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224. EUSTACE CHAPUYS TO THE EMPEROR.

I should have thought, as I had the honour to inform Your Majesty in my last despatch, that Mons. de Mingoal could not have been detained much longer here considering the alacrity with which, soon after his arrival, he and I were received, and the promise then made to us that our business should be immediately attended to. Yet up to this day nothing has been done, the King and the Duke excusing themselves with want of time, and pressure of other business, as if they wished to make us accept the meagre and unsatisfactory conference then held as a definitive answer to our representations. Notwithstanding all their excuses, I cannot help thinking there must be some other cause for the delay, and that most likely they have kept the said Sieur de Mingoal so long waiting for no other purpose than for him to witness the solemn ceremony of taking the oath on St. Andrew's Day, or [338] perhaps because they are expecting news from abroad. However this may be, it seems altogether a very mysterious affair, for if they had made up their mind as they said, as to the answer they were about to make in writing, why not have had it drawn up at once, and forwarded to Mingoal to take home? I have not yet been able to discover the cause of such unaccountable delay, but have no doubt that ere long something will transpire to clear up the mystery. At first I confess I was not at all sorry for it, and would willingly have waited a score of days in the hope of being able in the meantime to give information to those who take an interest in this affair,¹ and also wait for Mr. de Rosymboz, whose arrival with fresh instructions would most likely help to the better issue of the business in contemplation. The answer, however unsatisfactory, has come at last, and Mr. de Mingoal is to be the bearer of it. The King persists in his first resolution, still using the very same arguments, but adding occasionally new ones in support of his reasoning. But as Mr. de Mingoal will shortly take his departure, and cannot fail verbally to acquaint Your Majesty with all incidents and circumstances of this negotiation, I shall limit myself to a short account of the transaction.

The very same day of Mr. de Mingoal's arrival the King's excuse at the audience was, as I have already informed Your Majesty, that he could not possibly grant the help required owing to the great distance of the countries invaded by the Turk, and besides, that affairs in Hungary, had come to such a pass, and the two armies were so close to each other that without fail the contest would be over, and the thing decided one way or the other long before any succour could be sent from other countries, and especially from England, which was far away from the seat of war. That was, he added, supposing the Turk had not raised the siege [of Vienna], for if he had, as reported, there was no longer occasion for help except it were for a formal undertaking against the Turk, to follow him up to his very dominions. This last, he said, was principally Your Majesty's concern, as the greatest prince in Christendom, an emperor, who had always his forces ready at hand, and in sight of the enemy; which forces, he observed, had much better be employed against the Turk than against the Christians, and for the defence and preservation of your own patrimonial dominions and those of your brother (Ferdinand). In this line of conduct there was both profit and honour to be gained, and therefore Your Majesty, he said, ought to lead the way. As to him, he was a small king in the corner [of Europe], far away from the rest of the Christian princes, and almost powerless to help in such enterprizes, for even if he did assist on this occasion to the utmost of his ability, the Emperor would find that without the concurrence [339] of some other Christian princes his succour would be of little or no avail. Besides, on no account would he be the first in an undertaking of this sort; though when other princes joined he would certainly not be the last. But if the Turk,

¹ "Tant pour informer ceux qu' estoyt necessarye." It is to be supposed that by *ceux* the king of Hungary and his ministers are meant, as the business alluded to is the enterprize and aid against the Turk.

as he understood, had raised the siege of Vienna, and retreated to his own dominions, the affair was not one to be treated individually and with such haste, but rather to be decided after mature deliberation, and with the common consent of all the Christian princes, so as to plan and concert a good undertaking against that Infidel. His brother, the king of France, had opened the way by his grand and magnificent offer of 50,000 infantry and a good number of men-at-arms, whom he proposed to lead in person, provided a decent sum should be deducted from the amount he is bound to pay by the treaty of Cambray, which offer, after all, observed the King, is not an offer to be disdained, and yet I know not that the Emperor has accepted it.

To these arguments I replied that his excuses were inadmissible. First of all, the distance could nowise be an objection since the succour asked from him was not in men but in money. He himself had told me upon a previous occasion that Germany was the country which could at all times furnish a greater number of men strong in frame, dexterous, and well trained to arms, and so it was; Your Majesty, therefore, did not want that sort of help. What he wanted was money, and that could be procured immediately by sound bills of exchange drawn upon bankers and merchants on the Continent. For that he (the King) had not far to go, since plenty of merchants would be found in this city of London willing to advance him any sums, however considerable. As to his excuse, that he had no money at his disposal, that was a sort of thing which I could not be brought to believe; he had always been considered the richest prince in Christendom, and it would be rather difficult to persuade people that he was not. Even supposing he had no money at present he had means at hand to raise any sum, however considerable, especially for such a holy undertaking as the Turkish war, were it only on the property of the ecclesiastics in his dominions, whom, as I perceived, he was treating with more than Papal authority. To say that Your Majesty ought to begin first and lead the way, as the Prince most interested in the affair, must certainly be granted, and that has been done in every way. His Majesty, the Emperor, I said, has already sent succour of every sort in men and money, so as to enable his brother, the king of Hungary, to resist the Turk. He himself would have gone much sooner to his assistance had it not been for the very many troubles and disturbances raised against him on all sides, as he (the King) was well aware. Indeed, the principal cause of Your Majesty's journey to Italy had been your wish to fight the enemy of the Faith, and pacify Christendom. No better or shorter road could have been taken to go to [340] Germany and fight the Turk unless they wanted Your Majesty to fly through the air. The enterprize, such as it was, could not be achieved without landing in Italy first, and quelling its dissensions, for it would have been a very imprudent act to attack an enemy outside the house leaving another no less formidable at home.

As to his alleging that he was not to be the first and that others might and ought to begin, I had already stated that it was no valid excuse, for Your Majesty had in fact begun by sending men and money to his brother, and preparing to march against the Turk in person. The king of France had perhaps a more plausible excuse than himself for not contributing towards the expenses of the war, for after all, what with the losses he had sustained, and the sums he was bound to pay for the ransom of his sons, he could not be expected to have much money at his command. Even supposing that the Turk had retreated to his own dominions—of which I had no certain intelligence—that certainly ought to be no excuse for delaying his co-operation in the enterprize, for there was a strong presumption that, being master, as he was, of almost the whole of Hungary, the Infidel would not have raised the siege [of Vienna], or otherwise removed his camp, except to get fresh supplies of men, provisions, and all kinds of ammunition, with which to return again and make a fresh attack upon Christian territory. That being the case Your Majesty's brother might with some good assistance in money follow up his success, and surprise the enemy in their discomfiture, which after all is no small one, considering the losses they have sustained, their shameful retreat, their insolence, cruelty, and the ravages they have committed in the country, and which has rendered their very name hateful. So favourable are the present circumstances (I added) for taking the offensive against

the Turk that one ducat now would be of more service than 100 at other times. He (the King) ought to consider that the force now collected in Germany, as reported, was very considerable; no larger one had been got together for the last 300 years. If dissolved for want of pay it would be rather difficult to persuade the men to serve again; the opportunity would pass away without any profit to Christendom, and when again wanted for a similar purpose the Germans might refuse to take up arms. The loss of such an opportunity as the present might, indeed, have the worst consequences for Christianity, and be in future a source of deep regret. True, time and mature deliberation were needed for an undertaking of this sort. Such was, I added, Your Majesty's private opinion, and as a proof you had sent me to request that the English ambassadors should proceed to Boulogne as soon as possible, there to discuss the matter and deliberate as to the best means of carrying the projected enterprize into effect. But great care should be taken by both princes lest, whilst discussing the plan of the future campaign [341] the Turk should finally retreat into his own dominions, and become almost invulnerable, just as did the Romans, who, whilst deliberating about the relief of Saguntum, allowed that city to be taken [by the Carthaginians].

With regard to the offers made by the king of France that was not a thing of the moment, for his assistance, if required and accepted, could not be got ready in so short a time as wanted under present circumstances. Besides, if it were allowable for a lawyer, like myself,² to express an opinion on military matters, I should venture to say that, even in case of France allowing her king to take a personal share in this Turkish war—which is more than improbable—it seemed to me highly inconvenient and dangerous that there should be more than one general in command of the forces, for apart from Roman history, in which several cases occurred of battles being lost either through the dissensions of the two consuls in command of their armies, or because one of them, too ambitious for glory, chose to attack the enemy with his own forces without the co-operation of his colleague, I might quote several cases in modern times, as for instance that of king Wladislas of Hungary,³ who was principally defeated, and lost his life [at Mohatz], owing to there being in his camp several captains commanding troops of various nations, and princes, each of whom wished to carry off victory by himself, thereby causing the ruin of all. As to the offer itself, I refrained from making any observations; he (the King) might consider whether it was acceptable or not.

The King could not help admitting that I was right in supposing that France would not easily consent to her king going personally upon such an expedition; and then, returning to his own allegations and excuses, said: "Bills of exchange cannot be procured and made out as soon as you imagine, and I myself have not the means. If the expenses incurred in the last war were to be a sufficient excuse for others not to contribute now towards the Turkish expedition, I ought certainly to be left scot free like other princes, for I have spent a good deal of money as did the rest besides the sums I have lent right and left. As to the ecclesiastics of my kingdom, I really believe that they will not consent to devote any portion of their property to that purpose."

In short, after a good deal of discussion on these points, the King summed up the above arguments and said: "I cannot well look to everything; I will communicate with my Council, and you shall have soon a definitive answer in writing." Upon which, after earnestly requesting him to attend to this business as the emergency of the case required, and his own royal dignity and reputation demanded, Mr. de Mingoval and I [342] took leave of him, and prepared to leave the room. Then the King took my colleague apart, asked him whether he had anything more to say, and gave him all manner of messages and commendations for Your Majesty, which he himself will transmit verbally.

Whilst the King was thus conversing with the said Mr. de Mingoval, I approached the Duke of Norpholc, who was close by in the room, and who, as I have already informed

² Literally a man of letters (*homme de lettres*), in Spanish "letrado," which at this time and long afterwards was the common appellation given to scholars bred at universities.

³ The loss of the battle, where King Wladislas fell, is generally attributed to an imprudent attack made by one of his generals, a bishop in command of one of the wings.

Your Majesty, told me distinctly on a previous occasion that he was disposed to help us in this matter of the Turk. I reminded him of his promise. We then left the room.

The above conference took place on a Saturday. Next day the King dined with the Queen, and whilst at table alluded to the affair, saying: that if the Christian princes agreed to support this undertaking against the Turk, he (the King) would do wonders. But as to Your Majesty's application for assistance [in money], that was quite a different affair, as he considered it a foolish and highly improper thing (*simplesse et messeance*) for king Henry of England to remit money to Your Majesty and help him to keep no less than three armies in Italy, which, in his opinion, ought to be elsewhere. On the ensuing Saturday, the 20th ult^o, at the hour of evening, Mr. de Rosymboz and Mr. Jehan de le Sauch⁴ arrived, and were received as Your Majesty will hear from Mr. de Mingoal. They were summoned to Court on the eve of Saint Katharine's Day, that is to say, on the 23rd. After the customary commendations and compliments by Mr. de Rosymboz, and exhibition of credentials and letters by his colleague, Mr. Jehan [le Sauch], I addressed the King, and said that we begged to be excused for the ratification of the treaty [of Cambray] not having come [to England] sooner. One of the causes for the delay had been that it was not known [in Flanders] whether he felt disposed to sign it first, or wait until his ambassadors had reached Boulogne, so that the oath there and here might be taken at the same time. Also that Mr. Jehan de le Sauch had been occupied in the restitution by France of the town of Esdin (Hesdin). The King might easily see by the date of the ratification and that of the instructions that it had not been in Your Majesty's power to forward it sooner. There was no doubt (I added) that Your Majesty had always held his friendship and alliance, so long continued from father to son, in greater esteem than that of any other prince in the world, and the proof was that Your Majesty had been exceedingly pleased at the reconciliation or making up of matters, if I might so call it, which had lately taken place; for, although there might have been causes for mutual disagreement the affection of the heart was never alienated,⁵ at least on Your Majesty's [343] side, who had the same opinion respecting him. He, therefore, might feel sure that his ratification had been the first ordered to be got ready and drawn out for Your Majesty's inspection, and that had his ambassadors been present at Court Your Majesty would, without any further delay or waiting for the oath of the French king, principally concerned in the treaty, taken at once his solemn oath to observe the stipulations of the treaty. To this I added many other complimentary and flattering words, which I have no doubt Mr. de Mingoal, who assisted at the conference, will report when in Your Imperial presence.

After this, in pursuance of Madame's orders and according to the instructions lately brought by Mr. de Rosymboz and Le Sauch, and in which I was also included, I proceeded to inform the King that an agreement had been made at Cambray between the two ladies (Louise de Savoie and Margaret of Austria) independently, and, as it were, outside of the treaty, that in order to correct certain abuses in the shipping and barter of merchandize, it was desirable that he (the King) should send commissioners to Bruges, or some other city in Flanders, and that Madame should also send hers, that they might conjointly correct the abuses lately introduced, and do away with all causes of discontent which might hereafter give rise to dissension and misunderstanding between the two countries.

Having said this much, I again alluded to the Turkish affair, about which Mr. de Mingoal, who was also present, and we three hoped to get a less unsatisfactory answer than that given at former conferences. We were all mistaken, for having told him that the news about the retreat of the Turk were contradictory, and most likely invented by parties who wished to lull the Christian princes, so that they might not take offence, I shewed him an abstract of the letter which the king of Hungary had written in his own hand to Madame about it. I then begged his pardon for not having communicated the information in the first

4 Written La Saux as in other despatches.

5 "Tant plus avoit este joyeuse de ceste nouvelle reconciliation et racointement, si ainsy se peust appeller, veheu que les ceurs ne furent alienés de despointes, quelque facons de fere qu'il y aye cu ne quelque semblant, que ne penetra jamays jusques a' l'estomach, au moins du cousté de vostre Majesté."

instance, and when the subject was noted at the first conference. It was no fault of mine or of Madame, who was always ready to impart any news that might interest him and the rest of the Christian princes: it was not from any diplomatic cause or because Your Majesty or Madame wished to conceal anything from him. The abstract came within a letter addressed to Mr. de Rosymboz, which arrived many days before that ambassador made his appearance in London, and which, of course, I dared not open and read until he came.

Upon which the King took the paper into Ms hand, perused it, and began in the most pleasing and agreeable tone of voice to discourse on the great satisfaction and pleasure this peace had caused him, which, he observed, was very advantageous for the whole of Christendom, and particularly for Your Majesty, and for him on account of the old friendship and the inter- [344] course of trade between their respective dominions. With respect to the ratification of the treaty, he was ready to sign and swear to it at once in due form. Had I come to him sooner he would have signed immediately, for as soon as he heard of the ratification being already in Flanders he offered to take the oath, and do his duty in that respect without waiting for his ambassadors to reach the Imperial court. Respecting my assertion that Your Majesty never could imagine the slight differences which had once existed between them to have had their origin in hatred and ill-will, I had stated (he said) the plain truth. Had he been actuated by such motives he might have acted differently than he had done, as Your Majesty was no doubt aware. As to the Turk and the assistance demanded from him, he could only say that he wished his kingdom was so placed that he could employ all his forces against him, or lead his own army, in person, which was of all things that which he had most desired from his infancy. With regard to the money which Your Majesty had asked him to furnish, he could only say that he had consulted his Privy Council, and his Parliament also, and had found that he could not possibly grant it for three reasons. The first was that it might very well happen that the said monies, if furnished, would be turned to another use, and instead of being spent in war with the Turk would be employed to feed or promote discussion among Christian princes. The second was that both he (the King) and his Privy Council and Parliament also thought it very strange that an application for help should be made to him and other Christian princes at a time and in a matter which concerned principally, if not exclusively, your own brother the king of Hungary, and your patrimonial estates. Your Majesty, he added, was the head of Christendom, the most powerful prince [in Europe], he who has most means at his command to furnish such aid, and yet up to the present no signs had been given that it was your intention to afford any such assistance and help, which, in his opinion, would have been far more profitable and honest a course to pursue than to continue waging war on Christians, as Your Majesty was still doing. The third, and last, was that so much money had lately gone out of his kingdom in various ways that there was none left now to apply to the said purpose, as his Parliament had lately represented to him; besides which, the clergy of his dominions had already contributed on many occasions with large sums, in the shape of annats, to be spent as it was said in the Turkish war, and therefore it was for the Pope, who had received the money, to refund it, and get ready the assistance now required.

My reply, after using some expressions of reciprocal courtesy concerning this last peace, was that I was sorry to see by his answer that he had completely misunderstood me, or rather that I had not expressed myself clearly enough. I never meant that the money applied for was to be sent directly to [345] Your Majesty, as I saw by his answer that he understood, but to Hungary, not elsewhere. As to his fear that it might be used against Christians, none could be entertained on that account as long as your army remained in those distant quarters; besides which, such misappropriation of his funds, as he seemed to fear, might easily have been avoided by deputing accountants and other fit persons to deliver the said money, and see that it was spent according to his own wishes and intentions. To his observation, that Your Majesty, notwithstanding his protestations, had not yet given any signs of his readiness to assist your brother of Hungary, I could not help replying with what I had said before. Your Majesty had hitherto done all you could for the pacification of Italy, without which, as the king of France had lately observed to Mr.

de Mingoval there present, it was impossible for Your Majesty to go to your brother's assistance, as you fully intended, for were you to do so and leave an enemy behind you greater risk might be run than was generally thought. That this last consideration, and perhaps also the hope that at the conferences of Boulogne something might be done in favour of the enterprize, had influenced Your Majesty to stay in Italy longer than was at first anticipated; otherwise you would be already in the heart of Germany, whither Mr. de Mingoval had been directed to return with the answer. In short, that though Your Majesty had not yet been able to go thither in person at the head of your armies, the help in money had not been wanting, for since my departure from Spain no less than 400,000 or perhaps 500,000 ducats had been remitted; which assertion could be easily proved by the fact that the King, your brother, would never have been able with the sole revenues of his kingdom, which were by no means considerable, and without your aid, to support the expenses of this war. As to the annats, or first fruits, it was a well known fact that they were first instituted to defray the expenses of expeditions against the Infidel. To ask the Pope to refund the money received for such a purpose would be unjust and unreasonable, for he might allege that he had spent it all at the instigation of the confederates in the last Holy League, which would be a sufficient excuse for him, and an accusation against those who made part of the said League, and also against him (the King) who, though not named in the treaty, virtually belonged to it. In future some provision might be made to prevent the funds so collected from being spent otherwise than in war against the Infidel, but at present the urgency was such that no appeal to the Annats' Chamber would be of any use.

Hearing this the King seemed inclined to reply and sum up his argument, but perceiving, no doubt, that reason was entirely on my side, whilst he only had on his unwillingness to grant our demand, he concluded by saying that he would soon give a full answer in writing for Mr. de Mingoval to take to Your Majesty. [346]

With regard to the intercourse of trade, the inspection of the documents relating to the ratification, and other like matters in hand, the King referred us to his Chancellor (Thomas More) and to the Bishop of London (Tunstall), who, he said, would attend to our business. Accordingly on the following day, which was St. Katharine's, Mr. Jehan de le Sauch called at the Chancellor's lodgings, and met there the Bishop of London and a doctor, who was one of the King's secretaries. After a minute inspection of the papers, some objection was raised as to the form of the ratification, which, however, we were told would be no impediment, to the King's signing and taking his oath on the following Sunday, provided we promised to produce afterwards the ratification deed under a different form. As the alterations which they wish to introduce affect more the form than the substance of the ratification we have consented, and written to Mr. de Granvelle to acquaint him with the fact.

With regard to the intercourse of trade, the Chancellor and his two assistants, the bishop and the secretary, told us that in their opinion there was no necessity to make any change, for traffic had been carried on according to certain provisional rules of very long standing, and if the said rules had been observed for many years past, and had worked practically well—notwithstanding that the princes themselves had not always been on the best terms—it was natural to suppose that, union and friendship being re-established between them, no dangerous innovation or abuse would be introduced that could not be immediately removed, and no wrong done to private individuals that could not be repaired on either side by application to a court of Law without the trouble of establishing fresh rules or making a new commercial treaty, now that a good and solid peace had been concluded, and every pains been taken to put facts in their true light. Were a new treaty to be made (they observed), people might murmur and say that the friendship between Your Majesty and the King, their master, could not be very firmly established—as befits relations and allies—if it required to be strengthened by new commercial treaties. Our answer was that neither Your Majesty nor Madame intended to express any doubts about their friendship or their willingness to keep to the letter of the treaty of Cambray; what they had done and said hitherto had no other object than the confirmation and maintenance

of that friendship and alliance so as to ascertain and define the rules by which the subjects of the two nations were to live on friendly terms with each other, and carry on their mutual trade in future. For, on this matter of trade, we observed, there had been, and were still, many complaints made by Flemish and Spanish merchants, which if not attended to opportunely might have serious consequences, principally in times of peace. Formerly, and whilst the neutrality to which they had alluded lasted, it was natural that traders of both nations should be [347] content with the existing regulations, from fear of breaking through that same neutrality; now that peace was made there was no such fear, and all looked to their private interests.

A few more things did I say to those gentlemen on the subject of the intercourse of trade and the necessity there was of its being at once established on an equal footing, but perceiving that my arguments made no impression upon them I did no longer insist, considering that enough had been done in letting them know what were Your Majesty's and Madame's wishes on that particular point. Besides, I thought at the time, and I think still, that it will be far more advantageous for Your Majesty to have this negotiation postponed than commence it now, for out of consideration for the present peace it might be thought necessary to make them certain concessions, and perhaps also increase instead of curtailing the privileges of their merchants. On this account I deemed it best to leave matters as they stood, and therefore no resolution was taken one way or the other.

Sunday the 28th of October, having previously been summoned and conducted to Greenwich, as Your Majesty will hear from Mr. de Mingoval, all of us witnessed the solemn ratification of the treaty by the King, who swore faithfully to observe it, as is customary in such cases. The papers and documents relating to the whole transaction go by this post. The ceremony over, the King, who had hitherto been rather thoughtful, and by no means gay, changed countenance all of a sudden and seemed in much better spirits than I had ever seen him. Everyone present remarked it, and certainly one could see by his countenance beaming with satisfaction and joy, that he was content with himself, as if he had done a good day's work. He then came towards us and said he was marvellously glad at what had just taken place, and that it was desirable in the interests of both royal families, Your Majesty's and his, thus to ensure the tranquillity and welfare of your respective dominions, whose commercial intercourse was not only necessary but mutually indispensable, and that he hoped that since the principal part of the work was done, the remainder, if anything still remained unsettled, would be soon arranged to the common satisfaction of the parties concerned. As to himself, he would spare no trouble or fatigue to make things go straight, and if possible improve (*aller de bien en mieux*). Our answer was that he might be sure that Your Majesty's satisfaction and joy would be equally great, and that whatever efforts should be made on his side for the preservation of peace would not, and could not, surpass those of Your Majesty, for in such matters you recognized no superior, having always cherished more than any other prince in the World the benefits of peace, as he must have found by experience, and will no doubt find again hereafter After which the King began to excuse himself for his past behaviour towards Your Majesty, meaning no doubt the defiance and challenge [348] made by his herald at Burgos, adding that he had been so pressed and circumvented that he had had no escape left, but that now not even sheer force should compel him to act as he had done.

The dinner at the King's table, to which we together with the French ambassador and Papal Nuncio, were invited, was a splendid one, as Mr. de Mingoval will inform Your Majesty. The King was very familiar and jovial with all of us, and never ceased, except when the music of several instruments sounded, to address us on all manner of subjects, starting questions to draw us, especially us, the Imperial ambassadors, into conversation. He asked us what news we had received of Your Majesty, and having told him that the latest we had were of the 9th of October, he said he had just received some still fresher, which advised him of Your Majesty's triumphant entry into Bologna, which he said had been one of the most solemn and magnificent that could be imagined, the Pope having received Your Majesty dressed in full pontificals, at the door of the church, accompanied

by a host of prelates; among whom Your Majesty had failed to recognise the Bishop of Tarbes, owing, no doubt, to his not being dressed as an ecclesiastic, but as a civilian. That to describe the solemnities and ceremonies used on the occasion, as well as the numerous and gorgeously attired suite, who attended on Your Majesty, would take him too long, and that whoever attempted it would have enough to do. Our answer was that had his ambassadors been present at the ceremony Your Majesty would on many accounts have considered their attendance of more value than the presence of 2,000 men, with which flattering compliment the King was so much pleased that he retorted: “I am very sorry indeed that my ambassadors were not in time for the ceremony of the coronation. I think, however, that they must be in Bologna by this time, and if not I have no doubt that those I have at Rome have done their duty in this respect and paid their homage to the Emperor.”

After this he began to speak about the late king Philip, Your Majesty’s father, of whom he said he was never tired of talking,⁶ as he had been singularly attached to him whilst alive. “I have now,” he said, “his likeness in one of my rooms called Philip’s room after his name, which room I prefer to all the rest in my palace, not only on account of its name, but because the said king was my godfather.”

He then asked if we had any news of the Turk, and we told him that we had letters dated Nuremberg, the 11th of November, containing advices similar to those sent by the [349] king of Hungary to Madame and differing considerably from those circulated by the French ambassador. He also inquired whether the day for the delivery of the hostages had been definitively fixed. We answered that it was to take place on the 1st day of March at the latest, and that if it could be possibly accomplished before Your Majesty would be very willing, and do everything towards it as the best course for both parties to follow under all circumstances. Upon which the King observed that he felt a particular interest in one of the French princes, not only on account of his being his godson, but because he had heard much of his precocity and talent. He had been much grieved when he heard of his dangerous illness in Spain, perhaps as much as his own father the king of France was, for this latter had an inestimable consolation in the shape of a third son. The King also spoke about the Pope, the cardinals, and other ecclesiastics, a subject to which he returned after dinner, expressing himself in rather disrespectful terms, as Your Majesty will hear hereafter. The rest of the conversation turned on the music of his chapel, both vocal and instrumental.

The dinner over the King took all of us three, namely, Mr. de Rosymboz, Mr. Jehan [de le Sauch], and myself, to a window of the Hall, and there, his countenance actually beaming with joy, began to say that as regarded the Turkish campaign he did not boast of what he might and would do; he was not one of those who made great promises and spoke very high, and when called upon to fulfil their words fell back; he invariably did more than he promised. He always imagined that Your Majesty would have taken both his crowns at Bologna—which seemed to him the fittest place for that ceremony—but in his opinion it would have been a highly meritorious act had Your Majesty declined so many vain and superfluous ceremonies as were performed on that occasion. **Would to God the Pope and his cardinals had been more chary of such magnificence, and less prone to that inordinate ambition, which had been the cause and excuse for so many wars, discords, and heresies! For had they observed to the letter the precepts of the Gospel, and attended to the traditional sayings and exemplary conduct of the old fathers of the Church—several of whom the King mentioned in the course of his argumentation—they would have led a very different life, and not have scandalized by their acts and manners the whole of Christendom. In so far as this matter Luther had only told truth and preached with common applause.** Had he limited himself to inveighing against the vices, abuses, and errors of the Clergy, instead of attacking the

⁶ This paragraph, which is rather obscure in sense, and evidently deficient in some of its sentences, stands thus: “En apres vint a parler du Roy don Philippe (que Dieu absolve), pere de vostre Majesté, du quel et de l’amytié qu’il luy portoit, yl ne se pouvoit souler d’en parler, et qu’il l’avoit dans sa chambre nomme Philippe. Le quel tant pour le nom [qu’il portoit] que pource que’ il fust fillieulz du dit seigneur Roy yl anoit (*sic*) singulieremant.”

Sacraments of the Church and other Divine institutions, everyone would have followed him, and written in his favour. He, himself, should have been one, and instead of taking the trouble of refuting his arguments, would willingly have taken pen in hand [350] in his defence. Nevertheless, though the said Luther had evidently mixed up a good deal of heresy in his books, that was not a sufficient reason for reproof and rejecting the many truths he had brought to light. **As to him and the reformation of the Church in his dominions he hoped to be able, little by little, to introduce reforms, and put an end to scandal. He had already begun to do so, and had no doubt but that ere long he should accomplish his object by imposing law and establishing rules to that effect.** He considered that Your Majesty, as the greatest prince in Christendom, was bound to do the same, and to promote the general reformation [of the Church]. True it was (he added) that in his opinion Your Majesty must delay the execution of this project until matters were more settled than they are now.

We thanked the King for his good counsel, and assured him that such was Your Majesty's confidence in him that in any matter, even more important than the present, you would not fail to follow his advice. Again did the King return to the subject of the Clergy, as if he wished to assert that which constitutes his chief ground of complaint against them, and is the cause of his present animadversion, for he exclaimed, addressing all of us at once: "Now, I ask you, how can the Pope grant a dispensation for an ecclesiastic to hold two bishoprics or two curacies at once if he will not allow two women to one man? for here is the point (this he said rather between his teeth): all doctors say that a dispensation in the former case is as necessary as in the other." Our answer was, that reformation was undoubtedly much wanted, and would be the best thing in the world, if accomplished in such a manner as proposed and required [by Your Majesty], and seconded by a prince like him, who to the good qualities with which he was endowed joined considerable learning in Church matters, and of whom it could not be suspected that in so doing he wished to derogate from the authority of that same Church in matters of its jurisdiction, whether of dispensation or of any other sort. He replied, and maintained that the only power which ecclesiastics had over laymen was the absolution from sin, and he went on in this manner speaking against the Pope in terms very similar to those above stated.

After which, Mr. de Rosymboz asked permission to pay his respects to the Queen, which the King willingly granted at once, though the duke of Norfolk (Norfolk) and the rest [of the councillors] made some difficulty. The permission being granted, we all called at the apartments of the Queen, whom we found in great sorrow, so much so that she could hardly suppress her tears in our presence. We told her that, according to Your Majesty's letters, Mr. de le Sauch, there present, had consulted on her case with several of the Parisian doctors, all of whom had given their opinion that it was quite impossible [351] to dissolve the marriage, and that neither the king of France himself nor any other prince in the World had the power of making the university give a contrary opinion. This assurance, and the hope and trust which the Queen has in Your Majesty's exertions in her behalf, somewhat relieved her from her anguish, and her countenance gladdened; but as there were many in the room she dared not say much, nor did we venture to speak to her on the subject. She, however, promised to write or let me know her wishes by private and verbal message.

And so she did, for on the following day she wrote me a letter through her physician [Fernando Victoria], explaining the King's behaviour towards her, which, she says, is still the same, and begging me to report upon it, and particularly to recommend her poor case to Your Majesty, earnestly entreating, now that you are with the Pope, to have her cause determined judicially or otherwise, that the state of tribulation and anguish in which she lives, and which (she says) has lasted far too long, may be put an end to at once, and begging also that for the love of God, and regard for Your Majesty's honour and reputation, no further delay be made in a matter which might give rise to serious inconvenience and danger for the future. Notwithstanding that her letter to Your Majesty—which goes also by this post—is full of the same prayers and commendations she has conjured me to write, as

I do, in her favour.

On St. Andrew's Day, the Queen having dined with the King, said to him that she had long been suffering the pains of Purgatory on earth, and that she was very badly treated by his refusing to dine with and visit her in her apartments. The King replied: "That she had no cause to complain of bad treatment, for she was mistress in her own household, where she could do what she pleased. As to his not dining with her for some days past, the reason was that he was so much engaged with business of all kinds, owing to the Cardinal having left the affairs of government in a state of great confusion that he had enough to do to work day and night to put them to rights again. As to his visiting her in her apartments and partaking of her bed, she ought to know that he was not her legitimate husband, as innumerable doctors and canonists, all men of honour and probity, and even his own almoner, Doctor Lee, who had once known her in Spain, were ready to maintain. That many other theologians were of the same opinion, and, moreover, that he was only waiting for the opinion of the Parisian doctors, to obtain which he had lately sent Dr. Stocler (Stokesley), the same about whom I wrote to Your Majesty in my despatch of the 25th ult^o. As soon (he added) as he had obtained those opinions, and others well founded upon right and canonic law, he would not fail to have them duly forwarded to Rome, and should not the Pope, in conformity with the above opinions so expressed, declare their marriage null and void, then in that case he (the King) [352] would denounce the Pope as a heretic, and marry whom he pleased." The Queen replied that he himself, without the help of doctors, knew perfectly well that the principal cause alleged for the divorce did not really exist, "cart yl l'avoit trouvé pucelle," as he himself had owned upon more than one occasion. "As to your almoner's opinion in this matter," she continued, "I care not a straw; he is not my judge in the present case; it is for the Pope, not for him, to decide. Respecting those of other doctors, whether Parisian or from other universities, you know very well that the principal and best lawyers in England have written in my favour. Indeed, if you give me permission to procure counsel's opinion in this matter I do not hesitate to say that for each doctor or lawyer who might decide in your favour and against me, I shall find 1,000 to declare that the marriage is good and indissoluble."

After a good deal of talking and disputing on these matters the King left the room suddenly, and, as I am told by some of those present, was very disconcerted and downcast, so much so that at supper the Lady Anne noticed it, and said to him reproachfully: "Did I not tell you that whenever you disputed with the Queen she was sure to have the upper hand? I see that some fine morning you will succumb to her reasoning, and that you will cast me off. I have been waiting long, and might in the meanwhile have contracted some advantageous marriage, out of which I might have had issue, which is the greatest consolation in this world; but alas! farewell to my time and youth spent to no purpose at all."

Such, I am told, was Lady Anne's language to the King on the evening of the day that he dined with his Queen, and disputed with her as to the legitimacy of their marriage, but as Your Majesty will no doubt hear all these particulars from Mr. de Mingoval, as well as the influence the Lady exercises, and the credit she has with the King, I shall say no more on this subject, and will leave to that ambassador the care of reporting thereupon.

As Dr. Lee, the royal almoner, has positively told the King that except Your Majesty, no one else in Spain cared a straw whether this marriage was dissolved or not, the Queen wishes me to say that she would be grateful if you would make the Spanish universities write in her defence; also if the Empress [Isabella] could be persuaded to write a warm letter in her favour to this King. She thinks that were Your Majesty to give commission to the Archbishop of Toledo (Fonseca) to procure the conclusions of the said Spanish universities, her case might be considerably improved. She has written again to Madame begging her to have the same thing done at Louvain, and wherever else it may be considered expedient, as she thinks that all these measures, and others that she could suggest, are now much wanted to stop the King in his course; for he is so blind and passionate in these matters, that it is much to be feared that one of these days he [353]

will take steps which may perhaps induce his people and the Commons, on the plea of the various and contradictory opinions obtained in this matter, to consent to the divorce, though if a favourable conclusion has, as Your Majesty writes, been obtained in the Paris University, it is hardly to be presumed that anything of the sort will be attempted.

Yesterday, after dinner, Messieurs de Rosymboz, de Mingoal, and [Jehan] de le Sauch went to take leave; I accompanied them, and saw the King, who made us many flattering speeches, as is his wont; no doubt Mr. de Mingoal will report them. Among other news he communicated to us was this, that he had issued orders for the reform of the Clergy in his kingdom, whose claws he has already clipped to a considerable extent, taking away from them several taxes imposed of their own exclusive authority upon his (the King's) subjects. He was (he said) about to undertake the annats, and prevent ecclesiastics from holding more than one benefice at a time, and he concluded by making us the most splendid offers, saying that there was nothing in his dominions of which Your Majesty and Madame [of the Low Countries] could not dispose at once if you only took the trouble of asking for it. These same offers he afterwards repeated to Mr. de Mingoal in particular, as he himself will no doubt inform Your Majesty.

I forgot to mention the arrival at this court of an envoy from the Pope, whom I met yesterday in the street as he was coming from the King. He said he wanted to see me, and would call in a day or two to communicate affairs of importance. He had not yet been able to do so owing to his many engagements and the important business he had in hand. I do not yet know the exact purpose for which he comes, but this I can say for certain, that whatever his mission may be he has certainly arrived under a bad constellation.

Parliament was yesterday prorogued till after Easter. Its chief occupation has been to legislate against all classes of the Clergy, and also to remit about two millions of money which the King had borrowed. The Bill has actually passed, though it is to be apprehended that some mischief may come of it. The Cardinal, as I informed Your Majesty in my despatch of the 17th ult^o, remains where he was. His son, a student at Paris, who enjoyed several ecclesiastic benefices to the amount of more than 15,000 ducats, has also been deprived of all except one of about 1,000, and the remainder has been bestowed on other people.—London, 6th December 1529.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Indorsed: "De l'ambassadeur d'Angleterre, VI^o Decembre, par Mingoal."

French. Original. pp. 9.