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10 April [1533]
K. u. K. Haus-
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1058. THE SAME TO THE SAME [EUSTACE CHAPUYS TO THE EMPEROR].

All the representations this present Parliament has made respecting the danger in which the King is placing himself and his kingdom, as I informed Your Majesty, and those still more urgent made since my last to drive him, if possible, from his purpose, have been unavailing. **The King has by his absolute will obliged the members of that body to vote the motion against Papal authority and to declare, as I had the honour to inform Your Majesty, that all causes, even those relating to marriage, shall be henceforward tried here, in England, without in anywise recurring or appealing to Rome,** under the penalty attached to crimes of “lesæ Majestatis,” and that should anyone bring to this country briefs of excommunication or interdict from the Pope, he is immediately to be seized and put to ignominious death for the same. Which trap (*pipce*), as may be imagined, has been solely and exclusively laid against the Queen. This being observed by some members of this Parliament, and especially by one who represents this city of London, who was once in Spain, and is one of my most intimate and familiar friends, they have presented an amendment to this effect; that should the King consent to remit the Queen's case, and also this business of the Pope to the decision of the General Council, they would persuade the people to grant him 200,000 pounds sterling. But all to no purpose; the King has not consented to the divorce case being decided by anyone else but his archbishop [of Canterbury], of whom he is pretty sure, since he has already performed the marriage ceremony, as I had the honour to inform Your Majesty. Indeed he seems quite determined, as he himself has told many of his courtiers and the members of his Privy Council openly declare, to proceed to the solemnity of his marriage and the consequent coronation of the Lady immediately after Easter. [629] The better to dispose and prepare which matter he sent yesterday the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the marquis [of Dorset?], and earl of Oxford,¹ to tell the Queen that she need not trouble herself about returning to him, for he had already taken another wife, and that in future she must abstain from calling herself or being addressed as queen, as he would give her the title of duchess only, leave her in possession of the property she owned before, and offer even a larger revenue if she should want it. I cannot say whether the said noblemen have any other message for her; but if they have the Queen is sure to let me know to-morrow, and I will acquaint Your Majesty with the result of the interview. It may be that these people are afraid of the Queen's going out [of England], for about a week ago the King's Privy Council ordered Millort Monjois (Lord Mountjoy) to go in all possible haste to her, remain there where she is, keep guard over her, and not move from the spot until fresh orders.

Last Easter Sunday (*Paques Flories*) the King sent the bishop of Rochester (Fisher) to prison under the custody of him of Winchester [Gardiner], a very strange act, that prelate being the most holy and learned in all Christendom. Which imprisonment has been made, as the King had it stated the other day in this Parliament, under colour of the bishop's (Fisher) having said that Mr. de Rocheffort's late mission to France was for the purpose of presenting a very large sum of money to the high chancellor of France (Prat), and to the cardinal of Lorraine, to induce the Pope by money or other means to ratify this king's new marriage, or at least to dissemble and not proceed further against the parties. That the King thought the Pope would make no difficulty, inasmuch as the marriage was already a “fait accompli.” This much the good Bishop is accused of having said, and I do really believe that it must have been also one of the objects of Mr. de Rocheffort's mission to France; and, moreover, that in order not to hinder their negotiations with the Pope through

¹ “Il envoya hier devers la royne les dues de Norphoc, Suffolcq, marquis et le comte de Ausburg,” &c.

the motions which they intend making in this Parliament,² the King, a week ago, sent a message to the Papal Nuncio through the duke of Norfolk, requesting him not to write to His Holiness about the said affair. But the real cause and occasion of the good Bishop's detention is his having so manfully taken up the defence of the Pope and of the Queen, by which Your Majesty will be able to understand the state of confusion and disorder in which things are here, and the obstinacy of this king, who is wilfully working his own ruin and perdition. Indeed, I hear that whenever anyone represents to him the many inconveniences arising therefrom, and the dangers of a foreign invasion,³ he (the King) resolutely [630] answers that if united and in harmony together, the English shall never be conquered by a foreign prince; and yet it seems to me as if he were doing all he can to forfeit the affection of his subjects

Meanwhile all Englishmen, high and low, are in great alarm, and consider themselves as good as lost, believing that even if there should be no foreign invasion, civil war will break out and ruin them all. Great as their fears are, and not without reason, the general indignation is still greater, for excepting 10 or 12 persons who surround the Lady, all the rest of the nation are terribly afraid of disturbances in this country; so much so that whatever losses they might sustain through it, still they would wish Your Majesty to send here an army with which to destroy the poisonous influence of the Lady [Anne] and her adherents, and make a new reformation of all this kingdom.⁴

I beg Your Majesty to pardon me if I venture too far on matters which are not my incumbence (*daustruy mestier*); but the great interest I take in Your Majesty's concerns compels me to say that, considering the very great injury done to Madame, your aunt, you can hardly avoid making war upon this king and kingdom, for it is to be feared that the moment this accursed Anne sets her foot firmly in the stirrup she will try to do the Queen all the harm she possibly can, and the Princess also, which is the thing your aunt dreads most. Indeed, I hear she has lately boasted that she will make of the Princess a maid of honour in her Royal household, that she may perhaps give her too much dinner on some occasion, or marry her to some varlet,⁵ which would be an irreparable evil. Besides the said dangers, which are urgent enough, and ought to be prevented, there are two weighty points to be taken into consideration: one is the bad example and great scandal of this divorce; the other the fear of this kingdom being alienated from our Holy Faith and going over to the Lutherans, which will happen soon enough, and will be an irreparable evil, inasmuch as the King himself is shewing them the way and helping them on, and the archbishop of Canterbury is doing still worse.

An undertaking against this country would be in the opinion of many people here the easiest thing in the world just now, for this king has neither cavalry nor well trained infantry (*ne chevaulx ne gens de conduite*), besides which the affection of his subjects is entirely on Your Majesty's side, not [631] only that of the common people but of the nobility in general, with the single exception of the duke of Norphorg (Norfolk) and two or three more. It is true that the better to ground the said enterprize, and remove all scruples and difficulties respecting existing treaties, it would be advisable that the Pope should invoke the aid of the secular power, and that in virtue of the censures already executed,

2 "Et [que] pour non gaster leurs pratiques vers le pape par ce quilz sollicitoient en ces estatz, le roy puis huit jours," &c.

3 "Il dit quent (*sic*) on luy parles des inconveniens que luy peuvent advenir, que estant en union et bonne volonte langleterre elle nestoit conquestable par prince estrangier."

4 "[Il nest chose a croyre de la craincte, ou est tout ce peuple tant grans que menuz et ne pensent pas moins sinon quilz sen vont trestous perduz, et quant ores ne leur seroit mene guerre extrinsique que lintestine les ruynera. Et combien, Sire, que la dite craincte soit grande, et non sans cause, toutesfois lindignation quilz ont generalement trestous, sors x ou xii qui son autour de la dame, surmonte inextimablement la dicte craincte de sorte que ores ils deussent souffrir de grandes pertes et dommages, si vouldroient ilz que vostre maieste envoyat icy armee pour eradiquer le poison de la dame et de ses adherens, et faire une nouvelle reformation en tout le royaume.]"

5 "La dite anne sest vantee quelle vouloit avoir pour demoiselle la dite princesse que nest que pour la faire trop manger, ou pour la faire marier a quelque varlet."

Your Majesty should forbid all intercourse of trade between your dominions of Flanders and Spain and this kingdom to make the people rise against the promoters of this accursed marriage; and that in order to encourage and countenance them in their rising it would be advisable to fit out some ships of war, and secretly aid the Scotch with money, or give them hopes of aid, so that they may not conclude peace, which is the thing these people desire most at present. In my opinion the only apparent difficulty in such a plan is the fear of the Most Christian King attempting something in the meantime against Your Majesty's dominions; but considering the just ground of your quarrel there can be no danger of that, for I hear from an authentic source that when the sieur de Montpesat resided here as ambassador, the King having asked him whether in case of Your Majesty declaring war he could count upon the assistance of France, that ambassador replied rather hesitatingly that he did not know how far the King, his master, would be able to help him, as the case was not specified in their mutual treaties; and that even if the Most Christian King was willing he might perhaps not be able to assist his brother of England, knowing, as he did, that an undertaking against this country would be of short duration, and his own assistance of little value. He, therefore, imagined that the King, his master, would probably wait for the issue of the contest. So if this king, who is the right arm of that of France, were punished, I have no doubt that the pride of the other would considerably abate.⁶ It might also happen that the Swiss, without whose help this king cannot possibly accomplish anything, being forewarned of the enormity of the case, might refuse to assist him against Your Imperial Majesty, even if they should get a good price (*pot de vin*) for the bargain.

It is perfectly true that if it were not for the Princess' imminent danger, to which I have above alluded, and also because, should the English see Your Majesty at all lukewarm in this affair, they might lose the affection they profess you, the most prudent course to follow would be to temporize a little, and try to stop their trade with your subjects. And yet it seems to me as if this expedient was also fraught with danger; for if that be done this king will immediately try to get the king of France to make some stir (*emocion*), and, perhaps, also contribute his share of the expenses; though [632] on the other hand, if he sees his kingdom suddenly invaded, he is not likely to lose his time in soliciting the aid of other princes, but will spend in his own defence the money he would otherwise have given. At any rate, it seems to me that Your Majesty would do well not to allow the English merchants who reside in your dominions of Flanders and Spain to be ill-treated, for they will be instrumental in maintaining and fostering the good-will and affection of the people to Your Majesty.

I hear that the King is about to forbid everyone, under pain of death, to speak in public or private in favour of the Queen. After that he will most likely proceed to greater extremities unless God and Your Majesty prevent it.

Again I beseech Your Majesty to forgive me if I dare give advice in such matters, for besides the above causes *the great pity I have for the Queen and Princess, Your Majesty's aunt and niece, absolutely compel me to take this course.*

The Papal Nuncio, who was in Scotland, has been back for the last three days. He says that the Scots are under great pressure from these people, and that they are willing to make peace on the very terms they demanded at the beginning; otherwise they are prepared to carry on the war. The duke of Albany's secretary, who returned also from that country a week ago, is now here on his way to France. They have, as I am given to understand, retained him so long here that they might sound him about the peace, which, as above said, these people most desire, though they strongly object to the conditions asked as humiliating to themselves.

The German, about whom I wrote to Your Majesty, has at last been dispatched with a letter for his master and lord the landgrave [of Hesse], thanking him for his offers of service, and saying that this king is in no need of men. The same answer has been returned

6 "Respondit quil ne sçauoit, car cela nestoit pas exprime en leurs traictez; et quant le dit roy trez chrestien auroit envye de mal faire, sachant que lemprinse de ce royaume est de si courte duree, doubtant que cependant il ne pourroit faire chose de valeur, voudroit actendre lyssue, et si ce roy quest le bras droit de lautre estoit chastie lautre rabbaptrait de lorgueil."

to the Danish captain, who, it was said, came here on a similar errand; both have received some money towards the expenses of their journey, and nothing more.

The merchants residing here perceiving the precarious state of affairs in this country are trying as much as they can to withdraw their merchandise, or otherwise dispose of their goods. For the same reason my creditors, fearing lest I should be obliged soon to leave this country, are most pressingly urging the payment of my debts to them. I humbly beg and entreat Your Majesty to give orders to the Treasury of the Low Countries for the speedy settlement of my arrears, &c.

I am about to start [for Greenwich] to speak to the King on business, which cause, as well as the hasty departure of this courier, prevents me from reading over and reconsidering the contents of this present despatch.—London, 10th April 153[3].

Signed: “Eustace Chapuys.”

Addressed: “To the Emperor.”

Indorsed: “From the ambassador in England. Received on the 29th of the same month, 1533.”

French. Holograph. pp. 7.