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45. CHAPUYS TO CHARLES V.

On the 11th the King received letters from Rome of 20 Dec., which did not please him much, nor the Lady either. Last night the duke of Norfolk sent to me to come this morning and speak with him at the church of the Jacobins, where I found him, and the Treasurer, and Dr. Stephen, chief secretary. Retiring to a private chapel, the Duke said he wished to inform me, both as your ambassador and as a friend of peace, of a constitution made by the States of the realm, and heretofore published, against bringing bulls or provisions from Rome; and said that two days ago he was informed that the Pope had, at the solicitation of the Queen's friends, sent them some very injurious mandates, which, if the Pope himself came to execute in person, nothing could save him from the fury of the people. He therefore begged me, if they came to my hands, to do nothing to execute them. **He then said that the Popes in former times had tried to usurp authority, and that the people would not suffer it still less would they do so now; that the King had a right of empire in his kingdom, and recognised no superior;** that there had been an Englishman who had conquered Rome, to wit, Brennus; that Constantine reigned here, and the mother of Constantine was English, &c. I thanked the Duke for his good will in telling me this, and said my curiosity had not led me to inquire into their affairs or constitutions, which I consider did not bind the minister of your Majesty. As to the rights claimed by the Pope here, although I had learned something about them in their own chronicles, I did not wish to enter into the subject; but the authority which the Pope could exercise against disobedient kings and realms was notorious, and had been exercised in our times, on which subject they might address themselves to the Nuncio; and I thought they would do better to eradicate the cause which moved the Pope to issue those injunctions. I also said they might be sure your Majesty would not allow anything unreasonable to be done against the King, whose realm you would protect like your own, but that if I received your commands I would certainly do my best to execute them, come what might. The Church was not so reduced in power that it had no followers to protect truth and justice. They replied that they did not mean to speak about your Majesty; but as to the Pope, they did not hope for justice from him, for, if he had been so minded, he might have allowed the King to take another wife, as he had done to other princes. They did not name them; but, as I supposed they meant king Charles [VIII.] and Louis [XII.] of France, and the last Ladislaus king of Hungary, I pointed out the differences of the cases; and when they said that the judgment properly belonged to the archbishop of Canterbury, I showed them the contrary. Nevertheless, it seemed that God had blinded them in this matter, when, hoping to advance the cause, they made the said Archbishop and other prelates sign letters addressed to the Pope, which alone incapacitate them from being judges in the case. Finding they were disposed to listen, I took the opportunity of telling them part of my opinion upon the divorce, which I had hitherto withheld. I said they might be assured that if your Majesty, who, from the number and separation of your kingdoms, has more need of a plurality of children, had been not only in the King's position, but even in full liberty to marry, and had a daughter like the Princess, and if the King had prayed your Majesty as earnestly as you had prayed him (*la*, query for *le*?) [20] in order to avoid the scandal and inconveniences, of which the Duke himself had spoken to me, you would have refrained from marrying again. I remarked, besides, that by marrying the Princess, he would be able to choose a successor more surely than nature would give him one, with good hope of having shortly male issue; and if it was true, as the Duke had told me, that the lawful title that the King has in this realm proceeded from a woman, namely, his mother, this course was all the more reasonable. To this the Duke was unable to reply, except very coldly, that still the King would marry if he could.

I said also that your Majesty and the Queen had more occasion to be dissatisfied with the Pope in this affair than the King had, whom he had gratified as much as he could. The Duke, referring to the Council, said the Pope might not get much benefit from it. I said they themselves, though they did not know it, had been partly the cause why the Pope had not so readily consented to the Council, that he might justify himself from various calumnies they had published about him, and show that he had given no occasion to the King to do anything against him or the Church, and that his Holiness acted like a good pastor, who, instead of being judge of all the world, wished to submit to all the world's judgment. The Duke answered that the Pope had no jurisdiction, except in matters of heresy. Notwithstanding the friendship between your Majesty and the Pope, I would not have gone so far in defending his Holiness, but that the conversation led me to it. My words were taken in good part, and the Duke said he had lately shown the ambassadors of France the seal or the tomb (*le sceau ou la sepulture*) of King Arthur, (I did not know of whom he spoke,) in which there was a writing, which I would see in a bill of parchment, which he took out of his purse, saying that he had had it copied out for me. This bill contained only the words "*Patricius Arcturus, Britanni, Galli, Germani, Daci Imperator.*" I said I was sorry he was not also called Emperor of Asia, and that he had not left this King as his successor; for, as there was a vicissitude in all things, it was probable enough that a king of England subjugated part of the provinces there named, since from them had come men who had long ruled over this kingdom, and the line of William of Normandy still endured; and if from this he argued that they might still make conquests like the said Arthur, let him consider what had become of the Assyrians, Macedonians, Persians, &c. In the end I told him I thought the King would do well to allow execution of Papal mandates to be intimated to him and two or three persons whom the matter concerned, after the example of Philip father of Alexander the Great, who would not expel from his house one who continually reviled him, because he preferred that he should continue to revile him, and state his case, rather than that he should go publishing it throughout the world: for if the King hindered the execution here, the mandates would probably be printed and published everywhere. To this they made no reply. Advises that if the King persist, the mandates should be printed. Today the duke of Norfolk has notified the Nuncio of the penalties attending execution being made here against the King, and said that he was very much surprised, considering the good words his Holiness had held to card. Grammont, that he ordered the cause to be proceeded with, and further that he wished to make certain provisions and mandates injurious to the prerogative of the King and kingdom, seeing that he had long ago warned the Nuncio that the King would not proceed *de facto* in this affair, and there was less appearance of his proceeding in it now than ever, whatever they might say. The Nuncio had no leisure to make much reply, except that he knew nothing about the mandates; but if the Pope sent them to him to execute, he would face death in the service of his master. The Nuncio went today, at my request, to the archbishop of Canterbury, to [21] exhort him to have regard to God, his conscience, and the Pope's authority. While they were together, there arrived the King's confessor, one of the promoters of this affair; and the Archbishop could only say that the King had come in person to his house to induce him to comply with his wishes, but he would on no account disobey the Pope's prohibition, as he would declare more fully on Tuesday next. The Nuncio has not yet been able to obtain any answer to the brief (*au brefz*) which he has presented to the King touching the calling of a Council, and doubts if he will have any till they know the will of the French king. The messenger who carried it to the king of Scotland has not yet returned, but is expected hourly. I hear the King was never in greater perplexity than since the last news from Rome, and that neither he nor the Lady sleeps at nights.

Yesterday the prelates were assembled to consider what was to be treated in Parliament; but no mention was made of the Queen's affair, which, taken with what the duke of Norfolk said to the Nuncio, shows that they will not put this matter forward.

It is thought that Parliament will last a very short time, and be prorogued. I am told that when John Joquin was on the point of departure, and his despatches were delivered to

him, he demanded a memorandum which he had delivered to the King, and the secretary told him they would send it after him, for the King had it, and was then in bed. At which being very angry, he said there was no excuse for it, and that he would not go without it. They were obliged to wake the King to give it him, and when he got it back he threw it in the fire. I am also told that on the English ambassador desiring Francis to make a strict alliance with them, he answered that all pleasures and courtesies would be done to them, but they must not expect him to enter into war (*mais que n'estoit question dentendre en partir de guerre*). The 4,000 or 5,000 crowns which were delivered a year ago to a German, as I wrote to you, have been employed in trying to procure opinions in Germany in the King's favor; but Luther and his followers have declared against him, which has increased the King's headache and restlessness. London, 13 Jan.

Hol., Fr., pp. 8, from a modern copy.