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**211. EUSTACE CHAPUYS TO THE EMPEROR.**

My despatch of the 25th ult<sup>o</sup> was in answer to two<sup>1</sup> letters received from Your Majesty. I then reported at full on the good and sincere intention which this king professed to have of helping in the resistance and repulsion of the Turk; on the mandate and instructions he had given on this point to his ambassadors now going to Bologna (Bologna); on my conference with him, and on what he (the King) said respecting the pacification of Italy. I also acquainted Your Majesty with other news, such as the sentence delivered by the Royal Court of Justice (*la justice royale*) in the presence of most of the lords of this kingdom, by which sentence the Cardinal was declared traitor against the King,<sup>2</sup> deprived of all his honours and dignities, his property confiscated and himself placed entirely at the King's mercy. I mentioned the appointment of [323] Mr. Thomas More to the office of High Chancellor, and gave the names of those who have now the management of affairs in this country; the expected arrival at this court of Mr. de Rosymboz, and the orders given by the King for the honourable reception and entertainment of that ambassador, in fact every occurrence of note up to that date. As I have no doubt that the said despatch, which I sent to Madame to forward, has duly reached its destination, I will not weary Your Majesty with a repetition of the same news.

Since then I have been given to understand that the King has again sent pressing orders to his ambassadors to make all possible haste on their journey, that they may be present at the meeting of Bologna, and it is generally believed here that they must already be in Your Majesty's presence, or very near it.

Tuesday, the 2nd inst., the King came from Grennis (Greenwich) by water, and landed at the house which once belonged to the Cardinal, where he has found handsome and well furnished apartments provided with everything that could be wished. Wednesday morning, being the first day for the convocation of the Estates, which they here call Parliament, an order was issued for another mass of the Holy Ghost to be sung in all the churches [of London]. The King went by water to that of the Preachers where Your Imperial Majesty was lodged on his visit to this country, and he heard it accompanied by all the prelates and nobility of this kingdom with their dresses and "grans chappes" of scarlet cloth, only that the King's was of crimson lined with ermine. It would be superfluous for me to describe the order and ceremonies on this occasion, inasmuch as Your Imperial Majesty knows very well how fond the people of this country are of such pageants.

After mass the King, as well as the prelates and lords of his suite, in order to escape from the throng of people there assembled, gentlemen as well as commoners, crossed over through a covered way from the convent to the King's house, close by, where similar propositions from the Estates are usually made. All those who had a right to be there having taken their seats, each according to his own rank, on a platform (*parquet*) of the hall devoted to that purpose, the Chancellor rose, and began in a rather diffuse speech to explain the causes and reasons which had moved the King to convoke the assembly, the substance of which was to shew the good-will and affection the King had always borne the people, not only as a prince, but also as a good king and pastor: and that in order to obtain for his people the blessing of permanent peace and safety from oppression, he had spared no trouble or fatigue, and had also tried by every means to increase and prosper the trade of the country, since the wealth of England and the comfort of his subjects rested principally on this. All present knew how much trouble and fatigue he (the King) had undergone for the consolidation of peace, seeking everywhere for the means of [324] ensuring the peace of Christendom, and establishing its union and repose, in which undertaking he had spent

1 Only one, that of the 28th Sept., No. 169, is in the Imperial Archives.

2 "Y assistant la plus part des grans du peys, par la quelle le Cardinal fust desclayré avoer mesprins contre le Roy."

considerable treasure. He had now called them together to communicate several matters, and to ask them to advise with him respecting the welfare, advantage, and tranquillity of the kingdom, and principally the reform of justice. To obtain which latter object he had begun with the Cardinal, as chief defaulter, who having attempted and done many things against his royal authority, and to the detriment of the crown and kingdom, and having besides committed many acts of gross and flagrant injustice, of which they would be hereafter informed, had just been tried and condemned by a Court of Law, as they had no doubt heard.

After which the Chancellor (More) began to exculpate the King for having allowed the Cardinal to remain so long at the head of affairs. The fault, he said, was not the King's, but of those who knowing his wickedness had not informed him of it. He, himself, had not discovered until very late the Cardinal's bad propensities; and if he had taken him too much on trust it was merely owing to his many occupations in war and elsewhere, which prevented his looking as closely into the administration of public affairs as he intended doing henceforward. Besides which, obliged as he was to entrust the government of the kingdom to another, he might be excused if he had blindly placed confidence in an ecclesiastic of high dignity, as the Cardinal was, whom he naturally supposed to be honest and virtuous. The King, added the Chancellor, had been marvellously deceived in his expectations, and as a proof of his assertion<sup>3</sup> he went on enumerating the misdeeds of the Cardinal, and commenting, as it were, on the blazon of his armorial.

The Chancellor then went on to say that of all matters of State those concerning ecclesiastics needed most reform, especially in England, and that reform the King intended to undertake at once. He ended by saying that in order to begin the work and go into the question at once it was expedient that they should appoint one of their number, a person of note, to be speaker (*prolocuteur*), in the name of the said Estates there assembled, and gave them two days of term to do so, summoning them for the manor of Valmonestier (Westminster), which is their court of law and justice.

Thursday and Friday the Estates met, and elected at first the Archbishop of Canterbury to be their speaker (*prolocuteur*); but being a churchman he was not agreeable to the King, who rejected him on the plea that he was too old. After which another one was elected to the King's taste (*a l'appetit du Roy*), they say that he is a man of learning (*sçavant homme*).

On the ensuing Saturday the King attended personally, and the speaker (*prolocuteur*) was sworn. To-day business is [325] to commence, and the affairs under discussion are to be brought forward. I will inquire the particulars in order to keep Your Imperial Majesty au courant.

*It is rumoured that among other motions one will be made to marry the Princess [Mary] to the son of the, Duke of Norfolk, and the Queens mistress [Anne] to the son of the Duke of Buckingham<sup>4</sup> for both which alliances, and especially for the last, many specious reasons are alleged, although I must confess that however desirable this last union might be for the better issue of the other affair (the intended divorce), I think it very improbable, and will not believe in its accomplishment until I see it with my own eyes.*

Sure as I am that Your Imperial Majesty does not care for mere speculation as to the future, which after all is an art for which I am not at all fitted, I will not venture upon prediction, as people do here, inasmuch as the projects, if there be any of that kind, will soon become public. **Respecting the clergy of this kingdom, I may say without having recourse to the said art of divination, that they will be for certain both punished and reformed, fined and mulcted, for they are generally very rich, from which circumstance and hatred of the Cardinal they are an object of envy to the nobles**

3 "En quoy s'estoyt grandement trompé le Roy. Et pour confirmation de ce propos, le dit Chancelier ne fallist de bien blasoner les armes du dit Cardinal."

4 "Aucuns disent que l'on traictera entre autres choses de marier la princesse au filz du Due de Norforcq, et l'amy du Roy au filz du Due de Boquinguen, et a ce l'on allegue plusieurs raysons apparentes, speciallement quant au dernier; mais le desir qu'ay qu'ainsi fust pour la voidange de l'autre cas ne me le laisse croyre que ne le voye pour effait."

**and commoners of this country.** Should there be no other opportunity at hand than this crusade against the Turk<sup>5</sup> it will certainly be made an excuse for bleeding them to death. As to the people themselves, it will not be so easy a matter to get money out of them, even on an occasion like this, and for so holy a purpose. They look, on the contrary, *as if they intended to ask the King to refund the large loans he has made from them at other times, and which amount to incalculable sums of money. I fancy, moreover, that the King will beg the Estates to remit the payment of the said debts, which will be no small advantage for him, even if they should grant nothing else.*

The Cardinal has furnished the King both the occasion and the means of raising large sums of money by way of composition from all those who, either through solicitation, money lent, advice given, or in some other way, have been instrumental in obtaining for him the legatine powers,<sup>6</sup> which he [326] enjoyed. It is even reported that whoever in this country has treated or negotiated with him as such Papal legate, and even favoured or consented to such negotiations as regards dispensations for marriage, legitimisation of bastards, and so forth—in which class are included several hankers and merchants and other rich people—will be subjected to the same penalty. Respecting the ecclesiastical benefices, which he has conferred as such Papal legate, there can be no doubt that all such appointments will be cancelled, even if the parties themselves are not called upon, as it is feared they will be, to refund the money received, besides being condemned to a heavy fine, *all of which will turn to the King's profit, not to that of those who may succeed to the benefices.*

Another means employed by the Cardinal for increasing his patrimonial wealth was the confiscation of what was once Church property in the following manner. To found and build his college at Oxifor (Oxford), which was begun on the boldest and most sumptuous plan that can be imagined, the Cardinal two or three years ago caused more than 12 good abbeys to be pulled down, the fruits and revenues of which he applied to the building and foundation of the said college, wherein besides the scholars he intended establishing a number of canonries, better endowed than those of any other [church or] country whatsoever. Now it is rumoured that the King has very lately issued orders for all priests and ecclesiastics appointed by the Cardinal to quit the place forthwith, as part of it is to be demolished, were it for no other purpose than that of removing the Cardinal's escutcheon, which will be no easy work, as there is hardly a stone from the top of the building to the very foundations where his blazoned armorial is not sculptured. *As to the revenues of the college itself, it is to be presumed that, if the King only listens to the advice of his Privy Council, he will keep them for himself, for he would have enough to do to rebuild what has been destroyed, and besides there are already, as they say too many by half in this country. Perhaps Mr. de Rochefort and his daughter [Anne] will be of a contrary opinion, for they are at the present moment enjoying the rents of a very good bishopric.*

*There has been some talk here of the Duke of Suffolk obtaining the seals of the Chancery and passing over his charge of Marshal of the Kingdom to Rochefort. This, it is believed, would already have taken place had not the Duke objected to the post of Chancellor being in such high hands. That was not the case with the other [Master More] who has accordingly been named, the kingdom having lost nothing by the appointment.<sup>7</sup>*

The Duke of Norfolk is now the personage who enjoys most credit and favour with

5 “Et quand toutes occasions faudront celle du Turq est assez souffisante pour lever l'argent de eux et les saignier à mort. D'en tirer du peuple [n'est] aussi facile mesmes pour cette occasion du Tureq. Il n'y a pas graude apparence, cart com-munement yl tiennent propos de demander au Roy les grans empruntz qu'il a fayt d'eux par cy devant que moute une somme inestimable. Je cuyde qu'il les pryera qu'il tirent des dites debtes, que ne seront peu de chose si celle so pouvoit obtenir, bien qu'il n'accordassent autre chose.”

6 “Le Cardinal a donné moyen et occasion au Roy d'assembler force argent veuillant compouser ceux que se sont mesle cu par sollicitation ou prestement dargent ou par conseyl de fere obtieur au dit cardinal la bulle de sa legation.”

7 “Et cuyde l'on que celle fust fayt, si le Duc de Nolfolc y eust consenty; mais yl ne le vouloit en si grand mains, ausy n'estoit ce le cas del' autre, et moins du Royaulme.”

the King, though this must be [327] said in his praise, that he uses it as modestly as possible, and taking experience from the past dares not undertake too many things.

Mr. de Rosymboz has not yet crossed the Channel. He is anxiously expected here, and will be most honourably received; since, besides the preparations made for his reception, as I had the honour to inform Your Majesty in my despatch of the 25th ult<sup>o</sup>, the King I hear deputed, three days ago, Mr. Guilleffort,<sup>8</sup> captain of the Cinq Ports in this country, to receive him at Douvres (Dover) with a guard of 100 men, all dressed in the same uniform (*accoustres tout d'une parure*). The rest of the gentlemen and courtiers will go 10 miles out of London to receive him.

The Queen has all this time stayed at Grinnys (Greenwich), but it is said that she is to remove to Richemont this very day, in consequence of a Franciscan friar (*cordellier*) having died there of pestilence. *The Princess is at Windsor<sup>9</sup> to the great sorrow of the Queen, her mother, who would wish to have her by her side. On that point, however, hardly a step has been gained. Of her business not a word is said, she has lately sent two of her secretaries, members of her Council, to confer with me, and shew a paper written in her defence, which, I must say, is very commendable. It is now being transcribed for me to send across the sea.*—London, 8th November 1529.

*Signed:* "Eustace Chapuys."

*Addressed:* "To the Emperor."

*French. Holograph. pp. 5.*

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8 See his despatch of the 25th, No 194, p. 303. Guilleffort must be Sir Henry Guildford.

9 "La Princesse est a Vinesor, et eat ung de grant regretz que la Royne ait de non pouvoir tenir la dite princesse aupres d'elle; mays ce point la ne s'est pen gaigné; de ses afferes l'on n'en sonne mot."