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4 Dec. [1530]
K. u. K. Haus-
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Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*,
c. 226, No. 47.

522. EUSTACE CHAPUYS TO THE EMPEROR.

The bishop of Rochester (Fisher) has lately written a book in favour of the Queen, which is here enclosed.¹ The Queen prays Your Majesty to forward it immediately to the Pope, and at the same time remind His Holiness of the promises mentioned in my last despatch.²

On Tuesday, the eve of St. Andrew, the duke of Norfolk invited the Papal Nuncio to come and see him at his house, and on his arrival there told him that the King had desired him to request that he would write to His Holiness about the Cardinal's hat for the Auditor of the Papal Chamber (Ghinucci). Having said this, the Duke took the Nuncio apart, and told him that **the King felt great surprise at his not having been informed of the letters received from Rome, and was still more surprised and annoyed at what His Holiness had said to his ambassadors on the subject of a last monition of excommunication (*reaggravatoyre*) and the dismissal of the Lady from Court. This (the Duke added) was a most outrageous measure on the part of His Holiness, and such as he (the King) had not deserved on any grounds**, since he had always shewn himself a dutiful son of the Church, and had never offended him intentionally in any respect. The Duke went on for some time in the same strain, praising the King's conduct in the affair, and so forth, &c.

The Nuncio apologised, and said that respecting the first point, whereof the King complained, his reason for not informing him immediately of the contents of the letters received from Rome was to avoid as much as possible the violent and threatening language with which the King was in the habit of loading him, and also that the Pope, hearing of the King's manner of proceeding [towards his Nuncio], had expressly instructed him not to give himself further trouble about vindicating his conduct. The Pope felt that he had more than sufficiently acquitted himself of his obligations to the king of England, and had only to consider now his duty to God, and his own conscience, and how best to ensure justice to the parties concerned. With regard to the other point, the Nuncio said the Pope had lately written that he could not possibly allow any further delay in the affair, he was so pressed to see justice done that he must not only attend to the two points above mentioned, but also prepare a definitive sentence in the Queen's case.

The Duke thanked the Nuncio very much for thus acquainting him with the Pope's views and intentions, a summary of which, written in cipher, he said, the King had already received [from his ambassadors at Rome], and after many [833] courteous words, begged him to act on this occasion the part of a good ambassador, and avoid sending unpleasant reports. Also to write that very same day by the courier, whom the King was sending to France, and thence to Rome.

The Nuncio tells me that on this occasion **the Duke did not scruple to affirm, and actually to take his oath, that the King had only learnt four days before**

1 See No. 509, p. 818.

2 "Levesque de Rochester a dernièrement acheve ung livre, &c." Different from the one printed at Alcalá, in the month of August 1530. The title of it is *Gravissimæ atque exactissimæ illustrissimarum totius Italiæ ac Galliæ Academiæ censuræ efficacissimis etiam quorundam doctorum virorum argumentationibus explicatæ, &c.*, London, Mense Aprili, An. Dñi. MDXXX.

that cardinal Therbes³ had been pushing his affairs at Rome, or that a brief had been issued against himself at Bologna, and yet it is now more than six weeks ago that the King himself knew of the brief, and complained of it to the Nuncio.

The latter is well aware, and agrees with me, that what I have written to Your Majesty is a positive fact, namely, that mild treatment only hardens these people, but severity softens them. As long as His Holiness acted graciously towards them they kept abusing and threatening him in the most outrageous manner; now that he has begun to tighten the reins they are as mild and humble as possible. The Nuncio, therefore, has written to His Holiness more forcibly than he ventured to do before, that for the maintenance of his authority in this kingdom, as well as for other sufficient reasons the Queen's case ought at once to be brought to a final conclusion. His letter [to the Pope] accompanies the present one; I pray Your Majesty to have it forwarded [to Rome] together with the book [of bishop Fisher] above mentioned, and if Your Majesty would be pleased again to remind him of this business, I have no doubt that the recommendation in the present state of things would be much more efficacious than it has been hitherto, now that the trial is in a more advanced stage.

The cardinal of York died on St. Andrew's Day about 40 miles from here, at a place where the last king Richard was defeated and killed. Both lie buried in the same church, which the people begin already to call "the Tyrants' grave."⁴

Many are the reports current as to the cause of his death. Some say that for several days after his arrest he would take no nourishment whatever, and that after that he either took, or was given, something to hasten his end. On Monday the captain of the guard arrived to conduct him to London, and both supped together cheerfully enough. Soon after, however, the Cardinal was taken violently ill, so much so that it was thought he could not live through the night; yet he lingered till Wednesday, and died like a good Christian, protesting, at the time of receiving the Holy Sacrament, that he had never undertaken anything against his master, the King. There has been a great deal going on at Court since his death; but his [834] ecclesiastical benefices have not yet been disposed of. It is believed the King will retain them for some time, and pocket the revenues.

The King has recently granted permission to the Rodians (knights of St. John of Rhodes) to settle at Martha (Malta), as I hear from the knight who came over on this business.⁵

With regard to the translation into English of the papers of the Universities, which the King, as already stated, ordered to be made, I am told that the idea has now been abandoned, owing to their containing expressions and propositions open to criticism. They have had instead an attestation printed in English, and widely circulated to the effect that the eight⁶ universities named in a former despatch have voted in favour of the King. A Spanish translation of it is here enclosed. I should like to have got hold of the book itself, which I hear was also in print, but the King

3 Written Therbes in the original, and Scherbes in Bradford, p. 334, but there can be no doubt that "Tarbes" is here meant, for Gabriel de Grammont, bishop of that see in the south of France, and who had been some time ambassador of Francis in England, was created cardinal in 1529.

4 "Et gissent tous deux en une mesme eglise, la quelle l'on commence desja [a] appeller la sepulture des tyrans."

5 "Le Roy a ces jours ottroye aux Rodiens son placet sur leur residence de Marthe (*sic*) ainsi que le m'a dit le chevalier que l'estoit (*sic*) venu poursuyvre."

6 Seven?

has ordered every copy of it to be burnt.⁷ I beg leave to be excused if the fear of omitting facts, which may hereafter be of some importance, makes me report on superfluous things.⁸ —London, 4th December 1530.

Signed: “Eustace Chapuys.”

Indorsed: “Received at Cologne on the 18th.”

French. Holograph, pp. 5.

7 “Voyant ceux-cy que en la translation de la determination des universites l’ on eut peu trouver plusieurs choses pour contrerouler (*sic*), yl ce (se) sont desporte de ce faire, faysant imprimer en angloys une attestation qu’il [s] ont semé partout, de la quelle envoye un double a votre majesté translaté en Castillian. J’eusse bien voulu recouvrer le livre, qu’ est en icelle mentionné, mays le Roy a fait commander qu’il fussent trestous brulés.”

8 The translation here mentioned is not appended to Chapuys’ despatch; but I find instead one in Italian, described as the “Edict published by Henry VIII. in London when he broke with the court of Rome; Westminster, 12th September 1530,” with the following note: “A remmettre dans la lettre du Sieur Chapuys du 1^{er} Decembre 1530. No. 47.” As there is no despatch under this date (No. 46 being of the 27th November) there is sufficient reason to think that this document is the one alluded to, and that instead of 1^{er} Decembre, the clerk who docketted the document ought to have written “the 4th,” which is the date of this one.

