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15 April [1533]  
Vienna Archives

**351.** CHAPUYS TO CHARLES V.

On Tuesday the 7th, hearing the strange and exorbitant terms and conduct used by the King against the Queen, of which I have heretofore advertised you, I went to Court at the hour assigned me for audience in order to remonstrate, taking Hdin with me, who is here by consent of the Queen for his pension, to be a witness of these remonstrances, in the hope that the King would take matters in better part in his presence. As soon as I arrived there Wiltshire met me ; and on coming to the chamber of the duke of Norfolk, who had gone to the Queen, he told me that the King was marvellously busy, and had commissioned him to hear what I wished to say. I told him that what I had to say was of very great importance, and that I had never been denied audience before, and I could not think that the King would wish to break a custom without any occasion, seeing that your Majesty always willingly heard his ambassadors. He made very many excuses, and would not report my words to the King ; until at last, when returning from the King a second time, he attempted to discover what I wanted to say, and wished to put off my audience till after the holidays. We concluded at last for Maundy Thursday (*Jeudi Saint*), on which I went to Court with Hdin, and was introduced to the King by Wiltshire. I was graciously received, and told him I could report nothing but old news of your Majesty, [164] but I thought that you must have embarked since the commencement of the month ; which he easily credited, out of the great desire he had that your Majesty should be out of Italy ; adding that the season could not be finer. On his asking for other news, I told him of the peace between the King of the Romans and the Turk ; at which he remained half stupefied, and entirely mute, without uttering a single word.

Then, entering on the principal topic, I told him that, notwithstanding that it was many days since I had heard some rumor of what was going on in Convocation, as also in Parliament, in prejudice of the Queen, her right and justice ; yet I had not been willing to take notice of it, because I could not believe that so virtuous, wise, and Catholic a prince would consent to such things, and because I know that such practices could not derogate from the Queen's right. Now, however, as I have been lately advertised by several persons of these practices, I had thought that I could not acquit myself towards God or your Majesty, or himself, without making the necessary remonstrances, which I begged he would take in good part ; and since he had no regard for men, all of whom he despised, that he would have respect to God. He told me that he did so, and that God and his conscience were on very good terms. After he had thus disgorged himself, in order to bring him back graciously, I told him that he showed he took us for servants and friends, speaking to us so familiarly, words which I thought proceeded from his mouth and not from his heart. He told me that he had spoken without dissimulation. On this I proceeded to say that I could not believe he wished to give such an example, seeing how Christendom was already troubled by so many heresies, or to break the treaties he had done so much to promote. I told him I had never heard of so strange a case of one leaving his wife after 25 years. He was very glad, not knowing what to answer to the rest, to take hold of this last point, saying it was not so long a time ; and that if the world thought this divorce very extraordinary, still more the world found it strange that the Pope should have dispensed in it without having the power to do so. I referred him to five Popes who had dispensed in such a case, and that I had no wish to dispute the matter with him ; but there was not a doctor in his kingdom, if it came to the point, that would not confess the truth. And proceeding to speak of the solicitation that had been made to obtain the seal of the university of Paris, on which he rested much, I desired to show him the letters and the names of those who had held the Queen's side ; and he said he did not want to see them. I also told him that neither in Spain, Naples, nor elsewhere, could any prelates or doctors

be found that were not on the Queen's side ; and that even in his own kingdom there were some of the same opinion, unless they had been gained. And here I offered to show him letters, which he refused to see. To divert the conversation, he said that he wished to have a successor to his kingdom ; and when I said to him that he had a daughter endowed with all imaginable goodness and virtue, and of an age to bear children, and that as he had received the principal title to his realm by the female line, nature seemed to oblige him to restore it to the Princess, he replied that he knew better than his daughter, and that he wished to have children. And when I said to him he was not sure of having them, he asked me three times if he was not a man like other men (*si nestoit point home comme les autres*), adding that I had no reason to affirm the contrary, seeing I was not privy to all his secrets ; leaving me clearly to understand that his beloved lady was *enceinte*.

We then proceeded to discuss the point whether the Queen was known to prince Arthur ; but with these arguments I need not trouble you. But when I urged that he had oftentimes confessed that the Queen was a virgin, and he could not deny it, he admitted it, saying it was spoken in jest, as a man, jesting and feasting, says many things which are not true. [165] And when he had said this, as if he had won a very great victory, or discovered some great subtlety for gaining his purpose, he began to crow, telling me, "Now have I paid you off? What more would you have ?" But his payment was not in current coin, and served me more than he thought, to defeat some words of the ambassador of that prince who most desires his honor and profit and the tranquillity of his kingdoms ...<sup>1</sup> I told him I wished to bring with me the said Hdin, who was and was reputed to be his servant, as were all those belonging to your Majesty ; and I protested that whatever might be there said, I did not intend to write a word of it, except as he pleased, in order that hereafter the said Hdin might not contradict me. I made these observations in order to put him at his ease, and make him open his budget ; and to confirm him the more, I said that heretofore I had considered myself very happy, that I had been sent to such a prince as he was, hoping that when the affairs had been studied by his council, he would redress them without difficulty. But as matters went now, I must consider myself unhappy that such a disorder had arisen, and that I had always assured you that, whatever face he might carry, his heart was sound, and he would maintain good relations with you. On hearing this, without having patience to listen further, and being marvellously desirous, as it appeared, to find some means of not entering on the matter, wrinkling his forehead and changing his look, he commenced saying, very brusquely, that all such remonstrances were useless, and he wished primarily to understand whether I had any charge from you to do this, for if I spoke of myself it would be another thing. I replied that it was evidently superfluous (*chose trop excusee*) to ask me if I had a commission from you to speak of matters that had arisen within eight days, and of which you could not have had notice within a month, and asked if he must receive more than four pairs of letters before he would give me credit, when my general commission was by all lawful means to assist in preserving the amity between you, and I had special charge in the Queen's matter, which was no small part of the said amity. Then he said that your Majesty had no right to interfere with his laws, and, whatever might be said of them, he would pass such laws in his kingdom as he liked, with more to the same purpose. I told him that your Majesty did not wish to stop him from so doing, and that, in case of necessity, you would assist him ; and that I did not intend to speak of his laws, except so far as they concerned the Queen, whom he wished to compel to renounce her appeal, and leave her case to be decided by his subjects, who, through promises or threats, or from pure fear, seeing how very ill he had acted towards many who had ventured to

1 Some words appear to be wanting here to complete the sense. The whole passage stands in the copy as follows : "Toutesfois son payement ne se trouve de monnoye mectable, et me vint plus a propoz quil ne pensoit pour abbattre quelques parolles de lambassadeur du prince du monde plus desirant son bien, prouffit et honneur, et la tranquillite de ses royaumes et pays, et recite dung sien tresadonne serviteur et que avoye bien voulu mener avec moy ledit Hesdin questoit et se renommoit son serviteur comme aussi se reputoient tous ceulx de vostre majeste et que protestoye que quelque chose que fust ladicte (*qu. l dicte ?*) que nentendoye en escripre paroiie synon austant quii luy plairoit et commanderoit de quoy en apres me pourroit desmentir ledit Hesdin."

oppose him, would only determine according to his fancy. And hereupon I repeated what I had often said before, that if the affair was determined here, it would not hereafter remove the doubt of the succession ; and if he would consider how unreasonable it was and unjust to have the case tried here, seeing he had already submitted it to the See Apostolic and obtained a commission for Campeggio and York, and had expressly agreed to the Queen's appeal to Rome, and afterwards, not content therewith, had [166] solicited the Queen to have the cause tried out of Rome, but not in this country, as it was unreasonable, but in some neutral place, the Queen could not be constrained to any pretended constitution, whereto scarcely anyone had consented except by force. Hereupon, half in a fury, he told me there was no use in persuasion or remonstrance, and that if he had known that I was to speak of nothing else, he would have excused himself from giving me audience, searching, as before, to break off the argument and escape the conversation. On my repeating the intention for which I had come thither, and that it was his duty to hear not only your ambassador, but the least man in the world, and softly putting before him the constant kindness you had always shown to his ambassadors, he was constrained to stay, and proceeded to reply that as for the Cardinal's commission, it had been granted on the promise of the Pope, who had assured him he would never revoke the cause from here ; but that now he would have nothing to do with any papal commission ; and as to the offer that the affair should be decided in a neutral place, he would not consent, for he would have it decided here ; that his consent to the Queen's appeal was only on condition that it could be done by the laws and privileges of this kingdom ; that the statute of prohibition had been passed by Parliament, which the Queen, as a subject, was compelled to obey. On this I said that laws were prospective and not retrospective ; and that as to the Queen, it was true that in being his wife she was a subject, and, presupposing this, there was no question at all as to the constitutions or appeals ; but if he did not consider her as his wife, she could not be regarded as a subject, for she only resided here in virtue of her marriage, and if he disavowed her she would not remain his subject, and might claim her right of being conveyed to Spain, which could not be until the affair was decided before him to whom he had first recourse. On his replying that he had not made her come, but Prince Arthur with whom she had consummated the marriage, I replied that although he had not asked her to come, he had prevented her from returning after the death of prince Arthur, when the King Catholic sent to ask for her by Hernand duke d'Estrada, as I showed him by letters, which he refused to read, saying again that she must have patience and obey the laws ; and that your Majesty, in recompence of the many favors he had done to you, had done him the greatest and most grievous injury, in having kept him so long from marrying and propagating the line of his succession ; that the Queen was no more his wife than she was mine ; that he would treat her as he intended, in spite of any one who might growl at it ; and that if you, for your pleasure or fancy, gave him any trouble, he would defend himself with the help of his friends. When I showed him that the marriage had been solemnised by his father and the King Catholic, the two wisest princes in the world, who would never have consented if there had been any scruple in reference to prince Arthur, on which he laid so much stress, he said he would do as he liked, without caring for anything, and that your Majesty had shown him the way of not always obeying the Pope, by the appeal you had made four years ago to a future council. On this I told him that he would act like a good Catholic to follow the same path and appeal to the Council ; and since he alleged your example, I wished him to notice that you had shown great respect for the excommunication, for that in Holy Week you had abstained from attending at mass. At these words he showed himself very much nettled, fearing, as I think, lest I should say to him that he did wrong in not obeying the excommunication and interdict already published against him ; and drawing himself up a little, he said that I stung him. I begged of him to know in what, and that I would not for anything in the world have thought of so doing. Hereon he became a little more gracious, but though I pressed [167] him much he would not tell me in what he felt himself stung, nor has he told me since. At the close I asked him, supposing the Spaniards and the Flemings, like good Christians, for fear of the interdict,

would not have intercourse with his subjects, whether they would incur the penalty of his laws, and whether any one could blame them? He remained thoughtful and dumbfounded, not knowing what to say. Hereupon, wishing to take my leave rather than that he should abruptly break off the conversation, I said that as matters were in such a bad state, I would labor no longer nor waste my time. He gave me a gracious adieu, retaining Hdin, only to tell him, as he has reported, "You have heard the Ambassador, who speaks of excommunication and prohibiting intercourse. I give you notice that it is not I but the Emperor who is excommunicated, because he has long opposed me, not allowing me to get out of the sin in which I was, and has put off my marriage ; and this is the kind of excommunication which the Pope cannot remit without my consent. But do not tell the Ambassador a word of it." Your Majesty can well imagine his blindness. Hdin only replied that these were matters too high for him, and beyond his digestion (*gabiers, i.e. gavier*). We then returned without dining there, notwithstanding we were pressed to do so by Wiltshire, who manages in the absence of the Duke.

On Wednesday the duke of Norfolk, and the other Commissioners of whom I lately wrote, declared their charge to the Queen, which was in substance to persuade her to give up her appeal, and be content to have the cause settled here ; in doing which she would not only lay the whole kingdom under obligations to her, and prevent the effusion of blood, but the King would treat her better than she could ask. At last, perceiving there was no hope of getting her to comply, they told her they were charged by the King to say that she must not weary herself about it any longer, for he had married the other lady more than two months ago, in presence of several persons, though none of them had been invited to it. Then, after many gracious words and excuses for what they were doing, as only out of obedience to the King's command, they departed. After their departure Lord Mountjoy, the Queen's chamberlain, came to notify her that the King would not allow her henceforth to call herself Queen, and that at the close of one month after Easter he would not defray her expenses, nor the wages of her servants, and he intended that she should retire to some of her own houses and live on a small income, which he had assigned her, which would not suffice for her attendants a quarter of a year. She replied that as long as she lived she would call herself Queen. As to keeping house, she would not commence so late ; and if the King felt himself so much aggrieved at the expense of her allowance, she would be satisfied with what she had, and with her confessor, physician, apothecary, and two women, and go wherever he wished. Otherwise, failing of food for herself and her servants, she would go and beg for the love of God. Although the King himself is not ill-natured, it is this Anne who has put him in this perverse and wicked temper, and alienates him from his former humanity, and we must believe that she will never cease until she has seen the end of the Queen, as she has done that of the Cardinal, whom she did not hate so much. The Queen has no fears, but is marvellously concerned for the Princess.

**On Saturday, Easter Eve, dame Anne went to mass in Royal state, loaded with jewels, clothed in a robe of cloth of gold friese. The daughter of the duke of Norfolk, who is affianced to the duke of Richmond, carried her train ; and she had in her suite 60 young ladies, and was brought to church, and brought back with the solemnities, or even more, which were used to the Queen. She has changed her name from Marchioness to Queen, and the preachers offered prayers for her by name. All the world is astonished at it for it looks like a dream, and even those who take her part know not [168] whether to laugh or to cry.** The King is very watchful of the countenance of the people, and begs the lords to go and visit and make their court to the new Queen, whom he intends to have solemnly crowned after Easter, when he will have feastings and tournaments ; and some think that Clarendieux went four days ago to France to invite gentlemen at arms to the tourney, after the example of Francis, who did so at his nuptials. I know not whether this will be before or after, but the King has secretly appointed with the archbishop of Canterbury that of his office, without any other pressure, he shall cite the King as having two wives ; and upon this, without summoning the Queen, he will declare that he was at liberty to marry as he has done without waiting for a dispensation or

sentence of any kind.

The English merchants trading in Flanders were, on Good Friday, with the King, to learn if they might send their goods into Flanders. He told them he was not at war with you, and if they had any scruple about going they should stop at home, and if they wished to go they should go. All the merchants with you have withdrawn their goods. Cromwell, who is powerful with the King, three days since had all his principal goods carried into the Tower. Neither the King, nor any man of his court, but is as much in fear of the people as of your Majesty ; but it seems that God has blinded their eyes and sense, because, for anything I can see, they do not know how to make themselves secure, and I think that if there came upon their backs the least “baude” (?)<sup>2</sup> in the world, they would be so dismayed that neither the King nor any other would think of anything but flight, knowing the will of the people.

Eight days ago Rochford came from France with the seigneur De Beauvoes, who left yesterday to return to Scotland to persuade the king of Scots to refer his differences with the King to the arbitration of Francis. I am told by a trusty person that Albany’s secretary, returning from a visit to Beaulvois, informed him that Beaulvoys would do nothing in Scotland, and that war would come of it sooner than anything else. The said Scots triumph more than ever, and, instead of standing on the defensive, make continual invasions. The English, I hear, would gladly have peace ; but God, as I have said, has taken away their understanding to find the means. Rochford, as his servants say, has received in France 2,000 cr. as a present for the good news he had brought of his sister’s marriage ; to whom the French king has written as to a Queen. I think they take this in France for good news, both to break the amity between your Majesty and the King, and because it may be a means of getting rid of their debt and pension, either by necessity or by the fear the English will have of them, or else that the Pope, if he should proceed to sentence and aggravated censures, will release them from all obligations.

The name the King wishes the Queen to be called by is the old widow princess. As to the Princess, her name is not yet changed, and I think they will wait till the lady has had a child.

Every day crowds of people come to inquire of my servants and neighbours whether I have determined to leave, for until I depart many will always think that your Majesty has consented to this marriage ; otherwise they cannot believe that the King would have dared to have done it. I think, therefore, your Majesty should revoke me immediately. London, 15 April 1533.

The King is sending today a courier to Rome, I think to intimate [to the Pope] that what has been done against him in Parliament has been at the solicitation of the people, and not at his, and that on ratifying his marriage he will revoke it all. He does not wish the courier to carry any letters [169] but his own, lest the truth be discovered. Your Majesty had better notify his Holiness of it, and spur him to give sentence.

*Hol., Fr., pp. 14. From a modern copy.*

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2 Not “bande,” apparently, but a masculine noun : “le moindre baude.”