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30 June [1535]
Vienna Archives

948. CHAPUYS TO CHARLES V.

As soon as Cromwell had returned from Court, where he had been since the arrival of Norfolk and the other Calais deputies, he came to me to inform me, on the part of his master, that the promise made to [370] me that he would conclude nothing at Calais, had been strictly observed; of which Cromwell, for his part, said he was very glad, both because he had shown himself a man of good faith, and because the King remained at his full liberty; and the King wished me to despatch a man express to your Majesty to inform you of the fruitlessness (*irresolution*) of the said assembly. To this I replied that I was willing to comply by despatching one of my servants, provided there was matter which required it, but that it would be a foolish waste of money, as I had already informed your Majesty eight days ago, and I believed you had also received notice of it from France, and, even if you had no recent news of it, I had written long ago assuring you thereof, by Cromwell's words and promises; and since the King, his master, was at liberty, as he said, it would be the right time for him either to accept the overtures made by his (*qu.* your?) Majesty, or make others. He replied that he had no charge whatever to make any overtures to me, and that I was not one to whom he would say one thing in place of another, nor say anything that he could not maintain; and as to what had been proposed on the part of your Majesty, that the King his master should submit to the determination of the Council, the said King would never agree to it, and also that it was unreasonable for the considerations he had already shown. Moreover, the great hatred that all this "*prestraille*," as he called it, bore him because he had withstood the tyranny of the Church, and reformed the churchmen of his country, would prevent his obtaining justice, seeing that the greater part of the Council must be composed of the said "*prestraille*"; and it must not be supposed that the King his master, or any portion of his subjects, would be present at a Council convoked by the Pope, even if one were convoked by the authority of your Majesty. Hereupon, he began to talk of the said reformation which the King had begun with his clergy, and said that before Christmas I should see constitutions made for it here, composed by the King, which would be very different from the papistical ones; and he had no doubt it would be a true and singular mirror to all Christendom, and that your Majesty would not forbear to make the same reformation in your countries, unless it was for fear of invalidating the sentence given in the Queen's favor. I replied that in this he was very much mistaken, because, although his Majesty denied the Pope to be universal Head of the Church, nevertheless that would in no wise prejudice the said sentence, seeing that the King had implored justice from his Holiness, even if the latter had been the least important and most out-of-the-way bishop of the world (*le moindre et plus estrange evesque du monde*); and I alleged reasons of law thereupon, to which he did not know what to reply.

Going from one subject to another, Cromwell repeated that if God had taken to himself the Queen and Princess, the whole dispute would have been ended, and no one would have doubted or opposed the King's second marriage, nor would anyone have disputed the succession, unless it were the king of Scots, of whom he made no great account, and no other prince could make any claim. As to the first, I replied that by the canon law, according to which all good Christians ought to govern themselves in matters of conscience, the second marriage would be found invalid and unlawful even if the Queen died first; and I cited the canons and chapters; at which he was greatly abashed. As to the second, he ought not to make so little account of the king of Scots in case of so just a claim, in the pursuit of which God, who was the true executor of justice, might furnish him with aid and friends. Cromwell said that at least one could not say that there was any other prince who could put forward any title against them. I replied that it was

a thing of the possibility of which I had not thought much; but, since he pressed me, I thought there were several others who might put forward claims now or hereafter. [371] He replied that perhaps I meant, by the common title of princes, which was the sword, or by the Imperial title “quavoit pretense sur toute la monarchie.” To this I replied that, as to the Imperial title, England might be well assured it would not be troubled, as your Majesty was not so ambitious; but if the Pope were to fulminate censures, and invoke the aid of the secular arm, which would deprive the King of his title and deliver his kingdom to those who took possession (*et ouctroyat les biens aux occupans*), it would be the most just and catholic title that any Christian prince could have. I did not speak of the title of the king of Denmark, or of any other, as it was far better to avoid dangers than to enter into such odious matters; yet it was very opportune that he touched upon this point, that they might have the better care for the preservation of the good ladies, when I confuted their dangerous opinion that on being rid of them they would be at peace. And it appeared to me that Cromwell was much confused at what I said, and, after thinking for some time, knew not what to say, except that the King his master had so many treaties with his (your) Majesty and with the French that he could not imagine that either would have the heart to violate them.

Cromwell related to me how their ambassador in France had written to the King that as soon as the Admiral was returned to the Court of France he had given all the ambassadors to understand that in the assembly at Calais they had negotiated very great and important affairs to the great satisfaction of both parties. And in reply the King had informed his ambassador of the real truth, charging him to communicate it to the ambassador of your Majesty and beg him to do his best to give effect to the practice commenced. The King made the same request, praising me to my face, and Cromwell saying that he would die the most cruel death to see friendship between your Majesty and the King firmly established; which done, he believed that you might have the aid of his master against the Turk to the extent of half a million of gold, or even a million; and that this question of marriage can never be settled except by a meeting between his (your) Majesty and his master. On this he began to speak of the ingratitude of the French, and said he knew well that they were soliciting his (your) Majesty to treat with them, and that Morette had lately told him that if this King would not agree to the French demands they would be compelled to ally themselves again with his (your) Majesty. On speaking to Cromwell of some arrears due to the Queen of the revenues of her lands, he replied with very good will that not only that should be paid to her, but that if she wanted more she only required to write or get me to write, and that she should have all she wanted without delay; and if she wished to have a treasurer near her to supply her always, she would be provided with one. And he desired me to think of this, and begged on the King's behalf that I would go to hunt where I thought good, and that he would give orders that I should be well received, and that I ought not to refuse that, both to gratify the King and to please myself. At last he could not refrain from saying that it was right I should do so, that people might see the favor which the King showed to me. He need not have told me, for I understood quite well that he was only trying to make people believe that your Majesty approved of all they had done, and they were not ashamed at Calais to try and persuade the French that if only his (your) Majesty had provided that the Pope should not trouble the affairs of Italy, that you intended to reform the Church in your countries as they had done. This I know on good authority, and when I spoke of it to Cromwell he said not a word.

At the beginning of our conversation, before entering on any of these subjects, Cromwell made two complaints to me on the part of the King his master: First, that his (your) Majesty allowed a German doctor, named Cochlaeus, to publish the most defamatory books against the King, and that worse could not be said against a Jew or a devil; second, that the [372] King's ambassador to the Waywode had been detained prisoner by the king of the Romans. As to the first, I replied that your Majesty would be very sorry for it, and would take what measures you well could; but the King must consider that the affairs of Germany being in such liberty and disorder, it was very hard

to control all tongues, which are now so unbridled that they have no respect either to God or to their own princes; and since the said Cochläus was in the country of duke George of Saxony, this King, who has long regarded him as his friend, would do well to write to him about it. As to the second, I said I did not know well what to reply, not having received information of it from the king of the Romans; and perhaps the said ambassador had been detained without his knowledge; but that, even if it had been done by his commandment, this King would have greater cause to complain of the rashness of his ambassador than of the said King's conduct, seeing that, as I was informed by certain merchants, the king of the Romans had refused the said ambassador passage through his lands, and not without good reason, considering that matters between him and the Waywode were in the way of arrangement, which the said ambassador might have interrupted; at least it was open to suspicion, considering the intelligence the English had hitherto had in Germany. Moreover, they were well aware that the king of France, without just occasion, indeed I might say without any, had kept the bishop and cardinal of Burgos (*Burgez*), your Majesty's ambassador coming from England; and, if I might be permitted to say so, the despatch of the said ambassador at that time was fully justified by various considerations; and, further, that the Waywode had no ambassador here, and neither the king of France nor any other prince had any ambassador with the Waywode. He replied that he never thought the said ambassador a wise man, and still less now, if he had been so foolish as to enter the lands of the King without his leave, and that certainly the King his master had only sent him to manage some little business at the intercession of Gregory de Casale, his brother, and that he ventured to affirm that during the six or seven years the said ambassador had been at Venice on behalf of the King they had not written him two letters, so that the king of the Romans will be much mistaken if he expects to get any news out of him, and as little will he get out of the Secretary of the Way wode who had been here, who is said to have been taken in company with him, for he is a fool, and for such the King had christened him from the first time he spoke with him. I expected he would have accompanied these two complaints with that of the intelligence of your Majesty in Ireland, but he made no sign. As to the news from that country, nothing has been said for a long time; but now it is said that the King has sent men and munitions. He continues to forge artillery, and has sent since the return of the deputies from Calais a good quantity to the island of Guernsey, being apprehensive of the French. The Princess also has been informed, on good authority, that it was feared there would soon be war with the French.

On the 17th, the good bishop of Rochester was sentenced to death for refusing to swear to the statutes made to the prejudice of the Pope and of the Queen; and on the 22nd his head was cut off in the place where the duke of Buckingham suffered.

The regret and compassion of the people is inconceivable. He was very earnestly solicited after he mounted the scaffold to comply with the King's wish on an offer of pardon; but he refused, and he died very virtuously. There was given him as confessor one of his great enemies, the greatest Lutheran in the world and patron of all the *diableries* here, yet he does not cease to say that one of the most holy men in the world has been put to death. Cromwell told me that the Pope was the cause of his death, who had done very ill and very foolishly in making him a cardinal, seeing he was the worst enemy the King his master had, and [373] that his Holiness had excused himself even more foolishly to Gregory de Casale, saying that he had done it because the Pope intended to convoke the Council, in which cardinals were to be present from all countries.

The bishop of Terbez, nephew of the cardinal Grammont, came here three days ago to reside in place of Morette. He was at Calais at the time of the meeting, intending to cross at that time, but as matters did not proceed as some expected, he returned into France with the Admiral to take new deliberation; and I am informed that, by report of one of his servants, he is charged to speak very strongly in behalf of the Princess, and use threats, in case of refusal, that Francis will at all events allow the Pope to proceed, whom till now he had restrained from launching the censures against the English, and he showed himself ready to obey the commands of the Holy See. The said bishop and Morette sent yesterday

morning to Cromwell to ask him to dinner, but he excused himself, and sent to tell them he knew well what they were to speak with him about, and that they might say it to the King if they pleased. Which answer they did not take well.

The King's master gunner returned three days ago from Lubeck and Denmark, and it is said he has brought with him 100 fellows, gunners and captains, and old soldiers, but only two have come to this town with him, of whom one is a brother of the captain of Lubeck. London, 30 June 1535.

French, from a modern copy, pp. 7.