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27 Dec. [1533] Vienna Archives

1571. CHAPUYS TO CHARLES V.

Since my last I have heard of the proposals made by the duke of Suffolk on the part of the King to the Queen. They dwelt at great length on the favors which the King and his father had done to you and your predecessors at an incredible cost, and that she ought not to be ignorant that all had been done out of regard to her; and that, considering the good treatment she had hitherto received, it seemed to them very strange she should put the King to so much trouble as she had done for many years, whilst he had been incessantly constrained to send ambassadors to Rome in defence of his own rights and privileges, wherein he had spent large sums of money; that henceforth she ought to be satisfied, and cease putting the King to such torments and troubles; seeing likewise that the sentence was passed by the archbishop of Canterbury on the divorce by the common consent, as he said, of the Church of England, and the great satisfaction of the whole kingdom, whereto, if she would consent and revoke her proctors from Rome, and renounce what has been done there in her favor against the King, she would be more beloved by the realm than ever, and the King would treat her as she desired. If, on the contrary, she proved obstinate, the King would be compelled to show her that he was not satisfied with her, and would clip her wings by taking from her her state and her servants, and shut her up in the house mentioned in my last; using many bitter and discourteous words, protesting that she might be the cause of great trouble in Christendom and effusion of human blood, which all good Christians ought to avoid, and that no sentence given at Rome in her favor would be of the least use to her. To all this, and much more, she answered most prudently; and to the revocation of her proctors from Rome she replied that it was not in her power, but in the King's, if he would obey what the Pope had done; nor would the Pope revoke his censures for her, for he could, much better than the archbishop of Canterbury, decide ex officio, and not allow the King to live in sin; that the King was the first to apply to the Pope; that she would suffer a thousand deaths rather than consent, for it was contrary to God and the honor and conscience of herself and the King; that though she was grieved at the illtreatment of her servants she would not prevaricate on this nor any other account; that the King might do as he liked, but she would never enter the house they spoke of, unless she was carried there by force, for otherwise she might incur damnation by voluntary homicide, as the house was so unhealthy and pestilential.

When the Commissioners left her they summoned before them all her servants, dismissing some, and making prisoners of others, as two priests¹ who were brought here to the Tower, where they are now. They used great harshness to those whom they drove away, commanding them to avoid the place the same day on pain of death. They debated on taking away her confessor, a Spanish bishop;² but on the Queen saying that she never con- [633] fessed, nor knew how to do it, except in Spanish, they left him, and said nothing to her physician and apothecary, who are Spaniards. They took away almost all her *femmes de chambre*; but as the Queen affirmed she would not have any others, and would sleep in her clothes, and lock the gate herself, they returned two of them, but not those that the Queen wished. All her present servants, except the confessor, physician, and apothecary, who cannot speak English, have been sworn not to address her as Queen; and for this she has protested before the Commissioners that she will not regard them as her servants, but only her guards, as she is a prisoner.

The said Commissioners stopped six days, as well to close the house as to see if the Queen, through the loss of her servants and their rough menaces, would change her purpose. But seeing that she was constant, they proceeded at length to load the baggage,

¹ A bell and Barker. See No. 1541.

² John de Athequa, bishop of Llandaff. See No. 1541.

and get a litter and horses in order to mount the Queen thereon. She had locked herself in her chamber since the morning, and when the Commissioners came to take her away she told them through a hole in the wall that they must break down the doors if they wished to remove her. This they dared not do, as one of them has confessed, through fear of the people that had assembled there, weeping piteously and lamenting at such cruelties. The lodging where she now is is unhealthy enough without seeking a worse one, but the iniquity and detestable malice of the Lady will never rest till she sees the end of the mother and the daughter, from whom they have taken away the two ladies that attended her, and have left her only a simple chambermaid, lately come into her service. The assay is no more to be given, which is to open the way to snares and perils.

Many, both great and small, who desire reformation of affairs, are much scandalised at the sudden agreement made in Flanders for free trade, thinking there was a good occasion for delaying the answer and awaiting your pleasure; but they are comforted with the thought that before the vessels have arrived from abroad the time prefixed for the interdict will have expired, and then the Queen Regent, without any trouble, may forbid any one trading with the English for fear of incurring the censures. If this opportunity be lost the King will in the next Parliament do whatever he likes against the Queen and the Princess, and the people will be obliged to support him in whatever he does, and he may proceed to whatever rigor he likes against the Queen and Princess. Since the return of the Commissioners they have spread a report that the Queen was sickly (mal saine), and could not live long. They used the same trick a little before the Cardinal died, as a cloak for their secret designs. A respectable Englishman told me to send word to the Queen as soon as possible, that she ought to have her chamber well locked from night time till early morning, and carefully examined that no one was hidden in it, for there was a danger that they would play some trick upon her, either in injury to her person, or by accusing her of adultery, or charging her with a wish to go into Scotland or into Wales and raise an insurrection. There is danger lest the King in the forthcoming Parliament should demand aid from his kingdom in order to raise up troubles against you.

On Christmas Day I was visited by the bishop of Paris, who told me of the great affection that existed between their master and the King here, and that he would aid him all that he could. And he constantly recurred to this. I spoke on the necessity of union among princes; that you in this matter had always been a true friend to the King; that sick men often hate their physicians because they prescribe bitter things to them, but when they are convalescent esteem them more highly than those who, contrary to the order of their physicians, would give them wine, fruit, and other objectionable things. He told me also that when he presented the Lady with [634] the letters the King his master had written her she received him so well as even to kiss him. In reference to the difference between the King and the Queen he said his master had be sought the Pope and the Cardinals to consider what means there were by which the King might not be totally alienated from his obedience to the Pope; that he himself had been suspected of promoting this affair, notwithstanding he had never meddled with it; and that his brother de Langey had not busied himself therein, except as far as he was commanded; and he thought that God would never leave the world without quarrels, though for his master's interest he might desire quarrels among neighbouring princes, and that his master, you, and this King should have been glad to pay 100,000 cr. each that this dispute had never arisen; that you had well acquitted yourself in your duty to the Queen, as all the world knew; so there was no need to enter on a war. On this I showed him how the matter touched so many persons, and was of so great consequence, and moreover was such a scandal to the Christian religion, and reproach to the Holy See, that if he had heard what was said in Spain and by this people, he would see that your Majesty could not be discharged either to God or to the world if you did not pursue the business to the end, and that the ill treatment of the Queen would disincline you to dissemble the case. He said that had not been well done or considered, and that he had spoken of it to the duke of Norfolk, who regretted it very much, but could not oppose the King's wishes. I believe firmly, whatever the said

Bishop or other Frenchmen say, that they are not dissatisfied with the condition of affairs. Nevertheless, I thought it well to address him a word touching, the treatment of the Queen, reminding him of the duty the Most Christian Queen his mistress had therein. At last I told him that the councillors of your Majesty and of the King his master could do no greater service to God or to their masters than to maintain the friendship between them, wherein I doubted not that he, being such a person as I had known him to be, would do his duty, and I conjured him to act accordingly. He replied very courteously that he had always done and would do his duty in this matter, and that certainly the friendship of such a powerful and virtuous prince, especially one of scrupulous honour and fidelity, ought by all means to be preserved. I think this cordial response was intended partly to efface the [statement of] the inordinate affection between the two Kings, which he had treated (*enrichy*) in such exaggerated language.

The Bishop went yesterday to Court at Greenwich, where he will remain without returning here until he is despatched. Nothing is yet known of his charge. I am told the partisans of the Lady profess to be encouraged since the coming of the Bishop, although it may be only to give the world to understand all is going well with them.

While writing, a book in English has been brought to me, containing nine articles made by the Council, with the King's consent, upon the validity of his second marriage, and against the Pope, of whom they speak the blasphemies which your Majesty will see therein, full of gall and venom, and without learning or foundation. The book was distributed yesterday through the Court, and one of the first to whom it was presented was the Scotch ambassador, who is very constantly at Court. It is the determination which this King, as I wrote to your Majesty, was anxious should be made before the coming of the bishop of Paris. I don't know how they can reconcile the fact that the Most Christian King calls himself so very devout and obedient to the Holy See and special friend of the Pope, and professes to favor both his Holiness and the King in these matters, as the Bishop generally affirms. I have sent the articles to Cifuentes to communicate to his Holiness as he finds it expedient to accelerate the sentence. London, 27 Dec. 1533.

Fr., pp. 9. From a modern copy.