

1982

The politics and composition of Henry VIII's privy council 1540–1547

Alan George Moore
College of William & Mary - Arts & Sciences

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarworks.wm.edu/etd>



Part of the [European History Commons](#), and the [Political Science Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Moore, Alan George, "The politics and composition of Henry VIII's privy council 1540–1547" (1982).
Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects. Paper 1539625191.
<https://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21220/s2-sknk-4h49>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses, Dissertations, & Master Projects at W&M ScholarWorks. It has been accepted for inclusion in Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects by an authorized administrator of W&M ScholarWorks. For more information, please contact scholarworks@wm.edu.

THE POLITICS AND COMPOSITION OF HENRY VIII'S
"PRIVY COUNCIL
1540 - 1547

A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of the Department of History
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

by
Alan Moore
1982

APPROVAL SHEET

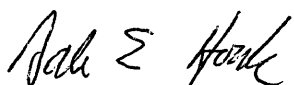
This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts



Author

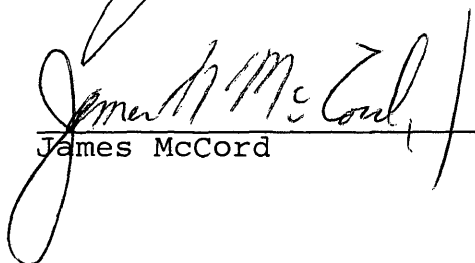
Approved, December 1982



Dale E. Hoak



A. Z. Freeman



James McCord

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF TABLES	iv
ABSTRACT	v
INTRODUCTION	2
CHAPTER I. THE PRIVY COUNCILLORS	7
CHAPTER II. COUNCIL POLITICS, 1540-1547	66
BIBLIOGRAPHY	119

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. The Privy Council, 10 August 1540	10
2. The Privy Council, 6 January 1543	83
3. The Privy Council, 1 July 1544	90
4. The Privy Council, 1 August 1546	104

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to identify the men serving on the Privy Council of King Henry VIII during the last seven years of his reign and to discuss the internal politics of the council.

Councillors were identified by their appearance in the register of the Privy Council and records of oaths of office preserved in that register. The internal politics were reconstructed by examination of letters of individuals, reports of ambassadors, and actions and communications of the council.

Although the period 1540 to 1547 is generally thought to be a time of intense competition between factions of opposing religious convictions, the sources reveal a fluid political climate. Religion surfaced occasionally as a political issue, but council factions more often reflected the fortunes of dynamic coalitions of courtiers at Henry's Court.

It is suggested that the efforts of younger courtiers to seize a greater portion of royal patronage by advancing to higher Household and military offices was the dominant political motivation of the period.

THE POLITICS AND COMPOSITION OF HENRY VIII'S
PRIVY COUNCIL
1540 - 1547

INTRODUCTION

Henrician central government achieved a hitherto unmatched level of efficiency and professionalism under the direction of Thomas Cromwell. At the apex of royal administration, Cromwell transformed Henry's inner circle of councillors into the formal Privy Council. Just as government before Cromwell looked to the personality of the King, however, the efficient government of the Cromwellian years depended on the ability and personal power of Cromwell. Following Cromwell's execution in 1540, no single councillor emerged to assume direction of the administration. In the absence of a clearly dominant councillor, factional politics interrupted the process of administration. Bitter intrigues marked the last years of Henry's reign.

To date, little has been written about the composition and politics of Henry's Privy Council from 1540 to 1547. I intend to reconstruct the membership of the council and to determine which councillors held offices of state and the Household during the period. The study will also explore the internal politics of the Privy Council, paying special attention to the problem of identifying members of the factions. In four episodes factional conflict reached a potentially disruptive intensity: the reaction to Cromwell's

fall, the efforts to align England with the Holy Roman Empire against France, the long, draining war against France, and the last months of Henry's life. These episodes reveal the alignment of rivals within the council. In addition to uncovering the leaders of the factions, the episodes also identify councillors who remained neutral or who vacillated in their support for one or the other faction.

Despite Cromwell's efforts to wrest control of finance from the Household and give the Privy Council an existence independent of the variations of the monarch's policy, the council dealt with two problems of administration in a traditional fashion. The first was the enormous task of victualing and transporting military expeditions and the King's official tours. Of the latter, the most notable was Henry's tour of the North from July to October 1541. Planned to awe the rebellious Northerners into submission, the royal procession presented problems of housing, transport, and victualing. Even more ambitious were the great military expeditions against Scotland and France. Sixteenth-century warfare pitted larger armies and heavier artillery against each other than had previous strategies, and campaigns took months of preparation and storage. So vast were the problems of victualing and arming the armies that the council appointed a treasurer specifically to administer campaign money. Ralph Sadler held the position for the forays into Scotland, and Richard Riche resigned the chancellorship of the Court of Augmentations in May

1544 to devote his energies to the invasion of France. The council met these formidable challenges by assigning victualing, supply, and transport to the Household officers: St. John, Great Master; John Gage, Comptroller; and Anthony Wingfield, Vice Chamberlain; all usually under the supervision of Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester. Household officers, because of their familiarity with responsibility and handling large sums of money, had traditionally overseen victualing of expeditions. Although governmental money was now assigned to specific departments, the Privy Council appointed the Household officers because they were capable men unencumbered by departmental duties. The resilience of the old Household administrative forms is worth noting.

The second administrative problem concerned the Privy Council's definition of its role in government. The Privy Council executed royal policy with the professional, bureaucratic machinery of Westminster. Although Cromwell made the council a permanent structure for administering the day-to-day business of the Crown, Henry and the Court remained the center of patronage. The Privy Councillors, straddling the modern and traditional components of the government, could not both advise the King and oversee their departments if Henry left the capital. The chancellor, treasurer, and privy seal by tradition constituted the core of the council, being the principal officers of state. Henry's frequent absences from London, usually

during the summer, necessitated a split of the council into a body at Court and a body in the capital. In this study, the councillors traveling with the Court will be referred to as the council-with-the-King and the London body, the London council. The privy seal and treasurer traveled with the Court, while the lord chancellor and the chancellors of Augmentations and of First Fruits stayed with their larger bureaucratic machinery in London. The register of the council traveled with the Court instead of remaining in the seat of the government. The London Council bore little resemblance to the Privy Council; it met not as a committee of the Privy Council, but as the most prominent government officials present in the capital. Besides the Privy Council members present in the capital, chief justices from common law courts, treasurers from government departments, and gentlemen of the Privy Chamber met to consider routine matters of administration and, occasionally, to execute orders from the council-with-the-King.

On 10 August 1540 Henry appointed William Paget clerk of the Privy Council.¹ Paget's duties consisted of keeping a register of the business and activity of the council. By Henry's action, the Privy Council became a formal constituent of government. Unlike the amorphous King's Council, the Privy Council now had a formal record not only of its business, but of its membership as well. The council admitted new members only by administering a formal oath to them, an event recorded by the clerk in the register.

These records serve as the basis for determining the membership of the Privy Council.

Note to the Introduction.

¹OPC., pp. 3,4.

CHAPTER I
THE PRIVY COUNCILLORS

The Privy Council of 1540 differed little in composition from the earlier councils of Henry's reign. Between 1509 and 1527, the King's councils consisted of twenty-one peers, twenty-nine prelates, thirty-six knights, and twenty-nine men of law.¹ The Privy Council register from 1540 to 1547 lists more peers than any other group, but the principal offices of state were held by life peers whose origins lay with the lawyers and gentry filling Household and government departmental positions. The Privy Council after 1540 maintained a fairly even balance of peers, prelates, knights, and men of law. In this chapter, the lives of the privy councillors will be discussed as revealed in the primary and secondary sources on this subject. Before listing the councillors, I will make some brief observations on the structure of the Privy Council during Henry's last years.

As the standing committee of government administration, the Privy Council constituted the council "attending upon his most Honorable Person." The order of 10 August 1540 appointed a clerk to keep a register of proceedings and attendance, thereby fixing the membership of the body (see

Table 1). Beyond the directive to confer with the King "upon any cause or matter," the council's only specific purpose was to hear "poor men's complaints on matters of justice."² Its membership, though, equipped the council to direct and oversee virtually all matters of government. This arrangement contributed to the serious financial difficulties of the kingdom at the end of Henry's reign. Henry and the courtiers, planning military expeditions, had little regard for the protests of the Longon council or their reports of desperate machinations to find enough cash to satisfy pay orders. Privy Councillors remaining in London suffered from only occasional contact with Henry and obscurity among foreign ambassadors at Court. When Sadler, then a principal secretary remaining in London, was sent to the Tower, the French ambassador, Charles de Marillac, remarked that a man unknown to him and "little seen at court" had been arrested.³ Marillac had no difficulty identifying Secretary Wriothesley, who served at Court. During Henry's travels, Household officers and courtiers enjoyed far more contact with the King.

This subordination of the London council was not entirely without exception. In June 1543, as the French plunged into the Low Countries, Henry moved swiftly to outfit an expeditionary force to aid the beleaguered Netherlands. To speed pay orders through the administration, he ordered the Privy Seal and Signet sent to the London council. The register, in this instance, stayed at Court. In July 1544, however, the Privy Council and register remained

with the Regency in London, even though the principal members journeyed to France with Henry. The dilemma of the Privy Council was that it could not be both the administrative apex of the government and the source of patronage, office, and influence. Tied to the bureaucracy of Westminster, the chancellors gave up contact with Henry. At the same time, the lord high treasurer and privy seal, traveling with the itinerant Court, were officers of state in name only. In many respects the Privy Council was an extension of the Court.

The demands of war kept the Privy Council tied closely to the Court. War not only kept government money in the hands of Household officers, it subordinated fiscal considerations to insistent and immediate pay orders from Court. War altered the character of the Privy Council in yet another fashion. Without the wars between 1540 and 1547, the political careers of the earl of Hertford and viscount Lisle could not have prospered so dramatically. War kept courtiers who could command an army at the center of government planning and usually ensured the favor of a bellicose and impetuous king. Apart from the success of Hertford and Lisle, the repeated calls for defense and mustering of the King's army also ensured that lesser councillors would participate in policy making. The council divided responsibility for defense of the realm into areas corresponding to the councillors' local influence. Norfolk in East Anglia, Thomas Cheyney in Kent and Sussex, and Russell, St. John, and Anthony Browne in Portsmouth and the West played vital roles

under this system. Councillors with administrative duties remained in the background during time of war. Ironically, the wars fought to support the Catholic Emperor did much to keep Hertford and Lisle welcome at Court and check the influence of the conservative administrator and diplomat, Gardiner.

Generally, attendance at Privy Council meetings reflected political influence. However, Cranmer enjoyed the protection of Henry without attending regularly, Browne seldom missed a meeting and influenced affairs very little, and the powerful Hertford and Gardiner attended only intermittently. Normally, Privy Council meetings provided a formal opportunity to make and execute policy. One needs only to see the triumph of Gardiner after his return from Ratisbon, the bitter complaints of Norfolk at his exclusion from the council, and the clear superiority that Wriothesley enjoyed over Sadler and Paget over Petre to realize that, however much the official records obscure the realities of Court intrigue, the Privy Council was the formal arena in which political influence was both established and undone. The Household officers, courtiers, and bureaucrats held their council seats by virtue of office; personal relationship with Henry; administrative, diplomatic, military, or, in the case of Cranmer, religious distinction; or expertise in civil, canon, or common law. At the apex of royal administration, the council united important men in an advisory body.

TABLE 1

THE PRIVY COUNCIL: 10 AUGUST 1540

Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury

Audley, chancellor

Norfolk, high treasurer

Suffolk, great master of the Household and president of
the council

Southampton, privy seal

Sussex, great chamberlain

Hertford

Russell, high admiral

Tunstal, bishop of Durham

Gardiner, bishop of Winchester

Sandys, King's chamberlain

Cheyney, warden of the Cinque Ports and treasurer of the
Household

Kingston, comptroller of the Household

Browne, master of the Horse

Wingfield, vicechamberlain of the Household

Wriothsesley, Principal Secretary

Sadler, Principal Secretary

Riche, chancellor of Augmentations

Baker, chancellor of First Fruits and Tenths

Thomas lord Audley of Walden, lord High Chancellor (1488 - 1544).

With the exception of Riche, no other councillor has born so much revilement as Audley. One biographer condemned the chancellor as a "submissive instrument in the hands of Henry VIII."⁴ The disgust with which some historians regard Audley follows from his central roles in mouthing the official argument that Henry's marriage to Katherine of Aragon constituted a grave sin, helping Cromwell draft legislation, administering the oath of loyalty to the second marriage, carrying the attainder against Cromwell through Parliament, and requesting first pick of monastic lands. Apart from these stigmata, Audley discharged his duties efficiently until his resignation because of deteriorating health in April 1544.

Audley emerged sporadically from the chancery in the time he served during this period, usually attending in the winter when the Privy Council met in Westminster. Even in comparison with Wriothesley, his successor, Audley appears almost withdrawn from the major domestic and foreign issues of the day. His chronic poor health probably accounts for his reclusion. He met frequently with the London council and divided his time between responsibilities to that body and the chancery, which always remained in the capital, until 21 April 1544, when Audley "thinking himself unable, through infirmity of body, to do his office, sent the Great Seal in a white leather bag to the King."⁵

He died thirteen days later.

Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury (1489 - 1559).

As preeminent prelate of England, Cranmer was entitled to a seat on the council. Cranmer spent most of the seven years attending to the administration of his see and solidifying the native character of the young Church of England by composing and translating liturgies. He attended no council meetings in 1540 and attended seventy-five per cent of a month's meetings for the first time in December 1541, during the Howard trials. Later in the reign, he broke his absence from the council only seven times from May 1545 to July 1546. Cranmer's council seat was by no means honorary. He was often called upon to administer government affairs in the absence of other councillors. The archbishop sat at meetings of the London council and held a position on the Regency council during the French war. In light of the numerous and vain attempts of his enemies, especially Gardiner, to secure his deprivation and execution, Cranmer's absention from politics probably received the King's hearty approval. Despite the prelate's retiring manner, his importance as a political figure cannot be dismissed. Cranmer symbolized the protestant character of the break with Rome, which explains the efforts by Gardiner and the Imperialists to drive him off the council. When Guron Bertano, the papal representative, appeared before the Privy Council in August 1546, Cranmer broke his absence and participated in this confrontation of protestantism and Catholicism.

The Act of Six Articles placed on Cranmer the difficult task of restraining the growth of English protestantism. Although the act probably struck a harder blow at English Anabaptists than the more cautious protestantism he explored at this time, Cranmer was obliged to inquire into rumors of heresy in Kent and the rest of the Southeast. On 2 September 1540, the Privy Council ordered Cranmer to inquire into enforcement of the Six Articles in Calais. A letter followed on 1 November requiring him to send a "Dr. Benger" to the Tower.⁶ Not surprisingly, Gardiner's departure for Ratisbon brought some relief from these orders. On 3 February 1542, however, Cranmer asked the Convocation of Canterbury to consider whether the Great Bible translated under Cromwell's sponsorship needed revision. A conservative group of prelates led by Gardiner thought the translation in need of considerable revision and so sought to dominate the committee appointed to consider the New Testament. Gardiner went so far as to demand, on 17 February, that Latin be retained for certain words to prevent heretics from twisting their meanings. Nonetheless, Cranmer endured no direct attacks during the convocation.

The most serious challenges to Cranmer came in 1543. A new Anglo-Imperial defense treaty brought Gardiner and two other councillors of Imperial sympathies, Russell and Wriothesley, to the peak of their influence. The pro-Imperial councillors were eager to demonstrate to Charles V that 1534 had brought England merely Catholicism without

a Pope. The campaign against heretics in early 1543 won their support. Henry too had reservations about the radicalism of the 1530's and ordered the reformulation of Anglican doctrine in the King's Book, read on 5 May. The political climate of the spring of 1543 apparently encouraged Gardiner to move against his rival in April. According to Foxe, Henry intervened at the last moment to save Cranmer.

None of the official sources contain the above incident, but the Prebendaries' Plot of late 1545 is recorded. The incident involved a complaint by the clergy of Canterbury regarding innovation in religion in that see. The clerics appealed to Russell ostensibly after having failed to get satisfaction from Cranmer, because "he would have his judge out of Germany." In truth, as the testimony revealed, the incident grew out of a conversation between Gardiner and a prebendary at Canterbury, Dr. Willoughby, during a journey from Ratisbon. Willoughby complained of Cranmer's lax attitude toward heresy in Kent, and Gardiner encouraged Willoughby and his fellow clerics to list their grievances, promising protection from Cranmer's fury: "Yfe his matters be true and ryghtius he shall have frynddes enow; for yfe my lord of Contorbory should poneche them wrongfully, yt will be gretly to his rebook and henderance." Willoughby's complaint was placed in the hands of John Baker, chancellor of First Fruits, who appears to have entertained hopes of advancement through the affair, and a

Mr. Moyle, speaker of Parliament and officer in General Surveyors. Baker and Moyle brought the matter to Russell's attention, who pressed the appeal to Henry. The threat to Cranmer collapsed when Henry placed the archbishop in charge of the inquiry. Bishop Parker of Ely comments: "King Henry, being divers times by Bishop Gardiner informed against Bishop Cranmer, . . . perceiving the malace, trusted the said Cranmer with th'examination of these matters."⁷ The return to war ended most of the intrigues against Cranmer.

Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk, High Treasurer (1473 - 1554).

Crusty, haughty, and ambitious, Howard epitomized the traditional landed aristocrat. To understand the vehement attack that burst upon Norfolk late in 1546, one must look at the Howard family and its powerful position at Court and in the North. The Howards held their birthright independent of Tudor largess, tracing their line to Anne, third daughter of Edward IV. Thomas Howard's father carried Richard III's standard at Bosworth. Norfolk presided over a family entrenched at Court and viewed with alarm and disgust the encroachment of junior Tudor nobility and commoner bureaucrats on positions in the government. Among the immediate Howard clan at Court were his brother, lord William, and nephew, Charles, both prominent courtiers; his impulsive son, Henry, earl of Surrey; and his neices, Ann Boleyn and Catherine Howard. Howard also had bloodties

to Robert Ratcliffe, earl of Sussex, Great Chamberlain. In 1540 the Howards stood at the peak of their influence in this seven-year period: Catherine and Henry were married on 28 July, Surrey and Charles enjoyed promising careers as courtiers, William was soon to be named ambassador to France, and Norfolk was working to negotiate a marriage between Princess Mary and the duc d'Orleans. By the end of 1541, Catherine was waiting for the scaffold, other Howards were in prison, and Norfolk himself may have suffered from the duke's eclipse by younger military commanders and from Surrey's rash and impolitic words and deeds.

Norfolk's career fits awkwardly into a model of a Privy Council split between conservative Catholics and radical Protestants. Certainly Hertford and Norfolk competed bitterly for Henry's favor. Also, Chapuys reported that Norfolk interceded with Henry in 1545 to save Gardiner from imprisonment by his rivals.⁸ Norfolk's actions also suggest that the duke possessed no other design than to repair the fortunes and position of his family. The champions of the protestant faction were fellow courtiers who had made their reputation in the army and now challenged the Howards' grip on the army and Court. Gardiner's conservative theology and eminence at Court made the bishop a valuable ally and a check upon the upstart Seymours and Dudley. There is no evidence, however, that Norfolk preferred one theology to another. Indeed, in June of 1545,

Norfolk sought in vain to unite the Howards with the rising Seymours by marriage.⁹ The aging duke staked his fortunes on leading a family to power.

The Howards were England's leading family in 1540: Catherine watched her uncles, brother, and cousins fill important places at Court, and Norfolk enjoyed the lieutenant-captaincy of England's armies. With Suffolk in poor health and Hertford yet untried, Norfolk had only one serious rival for command of Henry's armies: Southampton, lord Privy Seal and one-time lord High Admiral. The Howards had maintained ties with France since Anne Boleyn's reign, and Norfolk continued to advise the French ambassador of events at Court. Whether from conviction or rivalry of Norfolk, Southampton emerged the staunchest ally of Eustace de Chapuys, the Imperial ambassador. In the fall of 1540, England faced the decision of either allying herself with France through a Valois-Tudor marriage or forming an alliance with the Habsburgs. Norfolk and Southampton soon became principal spokesmen for opposing policies.

Norfolk may have held the advantage in September of 1540. Documents found in Chapuys's house linking the ambassador to intrigues at Court angered the King and many councillors. Unfortunately, Norfolk's frequent journeys north in the winter to oversee fortification of Carlisle and the borders left French interests in the more humble hands of Cheyney. With Southampton's and Russell's bold intercession at Court and Gardiner's encouraging reports from

Ratisbon, the Imperial party recovered and rose in prestige.

Norfolk accompanied Henry on his tour of the North in the summer of 1541. The Court returned that autumn in the face of proof of Catherine Howard's inconstancy before and during her marriage. Catherine's guilt was clear, and Norfolk led his fellow councillors in denouncing the Queen.¹⁰ Testimony soon revealed, though, that many Howards had known of Catherine's affairs and failed to inform the King. On 2 December, Norfolk discreetly returned to his country estates. Lord William Howard entered the Tower on 9 December, followed by the duchess of Norfolk on the tenth, and the countess of Bridgewater, Catherine's aunt, on the thirteenth. Only Catherine was executed, but the Howards' prestige at Court evaporated. Norfolk returned to Court on 15 January 1542. After weeks of being kept at arm's length by Henry, the duke remarked angrily, in a pun on Fitzwilliam (feu villien), to Marillac: "Look at that little villain, he wants already to compass all the power in the kingdom and imitate Cromwell, but in the end he will pay for all."¹¹ He left for home on 4 April, having spent the spring, Marillac wrote, as "one very ill in body besides being mentally worried."¹²

Norfolk's departure left Marillac with the hopeless task of negotiating with Southampton to breathe new life into the Valois-Tudor courtship. Marillac's angry outbursts of frustration at Southampton's, and now Gardiner's, Imperial sympathies made the ambassador's recall a certainty.

England was bound to contribute at least to the defense of the Empire in the summer, and war preparations began in June. Moreover, Henry wished to cow Scotland into declining the inevitable French offer to resume the "auld alliance." Henry needed his soldier-courtiers to make war, and by 20 June Norfolk was again at Court enjoying the favor due a general.¹³

As England prepared for war in the summer of 1542, the Howards worked to rebuild the family fortunes. Norfolk received the lieutenant-captaincy of the expedition against Scotland on 24 August and left immediately for York. There, on 5 September, Norfolk, lord William, and Surrey held a council-of-war. Henry had pardoned most of the family and gradually restored their lands during the summer, and Norfolk knew that the Scottish campaign was a rare opportunity to vindicate the family. The expedition did him little credit. Short of carriage and food, the army consumed supplies for days before marching toward Kelso on 22 October. Before the six-day campaign ended, Henry wrote an angry letter to Norfolk criticizing the poor planning and provisioning and accusing the duke of embarrassing him before the world. The letter ended with the appointment of Hertford to be Warden of the Marches.¹⁴ A shaken Norfolk replied that Bishop Holgate, president of the Council of the North, failed to have food and carriage at Newcastle as ordered.¹⁵ Holgate denied his negligence and offered to produce evidence supporting his position.¹⁶ Norfolk

attempted to save face by advising new attacks in the borderland. In doing so, he offended his ambitious subordinate, Hertford, the new Warden of the Marches. Hertford wrote a scathing letter accusing Norfolk of irresponsibility and threatening to inventory the state of the army and present a full report of his findings. In late November, the duke returned to Court. The Scottish campaign, far from demonstrating the importance of Howard military skills, cast Hertford in a promising, new light.

Chapuys remarked nervously on Norfolk's return from Berwick that "the duke being too much of a Frenchman, I am afraid he will perhaps do us harm and spoil our game."¹⁷ His fears were unfounded. Norfolk was exhausted, disappointed, and ailing from the campaign. Although he attended Privy Council meetings occasionally, he spent most of his time in East Anglia. In obedience to Henry's pro-Imperial stance, he severed his ties to Marillac and joined in discussions with Chapuys to coordinate the future invasion of France.

Henry named Norfolk on 18 February 1544 to lead the vanguard of the army. He arrived in Calais on 8 June and, by July, had laid seige to Montreuil. Again, a shortage of food and ammunition and inadequate planning crippled Norfolk's army. A French counterattack obliged Norfolk's retreat to Boulogne, where the rest of the council had gathered. At Boulogne, Norfolk committed one of his most serious errors of judgment. Without the King's permission, the

council at Boulogne ordered a retreat to Calais. Henry was shocked and demanded to know the reason for the retreat. Norfolk and the rest of the councillors argued that Boulogne was indefensible and that Calais was threatened by the French advance. The furious King retorted that their excuses sought only to hide their incompetence, "to moch aparent to indifferent yees."¹⁸ Norfolk returned on 1 November to a Court that looked now to Hertford and Lisle for military leadership. The future had been foreshadowed in October, when Henry was named Hertford to the commission to treat with France, although Norfolk was already in Calais.

Norfolk held positions of secondary responsibility during 1545 and 1546. In the spring of 1545, with England preparing to meet a French invasion, Norfolk was ordered to survey the coast from Yarmouth to Orford Ness in his home territory of East Anglia. As Suffolk's health deteriorated, Norfolk added Essex to the sphere of his responsibility. Meanwhile, Surrey destroyed his chances of succeeding to his father's position of leadership by mishandling the defense of Boulogne in 1546. An Imperial envoy, Cornelius Scepperus, wrote that Surrey was "coldly received and did not have access to the King" on his return to Court. Norfolk, Scepperus noted, was not present to greet his son.¹⁹

Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, Great Master of the King's Household and President of the Council (d. 1545).

Suffolk, like Norfolk, served his king on the battlefield. But if the Howards proudly proclaimed their

independent heritage, Suffolk owed his fortunes to Tudor favor. Brandon's father served Henry VII as standardbearer at Bosworth, and, although Charles and Prince Henry were close companions, Suffolk was regarded as something of an upstart among nobility. As did most of the older generation of Henry's soldier-courtiers, Brandon earned recognition in the invasions of France in 1513 and 1523.

Suffolk's death on 24 August 1545 had little immediate effect on council politics, the duke having attended meetings sporadically because of his military assignments. Although his widow, Mary D'Willoughby, formed part of the Protestant cricle around Katherine Parr, Suffolk's ideology probably resembled Norfolk's aristocratic anticlericalism. He certainly shared Howard's distain for Wolsey. When Campeggio adjourned the legatine court in 1529, Suffolk "gave a great clap on the table and exclaimed, "by the mass, now I see that the old said saw is true that there was never legate nor cardinal that did good in England."²⁰ Suffolk held Hertford and Lisle in high regard, and the duke's death at the height of the French wars created an opportunity for Hertford to win Henry's confidence away from the Howards.

Robert Radcliffe, earl of Sussex, Great Chamberlain of England (1483 - 1542).

Like most of the older nobles who gathered around Henry's throne in the last years of his reign, Radcliffe built his career on tenure of minor Household offices, service in

the expeditions against France in 1513 and 1523, and establishment of a personal relationship with the King. The first official register of the Privy Council lists Sussex as great chamberlain. Because his post was a Household office and because he continued to be a confidant of the King, Sussex rarely missed a council meeting. Illness apparently prevented him from attending after October 1542, and he died in December 1542.

That the chamberlain's duties had become largely ceremonial is clearly demonstrated by the succession to Sussex's office and that of William lord Sandys, the King's Chamberlain. The chamberlains traditionally supervised the maintenance of the Household, a task that necessitated an intimate working relationship with the King. In view of his relationship with Henry, Sussex held an appropriate position. The successors to Sandys and Sussex show how hollow the offices had become. The earl of Hertford, a soldier often absent from Court and council, succeeded Sussex as Great Chamberlain, and Sandys' office lay vacant from 4 December 1540 to 16 May 1542. Anthony Browne, Master of the Horse, and Anthony Wingfield, Vice-Chamberlain, seem to have managed the Household between them. The intimacy with the monarch that chamberlains enjoyed was usurped by Cromwell's creation, the Principal Secretary.

William Fitzwilliam, earl of Southampton, lord Privy Seal (d. 1542).

Fitzwilliam is reported to have been a poor scholar,

but a fluent speaker of French. This gift proved the key to building the diplomatic experience that made him the most versatile of Henry's older courtiers. A principal officer of state, the earl usually remained at the King's side. Southampton traveled with the Court, appearing rarely at meetings of the London council. Instead, the earl led a party of lesser councillors at Court (Russell, Browne, Gage, and Wriothesley) in convincing the King to forego opportunities for a Valois-Tudor marriage alliance and to align England firmly with the Habsburgs. As discussed briefly above, Norfolk, the other Howards, and Cheyney, were working closely with the French ambassador, Marillac, to promote the marriage. Chapuys, the Imperial ambassador, whose position suffered from exposure of his involvement in certain intrigues, reported on 23 December 1540, that Southampton had defended him in audience with Henry. The earl's argument did not please the King, and Henry interrupted Southampton angrily several times.²¹ Chapuys, nevertheless, recovered his influence and held a deep respect for Southampton thereafter.

On 1 November 1541, after the King had returned to London from the procession through the troubled North, Southampton reported to the council "siche things of importance as had bin passed among the Cownsell attending upon the Kings parson during the progresse, and in what terms all other things dyd this present stonde, aswell outward matters as matters of the realm."²² This report marks the

beginning of Southampton's greatest prestige at Court. The Howard trials of December 1541 shattered that family's influence and, moreover, crippled Marillac's last efforts to stop England's tilt toward the Habsburgs. In early February 1542, Marillac and Southampton quarreled, resulting in the ambassador's virtual banishment from Court until Spring.²³ On 16 April, the Imperial ambassador wrote to the Emperor that Southampton and Wriothesley enjoyed the greatest influence and credit with Henry.²⁴

Henry prepared to invade Scotland in the fall and sent Southampton to Berwick to assist Norfolk in provisioning the gathering army. The earl fell ill almost from his arrival in the North and weakened rapidly in October. Before his death, he sharply criticized the provisioning of the army in several letters to Wriothesley. Although he refrained from criticizing Norfolk directly, his letters indicate a marked displeasure with Norfolk's handling of the campaign: "Howe, Mayster Saycratore, what a trobell it is to a trew hart to se his mayster's goudes thus spent!"²⁵ Southampton's successor Hertford wrote similar letters after his arrival, although the ambitious Seymour did not refrain from openly criticizing Norfolk. Southampton had been Norfolk's greatest rival before 1542; Hertford would contend with the duke for Henry's favor after 1542.

Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, lord High Admiral, lord Great Chamberlain (1506? - 1552).

Edward Seymour belonged to the younger generation of

courtiers at the late Henrician Court. Unlike Southampton, Suffolk, and the other older nobles who grew up with the King, Seymour was only about three years old when Henry ascended the throne. His relationship with Henry was not founded on longstanding friendship, although Henry liked Seymour. An ambitious peer with military experience, Hertford was a strong candidate to become one of the King's lieutenant-generals. Two circumstances worked in Hertford's favor. First Suffolk and Norfolk, Henry's generals for most of the reign, were aging, and Suffolk probably helped Hertford assume greater responsibilities. The other element had far more decisive implications for English politics. The earl of Surrey, Norfolk's son, stood in a position to contest Hertford's inheritance of the realm's military command. The rivalry between the upstart noble and Henry Howard, though, was often blurred by the foolish arrogance and actions of the latter. In the short span of this study, Surrey earned imprisonment for disorderly conduct twice, insulted the Emperor, and jeopardized the security of Boulogne. Nevertheless, the Seymour-Howard struggle formed an important part of the politics of Henry's Court after 1540.

The ambitious Hertford found ample quarrels with the Howards. As early as 1542, Hertford's acerbic attacks on Norfolk's administration of the Scottish campaign brought a warning from Secretary Wriothesley to show more discretion. Attributing Hertford's rivalry with the Howards to

religious differences is a less easy task. Hertford's wife belonged to an erasmian devotional group at Court that included Queen Katherine Parr, but no concrete evidence exists regarding Hertford's inclinations at this time. Most arguments for Hertford's protestantism rely on the following excerpt from a letter of Hertford to Henry: "God's service, which consisteth not in jewels, plate, or ornaments of gold or silver, cannot thereby be anything diminished, and those things better employed for the weal and defense of the realm."²⁶ Hertford's opinion, solicited by a warring King desperate for money, shows as much prudence as theological inclination. The above passage nevertheless demonstrates Hertford's familiarity with protestant thought. Ambition rather than theology explains the earl's behavior during this period.

While Norfolk led the underfed English armies into Scotland in October 1542, Hertford remained in Westminster. The sudden deaths of Southampton in October and Sussex in December, coming on the heels of Norfolk's bungled campaign, provided opportunities for Hertford to advance his position. On 21 October, Hertford arrived in Berwick to assume Southampton's duties. Five days later word arrived from Court that Hertford would become high admiral and remain in the North as Warden of the Scottish Marches. The office involved long absences from Court guarding a remote frontier from the nearly constant threat of attack, and Norfolk had previously implored Henry to award the office to another

out of regard for his poor health. In vigorously declining the honor, Hertford pleaded a lack of experience and household furnishing fit for the office. The council replied on 2 November that another would assume the office, but Hertford must remain until his replacement arrived.²⁷

Hertford's appointment as high admiral secured his participation in military affairs, at least temporarily. Moreover, he observed Henry's vexation with the Scottish campaign before leaving the Court and used his brief tenure in Berwick to criticize sharply Norfolk's handling of the invasion. So incessantly did he remark on the state of the garrison that Wriothesley informed Hertford he could no longer avoid presenting Hertford's reports as direct attacks on the duke.²⁸ On his return to Westminster, Hertford was relieved of the admiralty and given the office of Great Chamberlain on 8 February 1543.

The awarding of the office, which had lain vacant since Sussex's death, was not an effort to detour the young noble's struggle to become Henry's foremost general. Rather, like the awarding of High Treasurer to Norfolk and Great Master of the Household to Suffolk, it recognized Hertford's importance as a soldier-courtier of considerable lineage. Although historically a key Household office, the Great Chamberlain had been reduced to a mere title by Cromwell's reforms. Like High Treasurer Norfolk, the new Great Chamberlain had ample leisure to lead the King's armies.

The opportunity came with England's return to continental

wars in 1544. Henry prepared to secure his northern flank with a blow at Edinburgh. Observers knew as early as 18 February that Henry would choose Hertford to lead the campaign, and, on 6 May, the earl landed at Leith in command of the invading army.²⁹ The English razed Edinburgh after unsuccessfully laying siege to the castle. On 15 May, word arrived from Westminster that Hertford would join the army in France after he returned from the North.³⁰ His recall, however, did not arrive until 10 June, and he arrived in Westminster to learn that he had been appointed a member of the Regency Council serving Queen Katherine Parr. The invasion meanwhile halted before the walls of Montreuil and Boulogne, and hopes for the long-planned thrust at Paris ebbed. After weeks passed and the towns continued to hold out, Hertford at last received orders to come to France, joining Suffolk before Boulogne on 2 September.³¹ Sixteen days later, Henry marched into Boulogne as the Emperor made peace with the French at Crepy. With the French armies turning their full strength against the English, Henry's safety became a paramount concern. The King was back in London on 30 September, probably in the company of Hertford. Hertford's return was a stroke of good fortune, for he avoided the King's fury that settled on Norfolk and Suffolk when the two generals evacuated Boulogne against Henry's orders. When Charles V offered to mediate the Anglo-French conflict, Henry passed pointedly over the older generals and commissioned Hertford and Gardiner to treat with French

representatives in Brussels.³² After a month of vain negotiation, Hertford and Gardiner left Brussels on 21 November. ~~The episode demonstrates Henry's increasing confidence in Hertford, not only as a soldier, but also as a statesman.~~ In addition, foreign ambassadors now began to take notice of the rising general. Chapuys and Francois van der Delft met with Hertford on 3 January 1545 to discuss a trade dispute between England and the Empire.³³

England remained on the defensive throughout the summer of 1545 as rumors of imminent Franco-Scottish attacks from the North alternated with reports of a French army-by-sea approaching from the South. Hertford was named King's Lieutenant and Captain-General in the North on 2 May and remained in the marches until he led a fierce raid into Scotland in September.³⁴ By 24 October he was again sitting with the Privy Council.

The rivalry between Hertford and Surrey grew sharper in the summer of 1545. The duke of Suffolk died in August. Despite a spotty record and reputation, Surrey was appointed general of the Boulogne garrison on the 25th of that month.³⁵ Almost from the beginning, Surrey mishandled the opportunity to impress the Court with his capabilities. Surrey wrote glowingly of Boulogne's defenses and urged the King not to return the town to France. To a Privy Council worried by empty treasuries and desperate for peace, this was a shocking and gross irresponsibility. The Privy Council, as a servant wrote to Surrey, saw what they had "worketh in for

the rendry of Bowleyne and the concluding of a peace, in vi days, ye with your letters set back in six hours." Norfolk stormed that "he had rather bury you and the rest of his children before he should give his consent to the ruin of the realm."³⁶ In January 1546 Surrey led a foolhardy skirmish with the French that met with serious losses. His reputation at Court ruined, Surrey received a note from Paget announcing Henry's appointment of Hertford as lieutenant-general of the Boulognaise and suggesting that Surrey seek a place in the army to gain more experience.³⁷ Hertford left for Boulogne on 22 March at the head of 5,000 men.³⁸ He was now unchallenged as England's most accomplished general.

John lord Russell, lord High Admiral (1486? - 1555).

This capable soldier and courtier earned Henry's favor not merely from friendship, but because the King appreciated Russell's intelligence and courage. A master of several languages, Russell served on many treaty delegations and diplomatic assignments, including an embassy to Pope Clement. At the time of the first Privy Council register, Russell held the office of lord High Admiral.

Russell, together with Southampton, stubbornly guarded the Imperial ambassador's access to Henry and spoke out against proposals for an Anglo-French alliance throughout 1540 and 1541. In addition to having blood ties to Southampton, Russell appears to have long been a foe of the Francophiles at Court, particularly Thomas Cheyney. While

Knight Marshal of the Household, Russell fell into a dispute with Cheyney over the wardship of Russell's stepdaughter. The quarrel grew sufficiently bitter for Russell to earn the anger of Cheyney's relative, Anne Boleyn, a dislike not assuaged by Russell's later intercession for Wolsey before Henry.

Russell's career as diplomat in association with Wolsey convinced him of the importance of maintaining amity with the Emperor. For this reason, his religious sympathies lay with the conservatives. Chapuys claimed that Russell wanted reconciliation with the Pope "more than any" of his fellow councillors.³⁹ As preparations for the Scottish campaign occupied increasing portions of Southampton's time, Russell assumed the responsibilities of the Privy Seal for his ally and friend. The demands of the Privy Seal administration on aging and warring nobles had encouraged a mechanism to transfer the duties of the office to younger men while leaving the ceremonial trappings of the Privy Seal to the older, preoccupied courtiers. The title Keeper of the Privy Seal permitted individuals of lesser rank to assume responsibilities to the department without forcing the lord Privy Seal to relinquish his office. In the same manner, Audley, and later Wriothesley, took the title of Keeper of the Great Seal until the office of High Chancellor became vacant. Russell is first described as "Keeper of the Privy Seal" on 12 June 1542.⁴⁰ Southampton probably used his influence to secure the Keeper of the

Privy Seal for Russell. On 30 June Chapuys remarked that only Southampton and Wriothesley enjoyed the King's favor at that time. Russell, Chapuys continued, had enjoyed some favor, but clearly depended on the former two for support.⁴¹

Still officially Admiral of England, Russell commanded the navy from Westminster in August and September. Following the sudden death of Southampton in Berwick, Russell succeeded the earl as lord Privy Seal and was installed on 3 December, seldom leaving the Court in 1543. Henry's decision to lead his armies to France in 1544 compelled the council-with-the-King to accompany him. Russell received the command of the rearguard of the army in March, and he arrived in Calais on 20 June, joining Norfolk in the unsuccessful seige of Montreuil.⁴²

Although the rivalry between Hertford and Surrey overshadows the military roles he filled, Russell was an accomplished military leader. He raised levies in the West, his familial seat of influence, and, in the spring of 1545, as the Privy Council frantically prepared the realm for a French invasion, Russell left for Exeter to oversee the defense of the West. Russell was a classic example of the soldier-courtier who by tradition held the English offices of state. In this respect, Russell had more in common with Hertford or Lisle than with the bureaucrats on the council.

Cuthbert Tunstal, bishop of Durham (1474 - 1559).

Unlike the soldier-courtiers described above, Tunstal brought a notable education into a career as one of Henry's

most skilled diplomats and outspoken critics. After the Council of the North responded to the Pilgrimage of Grace by supplying the rebellion with leaders instead of containing it, Henry replaced the body with a new council holding permanent jurisdiction. Before the rebellion, the Council of the North had been under the nominal leadership of Henry's bastard son, the duke of Richmond. The new council was more responsible to the Crown, with a lord Lieutenant of the North acting with the King's authority in the most crucial council business. Tunstal served briefly as the new council's president before Robert Holgate, bishop of Llandaff, replaced him. In 1540 Tunstal still served in the North, where the bishop's familiarity with the region and skill at diplomacy made him an invaluable advisor to the Council of the North.

Government in the North struggled not only with the problems of asserting central authority in a remote region, but also with an ambiguous jurisdictional relationship with the Warden of the Scottish Marches. In theory the Warden was responsible for the security of the border lands, and, by implication, chief executive within those areas. In practice, after the installation of the new Council of the North, the Warden retained responsibility for Marcher security, but was expected to defer now to the executive authority of the lord Lieutenant of the North. If this ambiguity created chronic disorder and jealousy during calm periods, it threatened to seriously disrupt organization of military

campaigns. The problems of victualing the invasion of 1542 may have resulted from poor coordination between the two jurisdictions. Chronically short tenures of both offices hobbled efforts to reach personal agreements. Five Wardens served between July 1542 and October 1543, and an equal number of Lieutenants of the North served between January 1541 and October 1545. Tunstal's continuing presence and advice helped to smooth relations between the officers. In April 1543, Tunstal warned the Warden, William lord Parr, not to challenge or infringe upon the jurisdiction of the new Lieutenant of the North, Hertford.⁴³ Tunstal remained in the North until October 1545, when Henry commissioned him to negotiate an Anglo-French peace with Paget and John Tregonwell, an attorney. The following July, Tunstal formed part of a ceremonial embassy to Paris to witness the signing of a peace treaty.

Tunstal remained one of the most respected courtiers during Henry's reign. His relationship with other councilors was usually amiable. Lisle spoke warmly of the old bishop and his advice in a letter to Henry while Lisle was serving as Warden in 1543.⁴⁴ Tunstal's long stay in the North, which would have ruined a younger man's career, probably came out of a genuine respect for his diplomatic skill.

Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester (1483? - 1555).

The French ambassador, Marillac, wrote to his king on 16 November 1540 that Gardiner had been chosen to represent

England at the Diet of Ratisbon. Henry selected Gardiner, the ambassador opined, because the bishop was the councillor most able to demonstrate to the Emperor that England remained "as before in religion" without compromising the Act of Supremacy.⁴⁵ The French ambassador to Brussels, though, marveled that Gardiner, "who has as much authority with the King as Cromwell had," would dare to be absent from Court.⁴⁶ Both observations throw light on Gardiner's position in the fall of 1540. Gardiner believed that England's future lay in economic and political alliance with the Empire. Keenly aware of England's political isolation, Gardiner regarded further religious reform as dangerous for the realm, a view that probably matched Henry's in late 1540. At the same time, Gardiner enjoyed hardwon influence at a Court where absence often ruined a career. Indeed, the foreign policy debate that broke out after Gardiner's departure left Southampton in the King's favor. Gardiner spent most of 1541 in Ratisbon sounding out Imperial officials on an Anglo-Imperial treaty of amity amid reports that Norfolk and other Francophiles were pressing the King for an anti-Imperial alliance of petty rivals that would include France, Denmark, Venice, and the Schmalkaldic League. The Venetian delegate to Ratisbon wrote that Gardiner visited Charles V and his chief minister frequently and that preliminary negotiations for a treaty had probably begun.⁴⁷

Gardiner returned to London in October, determined to win Henry's commitment to an Imperial treaty, but the

expected collision between the Imperial and French parties never took place. Catherine Howard's conviction swept the Howards from Court, leaving only Cheyney to speak for the French ambassador. Despite growing momentum for the treaty negotiations, Gardiner remained in the shadow of Southampton and Wriothesley throughout most of 1542. Southampton's death at Berwick in October 1542 placed Gardiner at the fore of treaty negotiations at a time when Henry's theology took a conservative turn. Only a month before the reading of the King's book, Chapuys wrote that the bishop enjoyed great power at Court and that the French "hate him like poison."⁴⁸

With the publication of the Anglo-Imperial treaty in May, Henry's thoughts turned from theology to war. Gardiner continued to be in close contact with Chapuys, but remained in Westminster when the Court left for the country in the summer. During the war years of 1544 to 1546, Gardiner assumed the thankless duty of overseeing, with Gage, the victualing of the great expeditions against Scotland and France, a position that left him open to much criticism from the generals. On 27 April 1544, the Privy Council wrote to Hertford and Lisle that Gardiner and Gage had been obliged to answer for food shortages during the expedition to destroy Edinburgh.⁴⁹ Even Norfolk, his old ally, criticized the victualing, writing from France on 11 June: "If ye continue in th'opinion that the said proportion of victuals rated to be carried will serve, ye shall be deceived, or else the King's servants here and I be

marvellously abused, which by proof we see at our eye."⁵⁰
 The hard pressed victualer compared poorly with the popular
 generals, especially Hertford and Lisle, at this time.
 Gardiner's irascibility also hurt his prestige in council
 circles. Paget wrote to William Petre on 1 November 1544:
 "My lord of Wynchestre hath certain affections in his head
 many time toward such men as he greatly favoureth not (a-
 mongst whom I account Mr. Wotton, because the man writeth
 sometimes his mind plainly of things as he findeth them
 there) and when he seeth time, can lay on load to nip a
 man; which fashion I like not and think it devilish."⁵¹

The unexpected France-Imperial peace of Crepy cooled
 Henry's desire for making war and started long negotiations
 for peace. Henry sent Gardiner on 7 October to Brussels
 with Hertford to attend talks mediated by the Emperor.⁵²
 The negotiations ceased after a month, and Gardiner re-
 turned to organize supplies for the defenses against the
 French attacks expected in 1545. Again Charles V offered
 to help secure peace, and Gardiner left for Brussels on 17
 October 1545.⁵³ He returned on 22 March 1546 and left again
 for Boulogne on 2 June to help complete work on the peace
 treaty with France.⁵⁴

Three reasons may be found for Gardiner's uncertain
 status at the beginning of 1546. First, diplomatic and
 supply duties during the war years prevented the bishop
 from maintaining the close contact with Henry that princi-
 pal courtiers and generals enjoyed. Second, assuming the

difficult duty of victualer left him open to constant criticism from the commanders, even Norfolk. Finally, Gardiner's scheming and sarcastic manner and, probably, his open efforts to destroy Cranmer alienated at least the Principal Secretaries. The bishop's status had deteriorated so far that when, in October, Lisle struck him in the face during a Privy Council meeting, the admiral suffered only a month's banishment from Court.⁵⁵

Sir Thomas Cheyney, Warden of the Cinque Ports, Treasurer of the King's Household (1485? - 1558).

Thomas Cheyney was a traditional courtier - at home at Court and the battlefield - although he never attained the peerage. Cheyney did not attend Privy Council meetings consistently, being absorbed during wartime in the defense of the Cinque Ports and, occasionally, serving in expeditions under Suffolk and Hertford. Moreover, the importance of the office of treasurer of the Household waned considerably both with the advent of the departmental systems of finance and with the Household under the capable supervision of St. John, Great Master of the King's Household.

Cheyney remained at Court during the winter of 1540 and spring of 1541, conferring with Norfolk and Marillac. The hopes of the Francophiles, who had remained confident during Gardiner's absence, virtually ceased under the double blow of Gardiner's return and the trial of Catherine Howard. With England gradually moving into the Imperial camp, the Cinque Ports saw increasing activity as men and

materials flowed to Calais and the Low Countries. Cheyney attended Privy Council meetings with decreasing frequency. In addition to administering the Cinque Ports, Cheyney mustered men in the Southeast to aid the Low Countries during the French invasion in 1542.⁵⁶ As Crown expenses soared, Henry placed another responsibility on Cheyney. Although the new departments rationalized government income and expenses, they tended to cloud the status of the realm's ready cash. Cheyney, as treasurer of the King's Household, and Cranmer, set about to determine the state of the King's wealth.⁵⁷ The investigation marked the beginning of great pressure to undo the efficient fiscal administration begun by Cromwell and to siphon available liquid revenues for war.

By the middle of 1543, Cheyney again found himself at odds with Chapuys. The ambassador pressed for an urgent counterinvasion to relieve pressure on Brussels. Cheyney was in command of an English force to be sent to Calais, but he stubbornly refused to countenance plans for a thrust from Calais, arguing that it was too late to mount an invasion of France in 1543. Chapuys intimated angrily that Cheyney was "inclined to France," recalling his Burgundian ancestry and time spent there as a diplomat.⁵⁷ The great invasion of France did not begin until 1544, though, during which time Cheyney served under Suffolk at the siege of Boulogne. Following the restoration of peace with France in 1546, Henry selected Cheyney to act as Henry's proxy at

the christening of the Dauphin's son in Paris.⁵⁸

Sir William Kingston, Comptroller of the Household (d. 1540).

William Kingston died on 14 September 1540. His successor, John Gage, will be discussed here instead.

Sir John Gage, Comptroller of the Household (1479 - 1556).

Gage proved himself an able administrator in the years before England's invasion of France. In addition to managing the King's Household, he performed special tasks on the orders of the Privy Council. After Catherine Howard's execution in 1542, Gage dismissed the late Queen's household, thereafter acting as governor of it.⁵⁹ Later that year, with Southampton near death, Henry ordered Gage, "being a dear friend and alliance to the said lord Privy Seal," to succeed Southampton as chancellor of the ducy of Lancaster.⁶⁰ Gage achieved no higher office than chancellor of the duchy during Henry's reign. His skill and trustworthiness won the onerous duty, with Gardiner, of victualing the armies during the war years. On 28 June 1544 he was in Dover supervising preparations to ship arms and grain, and, ten days later, traveled to Calais to oversee distribution of beer shipments from England.⁶¹ He remained with Suffolk's camp at Boulogne for the rest of the summer and participated in the retreat from Boulogne that drew Henry's fury in October. Henry nevertheless chose Gage to join the commission to treat for peace through Imperial mediators at Calais.⁶²

The discussions were futile, and on 30 April 1545, Gage received a new commission to victual Boulogne.⁶³ The general panic ensuing from the appearance of French galleys off the Isle of Wight forced Gage's return from Boulogne. He spent the remainder of the summer in the Dover area to coordinate the supplying of garrisons stretching from Margate to Portsmouth. Again, in February 1546, he was named a victualer for Boulogne.

Despite the mundane character of Gage's activity, his credentials as a conservative are fairly strong. In addition to his friendship with Southampton, Gage was father-in-law to Browne, a zealous Catholic. As an officer of the King's Household, Gage could not easily be denied access to the Court and rarely missed council meetings. One may assume that Gage became the bedrock of the conservatives during the summer of 1546.

Sir Anthony Browne, Master of the King's Horse (d. 1548).

Half-brother to Southampton and son-in-law to Gage, Browne was an intimate friend of Henry, investing Francis I with the Order of the Garter in 1528 and standing as proxy for the Cleves marriage in 1540. Like the other officers of the King's Household, Browne was in almost constant attendance at Court and rarely missed a Council meeting.

Browne's Catholicism translated into firm support of the Imperial party. He acquired some prestige at Court,

but, Chapuys speculated, his standing grew out of harmony of opinions with Southampton and Wriothsesley rather than native ability.⁶⁴ Marillac agreed that Browne was the most vocal of the anti-French party.⁶⁵ Unlike Russell and Gage, Browne received no new offices for his support of Southampton.

Sir Anthony Wingfield, Vice-Chamberlain (1485? - 1552).

Wingfield played a very minor role outside of the administration of Household affairs. He held the ceremonial title of captain of the King's Guard at Calais during the campaign of 1544 and assisted in supervising supply shipments leaving Dover for Boulogne in 1546.

Sir Thomas Wriothsesley, Principal Secretary, lord Chancellor of England (1505 - 1550).

Thomas Wriothsesley's political record is a criss-cross of swift defections and timely reconciliations: he abandoned Gardiner twice and Cromwell once on the way to becoming earl of Southampton in Edward VI's reign. Wriothsesley's career began at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, where he became friendly with Gardiner, Paget, and Thirlby. He left Cambridge without taking a degree to follow Gardiner to Court to seek employment, which he found as a clerk of the Signet in 1530. By 1534, Wriothsesley had left Gardiner to work under Cromwell. Wriothsesley's active participation in the visitation of the monasteries won him manors carved from former monastic lands and the increasing ill will of Gardiner.

Under Cromwell, Wriothsesley developed a mastery of administration and assisted Cromwell's reforms so assiduously that by 1537 he was supervising not only his fellow Signet clerks, but the Privy Seal clerks and Cromwell's personal staff as well. His appointment as Principal Secretary in April 1540 merely lent official recognition to the duties he had been performing.

Cromwell's sudden fall jeopardized Wriothsesley's career. Gardiner instigated charges that Wriothsesley had illegally retained monastic lands. The charges were dropped by 29 June, only to be followed by new accusations on 14 December. Fifteen days later, Wriothsesley was cleared of the new charges.⁶⁶ On 18 January 1541, Marillac reported "an unexpected and important event:" Sadler had been sent to the Tower and Wriothsesley examined "on ticklish articles." "Others have arisen," the ambassador wrote, "who will never rest till they have done as much to all Cromwell's adherents."⁶⁷

Wriothsesley survived, however, to make peace with Gardiner. He remained at Court throughout the summer, accompanying Henry on the Northern Tour. Wriothsesley's new sympathies lay with the Imperial party, and, working closely with Southampton, he became a leading figure at Court and in the Privy Council. In April 1542, Chapuys remarked that the secretary and Southampton, of all the councillors, enjoyed the most "influence and credit" with Henry.⁶⁸ Wriothsesley succeeded in January 1543 to the Chamberlain of the

Exchequer, vacated by Sussex's death.

Although Wriothesley had limited legal expertise, he was sworn lord High Chancellor on 4 May 1544. Audley had resigned the Great Seal officially on 21 April, and Wriothesley served as lord Keeper until Audley died at the beginning of May.⁶⁹ Wriothesley had evidently been promised the chancery much earlier. He had become eligible for the keepership by elevation to the peerage on 1 January, and as early as 8 April signed a letter "lord Chancellor Wriothesley."⁷⁰ Wriothesley probably began to assume the ailing Audley's duties shortly before he became a peer.

The cumbersome machinery of the chancery required Wriothesley's constant presence and ended his diligent attendance at Court and in the Privy Council. When the invasion of France began, Wriothesley remained in Westminster with the Regency Council. Wriothesley's duties as Chancellor were eclipsed by his responsibilities at the Exchequer during the war years. The ceremonial office inherited from Sussex now became a crucial tool in locating and maintaining a steady flow of liquid capital to finance Henry's armies. On 1 March, Wriothesley, St. John, and Riche received a commission to sell royal lands and lead for revenue. The preamble of the commission confidently announced that "it is expedient to prepare a mass of money by sale of the King's possessions, because he will not at present molest his loving subjects for money unless thereto coarted."⁷¹ Only a year later, Wriothesley was "at his wits end how to shift

for the next three months."⁷² Wriothesley remained preoccupied with Crown finances until 1546.

Wriothesley's status had declined by 1546. His swift and pliant rise to prominence left many councillors wary of his support, but his training had more important limitations. Wriothesley emerged from Cromwell's demise as the only councillor with a grasp of administration on a Cromwellian scale. This talent may have saved him, however narrowly, from following his master to the Tower. He nevertheless lacked sound diplomatic experience and military prowess, both valuable assets in the last years of the reign. Finally, the Chancery and Exchequer kept him away from the publicity and influence of the Court. Like Audley before him, Wriothesley the chancellor became executor, rather than definer, of royal policy.

William lord Sandys, Chamberlain of the King's Household
(d. 1540).

Sandys attended a majority of Privy Council meetings in November 1540 before traveling to Calais where he died on 4 December. The office of Chamberlain of the King's Household remained vacant after Sandys' death until 16 May 1542 and from 23 November 1545 to 25 July 1546, when the office was filled probably for political reasons. As discussed above, the administrative duties of the office appear to have been absorbed by the Comptroller, the Master of the Horse, and the Vice-Chamberlain, while the Principal Secretaries superseded the traditional intimacy of the

Chamberlain with the King.

Sir Ralph Sadler, Principal Secretary (1507 - 1587).

A trusted protege of Cromwell, Sadler carried out several delicate diplomatic assignments in Scotland both before and during the early days of this period. The secretaries were originally to alternate work at Court and in the London council in six-week intervals. Sadler's diplomatic activity at the beginning of 1540 relegated him to a virtual subordinate position, as Wriothesley established himself as the permanent secretary at Court, and Sadler met with the London council when not in Scotland. In this instance, circumstance evolved into convention. Thereafter, one Principal Secretary, the secretary at Court, always took precedence over his London colleague, as with Wriothesley and Paget, and Paget and Petre.

Sadler's quiet service in London failed to protect him from Cromwell's enemies in the fall of 1540. In August, Christopher Heron, a former servant of Sadler, and his brother, Henry, were arrested on charges of treason. Sadler wrote to Wriothesley protesting the arrests and the charges were dropped on 12 September.⁷³ On 17 January 1541, Sadler was arrested and placed in the Tower. Although Marillac called the incident "unexpected and important," he confessed that he did not know Sadler's name, the secretary being "little seen at court."⁷⁴ The arrest came to nothing, and Sadler signed the Privy Council register on 20 January and

received a commission to search Cromwell's books and papers three days later.⁷⁵

Sadler remained in Westminster with the London council during Henry's tour of the North. On 13 March 1543, Sadler received instructions to travel to Edinburgh to inquire into the intentions of the governor, James earl of Arran. Arran stood at the fore of a purported English party that, after capture at Solway Moss, pledged to work for Henry's interest in Scotland, including delivery of the infant Queen Mary into English custody. Henry suspected Arran of stalling and sent Sadler to urge faster progress. Sadler realized immediately that the English misjudged the depth of Scottish nationalism. The Scots, he wrote on 27 March, "had liever suffer extremity than be subject to England, for they will have their realm free and their own laws and customs."⁷⁶ Sadler too suspected Arran of weakness, but warned Henry in vain to proceed cautiously. After a summer of vague promises, Arran went over to David cardinal Beaton's Francophiles in September. Enraged, Henry seized Scottish shipping, an act that so fanned Edinburgh opinion that Sadler wrote that he feared for his safety. Henry responded with a menacing letter to the Town of Edinburgh on 9 September that, the Privy Council reported to Sadler, warned "in case your finger should ache by their means all Edinburgh shall rue it together."⁷⁷ Sadler returned home to England under Browne's escort on 6 November.

Sadler's mission and English diplomacy in Scotland had

been a failure. Moreover, he had lost the secretariat in April because of his long absence.⁷⁸ Sadler was now Keeper of the Wardrobe, and thus effectively an officer responsible for handling large sums of money. Thereafter, he maintained an ambiguous relationship with the council much like Riche's and Baker's, attending only to report the state of revenues in the Household. As the pressure of the wars blurred the distinctions between departmental revenues, Sadler served in a variety of offices of fiscal responsibility. In 1544, he was treasurer for the invasion of Scotland, accompanying Hertford to Edinburgh, and in 1545 prepared a report on the state of revenue in the realm.

Sir Richard Riche, Chancellor of Augmentations (1496? - 1567).

Riche was part of the circle of men of middling fortune invited to sit on the Privy Council and contribute their knowledge of law. His education consisted of study at the Middle Temple. He was also attached to Wolsey's household. Following Wolsey's fall, he helped assess the cardinal's lands. He evidently possessed a sound knowledge of the law, because he became attorney-general for the King a year later. During this time he developed an expertise in handling the properties of the small monasteries that were already being dissolved. Cromwell selected Riche to be the executive of the Court of Augmentations, and on 13 April 1536, Riche was released from his duties as soliciter-general to devote his energies to organizing the new department. He

was formally named Chancellor of Augmentations on 24 April 1536 and probably sworn of the Privy Council shortly thereafter.

Cromwell intended the new department to administer all new revenues of the Crown, especially those revenues from monastic lands. During the dissolution, its business consisted of granting pensions to those displaced, disposing of monastic property, and surveying newly acquired lands. After the dissolution, the court handled claims against the Crown and revenues from the new holdings. In addition to rationalizing the Crown finances, the Court of Augmentations proved to be a flexible and efficient alternative to the ponderous machinery of the Exchequer. Riche, as chief executive officer, passed final judgment on litigation in the court, took custody of the court's seals, and signed all warrants for revenue expenditures. Because the Privy Council received all requests, claims, and information regarding Crown finances and directed them to one of the new courts, Riche had much contact with the Privy Council. He sat on the Privy Council, moreover, by virtue of the £112,390 that entered his department each year.⁷⁹ Riche also contributed his legal expertise during treaty negotiations. In October 1540, Riche and Baker, "learned in laws and statutes," joined Tunstal and Gardiner in answering questions regarding a recent treaty.⁸⁰

As the litigious work of the dissolution eased, the new wars created a huge demand for ready cash. At the same

time, Secretary Paget took on most of the demands of English diplomacy. Riche and Baker found themselves called on increasingly to use their legal skills to investigate and administer potential sources of revenue. On 1 March 1544, Riche received a commission to sell royal lands and lead to raise war money.⁸¹ In that year revenues of £253,292 entered Augmentations.⁸²

Riche resigned the chancery of Augmentations in favor of Edward North, treasurer of the department in April 1544. On 1 May, Riche was appointed "Treasurer of our wars against France and Scotland."⁸³ As was Tudor practice, Riche and North held the office jointly during North's apprentice period until Riche left for Calais with the war treasury in July. Although no longer Chancellor of Augmentations, Riche did not give up his place on the council nor did North join the council. Like Sadler, Riche sat occasionally to advise the council on the state of the revenue supply. With Sadler in December 1545, Riche prepared a report on all revenues in the various revenue departments.⁸⁴

Sir John Baker, Chancellor of the Court of First Fruits and Tenths (d.1558).

Baker, like Riche, climbed to prominence through a thorough knowledge of law. In 1535, Parliament diverted the flow of English church revenue, which had gone to Rome, into the royal treasury. The Court of First Fruits and Tenths was organized to handle the new revenue, and Baker was appointed to be the court's chancellor. He also sat on the

Privy Council because of the size of his department's revenue. While Wards and Surveyors managed rather small annual sums, the £80,000 average annual revenue that First Fruits handled was surpassed only by Augmentations from 1536 to 1544.⁸⁵

His formal appointment as Chancellor of First Fruits and Tenths did not take place until 4 November 1540, Baker having acted previously in the capacity of attorney-general.⁸⁶ He had little contact with the Privy Council, attending only during sessions in Westminster and then irregularly. Like Riche, his legal skills were applied to raising revenue during the war years. As early as 28 June 1543, though, Baker was appointed Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer, and he may have resigned the chancery of First Fruits.⁸⁷ A letter of 26 December 1544 was addressed to the "Vicetreasurer of England," not to the Chancellor of First Fruits.⁸⁸ Thus, by 1544, the Privy Council had three men. Sadler, Riche, and Baker, employed specifically to investigate revenue sources.

William Paulet, lord St. John, Chamberlain of the King's Household (1485? - 1572).

Having served as master of Wards and comptroller of the King's Household, St. John was the obvious choice for chancellor of Wards when the council created that department in 1540. Because the new court took in gross receipts of only about £10,000 annually, St. John, no lawyer, did not join the Privy Council upon creation of the new court.

He was not sworn of the council until 19 November 1542. The following 16 May he received the office of King's Chamberlain, vacant since Sandys' death in December 1542.⁸⁹

St. John shared the important commission of 1 March 1544 to sell lands and lead with Wriothesley and Riche.⁹⁰ He spent most of the summer, though, overseeing arms shipments from Dover to Calais. By 8 July he was in Calais to supervise the distribution of a large beer shipment.⁹¹ As the invasion bogged down, he returned to Dover, but continued to manage returning supply shipments until December. Henry commissioned St. John to victual the navy on 7 May 1545.⁹² He spent the summer in Portsmouth area working closely with Admiral Lisle. After Suffolk's death in August, St. John succeeded the duke as Grand Master of the King's Household.

Thomas Thirlby, bishop of Westminster (1506 - 1570).
Mr. Robert Dacres (d. 1543).

In early June 1542, two new members were sworn of the Privy Council. Thirlby, an associate of Gardiner, would spend most of the remaining five years of the reign on diplomatic assignments. Dacres, a lawyer, appeared infrequently before his death in 1543. Thirlby emerged from Trinity Hall, Cambridge, the college of Gardiner, Paget and Wriothesley, with a doctorate of civil law (1528) and of canon law (1530). Thirlby associated with Gardiner at Trinity Hall, and Gardiner may have assisted in procuring new advancements for the young man. Thirlby received the see of

Westminster on 17 December 1540 and joined the Privy Council on 4 June 1542. Both advancements occurred when Gardiner enjoyed influence at Court. This evidence, together with Thirlby's appointment as ambassador to Spain, suggests that Thirlby's religious and political doctrines followed Gardiner's very closely. Henry appointed Thirlby, Petre, and others in April 1545, to meet with an Imperial trade delegation led by Chapuys at Gravelines.⁹³ On 25 July, Henry appointed Thirlby to replace Dr. Wotton as ambassador to Charles V.⁹⁴ Thirlby remained in the Empire during the struggles of 1546.

Robert Dacres joined the Privy Council on 5 June 1542. Previous to this, he served the Crown as a legal advisor, accompanying William Petre to examine charges against unidentified suspects in 1541.⁹⁵ During his brief membership on the council, Dacres attended sporadically, rarely being present at a majority of meetings held within a month. This would tend to support the conclusion that Dacres continued to investigate legal problems for the council after he joined the Privy Council. He died on 20 November 1543, and a document, dated March 1544, which assesses the war effort obligations of Henry's subjects, lists the cancelled name of Robert Dacres under the heading "The Counsaill."⁹⁶

William Parr, earl of Essex (1513 - 1571).

Although Parr lacked Hertford's military experience, the fact of his sister's marriage to Henry probably explains his advancement to captain of Henry's men-at-arms

in 1544. On 23 December 1543, he became earl of Essex, an honor followed by a place in the Privy council, where he first appeared on 5 February 1544.⁹⁷ He had served from April to October 1543 as Warden of the Scottish Marches, although he did not have a particularly distinguished military career.

Dr. Nicholas Wotton, dean of Canterbury and York (1497? - 1567).

A career diplomat, Wotton refused the invitation to ascend to a minor see, explaining that he disliked the distraction of spiritual duties. He took the deanery of Canterbury, and later of York, instead.⁹⁸

On 2 May 1543, Wotton assumed the important task of representing Henry at the court of the Queen Regent of the Low Countries, Mary of Hungary.⁹⁹ On 24 November Henry transferred him to Charles V's court, and Wotton accompanied the Emperor during the invasion of France.¹⁰⁰ Gardiner disliked Wotton and complained bitterly about Wotton's candid reports.¹⁰¹ The bishop's criticism may have influenced Henry to recall Wotton on 25 July 1545.¹⁰²

Wotton was sworn of the Privy Council on 7 April 1546, just prior to joining Petre in tariff negotiations with the Emperor.¹⁰³ On 17 April, Wotton, with Hertford, Lisle, and Paget, entered into negotiations with the French that resulted in the long-awaited peace treaty.¹⁰⁴ After the negotiations, Wotton joined Lisle and Tunstal on a ceremonial embassy to France.¹⁰⁵ Wotton remained at Francis I's court

through the end of Henry's reign.

Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, lord Chamberlain of the King's Household (1511? - 1580).

Arundel was sworn of the Privy Council on 25 July 1546, filling the office of lord Chamberlain of the King's Household.¹⁰⁶ St. John had vacated the office with his appointment to Great Master of the Household on 23 November 1545. St. John probably undertook the largely ceremonial duties of the chamberlain after his promotion, however. The decision to resurrect the old office, which had previously lain vacant after Lord Sandys' death in December 1540 until St. John filled it in November 1542, may have been an attempt to lend legitimacy to the soldier-dominated council by placing a noble of an ancient family in a Household office.

Dr. William Petre, Principal Secretary (1505? - 1572).

Petre, a government lawyer, replaced Wriothesley as Principal Secretary in January 1544. Paget, a popular figure at Court and among foreign ambassadors, clearly occupied the more influential position. As Sadler remained in Westminster while Wriothesley accompanied the Court, so Petre remained on the Regency Council when Paget followed Henry to Calais that summer. Petre and Paget developed a close working relationship and friendship. With England temporarily isolated and Henry's health failing, Petre took on additional diplomatic assignments to help the over-extended Paget. His first important diplomatic assignment

came in May 1545, when he joined Thirlby in negotiating a tariff dispute with the Low Countries.¹⁰⁶ The peace treaty with France freed Paget to devote his energies to the ailing King, and Petre once again took a subordinate role for the remainder of the reign.

John Dudley, viscount Lisle, lord High Admiral (1502? - 1553).

Sir William Paget, Principal Secretary (1505? - 1563).

On 23 April 1543, the Privy Council gained two additional members. Viscount Lisle, already High Admiral, filled a vacancy created when Southampton died in 1542. Paget became the junior Principal Secretary. The new men were to play decisive roles in the struggle for control of Prince Edward in 1541. Lisle, the son of Henry VII's ill-fated councillor, Edmund Dudley, grew up in the mold of a courtier. He served as Warden of the Scottish Marches from November 1542 to April 1543, advancing on 8 January 1543 to lord High Admiral.¹⁰⁷ He attended Privy Council meetings rarely, being engaged in patrolling the channel or attending to naval business, but Lisle was nevertheless a favorite of Henry. Paget came from far more humble stock and had come to Court on the shirrtails of Gardiner. Like his friend Wriothsesley, Paget found employment as a clerk of the Signet. Although Wriothsesley developed an expertise for administration, Paget spent much of his time abroad. The divorce crisis spawned a flurry of diplomatic activity, and Paget traveled much of the continent polling universities on the divorce question. Paget's frequent absences

from the Signet account for his failure to advance, while Wriothesley became Principal Secretary.

On 31 January 1545, Henry appointed Lisle Lieutenant-general of Boulogne and seneschal of the Boulognaise.¹⁰⁸ The French fleet menaced English shores all through the spring and summer of 1545, and Lisle left Boulogne almost immediately after his installation. But he was frequently absent from Boulogne and Surrey replaced him as lieutenant-general there on 3 September.¹⁰⁹ The Imperial ambassador, Francois van der Delft, noted with alarm that Lisle's standing with Henry had risen remarkably. The King spent March 1546 chatting and playing cards with Lisle and, at the end of March, appointed the admiral lieutenant-general-upon-the-seas.¹¹⁰ Lisle left the Court to join the peace negotiations in April.¹¹¹ Henry also selected him to take part in the ceremonial embassy to Francis I marking the end of hostilities.¹¹² He returned in August, however, to begin the crucial power struggle.

After the divorce of Anne of Cleves, whom he had served as secretary, Paget became clerk of the Privy Council on 10 August 1540.¹¹³ On 24 September 1541, as England edged toward continental involvement, Henry replaced the inadequate ambassador to France, lord William Howard, with Paget.¹¹⁴ The French court looked for an insult in being sent so humble an individual, and the Imperial ambassador wrote confidently of a new Anglo-Imperial treaty.¹¹⁵ Paget served capably, though, sending copious letters and

spiritedly returning French blusters. An Anglo-French rapprochement appeared so unlikely that Paget requested his recall as early as November 1542. Henry retained him, though, until the French completely abandoned hope for disrupting negotiations for the Anglo-Imperial treaty of May 1543. At the end of February 1543, Paget presented his letter of recall and departed for the Calais frontier.¹¹⁶ He was detained at the border until the French ambassador, Marillac, was released from English territory. Paget's release came on 18 April, and Paget became Principal Secretary five days later.¹¹⁷

In late September or early October, Wriothesley's health failed, and he returned to his Hampshire estates to recover, returning in December only to assume the duties of the ailing Audley.¹¹⁸ Paget's emergence as a significant power in the Privy Council began with his succession to the senior Principal Secretariat. Armed with the Principal Secretary at Court's grip on council proceedings and with considerable diplomatic experience, Paget became a respected and familiar figure at the Imperial court and in the letters of foreign ambassadors. The Franco-Imperial treaty at Crepy in October brought the grueling task of bringing an end to the war with France and preserving England's badly strained amity with the Empire. Between the treaty of Crepy and the Anglo-French treaty of Camp on 7 June 1546, Paget spent seven months away from Court negotiating with French and Imperial envoys in Calais and Brussels.

On the surface, the Privy Council of 1547 differed little from that of 1540--soldier-courtiers constituted over one-half of the membership, with a more or less equal number of clerics and men of law making up the remainder throughout the period. Two important changes had in fact occurred. First, new figures had replaced almost a generation of soldier-courtiers. Hertford, Lisle, Essex, and Arundel occupied the places held seven years before by Suffolk, Southampton, and Sussex. To a man, they were rivals, if not clear opponents, of Norfolk and his heir, Surrey. Although none were zealous Protestants, they shared a deep suspicion of the old duke's ally, Gardiner. The second change was more subtle. Already in 1540, royal finance lay in the hands of the men of law, leaving Norfolk and Cheyney treasurers in name only. The demands of war thrust the lawyers further into royal financial management. With the exception of St. John, all the financial managers in 1547, Wriothesley, Sadler, Riche, and Baker, owed their careers to Cromwell and the Reformation. On the other hand, the lesser nobles and knights, who tended to sympathize with Gardiner, held only ceremonial offices in the Household. They had preserved their contact with Henry by virtue of wartime demand for minor military commanders and victuallers. In 1546, however, England was at peace.

Notes for Chapter I.

- ¹William Huse Dunham, Jr., "Henry VIII's Whole Council and Its Parts," Huntingdon Library Quarterly, VII (November 1943), p. 11.
- ²OPC, p. viii.
- ³LPFD, XVI, 466
- ⁴Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee, eds., Dictionary of National Biography, I, London, 1921, p. 724.
- ⁵LPFD, XIX-I, 459.
- ⁶OPC, pp. 26, 28.
- ⁷LPFD, SVIII-II, 546.
- ⁸SPS, VIII, 386.
- ⁹LPFD, XXI-II, 554.
- ¹⁰SPS, VI-II, 244.
- ¹¹LPFD, XVII, 251.
- ¹²Ibid., 235.
- ¹³Ibid., 415
- ¹⁴Ibid., 987.
- ¹⁵Ibid., 997.
- ¹⁶Ibid., 1040
- ¹⁷SPS, VI-II, 80
- ¹⁸LPFD, XIX-II, 383.
- ¹⁹SPS, VIII, 226.
- ²⁰Stephen and Lee, II, 1128.
- ²¹SPS, VI-I, 144.
- ²²OPC, p. 264.
- ²³SPS, VI-I, 230
- ²⁴Ibid., 244.

- ²⁵LPFD, XVII, 821, 828, 844, 856.
- ²⁶LPFD, XVI, 446
- ²⁷LPFD, XVII, 987, 1002, 1016.
- ²⁸Ibid., 1123
- ²⁹LPFD, XIX-I, 118.
- ³⁰LPFD, XIX-I, 508
- ³¹LPFD, XIX-II, 174.
- ³²Ibid., 391, 479.
- ³³SPS, VII, 2.
- ³⁴LPFD, XX-I, 851.
- ³⁵APC, p. 235.
- ³⁶LPFD, XX-II, 738.
- ³⁷LPFD, XXI-I, 248.
- ³⁸SPS, VIII, 216.
- ³⁹SPS, VI-I, 144.
- ⁴⁰LPFD, XVII, 443.
- ⁴¹SPS, VI-II, 14.
- ⁴²LPFD, XIX-I, 271, 746.
- ⁴³Charles Sturge, Cuthbert Tunstal: Churchman, Scholar, Statesman, Administrator, London, 1938, p. 243.
- ⁴⁴LPFD, XVIII-I, 64.
- ⁴⁵LPFD, XVI, 269.
- ⁴⁶Ibid, 308.
- ⁴⁷SPV, V, 257, 258.
- ⁴⁸SPS, VI-II, 127.
- ⁴⁹LPFD, XIX-I, 411.
- ⁵⁰Ibid., 675.
- ⁵¹LPFD, XIX-II, 532.

- ⁵²Ibid., 391.
- ⁵³LPFD, XX-II, 627.
- ⁵⁴SPS, VIII, 216, 269.
- ⁵⁵LPFD, XXI-II, 347.
- ⁵⁶LPFD, XVII, 593.
- ⁵⁷SPS, VI-II, 114.
- ⁵⁸LPFD, XX-I, 1071.
- ⁵⁹LPFD, XVII, 92.
- ⁶⁰Ibid., 953.
- ⁶¹LPFD, XIX-I, 801, 872.
- ⁶²Ibid., 391.
- ⁶³LPFD, XX-I, 612
- ⁶⁴SPS, VI-II, 14.
- ⁶⁵LPFD, XVII, 631.
- ⁶⁶OPC, pp. 90, 102.
- ⁶⁷LPFD, XVI, 466, 467.
- ⁶⁸SPS, VI-I, 244.
- ⁶⁹LPFD, XIX-I, 459.
- ⁷⁰Ibid., 1, 304
- ⁷¹LPFD, XIX-I, 277
- ⁷²LPFD, XX-II, 769
- ⁷³OPC, pp. 11, 28
- ⁷⁴LPFD, XVI, 461, 466.
- ⁷⁵Ibid., 470; OPC, p. 122
- ⁷⁶LPFD, XVIII-I, 325.
- ⁷⁷LPFD, XVIII-II, 154, 155.
- ⁷⁸LPFD, XVIII-I, 458

- ⁷⁹Walter C. Richardson, History of the Court of Augmentations, 1536-1544, Baton Rouge, LA, 1961, p. 24.
- ⁸⁰LPFD, XVI, 168.
- ⁸¹LPFD, XIX-I, 277.
- ⁸²Richardson, p. 24.
- ⁸³LPFD, XIX-I, 446.
- ⁸⁴LPFD, XX-II, 1068.
- ⁸⁵Richardson, p. 24.
- ⁸⁶LPFD, XVI, 305.
- ⁸⁷LPFD, XVIII-I, 802.
- ⁸⁸LPFD, XIX-I, 277.
- ⁸⁹APC, p. 132.
- ⁹⁰LPFD, XIX-I, 277.
- ⁹¹Ibid., 872.
- ⁹²LPFD, XX-I, 671.
- ⁹³SPS, VIII, 48
- ⁹⁴Ibid., 103.
- ⁹⁵OPC, p. 270.
- ⁹⁶LPFD, XIX-I, 273.
- ⁹⁷LPFD, XVIII-II, 516.
- ⁹⁸LPFD, XIX-I, 901.
- ⁹⁹LPFD, XVIII-I, 491.
- ¹⁰⁰SPS, VI-II, 261; SPS, VII, 9.
- ¹⁰¹LPFD, XIX-II, 532.
- ¹⁰²SPS, VIII, 103
- ¹⁰³APC, p. 371; SPS, VIII, 236; LPFD, XXI-I, 588.
- ¹⁰⁴LPFD, XXI-I, 610.

- 105 APC, p. 472.
- 106 LPFD, XXI-I, 588.
- 107 LPFD, XVIII-I, 19.
- 108 LPFD, XX-I, 121.
- 109 LPFD, XX-II, 496.
- 110 SPS, VIII, 208; LPFD, XXI-I, 477.
- 111 LPFD, XXI-I, 610.
- 112 APC, p. 472.
- 113 OPC, p. 4.
- 114 LPFD, XVI, 1195.
- 115 Ibid., 1292.
- 116 LPFD, XVIII-I, 182.
- 117 Ibid., 450.
- 118 LPFD, XVIII-II, 293, 346, 438.

CHAPTER II
COUNCIL POLITICS, 1540 - 1547

We have seen that the relative proportions of the three major groups on the Privy Council changed very little. Nor, in the seven years following Cromwell's death, did the scope of offices held by the three groups expand: courtiers fought Henry's wars, clerics represented him in foreign capitals, and lawyers administered his fiscal and legal business. Notable exceptions, of course, exist: Norfolk's, Paget's, and Hertford's efforts in diplomacy; Gardiner's victualing of the wars; and Wriothesley's accession to lord Chancellor, but councillors seldom strayed out of the vocation they earned by birth or education. Pride of place went to the soldier-courtiers. The great offices of state, excepting the lord High Chancellor, were held by noble families who served Henry on the battlefield. The growing size and complexity of government, recognized by Cromwell's reforms, had long since rendered these ancient offices largely ceremonial, the day-to-day responsibilities of government resting in the hands of less aristocratic men. Thus, the services of the courtiers were valuable only during time of war. The seasonal nature of their influence gave an edge to their competition for position and Henry's favor

that was missing among the other groups. Unlike Paget among the lawyers and Gardiner among clerics, no single military commander enjoyed Henry's loyalty and favor. Norfolk, patriarch of the Howard family, and Henry's old friend, Suffolk, shared leadership of the armies for most of the reign. Between them and a new generation of successors, including Lisle, Hertford, Surrey, and Russell, lay a considerable gap in age and experience. Chapuys, on the eve of England's invasion of France in 1544, complained to the Emperor that England lacked skilled commanders for the armies she would field.¹ The younger generation of generals had held only minor posts in the previous expeditions against France and lacked experience in moving large armies in protracted campaigns. In spite of this, Henry's last seven years saw massive campaigns against Scotland and France. The question of who would command these expeditions was the primary political issue among the courtiers.

Gardiner's bitter attacks on Cranmer overshadow the unity of purpose that the bishop of Winchester shared with Thirlby and Tunstal. Cranmer's abstention from politics and sparse attendance at council meetings made him an anomaly among bishops of long diplomatic experience. The other bishops saw the future of the Church of England bound to England's amity with the Holy Roman Empire. Together with Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, the bishops represented Henry in Ratisbon, Brussels, and Madrid and maintained communication between the two realms. Only rarely did the

clerics dominate the council, though. All except Cranmer were accomplished diplomats, but Bonner never joined the Privy Council; Wotton's clerical offices served merely to support the career of a life-long diplomat, a fact that never escaped Gardiner's acid comments; and Tunstal suffered for his courageous defence of church prerogatives by virtual exile in the North. Often, only Gardiner represented the church in Privy Council sessions.

The men of law executed rather than devised royal policy. Wriothesley and Paget turned the office of Principal Secretary to their advantage, but the chancellors of the government departments and the lawyers attached to the council, Dacres and Petre, had little base of authority in the political struggles of their superiors.

In this section, the political struggles revealed in the state papers and diplomatic correspondence of the period will be discussed. Certain events between 1540 and Henry's death in January 1547 and the actions of particular councillors help to explain the motives, strengths, and weaknesses of the councillors. The sources used disclose a fluid political structure in which supposed allies in religion often appeared at cross-purposes. These sources record England's often fragile relationship with the Holy Roman Empire and France, and the interpretation they lend differs markedly from the usual theme of religious conflict.

Dramatic events always were reported in the letters of foreign ambassadors. An unexpected arrest or a violent

argument constituted the subject matter of many diplomatic reports to Brussels and Paris. The capacity of these incidents to reveal an unexpected disagreement or fall from favor made them important in the eyes of the ambassadors. The enthusiastic reports of an ambassador should not determine the importance of any single event. The complex process of a treaty or a political struggle between rival councillors took time to resolve and seldom hinged on a single event. The exposure and trial of Catherine Howard provides a good example. Catherine's guilt was clear from the beginning, and no contemporary in the sources considered the incident a confrontation between the Howards and the surviving friends of Cromwell. The trial did, however, play a decisive part in the English alliance of 1543 with the Empire, the culmination of a debate over English foreign policy that began two years earlier.

This study will concentrate on four eras that reveal a pattern of politics on the Privy Council. These eras are composed of chains of events recorded by council secretaries, foreign ambassadors, and individual commentators. The first era, June 1540 to November 1540, is bounded by Cromwell's execution on one end and Gardiner's departure for Ratisbon on the other. The second, the longest, extends to the eve of Henry's invasion of France in August 1544. The third encompasses the war years, and the last, the remaining months of Henry's reign.

1. After Cromwell

Watching the Privy Council in June 1540, the French ambassador wrote that Cromwell's allies were in disarray following their leader's execution. Cranmer no longer dared to open his mouth; Southampton sailed with the winds; Gardiner, rarely attending before, now stood supreme at council meetings; Tunstal awaited promotion to the viceregency in spirituals held before by Cromwell; Audley and Riche, "a good salesman of justice wherever a bidder is to be found" and "the most wretched creature in all England" respectively, were much diminished in influence.² Wriothesley and Riche swiftly cut their ties to the reform party. Although none of Cromwell's allies followed their leader to the scaffold, access to Henry lay firmly in the hands of Cromwell's opponents. Suffolk, Sussex, Tunstal, Wriothesley, Browne, Russell, Cheyney, Riche, and Baker followed Henry through the towns to the west of London while Audley, Sadler, Wingfield, and Sandys waited in London for the Court to return to the capital.

Gardiner stopped attending council meetings as he had after Cromwell's death. The bishop nevertheless underlined the new coalition dominating the council by giving the stewardship of Cambridge University, formerly held by Cromwell, to Norfolk and Surrey on 8 September.³ John Lassells, an English Protestant in exile, protested that "Norfolk was not ashamed to say that he had never read Scriptures nor ever would, and it was merry in England before this new learning came up."⁴ Cromwell's proteges remained on the

defensive throughout the fall of 1540, with Cranmer receiving orders to investigate rumors of heresy and suspicions of treason falling on Wriothesley and Sadler.

If autumn brought a new ascendancy of Gardiner and Norfolk in Court and Council, it promised also a major change in England's foreign policy. Convinced that Cromwell's policy of playing off the Empire against France had ended, Marillac speculated on the opportunity for a new period of Anglo-French cooperation: "They stand so badly with the Emperor (who, they know, can better dissemble than pardon), have lost all hope of the Germans by repudiating the last Queen, have the Scots for very doubtful neighbors, and have only France to trust to."⁵ The ambassador's hopes sprang in the main from the resurgence of Norfolk and the Howard clan, traditional supporters of closer ties with France. From a general's point of view, alliance with France was a tempting alternative to wooing Charles V, bringing with it security from the French navy, stability on the Scottish Marches, and freedom to keep the Emperor occupied with his restive Protestant subjects in Germany. By the end of October, Anglo-Imperial relations had noticeably cooled. A tax on alien shipping outraged the Low Countries, and the discovery of certain letters of intrigue in the house of the Imperial ambassador, Eustace de Chapuys, in September angered the Privy Council.⁶ Chapuys found himself relying on Southampton and Russell for news from Court.⁷ Henry's decision in November to send Gardiner to the Diet

of Ratisbon therefore worried the French. Marillac harbored no illusions about the bishop's sympathy for the Empire and wrote that Gardiner alone would demonstrate effectively that England was "as before in religion."⁸ At the same time, Gardiner's absence provided an opportunity to build, with Norfolk's help, a solid framework for alliance with France before the bishop could reach a settlement with Charles V in Ratisbon.

Although Cromwell's execution left his allies supine, Norfolk and Gardiner failed to remove them from the council before Gardiner left for Ratisbon in November. One reason for this was the absence of a positive and common set of goals for the conservative faction. Apart from hounding Cranmer, Wriothesley, and Sadler, Norfolk and Gardiner failed to provide alternatives to the administrative reforms brought about by Cromwell. Lands confiscated from the church continued to bring revenue into the Court of Augmentations under Riche's direction. In addition, the conservative grip on the Court broke when Henry commissioned members of the council to execute the Act of Subsidy in London on 13 October. Henry ordered Sussex, Russell, Tunstal, Gardiner, Baker, and Riche to return to London to report with the London council on the progress of collecting the subsidy.⁹ Although Henry recalled them on 1 November from plague-stricken London, the entire council reassembled soon after for the winter months in Windsor.¹⁰

However difficult to reconstruct a "conservative" program

at home, the most glaring problem remains foreign policy. Marillac realized correctly that Norfolk and Gardiner represented radically different approaches to England's foreign relations. As the next section will reveal, the debate that dominated council activity in the next two years sprang up entirely among members of the so-called conservative faction and did not include the "reform party."

2. Foreign Policy Debate and the Imperial Alliance

Gardiner's absence, Chapuy's temporary estrangement from the council, bickering with the Low Countries over trade, and the firm grip of the Howard clan at Court gave sudden possibility to a decisive change in English foreign policy. England had prudently maintained contact with Francis I during the Emperor's protests of the treatment of Katherine of Aragon and the destruction of the Roman church. Henry enjoyed toying with the idea of a marriage alliance of Princess Mary and the duc d'Orleans, because the subject clearly distressed the otherwise unflappable Chapuys. The cautious optimism brought about by Gardiner's departure for Ratisbon burst into enthusiasm in early 1541. The Howards had supported closer ties with France since Anne Boleyn. Norfolk tried for at least a year to have his brother, lord William Howard, appointed ambassador to France. Cromwell had stifled any hope of success for lord William, who lacked both experience and ability for the office. The new Queen Catherine surprised Marillac by interceding successfully for her uncle's appointment

in January 1541.¹¹ Henry's apparent new interest in a French alliance promised to attach England to the ring of petty states fringing the Empire. A French alliance brought about by Howard efforts would confirm them as the leading family in England.

Opposition to the Francophile atmosphere of the Court arose not from Cromwell's scattered clients, but among the nobles of less illustrious, though Tudor-created, lineage. On 23 December 1540, Southampton and Russell protested the poor treatment accorded to Chapuys in Court and council in the King's presence. Furious, Henry interrupted Southampton several times, but the debate that would dominate English politics for the next three years began with Southampton's objections.¹² On one side, Norfolk pressed for a rapprochement, under Howard guidance, with France. On the other, Southampton led the junior nobles of the Tudor Court in demanding that England hold true to her traditional ties with the Emperor.

Initial enthusiasm for a French alliance cooled with embarrassing news from Ratisbon. Thomas Wyatt, ambassador to Charles V, suspected that Henry replaced him with Gardiner and Richard Pate because of his ties to Cromwell and voiced freely his suspicions to delegates at the diet.¹³ Days after his arrival in Ratisbon, Pate mortified his fellow ambassadors and Henry by confessing his catholicism and fleeing to Italy.¹⁴ The tension and suspicion at home that had lingered since Cromwell's fall boiled over. On 17

January, Sadler was arrested and sent to the Tower to join Thomas Wyatt. "Ticklish articles" were brought against Wriothsesley, and several unnamed councillors found themselves in danger. "There could be no worse war than the English carry on against each other," wrote Marillac the next day. "Others have arisen who will never rest till they have done as much to all Cromwell's adherents."¹⁵ Marillac's comments and the proximity of the arrests to the news from Ratisbon may be evidence of a decision by the courtiers on the council to act against the remaining members of the Cromwell party. If so, Henry must have interceded swiftly to stop the action. By 20 January, Sadler again sat on the council, and on 23 February, Marillac reported that "it was expected that other arrests would follow that of Mr. Wyatt, but those who were suspected cleared themselves."¹⁶

As soon as the arrests ceased, a new, more bizarre episode began. Henry developed a tercian ulcer on 23 February that closed a week later. The desperate state of his health made a headstrong King moody and unpredictable. Again the nonplussed Marillac wrote that the King exclaimed that "most of his Privy Council under pretext of serving him, were only temporizing for their own profit, but he knew the good servants from the flatterers, and if God lent him health, he would take care that their projects should not succeed... People worth credit say he is often of a different opinion in the morning than after dinner."¹⁷ Vexed by the embarrassment of Ratisbon, Henry's suspicions fell

on the former ambassador to France, John Wallop. Henry developed a plot to keep Wallop in unsuspecting seclusion in Kent while interrogating his servant and obtaining permission from Wallop's wife to ransack their house in Calais for evidence. Wallop, needless to say, suspected something amiss and foiled all by insisting on making a clean breast of his conduct. Henry's fury fell for a time on Hertford, with whom execution of the plot had rested.¹⁸ After the tercian passed, an unsuccessful conspiracy in the North reminiscent of the Pilgrimage of Grace delivered another shock to the troubled Court in April. After hanging some fifty of his subjects, Henry resolved to march through the North in a show of strength and concern that summer. Thus, the valuable momentum for a French alliance generated by the January appointment of lord William Howard dissipated in the chaos of the spring of 1541. Marillac followed the Court, a gouty Chapuys remaining in London, but the councillors were clearly preoccupied with the problems of the realm at the time most ripe for a French alliance.

The royal procession left Northampton 22 July and arrived in York on 16 September. The soldier-courtiers, Wriothesley, and Riche traveled with Henry, and Cranmer, Audley, Hertford, Sadler, and Baker remained in London. Despite Marillac's failure to wrest a firm promise to negotiate from Henry or the councillors in the spring, the French remained confident of success. In August, Francis ordered Marillac to negotiate for the marriage, but,

probably at lord William's urging, to confine his approaches to Norfolk.¹⁹ Chapuys, forced to admit that almost all other councillors had left London, sought to convince the Queen Regent of the Low Countries that Chancellor Audley was a very important councillor.²⁰

By late September, Marillac had grave doubts about the possibility of enacting a marriage settlement soon.²¹ Gardiner had left Ratisbon in mid-September carrying nothing less than the groundwork for a treaty of amity with the Empire. In almost daily meetings with the Imperial minister de Grenville, Gardiner hammered out an agreement to begin negotiating a formal treaty within ten months.²² Lord William had proven himself incapable at Francis's court, and as early as July, Henry rebuked him for failing to report regularly on events at the French court.²³ On 24 September, Henry informed Francis that William Paget would replace lord William. Chapuys crowed that Henry had sent "a mere clerk of the council" to the French court.²⁴ Although Marillac attempted to sooth his king, citing Paget's considerable diplomatic experience, real hope for completing a marriage settlement dimmed.

After waiting in vain ten days for James V of Scotland to come to York, Henry returned to Hampton Court, arriving on 24 October. On 1 November, the council reassembled.²⁵ No sooner had the reunited council settled into their winter session than the news of Queen Catherine's adultery and of Howard complicity in suppressing her guilt emerged.

Although none of Norfolk's rivals regretted the blow to Howard prestige, Catherine's guilt was clear. Gardiner joined in the examinations, and Norfolk renounced his niece publicly. Marillac watched Norfolk; Surrey; and Catherine's brother, Charles Howard, leave the Court "much diminished in influence." Lord William and his wife; Norfolk's sister, Ann, countess of Bridgewater; and Norfolk's mother-in-law, Agnes, duchess of Norfolk, followed Catherine to the Tower. The entire Howard clan at Court was swept away. From his home estate, Norfolk pleaded, "prostrate at his feet," for some token of Henry's favor.²⁶

Marillac's long association with the Howards hurt his standing seriously. Henry refused to see the ambassador in January and appointed the Imperialist Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, to an embassy to the Imperial court shortly thereafter. The latter incident provoked a bitter argument between Southampton and Marillac, who protested the pointed neglect of French sensitivities in Westminster.²⁷ The council agreed on 3 March 1542 to reconsider the Orleans marriage, appointing a committee chaired by Norfolk, but including the unpromising cast of Southampton, Gardiner, Tunstal, and Wriothesley.²⁸

The dispersal of the Howards left a considerable vacancy at Court. The spring of 1542 saw the consolidation of influence of a triumphant bloc of Imperial sympathizers led by Southampton. Although negotiations in Ratisbon tied him firmly to the Imperialist faction, Gardiner was no match

for the nobles at Court. England's drift toward war did little to enhance the diplomat's importance. Primacy at Court fell to Southampton. A competent administrator and general, Southampton usurped Norfolk's position after the Howard trials and overshadowed Gardiner throughout much of 1542. Other members of the faction included Russell, the ally of Southampton during the winter of 1540 - 1541; Browne; Gage; Wriothsley; and, of course, Gardiner. All attended Privy Council meetings assiduously throughout the spring and so convinced Charles V of their intentions that he commissioned Chapuys to "treat of closer friendship" on 2 May.²⁹

The half-hearted negotiations with France now reached an impasse on the issue of Mary's illegitimacy. Henry refused to either pay the high dowry requested by Marillac for a bastard bride or to cancel France's ancient war debts to England. Norfolk offered a compromise calling upon Henry to offer Mary as a legitimate princess in exchange for France's repudiation of papal primacy. Southampton cut off the negotiations with a speech before the Privy Council setting out situations that made the marriage impossible. First, because the Dauphin lacked previous issue, the crowns of France and England might rest on one head someday. Second, the earl pointed out that no one harbored illusions about Prince Edward's chances for long life. The duc d'Orleans might inherit the English crown. Finally, the earl curtly informed Marillac of England's belief that France

prepared for war with the Emperor, an ally.³⁰ A frustrated Norfolk left Court for East Anglia in early April, grumbling about Southampton following in the footsteps of Cromwell.³¹ With him went his only noble ally, Cheyney, a former member of the Boleyn circle. In late June, Thirlby left for Spain to hammer out the final points of the treaty.³²

On the verge of forging an alliance with England, the Emperor lost control of events. On 9 July, Francis I ordered Marillac to offer Henry membership in a league of France, Scotland, Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, and Saxony and declared war on Charles V the following day.³³ On 25 July, when the French marched into the Low Countries, England's most powerful neighbors were at war; Henry had no reason to hurry into an alliance with the Empire. "In truth," wrote Chapuys on the eve of the war, "the English are right to try and ascertain the state of the Emperor's affairs, as it is to them a question of launching into a sea of difficulties and running risks with us when they could easily pass along in the midst of the storm."³⁴ In spite of his hesitancy to proceed with the Imperial treaty, Henry used Scotland's membership in the French league as an excuse to attempt to maul the Scots into passivity. James V's snub of Henry during the Northern Tour had already poisoned Scottish relations. The Privy Council undertook first to gather money through forced loans. Southampton issued Privy Seals to commissioners, usually councillors, of the loan. Secondly, Henry pardoned the Howards. Marillac explained

20 June, "The duke of Norfolk has been so received and caressed that presumably there is need of him. To lead a host there is no personage in England like him, and all men who have been heretofore used in war are ordinarily at his house reckoning to soon be employed."³⁵ As the ambassador noted, even Southampton lacked Norfolk's reputation as a soldier. The strength of the Howard clan lay in England's shortage of experienced generals. Norfolk, eager to please Henry, recognized this and changed his behavior toward France. He pressed for invasion of Scotland in September when Southampton asked Henry to reconsider. Marillac explained that the former friend of France held for war because the duke could "only by it maintain his authority."³⁶ In peacetime the more familiar men at Court--Southampton, Wriothsley, and Russell--encroached on his position. Norfolk nevertheless hoped that restoration of amity with France would serve to regain his influence at Court. Thus, in the late summer of 1542, Norfolk spoke out for a policy of neutrality (leaving England free to make war on Scotland) and against including Spain in the proposed Imperial alliance.³⁷

On 24 August 1542, Norfolk received the lord lieutenancy of the North and the captaincy of the King's forces there.³⁸ He gathered the Howard males around himself at Newcastle and awaited the other councillors commissioned to assist in the campaign: Browne, Southampton, Tunstal, and Suffolk, the new lord Warden of the Marches. The campaign

began under miserable conditions. A shortage of carriage and munitions confined the army to Newcastle where it consumed already scarce victuals. Norfolk entertained no illusions about his favor at Court and pleaded with Gardiner and Wriothesley, neither challenges to his military prowess, to be "a buckler of defense" if Henry grew impatient with the expensive delays.³⁹ The Privy Council in the fall of 1542 differed from the courtier-dominated body of the previous two years. Only Russell remained in the capital. Sussex lay mortally ill at home, and Cheyney remained in Kent raising levies bound for the Low Countries. Instead, Cranmer, Audley, Sadler, Riche, and Baker, the circle that uncovered Catherine's infidelity, watched the progress of the invasion with Henry.

Norfolk at last led the army into Scotland in late October. The costly campaign achieved little, and Norfolk wrote nervously to Gardiner and Wriothesley to determine the depths of Henry's displeasure. Norfolk feared that Henry would appoint him Warden of the Marches, thereby exiling him indefinitely in the North. He protested throughout October to Gardiner and Wriothesley that the damp climate would ruin his health.⁴⁰ Henry responded brusquely by naming Hertford to the office on 26 October.⁴¹ Hertford seized the opportunity to criticize Norfolk's conduct of the campaign and continued to send scathing reports of Norfolk's tactics until Wriothesley cautioned him to show more prudence in his remarks.⁴² Meanwhile, on 24 November an

outnumbered English force independent of Norfolk's command not only routed the Scots at Solway Moss, but captured a large number of Scottish nobles in the battle. Clearly, Norfolk failed to rehabilitate himself and his family in the Scottish campaign of 1542. Hertford's impunity in attacking the old general demonstrates that at least some councillors knew that Henry no longer regarded Norfolk as indispensable to the English armies. The unexpected death of Southampton during the campaign further enhanced Hertford's position among the soldier-courtiers. Russell and Gage succeeded to the earl's offices, but Hertford filled Southampton's role as the foremost courtier on the council.

The collapse of Scotland's war effort at Solway Moss left France without a way of pressuring England to remain neutral. Although Chapuys fretted over Norfolk's return from Scotland in November 1542, calling him "too much of a Frenchman," England moved swiftly toward an alliance with the Empire in the new year.⁴³ Henry requested Marillac's recall on 29 January, seized French shipping on 5 February, completed the treaty draft five days later, and recalled Paget from the French court on 20 February.⁴⁴ On 31 March, Charles V ratified the treaty.

Henry's sudden decision to ally England with the Empire owed as much to the position of the Francophiles as it did to the efforts of the Imperialists, Russell, Gardiner, Thirlby, Browne, and Wriothesley, who now dominated the Privy Council (see Table 2). Norfolk attended meetings

TABLE 2

THE PRIVY COUNCIL: 6 JANUARY 1543

Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury

Audley, chancellor

Norfolk, high treasurer

Suffolk, great master of the Household and president of the
council

Russell, privy seal (appt'd 22 October 1542)

Hertford, great chamberlain (appt'd 6 January 1543)

Tunstal, bishop of Durham

Gardiner, bishop of Winchester

Thirlby, bishop of Westminster (joined 4 June 1542)

St. John, King's chamberlain (joined 19 November 1542)

Cheyney, warden of the Cinque Ports and treasurer of the
Household

Gage, comptroller of the Household (joined October 1540)

Browne, master of the Horse

Wingfield, vicechamberlain of the Household

Wriothesley, Principal Secretary

Sadler, Principal Secretary

Riche, chancellor of Augmentations

Baker, chancellor of First Fruits and Tenths

sporadically in the early spring of 1543. Aware of Henry's displeasure with the Scottish campaign and embarrassed by Surrey's recent arrest for riotous behavior, the duke preferred to wait for another war to prove his loyalty.⁴⁵ The Imperial treaty held out that opportunity more plainly than did uneasy peace with France. Only Cheyney spoke out. In March, Cheyney objected vigorously to plans to invade France in the summer of 1543. In light of the expensive and frustrating experience of the Scottish campaign, Cheyney's objections were well taken, but the significance of their source was not lost on Chapuys.⁴⁶

The treaty with the Empire owed much to the efforts of the prominent English bishops. In addition to Gardiner's long hours with Chapuys, Thirlby, Edmund Bonner, Nicolas Heath (bishop of Rochester), and Tunstal contributed their diplomatic expertise at home, Flanders and Spain, including a number of last-minute shuttles to Brussels and Madrid. The new alignment with the Emperor, Henry's resurgent interest in theology (the King's Book was read on 5 May 1543), and the new influence of the bishops in Court and council led to new attacks on heresy. On 16 March, Dr. Haynes, dean of Exeter, went to the Fleet. There followed a series of arrests and investigations of priests and booksellers suspected of handling forbidden writings. Chapuys attributed the campaign against heretics to Gardiner's efforts.⁴⁷ The campaign continued in attacks on the translation of the Lord's Prayer in the Convocation of Canterbury

in April. Finally, on 7 May, Gardiner moved against Cranmer in the Prebendaries' Plot. Henry interceded suddenly to save Cranmer, and the attacks on heretics tapered off immediately. The King commissioned Cranmer to investigate the charges brought against him, effectively ending the challenge to the archbishop.

Henry signed the treaty of amity with the Empire on 27 May. By 6 June, the first of many desperate pleas for aid came from Mary of Hungary, Queen Regent of the Low Countries: "Pray make every effort that we may be assisted soon, for certainly there is need, since we are so strongly assailed."⁴⁸ By 16 July, even Brussels feared for her safety. England stalled until September, when Hertford led an expeditionary force into the Low Countries, earning much praise from his Imperial allies. Surrey won an invitation to accompany the Emperor's camp, but wrote such malicious reports of Charles that the King recalled him.⁴⁹

On the verge of invading France in early 1544, Henry hesitated again. Scotland, defiant as ever, and the lingering post-Reformation fear of diplomatic isolation stood out from the Privy Council's concerns. War with France brought a host of enemies, some of whom, especially Denmark and Gascony, had important trade ties with England, and promised a single self-serving ally. The English insisted that Charles end the profitable trade between Scotland and the Low Countries by declaring war on the Scots, which Charles did on 5 March 1544.⁵⁰ Sixteen days later the Privy

Council sent the Scots an ultimatum followed, on 10 April, by orders to Hertford to leave Edinburgh and St. Andrews "as th'upper stone may be the nether and not one stick stand by another."⁵¹

The Scottish campaign of 1544 marks the appearance of a new party at Court. The leadership of the expedition came from the young men schooled in the North. Lisle led the vanguard, Hertford, now lord lieutenant of the North, the main body, and Sadler managed the treasury of the campaign.⁵² In an impressive ten-day show of strength, Hertford scattered the defenders and burned Edinburgh. Meanwhile at home, Henry's new queen, Katherine Parr, gathered a reformist circle of ladies, including Suffolk's, Hertford's, and Lisle's wives. At the same time, Wriothesley's accession to Chancellor of the Exchequer removed the former secretary from the central decision-making arena shared by King and Privy Council, and Gardiner submerged himself in the thankless task of supplying the armies in Scotland and Calais. Into this void stepped Paget, now a seasoned diplomat, to win Henry's confidence at a time when the aging King could no longer participate continually in council meetings. Foreign ambassadors noticed quickly: "Principal Secretary," Chapuys began to call Paget, and Francis I, in a last effort to dissuade Henry from war, ordered his agents to "make promises of money to such as seem to have influence in the business, especially to secretary Paget."⁵³

In addition to the influence he wielded by arranging the

presentation of business, Paget forged a close relationship with Hertford by keeping the young general informed of activity in the council. During the expedition against Edinburgh, Paget urged Hertford to "salute now and then with a word or two in a letter" Suffolk, Wriothesley, and others.⁵⁴ However much the long-planned invasion of France drew on the resources of the older men of Henry's council, between the autumn of 1543 and spring of 1544 a new generation of courtiers and government servants had established themselves in the King's confidence.

The invasion began in June under the leadership of Suffolk, with Norfolk commanding the vanguard and Russell the rear. Henry, accompanied by most of the council, followed the army's thrust toward Boulogne and Montreuil. A Regency Council under Katherine was appointed to keep the royal government functioning during the King's absence. Hertford's new standing shows clearly in the instructions to the Regency Council: "Either Wriothesley or Hertford or both shall always be at Court, if neither there then Cranmer and Petre should be with the Queen, if possible all five should be there." Hertford also received the title "Lieutenant in case," taking commissions from the Queen and passing through all warrants for payment.⁵⁵ Cranmer came out of Kent to lend administrative experience with Thirlby to the Regency Council. By 2 September, Hertford had left the Regency Council and traveled to Henry's camp at the King's bidding.⁵⁶ Again Norfolk cut a poor figure

next to his younger rival. In August the duke gave safe-conduct to a French agent to visit the seige camp at Montreuil without the knowledge of the other commanders there, Russell and Cheyney, much less Henry. The unilateral peace feeler embarrassed the English before Charles, and Suffolk and Paget had to dissuade Henry from taking punitive action on the eve of the campaign.⁵⁷

The foreign policy debate that absorbed the attention and energies of the councillors and foreign ambassadors cannot be explained clearly by the model of conservative-Catholic versus reformer-Protestant factions on the council. Gardiner's dedication to forging the Imperial treaty clashed with Norfolk's ambitions for a French marriage alliance. Moreover, Gardiner's prestige at Court and his attendance at Privy Council meetings reached a zenith after the Howard trials of 1541. Insofar as the younger men trained in the North shared common goals, they vigorously attempted to break the monopoly that Henry's older generals held over the command of the English armies. Gardiner and the older courtiers on the council continued to regard the survivors of Cromwell's party, Wriothesley and Sadler, with suspicion. They even arrested Sadler in December 1540. But the councillors whose fortunes began to ascend in 1543 and 1544 shared more youth and ambition than loyalty to Cromwell. The contest within the council reflects more clearly the struggles of courtiers for place in Court and field.

Tudor government depended only partly on the fledgling

bureaucratic machinery in Westminster. The King's relationship with his greater subjects was a personal one cemented by patronage. By the suppression of over-mighty magnates and dissolution of the monasteries, the Tudor Court emerged as the most powerful source of patronage in the realm. To court flocked men of consequence in search of titles and offices. The officers of the Household and the Personal Secretary secured their places if they remained on amiable terms with Henry or with their fellow courtiers. Because these men, especially the secretary, were often able to regulate the flow of patronage, lesser courtiers and supplicants made their requests to the officers directly or through more influential mediators. Elaborate networks and coalitions of patrons and clients formed. The relationships that directed the flow of patronage downward were nevertheless personal ones. As Elton concluded, the Court encompassed all those with a right to be there.⁵⁸ The fluid nature of personal relationships and alliances gave terrible effect to a fall from favor with the King. Those councillors barred from Court by obligations in Westminster, service in Boulogne and the Scottish Marches, or Henry's anger stood to lose much in the competition for place and profit.

Norfolk and Gardiner were outsiders to the circle of courtiers closest to Henry. Gardiner, of course, was no soldier. Norfolk lacked intimacy with Henry and regarded the junior Tudor nobility with distain. The duke enjoyed

a brief presence at Court during the reign of Catherine Howard. Even then, Southampton resisted the Howard's efforts to bar Chapuys from contact with Henry. The collapse of Howard influence at Court following Catherine's conviction left Southampton firmly in control of Henry's Court. Norfolk's ability to help Marillac break through the Imperialist circle led by Southampton at best depended thereafter on Norfolk's command of the English armies. Southampton's sudden death in 1542 in turn opened new opportunities for younger soldier-courtiers, especially Hertford, Lisle, and Norfolk's son, Surrey, to assume lesser military commands. Surrey, through rashness or incompetence, failed to match his rivals on the field. Hertford, coached by Paget, inherited Southampton's status as the leading courtier and general. For Norfolk and Surrey, then, the invasion of France presented a last opportunity to halt Hertford's rising military career.

3. War with France

When Henry followed his army to Calais in the summer of 1544, Paget, Hertford, and Lisle had already emerged as influential men (see Table 3). The war with France stopped temporarily the transfer of responsibilities to these younger councillors. An enormous amount of preparation had gone into the invasion, and from the first Henry relied on his older generals, Norfolk and Suffolk to direct planning and strategy. Moreover, the simultaneous demands of war with Scotland and France, the defense of the Channel and Calais,

TABLE 3

THE PRIVY COUNCIL: 1 JULY 1544

Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury

Wriothesley, Chancellor (appt'd 2 May 1544)

Norfolk, high treasurer

Suffolk, great master of the Household and president of the council

Russell, privy seal

Hertford, great chamberlain

Essex (joined 5 February 1544)

Lisle, high admiral (joined 23 April 1543)

Tunstal, bishop of Durham

Gardiner, bishop of Winchester

Thirlby, bishop of Westminster

St. John, King's chamberlain

Cheyney, warden of the Cinque Ports and treasurer of the Household

Gage, comptroller of the Household

Browne, master of the Horse

Wingfield, vicechamberlain of the Household

Paget, Principal Secretary (joined 23 April 1543)

Petre, Principal Secretary (joined 21 January 1544)

Riche

Baker

Sadler

(Dacres, served from 5 June to 20 November 1543)

Arundel

Arundel

Wotton

and vigorous diplomacy with the Empire and France drew councillors away from the Court. In the long period after the Empire withdrew from the war, leadership at Court and council fell often to Gardiner. By the end of the French war, Paget, Hertford, and Lisle had established themselves as powerful contenders to inherit Henry's trust. Because the war held Henry's attention most consistently, the struggles between the soldier-courtiers for advancement will dominate our discussion here.

The English army split into two camps after marching into France. Under Suffolk's, Browne's, and, later, Hertford's leadership, one part lay siege to Boulogne. Further to the South, Norfolk, Russell, Cheyney, and Surrey surrounded Montreuil. Meanwhile at Calais harbor Gardiner, St. John, and Gage oversaw the operations of the supply link with Dover. Paget, Riche (as treasurer of the French war), and Wingfield and the Queen's brother, Essex (commanders of the Guard), remained with Henry in Calais.⁵⁹ The invasion slowed in the siege trenches. Charles V urged Henry impatiently for a thrust toward Paris, but in September both cities remained in French control. On 11 September, St. John, Gardiner, Riche, and Paget met with French agents to discuss peace terms.⁶⁰ Boulogne's surrender two days later cooled all hope of ending the war quickly, and the English tightened their grip on Montreuil.⁶¹ The talks broke up on 22 September when the French stiffened, because four days earlier the Emperor and Frances I made peace

unexpectedly at Crepy.⁶² Norfolk narrowly escaped entrapment at Montreuil when the Dauphin's army turned to face the English. Henry left Calais on 30 September, leaving Norfolk, Suffolk, Russell, Gardiner, Gage, Riche, and Cheyney to defend Boulogne.⁶³

The storm broke on 4 October, the day after Henry arrived at Court to end the Regency Council's jurisdiction.⁶⁴ In a letter signed by Cranmer, Wriothesley, Hertford, Thirlby, Paget, and Petre, the Privy Council wrote: "the King marvels to hear that they are all removed towards Calais without first knowing his pleasure."⁶⁵ Norfolk's reply that the Dauphin's army threatened the fragile supply route to poorly defended Calais drew a blistering retort from Henry. The King rejected their "bolstering and unaparent reasons, specially when they enculke a fayned necessitie, to cloke and mayntayn their faultes to moch aparant to indifferent yees."⁶⁶ To underscore Henry's anger, Paget and Hertford arrived in Calais with instructions to replace the general's powers to negotiate peace with their own commissions, adding only Gardiner, Gage, and Riche from the Calais council. On 24 October, Hertford and Gardiner left for peace talks mediated by Charles V in Brussels.⁶⁷ The Dauphin's army broke up for the winter, but the expedition had further damaged Norfolk's waning reputation as a general. After embarrassing Henry by issuing an unauthorized safe-conduct to a French peace embassy in August, the duke failed to take Montreuil, and now accepted responsibility for

retreating from Boulogne.

With 1545 came diplomatic isolation. An English fleet seized Flemish merchantmen bound for French posts. Charles V responded on 6 January by impounding English shipping in the Low Countries.⁶⁸ As reports of renewed activity on the Scottish border and of a French fleet assembling at le Havre arrived, Henry found himself without an ally and facing a year of expensive warfare. Privy Council attendance records are missing until 10 May 1545, but, judging from the records for the remainder of 1545, one may assume that only a few councillors remained in Westminster: Wriothesley, occupied with Exchequer business; Suffolk, feeble and ill; Essex; Browne; Wingfield; Paget; and Gardiner, who coordinated victualing and signed writs of payment for Riche and Gage. The other councillors dispersed across England to counter the growing threat of French invasion. Russell directed naval and infantry defenses in the West; Arundel, the vulnerable Portsmouth and Southampton area; Cheyney, the Cinque Ports; Norfolk, East Anglia; Hertford, Tunstal, and Sadler, the Scottish Marches; and Lisle patrolled the Channel. In Dover, Gage and Riche administered supplies for Boulogne, and St. John in Portsmouth victualed the navy.⁶⁹

The dispersal of the Privy Council in 1545 affected politics in several ways. While Paget remained at Court with Henry, the secretary's influence with the King and his fellow councillors increased markedly. Hertford, Lisle, and others now relied on Paget for news of Henry's plans

and views. Chapuys wrote in July that, for the King's opinions and wishes, "no person can speak more confidently than Secretary Paget."⁷⁰ Because Paget also scheduled audiences with Henry, the secretary wielded formidable influence among the other councillors. The extensive defense preparations also permitted courtiers with dubious military prowess to remain in command, thereby continuing to compete for Henry's confidence and favor. Norfolk and Surrey thus continued to serve. At the same time, the war held so much of the Court's and Privy Council's attention that the role and influence of the soldier-courtiers in decision-making remained strong. The conditions under which Sussex, Southampton, Suffolk, and Norfolk had won their place at Court worked similarly to Hertford's, Lisle's, and Surrey's advantages. Finally, the war created instability at Court and council. In addition to the long absences of the military commanders, Paget's increasing diplomatic responsibilities kept him away from Henry's side. Henry no longer had a close-knit circle of associates and advisors continually directing decision-making in the council. This increased the likelihood of dramatic confrontation when the Privy Council reassembled.

Competition for advancement among the soldier-courtiers, always vigorous in wartime, reached a new intensity with the death of Suffolk on 22 August 1545. Suffolk had held Household offices in addition to leading the King's armies, and the courtiers competed for the duke's empty

positions at Court and in the field. Hertford established his reputation as the foremost general early in the year when he stopped a French move against Boulogne. Edward Carne reported the news from Brussels on 10 February:

"Here is no other communication now but of the noble and valiant removing and chasing away of the Frenchman from the Seige of Boulogne by my lord of Hertford."⁷¹ Cornelius Scepperus, an Imperial official on business at Henry's Court, opined that Lisle would benefit by Suffolk's death.⁷² Surrey, however, received orders nine days before Suffolk died to lead 5,000 men to Boulogne, a formal commission as captain of Boulogne following on 3 October.⁷³ Lisle had similar success with Suffolk's office of Great Master of the Household, which went to St. John. Discouraged, Lisle wrote "I must be holpen or sink" to Paget, who promised to press Lisle's suite.⁷⁴ Although he received neither commands nor office immediately after Suffolk's death, Lisle inherited Suffolk's position in Henry's circle of friends as a trusted courtier and soldier. By the following spring, the admiral had become one of Henry's intimate companions.

Throughout the summer of 1545, the councillors maintained the invasion alert across the southern and eastern coasts of England. The council-with-the-King further shrank to Essex, Browne, Wingfield, Gardiner, and Paget. At this minimum, the council-with-the King consisted of the Queen's brother, two Household officers to manage the day-to-day living of the retinue, Gardiner to coordinate and release

money for victualing the armies, and the King's secretary. The London council also shrank with the demands of war. Only Baker from the Privy Council and three from the Privy Chamber oversaw government machinery in Westminster during that summer. With so many councillors absent from Privy Council meetings and Court, Paget and Gardiner continued to enjoy influence with Henry, absent councillors seeking news, and with foreign ambassadors. Scepperus and the new Imperial ambassador, Francois van der Delft, wrote that they had spoken with "the bishop of Winchester and Paget, who are the principal members of the Council, the Chancellor being absent and the Duke of Suffolk ill."⁷⁵

Wriothesley, whose political career had advanced so swiftly after 1540, now bided his time in Westminster in the Exchequer. The demands of the office seem to have prevented him from attending on Privy Council and Court. The office also won him few friends. The almost continuous warring since 1542 drained the royal treasuries to the verge of bankruptcy, even after the sale of lands and lead authorized on 1 March 1544. As early as 1544 Riche complained about the scarcity of ready money with which to purchase supplies in Calais.⁷⁶ By the summer of 1545, Wriothesley had lost patience with the King's bellicose policies and criticized military expenditures openly. "I am sorry," he wrote to Paget on hearing of a punitive raid against Scotland, "that my lord of Hertford invadeth. It is more charge than needeth, with great adventure."⁷⁷ The

chancellor's remarks did little to ingratiate him with most of the soldier-courtiers, who believed that the expense and effort of the war obliged them to prevent Boulogne from falling back to France. Again Wriothesley wrote to Paget in late September, "I pray God I have not displeasure for my busy writing. And yet somebody must do it, and that somebody that dare often call for th'answer of it, or else the lack will be more than can be possibly recovered in time to save purposes."⁷⁸ Wriothesley's constant worrying of the council together with his long absences from Court and Privy Council removed him from the small and intimate group of councillors who enjoyed influence with Henry.

The unpopularity of Wriothesley's statements made them no less convincing. As winter brought a pause in the fighting, the council commissioned Sadler and Riche to examine the finances of the Exchequer, the Duchy of Lancaster, Wards and Liveries, Augmentations, General Surveyors, First Fruits and Tenths, and all other revenue courts to obtain an accurate report of the state of the royal treasury.⁷⁹

From Bruges, Gardiner reflected on England's situation:

I consider that we be in warre
with Fraunce and Scotland; we
have an enemyte with the Bishop
of Rome; we have no friendshippe
assured here; we have receyved
such displeasure of the Lans-
grave, chief captayne of the
Protestantes, that he hath cause
to thinke we be angrye with hym;
our warre is noysom to the welth
of our owne realme, and it is
soo noysom to al marchauntes

that must trafique by us and
 passe the narowe sees as they
 crye out here wonderfully.⁸⁰

January 1546 brought shocking news. Amid rumors of another French move against Boulogne came the report that Surrey had led an ill-considered sorty against a French supply train and lost as many as 1,200 men.⁸¹ The possibility loomed now that Boulogne would fall before peace was made. Henry's admiration for Surrey turned to fury and, on 17 January, he ordered Hertford, accompanied by Essex, to go to Calais as lieutenant-general of the Boulognaise, thereby superceding Surrey's command. On 4 April, Hertford received his formal commission as lieutenant-general "beyond the seas."⁸² Surrey returned to a cold reception at Court in March, the council remembering his bellicose statements of the previous fall too well. He did not see the King, and Norfolk retreated to Norfolk rather than acknowledge his son at Court.⁸³ Lisle, in the meantime, had made his place as a favorite courtier of Henry. The admiral spent March playing cards with Henry before leaving for the channel as lieutenant-general upon the seas.⁸⁴ Hertford and Lisle now shared command of the English armies in the way that Suffolk and Norfolk had in the early years of the reign.

In April, direct peace negotiations between France and England began with Paget, Lisle, and Wotton representing Henry. As before, the French insistence on the return of Boulogne proved the major stumbling block. The negotiators

finally in May reached a compromise: after payment of two million crowns over eight years, Boulogne would be returned. On 11 June, the war ended.

At the beginning of the war, Paget, Lisle, and Hertford achieved modest reputations for their administrative and military skill. The long war with France elevated them to a circle of intimacy with Henry. For Paget, the demand for generals and supply masters drew courtiers from Henry's side, thereby making Paget a central figure for news of and communications with the King. At the same time, Henry watched his generals closely and eagerly admitted them when they chanced to return to Court. In contrast to the fumbling Howards, Hertford and Lisle proved themselves capable leaders.

4. The Last Months

Even as rumors and hopes of peace circulated in May 1546, bankruptcy threatened the government. The enormous expense of war with the recurring need to produce large amounts of money at short notice forced the Privy Council to make funds available more easily and to inquire periodically into the amount of ready money in the treasury. The council made the Court of Augmentations' function more efficient by requiring that all writs and grants pass under Augmentations' seal only, avoiding the delay of obtaining countersignatures from the Chancery. On 7 May 1546, the council gave new commissions to St. John, Sadler, Riche, and the new chancellor of Augmentations, Edward North, to

sell lands and rents. The commissions specified that Augmentations would receive all proceeds. Two days later, St. John, Sadler, Riche, and Baker received commissions to survey the King's plate and jewels.⁸⁵ The Privy Council further ordered Wriothesley, St. John, Gardiner, Browne, Paget, and Petre on 30 June to examine the states of revenue in all departments, including the Exchequer and the Duchy of Lancaster, to pay money owed to Henry, gather debts, and enforce payments.⁸⁶ The efforts to assess the state of revenue from the royal lands and lead and channel new revenues into Augmentations culminated in the emergence of the new Court of Augmentations and Revenues of the King's Crown, merging Augmentations and General Surveyors.⁸⁷ The previous Court of General Surveyors administered lands acquired by Henry VII and Wolsey. The new court placed revenues from all lands but the Duchy of Lancaster in one department. Although the council did not officially create the new court until 1 January 1547, Wriothesley complained as early as 16 October that the Chancery and Great Seal would decay from lack of employment now that the "new court" could issue writs independent of the Chancery.⁸⁸

At the end of the long war, the Imperial ambassador assessed the political climate of the Privy Council. Paget and Lisle's journey to Calais to begin final negotiations with the French coincided with Hertford's departure to assume command of the Boulogne garrison. In their absence, bishops Tunstal and Gardiner on the council and Edmund

Bonner, bishop of London, at Court maintained contacts with foreign ambassadors and exercised considerable influence among their fellow councillors. The ambassador concluded optimistically that Paget and Gardiner enjoyed the most favor with Henry and that both were determined to prevent protestantism from gaining a foothold in England.⁹⁹

The Privy Council had indeed assumed a more Catholic face. In April, May, and June 1546, the most consistent attenders were Wriothesley, Russell, Tunstal, Gardiner, Gage, Wingfield, and Petre--all at least sympathetic to the Empire and, in the case of Tunstal, Gardiner, and Gage, orthodox in theology. In June this body moved against the heretics. Among the first targets was Dr. Edward Crome, who had attained prestige enough to preach at Court.⁹⁰ The ultimate target, though, seems to have been a circle of ladies at Court with whom Queen Katherine Parr had become intimate. This circle included Suffolk's and Sussex's widows and the wives of Hertford, Lisle, and Anthony Denny, a prominent Gentleman of the Privy Chamber.⁹¹ Rumors of tension between Katherine and Henry circulated briefly in February, and the councillors may have seized on these rumors to act.⁹² The interrogation of Anne Askew in July reveals an intention by certain councillors to implicate the Queen and her circle with heresy. Askew, a gentlewoman, had been arrested the previous year because of her outspoken sacramentarianism. She was rumored to have communicated with the Queen and her circle. As Henry's health

deteriorated, custody of Prince Edward grew increasingly important to courtiers. To implicate the Queen would not only discredit the ladies' husbands, it might persuade Henry to surround Edward with courtiers of a more conservative theology. Suspicions of Katherine's implications appear to have been so strong that even Essex and Lisle avoided challenging the inquiries. During one session, Lisle, Essex, and Gardiner urged Askew to confess the Sacrament "to be flesh, blood and bone." Askew wrote later, "then said I to my lord Par and my lord Lyle that it was great shame for them to counsel contrary to their knowledge."⁹³ Sessions with Riche, Bonner, Paget, Wriothsley, and Gardiner also failed to move Askew to recant. On 29 June, the interrogation took a drastic turn. Riche and "another of the Council" charged Askew's complicity in a sect at Court involving specifically the ladies Suffolk, Sussex, Hertford, Denny, and Fitzwilliam. Askew refused again to confess, saying only that "divers" gentlewomen supported her. The interrogators lost patience here. "Because I lay still and did not cry, my lord Chancellor and Master Rich took pains to rack me with their own hands till I was nigh dead." This last act infuriated the more moderate councillors, who feared that Henry would take reprisals against all involved for their cruelty.⁹⁴ Nevertheless, on 2 July, Askew went to the stake.

In late July, a new challenge appeared in the person of Guron Bertano, a papal emissary who had worked in Italy

for Henry during the divorce question. On 2 August, Bertano had a long interview with Paget and held out the tantalizing offer of an Anglo-Papal reconciliation.⁹⁵ As late as 16 August, van der Delft wrote confidently that the leading councillors, Paget, Gardiner, and Wriothesley, continued to support the Imperial interest.⁹⁶

The long war had resulted in the formation of an influential group of soldier-courtiers enjoying much intimacy with the aging, but war-loving, King. After the war, these courtiers continued to enjoy ready access to Henry, to the exclusion of the bishops, royal servants, and lawyers who had remained and toiled at Henry's side or with the bureaucratic machinery during the war. Beginning with the Askew trial, this circle of soldier-courtiers, led by Hertford and Lisle, and the bureaucrats, led by Gardiner, competed for access to Henry. Had Ann Askew told her interrogators what they wished to hear, Gardiner and Wriothesley would have very likely broken the courtiers' grip on Henry's affections. Instead, Askew refused to implicate their wives at Court. The generals first responded to this attack by removing all challenges to the leadership of the soldier-courtiers.

Suffolk's death and Norfolk's poor performance left Hertford and Lisle Henry's foremost generals. Lisle moved now against Surrey. Eleven days after Askew died, Lisle sent a letter of Surrey's "wherein is contained so many parables that I do not perfectly understand it" to Paget.

Lisle, who left on a mission to France the next day, suggested that Paget show the letter to Henry.⁹⁷ The contents of the letter are not revealed, but they probably disclosed Surrey's pretensions, through his descent from Edward the Confessor, to the throne. An investigation resulted, because Christopher Barker confessed on 7 August to a conversation with Surrey in which the earl said that he would wear "a scocheon of the arms Brotherton and St. Edwarde and Anjoye and Mowbreye quartered" in Boulogne.⁹⁸ The generals further strengthened their party by convincing Henry to add Henry Fitzalan, earl of Arundel, to the Privy Council as lord Chamberlain of the King's Household, an office vacant since St. John vacated it in 1545.⁹⁹ The soldier-courtiers on the Privy Council now included England's two foremost generals, the Queen's brother, and an earl of the ancient Fitzalan family (see Table 4). Moreover, Hertford's friendship with Paget assured them of the support of both Principal Secretaries.

Hertford and Lisle returned on 2 and 12 August, respectively, to attend council meetings considering Bertano's offer of papal reconciliation. The importance of the August 1546 meetings of the council is reflected in the attendance records for that month. After months of steady, exclusive attendance by Wriothesley, Russell, Tunstal, Gardiner, Gage, Browne, Wingfield, and the secretaries, August saw Cranmer, Norfolk, Hertford, and Arundel join council meetings. Cranmer won the confrontation with Bertano; by

TABLE 4

THE PRIVY COUNCIL: 1 AUGUST 1546

Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury
Wriothesley, chancellor
Norfolk, high treasurer
St. John, great master of the Household (appt'd August 1546)
Russell, privy seal
Hertford, great chamberlain
Essex
Arundel, King's chamberlain (joined 25 July 1546)
Lisle, high admiral
Tunstal, bishop of Durham
Gardiner, bishop of Winchester
Thirlby, bishop of Westminster
Wotton, dean of Canterbury and York (joined 7 April 1546)
Cheyney, warden of the Cinque Ports and treasurer of the
Household
Gage, comptroller of the Household
Browne, master of the Horse
Wingfield, vicechamberlain of the Household
Paget, Principal Secretary
Petre, Principal Secretary
Riche
Baker
Sadler

the end of September, the papal emissary had left England.¹⁰⁰ Another change came out of the August meetings: the vigorous campaign against heresy all but ceased.¹⁰¹ Van der Delft later attributed this to Hertford's and Lisle's intervention. After August, the soldier-courtiers tightened their grip on the Court and council-with-the-King. In September, Henry traveled through Surrey, accompanied only by Russell, Essex, Browne, Wingfield, Paget, Hertford, and Arundel. The Imperial ambassador remained in London with Gardiner, St. John, and Wriothsley, now members of the London council. Van der Delft probed the three for information and concluded that Hertford and Lisle had gained an alarming influence over the King. He pleaded with Mary of Hungary to help rebuild the influence of the three councilors, warning that "there are people here trying to get into favour who will not suit our purposes." Van der Delft now realized that the three, "all attached to the Emperor's interests," stood isolated from Henry.¹⁰²

The Imperialist party had deteriorated from the resolute group that frustrated Norfolk's and Marillac's plans for an Orleans-Tudor marriage. No one replaced Southampton as an Imperialist soldier-courtier, and Norfolk, who might have helped provide leadership, never lost his Francophile stigma. At the same time, Henry did not trust Charles V after the latter left the French war in the King's hands. Indeed, at the same time van der Delft was urging Mary of Hungary and Charles to make a gesture toward St. John,

Wriothsesley, and Gardiner, the Emperor was preoccupied with a proposed Papal-Imperial treaty.¹⁰³ Imperial interests could not be identified clearly with English interests in the late summer of 1546. For many councillors, the Imperialist party, partly because of Gardiner's leadership and partly because of Charles V's war against his protestant subjects, had become identified with popery and religious repression. Faced with a depleted treasury, the government was inclined to confiscate more church property, the chantries probably being the next target.¹⁰⁴ In contrast, Paget and the generals had won Henry's confidence: they had successfully preserved Boulogne and had made peace with France.

When the Privy Council reassembled at Windsor on 1 October, the Imperialists and the soldier-courtiers clashed bitterly. Hertford and Wriothsesley exchanged words, and Lisle and Gardiner quarreled so fiercely that the admiral struck the bishop, both winning banishment from Court. Throughout October and into November, the Privy Council sat at Windsor. Lisle and Gardiner returned in early November, and the French ambassador, Odet de Selve, reported rumors of dissension and "mutations d'etatz" among the councillors.¹⁰⁵ On 11 November, the Privy Council moved to Westminster where Cranmer joined them.

Hertford, Lisle, and Paget now had King and council firmly in their control. Wriothsesley, St. John, Russell, and Browne probably passed over to Hertford's party in

November, because they alone joined Hertford, Lisle, and Paget at the December Privy Council meetings. Van der Delft complained on 24 December that resistance to Hertford and Lisle had largely crumbled. Writing of Hertford and Lisle, van der Delft observed: "Since those who were well disposed have changed, it may be assumed that these two have entirely obtained the favour and authority of the King. A proof of this is that nothing is now done at Court without their intervention, and the meetings of the Council are mostly held in the Earl of Hertford's house."¹⁰⁶ Gardiner inadvertently offended Henry in early December by refusing to exchange some land and found himself barred from audience with the King. The King responded to his pleas by referring him curtly to Wriothesley and Paget.¹⁰⁷ On 12 December, the Privy Council arrested Norfolk and Surrey and imprisoned them in the Tower.¹⁰⁸ The council accused Surrey of using the arms of Edward the Confessor; arguing for Norfolk's ascension to the throne in the event of Prince Edward's death; defaming the Privy Council; and fornicating with his sister. He was executed on 15 January.¹⁰⁹ On 12 January, Norfolk confessed to charges of keeping secret counsels with Marillac, keeping Surrey's crimes secret, and bearing the royal arms in the presence of Wriothesley, St. John, Hertford, Lisle, Browne, Paget, Riche, and Baker.¹¹⁰ Van der Delft wrote that the prevailing opinion was that Gardiner ought to be sent to the Tower "to keep company with the Duke of Norfolk."¹¹¹ Little wonder that King

Edward VI ascended the throne with Hertford as his Lord Protector.

The last seven years of Henry's reign demonstrate the difficulty of reducing Privy Council politics to a struggle between reforming Protestants and conservative Catholics. The debates of the 1530's centered both on changes in the form of religion--the liturgy and translation of the Bible--and the political structure of the Church, manifested in the Act of Supremacy. The political changes of the Cromwell years--administrative reform, dissolution of the monasteries, and a foreign policy that sought to split the Catholic powers of Europe--ceased after Cromwell's execution. The conservative enemies of Cromwell failed to reverse the flow of church wealth into Augmentations and First Fruits. Moreover, alliance with the Emperor came only after bitter struggle between conservative councillors at Court and without Papal rapprochement. If the conservative councillors failed to undo Cromwell's work, neither the surviving proteges of Cromwell, nor the younger courtiers carried it forward. No further reform came from Paget, Hertford, or Lisle. Only as England cast about for money did the council consider dissolving the chantries.

Conflict over the form of religion continued in the Church, but it seldom involved the fortunes of courtiers. Only during the interrogation of Anne Askew did the contest between Hertford and his rivals assume a religious character. Moreover, only after Askew's trial did the rivalry

between Hertford and Howard embrace Gardiner. In the five years previous to Askew's trial, Gardiner's occasional confrontations with Cranmer flared very briefly in comparison to the rivalry between Norfolk and the other ambitious soldier-courtiers. Participation in the conflict over the form of religion did not offer titles, advancement, and profits to the men at Henry's Court. A Howard queen on the throne and rapprochement with France channeled patronage, however, through Norfolk's hands. Even so, the bishop of Winchester's commitment to the Imperial treaty of 1543 ensured that the Gardiner-Howard coalition would fall apart over the Valois-Tudor marriage negotiations. Instead of a Privy Council split by religious conflict, the sources reveal council politics reflective of struggles at Court.

Henry's influence loomed over Court and council. The central rule of English politics was that access to the King counted for everything. Norfolk's steady decline from arbiter of English diplomacy to regional commander on East Anglian beaches shows not only an aging man confronted by vigorous, young rivals. His decline also grew out of an increasing estrangement from the Court after the duke, never an intimate of Henry, saw his niece and other Howards swept from Court. Secretary Paget, in contrast, grew from an obscure clerk to become a powerful ally of Hertford and Lisle because of his close relationship with the King. Hertford, Lisle, and Paget played politics well: not only did they remain at Henry's side during the crucial months

at the end of 1546, but they prevented their rivals from having audiences with Henry.

The second rule of English politics was that in the absence of a powerful councillor from among the bishops, lawyers, and royal servants, decisive and energetic leadership fell to the soldier-courtiers. Despite Paget's role as keystone of the Hertford-Lisle coalition and Gardiner's brief periods of strength, power at Court lay with the generals. Southampton led resistance to the Orleans marriage, Norfolk interceded to help Gardiner, and Hertford and Lisle stopped the campaign against heresy and the Queen.¹¹² The soldier-courtiers constituted the most volatile group at Court in terms of opportunities for advancement and competition for place. Battlefield prowess, of course, could not shape Court and council politics independent of the bishops, lawyers, and royal servants. Gardiner's triumphant return from Ratisbon with the framework for an Anglo-Imperial treaty upheld Southampton, Wriothesley's persistence in criticizing the war expenditures helped hasten the end of the war, and Paget's grooming of Hertford kept the earl welcome at Court. Henry valued the advice and leadership of the generals, though, to a degree the other groups did not enjoy.

If, then, religion played only a secondary part in politics and the arena for politics was the Court and not the Privy Council, what provided the impetus for the struggles of 1540 to 1547? The answer is conflict between

generations as ambitious, younger men attempted to throw off the deference owed to aging generals. War against Scotland and France opened new avenues to advancement, titles, and patronage. Henry, at the beginning of his reign, surrounded himself with capable, young men who aged with him. When Cromwell died in 1540, Norfolk, Southampton, and Suffolk assumed leadership at court and Privy Council as the principal generals, Household officers, and courtiers. This triad shattered in the traumatic year that saw the Howards disgraced and Southampton die unexpectedly. Norfolk's bid to rebuild his family by bringing Mary Tudor and the Dauphin to the altar placed him at crosspurposes to Gardiner at a time when the two allies might have filled the gap left by Southampton. Instead, the long years of war provided an opportunity for Hertford and Lisle to rise to power by unseating Norfolk and Surrey. Hertford's cooperation with Paget cemented an alliance that isolated their opponents during the last month of Henry's life.

Coalitions on the Privy Council changed in relation to the issues confronting the realm at any period. In general, the councillors showed a tendency to join the majority rather than split into clearly defined factions. In this respect, neutrals found little place on the Privy Council of 1540 to 1547: councillors had no reason to demur to support the preeminent councillors' position. Many apparent "neutrals" may have seemed so because of their inability to determine which faction would be triumphant.

During the autumn following Cromwell's execution, the council divided roughly as follows: courtiers and bishops, the coalition that had destroyed Cromwell, composed the majority, including Norfolk, Suffolk, Southampton, Sussex, Russell, Tunstal, Gardiner, and Browne. The remnants of Cromwell's clients formed the opposing group: Cranmer, Audley, and Sadler. In the meantime, Wriothsesley, Riche, and Baker made every effort to ingratiate themselves with the courtiers and bishops and erase their ties to Cromwell. On the basis of their silence and later behavior, the neutral label may be assigned to Hertford, Wingfield, Sandys, Cheyney, and Kingston.

The 'bandwagon' effect of majority-building can be seen more clearly during the debate surrounding Henry's decision to ally himself with the Empire. With a Howard queen and her family at Court, only Southampton and Russell dared to speak out against Henry's flirtation with France. After Catherine Howard's death, Wriothsesley, and later Browne, joined the Imperialist party. By the time Gardiner and Chapuys began serious negotiations, Marillac had seen his support dwindle to Norfolk and Cheyney.

Another example may be found in the brief period when the bishops enjoyed influence at the end of the French war. During this time, most of the other councillors were supervising victualing and fortifications. As the behavior of Essex, Lisle, and Petre during Anne Askew's interrogation demonstrates, councillors tended to follow the lead of the

party enjoying favor or power at that time. Again, the familiar pattern continued in the victory of the soldier-courtiers at the end of Henry's reign. Russell and Browne joined the generals in September, while Wriothesley, St. John, Gage, and van der Delft waited in London. By December, Wriothesley and St. John were attending Privy Council meetings in Hertford's house. The cycle of opposition, isolation, and defection that characterized politics in the Court ruled the politics of the whole council.

Notes for Chapter II.

¹LPFD, XIX-I, 324.

²SPS, VI-I, Appendix, pp. 539-541.

³LPFD, XVI, 27.

⁴Ibid., 101.

⁵Ibid., 60.

⁶Ibid., 11.

⁷Ibid., 214.

⁸Ibid., 269.

⁹Ibid., 159.

¹⁰Ibid., 223.

¹¹LPFD., XVI, 436, 449.

¹²SPS, VI-I, 144.

¹³SPV, V, 236, 240.

¹⁴LPFD, XVI, 446.

¹⁵Ibid., 461, 466, 467.

¹⁶Ibid., 470, 534.

¹⁷Ibid., 589, 590; OPC, p. 139.

¹⁸LPFD, XVI, 594, 595.

¹⁹Ibid., 1122; SPS, VI-I, 189.

²⁰LPFD., XVI, 1091.

²¹Ibid., 1208.

²²SPS, VI-II, 2; SPV, V, 259.

²³LPFD, XVI, 949.

²⁴Ibid., 1253.

²⁵OPC, p. 264.

- ²⁶LPFD, XVI, 1454.
- ²⁷SPS, VI-I, 225, 230.
- ²⁸LPFD, XVII, 143.
- ²⁹Ibid., 291.
- ³⁰Ibid., 248.
- ³¹Ibid., 251.
- ³²Ibid., 439.
- ³³SPS, VII-II, 23; LPFD, XVII, 486.
- ³⁴LPFD, XVII, 422.
- ³⁵Ibid., 415.
- ³⁶Ibid., 770.
- ³⁷Ibid., 601; SPS, VI-II, 48.
- ³⁸LPFD, XVII, 714.
- ³⁹Ibid., 820, 894.
- ⁴⁰Ibid., 940, 997, 1001.
- ⁴¹Ibid., 987.
- ⁴²Ibid., 1031, 1084, 1123.
- ⁴³SPS, VI-II, 80.
- ⁴⁴APC, p. 82; LPFD, XVIII-I, 29, 144, 182.
- ⁴⁵APC, pp. 103, 104; LPFD, XVIII-I, 347.
- ⁴⁶LPFD, XVIII-I, 259.
- ⁴⁷APC, pp. 97, 98; SPS, VI-II, 127.
- ⁴⁸LPFD, XVIII-I, 657.
- ⁴⁹SPS, VI-II, 235, 250, 259; LPFD, XVIII-II, 317.
- ⁵⁰SPS, VII, 76.
- ⁵¹LPFD, XIX-I, 231, 314.
- ⁵²Ibid., 416.

- ⁵³LPFD, XIX-II, 175.
- ⁵⁴LPFD, XIX-I, 293.
- ⁵⁵Ibid., 864.
- ⁵⁶LPFD, XIX-II, 174.
- ⁵⁷Ibid., 105.
- ⁵⁸G.R. Elton, "Tudor Government: Points of Contact. III. The Court," Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Fifth Ser, Vol. 26, London, 1976, pp. 211-228.
- ⁵⁹LPFD, XIX-I, 446, 610, 801, 947, 958.
- ⁶⁰LPFD, XIX-II, 216.
- ⁶¹Ibid., 222.
- ⁶²Ibid., 249, 276.
- ⁶³Ibid., 336, 353; SPS, VII, 215.
- ⁶⁴LPFD, XIX-II, 346.
- ⁶⁵Ibid., 347.
- ⁶⁶Ibid., 383.
- ⁶⁷Ibid., 391, 479; SPS, VII, 228.
- ⁶⁸LPFD, XX-I, 32.
- ⁶⁹SPS, VIII, 62; LPFD, XX-I, 513, 612, 671, 673, 833, 846.
- ⁷⁰SPS, VIII, 88.
- ⁷¹LPFD, XX-I, 170.
- ⁷²SPS, VIII, 128.
- ⁷³LPFD, XX-II, 118, 496.
- ⁷⁴Ibid., 427, 1068.
- ⁷⁵SPS, VIII, 126.
- ⁷⁶LPFD, XIX-II, 192.
- ⁷⁷LPFD, XX-II, 241.
- ⁷⁸Ibid., 472.

- ⁷⁹Ibid., 1068.
- ⁸⁰James A. Muller, ed., Letters of Stephen Gardiner, (West-Port, CT, 1933), p. 86.
- ⁸¹SPS, VIII, 184, 188; LPFD, XXI-I, 58.
- ⁸²LPFD, XXI-I, 85, 248; SPS, VIII, 186, 204; APC, p. 369.
- ⁸³LPFD, XXI-I, 479.
- ⁸⁴Ibid., 477.
- ⁸⁵LPFD, XXI-I, 970.
- ⁸⁶Ibid., 1166.
- ⁸⁷LPFD, XXI-II, 771.
- ⁸⁸Ibid., 273.
- ⁸⁹SPS, VIII, 291.
- ⁹⁰Ibid.; LPFD, XXI-I, 1138; APC, pp. 479, 494.
- ⁹¹LPFD, XXI-I, 1181; XXI-II, 756; SPS, VIII, 386.
- ⁹²SPS, VIII, 204.
- ⁹³LPFD, XXI-I, 1181.
- ⁹⁴Ibid.
- ⁹⁵Ibid., 1398.
- ⁹⁶SPS, VIII, 308.
- ⁹⁷LPFD, XXI-I, 1263.
- ⁹⁸Ibid., 1425.
- ⁹⁹Ibid., 1342.
- ¹⁰⁰LPFD, XXI-II, 167, 194.
- ¹⁰¹Ibid., 605.
- ¹⁰²Ibid., 14, 15.
- ¹⁰³Ibid., 84, 194.
- ¹⁰⁴SPS, VIII, 364.
- ¹⁰⁵LPFD, XXI-II, 381.

¹⁰⁶SPS, VIII, 370; LPFD, XXII-II, 605.

¹⁰⁷LPFD, XXI-II, 487, 488, 493.

¹⁰⁸Ibid., 540.

¹⁰⁹Ibid., 555, 702.

¹¹⁰Ibid., 696.

¹¹¹SPS, VIII, 370.

¹¹²SPS, VIII, 386.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

In 1540 the Privy Council voted to appoint a clerk to record the business of each meeting. In almost all instances, the clerk also recorded the attendances. These records are printed in the Acts of the Privy Council of England, edited by J. R. Dasent. Dasent did not compile the records of the council in the years 1540 - 1542; the records of Privy Council meetings during this period have been collected in the Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England, Volume VII, edited by H. Nicolas. These two sources allow one to determine membership, tenure of executive offices on the council, and attendance in the council. On rare occasions, the clerk failed to record attendances, but this omission does not detract significantly from the information supplied for the period.

Although the Privy Council records summarize the council business at each session, they do not record debate and, hence, are of little help in examining council politics. The Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII provides a much more detailed view of political discussion and intrigue at the Court. The Letters and Papers is actually a compilation of official papers from Henry's reign, duplicating some material found in Dasent,

Nicolas, and the Letters Patent. . In addition, it includes letters from private individuals to persons at Court, reports of foreign ambassadors to their governments, and instructions to English ambassadors abroad. These materials, private letters and foreign ambassadors' reports in particular, provide rich commentary on the actions of councillors. Because, however, the editors have drawn their documents from a variety of sources, the Letters and Papers are neither complete nor systematic. Many gaps are filled by the Calendar of State Papers, Spanish, which consists of periodic reports of English politics by Habsburg ambassadors, and by the Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, the observations of the ambassadors of the Republic of Venice regarding England. Evidence found in the Letters and Papers can often be corroborated by the State Papers, Spanish and the State Papers, Venetian.

Some documents relating to the period can also be found in the Camden Society Publications and in the publications of the Historical Manuscripts commission, especially among the collections of the Cotton, Harleian, and Royal manuscripts. These, however, are generally of little value in reconstructing the politics of the Privy Council. The secondary sources relating to this period are generally biographical in nature. Monographs have been published on the lives of Thomas Cranmer, Ralph Sadler, Stephen Gardiner, Cuthbert Tunstal, William Petre, William Paget, Thomas Wriothesley, Catherine Howard, and Henry VIII. These studies

provide details of the activities of the most influential members of the council in addition to references to less conspicuous figures.

Far more valuable are the studies of Tudor government. Elton's discussions of the role of the Privy Council in Henry's government provide the basis for any study of politics in that period. Hoak's examination of the council under Edward VI, particularly in the months following Henry's death, provides clues to explain council politics in the last weeks of Henry's reign. Finally, readers consulting Richardson's history of the Court of Augmentations will find help in dispelling confusion about the largest of the departments created by Cromwell.

Abbreviations used in footnotes are included here.

Primary works

- SPV. Brown, Rawdon, ed. Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, and in Other Libraries of Northern Italy, Volume V (London, 1873).
- APC. Dasent, John Roche, ed. Acts of the Privy Council of England, New Series, Volume I (London, 1890).
- Elton, Geoffrey R., ed. Tudor Constitution (Cambridge, 1972).
- LPFD. Gardiner, James, and Brodie, R.H., eds. Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, Volumes XVI-XXI (London, 1898-1910).
- Gardiner, Stephen. Letters of Stephen Gardiner, James Arthur Muller, ed. (Cambridge, 1933).
- SPS. Gayangos, Pascual de, and Hume, Martin A.S., eds. Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers, Relating to the Negotiations Between England and Spain, Preserved in the Archives at Simancas, Venice, Brussels, and Elsewhere, Volumes VI-VIII (London, 1893-1904).
- OPC. Nicholas, Harris, ed. Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England, Volume VII (London, 1837).
- Nichols, John Gough, ed. Chronicle of the Gray Friars of London (London, 1852).
- Wriothesley, Charles. Chronicle of England During the Reigns of the Tudors, Volume I, William Douglas Hamilton, ed. (Westminster, 1875).

Secondary works

- Beer, Barrett L. Northumberland: The Political Career of John Dudley, Earl of Warwick and Duke of Northumberland (Kent, OH, 1973).
- Dunham, William Huse, Jr., "Henry VIII's Whole Council and Its Parts," Huntingdon Library Quarterly, VII (November 1943).
- Elton, G.R. England, 1200-1640 (London, 1969).
- Elton, G.R. England Under the Tudors (London, 1955).
- Elton, G.R. Reform and Reformation (Cambridge, MA, 1977).

- Elton, G.R., "Tudor Government: Points of Contact. III. The Court," Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Fifth Series, XXVI (1976).
- Elton, G.R. Tudor Revolution in Government: Administrative Changes in the Reign of Henry VIII(Cambridge, 1953).
- Emmison, F.G. Tudor Secretary: Sir William Petre at Court and Home (Cambridge, MA, 1961).
- Gammon, Samuel Rhea. Statesman and Schemer: William, First Lord Paget, Tudor Minister (Hamden, CT, 1973).
- Hoak, D.E. King's Council in the Reign of Edward VI (Cambridge, 1976).
- Lehmberg, Stanford E. Sir Walter Mildmay and Tudor Government (Austin, TX, 1964).
- Lemasters, G.A. "The Privy Council in the Reign of Queen Mary I," (Unpublished dissertation, Cambridge, 1971).
- Mackie, J.D. Earlier Tudors (Oxford, 1952).
- Muller, James Arthur. Stephen Gardiner and the Tudor Reaction (New York, 1962).
- Richardson, Walter C. History of the Court of Augmentations (Baton Rouge, LA, 1961).
- Ridley, Jaspar. Thomas Cranmer (Oxford, 1962).
- Rowse, A.L., "Thomas Wriothesley, First Earl of Southampton," Huntingdon Library Quarterly, XXVIII (February 1965).
- Scarisbrick, J.J. Henry VIII (Berkeley, CA, 1968).
- Slavin, Arthur Joseph. Politics and Profit: A Study of Sir Ralph Sadler (Cambridge, 1966).
- Smith, Lacey Baldwin. A Tudor Tragedy: The Life and Times of Catherine Howard (London, 1961)
- Stephen, Leslie, and Lee Sidney, eds. Dictionary of National Biography, I (London, 1921).
- Sturge, Charles. Cuthbert Tunstal: Churchman, Scholar, Statesman, Administrator (London, 1938).
- Tjernagel, Nerlak Serawlook. Henry VIII and the Lutherans: A Study in Anglo-Lutheran Relations from 1521 to 1547 (St. Louis, MO, 1965).

VITA

Alan George Moore

Born in Maquoketa, Iowa, August 25, 1954. Graduated from Maquoketa Community High School in that city, May 1972, B.A., Grinnell College, 1976.

In September 1976, the author entered the College of William and Mary as an apprentice in the editing of historical books and magazines in the Department of History.