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**635. EUSTACE CHAPUYS TO THE EMPEROR**

Since my last the Clergy have withdrawn from the agreement entered into with the King, as I had the honour to inform Your Imperial Majesty, owing to his demanding that in case of his, or any of his allies, being compelled to make war, **they should be bound to pay at once the sum previously agreed without waiting, as formerly stipulated, for five years.** Another cause of disagreement is that the King now refuses to grant them the condition on which they were principally induced to disburse the money, and of which some hope had been held out to them, namely, that they should be restored to their old privileges; that the volition of which they have been deprived by a writ called *Præmunire*, should be restored to them; and thirdly, that the King should have a declaration published on the importance and tenour of the said writ, that they may not act in future against the letter of it. Of this writ called "præmunire" there is no one in England who knows anything; it rests only on the imagination of the King, who comments and amplifies it at pleasure, connecting with it any case he chooses, and subjecting those who in any way infringe the same to confiscation of property and imprisonment. At last, after much negociation, bad blood (*grimasses*) and many threats, **the affair has been half settled (a esté moyenne rabillié), the King promising not to demand the money before the expiration of the five years,** and granting one out of the three points asked by the Clergy, namely, that of the "volition," for the other two the King has flatly denied to grant.

About a week ago the Nuncio presented to this King a Papal brief in answer to his letters, which, as is well known, were couched in rather ungracious terms. I do not send a copy of it, because I am sure Your Imperial Majesty has by this time received it from Rome. The King did not read the brief in the Nuncio's presence, reserving this for such a time as he could consult his Privy Councillors about it. For this reason the Nuncio was obliged to communicate to the King some of its contents, reduced, as he himself tells me, to a [62] justification of His Holiness' acts in the divorce suit, and to a sort of credential in favour of himself. I was further told that never, on any former occasion, was the Nuncio so graciously received by the King and his ministers, since among other reassuring and flattering expressions the King volunteered to say: "I am well aware that you have addressed the prelates of this my kingdom, exhorting them not to consent to any measure likely to be detrimental to the Pope; but I can assure you that there was never a question of any measure that could in any way affect His Holiness. I have always upheld the authority of the Church in this my kingdom, and fully intend doing so in future, provided he (the Pope) give me no cause to act differently." Many other flattering words did the King say on this occasion, all tending to prove that he is nowise hostile to Rome, and yet at the very time he is giving such assurances I know for a positive fact that he is trying to obtain from the Clergy in his dominions a declaration highly detrimental to His Holiness, of which I will speak hereafter.

The King told the Nuncio the news he had from Germany, said much about the confusion in which the affairs of that country were represented to be, and also about a handsome present which, he said, one of the king of Hungary's servants had sent him, consisting of two camels, two horses, and two slaves, which present he praised and commended in very high terms, as if he meant to imply that it came straight from the king of Hungary himself, whereas it is an ascertained fact that it was sent by his "Azemilero Mayor."<sup>1</sup>

1 Azemila in Spanish is a beast of burthen, a pack horse or mule. It is derived from the Arabic zémila (with the art. az-zémila), which means the camel or beast destined for that purpose. Azemilero Mayor was, therefore, the officer of the King's household, who took care of the baggage department.

After this the King said to the Nuncio: “ I have heard that the coronation of king Ferdinand as king of the Romans has already taken place. The information, however, comes not from the Emperor’s representatives at this my court, who have not yet given me notice thereof—but from various other quarters which leads me to believe that there is something more to be said about it.”

I must here remark that before the Nuncio was admitted to the royal presence the duke of Norfolk came up to him, and fearing lest he should make some sort of intimation or summons to the King respecting the Queen’s business, reminded him of what he had said to him on many previous occasions, namely, that the affair of the divorce should not be discussed in this present Parliament, assuring him that no proceedings should be taken against the Queen, which assurance the Duke again repeated, telling the Nuncio that he relied entirely on his discretion and hoped the subject would not be broached. So when the Nuncio, after the King’s audience, left the room, the Duke approached him and began to thank [63] him most heartily for the good offices he had always done in the discharge of his diplomatic duties, begging him to continue the same, and declaring that ever since the 19th ulto an agent had been dispatched by the Court of France to Rome expressly for the Queen’s business, and that the King hoped to have some good news therefrom. The Duke went still further; he said that the King had ordered an answer to be sent to the Papal brief on the convocation of the Council, the substance of which was that he (the King) approved entirely of the said convocation, provided the place appointed for the meeting was a fit one, and that in case he (the King) was unable to attend personally, he would depute fit and proper persons to attend thereat. The point, which as I said before has been lately discussed, and will, if carried out, be very injurious to the Pope’s authority, is this: **that under the penalty of the said writ of “præmunire” the English Clergy have been induced and compelled to declare, constitute, and accept the King as the chief and principal head of the whole Anglican Church, which amounts almost to making him Pope in England. It is true that the Clergy have added a clause purporting that this declaration is to be understood as far as the thing is compatible with Divine law, but as to the King himself, the restriction is null and void, for henceforward no one will dare dispute with his lord and master.**

This last act has taken the Queen so much by surprise that she begins to fear that *since the King is not ashamed of doing such monstrous things, and there being no one who can or dare contradict him, he may one of these days undertake something most outrageous against her own person*, notwithstanding the promises he has made to treat her differently, which promises in my opinion have only been put forward to *lull her and her abettors into security*, and in the meantime treat the Pope as they have done. The Queen is the more alarmed from the circumstance that *immediately after the above Act was passed, the King’s mistress (La Dame du Roy) made such demonstrations of joy as if she had actually gained Paradise*, besides which it seems as if this Parliament was only kept open for the purpose of *proceeding with the divorce case as soon as the information they expect from France has arrived*. Jehan Jocquin, who is to bring it, cannot be long coming back. La Guiche continues to be feasted and entertained as much as possible by the King. The other day when the King went in great triumph to hear mass at Ouesmostier (Westminster), surrounded by almost all the nobility of his kingdom, no other foreign ambassador was present at the act but the said La Guiche, who dined that day at the King’s table with the two dukes and the young Marquis [of Dorset]. Indeed La Guiche, and the three above noblemen have been the King’s usual guests whenever he has dined in public during this session of Parliament, *i.e.*, thrice a week. He was likewise conducted by the King’s order to [64] the House of Parliament, that he might be present at the solemn opening of the same, the King having previously sent order to the members for each to be at his post, splendidly attired and accoutred, for the reception of the said ambassador, as was done. Yet, notwithstanding all this feasting and entertaining, he (La Guiche) having been invited some time ago to dine at Court, received counter-order owing, as it was said, to some business which had suddenly come upon the King, at which La Guiche was, as maybe

imagined, highly displeased and went to the Nuncio to complain, saying: “ These people have very little regard for the favour and good treatment shewn to their ambassador at the court of the Most Christian King, my master, for certainly there, in France, no business, however important, ever prevents him from entering the King’s chamber at any hour he pleases.”—London, 14th February [1531].

*Signed:* “ Eustace Chapuys.”

*Addressed:* “To the Emperor.”

*Indorsed:* “ From the ambassador in England. Received the 21st.”

*French. Holograph. pp. 4.*