

From *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, vol. 4.1, 1529-30*, edited by Pascual de Gayangos. London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1879, pp. 503-15.

23 April [1530]
K. u. K. Haus-
Hof-u.-Staats Arch.
Wien *Rep. P. Fasc.*,
c. 226, No. 23.

290. EUSTACE CHAPUYS TO THE EMPEROR.

The Emperor's letters of the 14th and 25th of March were duly received, the latter only reaching me on Tuesday in Holy Week. Sent the following day to inquire whether the King would receive me; heard in reply, through the duke of Norfolk, that if there was no very pressing business the King would defer his audience till Easter Monday. The Duke on his side also requested this delay, partly because Holy Week [504] is not a good time for the transaction of business, and also because he will be away from Court for a few days and does not wish me to go to the King during his absence.

On the said day, accordingly, the King ordered the duke of Norfolk to send a messenger to remind me of the appointment, and I met the messenger as I was leaving for Vinsor (Windsor). On my arrival there, I was, as usual, a long time with the King, who received me without any appearance of displeasure (*marrison*), though he said that he had been expecting me for some time, and was surprised that I had not been sooner to report on those points, which, as his ambassadors had informed him a long time before, were mentioned in Your Majesty's letters. This apparent negligence on my part, however, the King himself proceeded to excuse on account of the season at which the letters had arrived. The King having thus given me an opportunity to speak on all and every one of the subjects mentioned in Your Majesty's letters, I did so according to my general instructions, the King frequently interrupting me, especially to contradict and repudiate certain statements, which, he said, were not quite correct. For instance, he denied that his ambassadors had ever refused to abide by the decision of learned men after the cause had been thoroughly argued, and he maintained that they were fully empowered to do this without having to refer home. He also denied their having refused to state their motives (*leurs motifz*) in writing, and threw all the blame on Your Majesty and your commissioners, who, he said, either dared not, or would not, do the same. Indeed, on these two points, it almost seemed as if the King would risk the assertion that greater faith was to be attached to the reports of his ambassadors than to Your Majesty's letters.¹ Some altercation then followed, when the King, finding he was beaten by reason and honesty on the first point, made his retreat through an argument which I myself had used a little before whilst debating another matter,² namely, that the secretary might have amplified and written more than was intended without Your Majesty's knowledge. Had the Emperor (he observed) written in his own hand, it would have been a different thing. As to the second point, he was obliged to confess that his agents had really refused to state their reasons in writing; but it was because they were waiting until the Queen's advocates had given theirs. It was for the Queen's lawyers (he maintained) to produce their allegation first, before the English ambassadors sent in theirs, in proof of which he (the King) quoted certain points of Law, which he declared established that right and were unanswerable. I brought forward many arguments of sufficient weight [505] as I thought, to convince the King, and suggested that if he were not satisfied with them, he might perhaps allow me to speak with the learned doctors of his Council, sure as I was that I could bring them round to my opinion. To this last proposition the King made no reply, but went on to say that it was clear to everyone that the Queen had neither justice nor right on her side, that no one had been found to plead her cause, which was one of the strongest arguments against her and for him; that most of the Italian doctors had written on his side, whereas, notwithstanding

1 "Sur ces deux pointz yl sembla quil se vousisse mettre ung peu au chans (champs?) veuilliant que en ce ses ambassadeurs fussent ausy bien ou mieux de croyre que les lettres de votre maieste."

2 "Et apres avoer quelque peu alterque en çecy, estant vaincu de rayson et honnestete, yl trouva ung echappatoyre quant au premier, du quel luy aves (avois) use ung bien peu avant en autre propos."

all Your Majesty's solicitations, not one had undertaken to defend the cause of the Queen; that he was well informed of Your Majesty's proceedings on this question of the marriage, which, he did not hesitate to say, were of very questionable legality, and might easily have been avoided; adding that I myself was not without my proportionate share of the blame. My answer was that I was not surprised that false reports had reached him from Italy, for in this country itself much was said concerning this second marriage, which, in my opinion, was quite untrue. He (the King) had repeatedly told me that all the theologians of his kingdom agreed with him, and that the kingdom greatly desired this second marriage, and yet that besides the prelates and divines of this country whom I had formerly named as opposed to the King's wishes in this respect, several more dissentient voices had since been heard in the universities, and that if he (the King) could only hear the hundredth part of what his people said about it he would infallibly change his mind. The King had once reproached me with sending to Your Majesty false reports concerning this matter; but neither I nor any individual was to blame for the reports he complained of as being current in Italy: it was public opinion that spoke so loud, and if the King would not heed it, the stocks and stones would cry out as in the days of king Midas. It was the common misfortune of princes that no reports reached them, save such as would be agreeable and in accordance with their wishes, but if he would have the opinion of the country honestly and conscientiously taken, he would find that, with the exception of the four or five persons immediately interested in the affair, this opinion was totally opposed to what he thought; that I had spoken with the author of those writings, on which the King laid so much stress, and that he had assured me that they had been written merely to please the King, against the writer's own convictions; but that in a few days the said Doctor would go to the King and make full confession on this head. That regarding the intrigues (*pratiques*) to which the King alluded, if he would openly specify them I should be better able to refute the accusation. I did not know whether he (the King) credited me with sufficient talent for intrigue; all I could say was that had there been as little on his side as there was on ours, affairs would be in a much better state than they are [506] now. The King replied by again repeating his former assertion, namely, that all the learned men in his kingdom agreed with him; those who did not, he said, were foolish, ignorant or obstinate. As to his not knowing what public opinion was he was not like Your Majesty, who had made a difficulty about even hearing his ambassadors personally; he was accessible to all and ready to listen to everyone, and seek for information. And lastly, that he would some day or other enter into particulars with me about the intrigues whereof he complained. Further remarks passed between us on this topic, too lengthy to be recorded here.

The King then went on to complain that Your Majesty, who, he says, is more indebted to him than a son to his father, should at the instigation of an aunt, who can neither harm nor serve you, be ready to forget all past kindnesses received from him (the King); and also that Your Majesty would not take the opportunity of hearing the liberal proposals, whereof the ambassadors were the bearers. He further observed that Your Majesty had by no means shewn such an interest in the affairs of the king of Denmark and of the Queen, your sister, to whom you were much more closely related, as you had in this case of the Queen, your aunt, for the furtherance of which you had spared no pains in the past, and, as it seemed, would spare none in the future; whereas in the case of the king and queen of Denmark, not only had you taken no measures to reinstate them in their dominions, but had absolutely left them without supplies, so that but for the help of Madame, the Archduchess, they would have had to endure great privations. Replied that, as I had stated at various times, there was no real cause of complaint against Your Majesty; if he (the King) wished to test Your Majesty's gratitude towards him, he should ask for such services as you could justly and rightly confer, not for those which you neither could nor ought to grant. As regards the king and queen of Denmark, it would be found upon inquiry that Your Majesty had done towards them all that they could claim; great had been the obstacles raised against the restoration of their kingdom, as great perhaps as those now raised against other more sacred enterprizes which Your Majesty had wished to set on foot, such as the one against

the enemies of our Faith. That even if you had otherwise had the power of at once restoring the said king, your brother-in-law, to his kingdom, time and circumstances were not favourable, and the undertaking must have been delayed. The King, however, would not allow that the king and queen of Denmark had been rightly treated, though he seemed satisfied, as regards the restoration, which, he said, he did not himself desire. I added that Your Majesty had certainly much more cause to complain of him than he had of you, since he would not follow in the path of justice from which no man should deviate, and further wished to do you wrong by accusing you of tampering with and corrupting the judges, a thing which [507] Your Majesty would not do for the wealth of two worlds put together, and that surely now that you were out of Italy all suspicion must necessarily cease. To which the King replied: that the justice to which you alluded was entirely in your own power, and that you held the Pope completely in subjection; but on my retorting that as proof of such subjection Your Majesty had reverently kissed the Pope's feet, and had always been submissive and obedient to the Apostolic See, he interrupted me by saying: "Not, indeed, at the time that the Pope made the Holy League with the French, for then the Emperor did not always obey His Holiness' commands." "However, this may be," continued the King, "though the Emperor is now absent [from Italy], his army is not, and the Pope once wrote to me, as I can shew you, that as long as the [Imperial] army remained in Italy he could not venture to give judgment in this cause. Besides which, I ask you, if the two cardinals³ were without any legitimate cause declared open to suspicion (*allegues pour suspetz*) why should I not also, in similar case, challenge in my turn the judges named by the Emperor?"

A long debate was then carried on between us concerning the causes there were for suspecting the said cardinals, and also those of the Rotta. At last the King said that as he had taken such pains to shew the justice of his cause it must be clear to everyone that he knew what he was about, and that he was determined to follow up his suit before God and his conscience. He could not but regret at the same time that the last embassy, distinguished as it was, should have produced no fruit whatever, and he went on further to say that I had been partly the author and promoter of the embassy. Replied that as far as the rank of his ambassadors was concerned he had no occasion to repent, only of his not having sent people less open to suspicion of self-interest in the matter, who would have made a more true and favourable report of things. As to rank and quality, theirs, I said, could not be too high, considering the prince to whom they were sent, and that Your Majesty had often sent here to England quite as noble and distinguished personages as his ambassadors, and in greater number. The King (I added) did me too great an honour in saying that I had partly promoted this embassy, as if he (the King) would have consented to be guided by my advice in such matters. My conscience, however, would not allow me to accept the compliment, for I was sure that the contrary was, the case. I then reminded him of what he had said to me when he first announced his determination to send this embassy, namely, that ever since the beginning of the discussion about the divorce he had wished to send one to Your Majesty; but that war had supervened and prevented it. The King remembered the circumstance perfectly well, and all else he had said on the occasion, as related in my despatch of January the 13th, and, therefore, was obliged somewhat to modify his [508] former statement, declaring that he only meant that I had then considered it a good and desirable measure, and hoped that it might have a good effect. Replied that I had certainly never opposed the embassy, but had merely suggested that Monsgr. de Norfolk would have been a fitter personage to send. It was not for me, I said, to offer any opposition in this affair. As to the result to be expected from the embassy, I had not the least doubt that had the demands laid before Your Majesty been just and reasonable, as I had told him at my first audience, it would have been beneficial and satisfactory to both parties.

It was not difficult to see that the King was sorry and angry at having made such a mistake as to charge me, by way of argument, with having been the promoter of this

embassy. I, myself, do not regret it; on the contrary, I am glad of what has happened, as it may perhaps stop him in future *from such misrepresentations*, and as it was the means of my getting afterwards *from Monsgr. de Norfolk* a most positive declaration *that the Pope himself had been the author and promoter of the embassy* and especially of the appointment of *Dr. Stoelens* (Stokesley).

Then, in pursuance of the Queen's orders and advice, I spoke to the King about the violent measures resorted to by his commissioners (*commis*) for obtaining the seals of the two universities of this kingdom, of which measures people complained greatly. I told him that it would have been far better for him to have sustained some great loss than have brought things to such a pass as this for several reasons, some of which I brought forward then and there, reserving the rest for another occasion. The King replied that he would withhold nothing, but would, on the contrary, speak the simple truth, as he always did to me. He declared upon his honour, and said he was quite ready to make the declaration in writing under his signature, that no violence whatever had been used; that out of 30 doctors who had been consulted at the principal universities 29 had agreed with him, and that though the 30th, who differed from the rest, was held to be the most learned of them all, still he was very old and somewhat given to intemperance (*et ung peu subjectz au vin*). That there were also apart from these 30, seven dissentient voices, but they were not men of any reputation for learning. All the rest the King entirely denied, to which statement my only reply was that I was not at all surprised that false reports reached him from Italy and from elsewhere, since he was so misinformed as to what took place in his own kingdom. I then entered into a detailed account of various matters and things—too long to be related here—in which he (the King) had been notoriously deceived, whereof I have written to apprise Messire Mai, that he may in the event of their trying to make their case good at Rome, by the number of votes obtained at the said universities [of Oxford and Cam- [509] bridge] know what he is to answer, and I have likewise forwarded to him, by express messenger, who left yesterday, all the information I could gather on these points, as well as the new books published on behalf of the Queen.

After this conversation, the King, taking me by the hand, asked what other news I had of you from Italy. Told him of your triumphal entry into Mantua, and of the arrival of the Count Palatine there. He interrupted me and asked whether the Palatine was count Frederique (Frederic) whom he praised beyond measure, speaking for some time of his own friendship and regard for him. Told him also that I had learnt from the Venetian ambassador that Your Majesty had given the sister of the duke of Calabria in marriage to the duke of Mantua, with a very rich dower, at which he (the King) seemed much pleased. He then said that he considered the siege of Florence as raised, and that the Pope was in great difficulties (*en grosse perplexite*), and had pledged in Venice⁴ all the jewels he had, in order to raise money for the equipment of the Imperial army, and that even with this he would hardly be able to raise a sufficient sum. The King also praised the Florentines much for their constancy and courage during the siege; said it was a wicked and damnable enterprize for the Pope to have undertaken, and that Your Majesty should not have assisted him therein, whatever I might say of the promises by which you were bound. Your Majesty, he had no doubt, would now regret the part taken in that business, not so much indeed for the failure of the enterprize, but on account of the great sufferings of the Florentines during the siege.

The King next questioned me concerning Germany. I told him without hesitation that the courier who had just passed through that country on his way to England reported that in every place where he had been universal joy was felt at your approaching visit; that Lent was being strictly observed, and that no one shewed Lutheran tendencies, at which the King seemed greatly surprised. He pondered over this a little, and then asked me: "Who do you think will be king of the Romans?" Answered that I had received no information on

4 "Et quil avait mande tout autant de bagues quil avoit a Venise pour recouvrer argent et fournir aux soudards."

that score, and could not venture to express an opinion on so important a subject,⁵ but that from his frequent intercourse with Germany, his thorough knowledge of that country, and of the inclinations and nature of the electors, as well as of the qualities and parts required for that high office, and likewise because similar affairs had once gone through his own hands, I considered him better able to calculate on whom the election would ultimately fall. His reply was that what I said was very true; the emperor Maximilian (whom may God forgive) had once wished to confer this dignity upon him, and the greater part of the electors had agreed and pledged their [510] word to it, though they had afterwards requested to be released from their pledge, when, after the death of Maximilian, they were called upon to give their votes either to Your Majesty or the king of France, when but for his aid the king of that country would certainly have carried off the election. He said he had formerly much intercourse and correspondence with Germany, but that he had quite discontinued it of late, and did not even read half the letters that came from those parts.

He then said that he was much surprised at the way in which Your Majesty's commissioners for one trifling cause or another were continually delaying the restitution of the children of France. To which I readily replied, that if those who had informed the King of the delay had also stated whence it arose (*ou tenoyt la maladie*) the King would not have blamed the Imperial commissioners. By saying which I really think that I touched the sore point, for he said to me: "Perhaps you think and mean to say that the real cause of the delay is that the money is not yet ready. That may be the case, but the French will never own it."

I ended by asking the King to instruct Monsgr. [the bishop of London] to undertake the settlement of the dispute concerning Crieveceur (Crevecœur) between the king of France and Monsgr. de Bevres according to the letter of the treaty of Cambray, which he consented to do, and sent at once for Monsgr. of London, who had, however, already left the Court. The king of France has also sent a councillor from Paris on this very business, but up to the present time it seems as if the said councillor had come purposely to keep the affair out of sight or delay its conclusion till after the restitution of the children, for he has never said a word about it.

After the above conversation and much more, which I omit to avoid tediousness, it being now time for vespers, I asked for leave to withdraw, which was graciously granted. No sooner, however, had I left the room than the King communicated to Monsgr. de Norfolk part of what I had said to him, for the latter overtook me, made me enter his room, and then much agitated in manner, and indeed quite the reverse of the King—who on this occasion had been more composed and temperate than the last time I saw him—began to speak to me with great vehemence, saying: "The Emperor has now refused to listen to the most advantageous proposals that were ever made to him. He must not expect the same offers to be made again when he wants them; the more powerful the Emperor becomes the more he will stand in need of friends. He should besides consider the great want which his brother, the king of Hungary, has of the friendship and aid of all the Christian princes. The Emperor's persistence in having the Pope as judge of this trial is only caused by his belief that a sentence will be given at Rome in accordance with his wishes; but before six years have passed neither the Pope nor the greater part of Italy will be at the Emperor's devotion, [511] and many strange things may have come to pass (*I'on verroit plusieurs choses*)."
The Duke, no doubt, said "six years" merely as a "*façon de parler*," for he evidently does not believe that the realization of his prognostic is so far distant. Then he added, *rather angrily, that it would be vain for the Emperor to attempt to put any pressure on or assert authority over this king or country*, for they would certainly not give way (*point le pied*). The Duke then asked me point blank: "Should the King, after having thoroughly proved the righteousness of his cause, and obtained the sanction of *the ecclesiastics and of the Anglican Church, marry this woman*⁶ **what will the Emperor do? will he make war upon**

5 "Et [que] mon sens ne discours ne vouloit si hault."

6 "Si le Roy apree sestre mis en tout debuoer en justiffiant si clerement son affere vouloit par lautorite des [ecclesiastiques] et eglise anglicane esposer ceste femme, si penseriez leur faire

us?" **If so, I hope we shall defend ourselves well.**

The Duke likewise made it a ground of complaint that Your Majesty had said *that you would certainly employ all the resources you had in this world to support the Queen's cause.*

After replying to all and every one of the above points, I said to the Duke, in substance, that the words to which he alluded had never come out of Your Majesty's lips, as far as I (Chapuys) was aware; he (the Duke) knew quite as well as myself that all the requests of Your Majesty had been made in the most moderate and friendly terms, and that *I was very far from thinking that Your Majesty would ever use force or assume authority, and I was also quite certain that you had no intention of making war.* I could not imagine that *the King would ever give due cause for it,* and even in the event of *this second marriage taking place* there would be no need for any foreign prince to declare war against England, as the Duke must know that if the King divorced his Queen and took another wife there would soon be mortal strife among his own subjects. As to the troubles and revolutions to which the Duke alluded as likely to take place in Italy, Your Majesty had taken no measures involving such a change; but that should it come to pass, neither the Italians themselves, nor those who stirred them on to revolt, would be the gainers by it any more than in past times, and that I should think the experience of the past must have taught them to be more guarded, and not listen to every idle talker. I knew many (I continued) who were at the bottom of these intrigues, and promoted discord more for their own individual profit than, from any other cause, and that I did not say more then, but would unravel the mystery at a future time. My allusion had regard to *Jehan Jocquin*, of whom I will speak hereafter, though I considered it unadvisable then to mention his name to the Duke.

Notwithstanding this altercation I again begged the Duke to continue his endeavours for the maintenance of the friendship between Your Majesty and his master, and likewise to ask him [512] in what way he thought Your Majesty could have shewn a more friendly or upright spirit than he had done. The Duke replied that as to the first point, the maintenance of friendship he had always been most anxious to forward it, hut that somehow it seemed to him now that Your Majesty did not respond to the wish. As to what Your Majesty could have done on the present occasion to please his master, the King, and lead the way to an enduring friendship, he had certainly out of his great zeal for your service *ventured to give his opinion and advice on Your Majesty's affairs;* but that for the future, seeing how things were going on, and that *Your Majesty had such good counsel at home, he would never again undertake to do so.* After which the Duke shewed me a letter from Jehan Jocquin, who, he said, was to arrive the following day. This the Duke did with a certain air of mystery and warning, as if he wished to make me understand that if we did not please him in this affair he would listen to what that ambassador had to say in his master's name. Continued in this way talking for some time on various subjects, the Duke returning to the point, and saying to me more than once: "I would not for ten thousand crowns have taken charge of this embassy, as I thought at the time of doing." Replied that he ought to wish exactly the opposite, for that had he gone his opinion would have had more weight with Your Majesty, and he himself would have seen more clearly the path to justice, in which he should try to keep the King, his master, since there was no longer during Your Majesty's absence from Italy any fear of the judges being afraid of giving their decision, and that as the Pope desired to consult with Dr. Stocler (Stokesley), he (the Duke) would do well to send him to His Holiness. He assured me that nothing should be omitted which could further justice in this cause, and I am given to understand that an express messenger has been dispatched ordering Dr. Stocler (Stokesley) to proceed at once to the Pope.

The Princess having expressed a wish to see me, and I myself being anxious to pay my respects to her, I begged the Duke to let me know whether the King would approve of the visit. The Duke was doubtful as to this; but said he would write and consult the King,

who, being asked about it, replied that as he was coming shortly to London⁷ I had better wait a few days. Indeed, the Duke says that the King will be here this week for the purpose of proroguing Parliament and their Estates General⁸ till the month of September, and that he will be able then to enter into further explanations of his views with me. On leaving the Duke accompanied me much further than is his wont. [513]

Neither the King nor Mr. de Norfolk made the least mention of the brief which has been obtained, nor of the summons (*citation*) made [at Rome] to the English ambassadors personally. As to their having been allowed to quit without the usual civilities and ceremonies, and their not having been visited or accompanied for any length of time when they took leave, the King has been the very first to excuse this want of etiquette, on the ground that Your Majesty was much pressed with business of all kinds.

I have not thought it expedient to go to the Queen just now, but have acquainted her by letters and in other ways of everything that is done or said respecting her cause, at which she is much comforted, and, certainly, she greatly needs consolation. She had intended writing to Your Majesty, but has not yet been able to find the opportunity. On my way back, on Easter Tuesday, I met Jehan Jocquin, who said he had anticipated his visit to Court by one day, in the hope of meeting me there and speaking about this Crieveceur⁹ business. He walked on a little with me, and shewed me a supplement (*addition*), which he said was to be made to the deed of release (*decharge*) drawn up by this king in favour of Your Majesty. He also said that he was the authority for the Italian news which the King had communicated to me at our last interview. He should (he said) remain at Court till after the Festival of St. George, but the fact is that he only stayed 24 hours then and returned the day after. Exclusive of this last time, Jocquin has been twice at Court since the news came of the unfavourable answer given by Your Majesty to the English ambassadors. He has each time stayed three or four days, and had long interviews with the King and Mr. de Norfolk. I have been told that on one of these occasions some one overheard the Duke say to the ambassador: "I beg you to spare me any reference to matters relating to war, or what may lead thereto, for we have already had too much of it." I cannot say for certain what takes Jocquin to Court now; the ostensible reason for his first visit was this business of Creveceur, and, for the second, to obtain, as he said, the addition to the deed of release. This last time he must have brought certain papers from the Paris doctors concerning the affair of the marriage.

I cannot help thinking that Jehan Jocquin will make all the mischief he can. Ever since his arrival here he has been abusing admiral Andrea Doria, and persuading the Genoese merchants that Genoa will never recover her former prosperity until she is fairly under French protection, and telling the Florentine ambassadors openly they may be quite sure his master only delayed the payment of the ransom until the siege of Florence should be raised. Further, that it was the Pope who had induced Your Majesty to go to Italy, and that now he was served right, for you had made your peace with the duke of [514] Ferrara and left him (the Pope) in the lurch. He does not approve at all of the governors of towns in the Milanese (*capitaines des places*) having taken the oath of allegiance to Your Majesty on the re-investiture of the Duchy. He has been saying continually that on the return of the hostages to France some surprising events (*de grans miracles*) would take place, and that he hoped he should not die until he was in full possession of the title of count, and the property which the King, his master, had promised him in the kingdom of Naples. Many other similar expressions have escaped him (Jocquin) that shew the ill-will he bears us, but, however able to work miracles, he will find it difficult to acquire in this country any reputation for steadiness and discretion; and with the single exception of the pensioners of the King, his master, he is looked upon here with great disfavour, in spite of the many attentions (*familiarites et bonnes chieres*) which the King showers upon him. Hears that he

7 "La reponse du Roy fust que pour ce quil se mouvoit à Loudres que eusse patience pour quelques jours."

8 "Pour fere la prolongation de leurs estatz et parlement."

9 Creveceur.

has just obtained permission from the King to buy 4,000 oxen and send them into France, at which the whole city greatly murmurs.

Respecting the *Grand Equerry*, about whom Your Majesty wrote to me, I can only say that he seems favourably disposed, but I have had no information from him except that recorded in my despatch of the 24th of February, wherein I explained what will be my line of conduct towards him in carrying out Your Majesty's instructions. I met him (the Grand Equerry) once at Court, where he shewed me great attention, and afterwards sent me some venison. He afterwards came to see me at my lodgings, but there were too many people present for any private conversation, and therefore he promised to call again, and went away. Next day he came again, though much too late, for I had gone out, and therefore we have not met since the said 24th of February. As to *the Dean*, he has never spoken to me; and, as I hear from *the Queen*, he is acting in total opposition to his engagements.

To-day, the King and Mr. de Norfolk have sent me an English student from Paris, who came over four days ago to report on the progress of the *Sieur de Langeais*'s doings at the Paris University respecting the marriage question, and who is to return thither to urge on the prosecution of the affair. The Englishman came purposely to say on the part of the King and Duke that I was quite misinformed as to the quality of those doctors who advocate the divorce at the Paris University; but, being much pressed by me to speak upon his conscience, he deprecated those doctors much more than I had done to Mr. de Norfolk, and strongly commended the doctrine of those who hold for the Queen.

The Cardinal (Wolsey) set out for his bishopric 12 days ago with a train of more than 120 horses.¹⁰ He has sent his physician to me on three different occasions to vindicate his past conduct and to offer his services to Your Majesty, declaring [515] that though no longer possessing any power, yet knowing so thoroughly as he does the nature of men and the condition of things in this country, he thought his advice might be of use. He begged me to intercede that he might be restored to Your Majesty's favour and grace, so that every one might see here that you bore him no ill-will. I have promised to write about it, but suggested at the same time that the best thing for him to do is to give some proof, whenever the opportunity offers, that he really does feel that desire for service which, according to his physician, he so strongly professes. It can do no harm to temporize with him for a while and see how he behaves and what he will say or do, which can easily be done without his enemies getting wind of it. He has still great hope of being taken into favour again. It was thought here at one time that he would have been murdered by the people of his diocese, and that in spite of his great reputation he was quite afraid of going thither; but it appears on the contrary that he was very well received at York. He is not at all sorry for Mr. de Vulchier's (Wiltshire's) failure, but very much so that he is returning home so soon.

Since the Princess was separated from the Queen the latter has had no household of her own, being waited upon by the King's own attendants; now she has been provided with a separate establishment and a large retinue of officials and servants, Cannot guess why such favour should be granted just at this juncture, but as she is not allowed to receive visitors it may be that they intend watching her more closely than before, or that they think by such gentle means to induce her to consent to some measure which they desire.

Thanks the Emperor for his kindness, &c.—London, 23rd April 1530.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England. 23rd April."

French. Holograph partly in cipher, pp. 13.

10 "En train de plus de vi xx. chevaux."