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27 Sept. [1533]
Vienna Archives

1164. CHAPUYS TO CHARLES V.

The day before yesterday I went to the country to find Cromwell, who had gone hawking, in order to talk with him and learn something. [485] After some other conversation we came to speak about the Queen, and took an opportunity of setting before him the remonstrances I had already made, exhorting him to do his utmost to induce the King his master to take back the Queen ; which I affirmed was a thing easy to do, considering the King's great prudence, virtue, and courtesy, if he and the rest of the Council would agree to it, and that it was much easier to remedy now than it would have been to prevent it before the things which had been done ; for the King would have resented being unable to put his intention into effect ; but now, having accomplished his desires in everything, and influenced by several considerations, especially the moderation shown by your Majesty, and the extreme patience of the Queen, it was to be hoped he would come to reason, and obey the Holy See and the sentence so justly given. This would augment the general opinion of the English nation that they were more ready to recognise their error than any other people. But as it might be with the King as with wicked monks, who, not for devotion but for pure shame, dare not abandon the habit, and for some point or scruple of honor or suspicion of lightness, he might make himself more intractable, I pointed out that the King's reputation on doing this would not be injured, but very greatly increased ; and for his greater satisfaction, if the King would agree to it, your Majesty might be got to send personages hither, or give me a commission very urgently and affectionately to request him to take back the Queen ; which request could be made in such a form as to take away all suspicion that he did it from fear ; and, moreover, that the Queen might swear solemnly, in presence of Parliament or elsewhere, that she had never been known by prince Arthur, and thus weaken the whole foundation of the King's proceedings. And further, I told him that the King ought not to fear that such a reconciliation would be imputed to him as inconstancy, seeing that the like had occurred to several princes, whom I named to him, especially the Emperor and king of France, Lothair, and Philip I. and III. of France, who by force of justice were compelled to return to their lawful wives, and give up others as adulterers. Cromwell, after thanking me for the affection I showed to his master and the confidence I reposed in him, praised my suggestions and motives, and answered that, as to the sentence given at Rome, which seemed to be my principal ground, it was not to be regarded as of great importance ; for, as the King found by the opinion of several doctors of this realm and of the University of Orleans, it was unjust and invalid ; and the King and every one of them expected it would be revoked, and also that perhaps they would shortly have the definitive sentence in their favor. As to the other point, about sending ambassadors here on the part of your Majesty, or giving me a commission, it would be the most laudable thing in the world, for by this means the regrets, scruples, and remorse of all Christendom would be extinguished, provided the charge of the said ambassadors or my commission should be to conclude or determine this divorce, or take some resolution and assurance as to the manner of living hereafter in order to defeat the slanders and inconveniences which might arise ; but if the charge of the ambassadors contained nothing but the article proposed by me, he saw no hope of effecting it, seeing that matters were too fresh and the King's love too vehement. On this, from one thing to another, he went on to say that it was quite notorious that if your Majesty wished to undertake war against this kingdom, it would be very easy to destroy it, but it would be no great profit to your Majesty ; and it was not to be believed that you, after receiving so many favors from this kingdom, would consent to ruin it. In answer, I said that at least the King could not affirm of the sentence that the Pope had given it through fear of your Majesty, as he had done in the case of the past provisions ; and as for the opinion of

the doctors of whom he spoke, I was surprised that he attached importance to it, for the reasons which I told him ; but, moreover, I wondered that he thought your [486] Majesty, on knowing the justice and truth of the case, would treat in prejudice of a sentence so canonically given, which your Majesty would not do for all the world, and that what I had proposed to him proceeded only from myself, out of zeal for the preservation of amity ; and since I had done the duty of an honest man, I did not intend henceforward to take more pains about it, and it was for him and those who have the management of the King's affairs to think about it. He confessed it was true, and that on his side he would do his best, and he watched all occasions to set matters right, but there were some things which he must lead with a long hand (*mener de longue main*) and discreetly. Hereupon he asked me to send him the books containing the histories of which I had made mention, which I did yesterday morning, and by my messenger he desired me to write to the queen of Hungary to take order that certain rhymes printed in Flanders to the disadvantage of the King his master should be suppressed, and the printing of such things forbidden. He has not informed me of the substance of the said rhymes, intending, as he intimated, to come and tell me about them.

The King has sent to solicit with all diligence a great jurist of Bologna, named Previdello, to come to Nice to discuss the matter of the divorce in this meeting with the bishop of Winchester, who carries a bag full of writings and consultations, and four full of promises, and as many of menaces ; and those here are in hope to gain the Pope. The French ambassador has notified to the Venetian ambassador that the English have lately been reproaching him with the intelligence that the King his master has with the Pope, and that this interview was half to spite them ; but now they did not hold such language to him, but expressed satisfaction at the meeting. The duke of Norfolk told me lately he had been called to the French king's Council, when it was determined to write to your Majesty about the decapitation of Capt. Merveilles, at which not only the said King was very indignant, but also the Dauphin, who had spoken of it with considerable passion (*bien affectueusement*). In relating the case the Dauphin had named the duke of Milan. The said Duke (King?) reproved him for having given that title to another than himself ; on which he readily corrected the error. Your Majesty will judge better than I if the intention of the said Duke in that matter was sound.

Since my last letters there has been nothing new about the treatment of the Queen and Princess, nor about the affairs of Scotland ; nor do I see any appearance of their obeying the censures of the Pope unless they be accompanied with the remedies of which I have before written. **And as the good bishop of Rochester says, who sent to me to notify it, the arms of the Pope against these men, who are so obstinate, are more frail than lead, and that your Majesty must set your hand to it, in which you will do a work as agreeable to God as going against the Turk.** And if matters were to come to a rupture, perhaps it would not be *mal propos* that your Majesty should use all means possible to draw to you or get into your power the son¹ of the Princess's governess, daughter of the duke of Clarence, to whom, according to the opinion of many, the kingdom would belong. The said son is now studying at Padua. For the great and singular virtue of the Duke (*i.e.* Pole), besides that he is of the King's kindred, both on the father's side² and the mother's, and for the pretension that he and his brother might have to the kingdom, the Queen would like to bestow the Princess on him in marriage rather than any other ; and the Princess would not refuse. He and his brothers have many kinsmen and allies, of whose services your Majesty might thus make use, and gain the greater part of the realm. I beg you to take my bold advice in good part, which is only prompted by [487] my desire to serve you. Among the other allies of the said personage is lord Abergavenny (*Burgain*), one of the most powerful, wise, and prudent lords of England, who is ill pleased with the King because he detained him long in prison with the duke of Buckingham, his father-in-law, who left therein his person, while Abergavenny left his feathers, that is to say, a great

1 Reginald Pole.

2 He was not on the father's side.

part of his revenue, which he will be glad by some means to get back again, and revenge himself. He had charge lately, when I was in Court, to bring me back (*de me ramener de la necessite*³), and then said to me that he would have been glad to talk with me, but had no opportunity ; and only observed that there was not a gentleman in the world who would more heartily do service to your Majesty than he, and that possibly your Majesty would perceive it some day. And because the King would follow entirely the inclination of Cromwell, who preceded us, and kept listening (*et nous alloit tenant les oreilles*), we had no opportunity of conversation. Nevertheless, the anxiety he expressed to declare his intention induced him to show me all the cordiality he could by taking me by the arm.⁴

I thought he had been called to Court for some affair of importance, but it was only for a foolish matter, viz. to send him to the duchess of Norfolk, who is his wife's sister, to make an arrangement between her and the Duke her husband, whom she would not see or hear, because he is in love with a young lady of the King's concubine, called Holland. For this reason, since his return to France he had not dared to go and see the Duchess till after the embassy of the said lord Abergavenny, who went at once to the point, promising that the Duke should henceforth be a good husband. London, 27 Sept. 1533.

Fr., hol., pp. 7. From a modern copy.

3 Blank in copy.

4 “Toutesfoys, Sire, l’affection quil monstrois avoir de ne (*qu. me?*) declarer son intencion l’induisoit de cop sur cop me fere feste en me sarrant le bras par soubz lequel il me menoit.”