.—London, 27th October 1529.

Signed: “Eustace Chappuys.”

French. Holograph. pp. 6 ½.