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354. EUSTACE CHAPUYS TO THE EMPEROR.

Immediately after the dispatch of my last letters of the 10th inst. I received information that **the King had written to certain of the prelates and high officials** (*grans maistres*) of this country, **desiring them to be present at his court on the 12th inst.**,¹ each of them bringing with him his seal of office, and that such as for some sufficient cause could not be present themselves should at least send the said seals of office. On the 12th, which was last Sunday, the greater part of those who had been summoned appeared at Court, where, as I am given to understand, they were most urgently exhorted, as the representatives of one portion of the kingdom, to write conjointly to the Pope, explaining the necessity there was for the King to divorce the Queen and make another marriage, and pointing out also all the evils that would arise if this were not done. The address ended by praying His Holiness, in conformity with the opinion of the most famous universities and most learned men in Christendom, to declare the marriage between the King and Queen illegal, and authorise the King to take another wife, intimating that should His Holiness refuse to grant so just and reasonable a petition **the King and his people must seek some other means of redress even if that should involve the summoning of a General Council**; this last sentence being added to the document by way of a threat, as if they thought that what the Pope most [599] fears is the calling of a Council of the Church. To give the address greater weight and authority it was to bear the signatures and official seals of all these prelates and gentlemen, and though only those well known to be on the King's side were summoned to the meeting, still they were unable at the time to come to a resolution, and therefore the meeting was adjourned until to-morrow, Corpus Christi Day. **Not one of the prelates known to be favourable to the Queen received a summons, nor the Chancellor either, whom they suspect.** I have been told that last Sunday, when this affair of the marriage was being discussed, it was asked why the King should not (having obtained the opinion of so many competent judges on this matter) marry at once, without awaiting any further approval of his conduct, especially as he had cause to be suspicious of the Pope. But few were found to support such an extravagant motion as this, or speak against it, until one of the King's chief favourites, fearing lest he should adhere to the proposal, and be persuaded to carry out his purpose, threw himself down on his knees and implored the King to take into consideration the slight symptoms of disaffection (*les petites esmotions*) appearing in many parts of the kingdom, and the inclination of the people, which the slightest provocation might kindle into a flame, and that if he was determined to make this marriage without awaiting the definitive judgment of the Church, that he should at least delay it until winter, when the general excitement might have somewhat subsided. Here the question remains for the present.

On this same Sunday the Queen spoke for some time with the King, exhorting him to be again to her a good prince and husband, and to quit the evil life he was leading and the bad example he was setting, and that even if he would shew no regard for her, who was, as he well knew, his true and lawful wife, that he should at least respect God and his conscience, and no longer ignore the brief which had been executed in Flanders. The King, after many words and much commendation of those who had written in his favour, said that the brief was of very little consequence, and that even if it were he should not heed it much, because the Pope was compelled to act as the Emperor wished, and with that the King left the room abruptly without saying another word.

The Queen has since sent to ask me whether the said brief should be presented to the King. My answer has been that I think it expedient to do so, as he can then no longer

1 "De se debuoer iceux rendre et représenter en sa court."

allege ignorance of it, and we shall be able to obtain a last monition of excommunication (*reaggravatoyre*) against him. I believe this will be done to-morrow.²

I wrote lately to Your Majesty that if the Lady [Anne] could only be kept away from Court for a little while, the [600] Queen might still regain her influence over the King, for he does not seem to bear any ill-will towards her. Quite lately he sent her some cloth begging her to have it made into shirts for him. The Lady, hearing of this, sent for the person who had taken the cloth—one of the principal gentlemen of the bedchamber—and although the King himself confessed that the cloth had been taken to the Queen by his order, she abused the bearer in the King's very presence, threatening that she would have him punished severely. Indeed, there is a talk, as I am told, of dismissing, to please the Lady, some of the officers of the Royal Household, and if so, the said gentleman will not be the last, for some time back the wife of the young Marquis (of Dorset ?) and two other ladies, most devoted to the Queen,³ and in whom she found more comfort and consolation than in any others, were, at her request, dismissed from Court and sent home.

I have received to-day letters from Paris from Dr. Garay of the 8th inst., in which he says that the king of France had issued a warrant commanding the university of Paris to come to a determination on the divorce affair, but that the University after having met several times in consultation, replied on the 7th instant that as the case was already in the Pope's hands to determine, it did not become them to meddle with it. In spite of this, Dr. Garay says he fears that the King will give the doctors no peace until they have declared in favour of the divorce, unless Your Majesty can obtain in the meantime from the Pope the brief about which Dr. Garay wrote recently in the letter that went with my last despatch, or the king of France be otherwise induced to desist from these practices. This, however, must be done at once, for according to Garay the pressure from here is considerable. He also writes to me that, following my advice, he has acquainted the Imperial ambassador in France with all these particulars. I have no doubt that he will do his duty, as he always has done, and yet should he get a special charge from Your Majesty he might speak more boldly and openly on the subject.⁴ The affair, in short, is well worth Your Majesty's attention.

Whilst writing the above I have received a letter from *the Cardinal's physician*, in which he tells me in rather obscure terms (*assez obscuremant*) that his master, not knowing exactly the state of *the Queen's affairs*, cannot give any special advice upon them ; that if he could get fuller information he would give counsel and directions as though Paradise were to be gained through it, *for his happiness, honour, and repose depended on that*, and that it seemed to him that now [601] was the time *to take stronger measures and call in the assistance of the secular arm*, since so little nerve was shewn [on the other side].⁵ The physician did not further explain the Cardinal's meaning, and, therefore, I am at a loss how to interpret his message and wishes. He also said that *the Lady and her party* did not at all regret the delay in the proceedings, as it gave them time to carry out their plans and push on the affair, which they do daily hoping *that as time goes on both Your Majesty and the Queen will be wearied out*.

All these things considered, it seems as if Your Majesty ought to have matters brought to a crisis at once (*abbreger l'affere*) the best means towards which, as I have very lately pointed out, would be the removal of the said Lady from the Court; in which opinion the

2 "Et croys que demain yl en sera salue."

3 "Questoint les troys que portoiut plus laffere de la royne."

4 "Que suys seur yl fera tout son debuoeer comme yl a fait par cydevant. Toutesfois yl auroit occasion den parler plus hautemant et ouvertemant, ayant sur ce espresse charge de votre maieste. Yl plaira a icelle avoer esgard sur le tout,"

5 "Escrivant ceste jay reçu lectres du [medecin du cardinal] par les quelles yl maduertyt assez obscuremant que son maystre pour non sçavoer en quel termes sont les afferes de [la royne, il ne sçauroit particulieremant quel conseil donner,] et que en estant informe il y voudroyt donner conseyl et adresse comme ce estoit pour gaignier paradis [car de la deppend son bien, honneur et repoz], et quil lui semble pour raaintenant que lon deburoyt proceder a [plus grandes censures et a la invocacion du bras seculier], cart maintenant yl ny a nul nerf."

Cardinal also coincides, saying that when that is accomplished, the management of the affairs may be left to those who know best how to act, *by which he means himself*.⁶

It would seem as *if the Pope* could hardly refuse to enforce so reasonable a measure, *as the removal of the Lady from Court, for right and justice require it, whereas the scandal and bad example given., and the King's disobedience to Papal authority fully recommend it*. The best way would be that *the Pope* instead of *the declaration of pains and penalties to be incurred* by the King, as in the said brief, should issue an order to that effect confirming the former *censures, and declaring the King to have fallen under the penalties contained in the brief*.

The Queen has not heard from Rome for a long time; she is expecting daily the return of the courier I sent in April; but, nevertheless, I fancy she will dispatch another one express in three days to acquaint Messire Mai with what is going on. I hear, that the King has just received letters from Rome, which I think have been the cause of his urging the above-mentioned letter⁷ to be written.

The Queen sent me word yesterday to say that she intended writing to Your Majesty by the next courier, but in consequence of the said letters received from Paris, and seeing the urgency of affairs, I have thought better not to lose the present opportunity, and therefore send this off in all haste.—London 15th June 1530.

Signed: “Eustace Chapuys.”

Addressed: “To the Emperor.”

Indorsed: “From the ambassador in England, 15th June Received the 28th.”

French. Holograph. Pp. 4.

6 “Dont le principal et juridique moyen est de fere [sequestrer de la court la dame]. [En quoy concourt l'opinion du dit cardinal], qui dit que puy apres cella estre fayt que lon laisse besongnier a ceux que bien le scauront fere [cest a entendre a luy mesme].

7 Le roy a eu ses (*sic*) jours nouvelles du dit Romme que pense ont este cause quil a inste de fere escrire les lectres que dessus,” meaning that to the Pope signed by the nobility and prelates.