



**This electronic thesis or dissertation has been
downloaded from Explore Bristol Research,
<http://research-information.bristol.ac.uk>**

Author:

Huddlestone, Connor

Title:

Friendship, patronage, and identity

a prosopographical study of Royal Councillors in England, 1509-1603

General rights

Access to the thesis is subject to the Creative Commons Attribution - NonCommercial-No Derivatives 4.0 International Public License. A copy of this may be found at <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/legalcode>. This license sets out your rights and the restrictions that apply to your access to the thesis so it is important you read this before proceeding.

Take down policy

Some pages of this thesis may have been removed for copyright restrictions prior to having it been deposited in Explore Bristol Research. However, if you have discovered material within the thesis that you consider to be unlawful e.g. breaches of copyright (either yours or that of a third party) or any other law, including but not limited to those relating to patent, trademark, confidentiality, data protection, obscenity, defamation, libel, then please contact collections-metadata@bristol.ac.uk and include the following information in your message:

- Your contact details
- Bibliographic details for the item, including a URL
- An outline nature of the complaint

Your claim will be investigated and, where appropriate, the item in question will be removed from public view as soon as possible.



University of
BRISTOL

**Friendship, Patronage, and Identity: A Prosopographical study of Royal Councillors in
England, 1509-1603**

by

Connor M Huddleston

A dissertation submitted to the University of Bristol in accordance with the requirements for
award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Arts

School of History

March 2023

80,000 words

**South, West
& Wales
Doctoral
Training
Partnership**

Abstract

This thesis investigates the men who served the Tudor monarchs as their privy councillors by exploring their interpersonal relations and biographical characteristics. It uses the methodology of prosopography to analyse this collection of state servants as a *group*. This is an innovative approach to sixteenth-century English politics and government which has revealed that cultural similarity and social cooperation were prevalent among Tudor privy councillors. By tracking biographical factors for all councillors across the whole period it has been possible to detect trends and patterns in the data. These patterns have then been analysed and contextualised in order to reveal previously invisible groupings in the Tudor polity. These networks lacked the overtly political nature of previously described 'factions'. Instead, they were collections of men bound together by background, experience and culture who operated as networks of mutual support. The primary function of these groupings was as a source of companionship, preferment and patronage for councillors. The discovery of these networks further advances the prevailing historiographical view that 'factional' explanations of Tudor politics are inadequate, and that a new multi-faceted framework that considers the full range of social, cultural and interpersonal factors is needed if we are to fully understand the Tudor polity.

The second major contribution of the thesis is the identification and delineation of a particularly prevalent archetype of councillor. As the sixteenth century progressed, the type of men appointed to the council became strikingly uniform. The main features of this archetype were an increasing propensity to have received formal academic training at a university or an Inn of Court, and the expectation that a councillor was also an officeholder and would exercise responsibility over a department of state. These characteristics formed part of a changing conception of service that was inspired by humanist writers and that stressed the importance of certain qualities in the men who served the commonwealth. By understanding these shifts in identity and outlook it is possible to gain a greater appreciation of the intellectual and cultural world in which the Tudor elite operated. This provides an essential context to political events and helps explain the broader developments in English government and society in the sixteenth century.

Such an approach would not have been possible without the use of digital tools and relational database software. The creation of a digital relational database of all Tudor councillors and their biographical details facilitated the analysis. This type of enquiry has never been undertaken for members of the Tudor political elite and has demonstrated the ability of digital prosopography to reveal new features in well-trodden historical fields. Also, the argument and information presented here are but a fraction of the potential queries it would be possible to undertake with the data stored in my database. It is hoped that this thesis will serve as a model for future investigations into similar fields.

Research Thesis: Declaration of Authorship

Print name: Connor M Huddleston

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the requirements of the University's *Regulations and Code of Practice for Research Degree Programmes* and that it has not been submitted for any other academic award. Except where indicated by specific reference in the text, the work is the candidate's own work. Work done in collaboration with, or with the assistance of, others, is indicated as such. Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author.

Signature: Connor M Huddleston Date: 13/03/2023

Table of Contents

Research Thesis: Declaration of Authorship	ii
Table of Contents	iii
List of Tables	v
List of Figures	vii
Acknowledgements	ix
Abbreviations.....	x
Chapter 1 Introduction	1
Historiography.....	3
Methodology	16
Overview.....	23
Chapter 2 Making a Councillor	26
Social Background.....	27
The 'New Nobility'	30
Companions-in-Arms.....	49
Education.....	59
The Humanist Context.....	60
Schools.....	68
University.....	78
Chapter 3 In the Service of the State	93
Tudor Government.....	94
The Executive.....	96
The Household.....	100
The Financial Machinery	106
Officeholding	109
Culture, Prestige and Legitimacy.....	111
Archetype: Laity and Clergy.....	117

Table of Contents

Archetype: Class and Experience	127
Chapter 4 In the Service of the Community	136
Local Government and Officeholding.....	139
Networks and Stability	150
Landholding and Good Lordship.....	158
Chapter 5 Social Spheres.....	183
Friendship	187
The Chamber Network	193
Family.....	206
Fraternal Kinship Networks	208
Conciliar Families.....	226
Chapter 6 Conclusion	239
Appendix A Privy Councillors	245
Appendix B National Offices	260
Appendix C Local Offices	274
Appendix D Privy Councillor Attendance	278
Bibliography	282
Primary Sources.....	282
Secondary Sources.....	286

List of Tables

Table 3.1 Major Offices of the Tudor State	95
Table 5.1 Elizabethan Privy Council Membership in 1558, 1577, 1591 and 1603	231
Table 6.1 Privy Councillors of Henry VIII	245
Table 6.2 Privy Councillors of Edward VI	252
Table 6.3 Privy Councillors of Mary I	254
Table 6.4 Privy Councillors of Elizabeth I	256
Table 6.5 Lord Chancellors and Lord Keepers	260
Table 6.6 Lords Privy Seal.....	261
Table 6.7 Principal Secretaries.....	262
Table 6.8 Lord High Treasurers	263
Table 6.9 Lord High Admirals	264
Table 6.10 Lord Stewards and Lord Great Masters.....	265
Table 6.11 Treasurers of the Household	266
Table 6.12 Comptrollers of the Household	267
Table 6.13 Lord Great Chamberlains	268
Table 6.14 Lord Chamberlains of the Household	269
Table 6.15 Treasurers of the Chamber	270
Table 6.16 Masters of Horse	271
Table 6.17 Chancellors of the Duchy of Lancaster	272
Table 6.18 Chancellors of the Exchequer	Error! Bookmark not defined.
Table 6.19 Lord Lieutenants 1559.....	274

List of Tables

Table 6.20 Lord Lieutenants 1569 and 1587.....275

List of Figures

Figure 1.1 Relationship Map	18
Figure 1.2 Extract of the person table of the Tudor Privy Council Database	21
Figure 1.3 Database Query showing where Principal Secretaries received their education....	22
Figure 1.4 Database Query showing a selection of councillors with major residences in the counties of Kent, Sussex and Surrey	22
Figure 2.1 Graph showing noble and non-noble councillors 1509-1603.Error! Bookmark not defined.	
Figure 2.2 Graph showing councillors from noble families and councillors with Tudor peerages 1509-1547.....	35
Figure 2.3 Graph showing councillors from noble families and councillors with Tudor peerages 1547-1558.....	39
Figure 2.4 Graph showing councillors from noble families and councillors with Tudor peerages 1558-1603.....	40
Figure 2.5 Graph showing noble councillors created in the current reign alongside those created in the previous reigns. Error! Bookmark not defined.	
Figure 2.6 Graph showing the number of noblemen present on the privy council for each year of Henry VIII's reign.....	52
Figure 2.7 Graph showing noble councillors 1509-1603	54
Figure 2.8 Graph showing councillors from noble families and councillors with Tudor peerages 1509-1603.....	55
Figure 2.9 Chart shows privy councillors' university attendance between 1509 and 1603.	80
Figure 2.10 Attendance at the University of Oxford between 1478 and 1522.	83
Figure 3.1 Clergymen on the Privy Council 1509-1603	122
Figure 4.1 Privy Councillors who had served as a sheriff.....	147

List of Figures

Figure 4.2 The Principal Power Bases of Henry VIII's Privy Councillors 1540	161
Figure 4.3 The Principal Power Bases of Edward VI's Privy Councillors 1547	162
Figure 4.4 The Principal Power Bases of Edward VI's Privy Councillors 1553	163
Figure 4.5 The Principal Power Bases of Mary I's Privy Councillors 1553	164
Figure 4.6 The Principal Power Bases of Elizabeth I's Privy Councillors 1558	165
Figure 4.7 The Principal Power Bases of Elizabeth I's Privy Councillors 1603	166
Figure 4.8 Holbein Gate, Whitehall Palace	175
Figure 4.9 Hampton Court Palace	176
Figure 4.10 Shurland Hall, Kent.	176
Figure 4.11 Titchfield Abbey, Hampshire.	177
Figure 4.12 Layer Marney, Essex	177
Figure 4.13 Burghley House, Lincolnshire.	179
Figure 4.14 Holdenby House, Northamptonshire.	179
Figure 5.1 Major Offices of State 1540	196
Figure 5.2 Dudley memorial in the Beauchamp Tower, Tower of London	219
Figure 5.3 Tournament Cheque, Royal College of Arms in Richard McCoy, 'From the Tower to the Tiltyard', pp.425-235	220
Figure 5.4 Biologically-related councillors, 1509-1603	228
Figure 6.1 Total Privy Councillors 1509-1603	278
Figure 6.2 Privy Councillor Attendance - Edward VI 1547-1553	279
Figure 6.3 Privy Councillor Attendance - Mary I 1553-1558	280
Figure 6.4 Privy Councillor Attendance - Elizabeth I 1558-1603	281

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisors, Kenneth Austin and George Bernard. They have provided unwavering support and tireless encouragement throughout the project. Kenneth Austin's voluminous and detailed comments on numerous drafts over the last four years have not only helped me complete this thesis, but also made me a better writer and academic. His friendly encouragement and support, especially in moments of high stress, have kept me motivated and on track. Similarly, I would like to thank George Bernard for inspiring me to push deeper and ask more questions of the material I consulted. His incomparable experience and knowledge of the field, always imparted with patience and kindness, have greatly aided my own understanding, and shaped my outlook as a Tudor historian. I owe both a debt of gratitude that I will strive to repay.

I have incurred several institutional debts in the course of this project which I would like to acknowledge. Firstly, I want to acknowledge the vital support provided by the South West and Wales Doctoral Training Partnership (SWW DTP) for providing funding for this project and providing me with the opportunity to develop new skills and meet new people. Also, I would like to thank my two universities of Bristol and Southampton for the access they provided to key resources without which this project would have been impossible. Additionally, the University of Plymouth has acted as an almost surrogate university to me during the years of the pandemic and afterwards, and I would like to register my thanks to the staff there who were always willing to help, despite me being an outsider.

Finally, and most importantly, I want to thank my wife Hannah whose forbearance and patience I have tested to the limit during the course of this project. Her unwavering love and support are the only reasons why this thesis has reached completion. Thank you for always believing in me.

Abbreviations

APC.....	<i>Acts of the Privy Council</i> , ed. J. R. Dasent (London: HMSO, 1890-1964)
BL.....	British Library
CSPD Edward VI.....	<i>Calendar of State Papers Domestic Series of the Reign of Edward VI 1547-1553</i> , ed. C. S. Knighton (London: HMSO, 1992)
CSPD Mary I.....	<i>Calendar of State Papers Domestic Series of the Reign of Mary I 1553-1558</i> , ed. C. S. Knighton (London: HMSO, 1998)
CSPD EVI, MI, EI, JI.....	<i>Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Edward VI, Mary I, Elizabeth I and James I</i> , eds. R. Lemon and M. A. E. Green (London: Longman, 1856-72)
CSPF.....	<i>Calendar of State Papers Foreign</i> , ed. William B. Turnbull (London: HMSO, 1861)
CSPScot.....	<i>Calendar of State Papers Scotland</i> , ed. Joseph Bain (Edinburgh: H. M. General Register House, 1898-1936)
CSPS.....	<i>Calendar of State Papers Spain</i> , ed. G. A. Bergenroth (London: HMSO, 1862)
CSPV.....	<i>Calendar of State Papers Venice</i> , ed. Rawdon Brown (London: HMSO, 1864)
HMSO.....	Her Majesty's Stationery Office
L&P Henry VIII.....	<i>Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII</i> (21 vols), eds. J. S. Brewer, J. Gardiner and R. H. Brodie (London: HMSO, 1862-1932)
NA.....	National Archives
ODNB.....	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
PC.....	Records of the Privy Council Office
PROB.....	Prerogative Court of Canterbury and related Probate Jurisdictions
SP.....	State Papers

Chapter 1 Introduction

One mortal man cannot have knowledge of all things done in a realm or large dominion and at one time discuss all controversies, reform all transgressions and exploit all consultations, concluded as well for outward as inward affairs: it is expedient and also needful that under the capital governor be sundry mean authorities, as it were advising him in the distribution of justice in sundry parts of a huge multitude: whereby his labours being levigate [lightened] and made more tolerable, he shall govern with the better advise, and consequently with a more perfect governance.¹

A recurring theme in sixteenth-century English political thought was that the provision of counsel was a critical component of government and essential for the prosperity of the Commonwealth. Even in an age of personal monarchy, sovereigns could not rule alone but had instead to surround themselves with skilled individuals capable of executing their will and running the machinery of the state. In Tudor England these functions were provided primarily by the privy council. Yet, despite the vital functions performed by monarchical councillors, to date historians have only given them limited attention. Only the most prominent councillors have received full-length biographies, and those have tended to consider the councillor's life in isolation. Meanwhile, a wider group of councillors have played secondary roles in some accounts of specific political crises of the period. These approaches provide insight into the careers of individuals and shed light on particular events respectively, but they fail to give sufficient attention to the broader membership of this group, and the relations between them. This study seeks to fill this gap by exploring the characteristics and relationships of members of the Tudor privy councils to understand how politics and elite society operated.

The 316 men who served as privy councillors between 1509 and 1603 constituted the most powerful political elite in Tudor England. They controlled or influenced virtually every area of official policy and law enforcement and were the monarch's closest advisors. The council's purview covered all aspects of national government, from foreign and financial affairs to the makeup of the Royal Household and the provision of justice. Council membership fluctuated considerably across the period: there were 70 named councillors in 1518 compared to only 11 in 1598 for instance.² A defining moment in the

¹ Thomas Elyot, *The Book Named the Governor* (1531), ed. S.E. Lehmborg (London: Everyman's Library, 1970), p.3.

² See Appendix D: Privy Councillor Attendance for a full breakdown in council membership across the period.

council's history came in 1540 when it received its own officially designated clerk and record book.³ From then onwards, the council took on the form and functions that it would possess for the remainder of the century, and it is from this point that we have a mostly complete record of its proceedings. It was also at this time that the royal judges and other legal experts were removed from the 'political council' to sit instead in Star Chamber, the council's guise as an equity court. As this dissertation is concerned with the political role of councillors, the men who sat only in Star Chamber are not systematically analysed as part of my core group, though they do occasionally appear when their actions intersect with those of members of the privy council.

Given councillors unrivalled role in policy implementation and their authority to settle disputes, in order to understand Tudor government and politics it is vital to understand the relationships between the privy councillors. Moreover, in order to make broader conclusions about politics and society, it is essential to consider these men *as a group* across the Tudor period. Drawing on the methodology of prosopography, the present study does just that: at its core it is an analysis of the main biographical details of all Tudor privy councillors, from which it seeks to reveal broader trends and patterns.

The general public and some historians have perceived the Tudor court as a hostile and bloodthirsty place. Undoubtedly, the Tudors could be capricious and ruthless with those who failed them, and their relations with their servants were often unpredictable. However, this does not mean that relations between their councillors were necessarily always hostile. In fact, this dissertation will contend that they were significantly more bound together by shared characteristics and mentality than has previously been appreciated. For instance, time spent together in councillors' early years at school or university could facilitate the creation of networks that cut across supposed 'ideological' barriers.⁴ Also, it was possible for informal networks to develop between councillors working in the same department which were based on mutual support and the exchange of favours, rather than political goals or motives.⁵ Prosopography, a form of collective biography which investigates the common characteristics of a group of historical actors, offers one of the best ways of revealing these connections. In this dissertation, it will be contended not only that such an approach reveals new insights into the Tudor elite but also that it has important methodological implications for how we view other historical communities.

³ 'Appointment of a clerk to the privy Council, 1540', in G. R. Elton, *The Tudor Constitution: Documents and Commentary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960), pp.95-96.

⁴ For a full discussion of school and university networks see Chapter 2: Education.

⁵ For an exploration of a network based on professional service see Chapter 5: Friendship.

Furthermore, this dissertation also provides substantial statistical evidence of several trends previously hypothesised by historians. For instance, the growth of university education in the sixteenth century is often commented upon by scholars, but through the use of the relational database created as part of this study, it is possible to plot this trend definitively.⁶ Similarly, claims of a 'new Tudor nobility' appear more credible if one tracks the number of new noblemen on the privy council alongside noblemen of ancient lineage.⁷ The confirmation of such trends is a valuable contribution in itself to our understanding of the composition of the Tudor elite.

Finally, the significant changes in the composition of the privy council, and the resulting change in the cultural and intellectual outlook among councillors, resulted in the emergence of a new elite identity in the sixteenth century. The primary features of this identity were officeholding, humanist-inspired education and membership of the laity. These shared characteristics created a coherent cultural milieu which increasingly drew councillors together as the century progressed. It also resulted in a narrowing of the political elite and brought into being a fundamentally different conception of government service compared with that which had existed among medieval royal councillors.

Therefore, this dissertation details new groupings and networks which shed light on the operation of Tudor politics and reveal new conceptions and approaches to government service. It also corroborates and substantiates several trends emerging in recent Tudor historiography. Using an innovative methodology for sixteenth-century England, it demonstrates how similarity and cooperation were just as common, if not more prevalent, than animosity and discord within the Tudor elite. Furthermore, it outlines the case for a new elite identity based on the shared cultural and intellectual characteristics and experiences of Tudor councillors. It follows in the footsteps recent historians who have reinterpreted particular 'factional' episodes in Tudor history. It builds on these studies by taking a cohort approach which uses interpersonal relationships as its foundation. In this way, it provides a new framework through which to analyse Tudor politics and administration.

Historiography

This study draws together various historiographical strands and advocates for a new approach to administrative and political history. This approach is, first and foremost, about the characteristics and interaction of people. The underlying contention is that more is revealed about government and

⁶ For a breakdown of privy councillors' university education see Chapter 2: University.

⁷ For a full discussion of the idea of a 'new Tudor nobility' see Chapter 2: The 'New Nobility'.

politics by studying the people involved in it than by just considering the institutions within which they operated. In this way, it follows in the tradition of those late twentieth-century historians who opposed the then-historical orthodoxy that a definitive account of the 'constitution' could be derived from a meticulous investigation of the legal and institutional structures of the state.⁸ Patrick Collinson exemplified this approach in 1989 when he called for a 'history with the politics put back'.⁹ He was reacting against a trend that saw the modern state as the necessary destination of historical development and which dealt with little beyond the machinery of central government.¹⁰ The approach of Collinson, and others, developed into what has come to be called 'new Tudor political history', which sought to uncover the interaction between people, institutions and ideas.¹¹ To do this, the adherents of this approach were especially concerned with integrating political culture, language, literature, iconography, kinship and networks into their interpretations. The methodology used in this dissertation draws together several of these themes, in combination with digital techniques, in an innovative approach that seeks to build on the work of the new Tudor political historians.

This dissertation explores Tudor privy councillors through prosopography and network analysis. It sees the network as the central political unit of sixteenth-century England. In a similar vein, Steven Gunn has argued that contemporaries operated in different political 'structures' and that only a long-term approach could reveal the character of Tudor politics.¹² Gunn claimed that the historian could only make sense of political action by examining the interaction between and within these structures.¹³ Further, Gunn argued that other variables might reinforce or cut across such structures. These variables included educational background, professional identity, generation and religion.¹⁴ By looking at Tudor privy councillors across the whole period and analysing the networks of which they were a part, this dissertation reconstructs the realities of day-to-day political life. For the present dissertation, the most important networks or groupings in Tudor England were kinship and friendship networks, local affinities and political groupings. It was within and between these four types of networks that power and politics operated.

⁸ John Guy, 'Introduction', *Tudor Monarchy* (London: Arnold, 1997), pp.1-10 (p.1).

⁹ Patrick Collinson, 'De republica Anglorum: or, history with the politics put back', in *Elizabethan Essays*, ed. Collinson (London: Hambledon, 1994), pp.1-29 (p.1).

¹⁰ Collinson, 'De republica', p.9.

¹¹ Guy, 'Introduction', *Tudor Monarchy*, p.7.

¹² Steven Gunn, 'The Structures of politics in early Tudor England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5 (1995), 59-90 (p.62).

¹³ Gunn, 'Structures', p.59.

¹⁴ Gunn, 'Structures', p.64.

The least significant, but paradoxically most discussed, grouping was the political grouping or faction. Indeed, it is impossible to discuss Tudor politics without reference to the idea of competing factions engaged in a bloody struggle for power and supremacy. In the late twentieth century, as historians began to take a more people-centred approach to Tudor history, they emphasised the role of personal rivalries in the competition for royal favour. David Starkey, for instance, argued that political affiliation had a significant role in government, as expressed by the centrality of the king's Household in policymaking.¹⁵ For Starkey, the creation of the privy chamber in the early sixteenth century was the most important change enacted in Tudor administration, for it allowed household staff to intervene, sometimes decisively, in government. While trying to direct attention away from constitutionalism, Starkey was still guilty of thinking in institutional terms. He wrote about the politicisation of the Household and saw the department as a battlefield of competing interests, but he did not undertake much research into the key figures involved in the principal contests. The 'factions', which supposedly constituted the primary political units of Tudor England, become incoherent when their members are subjected to detailed collective biographical analysis. Often, factional divisions only make sense when viewed in isolation or without the context of surrounding interpersonal relationships. The detailed breakdown of the careers and characteristics of Tudor privy councillors undertaken here significantly undermines the idea that faction was the primary network of the Tudor state.

Placing councillors into factional units or treating individuals in isolation risks missing the essential fluidity of personal relationships. Such a narrow focus fails to consider the whole range of interpersonal relationships and biographical details that characterise human interaction. Natalie Mears has criticised the monochromatic nature of the factional debate, according to which the monarch was always strong and their subjects weak, or vice versa.¹⁶ Instead, she argued that politics and policymaking were fluid and that the change in personalities and circumstances deserve more attention than they had previously received.¹⁷ The personalities of individuals who lived 500 years ago are difficult to detect, but their interactions with their peers often provide the most fruitful evidence of their characters. A comparative approach that considers councillors holistically reveals their relationships and connections and allows one to draw conclusions regarding their outlook and beliefs. Winthrop Hudson demonstrated the viability of this approach in her study of the architects of the

¹⁵ David Starkey, 'Court and Government', in *Revolution Reassessed*, ed. David Starkey and Christopher Coleman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp.29-58 (p.58).

¹⁶ Natalie Mears, 'Courts, Courtiers, and Culture in Tudor England', *The Historical Journal* 46 (2003), 703-722 (p.709).

¹⁷ Mears, 'Courts', p.710.

Elizabethan religious settlement of 1559. In *The Cambridge Connection*, Hudson convincingly argued that the men behind the religious settlement constituted a 'group' distinct from a faction.¹⁸ The network was based on kinship, marriage, congeniality and friendship forged during the years its members had spent at the University of Cambridge.¹⁹ Hudson skilfully traces the importance of the men's early university association through their lifelong friendship and cooperation. The current work uses many of the same criteria as Hudson's study but expands them to the broader political establishment and across a longer timeframe.

The factional debate provided essential discussion regarding each monarch's role and personality as the aim was to supplant or promote the personnel surrounding the monarch rather than to stand in opposition to the royal policy.²⁰ Henry VIII has been seen both as a puppet master, skilfully exploiting the divisions between his leading subjects, and as a puppet easily manipulated by those close to him. Eric Ives advanced the latter interpretation and presented Henry as moved by short-lived enthusiasms and emotion and as amenable to manipulation.²¹ On the other hand, George Bernard opposed the view promoted by Ives and Starkey of the factional nature of key episodes in Tudor history. He argued instead that the king was open to influence rather than manipulation, but only in terms of tactics and timing and not concerning the actual substance of policy.²² Similarly, for the reign of Elizabeth I, Collinson controversially argued for a 'monarchical republic' and claimed that there existed a tension between Elizabeth's view of imperial monarchy and her councillors' quasi-republican ideals.²³ Mears challenged Collinson's view of an ideological split between Elizabeth and her councillors. Instead, she stressed the similarity of outlook between Elizabeth and her councillors and suggested that this shared outlook was the reason for their appointments in the first place.²⁴ The monarch's personality largely determined the government's character and the possibility of factions developing. Bernard has convincingly argued that domination by faction was only possible with a weak monarch, which was a rare occurrence during the sixteenth century.²⁵ Any exploration of political networks in sixteenth-

¹⁸ Winthrop S. Hudson, *The Cambridge Connection and the Elizabethan Settlement of 1559* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1980), p.35.

¹⁹ Hudson, *Cambridge Connection*, p.35.

²⁰ Eric Ives, 'Henry VIII: The Political Perspective', in *The Reign of Henry VIII: Politics, Policy and Piety*, ed. Diarmaid MacCulloch (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 1995), pp.13-34 (pp.30-31).

²¹ Ives, 'Henry VIII: The Political Perspective', p.32.

²² G. W. Bernard, *Power and Politics in Tudor England* (Oxon: Routledge, 2016), pp.7-17.

²³ Collinson, 'The Monarchical Republic of Elizabeth I', in *Elizabethan Essays* (London: Hambledon Press, 1994), 31-58.

²⁴ Natalie Mears, *Queenship and Political Discourse in the Elizabethan Realms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp.78-9.

²⁵ G. W. Bernard, *Who Ruled Tudor England?* (London: Bloomsbury, 2022), p.133.

century England must consider the role of the sovereign as all elite networks inevitably connected with the King or Queen.

Nevertheless, factionalism could be used in a limited way as a means of explaining specific relationships and episodes. Too often, however, the interpretation of one event is extrapolated to the rest of the period without appreciating how circumstances or personalities had changed. For instance, John Neale described Elizabeth I's reign as factional but drew most of his evidence from the 1590s.²⁶ By characterising Elizabeth's 45-year reign based on the circumstances of a single decade, he created a somewhat misleading picture. Research by Simon Adams has revealed that Robert Devereux (1565-1601), second Earl of Essex, was the disruptive element and that before his rise to prominence, the Elizabethan establishment broadly agreed on public policy.²⁷ Prosopography can add a personal dimension to these political conclusions, revealing a cultural and intellectual unity to the Elizabethan elite.

A further challenge to the factional interpretation of Tudor politics has come from the social and cultural approach of historians such as Greg Walker. Walker reinforced the importance of cultural and social context in his study of the expulsion of Henry VIII's young 'boon companions' or 'minions' from the privy chamber by Wolsey in 1519. He demonstrated the importance of understanding contemporary language usage by revealing how the Venetian ambassador, Giustinian, had misunderstood the English word 'frenchified'.²⁸ Giustinian believed 'frenchified' to mean being pro-French, but in contemporary English it denoted bad behaviour and immorality.²⁹ It was suggesting that some English courtiers were too influenced by the looser morals of the French court, and that this demeaned the reputation of the King. Therefore, the real reasons for the expulsion of the 'minions' could have been less about purging Wolsey's diplomatic policy opponents and more about the moral criticism circulating in London of their undignified behaviour.³⁰ This highlights the need to consider cultural and intellectual values and identity when assessing political action.

Meanwhile, J. G. A. Pocock demonstrated that a new political language and discourse spread rapidly throughout the country via the medium of print.³¹ The dominant political discourse of the sixteenth

²⁶ J. E. Neale, 'The Elizabethan political scene', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 34 (1948), 97-117.

²⁷ Simon Adams, *Leicester and the Court: Essays on Elizabethan Politics* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), pp.18-19.

²⁸ Greg Walker, 'The 'Expulsion of the Minions' of 1519', *Historical Journal*, 32 (1989), 1-16 (p.15).

²⁹ Walker, 'The "Expulsion"', p.15.

³⁰ Walker, 'The "Expulsion"', p.15.

³¹ J. G. A. Pocock, *The Varieties of British Political Thought 1500-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p.6.

century concerned court and counsel. For instance, the political treatises and advice manuals of Baldassare Castiglione (1478-1529), Thomas Elyot (c.1496-1546) and Thomas Starkey (c.1498-1538) articulated a framework of government service and counsel that was influential among Tudor elites. John Guy has argued that feudal-baronial rhetoric of counsel, stemming from the Baronial Revolt and Magna Carta, gave way to a humanist-classical interpretation in the sixteenth century.³² The baronial rhetoric claimed that it was the right of the aristocracy to sit high in the king's councils and advise him for the good of the realm. On the other hand, humanists claimed that the appointment of counsellors was a matter for the king alone and added the stipulation that would-be councillors must be qualified to advise the king.³³ Joanne Paul has convincingly set out a more nuanced view of counsel in the sixteenth century, which sees two competing views active simultaneously: that counsel was either an obligation the monarch was compelled to receive and act upon or that counsel was completely subject to the monarch's will.³⁴ For Paul, the tension between these two interpretations was responsible for the eventual breakdown of the system of counsel in the seventeenth century.

Central to arguments regarding counsel was the place of the nobility as the monarch's 'natural counsellors'. The current historiographical consensus is that a 'new nobility' was created by the Tudor monarchs that was defined by service in central government and dependent on royal power and largesse.³⁵ Furthermore, G. L. Harriss, Steven Gunn, John Guy and others have contended since the 1980s that the centralisation of government in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries marginalised the nobility in favour of a direct relationship between the Crown and the gentry.³⁶ Similarly, historians such as David Loades and Mary Robertson have seen the creation of a 'new nobility' as a deliberate policy by the Tudors to undermine the traditional aristocracy.³⁷ While a deliberate policy of exclusion and marginalisation of the traditional nobility by the Tudors is unconvincing the role of noblemen on

³² Guy, 'The rhetoric of counsel in early modern England', in *Tudor Political Culture*, ed. Dale Hoak (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp.292-310 (p.293).

³³ Guy, 'The rhetoric of counsel', p.298.

³⁴ Joanne Paul, *Counsel and Command in Early Modern English Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), pp.1-2.

³⁵ Elements of this interpretation can be found in: Susan Brigden, *New Worlds, Lost Worlds* (London: Penguin, 2000), pp.145-48, 249-50, 363-64; David Loades, *The Tudors: The history of a dynasty* (London: Continuum, 2012), pp.80-1; Bernard, *Who Ruled Tudor England*, pp.55-56.

³⁶ G. L. Harriss, 'Introduction', in *England in the fifteenth century*, ed. K. B. McFarlane (London: Hambledon Press, 1981), pp.i-xxvi (p.xxvi); Gunn, *Early Tudor Government, 1485-1558* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995), pp.27-30; Gunn, *Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk c.1484-1545* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988), p.226; Guy, *Tudor England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp.63-4.

³⁷ David Loades, *The Tudors: The history of a dynasty* (London: Continuum, 2012), pp.80-1; Mary L. Robertson, 'Profit and purpose in the development of Thomas Cromwell's landed estates', *Journal of Historical Studies*, 29 (1990), 317-346 (p.318).

the privy council supports the interpretation that the Tudors elevated a new type of man into the peerage. The reality was that the vast majority of new noble creations under the Tudors were from their councillors and officeholders. This infused the traditional aristocracy with men who embodied new ideas regarding service and counsel. These new ideas would combine with older notions of dynasty and social pre-eminence to forge a new elite identity.

The advent of the Tudors coincided with the spread of printing and the ideas of the Renaissance. Markku Peltonen, and others, have sought to measure the impact of these developments on the civic awareness and training of early modern elites. Contemporary opinion believed a commonwealth was at its best when a prince held the full range of humanist virtues. However, Peltonen convincingly argued that humanist writers refined this view claiming that, ideally, the monarch should be learned and virtuous, but if this was not possible, then it was sufficient to be surrounded by wise counsellors.³⁸ Indeed, historians are becoming increasingly aware of the importance of education to sixteenth-century elites. For example, the work of David Cressy revealed that the formal education of English elites was increasing in this period.³⁹ Meanwhile, Maria Dowling has explored the content of that education and discovered a coherent humanist-inspired curriculum present in English schools and universities from the early sixteenth century.⁴⁰ These are vital contributions to our understanding of the educational world of Tudor England.

However, it is only in recent years that the impact of this education on an individual's outlook and networks has been explored. Aysha Pollnitz has traced the influence of humanist learning on the upbringing of royal children and has convincingly argued that this education helped reshape the political and religious life of early modern Britain.⁴¹ For Pollnitz, the humanist focus on active participation, reform and the purging of decay was partly responsible for Henry VIII's willingness to pursue radical action in the form of the Break with Rome.⁴² The current dissertation undertakes this type of analysis of councillors' early years to draw conclusions about their beliefs and actions.

Meanwhile, Douglas Biow and Cedric Michon explored the impact of education on elite groups in a European context. Biow focused on the impact of humanist education on professionals and state

³⁸ Markku Peltonen, *Classical Humanism and Republicanism in English Political Thought 1570-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp.8-9.

³⁹ David Cressy, *Education in Tudor and Stuart England* (London: Edward Arnold, 1975), p.9.

⁴⁰ Maria Dowling, *Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII* (London: Croom Helm, 1986), p.1.

⁴¹ Aysha Pollnitz, *Princely Education in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p.2.

⁴² Pollnitz, *Princely Education*, p.11.

officials in Renaissance Italy. He concluded that such education created active participants in stately affairs, not isolated philosophers.⁴³ Similarly, Michon explored the training of French and English bishops in the sixteenth century and conceived of the idea of the 'state prelate', a churchman uniquely shaped by their university experience to serve the state. Also, Michon convincingly revealed how 'state prelates' used their university contacts as a support network in their future careers.⁴⁴ These studies demonstrate the potential of exploring the upbringing of specific historical groups to understand their future actions and beliefs. Furthermore, they illuminate strong networks of like-minded people which originated in schoolrooms and colleges, and which significantly influenced future careers.

Education has always helped shape the outlook of individuals, but it was in the early modern period that people began to pay more attention to the concept of individual identity.⁴⁵ An individual's identity played a central part in how they perceived their role and interacted with others. However, contemporaries rarely committed their thoughts on this to paper making definitive conclusions difficult. Nevertheless, several historians have used a variety of artistic and literary sources to piece together general cultural milieux. One of the most significant studies was Stephen Greenblatt's *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, in which he described how individuals consciously constructed personas for their own ends, which did not always match reality.⁴⁶ That privy councillors engaged in persona construction can be seen in the clothes they wore, the buildings they constructed and the images they tried to project. In England, what constituted elite status and how it should be displayed remained relatively static throughout the sixteenth century. The majority of councillors aspired to the acquisition of titles and land upon which to build a dynasty and sought to display their power in traditional terms. However, while the goals remained largely unchanged, there was a subtle shift in the methods. Increasingly during the sixteenth century, government office and education became

⁴³ Douglas Biow, *Doctors, Ambassadors, Secretaries: Humanism and Professions in Renaissance Italy* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2002), pp.4-5.

⁴⁴ Cedric Michon, 'State Prelates in Renaissance France and England: New Light on the formation of Early Modern States', *History Compass*, 9 (2011), 876-886 (pp.876-879).

⁴⁵ Colin Morris presented an alternative model in which the individual emerged in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. However, Morris's interpretation was primarily focused on churchmen and the intellectual elite rather than members of the laity. Colin Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual, 1050-1200* (London: SPCK, 1972).

⁴⁶ Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-fashioning, from More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

essential requirements for membership of the highest ruling elite.⁴⁷ This shift resulted in new men entering the elite and caused existing elite groups to modify their approach.

The shifts in identity and attempts to construct a specific persona are usually only visible in sources of cultural expression. For instance, Simon Thurley, in his discussion of Whitehall Palace, argued that this building was intended to convey various political messages.⁴⁸ Thurley recounts how Henry VIII failed to provide lodgings for the Queen upon his acquisition of Whitehall Palace, a clear repudiation of Catherine of Aragon.⁴⁹ By not providing space for the Queen's Household and arranging the privy lodgings as if he were a bachelor, Henry demonstrated that he no longer viewed his marriage as valid. The buildings, artwork and clothes of privy councillors contained similar symbols and messages. For example, several of Henry VIII's councillors drew inspiration from their monarch's palaces for their own residences, copying design elements and layout.⁵⁰ Also, the depiction of councillors in portraiture was intended to convey strength and authority, but a councillor's rank could determine how this was achieved. Veronica Isaac demonstrated how Thomas Cromwell (1485-1540) articulated his exalted status subtly through his clothing.⁵¹ He used expensive fabrics and dyes to illustrate his wealth and power as he recognised that traditional signifiers of status, such as chivalric imagery or church symbols, were inappropriate for a lay man of low birth. Identity is a fluid concept that can connect people with others or exclude people from certain groups.⁵² It is only by studying these groups and their characteristics that we can understand individual identity.

In the sixteenth century, the process of governance relied on the crown having a strong relationship with local officials, and the only way to achieve this, in the absence of a central administrative machine, was through the relationship between those local officials and the monarch's councillors. This structure was a loose affiliation of regional affinities, and it is impossible to understand Tudor governance and politics without some appreciation of this local dimension.⁵³ Traditionally, local studies focused on counties or settlements and attempted to trace the history of the localities through

⁴⁷ The educational experience of privy councillors is discussed in Chapter 2 and the role of officeholding in Chapter 3.

⁴⁸ Simon Thurley, *Whitehall Palace: an architectural history of the royal apartments 1240-1698* (London: Yale University Press, 1999).

⁴⁹ Thurley, *Whitehall Palace*, p.62.

⁵⁰ For a discussion of councillors' building projects see Chapter 4: Landholding and Good Lordship.

⁵¹ Veronica Isaac, 'Presuming too far "above his very base and low degree"?: Thomas Cromwell's use of textiles in his schemes for social and political success (1527-1540)', *Journal of the Costume Society*, 45 (2011), 8-23 (p.13).

⁵² Richard Jenkins, *Social Identity* (Oxon: Routledge, 2014), p.18.

⁵³ Gunn, 'Structures', pp.71-72.

their institutions. For example, A. L. Rowse's *Tudor Cornwall* and Gerald A. J. Hodgett's *Tudor Lincolnshire* told the history of those counties through an exploration of local records with minimal engagement with processes or connections that stretched beyond the county's borders.⁵⁴ While important in adding to our knowledge of the administrative functions of the localities, such studies do not adequately explain how individuals influenced politics and governance. Recent work by Simon Adams on the clientele of Robert Dudley (1532-1588), Earl of Leicester, has revealed the role of patronage networks in supporting the Tudor state. By nominating members of their affinity to local offices, leading councillors provided a personal link between the centre and periphery that could be used on behalf of the crown to maintain order.⁵⁵ Steven Ellis completed a similar study of the Lords Dacre of the North and concluded that the power structures of the Tudor polity were complex and ran throughout the kingdom, in both the centre and the periphery.⁵⁶ The unpicking of this myriad of relationships facilitates a deeper understanding of the broader context of political action and institutional development.

While institutional approaches to history are now considered outdated, scholars such as Geoffrey Elton significantly contributed to our knowledge and understanding of Tudor government and politics. Elton's *Tudor Revolution in Government* continues to inspire debate nearly 70 years after its publication and remains one of the most influential works on Tudor government. The central claim of *Revolution* was that the 1530s were the pivotal decade in the development of the early modern English state as this was when an efficient and bureaucratic form of government emerged.⁵⁷ In Elton's account, the central figure was Thomas Cromwell, who was cast as a learned visionary of social reform.⁵⁸ The creation of the privy council, the hallmark of a more bureaucratic style of government, was presented as the crowning achievement of the programme. It heralded a change from a personal medieval household administration to 'a government in which the king presides over a machine whose operations are directed and controlled by others'.⁵⁹

⁵⁴ A. L. Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1941); A. J. Hodgett, *Tudor Lincolnshire* (Lincoln: History of Lincolnshire Committee, 1975)

⁵⁵ Simon Adams, 'The Dudley Clientele', in *The Tudor Nobility*, ed. G. W. Bernard (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), pp.241-265 (p.255).

⁵⁶ Steven G. Ellis, 'A Border Baron and the Tudor State: The Rise and Fall of Lord Dacre of the North', *The Historical Journal*, 35 (1992), 253-277 (p.276).

⁵⁷ G. R. Elton, *The Tudor Revolution in Government: Administrative changes in the reign of Henry VIII* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), p.7.

⁵⁸ G. R. Elton, *Reform and Renewal: Thomas Cromwell and the Commonweal* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), p.36.

⁵⁹ David Starkey, 'After the Revolution', in *Revolution Reassessed*, pp.199-208 (p.201).

The ensuing debate centred on pinpointing when the king's council achieved an official permanent position within government and dealt very little with personality and politics. Harriss took issue with the depiction of medieval government as static and decrepit and argued that Cromwell's reforms had precedents in the fifteenth century.⁶⁰ The continual council attendant on the king in the Lancastrian period bore many of the hallmarks of the later privy council: a separate existence from the 'ordinary' council, a self-conscious identity, and restricted membership.⁶¹ Similarly, Penry Williams questioned whether the system that administered England after 1554 could be regarded as the culmination of Cromwell's reforms. Instead, he argued that Elizabeth I's long stable reign was the most significant factor in the development of bureaucratic government; he relegated Cromwell's privy council to nothing more than the latest in a series of medieval attempts to create a permanent council board.⁶² Elton responded that he had claimed only for a 'significant transformation' in the council during the 1530s and that the heart of his 'Revolution' was a change in the conception of the state.⁶³ However, symptomatic of Elton's institutional approach was his insistence that daily recorded meetings were a novelty that justified his arguments for revolutionary change.⁶⁴ This was an argument rooted in the administrative processes of the council rather than its personnel.

In modifying his claims, Elton moved closer to presenting these changes as an 'evolution' rather than a 'revolution'. The argument that the king's council evolved gradually between the 1340s and 1540s, with several particularly formative phases, remains the mainstream view.⁶⁵ As the demands of kingship and statecraft increased, so did the bureaucratic and administrative apparatus needed to extend royal authority, exploit new resources and communicate with the crown's numerous agents.

The key to understanding the operation of Tudor politics and government is to understand the connection and interaction of the different structures of power within the English state. For Penry Williams, Tudor government's strength 'lay in a skilful combination of the formal and the informal, the official and the personal'.⁶⁶ In order to understand governmental and societal change it is vital to assess the whole range of factors that contributed to their operation. A significant component of this

⁶⁰ G. L. Harriss and Penry Williams, 'A Revolution in Tudor History', *Past and Present*, 31 (1965), 87-96 (pp.90-91).

⁶¹ G. L. Harriss, 'Medieval Government and Statecraft', *Past and Present*, 25 (1963), 8-39 (p.32).

⁶² Penry Williams, 'The Tudor State', *Past and Present*, 25 (1963), 39-58 (p.49).

⁶³ G. R. Elton, 'Tudor Revolution: A Reply', *Past and Present*, 29 (1964), 26-49 (p.39).

⁶⁴ Elton, 'Tudor Revolution: A Reply', p.39.

⁶⁵ Elements of this interpretation persist in S. J. Gunn, *Early Tudor Government* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995); John Guy, *Tudor England*; and G. L. Harriss, *Shaping the Nation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

⁶⁶ Penry Williams, *The Tudor Regime* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), p.463.

new approach was a desire to shed light on sixteenth-century government's informal processes and the personal interaction of individuals. For example, Stephen Alford pointed out that 'council' did not necessarily mean 'counsel' and that a review of the council's administrative duties could not tell the whole story.⁶⁷ The act of counselling the monarch was not limited to sworn councillors in the council chamber, and the council was subsumed within the royal court in terms of its physical architecture and personnel.⁶⁸ A councillor was also a courtier, and the council chamber was mere yards from the privy chamber.⁶⁹ As we will seek to argue here, the two institutions were deeply intertwined: this included an overlap in personnel and links of friendship and family.

The final and most important type of network in Tudor England was a small intimate group based on kinship, friendship or royal service. Steven Gunn and Natalie Mears have claimed these personal networks are underappreciated in Tudor historiography and ripe for further exploration.⁷⁰ Such groupings developed between councillors related by blood or marriage and were often their primary support network.⁷¹ Across the sixteenth century, the closest confidant of a councillor was often an immediate family member. Older interpretations tended to take as a starting point the idea that kinship networks pursued shared goals and agendas. For instance, Lawrence Stone defined family in 1500 as an 'open lineage' characterised by loyalty to a wide network of kin and ancestors.⁷² More recently, aspects of this interpretation re-emerged in Liesbeth Greevers and Mirella Marini's *Dynastic Identity in Early Modern Europe*.⁷³ However, the notion that most dynasties and families were united political entities is increasingly being challenged. For instance, J. A. Sharpe and Ralph Houlbrooke challenged the importance and influence of an individual's wider kindred and stressed the strength of the bond between nuclear family members.⁷⁴ More recently historians have begun to re-evaluate the role of family in the political events of the period. For example, Nicola Clark's recent exploration of the Howard family demonstrated that a family unit was not a rigid faction, and family members could

⁶⁷ Stephen Alford, 'Politics and Political History in the Tudor Century', *The Historical Journal*, 42 (1999), 535-548 (p.538).

⁶⁸ Alford, 'Politics and Political History', p.539.

⁶⁹ David Starkey, *The English Court from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War* (London: Longman, 1987), pp.11-13.

⁷⁰ Gunn, 'Structures', pp.71-72; Mears, 'Courts', p.716.

⁷¹ For a detailed discussion of councillors' family networks see Chapter 5: Family.

⁷² Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800* (London: Penguin, 1979), pp.69-73.

⁷³ Liesbeth Greevers and Mirella Marini, *Dynastic Identity in Early Modern Europe: Rulers, Aristocrats and the Formation of Identities* (London: Routledge, 2015), pp.9-16.

⁷⁴ J. A. Sharpe, *Early Modern England: A Social History 1550-1760* (London: Arnold, 1987), pp.73-75; Ralph A. Houlbrooke, *The English Family 1450-1700* (London: Longman, 1984), pp.14-15.

ruthlessly sacrifice their kin to save themselves.⁷⁵ Similarly, Michael Hicks demonstrated that the Medieval Neville Earls of Warwick were 'divided as often as they were united'.⁷⁶ Thus, the relationship of councillors with their kinship groups was not as straightforward as some interpretations suggest. Undoubtedly, family networks played a significant role in the careers of privy councillors, but such connections should not be taken for granted, and they did not always imply strategic or ideological alignment. By investigating the full range of relationships and connections individuals possessed, it is possible to evaluate kinship relations in their wider context.

Family ties have received more attention from historians than networks based around friendship and royal service. A significant contribution of this dissertation is to demonstrate that close support networks existed between officeholders serving in the same department.⁷⁷ It is important to stress that these networks were not overtly political and that such groupings rarely had unified goals. They were based on friendship and were expressed through hospitality, gift giving, family ties and mutual support. The existence of strong 'non-political' groups within the Tudor polity suggests factional interpretations are, at the least, overstated and perhaps misleading regarding the nature of Tudor politics.

Traditionally, discussions of change within the Tudor polity focused on simplistic factional narratives or narrow institutional accounts. Historians now agree on the need for a more socially-derived history that adequately considers relationships and societal context. Recent scholarship has focused on networks, cultural expression and intellectual trends. This dissertation seeks to draw these various strands together for the first time. Councillors' careers are assessed alongside the networks that facilitated advancement, education is combined with cultural expression to reveal how outlook and identity developed, and institutional change is revealed as a product of an ideological shift. The dissertation analyses the social and cultural context of the Tudor elite, indicating that there is much we do not yet understand about the workings of Tudor government and society. The only way to expose these inner workings is to investigate the people who made it work and the networks within which they operated.

⁷⁵ Nicola Clark, *Gender, Family and Politics: The Howard Women, 1485-1558* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp.5, 143-5.

⁷⁶ Michael Hicks, 'Cement or Solvent? Kinship and Politics in late Medieval England: The Case of the Nevilles', *History*, 83 (1998), 31-46 (p.32).

⁷⁷ A detailed account of a network based on membership of the privy chamber can be found in Chapter 5: The Privy Chamber Network.

Methodology

In order to investigate the networks of Tudor privy councillors, this dissertation takes a prosopographical approach.⁷⁸ Prosopography considers the lives of individuals but also provides tools and techniques for analysing those individuals as a group. The current study takes the approximately 316 individuals who made up Tudor privy councils between 1509 and 1603 and subjects them to a uniform 'questionnaire' revealing a more textured picture of sixteenth-century political society.⁷⁹ In a database, details relating to each individual's biographical factors such as their education, career, familial relations and officeholding have been tabulated. When compared and analysed, such details help historians understand how these men viewed themselves and interacted with each other. This data makes it possible to draw conclusions regarding the outlook of councillors and to identify groupings within the councillor population.

In a seminal article, Lawrence Stone defined prosopography as 'the investigation of the common background characteristics of a group of actors in history by means of a collective study of their lives'.⁸⁰ For Stone, the intellectual roots of prosopography could be found in the years after the First World War and were attributed to the rise of the social sciences and the decline of so-called 'great men' history.⁸¹ Prosopography was ideally suited to this new turn because it was only concerned with the individual in so far as they were part of a group. The web of sociopsychological ties that bound groups together were regarded as the most critical factor in understanding society. The current study builds upon this premise: it explores privy councillors' networks to reveal the ties that bound the political elite together and how this affected society more broadly.

Stone was writing in the 1970s, but the roots of prosopographical method came early in the twentieth century, particularly in the work of Lewis Namier and R. K. Merton. Namier's examination of the MPs who constituted George III's first parliament was ground-breaking in several respects. It not only presented a radical reinterpretation of the nature and structure of politics at the accession of George III, but it also demonstrated the viability of the prosopographical method more broadly.⁸² The historical consensus before Namier characterised mid-eighteenth-century English politics as divided

⁷⁸ Elements of this discussion are published here: Connor M. Huddleston, 'A Community of Councillors: Tudor Government and Prosopography', *Question*, 6 (2021), 44-53.

⁷⁹ The term 'questionnaire' is used by prosopographers to denote the criteria to be explored for each individual.

⁸⁰ Lawrence Stone, 'Prosopography', *Daedalus*, 100 (1971), 46-71 (p.46).

⁸¹ Stone, 'Prosopography', p.48.

⁸² Lewis Namier, *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III* (London: Macmillan, 1957).

between Whig and Tory party affiliations.⁸³ Historians also held that corruption was rife and the only means by which the government achieved its parliamentary majorities.⁸⁴ Namier skilfully countered these arguments through an application of the prosopographical method. By focusing on the behaviour of ordinary MPs rather than the deeds of ‘great men’, Namier was able to cut a cross-section of the British political system and reveal its inner workings.⁸⁵

Robert Merton’s article ‘Science, Technology and Society in Seventeenth-Century England’ is perhaps best remembered as the origin of the ‘Merton thesis’, which claimed a correlation between Protestant Pietism and experimental science, but often overlooked is the pioneering nature of its methodology.⁸⁶ It blended sociological techniques with historical scholarship in an early form of prosopography. At a time when few historians embraced quantitative data analysis, let alone displayed their results in the text, Merton’s work contained a plethora of graphs and tables. This reinforced the points made in the text by making the data that supported the thesis more accessible and visible. This dissertation follows Merton’s example by incorporating visual representations of its trends and patterns wherever appropriate.

Prosopography draws on some of the techniques and approaches of collective biography. However, prosopography’s focus on multivariate analysis sets it apart from that approach.⁸⁷ Whereas collective biography focuses on full-length biographies of a small number of individuals, prosopography is concerned with multiple variables across many individuals. Its purpose is to identify particular groups and explain what binds them together.⁸⁸ Multivariate analysis tracks multiple factors across the whole population simultaneously but preserves the relationships between each data point. For example, it is possible to run a query that details all the councillors who also held office in the Royal Household and then filter the results to include only those councillors who attended a university. This type of complex query is only possible because the initial relationships between the different data sets are preserved in the relational database.

⁸³ Namier, *Structures*, p.68.

⁸⁴ E. P. Chase, review of *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III*, by Lewis Namier, *The American Political Science Review*, 23 (1929), 772-73 (p.772).

⁸⁵ Peter Thomas, review of *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III*, by Lewis Namier, *Reviews in History* (1957), 514 (p.514).

⁸⁶ Robert K. Merton, ‘Science, Technology and Society in Seventeenth Century England’, *Osiris*, 4 (1938), 360–632 (p.361).

⁸⁷ K. S. B. Keats Rohan, ‘Introduction’, in *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: A Handbook* (Oxford: P&G, 2007), pp.1-35 (p.7).

⁸⁸ Dion Smythe, ‘Prosopography’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, eds. Robin Cormack, John F. Haldon, and Elizabeth Jeffreys (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp.177-181 (p.180).

still in progress, more than thirty years later.⁹¹ Rather than casting doubt on the method's viability per se, this state of affairs appears to be more the product of the scholars' unrealistic ambition. Many of these projects attempted to capture large quantities of information about many individuals at a time when database software was in its infancy.⁹² Unfortunately, the projects were too large in scope, lacked sufficient technically-skilled staff, or simply ran out of funding before they could be completed.

This is not to say that large, technically-sophisticated databases are always doomed to fail: there have been several high-profile success stories, such as the AHRC-funded *Clergy of the Church of England database* (CCEd).⁹³ The CCEd is an online relational database of all clergymen of the Church of England between 1540 and 1835. The project was commissioned in 1999 and by 2014 contained the key career events of over 155,000 clerics and schoolteachers. The original remit of the project was completed, but the database has been expanded to include new fields and continues to receive regular updates. The CCEd demonstrates not only the usefulness of relational databases to historical study, but also the ease with which they can be expanded into new directions.

Smaller-scale projects are now the norm in prosopography and are designed to answer specific research questions. An excellent example of this is the recent PhD thesis of Anna Beerens, which draws on the biographical data of 173 individuals to examine the scope of intellectual networks in eighteenth-century Japan.⁹⁴ By analysing the networks of the artists themselves, Beerens demonstrated that intellectual and artistic growth was not a sign of social tensions or an undermining of the established order as previous scholarship had maintained.⁹⁵ She also dismantled the artificial categories that historians had used to separate 'Western', 'Chinese' and 'Native' intellectuals, and argued that they all 'operated on exactly the same level'.⁹⁶ In this regard, Beerens' work serves as a valuable model for the current project, which is concerned with the relationships between individuals who formed the context of political events. Beerens has also argued that prosopographers should not neglect socio-cultural qualitative factors simply because they cannot easily be integrated into

⁹¹ The 'Florentine Catasto' project, <http://chnm.gmu.edu/worldhistorysources/r/89/whm.html>, and the 'Religious Women Matrix', <https://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/monasticmatrix/home>, have been completed. The 'Vienna family project' and the 'Bibliographical database for late antiquity' are still in progress.

⁹² Mathisen, 'Where are all the PDB's?: The creation of Prosopographical Databases for the Ancient and Medieval Worlds,' in *Prosopography Approaches and Applications*, ed. Keats-Rohan, 95-126 (p.99).

⁹³ Clergy of the Church of England Database, <https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/>.

⁹⁴ Anna Beerens, 'Friends, Acquaintances, Pupils and Patrons: Japanese Intellectual Life in the Late Eighteenth Century: A Prosopographical Approach' (Unpublished PhD Thesis: Leiden University Press, 2006), p.15.

⁹⁵ Beerens, 'Friends', p.275.

⁹⁶ Beerens, 'Friends', p.290.

quantitative structures. On the contrary, she argued that embracing these qualitative aspects is essential to provide societal context.⁹⁷

A qualitative approach to the source material is essential to any subsequent quantitative analysis of data extracted from the sources.⁹⁸ The sources available to the early modernist are predominantly textual and so have to be interpreted and standardised before data can be extracted. For example, in the early modern period, names varied considerably, and individuals could be referred to by their title or occupation as well as their name. In addition, spelling could vary wildly within these various names, so a standardised identifier was selected for each individual before entry into any statistical apparatus.

The first step to constructing a relational database is identifying the ‘population’. The ‘population’ is the group of individuals to be studied: in this case, Tudor privy councillors. Identifying the ‘population’ is not always as straightforward an exercise as one might imagine, and research and standardisation are often required for different historical communities. For instance, the privy council’s official register did not begin until 1540, so councillors before this date had to be identified from correspondence contained within the government’s ‘state papers’.⁹⁹ A further issue that had to be addressed for this group was the many ways – names, offices, titles and so on – by which its members were known. As demonstrated in figure 1.2, a standardised format for referring to individual councillors was created. Also, the ‘person’ table serves as the foundation of the database and links all the records together through each councillor’s unique ID number.

⁹⁷ Beerens, ‘Friends’, p.41.

⁹⁸ Keats-Rohan, ‘Introduction’, p.12.

⁹⁹ London, National Archives, State Papers 2-7: Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII. Calendared in *Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII* (21 volumes), eds. J. S. Brewer, J. Gairdner and R. H. Brodie (London: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1862-1932). SP10: State Papers Domestic, Edward VI (19 volumes). Calendared in *Calendar of State Papers Domestic Series of the Reign of Edward VI 1547-1553*, ed. C. S. Knighton (London: HMSO, 1992). SP11: State Papers Domestic, Mary I (14 volumes). Calendared in *Calendar of State Papers Domestic Series of the Reign of Mary I, 1553-1558*, ed. C. S. Knighton (London: HMSO, 1998). SP12: State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth I (289 volumes), SP13: State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth I: Large Documents (9 volumes). Calendared in *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth I, and James I*, eds. R. Lemon and M. A. E. Green (London: Longman, 1856-1872). London, National Archives, Privy Council: Registers (26 volumes). Archival material accessed through *State Papers Online* unless otherwise indicated.

Person	Person_FirstName	Person_LastName	Person_G	Perso	Per	Per	Persc	Pe	Perso
161	William	Parr	Male	14	8	1513	28	10	1571
257	Thomas	Parry	Male	0	0	1515	15	12	1560
224	Amias	Paulet	Male	0	0	1532	26	9	1588
162	William	Paulet	Male	0	0	1474	0	0	1572
74	John	Peche	Male	0	0	1450	0	0	1538
172	Edmund	Peckham	Male	0	0	1495	29	3	1564
203	Robert	Peckham	Male	0	0	1516	10	9	1569
41	Henry	Percy	Male	0	0	1478	19	5	1527
168	Henry	Percy	Male	0	0	1502	29	6	1537
241	John	Perrot	Male	7	11	1528	3	11	1592
301	William	Peryam	Male	0	0	1534	9	10	1604
163	William	Petre	Male	0	0	1505	13	1	1572
142	Thomas	Pigott	Male	0	0	1478	0	0	1519
9	Arthur	Plantagenet	Male	0	0	1472	3	3	1542
84	Lewis	Pollard	Male	0	0	1465	20	10	1526
100	Richard	Pollard	Male	0	0	0	10	11	1542
242	John	Popham	Male	0	0	1531	10	6	1607
75	John	Port	Male	0	0	1472	14	3	1540

Figure 1.2 Extract of the person table of the Tudor Privy Council Database

Following the identification of the target population, the creation of a uniform ‘questionnaire’ was required. The ‘questionnaire’ is the list of biographical factors or fields the researcher wishes to include for each individual. In the case of the Tudor privy councillors, this included fields such as dates of birth and death, educational institution(s) attended, offices held, property owned, and familial relations.¹⁰⁰ Once the database was created, it was possible to focus on specific fields within it or to conduct queries which combined different factors. A relational database’s particular strength is that the information can be accessed and reassembled in many different ways swiftly and without requiring a reorganisation of the underlying data. For instance, as shown in figure 1.3, officeholding can be filtered by education to see if alumni of a particular institution dominated a particular position. A more targeted query is shown in figure 1.4: here, the data has been searched for those councillors who served Henry VIII and held property in Kent, Sussex and Surrey. Such a query can identify relationships and dynamics between councillors in the localities. Thus, connections and patterns can be discovered in seconds rather than after weeks of combing through each individual’s data set. Similarly, the database’s modular nature allows new fields to be added and existing ones modified without overhauling the underlying structure.

¹⁰⁰ Biographical information was obtained from the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* and relevant monographs, where available. Further and additional material was provided by individual searches of the State Papers Online archive. For instance, the grants series of *Letters and Papers* provided valuable information regarding officeholding and property sales.

Councillor Name	Office	Entered Office	Left Office	University Attended	University Start Date	University End Date
Richard Foxe	Principal Secretary	1485	1487	University of Cambridge	N/A	N/A
Richard Foxe	Principal Secretary	1485	1487	University of Oxford	N/A	N/A
Oliver King	Principal Secretary	1487	1495	University of Cambridge	1449	1465
Thomas Ruthall	Principal Secretary	1500	1516	University of Oxford	1488	1493
Thomas More	Principal Secretary	1518	1526	University of Oxford	1492	1494
William Knight	Principal Secretary	1526	1529	University of Oxford	1491	1495
Stephen Gardiner	Principal Secretary	1529	1534	University of Cambridge	1511	1525
Thomas Wriothlesley	Principal Secretary	1540	1544	University of Cambridge	1522	1524
William Paget	Principal Secretary	1543	1547	University of Cambridge	1522	1526
William Petre	Principal Secretary	1544	1557	University of Oxford	1519	1535
Thomas Smith	Principal Secretary	1548	1549	University of Cambridge	1526	1547
Nicholas Wotton	Principal Secretary	1549	1550	University of Oxford	1515	1520
William Cecil	Principal Secretary	1550	1553	University of Cambridge	1535	1541
John Cheke	Principal Secretary	1553	1553	University of Cambridge	1526	1544
John Boxall	Principal Secretary	1557	1558	University of Oxford	1540	1554
William Cecil	Principal Secretary	1558	1572	University of Cambridge	1535	1541
Thomas Smith	Principal Secretary	1572	1576	University of Cambridge	1526	1547
Francis Walsingham	Principal Secretary	1573	1590	University of Cambridge	1548	1550
Thomas Wilson	Principal Secretary	1577	1581	University of Cambridge	1542	1549
William Cecil	Principal Secretary	1590	1596	University of Cambridge	1535	1541
Robert Cecil	Principal Secretary	1596	1612	University of Cambridge	1581	1581
John Herbert	Principal Secretary	1600	1617	University of Oxford	1558	1565

Figure 1.3 Database Query showing where Principal Secretaries received their education

Councillor Name	Residence	County	Ownership Start	Ownership End
Robert Rede	Bore Place	Kent	1489	1519
John Ernley	Cakeham Manor	Sussex	1498	1520
Edward Poynings	Westenhanger Castle	Kent	1488	1521
John Fyneux	Hawe Manor	Kent	1494	1525
Henry Guildford	Hadlow Manor	Kent	1522	1532
George Neville	Birling	Kent	1469	1535
George Bolyen	South	Kent	1535	1536
Henry Wyatt	Allington Castle	Kent	1492	1536
Thomas Bedyll	Otford	Kent	N/A	1537
Thomas Boleyn	Hever Castle	Kent	1505	1537
Henry Courtenay	West Horsley	Surrey	1533	1538
Richard Weston	Sutton Place	Surrey	1521	1541
William Fitzwilliam	Cowdray House	Sussex	1528	1542
Anthony Browne	Battle Abbey	Sussex	1538	1548
Anthony Browne	Cowdray House	Sussex	1542	1548
Edmund Walsingham	Gomshall Towerhill	Surrey	1539	1549
Edmund Walsingham	Scadbury Manor	Kent	1541	1550
John Gage	Firle Place	Sussex	1479	1556
Thomas Cheyne	Shurland Hall	Kent	1510	1558
John Baker	Sissinghurst Castle	Kent	1489	1558
Nicholas Heath	Chobham Place	Surrey	N/A	1578
Henry Fitzalan	Arudnel Castle	Sussex	1544	1580

Figure 1.4 Database Query showing a selection of councillors with major residences in the counties of Kent, Sussex and Surrey

Digital tools and methodologies enable the modelling of relationships which deepens understanding of historical communities. The discussion in this thesis will often be focused on specific case studies. These have been chosen because they best illustrate the themes and trends identified within the whole cohort of councillors by the prosopographical analysis. They are not an exhaustive set of examples and others were left out due to the space constraints of the dissertation. They also allow for the incorporation of more of the qualitative materials regarding individuals that provide the context to political events. Additionally, they illustrate the applicability of prosopography to other historical communities and how explorations of identified trends can prompt a reconceptualisation of past societies, structures, and events.

This dissertation uses a methodology whose viability has been tested in other disciplines and periods but which has never been applied to sixteenth-century England. Furthermore, prosopography facilitates an approach described as desirable by historians of the 'new Tudor political history' but which has never been implemented for members of the Tudor political elite. Thus, prosopography and digital tools reveal underappreciated patterns and trends relating to the 316 men who served the Tudor monarchs as their privy councillors. As the sixteenth century progressed, the privy council became increasingly dominated by educated, officeholding laymen. These characteristics had the capacity to create coherent groupings of councillors united by shared education, experience and outlook. Such connections would be invisible if only dealing with individuals or institutions and cut across previous assumptions regarding political factions.

Overview

The following chapters explore four different facets of privy councillors' careers. To do this, they draw on the biographical data stored within my relational database to chart trends and patterns. These patterns shed new light on the political and cultural world of the Tudor elite and suggest revisions to old political characterisations and notions of identity.

Chapter Two explores the background and education of privy councillors. It analyses the social origin of councillors and demonstrates the enduring centrality of the nobility in English government. Noblemen constituted half of the council's membership for the majority of the Tudor period. However, the type of nobleman appointed to the council changed in the mid-Tudor period. Henry VIII elevated a considerable number of 'new men' to the peerage who possessed different experiences and values to the traditional nobility. These men owed their elevation to officeholding in central government and were expected to perform administrative functions. These 'new' Tudor noblemen introduced new

Chapter 1

ideas regarding service into the aristocracy, which would have a significant influence on English elite culture in the sixteenth century and beyond.

Analysing the education of privy councillors provides some of the most striking patterns in the data. The amount of formal education received by councillors rose during the course of the sixteenth century. University training became almost ubiquitous among councillors, with only one member of Elizabeth I's final council not having been educated at university. The result of this trend was that the intellectual experience of Tudor councillors became much more uniform across the period. This could facilitate more cooperative relations between councillors as they belonged to the same cultural milieu and had a similar outlook. For instance, Elizabeth I's council remained largely harmonious for the majority of her reign due to her councillors' shared heritage and values. Additionally, relationships forged at university or school could have lasting consequences for the networks which councillors drew on throughout their careers.

The third chapter of the dissertation looks at councillors' careers in central government. The importance of officeholding is one of the key themes of the dissertation as councillors were increasingly expected to manage an administrative or Household department. Indeed, as the council shrank in size towards the end of the period, it was almost impossible to acquire a seat without holding an important government office. The chapter details how an increasingly uniform councillor archetype became dominant and the impact this had on councillors' interpersonal relations. As part of this trend, the chapter explores the demise of the clerical councillor and suggests that the role of churchmen was fundamentally altered by the Reformation. Finally, consideration is given to the role of prestige and legitimacy in strengthening or hampering the careers of councillors.

An essential complement to the national picture is an examination of the local activities of privy councillors. Chapter Four traces the role of privy councillors in the localities as agents of the Crown and local governors. It outlines how councillors increasingly based their authority on royal office rather than solely on landholding. The relationship between centre and locality became more formalised and centralised, but royal authority was still essentially enforced through personal means. The methods of local governance changed, but the governors remained largely the same. The chapter also outlines how overlapping spheres of influence impacted on the relations between councillors. Regional competition could cause local instability among followers, but rarely directly impacted the relationship between councillors. In fact, geographic proximity had the chance to deepen connections between councillors and gave them a shared interest in regional stability.

The final chapter draws together all the themes of the dissertation by exploring specific networks within the privy council that have not previously been recognised by historians. The chapter uses the themes of friendship and family to explore the most important network within which councillors operated. By looking for instances of cooperation rather than animosity, relationships are discovered that transcend factional classifications. A major case study reveals a network of chamber officials from the early years of Henry VIII who went on to prominent positions within Tudor government. The network maintains its coherence throughout the men's careers, and they regularly used it for aid and support. Significantly, several members of the network have previously been identified as members of 'opposing' factions, but when they are subjected to prosopographical multi-variate analysis, these classifications appear simplistic.

The second half of Chapter Five looks at the role of family networks in maintaining privy councillors' positions. A particularly illuminating case study is the parallel careers of several sets of brothers who were contemporaries on the council. The Dudley, Southwell and Wingfield brothers provided essential support and companionship to each other. Their experiences support recent interpretations that advocate for the strength of kinship relations between close family members. Finally, the chapter concludes with a consideration of 'conciliar families' and the role of marriage. The increasingly interconnected web of marriage and kinship relations between councillors reinforced the cultural and social homogenisation of the council and further narrowed the political elite. This had significant consequences for the relationships of councillors and the networks they operated within.

Therefore, the central contention of this dissertation is that cooperation was more common than discord in the relationships between privy councillors and that factional classifications are simplistic. Significantly, cultural and intellectual similarity was a key component of these harmonious relationships. By exploring biographical patterns and interpersonal relationships it is possible to reconstruct the social and cultural world in which councillors lived and worked, and thus further enhance our understanding of Tudor elite society and politics.

Chapter 2 Making a Councillor

If identity is a process rather than an event, then that process begins in an individual's formative years. In fact, in the sixteenth century, this process began at birth as social class played a decisive role in a child's upbringing, profession and relationships. Education and upbringing teach young people about the society they live in and their place within it. By using my database, it was possible to track the social and educational experience of all privy councillors and analyse the trends in the data. This facilitated an understanding of the background of the men who would become privy councillors and revealed how their early years shaped their values and outlook. Such shared intellectual heritage increased the likelihood that two men would get along and also that they would possess similar priorities and preconceptions about government service. Additionally, lasting social bonds are often formed in childhood, and can hence determine the circles within which individuals operate throughout their lives. For that reason, investigating a councillor's fellow students at school or university can often reveal lasting groupings that were not principally political.

Understanding the psychological outlook of historical figures is difficult. Most individuals did not write down explanations for their actions, so the historian is left to piece together clues as to their outlook and values. People at different levels of the social pyramid conceived of their places in society differently. The privy council contained men from all of these levels at various times. How these men interacted was in part determined by their social rank, with established forms of address and precedence. However, the overall impression is that social boundaries did not prevent privy councillors from establishing relationships with each other. The more interesting phenomenon was the social homogenisation of councillors as a group, with the distinction between the different social groups on the council diminishing across the period. Council membership and officeholding created an exclusive grouping within the political elite, distinct from those elites denied membership. This small core of councillors developed closer interpersonal bonds and a shared outlook as the period progressed. In order to reveal this trend, the first half of this chapter will outline the changing social composition of the privy council, demonstrating the changed outlook and approach of the noble councillor contingent.

The second section will address the role of education in the lives of privy councillors. It is well-known that university attendance expanded dramatically in the later sixteenth century.¹⁰¹ This was certainly true in the privy council: by the end of Elizabeth's reign, the majority of councillors had received some university tuition. This growing need for academic and technical training in order to serve the state had a profound impact on the type of man called to the council board. University training was the most distinctive and easily charted change that occurred in education in the sixteenth century. However, this was a period in which educational paradigms were shifting, and most people, to some extent, experienced this shift. The ideas of the Northern Renaissance and Christian Humanism strongly influenced the Tudor elite's outlook, with several privy councillors among the leading lights of these movements. Also, works such as Castiglione's *The Book of the Courtier* (1528) and Elyot's *The Book Named the Governor* (1531) catered for a general desire among the Tudor elite to learn how to act at court and in government. The programmes outlined by these authors presented a fundamentally different conception of the courtier and councillor than had existed in the medieval period, and their popularity demonstrated the widespread acceptance and assimilation of these ideas. For those reasons, the second section of this chapter will examine the trend of education, reveal its impact, and outline the effect of new intellectual ideas on the outlook of privy councillors.

Social Background

In 1536, the Lincolnshire rebels, targeting Henry VIII's government and religious policies, would complain of 'base-born counsel' around the King and demand that the King appoint as councillors 'nobles of ancient lineage' rather than the 'subverters of the good laws of the realm' whom they claimed were in the ascendant.¹⁰² The idea that hereditary peers were better suited to the role of councillor by virtue of their blood was a common theme in English protest literature.¹⁰³ These ideas have shaped much of the historiography pertaining to the English nobility and the Tudor state. Debates have pitted 'new Tudor nobles' against hereditary noblemen and questioned the power of

¹⁰¹ For discussion of the expansion of university education see *A History of the University in Europe, Volume II: Universities in Early Modern Europe (1500-1800)*, ed. Hilde de Ridder-Symoens (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp.312-3.

¹⁰² National Archives, London, State Papers 1/108 f.45.

¹⁰³ Rebellions and uprisings had used the language of evil counsellors subverting the good of the commonwealth for hundreds of years before the sixteenth century. For an overview of this trend see Andy Wood, *The 1549 Rebellions and the Making of Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp.3-4; M. L. Bush, 'The Tudor polity and the Pilgrimage of Grace', *Historical Research*, 80 (2007), 47-72 (p.53); Anthony Fletcher and Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions* (London: Routledge, 2016), pp.10-11.

the nobility as a whole.¹⁰⁴ The privy council always contained a noble contingent, so the view taken regarding the Tudor nobility also impacts the interpretation of the role of councillors and their relationships with each other. In addition, significant changes occurred within the English aristocracy during this period, which in turn had consequences for the relationship between gentility and officeholding. The primary consequence of these developments was that noblemen could no longer expect national political prominence as a result of their social station alone; they now also required this to be endorsed with a government office. As England's top political body, it is unsurprising that England's social elite was well-represented on the council board, but the character and power of the noble contingent across the century does much to shed light on how the council operated and the nature of Tudor politics.

In the medieval and Tudor periods, English society was hierarchical, with each person aware of the social structure and their place within it. At the top of the social pyramid sat the monarch, who was responsible for the material and spiritual well-being of the English people. Below the king, the highest-ranking group within Tudor society were the lay nobility. These individuals held landed titles and received writs of summons which permitted them to sit in the House of Lords in Parliament. Within the peerage, there were distinctions between the different ranks of nobility: in descending order of social importance, they were duke, marquess, earl, viscount and baron. Alongside the lay nobility were the bishops and, until the Reformation, the abbots. The nobility and upper clergy represented the very top of English society and, as such, were often among the monarch's leading councillors.

Below the parliamentary peerage was a large amorphous grouping usually labelled the 'gentry'. The gentry ranged from extensive landowners who rivalled the nobility in wealth and local influence to prosperous yeoman farmers and urban professionals.¹⁰⁵ The precise definition of this class of people does not concern us here; all that matters is that they were distinct from the titled nobility above and the commoners below. The 'commoners' at the bottom of the social hierarchy are, for present purposes, those whose background was obscure or whose families had played no role in local or national affairs.

¹⁰⁴ Stone, *Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558-1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), pp.48-49, 190; Harriss, 'Introduction', p.xxvi. For a useful overview of the major debates see G. W. Bernard, 'Introduction', in *The Tudor Nobility*, ed. Bernard (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), pp.1-49.

¹⁰⁵ The exact definition of gentry has been heavily debated by historians. A useful outline of that debate can be found in Peter Coss, *The Origins of the English Gentry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp.4-7.

The reason for conceiving the various social classes in broad terms is that while ubiquitous, the English social hierarchy was also permeable and fluid. In England, an individual could rise from humble origins to the ranks of the nobility with relative ease. This contrasted with European monarchies like the Kingdom of France, where the hereditary nobility possessed an independent jurisdiction and an entrenched social position, which was difficult to challenge.¹⁰⁶ In England, the only prerequisite to promotion was the favour of the monarch. In this respect, elevation to the peerage had much in common with council membership which was also solely at the monarch's discretion. There were no official guidelines for membership, and the monarch chose whomever they thought would most effectively carry out their will.¹⁰⁷ Consequently, the council contained a mixture of nobles, gentry, clerics and commoners, the proportions of whom varied over the course of the century.

Nonetheless, social standing dictated much of the social interaction between individuals. It is therefore essential to examine the social composition of the privy council and the changes which occurred within it. The outlook and culture of men from hereditary aristocratic families were likely to be different to men of more humble origin who owed their position to their legal expertise or education. Similarly, it is likely that an active officeholder who acquired an aristocratic title as a reward for loyal and competent service had a different conception of what it meant to be a royal councillor than a nobleman of ancient lineage. For instance, an old nobleman with a large family patrimony in the counties was generally less financially reliant on the largesse of the monarch, at least in the first half of the century, than a man on the make at court. This would have given the noblemen more independence in their personal dealings and choice of friends. It was essential for newcomers to gather patrons and allies to secure their position, so they had to be open and conciliatory in their early careers. This is not to suggest that established noblemen operated in closed circles, unwilling to admit newcomers, but rather that the two types of men had discernibly different perspectives. At the same time, it should be borne in mind that while councillors of different social origins may have possessed different values and experiences, there is ample evidence that they got along and cooperated with each other.

¹⁰⁶ Gunn, *Early Tudor Government*, p.42; Brigden, *New Worlds, Lost Worlds: The Rule of the Tudors 1485-1603* (London: Penguin Books, 2000), p.141; Stone, *Crisis*, p.30.

¹⁰⁷ James Fosdick Baldwin, *The King's Council during the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), pp.110-1.

The 'New Nobility'

In the later twentieth century the idea that the Tudors were opposed to noble power was commonplace among historians. In these accounts, the chaos and civil wars of the fifteenth century resulted from over-mighty nobles who could defy royal control.¹⁰⁸ In response, so this interpretation has it, the Tudors attempted to curb the power of the traditional aristocracy and forged an alliance with lesser born men, which contributed to a decline of noble influence in government.¹⁰⁹ For instance, G. L. Harriss claimed that 'the early Tudors' insistence on absolute obedience from their nobility was facilitated by the growing shift of power at local level from the nobility towards the gentry.'¹¹⁰ Also, the spectacular success of individual high-profile commoners, like Cardinal Wolsey (c.1473-1530) and Thomas Cromwell (c.1485-1540), has led some historians to focus on the role of low-born men within Tudor government.¹¹¹ Significantly, such men often entered the ranks of the nobility themselves and created noble dynasties.

In more recent times, the work of George Bernard has stressed the enduring role of the nobility in Tudor administration.¹¹² The nobility remained at the heart of Tudor government in both the centre and periphery. Across the period, noblemen constituted between 17% and 62% of councillors, accounting for at least a sixth of total membership, while they also regularly occupied some of the major offices of state. Furthermore, a group of historians, including Bernard, James Ross, Steven Gunn and Simon Adams have shown that noblemen continued to play significant roles in the management of the localities and the recruiting and leading of men in times of war.¹¹³ It is therefore unconvincing and outdated to talk in terms of a decline in noble influence in the sixteenth century. Nonetheless, there was a shift in the type of man who was elevated to the peerage in the sixteenth century and a subsequent modification of aristocratic values and outlook. The changed nature of 'service' lay out

¹⁰⁸ J. A. Guy, 'The Tudor Age (1485-1603)', in *The Oxford Illustrated History of Britain*, ed. K. O. Morgan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), pp.223-85 (pp.234-35). J. R. Lander, 'Bonds, Coercion and Fear: Henry VII and the Peerage', in *Crown and Nobility, 1450-1509* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1976), pp.267-300.

¹⁰⁹ M. E. James, *Society, Politics and Culture: Studies in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

¹¹⁰ Harriss, 'Introduction', p.xxvi.

¹¹¹ Elton, *Revolution*; David J. Crankshaw, 'The Tudor privy council, c.1540-1603', *State Papers Online 1509-1714* (2009); Williams, *Tudor Regime*, p.428.

¹¹² Bernard, *Who Ruled Tudor England*, pp.52-55; Bernard, *Power and Politics* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000).

¹¹³ Several studies of individual noblemen explore these themes: James Ross, *John de Vere, thirteenth Earl of Oxford (1442-1553), the foremost man of the king kingdom* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2011); Bernard, *The Power of the early Tudor Nobility: a study of the Fourth and Fifth Earls of Shrewsbury* (Sussex: Harvester Press, 1985); S. J. Gunn, 'Henry Bouchier, Earl of Essex (1472-1540)', in G. W. Bernard, *Tudor Nobility* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), pp.134-79; Simon Adams, *Leicester and the Court* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002).

the heart of this 'new nobility'. K. B. McFarlane has convincingly argued that noblemen had always been first and foremost 'servants' of the Crown.¹¹⁴ However, as will be shown here, the type and nature of the service changed over the course of the sixteenth century, as officeholding and involvement in the daily administration of government increased. This view expands and qualifies the interpretation of W. T. MacCaffrey, David Loades, Margaret Robertson and others who have argued for the existence of a 'Tudor service nobility'.¹¹⁵ Undoubtedly, the Tudors did create a 'new nobility' of sorts out of their councillors and officeholders. This can be observed in Henry VIII's actions towards Henry Courtenay (c.1498-1538), Marquess of Exeter, in 1538. Courtenay was executed for treason and his lands were confiscated by the Crown. Instead of taking the opportunity to break up a noble patrimony and forge a direct relationship with the gentry, Henry turned to one of his councillors, John Russell, to fill the political vacuum. Russell was granted sufficient lands and offices to rival Courtenay's former position, replacing an old nobleman with a new one.¹¹⁶

The infusion of new blood into the aristocracy undoubtedly impacted the noble class, but it should be remembered that there was no organised programme of change. The Tudors did not set out deliberately to attack the position of the traditional nobility as some older interpretations claim. Rather, they ennobled the men who served them best and who were loyal. This inevitably meant that those most active in their governments received preferment. Therefore, it is only by understanding their councillors and officeholders, and those men's backgrounds and outlooks, that we can fully understand the changed nature of the Tudor aristocracy. The impact of the changes was subtle and developed slowly over a number of decades. It resulted in an aristocratic culture that embodied the new humanist views of government service and counsel but also retained the traditional preoccupations with lineage and honour.

¹¹⁴ K. B. McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), pp.102-21.

¹¹⁵ W. T. MacCaffrey, 'The Crown and the New Aristocracy, 1540-1600', *Past & Present*, 30 (1965), 52-64; Loades, *The Tudors*, pp.80-1; Robertson, 'Thomas Cromwell's landed estates', p.318.

¹¹⁶ For a full breakdown of Russell's position in the South West of England see Chapter 4: Landholding and Good Lordship.

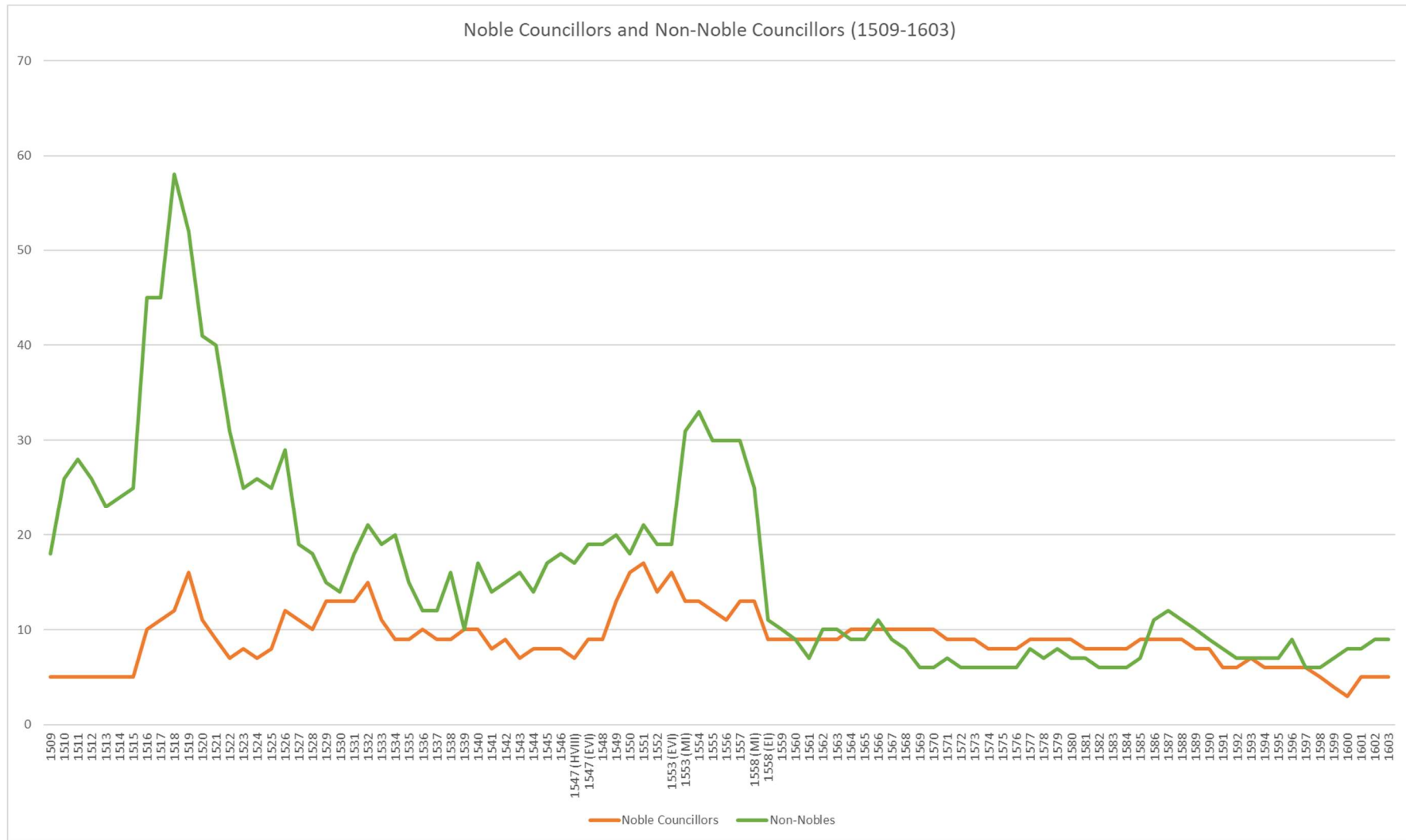


Figure 2.1 Graph showing noble and non-noble councillors 1509-1603.

The most significant development in the social composition of the privy council in this period was the creation of new noblemen councillors. In the early Tudor period, the council's aristocratic contingent was small and overwhelmingly men of old noble stock who did not owe their title to the Tudors. For instance, in the first decade of Henry VIII's reign, noblemen never exceeded 22% of the whole council and 13 of the 15 noble appointments made during this period came from established aristocratic families.¹¹⁷ By virtue of the fact that they were a relatively small minority within a larger body, a sense of difference would have set them apart from their fellow councillors.

Moreover, the numerical disparity reinforced the cultural and social difference between the medieval noblemen and the administrators and officeholders. Medieval aristocratic culture was rooted in landholding, martial prowess, the maintenance of honour and a degree of political independence.¹¹⁸ Noblemen wielded considerable power in their 'countrys', and their primary duty was the management of local government. McFarlane has argued that in the medieval period noblemen did not aspire to office and were unlikely to want to become involved in daily administration.¹¹⁹ This attitude continued in the early years of the sixteenth century with few noblemen attending council meetings regularly. For example, most of the noblemen elevated to the council between 1509 and 1527 only attended meetings sporadically: Henry Percy (1477-1527), the fifth Earl of Northumberland, attended four sessions, Thomas Stanley (c.1485-1521), Earl of Derby, and John Bourchier (1467-1533), Lord Berners, three and Richard Grey (1481-1524), Earl of Kent, and Henry Stafford (c.1479-1523), Earl of Wiltshire, only two each.¹²⁰ By comparison, leading councillors such as Cardinal Wolsey and Thomas Ruthall (d.1523), bishop of Durham and Lord Privy Seal, attended at least 50 meetings each in the same period.¹²¹ Thus, even accounting for the deficiency in the source material for the early period, it is clear that this group of hereditary nobles played a more formal role than some of their fellow councillors.

In the early years of his reign, Henry VIII only promoted existing members of the nobility, either elevating noblemen to higher ranks or rewarding younger sons. Henry's council up until 1523

¹¹⁷ The two new Tudor creations were Thomas Darcy (c.1467-1537), Lord Darcy, and Charles Brandon (c.1484-1545), Duke of Suffolk.

¹¹⁸ Keith M. Brown, *Noble Power in Scotland from the Reformation to the Revolution* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), p.238; Murray, *Reason and Society*, pp.351-52.

¹¹⁹ McFarlane, *Nobility of Later Medieval England*, p.120.

¹²⁰ The council register for the early part of Henry VIII's reign is incomplete but fragments exist in various manuscripts. Helen Miller has tabulated the attendance lists here: Helen Miller, *Henry VIII and the English Nobility* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986), pp.103-4.

¹²¹ W. H. Dunham, 'The Members of Henry VIII's Whole Council, 1509-1527', *English Historical Review*, 59 (1944), 187-210 (p.207).

contained only one nobleman of his creation: Charles Brandon (c.1484-1545), created Viscount Lisle in 1513.¹²² Brandon's promotion in 1513 was the first new blood Henry added to the peerage, and he would wait another nine years before adding more. The effect of this policy was very much to maintain the status quo inherited from Henry VII: the first years of Henry's reign consequently witnessed much continuity with what had gone before. This was no doubt a result of the King's youth and inexperience and the dominance of the old king's councillors. Thus, it was significant when Henry VIII eventually did decide to add extensively to the ranks of the nobility.

Henry was undertaking the duty of all kings in replenishing the ranks of the nobility with men of his choosing who fulfilled the demands of the moment. It was the particular demands of the moment that made his choices significant. At a time when government was becoming more complex, and the demands of the state were expanding, it was only natural for the Tudors to turn to more educated and administratively capable men. These men were increasingly members of the laity, as the role of churchmen in government declined. It was common for royal servants from humble backgrounds to receive church offices as a reward in the medieval period. Alexander Murray has shown that in medieval Europe the Church provided the social upstart with the means of 'buying his way up the social scale'.¹²³ However, during the sixteenth century, as the role of churchmen in government declined, laymen increasingly sought secular promotion.¹²⁴ Also, the educational expectations for noblemen, and other royal servants, were increasing in this period.¹²⁵ Therefore, it is unsurprising that the reward for effective government service became a peerage. A landed title was the greatest gift a sovereign could bestow upon one of their subjects outside of the Church, and many offices, such as the Lord Chancellorship, came with ennoblement attached. This is not to say that regional magnates, along traditional lines, did not exist. Rather, it is to recognise that a separate elite identity, based on council membership and state service, emerged that appropriated some of the trappings of aristocratic culture.

¹²² Lord Darcy was a member of Henry VIII's council but had been elevated to the nobility by Henry VII.

¹²³ Alexander Murray, *Reason and Society in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), p.88.

¹²⁴ The decline of churchmen in Tudor government is explored in Chapter 3: Archetype: Laity and Clergy.

¹²⁵ For a full discussion of the changing engagement with education by the English elite see Chapter 2: Education.

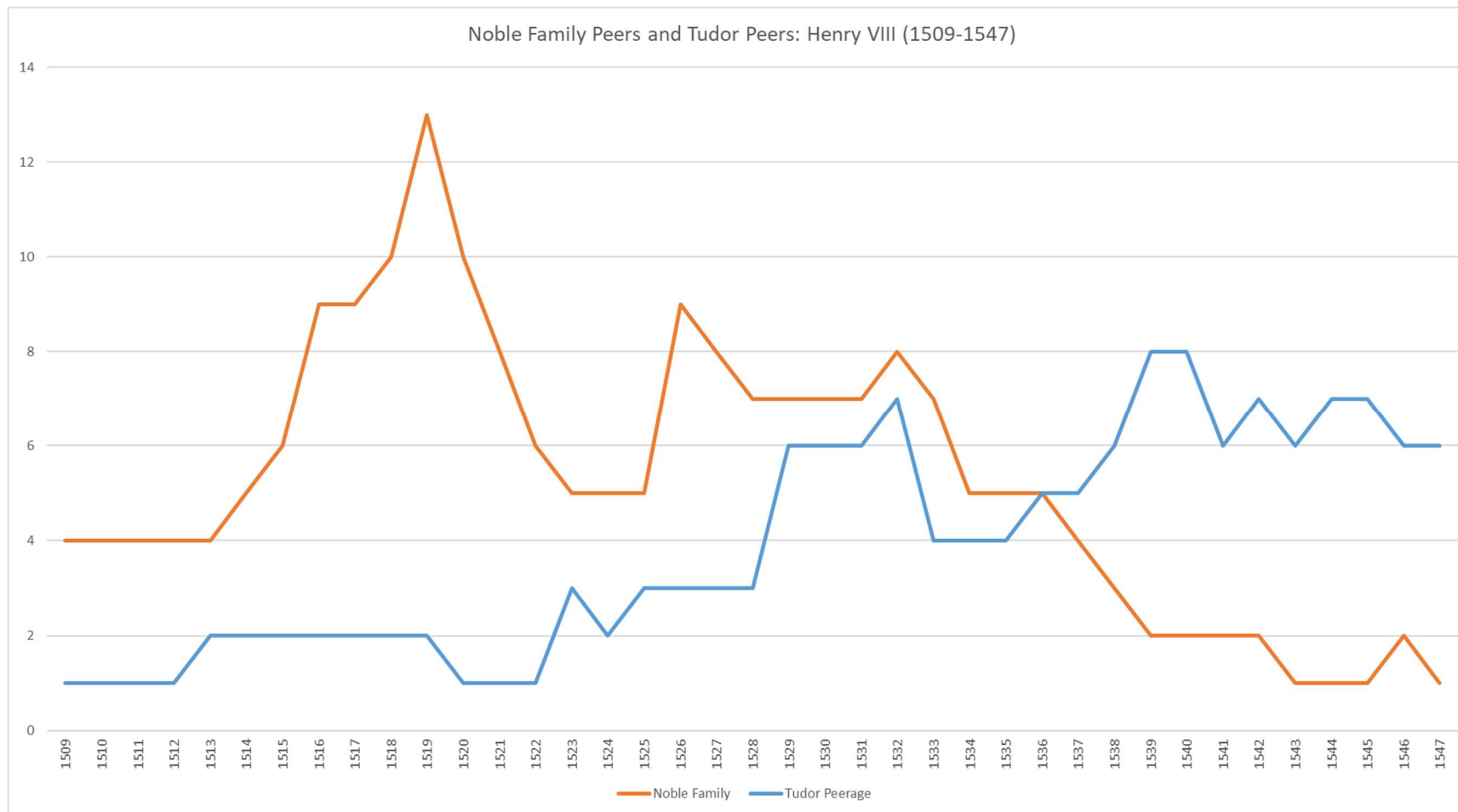


Figure 2.2 Graph showing councillors from noble families and councillors with Tudor peerages 1509-1547.

In the mid-Tudor period, there was a changing of the guard: from 1536 until 1550, 'Tudor nobles' outnumbered nobles of ancient lineage on the council.¹²⁶ This was a significant development that constituted a different approach to that of Henry VIII's early years. The majority of new creations were among Henry's existing councillors, and they represented a new type of nobleman who was defined by regular council attendance, technical competence and officeholding. As a result, the cultural differences between noble and non-noble councillors narrowed as noblemen became more actively involved in central government. Conversely, councillor noblemen had more in common with their fellow councillors than magnates outside of the council. This is not to suggest that there existed two opposed aristocratic cultures in England, as the new noblemen absorbed many of the preoccupations and goals of the traditional aristocracy. Rather a more open elite identity developed that was less concerned with traditional lordship and more focused on state service. The primary vehicle through which this change occurred was the privy council and it was Henry VIII who began the process by elevating his councillors *en masse* into the nobility.

During the 1520s and 1530s, Henry VIII elevated a host of 'new men' to the peerage. His creations included Henry Marney (c.1447-1523) as Baron Marney in 1523 to enable him to become Lord Privy Seal and take a seat in the House of Lords, as was the custom.¹²⁷ At this time, Henry also chose to reward three loyal servants of the crown with baronies: Maurice Berkeley (1467-1523), William Sandys (1470-1540) and Nicholas Vaux (c.1460-1523). The year 1529 was the turning point: in that year Henry created seven new barons and promoted three peers to earldoms.¹²⁸ The new creations meant that the lay lords outnumbered the spiritual lords in the House of Lords for the first time.¹²⁹ This occurred in the same year that Henry appointed Thomas More (1478-1535) as the first lay chancellor since 1455. It is likely that Henry sought to promote reliable and loyal men who supported his radical religious and political agenda, but this was not undertaken in opposition to traditional aristocrats. Indeed, many existing noblemen supported the King's plans and participated in the ceremonies

¹²⁶ A 'Tudor noble' is any noblemen who was ennobled by one of the Tudor monarchs who had not previously held a peerage.

¹²⁷ *L&P Henry VIII*, vol.3, II, en.2830.

¹²⁸ Barons: Henry Pole (c.1492-1539), Thomas Burgh (1488-1550), Edmund Bray (c.1484-1539), John Hussey (c.1465-1537), Gilbert Tailboys (c.1497-1530), Andrew Windsor (1467-1543), Thomas Wentworth (1501-1551). Earls: Robert Radcliffe (c.1483-1542) became Earl of Sussex; Thomas Boleyn (1477-1539) became Earl of Wiltshire and George Hastings (1488-1544) became Earl of Huntingdon.

¹²⁹ Michael A. R. Graves, *The Tudor Parliaments: Crown, Lords and Commons 1485-1603* (London: Longman, 1985), pp.72-73.

elevating the new men.¹³⁰ This was an important signal that the 'old' nobility approved of the 'new'.¹³¹ Also, many of the children and grandchildren of the 'new noblemen' viewed themselves as members of the 'ancient aristocracy'. Therefore, the 'new nobility' absorbed the key features of traditional aristocratic culture while also maintaining their own priorities and outlook. This resulted in a modification rather than a transformation of aristocratic culture.

The expectation was that the new additions would perform a service for the government, be that administratively, militarily or diplomatically. The significant change in the Tudor aristocracy was this linking of council membership and nobility. Of the twenty-four creations of Henry VIII only nine did not sit on the council at some point in their careers. One of these men was Henry Fitzroy (1519-1536), the King's bastard son, who died at the age of seventeen and who may well have joined the council had he lived. Another was Gilbert Tailboys (c.1497-1530), the stepfather of Fitzroy, who likely owed his elevation to his position as the guardian of the King's son. The elevations of Fitzroy and Tailboys were in effect promotions necessary to maintain the prestige and status of the royal family. A further two non-councillor Tudor noblemen, Thomas Poynings (c.1512-1545) and Thomas Wharton (1495-1568), owed their titles to the offices they held: Poynings as Lieutenant of Boulogne and Wharton as Warden of the West March.¹³² Thus, of the nine creations only five were not linked to the royal family or connected to officeholding.¹³³ Most of the time, Henry VIII ennobled men he expected to join his council or to perform some administrative function.

Men like William Fitzwilliam (1490-1542), William Paulet (c.1474-1572) and Thomas Audley (c.1488-1544) exemplified this new type of 'conciliar noble'. Fitzwilliam was a member of the council from 1518 and served as treasurer of the household, chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and vice admiral before his elevation to the earldom of Southampton in 1537. Paulet served on the council from 1526 and was comptroller of the household, master of the wards and surveyor-general prior to becoming Baron St John in 1539. The careers of these two men represented the method of advancement open

¹³⁰ BL, Harleian MS: 6074, fos.51-2. For instance, at Brandon's elevation to the Dukedom of Suffolk the full flower of English nobility was on display. Richard Grey, third Earl of Kent, Thomas Stanley, second Earl of Derby, and Henry Bouchier, second Earl of Essex led him into the ceremony bearing the cap, gold rod and sword respectively. Also, Thomas Howard was elevated to the Dukedom of Norfolk during the same ceremony. This was a further sign of Brandon's acceptance into the upper ranks of the aristocracy.

¹³¹ Bernard, *The Power of the early Tudor Nobility: A study of the fourth and fifth Earls of Shrewsbury* (Sussex: Harvester Press, 1985), p.183.

¹³² *L&P Henry VIII*, vol.20, I, en.125. *The Hamilton Papers, Vol. II 1543-1590*, ed. Joseph Bain (Edinburgh: H. M. General Register House, 1892), p.303.

¹³³ Edmund Bray (c.1484-1539), Thomas Burgh (1488-1550), Walter Hungerford (1503-1540), William Parr (c.1483-1547), Baron of Horton and Thomas Wentworth (1501-1551). Wentworth would be a privy councillor under Edward VI.

to officeholders in Tudor government. Both had long conciliar careers and had gained experience in multiple departments before their elevation to the nobility. Audley was the other type of 'conciliar noble', someone elevated to a peerage and the council around the same time to allow them to fulfil a specific function. He joined the council in 1531, before becoming Lord Chancellor and Baron Audley in 1533. It was clear that he was ennobled specifically to become Lord Chancellor, as he was already discharging the duties of the office in 1532 but as Lord Keeper of the Great Seal.¹³⁴ The experience of the 'conciliar nobles' would have given them an affinity with their fellow councillors and a different outlook on government service to the hereditary peers.

After 1538, Henry VIII only promoted men whom he himself had ennobled. In this way, as shown in figure 2.5, he effectively created a new nobility that was to dominate the peerage for the rest of the century. At the end of his reign, a significant proportion of the English nobility was of Henry's creation. There were 51 noblemen. Of the 34 barons, Henry had ennobled 16 of them or their predecessors. The proportion of the higher nobility who owed their titles to Henry was even higher: of the 17 peers of viscount rank or above, only six were not appointed by Henry.¹³⁵ Of the 14 earls, two were created by Henry and seven were promoted by him. Thus, at the end of Henry VIII's reign, most of the English peerage were directly tied to the Tudor dynasty and were active in central government.

Significantly, despite earlier creations, it was only between 1537 and 1549 that new nobles consistently outnumbered hereditary peers at the council table.¹³⁶ The mid-Tudor period was arguably the most radical time of the century, and the changes suggested that something was lacking in the existing peerage. During this period, the official religion of England underwent considerable doctrinal shifts, the monasteries were dissolved, a minor succeeded to the throne, and riots and rebellion engulfed large swathes of the country. These upheavals brought to the fore a different set of priorities. This often resulted in men with different approaches and new ways of thinking dominating the council and joining the peerage. The rise and fall of the different cliques during Edward's minority account for a significant amount of change within the peerage. However, it is also significant that equilibrium between new and old nobles on the council became the norm in the later sixteenth century, suggesting that the differences between the two groups shrank over the course of the Tudor period.

¹³⁴ For a full discussion of the difference between Lord Chancellors and Lord Keepers see Chapter 3: Culture, Prestige and Legitimacy.

¹³⁵ The Marquess of Dorset, and the Earls of Arundel, Derby, Oxford, Shrewsbury, Westmorland.

¹³⁶ The surge in traditional noblemen appointed to the council in 1549 is explored below, Chapter 2: Companions-in-Arms.

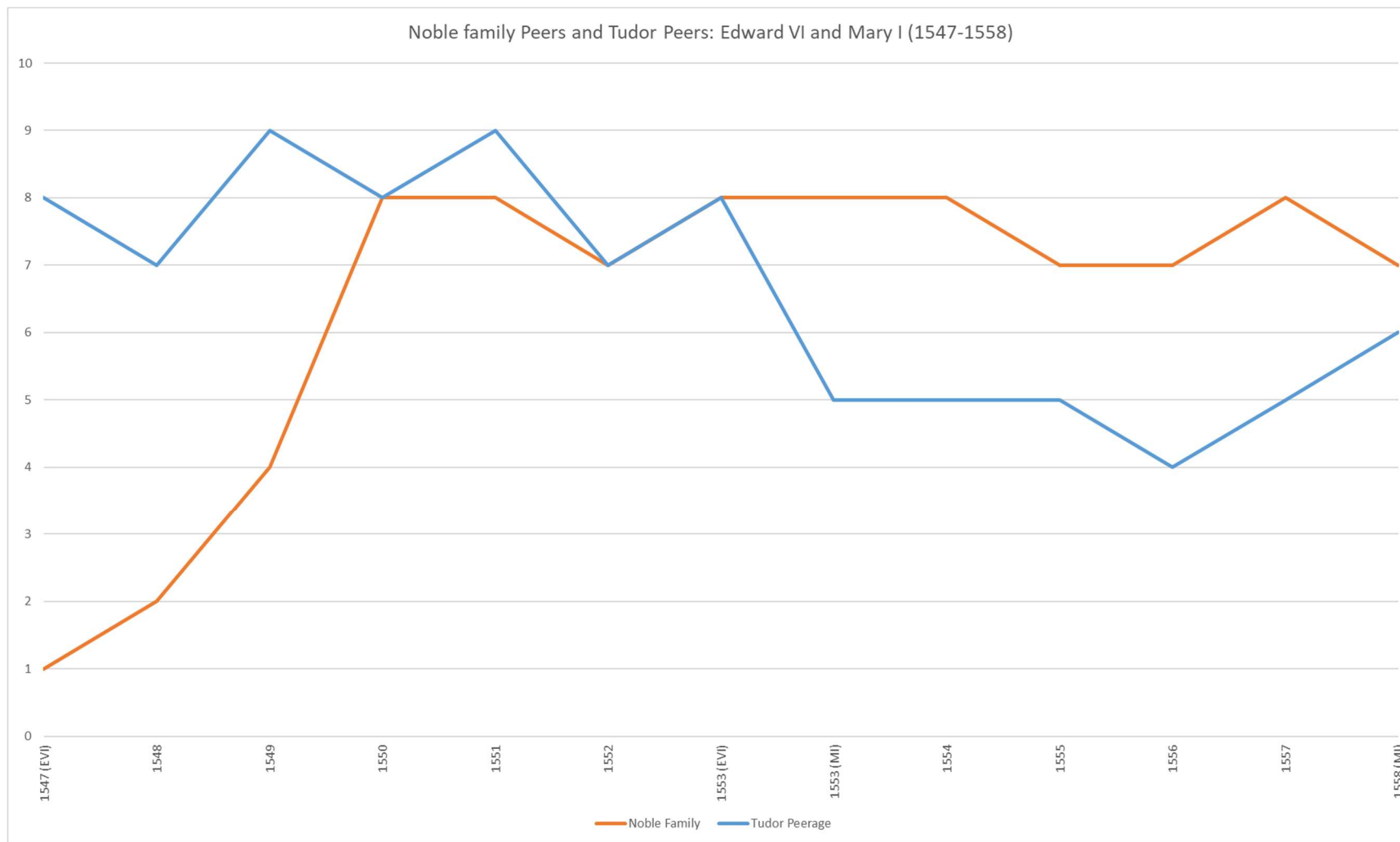


Figure 2.3 Graph showing councillors from noble families and councillors with Tudor peerages 1547-1558

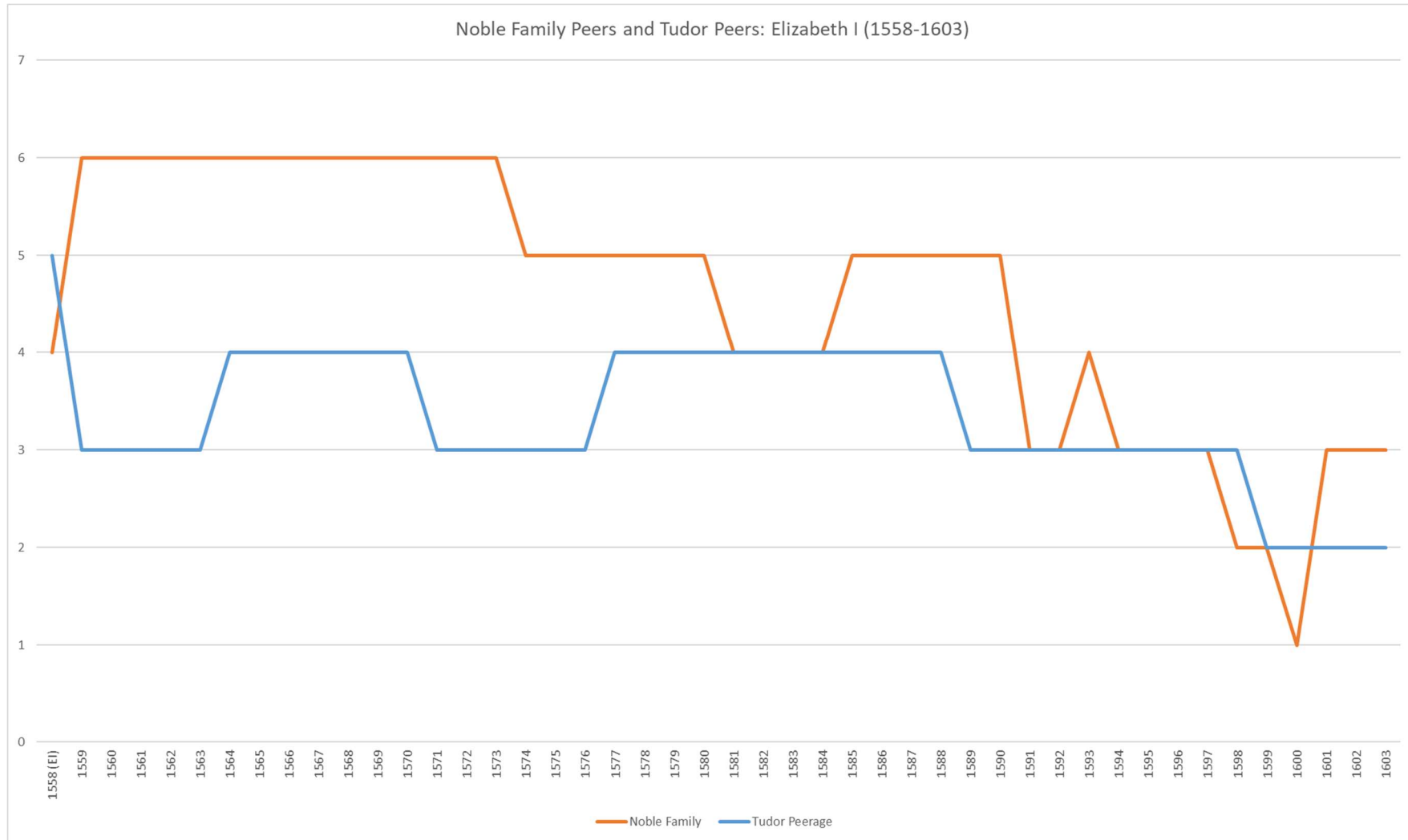


Figure 2.4 Graph showing councillors from noble families and councillors with Tudor peerages 1558-1603

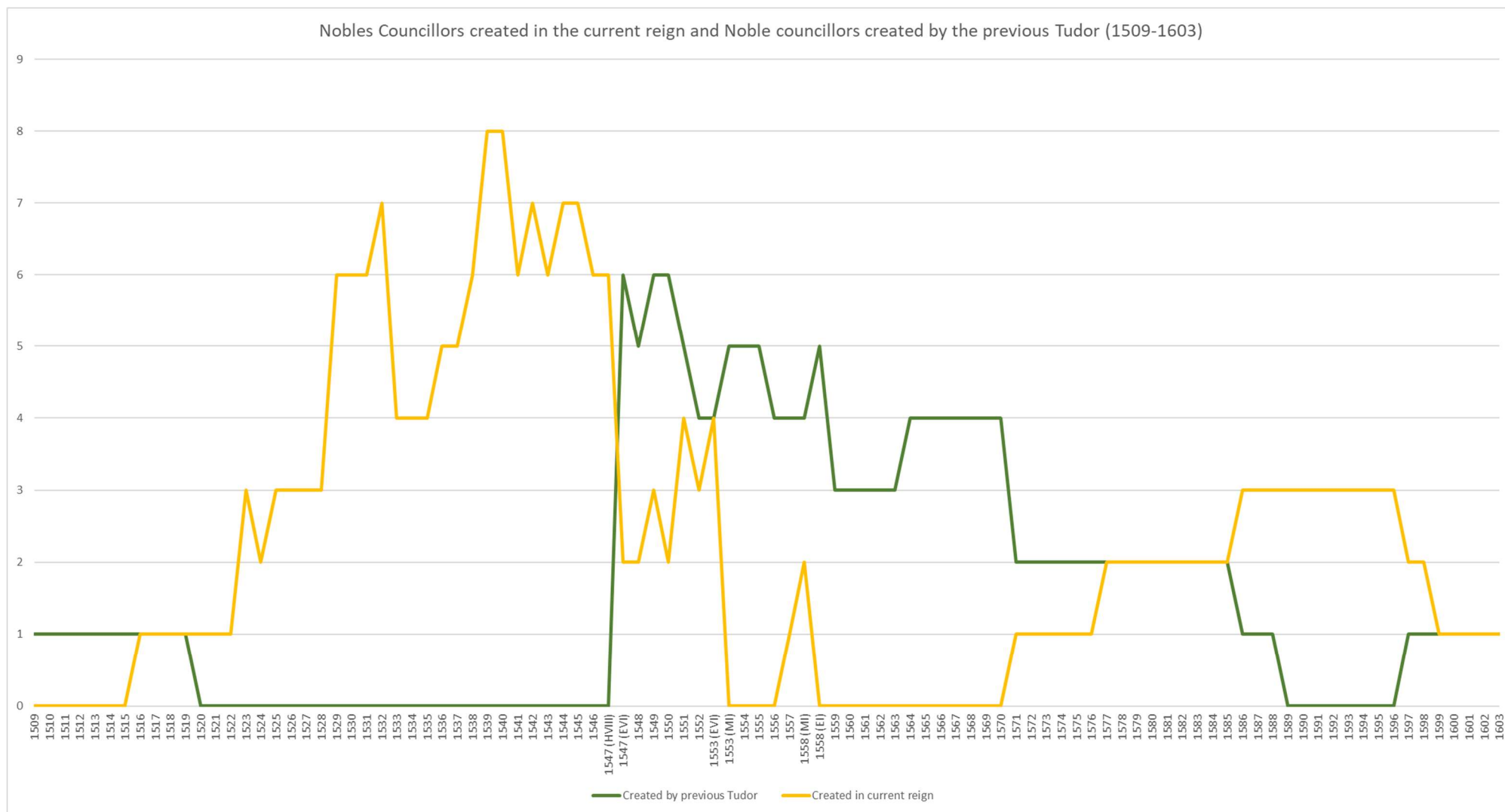


Figure 2.5 Graph showing noble councillors created in the current reign alongside those created in the previous reigns.

Both types of noblemen existed in the same cultural world and increasingly had much in common. New noblemen adopted the trappings and priorities of aristocratic power and some hereditary aristocrats began performing administrative roles in central government. For instance, the vast majority of new nobles founded hereditary dynasties of their own and became 'old nobles' within a generation. For instance, John Russell was raised to the peerage by Henry VIII and was an archetypal 'new' noble.¹³⁷ However, his son Francis (1526-1585), the second Earl of Bedford, was fully ensconced within the aristocracy during Elizabeth's reign, and the Russell family became one of the most prominent aristocratic families in England.¹³⁸ As already noted, resentment at the promotion of low-born men was a common feature of political literature and featured heavily in protest narratives. For example, the Pilgrims of Grace in 1536 directed their anger at low-born men like Cromwell and Richard Rich (1496-1567) while claiming that the place of the traditional aristocracy was much decayed.¹³⁹ The Pilgrims' leader, Robert Aske (c.1500-1537), insisted that he and his followers sought the 'purifying of the nobility and the expulsion of all villain blood and evil counsellors against the commonwealth from his grace and his privy council...'.¹⁴⁰ However, the opposition that such men roused from certain sections of the population was not widespread.

Indeed, much of the writing on nobility by contemporaries praised the infusion of new blood into the aristocracy. For instance, Lawrence Humphrey (c.1525-1589), theologian and president of Magdalen College, claimed in his *Of Nobility* (1563) that new noblemen should 'not be ashamed of the baseness of theyr natyue byrthe. If by theyr owne vertue and commendacion of wisdom... atteynde to this higher room, as many as this day both singulerly learned and guyltles and sincere life'.¹⁴¹ Similarly, in *The Institucion of a Gentlemen* (1568) written as an advice manual for the son of the Earl of Sussex, Humfrey Braham says that a

man taking his beginnunge of a poore kyndred, by his vertue, wyt pollicie, industry, knowelge in lawes, valliency in armes, or such like honest meanes becometh a wellbeloued and high esteemed manne, preferred thento great office, put in charge and credict, euen so much as he becommeth a post or stay of the commune welth... wherby it should appeare that vertue

¹³⁷ Diane Willen, *John Russell, first earl of Bedford: One of the King's Men* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1981), pp.viii, 29.

¹³⁸ Similarly, the Paulet, Wriothesley, Paget and Cecil noble dynasties all owe their origin to councillors from this period.

¹³⁹ R. W. Hoyle, *The Pilgrimage of Grace and the politics of the 1530s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp.62-3.

¹⁴⁰ *L&P Henry VIII*, Vol.11, en.705.

¹⁴¹ Lawrence Humphrey, *The Nobles or of Nobility* (London: Thomas Marshe, 1563), Image 74.

flourisheth emong vs. Suche as worthynes hath broughte vnto honour... no man oughte to contempne or dispise that man whom virtue hathe set yp more hygher then his parents wer before him.¹⁴²

This passage is all the more revealing as it was contained in a work intended for a scion of an ancient noble house, Thomas Radcliffe (c.1525-1583), third Earl of Sussex. Far from encouraging a sense of difference between the different types of noblemen these works encouraged integration and social cohesion between them.

Furthermore, the influence of new ideas regarding state service also impacted some members of the traditional aristocracy, representing a gradual acceptance of these ideas by some old noblemen. For instance, Henry Stafford (1501-1563), Lord Stafford, was also the scion of an ancient noble house, being the son of Edward Stafford, third Duke of Buckingham, but he applied himself diligently to the role of chamberlain of the Exchequer from 1554.¹⁴³ Traditionally, the two chamberlainships of the Exchequer were empty sinecures granted to absentee noblemen: Stafford's fellow chamberlain was Francis Talbot (1500-1560), fifth Earl of Shrewsbury. The Talbots had held the post since 1509 and had rarely attended the Exchequer, they simply drew their fees and allowed their deputies to carry out the functions of the office.¹⁴⁴ Stafford, on the other hand, enthusiastically revived the chamberlain's position as an active officeholder and jealously guarded his duties and privileges.¹⁴⁵ Stafford was attempting to resurrect his family's fortunes after the execution of his father in 1521, and it is significant that he chose to do so through administrative government service. This was a recognition of the growing importance of technical competence and officeholding for those who aspired to political influence.

New noblemen were not opposed to the traditional aristocracy, nor did they have different goals and aspirations. New and old nobles alike sought influence in central government and attended the court in search of patronage; both groups also sought to build a landed interest in the localities. The elevation of new men into the peerage had always been the monarch's prerogative and was essential to maintaining the integrity of the upper class. Of course, a recently elevated peer could become a rival for the monarch's favour and could elicit some private grumbling from the existing nobleman on

¹⁴² Humfrey Braham, *The Institucion of a Gentlemen*, 1568 (London: EEBO Editions, 2010), B.iiij (p.19).

¹⁴³ Andrew H. Anderson, 'Henry, Lord Stafford (1501-1563) in Local and Central Government', *The English Historical Review*, 78 (1963), 225-242 (p.231)

¹⁴⁴ *L&P Henry VIII*, vol.1, en.54.

¹⁴⁵ Anderson, 'Henry, Lord Stafford', pp.231-2.

these grounds. However, the view expounded by disgruntled aristocrats or rebels in times of political crisis that the ancient nobility was 'much decayed' by 'villain blood' or that it had been 'trodden underfoot by such base upstarts' does not appear to be an accurate reflection of the views of the majority of the noble class.¹⁴⁶ The surviving evidence suggests that most new noblemen councillors acclimatised quickly to their elevated social position and cooperated effectively with their peers. A significant factor in this regard were the long associations between newly rewarded councillors and existing councillors on the privy council itself: most 'new nobles' had served long careers in central government prior to their elevation and would have come into regular contact with noblemen. Of the 28 councillors raised to a new peerage between 1509 and 1603, 20 were already on the council at their elevation (71%). In addition, the average length of service as a councillor before ennoblement was eight years.

The ennoblement of a councillor likely provided opportunities for further contact and interaction between them and their new peers. For instance, William Fitzwilliam's elevation to the earldom of Southampton in 1537 made him a socially acceptable choice for the reception of Henry VIII's fourth queen, Anne of Cleves, at Calais in 1539. Fitzwilliam led the noble delegation, which included George Hastings (1488-1544), Baron Hastings, Henry Grey (1517-1554), Marquess of Dorset, and Lord William Howard (c.1510-1573). The embassy would have provided many occasions for social interaction among the participants during the pageantry that surrounded the prospective queen's arrival. In fact, the ambassadors had the opportunity for a more intimate meeting as Anne requested that they play cards with her after supper.¹⁴⁷ There is no evidence of hostility between the hereditary noblemen and the newly created Fitzwilliam as they taught Anne an English game. This event serves as a reminder that new and old nobles were usually drawn from the same culture and social world and could develop friendly relations. It also reinforces the point that newly raised noble councillors would not have been strangers at court or in government: Fitzwilliam had been a councillor for 19 years before becoming an earl. During this period, he almost certainly came into contact with every aristocratic councillor, and there is no evidence to suggest he did not work effectively with them. There was no reason for this to change upon his promotion.

¹⁴⁶ Robert Aske, leader of the Pilgrims of Grace, described the state of the ancient nobility in 1536 as 'much decayed' and criticised the 'villain blood and evil counsellors' around the King: *L&P Henry VIII*, Vol.11, en.705. Similarly, Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex, often characterised his enemies at court as 'upstarts' and thought that they monopolised the Queen's favour to bar the 'natural elite' from her counsels: *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon. The Marquis of Sailsbury, preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire*, Vol.5 (London: HMSO, 1980), pp.279-80.

¹⁴⁷ SP 1/155 f.108.

Political flashpoints involving the nobility certainly did occur in the Tudor period. However, socially derived explanations of these flashpoints are unconvincing. On the whole, relationships between councillors who came from different social classes were cooperative and collegiate. A striking illustration of this was the fall of Cardinal Wolsey in 1529. Traditionally, historians such as Elton, Scarisbrick and Ives claimed that Wolsey was the victim of an 'aristocratic putsch' engineered by his supposed noble rivals because they were outraged that an arrogant Ipswich butcher's son was monopolising the King's favour.¹⁴⁸ Peter Gwyn has challenged the established view of Wolsey's interactions with the nobility and presented a much more harmonious relationship.¹⁴⁹ By exploring the connections and interactions between Wolsey and his fellow councillors it is possible to shed light on the impact of social class on the relationships between councillors.

The key figures in the supposed conspiracy against Wolsey were Thomas Howard (1473-1554), the third Duke of Norfolk, and Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. These individuals had operated at the highest levels of government alongside Wolsey for fifteen years by 1529 and had shown little unease about his position. Indeed, evidence exists that indicates they may, in fact, have been political allies. In 1519, Sebastian Giustinian, the Venetian ambassador, reported on potential successors should Henry VIII die without an heir and declared that Thomas Howard had 'some hopes of the crown' and that he was 'very intimate with the Cardinal'.¹⁵⁰ The implication from the ambassador was that Wolsey would support Howard's ambitions for the crown, which perhaps suggested a deeper relationship than mere allies of circumstance. If the two were enemies, Wolsey would hardly have welcomed the prospect of Howard ascending to the throne; in that event, it would have been quite likely that Wolsey would have been excluded from political power.

Likewise, the written correspondence between Wolsey and Howard contains little evidence of long-term distrust or hatred. On the contrary, their letters are, on the whole, friendly and constructive, with numerous references to their mutual cooperation. Wolsey also praised Howard in private communication with Henry VIII: commending his 'wisdom, activitie, and hardinesse, but also other goode qualities being in hym, by reason wherof he is right mete and hable to doo unto you acceptable service'. Wolsey even cautioned Henry against losing 'soo goode and valiaunt a capitain' when Howard

¹⁴⁸ Elton, *Reform and Reformation*, p.63; J. J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1968), p.229; Ives, 'The Fall of Wolsey', in *Wolsey: Church, State and Art*, ed. S. J. Gunn and P. J. Lindley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp.286-315; Nancy Lenz Harvey, *Thomas, Cardinal Wolsey* (London: MacMillan, 1980), pp.29, 105. For a useful overview of this view see: Bernard, *Power and Politics*, pp.51-53.

¹⁴⁹ Peter Gwyn, *The King's Cardinal: The Rise and Fall of Cardinal Wolsey* (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1990).

¹⁵⁰ *L&P Henry VIII*, Vol.3, en.402.

was ill on campaign in 1521.¹⁵¹ This would have been inconceivable if he was locked in a battle for political supremacy. Unsurprisingly, given that both men were at the top of the political hierarchy in highly stressful positions, occasional tensions are evident. For instance, when Howard was refused permission to return from the Scottish marches in 1523, he sent a letter to Wolsey to vent his frustration.¹⁵² Wolsey and Henry refused to allow Howard to relinquish the post as he possessed more 'wisdom, prowess and experience' than any alternative candidate.¹⁵³ This situation produced some grumbling from Howard, but there is no evidence that such grumbling ever went beyond situational annoyance.

Charles Brandon's relationship with Wolsey appeared even more friendly than Howard's. Steven Gunn, Brandon's biographer, has asserted that they were close friends in the early 1510s and were recognised as such by contemporaries.¹⁵⁴ Observers such as Margaret of Austria and Polydore Virgil saw them as complementary allies working in close cooperation.¹⁵⁵ As late as 1528, Brandon and Wolsey corresponded on friendly terms, with Brandon seeking Wolsey's favour in various matters.¹⁵⁶ Also, both Dukes were heavily involved in suppressing the disturbances provoked by the Amicable Grant in 1525, with no hint that they were trying to use the event to tarnish the Cardinal's reputation with the king. In fact, much of the criticism of Wolsey and his policies only emerged after the Cardinal's fall when the King had irrevocably withdrawn his favour. Accounts which imply opposition before that point are unconvincing.

Much has been written about Wolsey's manner and high-handedness in his dealings with others. For example, John Guy described him as 'glorying' in his role as Lord Chancellor and legate, using his authority to embarrass other leading courtiers and councillors.¹⁵⁷ Similarly, Elton claimed that he 'angered [the] nobility and gentry by his intolerable pretensions.'¹⁵⁸ The conventional picture of Wolsey's relations with the nobility is thus one of mutual antagonism, primarily due to the Cardinal's arrogance and vanity. However, Peter Gwyn has convincingly argued that the English nobility would not have found it in the least demeaning to pay Wolsey, as a prince of the Church and a leading

¹⁵¹ British Library, London, Cotton MS: Titus B/XI/2 f.374.

¹⁵² *L&P Henry VIII*, Vol.3, en.3384; *L&P Henry VIII*, Vol.3, en.3515.

¹⁵³ *L&P Henry VIII*, Vol.3, en.3394.

¹⁵⁴ Gunn, *Charles Brandon*, p.27.

¹⁵⁵ *L&P Henry VIII*, Vol.1, II, en.3210; Polydore Vergil, *The Anglica Historica, 1485-1537*, ed. D. Hay (London: Royal Historical Society, 1950), p.198.

¹⁵⁶ *L&P Henry VIII*, Vol.4, en.3884, 3997, 4324.

¹⁵⁷ Guy, 'Wolsey, the Council and the Council Courts', *English Historical Review*, 91 (1976), 481-505 (p.487).

¹⁵⁸ Elton, *England Under the Tudors* (London: Routledge, 1991), p.75.

councillor, the utmost respect.¹⁵⁹ As noted above, sixteenth-century Europe was a hierarchical society in which people were used to bowing to authority and nowhere was this more true than in the church. Even kings were expected to act with a level of subservience before the Pope, as Francis I, King of France, did when he met Leo X in 1515: he was observed ‘grovelling’ at the Pope’s feet which were ‘almost kissed away by his attentions’.¹⁶⁰ Wolsey was not the Pope, of course, but he was the highest-ranking clergyman in England, so similar displays of respect on the part of the nobility should not be viewed as impositions of a pompous and egotistical priest.

For instance, the arrival of Wolsey’s cardinal hat from Rome and his installation were conducted with full pomp and ceremony. A contemporary account stated that the ‘flower of England’s nobility’ participated, including the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the Marquess of Dorset and the Earls of Surrey, Shrewsbury, Essex and Wiltshire.¹⁶¹ The noblemen lined the route to Westminster Abbey, stood and watched the proceedings, offered prayers for the new Cardinal and attended a sumptuous banquet at Wolsey’s house at Charing Cross. The observer does not record any hint that they found this duty irksome or resented playing their part. Furthermore, during the ceremony, Wolsey ‘kneeled before the middle of the high altar, where for a certain time he lay grovelling, his hood over this head.’¹⁶² This was hardly the picture of an overbearing prelate lording his authority over lesser men.

On the contrary, noblemen in fact asked him to intervene in their private affairs. For instance, he drew up ‘articles of agreement’ to settle a dispute between Thomas Grey, second Marquess of Dorset, and his mother, Cecily Bonville (1460-1529), Dowager Marchioness of Dorset, over the division of her lands in 1522.¹⁶³ Her affairs were complex, as she was a baroness in her own right and had married Henry Stafford (c.1479-1523), Earl of Wiltshire, in 1503, after the death of her first husband, against the wishes of her son. She also had eight children who lived into adulthood and required dowries and annuities. It was over the provision for his surviving siblings that Grey quarrelled with his mother. Wolsey’s resolution forced both mother and son to contribute to the children’s settlements.¹⁶⁴ Presumably both parties accepted the agreement brokered by Wolsey as no further evidence of

¹⁵⁹ Gwyn, *The King’s Cardinal*, p.174.

¹⁶⁰ George Cavendish, *The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey*, ed. Richard. S. Sylvester (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp.24-5.

¹⁶¹ Transcript of the original manuscript in the College of Arms contained in J. H. Lupton, *A Life of John Colet, dean of St Paul’s* (London: G. Bell, 1909), pp.193-5.

¹⁶² Lutpon, *John Colet*, p.198.

¹⁶³ For the ‘Articles of Agreement’ see *L&P Henry VIII*, vol.3, en.2703.

¹⁶⁴ Barbara J. Harris, *English Aristocratic Women, 1450-1550: marriage and family, property and careers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp.114-5.

discord survives. Regardless, the fact that he was approached to mediate suggested an appreciation of his abilities and fairness.

Similarly, Thomas Howard, the second Duke of Norfolk, sought Wolsey's help in 1524 over the behaviour of his daughter's husband, John de Vere (1499-1526), the fourteenth earl of Oxford. De Vere was incapable of managing his estates, drank and ate too much, kept riotous company, wore 'excessive and superfluous apparel', and treated his wife with none of the 'gentleness and kindness' expected of a husband and gentleman. Wolsey's response was to issue an 'order... to limit John earl of Oxenford in the ordering of the expenses of household and other his affairs... as also the demeanour towards the countess his wife'.¹⁶⁵ These were highly personal matters which the people involved were unlikely to bring to the Cardinal's attention if they did not trust him and respect his ability to resolve disputes. The Countess of Oxford was pleased with Wolsey's settlement and wrote to him claiming that he was 'the setting forward of me; for I have nothing, nor was never like to have had, if it had not been for your gracious goodness'.¹⁶⁶ Consequently, the Cardinal's exalted position, far from being a source of annoyance to the nobility, actually benefited them when it came to the arbitration of their disputes.

Undoubtedly, some individuals were jealous of Wolsey's influence with the King, but to assume that aristocratic councillors were excluded to such an extent that they were prepared to coordinate a unified political strategy to remove the Cardinal is not plausible. First, as has been demonstrated here, the supposed aristocratic enemies of Wolsey were actually close confidants and colleagues who showed little sign of hostility towards him. More generally, the relationship between Wolsey and the noblemen forms a part of a recurring pattern of cooperation in central government between councillors. This theme will be revisited in subsequent chapters that look into the role of shared service in government in forging close bonds between officeholders and the creation of a homogenised conciliar culture.¹⁶⁷ For the present purposes it is significant that no coherent or overt division can be detected among councillors based on social class. While councillors of different social backgrounds likely conceived of their places in society differently, when it came to working together in government, council membership provided a means through which to forge effective working relationships.

Overall, the Tudors did create a 'new nobility' out of their councillors and officeholders. However, this was not done in opposition to the traditional aristocracy as some older interpretations claimed.

¹⁶⁵ BL Hargrave, 249, fo.226. Published in *Archaeologia*, 19 (1821), 62-65.

¹⁶⁶ *L&P Henry VIII*, vol.3, en.2932.

¹⁶⁷ See Chapter 3: In the Service of the State and Chapter 5: The Chamber Network.

Indeed, hereditary noblemen remained councillors throughout the century and some of them adopted the outlook and methods of the new men. These new men were expected to perform a role in government and brought new ideas regarding service to the noble class. Thus, aristocratic culture remained focused on lineage and honour, but absorbed some of the priorities and ideas of the new men. The result was a change in the approach of the nobility rather than a change in its purpose.

Companions-in-Arms

The ancient function of the nobility was as the king's companions in war, and noblemen councillors continued to play a vital role in England's ability to make war in the sixteenth century. England had no standing army, so the monarchs relied on their leading landowners to raise their tenants and lead them into battle. Thus, the tenurial relationship between landlord and tenant remained an essential component of the military recruitment process for most of the sixteenth century.¹⁶⁸ The Crown sent out writs of military summons to the principal landowners, who answered by enforcing their tenants' military obligations.¹⁶⁹ Those with the largest estates often contributed the most men to a campaign, and these extensive landowners were most often found in intimate positions around the king and government.

Privy councillors were often the first port of call for the monarch when preparing for a military campaign. On 8 May 1522, for instance, William Sandys received a signet letter ordering him to raise 200 men and send them to Dover by 25 May. However, Sandys was unable to comply because he was in Calais and would not be able to communicate with his estates in England by the deadline. He wrote to Wolsey explaining that he could raise no more than 30 men in the present circumstances and asked if the retinue of Richard Foxe (c.1447-1528), bishop of Winchester, could supplement his own.¹⁷⁰ This incident demonstrates the difficulty in relying on a single group of servants for numerous functions of state: Sandys was performing diplomatic functions in France when his services as a military recruiter were required.¹⁷¹ Also, it shows councillors working together to fulfil their obligations. It is significant that Sandys' first instinct was to turn to his friend and council veteran, Foxe, when he ran into trouble.

¹⁶⁸ Luke MacMahon, 'Chivalry, military professionalism and the early Tudor army in Renaissance Europe: A reassessment', in *Chivalric ethos and the development of military professionalism*, ed. D. J. B Trim (Leiden: Brill, 2003), pp.183-212 (p.185).

¹⁶⁹ J. J. Goring, 'The military obligations of the English people, 1511-1558' (Unpublished PhD Thesis: Queen Mary University, 1955), pp.16-17.

¹⁷⁰ SP 1/24 f.130.

¹⁷¹ Ronald H. Fritze, 'William Sandys, c.1470-1540', *ODNB* (2004).

In Mary's reign, the ability of William Herbert, the first Earl of Pembroke, to raise a substantial body of men for military service from his Welsh lands was well respected and recognised by Englishmen and foreign observers.¹⁷² Similarly, the roughly 750 strong cavalry contingent of the expedition to the Netherlands in 1586 was recruited primarily by councillors. Approximately 200 men supplied retinues for this expedition, and at least 105 of those were followers of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester.¹⁷³ Dudley used his position as a councillor and great landowner to supply the Crown with a significant body of men. However, the Crown retained the right to appoint him as leader of the expedition, and only the monarch could authorise the legitimate use of military force. Thus, the military apparatus of the Tudor state was still essentially set within a medieval context, and privy councillors were at the heart of this.

It was often the case that privy councillors of all types held extensive estates and therefore could provide soldiers for the Crown's armies. For instance, Cromwell sent a contingent of 200 men to fight under the Duke of Norfolk against the Pilgrims of Grace in 1536, and in 1539 his contingent to the London musters impressed observers with its size.¹⁷⁴ However, though a Cromwell or a Cecil could call on men to join the royal army, there was no question that they would lead it. Military command was the sole preserve of the martial nobility and even within the nobility military leadership required a certain social weight. For instance, in 1521 Wolsey's proposal that Sandys lead a military expedition was refused by Henry VIII who thought that 'it can not stonde wyth hys [Henry's] honor to sende ony personage off lower degree than an Erle, owt off hys realme, wyth the sayde army'.¹⁷⁵ Any councillor could manage the campaign's finances, participate in negotiations, and oversee supply operations, but the leading magnates directed military operations and joined the king in the field.¹⁷⁶ This is an area of influence that is often overlooked in accounts of politics and government, which tend to focus principally on the machinery of the state. Those councillors who won military glory on the battlefield often saw increased influence in government. For instance, Thomas Howard's stunning victory over the Scots at Flodden in 1513 solidified his and his family's position at the heart of Tudor government. The military reputation gained during this campaign would play a key part in the Howards' prominence within Henry VIII's government.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷² Narasingha P. Sil, *Tudor Placemen and Statesmen: Select Case Studies* (London: Associated University Presses, 2001), p.153.

¹⁷³ Adams, *Leicester and the Court*, p.186.

¹⁷⁴ *L&P Henry VIII*, vol.11, en.831. *The Lisle Letters*, V, ed. M. St Clare Byrne (London: Chicago, 1981), 1406.

¹⁷⁵ SP 1/22 f.288.

¹⁷⁶ Sandys participated in most of Henry VIII's military campaigns and was an experienced soldier but, despite this, he never led an expedition.

¹⁷⁷ J. P. Cooper, *Land, men, and beliefs: studies in early-modern history* (London: Hambledon Press, 1983), p.79.

Significantly, at Henry VIII's moment of greatest danger, during the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536, it was George Talbot (c.1468-1538), the fourth Earl of Shrewsbury, who led a group of his tenants in opposition to the Pilgrims and blocked their path to southern England. It was likely Shrewsbury's quick actions – he raised 2,470 men in only four days – which encouraged other noblemen to remain loyal and prevented the rebels from receiving widespread aristocratic support.¹⁷⁸ His actions also undermined rebel claims that noblemen were excluded from government. Shrewsbury subsequently led the King's forces alongside Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk, against the rebels. This was when Cromwell was in the ascendant and when an effective 'bureaucratic' government was supposedly established, but instead the King turned to two of England's oldest aristocratic families. This demonstrated a high level of favour and trust and highlighted the limits of administrative control.

That the Tudors relied on noblemen in times of unrest and war is clear from the composition of the privy council. During these times, the privy council contained more noblemen than during times of peace and stability. For instance, if we look at Henry VIII's reign in more detail, we see a spike in noble privy council membership between 1516 and 1521. This high point corresponded to the aftermath of Henry's first French war of 1512-1514, for which he required experienced military commanders. The noblemen who participated in this war had the opportunity to cultivate personal relationships with the King during the campaign and to demonstrate their usefulness. Several of them were rewarded with positions on the privy council after the war.¹⁷⁹ For instance, Henry Percy, the fifth Earl of Northumberland, George Neville (1469-1535), the third Baron Bergavenny, and Thomas Grey, Marquess of Dorset, were added in 1516. They were followed by Thomas Stanley, Earl of Derby, in 1517 and John Bourchier, Lord Berners, in 1518. Finally, in 1519, three representatives of noble families gained membership of the council: Henry Bourchier, Earl of Essex, Richard Grey, Earl of Kent, and Henry Stafford, Earl of Wiltshire. All of these noblemen had led contingents in the French war, and it seems highly likely that it was because of this service that they received these promotions. This was an avenue of preferment unique to the martial nobility, which contrasted with the slow administrative career path of lesser-born men.

¹⁷⁸ Bernard, *The Power of the early Tudor Nobility*, p.181.

¹⁷⁹ The council register for this period is incomplete, so individuals may have been councillors earlier than stated here. The figures given are the first recorded appearance of each individual on the council.

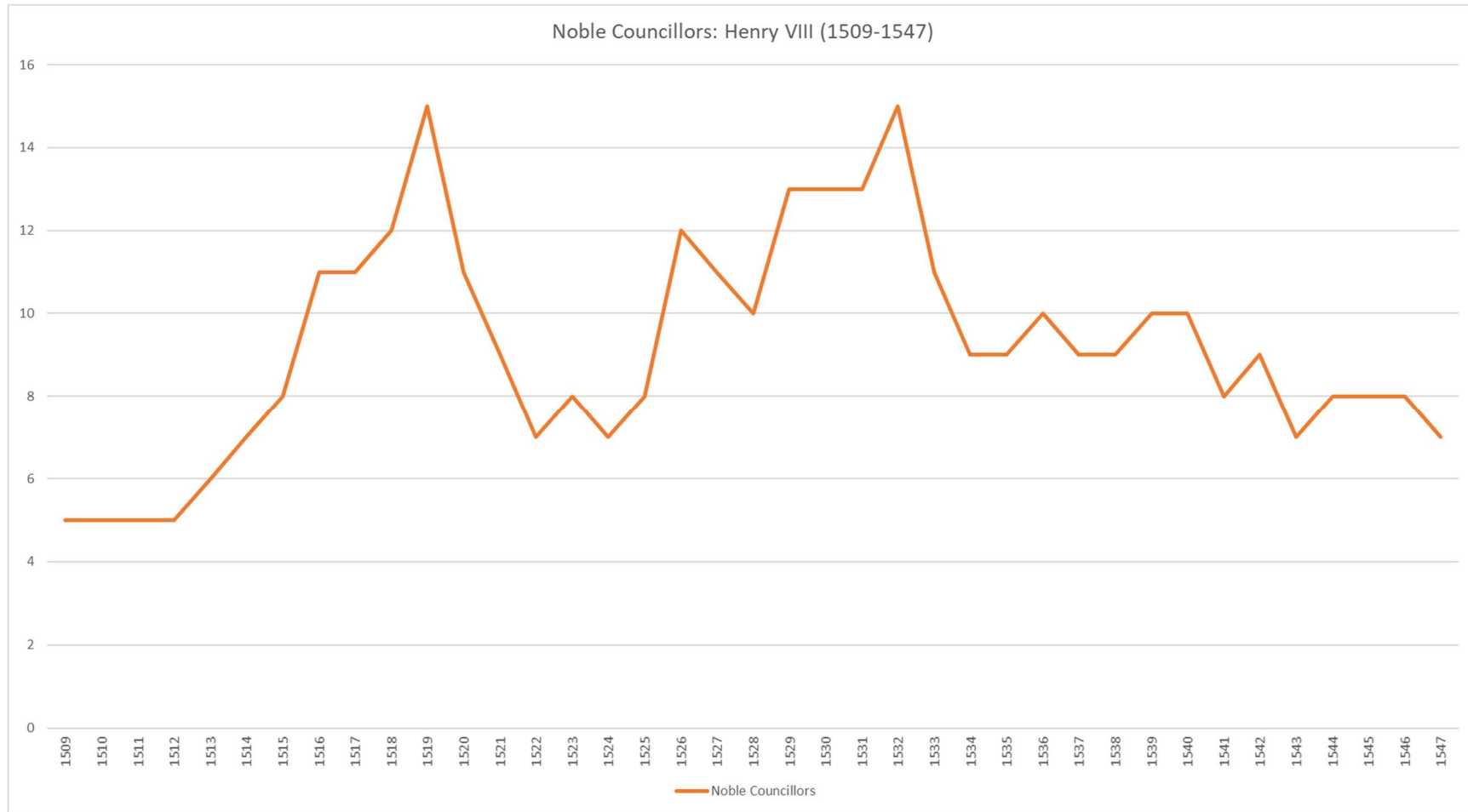


Figure 2.6 Graph showing the number of noblemen present on the privy council for each year of Henry VIII's reign.

Similarly, during the reign of Edward VI, the council was flooded with hereditary nobles who had military experience. To understand this trend, we must understand the political situation of Edward VI's reign. The minority of the king meant that power rested first with Edward Seymour (1500-1552), the king's uncle and Protector of the realm, and then, after October 1549, with the privy council itself with John Dudley (1504-1553), Duke of Northumberland, at its head. The political struggles of 1549 ended with the dissolution of the Protectorate and the purging of Dudley's enemies in the privy council. Dudley sought to strengthen his position by appointing 19 new privy councillors before the end of 1551.¹⁸⁰ The overriding concern for Dudley was to appoint men on whose loyalty he could depend rather than any educational qualification or judgment of technical ability. In light of this, it is significant that nine of the men he appointed were aristocratic courtier-soldiers in a similar mould to himself and with whom he had a personal history.

The nine men were William Parr (1513-1571), Earl of Essex, Henry Grey (1517-1554), Marquess of Dorset, Walter Devereux, Viscount Hereford (1489-1558), Edward Clinton (1512-1585), Baron Clinton, Francis Hastings (1513-1560), Baron Huntingdon, George Brooke (1497-1558), Baron Cobham, Edward Stanley (1509-1572), Earl of Derby, Henry Fitzalan (1512-1580), Earl of Arundel and Henry Neville (1524-1564), Earl of Westmorland. They were all members of established noble families and held considerable estates and influence in their counties. Most significantly, however, they were experienced military leaders, and their elevation may have reflected a conscious effort by Dudley to strengthen the council's military credentials. There were two main benefits to doing so: first, to have capable men of proven military ability close in the uncertain foreign relations climate, but also to bolster Dudley's own military position. He was acutely aware of the problems that Edward Seymour had encountered when he was unable to call upon a reliable military force during the coup in 1549. The fact that Dudley had served with almost all the men during the campaigns of the 1540s further strengthens this interpretation.

¹⁸⁰ D. E. Hoak, *The King's Council in the Reign of Edward VI* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p.55.

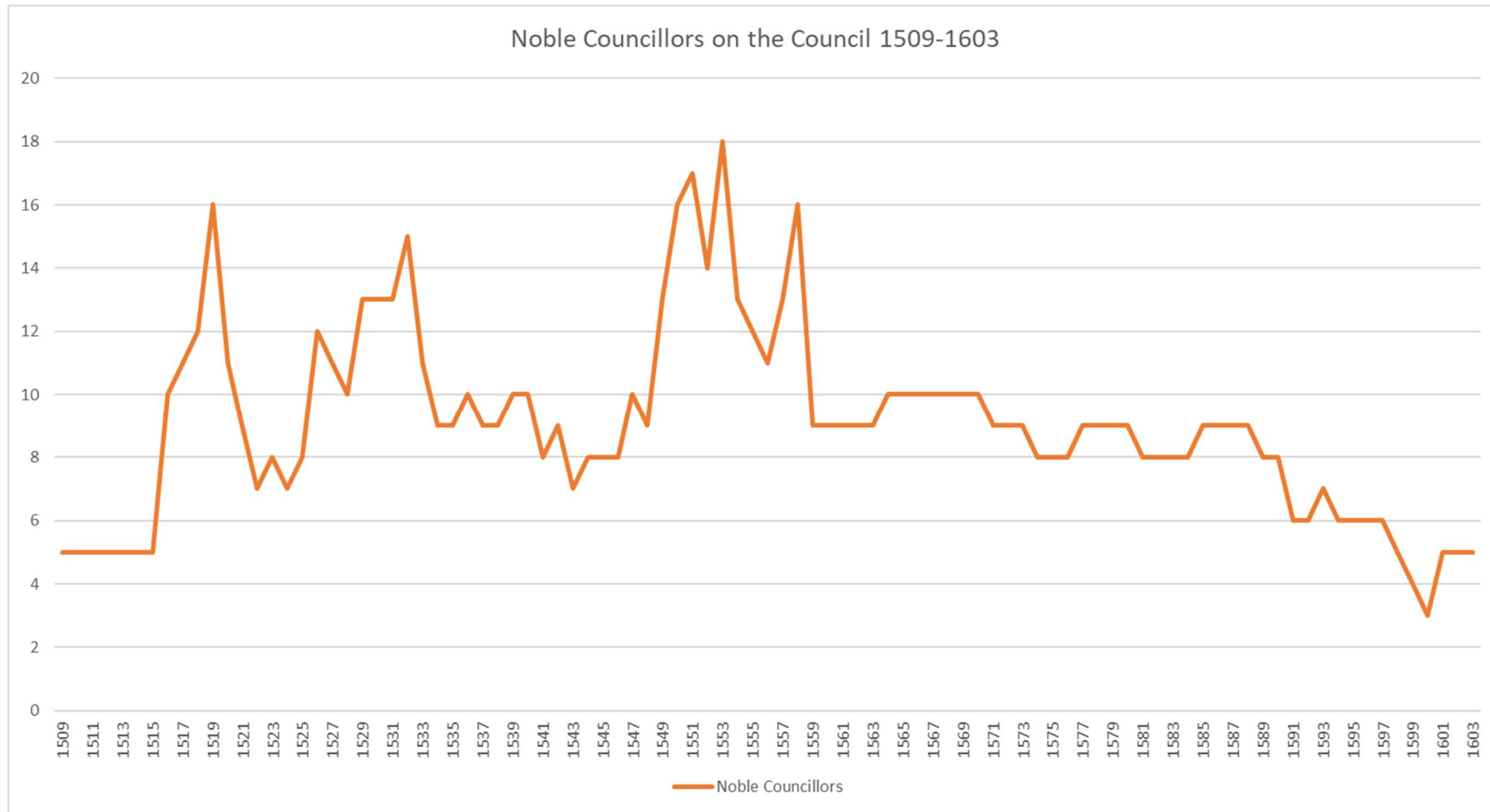


Figure 2.7 Graph showing noble councillors 1509-1603

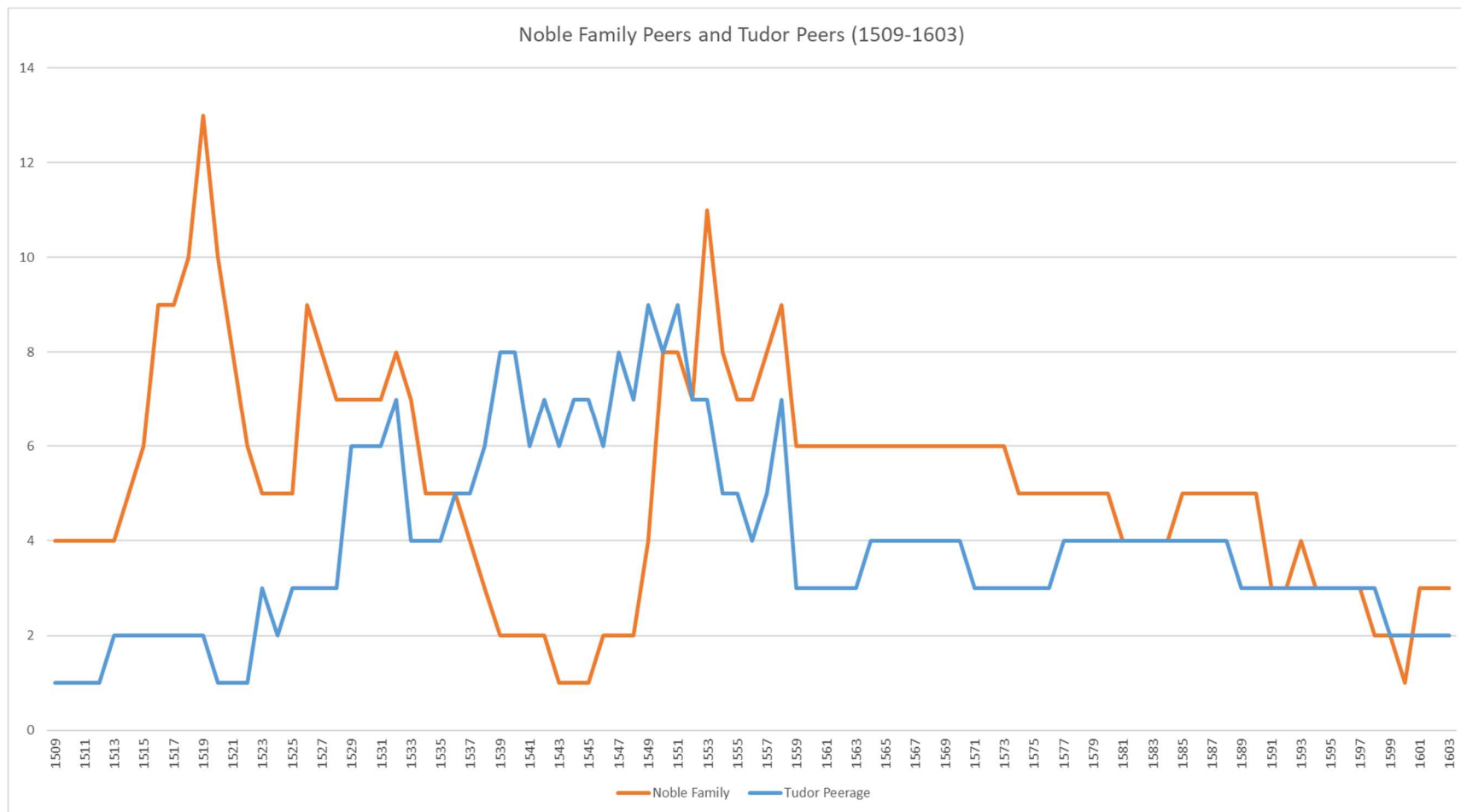


Figure 2.8 Graph showing councillors from noble families and councillors with Tudor peerages 1509-1603

During the Boulogne campaign of 1544, Parr, Grey, Hastings, Fitzalan, Devereux, Brooke and Clinton all contributed significant contingents of men.¹⁸¹ Grey, Devereux and Parr were members of the vanguard commanded by Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and Henry Neville was knighted by the king after the siege.¹⁸² Dudley was also heavily involved in the Boulogne campaign and was given custody of the town after it fell into English hands.¹⁸³ Similarly, Hastings and Clinton both served under the command of Dudley against the Scots in 1544.¹⁸⁴ It is likely that the men forged bonds during these military campaigns, which Dudley remembered when he was attempting to bolster his position in 1549. This seems a more plausible explanation than a religiously-determined policy that D. E. Hoak has advocated.¹⁸⁵ First, the men do not appear to have had an obvious religious affiliation, with some being described as reformers, some conservatives and some as *politiques*. In addition, this interpretation relies on Dudley pursuing a premeditated religious agenda which was difficult to determine in 1549. It was more likely that the men concerned owed their positions to their good relationship with Dudley and their military capability and experience.

When attempting to understand the social dynamics of the Tudor privy council it is important to appreciate the impact of warfare and the central role that martial pursuits played in the elite culture of the period. The martial arena was one that excluded certain councillors from full participation. All councillors could provide troops for royal armies or manage the logistics of a campaign, but participation in military action was the preserve of a select group for much of the period. However, a change occurred in English military structure in the later sixteenth century, with the systematic use of lord lieutenants. The primary function of the lieutenant was to oversee the mustering, arming and leading of the county militia for royal service.¹⁸⁶ The Tudors did not invent the post, but prior to the sixteenth century, lieutenants had only been appointed occasionally. However, from 1549 onwards, the leading man in each county was routinely given this title.¹⁸⁷ The reason for this change was likely the disturbances of that year and the Crown's need for reliable men in each county to manage military

¹⁸¹ SP 1/184 f.76.

¹⁸² SP 1/184 f.221; L&P Henry VIII, vol.19, II, en.10.

¹⁸³ David Loades, 'John Dudley, 1504-1553', *ODNB* (2021).

¹⁸⁴ Anne Duffin, 'Edward Clinton, 1512-1585', *ODNB* (2008); Claire Cross, 'Francis Hastings, 1513/14-1560', *ODNB* (2012).

¹⁸⁵ Hoak, *Council in the Reign of Edward VI*, pp.61-5.

¹⁸⁶ Gladys Scott Thomson, *Lord Lieutenants in the Sixteenth Century: A Study in Local Tudor Administration* (London: Longmans, 1923), pp.12-3.

¹⁸⁷ The use of Lord Lieutenants was more a formalisation than a transformation of the militia system as the pool of candidates in each county was small and it was usually the leading magnate or councillor who was selected. These magnates and councillors had already been performing this military role without royal office in the early sixteenth century. Bernard, *Power and Politics*, p.35.

resources.¹⁸⁸ Also, the use of lord lieutenants corresponded with the overall trend of the growing importance of officeholding.¹⁸⁹ This process had once been the prerogative of feudal lords but became the responsibility of the Crown and its nominees. As in other areas, these nominees were usually privy councillors. This change broke down some of the barriers that non-aristocratic councillors faced in military matters as some non-titled councillors were appointed lord lieutenants.

Elizabeth issued her first commission of lieutenancy in May 1559.¹⁹⁰ Of the 17 counties listed, ten were represented by a privy councillor.¹⁹¹ Also, the instructions issued to all lieutenants in this year made clear the expectations that they should keep the counties at peace, arrest and punish seditious persons, ensure the Act of Uniformity was put into operation, and supervise the justices of the peace.¹⁹² Significantly, no exceptions were made for privy councillors who were also lord lieutenants, suggesting active participation. This hypothesis is further strengthened by the fact that councillors were only appointed to counties where they had a substantial landed interest, such as Francis Russell in the South West and William Herbert in Wales and the surrounding counties. The trend of appointing councillors as lord lieutenants continued, as can be seen in the commissions for 1569¹⁹³ and 1587.¹⁹⁴ In 1569, nineteen counties had a privy councillor as lord lieutenant; in 1587, the number had fallen to fifteen.¹⁹⁵ The slight drop resulted from the declining size of the privy council, as with fewer councillors sitting at the board, the number of counties represented also declined.

Despite the gradual homogenisation of conciliar culture, some distinctions in how councillors perceived their roles did exist late into Elizabeth's reign. For instance, Robert Cecil (1563-1612) and Robert Devereux (1565-1601), second Earl of Essex, both aspired to the highest place in Elizabeth's government as the chief counsellor and confidant of the Queen. However, Essex's recent biographer, Janet Dickinson, has convincingly argued that Cecil was a domestic bureaucrat while Essex was a soldier.¹⁹⁶ Consequently, they worked in different spheres and saw themselves in fundamentally different ways. Essex was temperamentally unsuited to detailed administrative work and showed little

¹⁸⁸ Thomson, *Lord Lieutenants*, p.24.

¹⁸⁹ For a full discussion of the increased importance of officeholding see Chapter 3: Officeholding.

¹⁹⁰ SP 12/4. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth, 1547-80*, vol.4, en.29-30, pp.128-30. For the full list see Appendix C, Table 6.19.

¹⁹¹ In the case of William Brooke, Baron Cobham, a future councillor. He became a councillor in 1586.

¹⁹² *Lambeth MS*: 247, l, f.3.

¹⁹³ *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon. The Marquis of Salisbury, preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire*, Vol.1 (London: HMSO, 1883), en.1409, p.443.

¹⁹⁴ Historical Manuscripts Commission, Foljambe MS: f.125b.

¹⁹⁵ For the full list see Appendix C, Table 6.20.

¹⁹⁶ Janet Dickinson, *Court Politics and the Earl of Essex, 1589-1601* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2012), p.84.

interest in areas such as government finance.¹⁹⁷ He was even content to allow Cecil to manage the logistics and supply of his military expeditions, focusing instead on military leadership and strategy. For instance, after his expedition to the Azores in 1597 was blown back to England by a storm, Essex turned to Cecil to help him regroup and relaunch the fleet.¹⁹⁸ Conversely, there is no evidence that Robert Cecil ever sought to supplant Essex as the Queen's leading military advisor or become a great captain himself.¹⁹⁹

However, despite such different conceptions, council membership provided a shared foundation on which to base their relationship. Essex and Cecil's relationship was friendly and cordial until the Earl's disastrous Irish expedition in 1598. Essex became paranoid about his 'enemies' at court in the aftermath of this crisis and thought Cecil was conspiring against him. This led him into a rash and foolish rebellion in 1601, which failed miserably and eventually led to his execution for treason. A generation earlier, the fathers of Cecil and Essex possessed the same friendly working relationship despite coming from different social backgrounds and traditions.²⁰⁰ William Cecil (1520-1598) was Elizabeth I's chief secretary and then Lord Treasurer and reigned supreme in government finance and administration. By contrast, Robert Dudley (1532-1588), Earl of Leicester, was the Queen's favourite and Master of Horse, and was able to leverage his intimacy with Elizabeth into political prominence. Historians have long debated the nature of Cecil and Dudley's relationship, but there is now broad consensus that they agreed on the key issues of domestic and foreign policy and only occasionally disagreed over its implementation.²⁰¹ Therefore, while social rank could be a distinguishing feature between privy councillors, their shared membership of office and shared outlook gradually overcame any barriers to cooperation created by social class and resulted in a more uniform culture.

-

This existence of a distinct conciliar culture was more significant than social background when it came to the relationships between councillors. As the period progressed, the council shrank in size, and the

¹⁹⁷ Paul E. J. Hammer, *The polarisation of Elizabethan politics: the political career of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, 1585-1597* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p.123.

¹⁹⁸ SP 12/264 f.7, f.9, f.11, f.13, f.16, f.21. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth I, and James I*, ed. R. Lemon and M. A. E. Green (London: Longman, 1856-72), vol.4, p.524.

¹⁹⁹ Wallace T MacCaffrey, *Elizabeth I: war and politics, 1588-1603* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), p.507.

²⁰⁰ Robert Dudley became Essex's stepfather when he married his widowed mother.

²⁰¹ For a useful overview of the debate see Adams, 'Eliza Enthroned? The Court and its politics', in *Leicester and the Court*, pp.24-45. The ideological and practical unity of the Elizabethan privy council is a theme that will be returned to in a later chapter.

distinctions between councillors declined. The ‘new nobles’ created by the Tudors and their descendants made up the bulk of Elizabeth I’s most active noble councillors.²⁰² They had much in common with their non-noble peers and often married into their families.²⁰³ This narrowing of the political elite further reduced the social barriers between them. Thus, a new and exclusive culture developed that was centred on central government and the court which all privy councillors experienced. By the end of the period, there was a larger gulf between those nobles who chose to stay in their county seats and only rarely attended the court and councillor nobles than between noble and non-noble councillors.

Education

In order to understand the types of men who became privy councillors and the relationships between them, it is also essential to consider the impact of their upbringing and education. This section explores the educational background of the privy council across the sixteenth century, revealing how it changed and how this changed composition in turn affected the intellectual outlook and relationships between councillors.

Education and pedagogical practice occupied a prominent space within sixteenth-century European intellectual culture. The Renaissance and humanism prompted thinkers and scholars to evaluate what should be studied, how it was taught and by whom. These considerations shifted educational priorities from introspective scholastic theology to training for an active life of state service modelled on ancient Greek and Roman authors.²⁰⁴ Accompanying this change in emphasis was a general expansion in academic training. As a result, the universities, once the domain of the clergy, became increasingly dominated by laymen who sought a route to power and profit. Thus, by the end of the sixteenth century, it was standard practice for the sons of the gentry and nobility to attend university.²⁰⁵ These changes resulted in a fundamentally different educational experience for Tudor privy councillors compared with their forebears. For those councillors active in the sixteenth century, the influence of the ‘new learning’ would have been inescapable.

²⁰² Of Elizabeth’s 24 noble councillors 13 had titles connected with the Tudor monarchy.

²⁰³ For privy councillor marriage relations see Chapter 5: Conciliar Families.

²⁰⁴ Pollnitz, *Princely Education*, pp.5-6.

²⁰⁵ Cressy, *Education*, p.9.

The Humanist Context

There was no national curriculum or single programme of education in Tudor England, but humanist pedagogical ideas were central to the education of most privy councillors in this period. The intellectual outlook that this programme instilled in individuals was not universal, but it provided a framework within which the majority of privy councillors operated. Humanism was a large and multifaceted movement that discussed religion, society, morality and government, which makes it difficult to define precisely. It also developed and changed across the sixteenth century, so that the Humanism of the 1510s was not identical to the humanism of the 1590s. However, it presented a coherent educational programme that profoundly impacted learning in England during the period in which most Tudor councillors received their education.²⁰⁶ At its core was the belief that it was an individual's duty to develop characteristics such as prudence, understanding, benevolence and judgment.²⁰⁷ It was only through cultivating these qualities that individuals could positively contribute to society. The route to such an active and virtuous life was by studying the classics: Greek and Roman thought that was becoming available in a flood of rediscovered and newly translated manuscripts. The work of Aristotle, Cicero and Livy possessed a purity and clarity that humanists argued were absent or obscured in the work of medieval scholastic intellectuals.²⁰⁸

The resulting educational programs of the humanists taught rhetoric, eloquence and statecraft and were explicitly designed to prepare men for active political careers.²⁰⁹ The English political theorist and humanist Thomas Starkey claimed that it was not only desirable but essential for learned men to pursue an active life for the betterment of society. In the opening exchange in his fictional *Dialogue between Pole and Lupset*, Lupset challenges Pole as to why he has not taken his rightful place as a leader of society. Lupset argues that Pole has 'many yerys spent in quyet studys of letturys and learning' and asks why, in light of this, he has not 'applyd your mynd to the handelyng of the materys of the commyn wele.'²¹⁰ Starkey later contends that 'lytyl avaylyth tresore closyd in coffurys wych never ys communyed to the succur of others.'²¹¹ For Starkey, then, those best able to advise rulers had

²⁰⁶ Dowling, *Humanism*, p.1.

²⁰⁷ Pollnitz, *Princely Education*, pp.7-8.

²⁰⁸ Gideon Burton, 'From Ars Dictaminis to Ars Conscribendi Epistolis: Renaissance Letter-Writing Manuals in the Context of Humanism', in *Letter-Writing Manuals and Instruction from Antiquity to the Present* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2007), pp. 88-101 (p.88).

²⁰⁹ Paul, *Counsel and Command*, pp.16-17.

²¹⁰ Thomas Starkey, *A Dialogue between Pole and Lupset*, ed. T.F. Mayer (London: Royal Historical Society, 1989), p.1

²¹¹ Starkey, *Dialogue*, p.4.

a duty to do so and his treatise provided a model upon which to base a successful career in the service of a prince. Thus, men who aspired to the highest government offices found a ready-made programme that would make them effective ministers and councillors.

In the early sixteenth century, Henry VIII set the educational tone with his widely-praised learning and humanist credentials.²¹² As a result of the King's reputation as a humanist prince, those present at the Tudor court often reflected these values. His academic abilities met with the approval of Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536), the foremost scholar of the northern Renaissance, who met the young prince Henry in 1499 and maintained a correspondence with him into his adult years. This relationship culminated in Erasmus dedicating his *The Education of a Christian Prince* to Henry in 1516.²¹³ He also wrote that Henry was 'the most sensible monarch of our age' and that 'With such sovereigns those persons have the greatest influence who excel in learning.'²¹⁴

Erasmus was correct in his assessment of Henry's court and council. The privy council contained several influential thinkers, such as Thomas More and Richard Pace (c.1483-1536), who argued for educational reform. For example, in *The Benefit of a Liberal Education* (1517), Pace attacked the limited curriculum of aristocratic education. He insisted that noblemen would be unable to address ambassadors or participate in government and would be replaced by 'learned country boys'.²¹⁵ Similarly, More advocated a liberal education focused on justice and reason and criticised the luxury and idleness he saw among Europe's ruling class.²¹⁶ It was not only humanists who criticised the lack of learning among England's traditional elites. For instance, Edmund Dudley (c.1462-1510), Henry VII's disgraced chief minister, complained in *The Tree of the Commonwealth* that 'for veryle I feare me, the noble men and gentlemen of England be the worst brought up for the most part of any realm of Christendom'.²¹⁷ Thus, the traditional educational programme for English governors was deemed deficient and in need of modification to equip future councillors with the skills required for effective early modern government. Significantly, these debates and conversations were taking place at the

²¹² Eric Ives, *Henry VIII* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p.2.

²¹³ Aysha Pollnitz, 'Humanism and Court Culture in the Education of Tudor Royal Children', in *Tudor Court Culture*, ed. Thomas Betteridge and Anna Riehl (Sellinggrove: Susquehanna University Press, 2010), pp.42-58 (p.42).

²¹⁴ Kenneth Charlton, *Education in Renaissance England* (London: Routledge, 1968), p.68.

²¹⁵ Richard Pace, *De fructu qui ex doctrina percipitur*, 1517, ed. Frank Manley and Richard S. Sylvester (New York: Renaissance Society of America and Frederick Ungar, 1967), pp.22-23.

²¹⁶ Thomas More, *Utopia*, 1516, ed. David Price (London: Verso, 2016), pp.81-82.

²¹⁷ Edmund Dudley, *The Tree of the Commonwealth*, ed. D. M. Brodie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948), p.45.

heart of Tudor government, and so even councillors educated in the previous generation were influenced by them.

Erasmus had a particularly strong influence on learning and education in England due to his contacts with the King and leading councillors like Thomas More and William Blount (1478-1534), Baron Mountjoy. Moreover, the methods advocated by Erasmus served as a foundation upon which later scholars and pedagogues built. It is, therefore, worthwhile exploring some of his ideas in more detail. The clearest expression of Erasmian educational theory is found in his *De ratione Studii* (1511). In this work, he advocated rhetorical training, the ability to express oneself effectively and persuasively, as central to the training of future leaders.²¹⁸ For humanists, the ability to speak with clarity and eloquence was paramount as this enabled an individual to contribute to civic life by persuading others to virtuous and prudent actions. Furthermore, humanists had a duty to offer wise counsel and mediate between the idealised and real images of governance. In this respect, a humanistic education would be invaluable to a servant of the state, providing not only a theoretical base for government service but offering practical methods for the fulfilment of the 'common good'.

The desire to create society's leaders became more pronounced among England's pedagogues as the century progressed. Furthermore, the popularity of educational manuals among the elite attest to the desire of members of that class to structure their children's upbringing along humanistic lines. Two such books were Thomas Elyot's *The Book Named the Governor*, first published in 1531 and Roger Ascham's (c.1515-1568) *The Scholemaster*, first published in 1570. Elyot's *The Book Named the Governor* went through seven editions between 1531 and 1580, while the *Scholemaster* was reprinted twice, in 1571 and 1589. These works were not designed for universal education but rather were concerned with the education of the elite and so were particularly relevant to privy councillors. In fact, both authors were heavily involved in Tudor government prior to the publication of their manuals. Elyot was a senior clerk of the council from 1523 to 1529 and served as ambassador to Charles V.²¹⁹ Similarly, Ascham acted as a diplomat in the Netherlands for the Edwardian privy council and transcribed correspondence between the ambassador and the council; he also acted as tutor to Princess Elizabeth.²²⁰ Their musings were thus a product of practical experience in Tudor government and reflected the priorities of councillors and statesmen.

²¹⁸ Desiderius Erasmus, 'The treatise *De Ratione Studii*, that is, *Upon the Right Method of Instruction*', in *Desiderius Erasmus concerning the aim and method of Education*, ed. William Harrison Woodward (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1901), pp.161-178 (pp.165-7).

²¹⁹ Stanford Lehmborg, 'Thomas Elyot, c.1490-1546', *ODNB* (2008).

²²⁰ Rosemary O'Day, 'Roger Ascham, 1514/15-1568', *ODNB* (2004).

The concept of the just commonweal lay at the heart of the various tracts. The authors were not advocating an educational programme for the masses but were rather concerned only with society's leaders. It was the duty of these elites to protect and reform the commonweal for the betterment of the nation.²²¹ In the minds of the humanists, the only sure-fire way to safeguard the commonweal was through a humanist education. To this end, Elyot explored the image of the perfect commonwealth early in the *Governor*:

A body lyuvng compacte or made of sondry astates and degrees of men whiche is disposed by the order of equite and governed by the rule and moderation of reason.²²²

Elyot clarifies that he was not suggesting that all men are equal and that the 'communalitie' should govern the realm. On the contrary, the classical concept of 'Respublica' is blended with a Christian view of God's order in which each person has an assigned role.²²³ Elyot argued that every individual must play their part in the commonwealth if it is to function effectively, and that to do otherwise would bring chaos.²²⁴ Therefore, gentlemen had a responsibility as leaders of society to embody virtue, honour, understanding and reason. This would not only inspire reverence and obedience in their subjects but would also shame those inclined to idleness and sensual appetite.²²⁵ A gentleman had a divinely ordained place in society, but this did not mean he had no obligations or requirements. Learning was the smoothest path to honour and virtue, so the upbringing of a gentleman was essential not only to the individual but also to society.

The education advocated by Elyot and Ascham was not entirely academic, as the intention was to create leaders rather than scholars. Exercise and artistic pursuits were encouraged as part of a balanced lifestyle. Elyot was conscious that too much academic learning would result in a weary student who no longer absorbed the lessons required.²²⁶ Music, painting and crafting were recommended not only as a release but also as valuable to the conduct of war, administration and courtly life. However, Elyot advised moderation so as not to create a modern Nero who sacrificed the good of the commonweal to recreation.²²⁷ Leisure pursuits were commended as it was recognised that the leaders of the nation would need to participate in such activities at court. Ascham remarked

²²¹ Helen M. Jewell, *Education in Early Modern England* (London: Macmillan, 1998), p.54.

²²² Elyot, *Governor*, p.1.

²²³ Elyot, *Governor*, p.2.

²²⁴ Elyot, *Governor*, p.2.

²²⁵ Elyot, *Governor*, p.5.

²²⁶ Elyot, *Governor*, pp.21-2.

²²⁷ Elyot, *Governor*, p.23.

that many men of potential fall into lust and idleness if they are left to run amok at court, and a firm hand was needed to guide them if they were to serve their prince effectively.²²⁸ Therefore, the chivalric tradition reflected more explicitly in works like Castiglione's *Courtier* was retooled as part of a broader education. It was only through learning that a 'governor' could understand the place of noble pursuits and not fall into idleness.

The Christian dimensions of humanists' educational scheme are more implicit than prescriptive, reflecting the humanistic belief that students needed to be equipped with the correct skills before they could lead a Christian life. The purpose of the curriculum was Christian, not its content. This is not to suggest that the curriculum was hostile to religion but rather that it was a reflection of contemporary concerns about the quality of the clergy and the belief that church scholars had obscured the purity of Scripture. Indeed, humanists were among the fiercest and most formidable opponents of the religious status quo. They demanded a return to the purity of the early church and advocated a series of practical reforms. In some ways, these criticisms anticipated Luther and the Protestants but differed in the vital aspect that Erasmus, More and some other humanists thought the Church could be reformed from within and that doctrinal reform was unnecessary.²²⁹ Instead, they were solely concerned with the practical aspect of worship and the clarity of Scripture. Therefore, these beliefs were often instilled into the pupils of humanist tutors. Indeed, the actions of certain councillors during the English Reformation only become comprehensible in light of their humanist education.

One such cluster was a group of Henrician bishops and councillors who were active in the 1530s during the Break with Rome. They included Edward Lee (c.1482-1544), archbishop of York, John Stokesley (c.1475-1539), bishop of London, John Longland (died 1547), bishop of Lincoln, and John Vesey (c.1464-1554), bishop of Exeter. All had attended Magdalen College, Oxford, between 1486 and 1510, at a time when the University was a hotbed of humanist teaching. Several historians, such as Andrew Chibi, Claire Cross and Nicholas Orme, described these bishops as 'conservatives' and enemies of church reform, focusing on the 1530s and 1540s.²³⁰ However, their religious conservatism was much more nuanced than a simple label of 'conservative' suggests. For instance, they all preached in favour of Henry VIII's Supreme Headship of the English Church and voted for the legislation that abolished

²²⁸ Roger Ascham, *The Scholemaster* (London: Printed by John Daye, Aldersgate, 1573), p.45.

²²⁹ Jonathan Arnold, *The Great Humanists: An Introduction* (London: I. B. Tauris & Co, 2011), pp.8-11.

²³⁰ Andrew Allan Chibi, *Henry VIII's Bishops: Diplomats, Administrators, Scholars, and Shepherds* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp.26-7. Also, the articles on each of these figures in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (ODNB) mention their conservatism and apparent lack of enthusiasm for reform.

papal authority. By exploring their humanist education at Magdalen College in the 1490s and 1510s it is possible to shed light on their complex religious beliefs.

Magdalen College in the late fifteenth century was innovative in several respects: it founded its own grammar school, Magdalen College School, in 1480, which gained a reputation as a centre of humanist studies in its own right, and was the first English university college to establish in-house stipendiary public lectures in the 1480s.²³¹ The college's founder William Waynflete (c.1398-1486), was an early English advocate of humanism, and his preference for the study of the classical languages, philosophy, and Scripture was contained in the college's statutes.²³² When the four bishops entered the college in the late fifteenth century, it was this humanist programme which they experienced: its influence can be detected throughout their careers.

Traditionally, it was argued that these bishops belonged to a conservative religious grouping opposed to reform. Elton thought that Stokesley became the head of a 'conservative hierarchy' upon the temporary disgrace of Stephen Gardiner (1483-1555), bishop of Winchester, in 1532 and claimed he made 'no secret of his dislike of the Reformation'.²³³ Thus he stood against some doctrinal changes and was considered one of the chief architects of the reactionary *Act of Six Articles* in 1539.²³⁴ Undoubtedly, Stokesley held some conservative religious opinions in the 1530s but he was not wholly opposed to reform. While he tended to favour conservative interpretations on doctrinal matters, he did support initiatives such as the Break with Rome and the Dissolution of the Monasteries. He personally took part in the dissolution of a number of monasteries and called for the dissolution of the larger houses two years before Henry decided upon this course of action. In his chronicle, Edward Hall recounted a session of parliament in which Stokesley described the smaller houses 'as thornes' and 'the great abbottes were putrified olde oaks and they must nedes followe and so will do other in Christendom'.²³⁵ In 1535, Cromwell was sufficiently impressed by Stokesley's sermons opposing papal authority to ask for a written copy for publication.²³⁶ At the same time, rumours circulated of a relationship between Stokesley and Anne Colte, abbess of Wherwell, which suggests that his

²³¹ Damian Riehl Leader, 'Professorships and Academic Reform at Cambridge 1488-1520', *The Sixteenth Century*, 14 (1983), 215-227 (p.217).

²³² L. W. B. Brockliss, *The University of Oxford: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p.83.

²³³ G. R. Elton, *Policy and Police* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), pp.160-1.

²³⁴ Andrew A Chibi, 'John Stokesley, 1475-1539', *ODNB* (2008).

²³⁵ Edward Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 1547, ed. Henry Ellis (London: J. Johnson, 1809), pp.818-19.

²³⁶ *L&P Henry VIII*, vol.8, en.1054.

conservative principles were not beyond reproach.²³⁷ Thus, Stokesley's beliefs sat within a flexible humanist framework. He was not a reformer in the mould of a Cranmer or Cromwell, nor was he a fierce defender of the established order, like his fellow humanists Thomas More and John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester. Rather, like most councillors, he occupied a flexible position that was determined by his education and the bounds set by the ruling monarch.

A similar position can be detected among the other bishops educated alongside Stokesley. For instance, in 1535, Archbishop Lee was criticised by the government for not promoting the King's new title of Supreme Head of the Church in his diocese. Claire Cross has used incidents such as this to cast Lee as a conservative primate, who attempted to resist the imposition of the Reformation from London.²³⁸ However, this view neglects Lee's emphatic response to the charges against him. On receipt of the King's letter, he immediately delivered a series of sermons in his northern diocese expounding the injuries done by the bishop of Rome to the King's majesty. He also ordered that the Pope's name be struck out of all Mass books and ordered 'all schoolmasters to instil the foresaid truth into the hearts of their pupils'.²³⁹ Lee even went so far as to order his deacon to omit the word 'pope' from the hymn *Exultet Angelica*.²⁴⁰ Thus, Lee demonstrated not only a willingness to comply with the recent religious changes but also a concern to promote the changes in schools and among the general population.

Longland's reputation for conservatism was built primarily on his attempts to stamp out Lollard and Lutheran heresy.²⁴¹ However, his eagerness to combat heresy was very much in line with Henry VIII, and his opposition to heresy never became opposition to the Henrician settlement.²⁴² In fact, Longland's theological position was far more nuanced than his reputation as a zealous persecutor suggests.²⁴³ He not only supported the Royal Supremacy and Dissolution of the Monasteries but also promoted vernacular Scripture. In a sermon of 1538 he preached, 'we rejoice much that we have it in our own vulgar speech, that we hear it, that we read it, that we have it in our bosoms'.²⁴⁴ On the same

²³⁷ *The Register of Cardinal Thomas Wolsey*, ed. Herbert Chitty (Oxford: The Canterbury and York Society, 1926), pp.22, 30-1, 156.

²³⁸ Claire Cross, 'Edward Lee, 1481/2-1544', *ODNB* (2004).

²³⁹ *L&P Henry VIII*, vol.8, en.869.

²⁴⁰ *L&P Henry VIII*, vol.8, en.869.

²⁴¹ Richard Rex, 'The English Campaign against Luther in the 1520s' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 39 (1988), 85-106 (p.89).

²⁴² Rex, 'English Campaign against Luther', p.90.

²⁴³ John Foxe, *The Unabridged Actes and Monuments Online*, 1563 (Sheffield: The Digital Humanities Institute, 2011).

²⁴⁴ *A Sermonde made before King [Henry VIII] 1538 by John Longland*, BL, MS: C.53.14. *L&P Henry VIII*, vol.13, I, en.804.

occasion, he also decried the papal usurpation of the office of Christ. Therefore, a conservative label alone does not adequately reflect his theological beliefs.

John Vesey's biographer, Nicholas Orme, claimed that much that happened during the Reformation was probably unwelcome to Vesey and described him as lacking enthusiasm for religious change.²⁴⁵ The chief piece of evidence for his conservatism was that he was deprived of his see under the Protestant Edward VI. Lacey Baldwin Smith believed this was because his views were unacceptable to the new Protestant establishment.²⁴⁶ However, it seems more likely that this was due to the fact that the octogenarian bishop had failed to effectively respond to the unrest that had broken out during the Western Rebellion of 1549. It is significant that he did not resist the demands and duly resigned in August 1551. This suggested that his deprivation was more a result of his old age and political ineffectiveness than his conservative principles. Indeed, throughout his career, he complied with the government's wishes. For instance, he issued new injunctions in 1538, which stipulated that children should be taught the Lord's Prayer, Ave Maria, creed and ten commandments in English or Cornish, and that every curate should report any 'superstitious fantasies' in their congregations.²⁴⁷ He also ordered all the canons of Exeter to set forth the King's title of Supreme Head and preached personally, or by a deputy, every Sunday in support of the 'King's laws'.²⁴⁸

This group of bishops demonstrated the complexity of contemporary intellectual and cultural identity, which went beyond binary distinctions between conservative and reformer. A humanist education taught that the existing church structures had failed as a bulwark against heresy and needed major reform. Therefore, the Royal Supremacy directed by a King whose anti-heretical credentials were respected could be a workable mechanism to reform the Church as an institution.²⁴⁹ Significantly, in line with Erasmus and More, the bishops were wary of doctrinal changes. For instance, when appointed to a royal commission to devise a permanent religious settlement, Lee, Longland, and Stokesley opposed the omission of four of the seven sacraments.²⁵⁰ However, they were forceful

²⁴⁵ Nicholas Orme, 'John Vesey [Formely Harman]', *ODNB* (2007).

²⁴⁶ Lacey Baldwin Smith, *Tudor Prelates and Politics 1536-1558* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953), p.256.

²⁴⁷ 'Voysey's Injunctions for Exeter Diocese, 1538', *Visitation articles and injunctions of the period of the Reformation, II*, ed. Walter Howard Frere (London: Longmans, 1910), pp.61-64.

Orme, 'John Vesey [Formely Harman]', *ODNB* (2007).

²⁴⁸ *L&P Henry VIII*, vol.13, I, en.75.

²⁴⁹ Chibi, *Henry VIII's Bishops*, p.160.

²⁵⁰ The commission ran between February and July 1537. Each cleric submitted a written statement of their view on a particular topic and then they debated and agreed on a position. A surviving manuscript of the bishops' opinions on confirmation outlines this setup: BL, MS Cotton: Cleopatra E/V, f.75.

proponents of the reform of the practical apparatus of the Church from clerical standards to the veneration of false relics. This grouping was significant, not because it represented a conservative network opposed to the Reformation, but because it showed the influence of a humanist, Erasmian education on the thinking and actions of the political elite.

Schools

The humanist curriculum advocated by Erasmus and others also influenced many of the schools attended by privy councillors. This was most clearly visible in grammar schools, founded or re-founded, along humanistic lines.²⁵¹ England's premier grammar school was St Paul's, London, which John Colet (1467-1519), Dean of St Paul's and a privy councillor, founded in 1509. St Paul's not only provided the education of several privy councillors, but it also acted as the framework upon which many subsequent English grammar schools were based. The curriculum's focus was on studying classical authors and the imitation of their rhetorical style. In order to facilitate learning, at its founding, the 153 pupils at St Paul's School were divided into eight classes, each overseen by an expert in a particular field.²⁵² The number of students was not large, so it was likely that contemporaries were familiar with each other. This arrangement was emulated across England's grammar schools, for instance, at Wolsey's foundation at Ipswich.²⁵³ Also, St Paul's first master, William Lily, wrote a Latin grammar for the school, which was selected as the 'King's grammar' in 1543.²⁵⁴ Therefore, despite there being no centralised programme of educational reform, the priorities of the humanists became institutionalised through the foundation of schools and the work of influential pedagogues.

St Paul's counted several future privy councillors among its alumni, but a group of particularly influential men were contemporaries there in the 1510s: William Paget (c.1505-1563), Thomas Wriothesley (1505-1550) and Anthony Denny (1501-1549).²⁵⁵ These men formed a bond in their early years which impacted their later careers. Their similar ages meant that they would have experienced the curriculum together. The main component of the syllabus was grammar disputation by the master, Lily, during which he read a text and explained its meaning.²⁵⁶ In this way, it was believed that the moral teachings and eloquence of the ancients would be transmitted to pupils. The practical

²⁵¹ Jewel, *Education*, pp.29-30.

²⁵² Dowling, *Humanism*, p.113.

²⁵³ Dowling, *Humanism*, p.121.

²⁵⁴ Michael Van Cleve Alexander, *The Growth of English Education 1348-1648: A Social and Cultural History* (London: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990), pp.65-66.

²⁵⁵ Edward North (c.1504-1564), Chancellor of Augmentations, was also their contemporary.

²⁵⁶ Dowling, *Humanism*, p.113.

implementation of this rhetorical style was expected in the performance of plays and masques at court.²⁵⁷ The education provided by St Paul's was intended for men of affairs and would have instilled a shared educational framework in its pupils.

It is likely that Lily was responsible for kindling a lifelong interest in the 'new learning' in his pupils. Ascham claimed in the preface to his *Toxophilus* that Paget was responsible for 'setting forth' the work, and the supposed conservative Wriothesley employed 'Deimcy', a humanist scholar who had been expelled from Oxford for his reformist views, as tutor to his children.²⁵⁸ Also, at the height of his political power, in the last months of Henry VIII's reign, Denny used his influence to protect schools and libraries which were at risk of being dissolved. For instance, he recovered and restored the lands of Sedbergh School, Yorkshire, and saved the library of Waltham Abbey.²⁵⁹ Thus, the councillors were all taught by one of the leading English humanists of the day and subsequently became patrons and protectors of the 'new learning'. Therefore, their humanist education had a significant impact on their values and outlook, and it is this education that should provide the foundation for an exploration of their political actions.

The final years of Henry VIII's reign have been represented as rife with religious faction and political intrigue.²⁶⁰ To some extent this was true, as councillors and courtiers jockeyed for position during the King's final illness. Councillors operated within multiple different groupings and, often, the grouping that inspired the greatest loyalty was that of childhood friends. It is possible to see such a network in action in the 1540s among the alumni of St Paul's. During this period, the men concerned all held important government posts: Paget was principal secretary from 1543, Wriothesley Lord Chancellor from 1544 and Denny gentlemen of the privy chamber from 1539 and eventually Groom of the Stool in 1546.

Traditionally, these men have been assigned to rival sides in the supposed factional struggle, with Denny and Paget as reformers and Wriothesley as a conservative. However, their religious convictions were more fluid and adaptable than these labels allow. Wriothesley held conservative beliefs

²⁵⁷ Dowling, *Humanism*, p.116

²⁵⁸ Roger Ascham, *English Works: Toxophilus, Report of the Affairs and State of Germany, and The Scholemaster*, ed. William Aldis Wright (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p.x; Deimcy is mentioned in John Louth's (d.1590), Archdeacon of Nottingham, reminiscences and is reprinted here: *Narratives of the Days of the Reformation*, ed. J. G. Nicholls (London: Camden Society, 1859), p.34. The original manuscript is damaged and further details of 'Deimcy's' life are obscure.

²⁵⁹ Narasingha P. Sil, 'Anthony Denny, 1501-1549', *ODNB* (2004).

²⁶⁰ For factional accounts of Henry's later years see: Guy, *Tudor England*, pp.196-69; Hoak, *The King's Council*, pp.40-42; Starkey, *The Reign of Henry VIII: Personalities and Politics* (London: George Philip, 1985), pp.147-67.

regarding theology, but he was also zealous in exposing idolatry and superstition in the 1530s and played a prominent role in the suppression of Catholic dissidents in Hampshire in 1549.²⁶¹ He also appointed the radical Protestant bishop Hooper to preach at his funeral.²⁶² Paget and Denny, meanwhile, were perfectly at home in Henry VIII's Catholic regime as in Edward VI's Protestant-leaning government. All three men are best described as defenders of the orthodoxy of the moment, especially the Henrician Settlement. Certainly, when attempting to describe the nature of the men's relationship, religion should not be used as a dividing line between them.

There is ample evidence of close cooperation and friendship between them throughout their careers, which casts doubt on such factional classifications. There survives a voluminous correspondence between members of the network, as one would expect of men in their positions. However, their letters often contained material that went beyond the professional and hinted at personal relationships. In 1541, for instance, Paget attempted to keep Wriothesley informed of happenings at court when the latter was away from the council on a diplomatic mission to the Low Countries. The tone adopted in these despatches provides evidence of the familiarity between them. In one missive, Paget recounted a council meeting: 'I was excluded yet they spake so loud, some of them, that I might hear them notwithstanding two doors shut between us.'²⁶³ Paget went beyond any official duty to report on the council's activities and showed a concern not only to keep himself informed but to keep his friend informed as well.

Similarly, their letters contained evidence that the men had a deep familiarity with each other and a high level of trust. For instance, in a letter to Wriothesley, Paget wrote in reference to a suit he was pursuing on Wriothesley's behalf: 'you know my dull and dastardly nature, I love not to impose me nor to be more busy than needs.'²⁶⁴ This suggested that Wriothesley was familiar with the quirks of Paget's personality and that Paget's ironic comment that he was 'dull and dastardly' would be understood by Wriothesley. A later exchange of 1539 demonstrated the same familiarity when Paget informed Wriothesley that he had refused a gift from a suitor 'not as monks do abbacies, but in good faith'.²⁶⁵ Once again, Paget demonstrated a playfulness and friendliness that would only be possible

²⁶¹ Jennifer Loach, *Edward VI* (London: Yale University Press, 1999), p.26.

²⁶² Charles Wriothesley, *A Chronicle of England During the Reigns of the Tudors from 1485 to 1559*, II, ed. W. H. Douglas (London: Longmans 1838), p.41.

²⁶³ SP 1/166 f.65.

²⁶⁴ SP 7/1 f.14.

²⁶⁵ BL, Cotton: Vespasian F/XIII f.263.

between two men who trusted and knew each other well. Notably, Paget addressed the letter to ‘my special good friend’, further emphasising the warmth of their relationship.²⁶⁶

Furthermore, these men would have been in daily contact within the privy apartments and worked together closely. There were several instances when letters were delivered to members of the network for distribution to their friends. For instance, in 1545, Wriothesley sent a packet of reports concerning the sheriffs of Wales to Paget and asked if he could transfer them to Denny.²⁶⁷ This demonstrates that there was a contemporary perception that these men were close and trusted each other. In fact, on a deeper personal level, they remained close, as evidenced by the fact that Wriothesley stood as godfather to Paget’s son, Thomas, in 1544.²⁶⁸ This kind of interaction would have been highly unlikely if the two were factional enemies.

Paget also supported Denny’s version of events regarding the gift clause of Henry VIII’s will at a council meeting on 31 January 1547.²⁶⁹ The gift clause was an apparent list of grants that Henry had promised or intended to make before his death. It resulted in the creation of new peers and the granting of substantial monetary rewards to members of the regency council. Included was Wriothesley who was to become Earl of Southampton and receive £300 worth of land from the confiscated Howard estates. Furthermore, Paget recounted a conversation with the King in which he asked for the priory of Bungay for Denny because ‘he had heard he moche desired’ it, suggesting that Paget was acting on Denny’s behalf in the matter.²⁷⁰ In the event, Denny and Paget each received between £200 and £300 worth of land in Henry’s will.²⁷¹ The precise machinations surrounding Henry’s will do not concern us here, but it is significant that these three men were intimately involved in its creation and promulgation. Also, the fact that they all benefited from its provisions suggested a coordinated effort on their part. The subsequent fall of Wriothesley in March 1547, when Edward Seymour, Lord Protector, ousted him from his position as Lord Chancellor did not involve Paget and Denny. Neither man was part of the

²⁶⁶ For a discussion of the language of friendship see Chapter 5: Friendship.

²⁶⁷ SP 1/210, f.73.

²⁶⁸ Andrew Johnston, ‘William Paget and the late-Henrician Polity, 1543-1547’ (Unpublished PhD thesis: University of St Andrews, 2003), p.217.

²⁶⁹ National Archives, London, Privy Council 2/2 f.195.

²⁷⁰ Helen Miller, ‘Henry VIII’s Unwritten Will: Grants of lands and honours in 1547’, in *Wealth and Power in Tudor England*, eds. E. W. Ives, R. J. Knecht and J. J. Scarisbrick (London: The Athlone Press, 1978), pp.87-105 (p.88).

²⁷¹ SP 1/227 f.216.

delegation which deprived Wriothesley of the Great Seal, and Paget was absent from the council meetings in which Wriothesley's degradation was discussed.²⁷²

These small glimpses into these men's relationships often resulted from their absence from the court. When they were working together daily at court, there was no need to write to each other, and so much of their social interaction is lost to the historian. It is impossible to reconstruct their day-to-day relationship, but they are likely to have worked hand-in-glove.²⁷³ The experiences shared in youth were developed over thirty years of friendship and created a relationship of trust and dependability. Thus, it is clear that the three men had a deeper connection than mere allies of convenience.

This network was strengthened further since the members also attended the University of Cambridge together. Paget, Wriothesley and Denny went from St Paul's School to Cambridge in around 1522. Paget and Wriothesley were members of Trinity Hall and Denny St John's College. While at Cambridge, they made another critical contact with a future privy councillor in Stephen Gardiner, master of Trinity Hall from 1525. The interactions of Gardiner, Paget and Wriothesley demonstrated the potential strength of student-teacher relations. They maintained a friendly and effective working relationship despite being depicted as members of opposing religious factions.

The more dogmatic Gardiner maintained good relations with his former pupils even when they appeared to be moving in a more reformist direction. The movement of Wriothesley and Paget into Cromwell's service could be interpreted as an abandonment of their former patron.²⁷⁴ However, in a 1534 letter to Cromwell, Paget made clear that he held no ill will towards his former patron, referring to him as a 'friend'.²⁷⁵ In light of the difficulties in which Gardiner found himself over his opposition to the *Supplication against the Ordinaries*, it was a wise political move to appear to distance themselves from their former master. Indeed, Wriothesley and Paget were assigned to interrogate Cromwell after his arrest in a memorandum prepared by Gardiner and showed little desire to save their new master.²⁷⁶ This may have been pragmatic politics, but when Gardiner himself was out of favour, no overt actions against him by his former pupils can be detected.

²⁷² PC 2/2 f.85; PC 2/2 f.107.

²⁷³ Johnston, 'Paget', p.196.

²⁷⁴ Johnston, 'Paget', p.215.

²⁷⁵ SP 1/82 f.173.

²⁷⁶ G. N. Gibbons, *The Political Career of Thomas Wriothesley, First Earl of Southampton 1505-1550* (Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 2001), p.55; SP 1/160, f.181.

There is ample evidence that his former pupils tried to assist Gardiner in the late 1540s when he had fallen out with the King over a land exchange. Starkey and Ives claimed that Paget turned the king against Gardiner in 1546-7.²⁷⁷ They argued that the land dispute which resulted in Gardiner's fall was a pretext and that Paget played a decisive role in his exclusion from the regency council. However, during this period, Gardiner was writing to Paget to express his frustrations at not being able to explain his position to the king in person.²⁷⁸ Significantly, Gardiner felt close enough to Paget to write to him for help in the matter, and while Paget's response does not survive, there is no evidence to suggest that he presented Gardiner's position to the king in anything other than sympathetic terms.²⁷⁹ Also, it is significant that the intermediaries between the King and Gardiner in this period were Paget and Wriothesley.²⁸⁰ The two men may have been trying to help their former master and friend find a compromise with Henry VIII, but this was impossible due to Henry's refusal to accept anything but Gardiner's total capitulation. Henry rebuffed Gardiner's request for an audience and wrote that if Gardiner was 'disposed to show that conformity of which you write, we see no cause why you should molest us further, as it may well enough be passed with our officers [Paget and Wriothesley] there'.²⁸¹ Clearly Henry was in no mood to compromise, and his servants could do little to change his mind.

Similarly, during the reign of Edward VI, when Gardiner once again found himself out of favour, he turned to his friends for help. For instance, in a letter to Archbishop Cranmer, Gardiner claimed that Wriothesley was a 'great friend and most upright' and that he 'was not ignorant of how you had been disposed to me before'.²⁸² The purpose of the letter was to invite the Archbishop to speak to Wriothesley, and for Wriothesley to confirm Gardiner's innocence and good-will towards Cranmer. Gardiner would have to wait another five months to secure his release, but the fact he sought the help of his former pupils during this time was a testament to their close relationship.

In 1545, Gardiner and Paget were involved in delicate negotiations with France and the Empire. It was suggested by S. R. Gammon and D. L. Potter that Henry was manipulating the rivalry between his two servants for diplomatic advantage by playing them off each other during negotiations.²⁸³ However,

²⁷⁷ Starkey, *Henry VIII*, pp.156-157; E.W. Ives, 'Henry VIII's will: the protectorate provisions of 1546-1547', *Historical Journal*, 37 (1994), 901-14 (p.912).

²⁷⁸ SP 1/226, f.221.

²⁷⁹ Johnstone, 'William Paget', p.225.

²⁸⁰ *L&P Henry VIII*, vol.21, II, en.493. Edward North was also part of the delegation.

²⁸¹ *L&P Henry VIII*, vol.21, II, en.493.

²⁸² *The Letters of Stephen Gardiner*, ed. J. A. Muller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1933), pp.325-26.

²⁸³ S. R. Gammon, *Statesmen and Schemer: William, first Lord Paget, Tudor Minister* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1973), p.102; D. L. Potter, 'Diplomacy in the mid-Sixteenth Century; England and France, 1536-1550' (Unpublished PhD thesis: University of Cambridge, 1973), pp.120-21.

this antagonistic assessment does not take account of the fact that Gardiner sent Paget over thirty letters during his 1545 mission, many of which contain damaging opinions unlikely to be shared with a political enemy. Gardiner confided in Paget that he thought Henry should return Boulogne to the French as 'Boulogne in process may be lost many ways; the name, fame, honour and renown gotten by it can never decay if it be now established by a peace'.²⁸⁴ He went further a few days later by questioning the mental state of the King should Boulogne be lost: 'remember the state of the king's majesty's person, whom, if we preserve not as much as lieth in us, with continuance and maintenance of his honour, to the repose of his mind... the decay of his majesty's person... should be more ruin to the realm than any war could engender'.²⁸⁵ He also declared that the French negotiator, Cardinal Jean du Bellay, was nothing less than a Lutheran.²⁸⁶ These were very candid statements which suggest that Gardiner trusted Paget enough to share his private frustrations and potentially damaging political opinions.

Furthermore, Gardiner admitted that he was using his friend Paget as an outlet for his frustrations so that he could overcome his melancholy. He complained that 'when I am appointed to this place [France], I cannot forbear nor hold my pen still' and lamented the fact that Henry was engaged in a costly war without allies which even after writing 'a long letter of probable reasons... ye are never the wiser, but rather brought in a more perplexity'.²⁸⁷ After this particularly gloomy letter, he wrote the next day stating, 'I was yesterday all melancholy and had no remedy but to make a purgation in a letter' and that Paget should burn the previous letter.²⁸⁸ The fact that Gardiner felt comfortable enough to use Paget in this way suggested their relationship went beyond that of mere colleagues and was based on mutual trust and support. Indeed, they had enjoyed a cooperative relationship since Paget's early years, something to which Gardiner made reference in 1545 when he wrote to his former pupil that 'you are now old enough and know with whom ye shall talk'.²⁸⁹ This was a recognition of their past association and a recognition that they had moved from a mentor and student relationship to a more equal footing.

It should also be remembered that Gardiner and Paget would work together on the council under Mary I. Historians, including A. F. Pollard, E. H. Harbison and D. M. Loades have argued that Gardiner

²⁸⁴ *Letters of Stephen Gardiner*, pp.179-80.

²⁸⁵ *Letters of Stephen Gardiner*, p.187.

²⁸⁶ *Letters of Stephen Gardiner*, p.181.

²⁸⁷ *Letters of Stephen Gardiner*, p.190.

²⁸⁸ *Letters of Stephen Gardiner*, p.181.

²⁸⁹ *Letters of Stephen Gardiner*, p.199.

and Paget were the leaders of two opposing factions on the Marian council, the *politiques* and the conservatives.²⁹⁰ However, the rationale for this division was that Paget promoted secular, Cromwellian administration and Gardiner hankered after the unfettered ecclesiastical authority of Cardinal Wolsey.²⁹¹ In essence, the antagonism supposedly came from the fact that Gardiner was a bishop and Paget a layman. While they did back rival candidates for Mary's marriage, this was an aberration in an otherwise cooperative relationship between former master and student.²⁹²

Much of the evidence of their supposed feud comes from an episode in 1554 when Paget was briefly expelled from court due to his opposition to a parliamentary bill for the punishment of heretics.²⁹³ However, despite Gardiner promoting the bill, no evidence exists that he was personally working against his former associate. Certainly, there is not enough evidence to support Loades' claims that Gardiner was 'pathologically suspicious' of Paget or that Paget 'feared' Gardiner's religious zeal.²⁹⁴ The fact that the two did not have the same view of a particular parliamentary bill is not enough to brand them factional enemies. Indeed, Ann Weikel has convincingly argued that Paget's opposition was designed to demonstrate his indispensability to the Marian regime, rather than being an ideological or factional position.²⁹⁵ However, Weikel maintains that Paget and Gardiner had a hostile relationship that 'got out of control' and hindered the operation of government.²⁹⁶ This overstates the level of disagreements between them and does not take into account their future friendly relationship.

Paget and Gardiner cooperated many times over the course of Mary I's reign, and they were responsible for several of its most high-profile successes. For instance, despite initially supporting rival candidates for Mary's marriage, they jointly negotiated the very favourable marriage treaty with Phillip of Spain. Under the terms of the treaty Phillip was to have no official role in English government, England was not to be drawn into a war with France, and any offspring of the marriage would inherit

²⁹⁰ A. F. Pollard, *The History of England from the Accession of Edward VI to the Death of Elizabeth* (London: Longmans, 1910), p.113; E. H. Harbison, *Rival Ambassadors at the court of Queen Mary* (London: Oxford University Press, 1940); D. M. Loades, *The Reign of Mary I* (London: Ernest Benn, 1979), p.80.

²⁹¹ Loades, *Mary I*, p.80.

²⁹² More generally, the interpretation that Mary's reign was riven by faction was challenged by Jennifer Loach in Jennifer Loach, *Parliament and the Crown in the reign of Mary Tudor* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), pp.232-33.

²⁹³ Loades, *Mary I*, p.135.

²⁹⁴ Loades, *Mary I*, p.135.

²⁹⁵ Ann Weikel, 'The Marian Council Revisited', in *The Mid-Tudor Polity c.1540-1560*, eds. Jennifer Loach and Robert Tittler (London: Macmillan, 1980), pp.52-73 (p.67).

²⁹⁶ Weikel, 'The Marian Council', p.67.

England and the Spanish Netherlands.²⁹⁷ These were extraordinarily favourable terms and would have required close coordination and cooperation on the part of the English negotiators. It was unlikely that such terms could have been achieved if the two principal councillors were locked in a factional rivalry. They worked together again in 1555 as intermediaries between the French and Spanish in an attempt to secure peace. They demonstrated their shared outlook and objectives by conspiring with the Spanish representative, Granvelle, behind the back of their fellow English negotiator Cardinal Pole.²⁹⁸ They were also both named to the 'select council' of nine men set up by Phillip II to advise him on English matters.²⁹⁹ It was unlikely that two violently opposed factional enemies would both have been appointed to such a small council whose purpose was to improve the efficiency of government.

Much of the evidence for factional divisions in the reign of Mary comes from ambassadors' reports. Simon Renard (c.1513-1573), the Spanish ambassador, was close to Mary and reluctant to criticise her directly, so accused her councillors of creating the problems in her government.³⁰⁰ He also disliked Paget, whom he viewed as a heretic, and often tried to paint him as an agitator for reformed religion.³⁰¹ The Venetian ambassador, Giacomo Soranzo, believed the failure of the peace negotiations of 1555 to be a result of factions in the English council 'because what one does the other undoes by reason of their partialities and disunion, most especially between the right reverend Chancellor [Gardiner] and Lord Paget'.³⁰² This was almost certainly a wrong assumption as it was Gardiner and Paget's favouring of the Spanish and Pole's naivety in suggesting the dispute be submitted to an independent judge that resulted in the collapse of the talks.³⁰³ Ambassadors were often misinformed or misled, or were pursuing their own agenda; for that reason their reports, unless supported with other evidence, should be treated with caution.

Furthermore, Elizabeth Russell has convincingly argued that Mary herself often inflated the sense of division in her council when talking to ambassadors, especially Renard.³⁰⁴ This enabled her to negotiate concessions from the Spanish and the Papacy by appearing weak and at the mercy of her

²⁹⁷ *Calendar of State Papers, Spain*, ed. G. A. Bergenroth (London: HMSO, 1864), vol.11, pp.412, 414-16, 432-3, 435-6.

²⁹⁸ *CSPS*, vol.13, en.194-206.

²⁹⁹ BL, Cotton MS: Titus B/II f.160.

³⁰⁰ Weikel, 'The Marian Council', p.53.

³⁰¹ Loades, *Mary I*, p.253.

³⁰² *Calendar of State Papers, Venice*, ed. Rawdon Brown (London: HMSO, 1864), vol.6, en.161.

³⁰³ *CSPS*, vol.13, en.198-206, 207-12. Also, Pole had a notoriously fractious relationship with both Paget and Gardiner and viewed them both as 'Henrician Catholics' who could not be trusted: *Letters of Stephen Gardiner*, pp.496-550. This suggested that the two councillors had more in common with each other than the rigidly conservative Pole.

³⁰⁴ Elizabeth Russell, 'Mary Tudor and Mr. Jorkins', *Historical Research*, 63 (1990), 263-76 (p.272)

councillors' disputes. Russell argued that the subsequent view of Mary among historians as weak, easily manipulated and indecisive is a case of them believing Mary's self-constructed negative persona.³⁰⁵ The reality was that Mary was more politically astute and capable than she appeared, and that her council was not hampered by internal factional divisions.

The main problem with the factional view of Paget and Gardiner is that the existence of factions is taken for granted and never explicitly proved on the basis of specific evidence. The membership of the supposed factions was fluid and no coherent ideology existed that would hold them together. No group of councillors consistently supported either Gardiner or Paget to be considered their adherents. For instance, over Mary's marriage, Gardiner, who backed a marriage to Edward Courtenay, was supported by Robert Rochester (c.1494-1557), John Gage (1479-1556) and Edward Hastings (1512-1572), but over the question of the fate of Princess Elizabeth these same 'allies' favoured the solution proposed by Paget.³⁰⁶ Similarly, the split in councillors over the religious settlement and the plan to reduce the council to a more manageable size had no obvious factional or ideological component. Thus, while differences of opinion existed among Mary's councillors this did not amount to rival factions or adherence to a particular cause or individual. Without the lens of factionalism and with an appreciation of their previous friendly interactions, the relationship of Paget and Gardiner in Mary's reign appeared to be constructive and cooperative, with occasional disagreements over policy implementation as was to be expected of two men at the top of government.

In 1545, Gardiner recollected an occasion when he, Paget and Wriothesley had taken part in a production of the play *Miles Gloriosus* by Plautus during their time at Cambridge. He wrote: 'we are in a world where reason and learning prevail not... This is an other manner of matter thence where I played Periplectomenus, you Miliphippa and my lord Chancellor Palestrio, and yet our parts be in this tragedy that now is in hand'.³⁰⁷ In the play Periplectomenus, Miliphippa and Palestrio work together to trick Pyrgropolynices, the boastful and deluded soldier of the play's title. He goes on to say that if they took counsel on what course to take, as in the play, they would have to 'muse longer for the encompassing of this matter'. Gardiner was drawing parallels between their characters in the play and their situations in 1545 when all three were in the service of the crown and struggling to meet the demands of the state.³⁰⁸ This ironic comment and allusion to the pressures facing state servants is an

³⁰⁵ Russell, 'Mary Tudor', pp.264-65.

³⁰⁶ Weikel, 'The Marian Council', p.69.

³⁰⁷ SP 1/210 f.118.

³⁰⁸ SP 1/210 f.118.

effective illustration of their relationship. They were all attempting to fulfil the desires of an increasingly demanding crown and recognised their fellow councillors' struggles. In such a pressured environment, occasional moments of tension were unavoidable. However, the support networks established in childhood and early adulthood provided a pool of allies which made government service more manageable, and significantly, these support networks were often outside of political considerations. The friendships made while studying were the more durable connections and the political alliances transitory.

University

The most striking change in the educational provision of Tudor privy councillors was the increase in the number of university-educated men. The exposure of an increasing number of councillors to university education makes reconstructing their experience necessary to reveal what it was like to live and learn at those institutions. As we have seen, the shared educational experience of councillors had the potential to foster cooperative relationships between them and form the basis of support networks. This section explores the general phenomenon of intellectual uniformity among privy councillors and its impact on their outlook and networks.

In the sixteenth century, the universities were not the large institutions that they are today. Unfortunately, the exact numbers who attended are impossible to determine before the later sixteenth century due to the fragmentary nature of the surviving sources. However, in the 1970s and 1980s, T. H. Aston, G. D. Duncan and T. A. R. Evans created computerised databases of all the medieval alumni of Oxford and Cambridge. From this data, it is possible to draw some general conclusions about the size of the university population at the end of the fifteenth century: Oxford had roughly 1700 students and Cambridge 1300.³⁰⁹ The overall impression is of a relatively small population of scholars within which tight-knit communities could form.

Alongside the individual experience of councillors, it is essential to assess the changing culture of education in the sixteenth century. Higher education was the preserve of clerks and clerics at the beginning of the period, with laymen rarely pursuing a degree.³¹⁰ However, views of higher education shifted in the first half of the sixteenth century. There were several reasons for this shift, but the most

³⁰⁹ T. H. Aston, 'Oxford's Medieval Alumni', *Past & Present*, 74 (1977), 3-40 and T. H. Aston, G. D. Duncan and T. A. R. Evans, 'The Medieval Alumni of the University of Cambridge', *Past & Present*, 86 (1980), 9-86.

³¹⁰ Cressy, *Education*, pp.4-5.

crucial factor was the growing complexity of sixteenth-century statecraft.³¹¹ Administration became more intricate than before due to the Reformation and Dissolution of the Monasteries with new financial bodies and regulatory frameworks created to manage the crown's new incomes and powers. The scale of information and record-keeping also expanded considerably; Renaissance diplomacy demanded an extensive network of informants and ambassadors and a capable administrator to manage the system.

³¹¹ Alexander, *The Growth of English Education*, p.171.

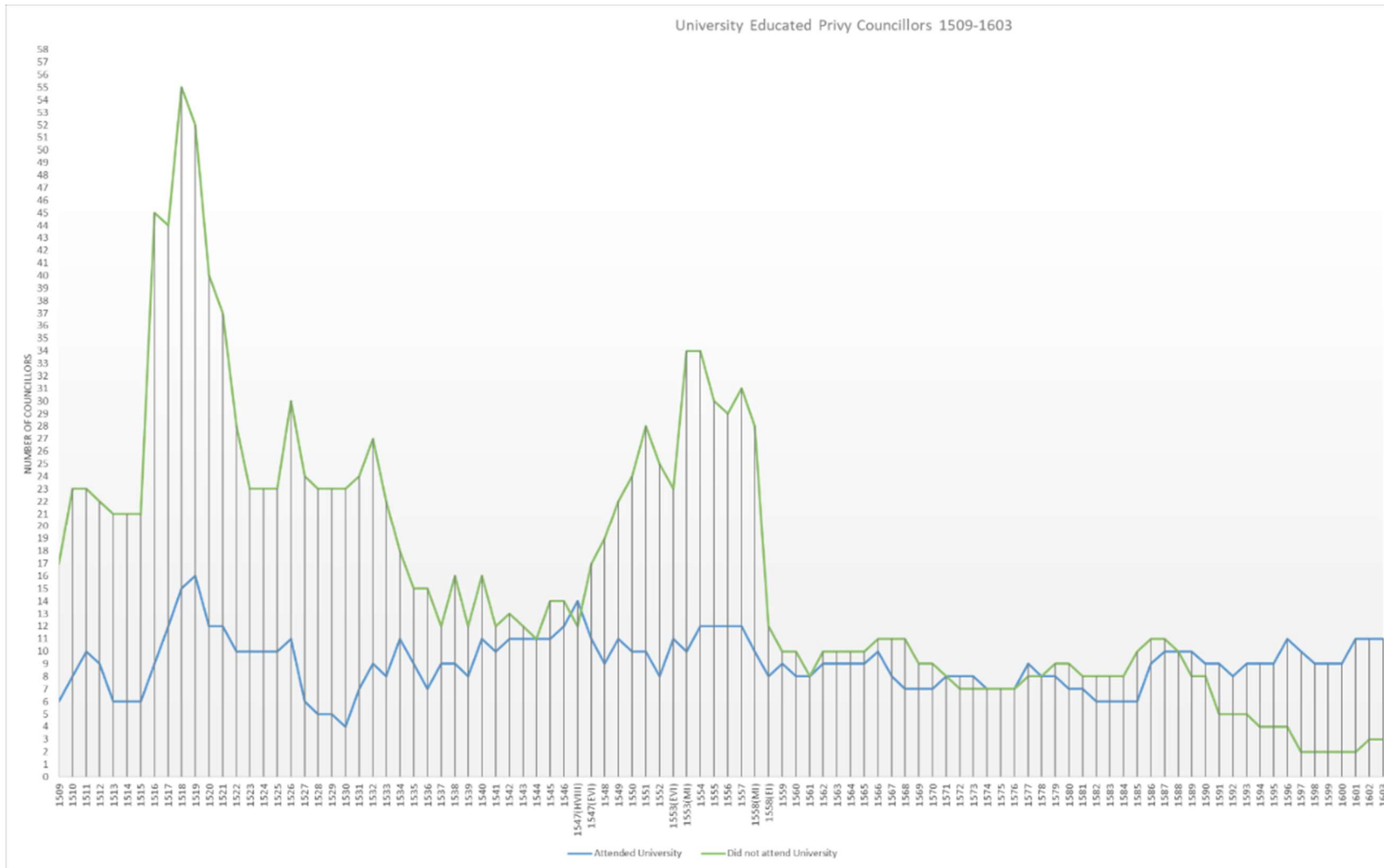


Figure 2.9 Chart shows privy councillors’ university attendance between 1509 and 1603.

During the period between 1509 and 1603, 316 individuals were appointed to the council, of whom we can be certain that 88 (28%) had spent time at a university.³¹² However, the low overall figure should not obscure the fact that university-educated councillors constituted a high proportion of the whole council for much of the sixteenth century. Figure 2.9 illustrates the number of university-educated councillors active in each year between 1509 and 1603. The overall trend is relatively stable, with the lowest number occurring in 1530 with only four councillors who had been to university, and the highest in 1519 with 16.

However, the most significant change came when the council changed size rapidly. When council membership expanded quickly, it was usually with the addition of non-university educated men: this happened, for instance, in the 1510s and the early 1550s. Similarly, when the council contracted rapidly, it was the same non-university men who tended to lose their positions. The university-educated component was more important because of the proportion of the council it represents rather than its size. Most strikingly, in 1603, the 11 university-educated councillors constituted 85% of the council. Thus, there remained at the core of the council a collection of technically-trained and experienced councillors who account for much of the stability of the Tudor system of governance.

The first 20 years of Henry VIII's reign witnessed a relatively static relationship between university-educated and non-university educated councillors. The council fluctuated in size, but the two groups' proportions were almost identical. The council expanded from 27 members in 1515 to 56 members by 1517. In 1515, six university-educated councillors represented 22% of the council. However, in 1517, despite the doubling of the university contingent to 12, they still accounted for only 21% of the council because of the corresponding increase in non-university educated councillors.

During this period, the council was a large body, and the relationships between councillors differed from the small executive board of the later period. Many individuals were titled 'royal councillors' without any expectation that they would actually participate in government deliberations; their role was essentially a ceremonial one. For instance, Thomas Stanley, the second Earl of Derby, and George Hastings, Baron Hastings, were sworn onto the council sometime between 1509 and 1527 but they are only recorded as attending one meeting each during their lives.³¹³ The meeting attended by

³¹² The university attendance data only contains dates corroborated by primary evidence. Often individuals spent longer at an institution than displayed, but due to the lack of matriculation and attendance records for most institutions, we have to rely on contemporary recollections and other primary sources to place councillors accurately.

³¹³ Stanley attended a meeting on the 14 May 1517 and Hastings on 25 Jan 1527. The Huntingdon Library, Ellesmere MS: 2655, fos. 7-18v and Ellesmere MS: 2654, fos. 22v-25 contain extracts from the *Acta Consili*,

Stanley on 14 May 1517 was more formal than functional, with the council acting as a prestigious backdrop for an oration by Wolsey on the state of the realm.³¹⁴ Similarly, the judges and legal officers of the royal courts were still members of the council during this period. After 1540, the judges of the royal law courts were removed from the executive privy council and only sat as the council in Star Chamber.

In these years, the collection of councillors that coalesced around Cardinal Wolsey provides evidence of university networks in action. When looking to fill spaces on the council between 1516 and 1519, Wolsey naturally turned to those with whom he had enjoyed relationships since his Oxford university days: Nicholas West (1461-1533), Thomas Grey (1477-1530), Richard Rawlins (1460-1536), John Vesey, Cuthbert Tunstall (1474-1559), John Longland, Thomas Ruthall (d.1523) and John Stokesley.³¹⁵ These eight men were at the heart of Tudor administration in the early years of Henry VIII's reign and were also personally connected to each other by university ties.

Cardinal Wolsey was the obvious focal point of the network because of his dominant position within the government and his ability to reward his friends and followers as a result. Also, his correspondence is more likely to survive due to his central position within the government, so his contacts are more visible than those with less significant posts. It is therefore probable that the interactions detailed below are only a fraction of the complete picture of social relations between these men.

1509-27, from which these figures have been obtained. The extracts contain minutes from only 49 meetings, and so it is impossible to create a complete picture of attendance for this period. However, it is clear from the extracts that some councillors were more active than others.

³¹⁴ Dunham, 'The members of Henry VIII's Whole Council', pp.198-99.

³¹⁵ Nicholas West, Thomas Grey, Richard Rawlins, John Vesey, Cuthbert Tunstall and John Longland were also members of Magdalen College.

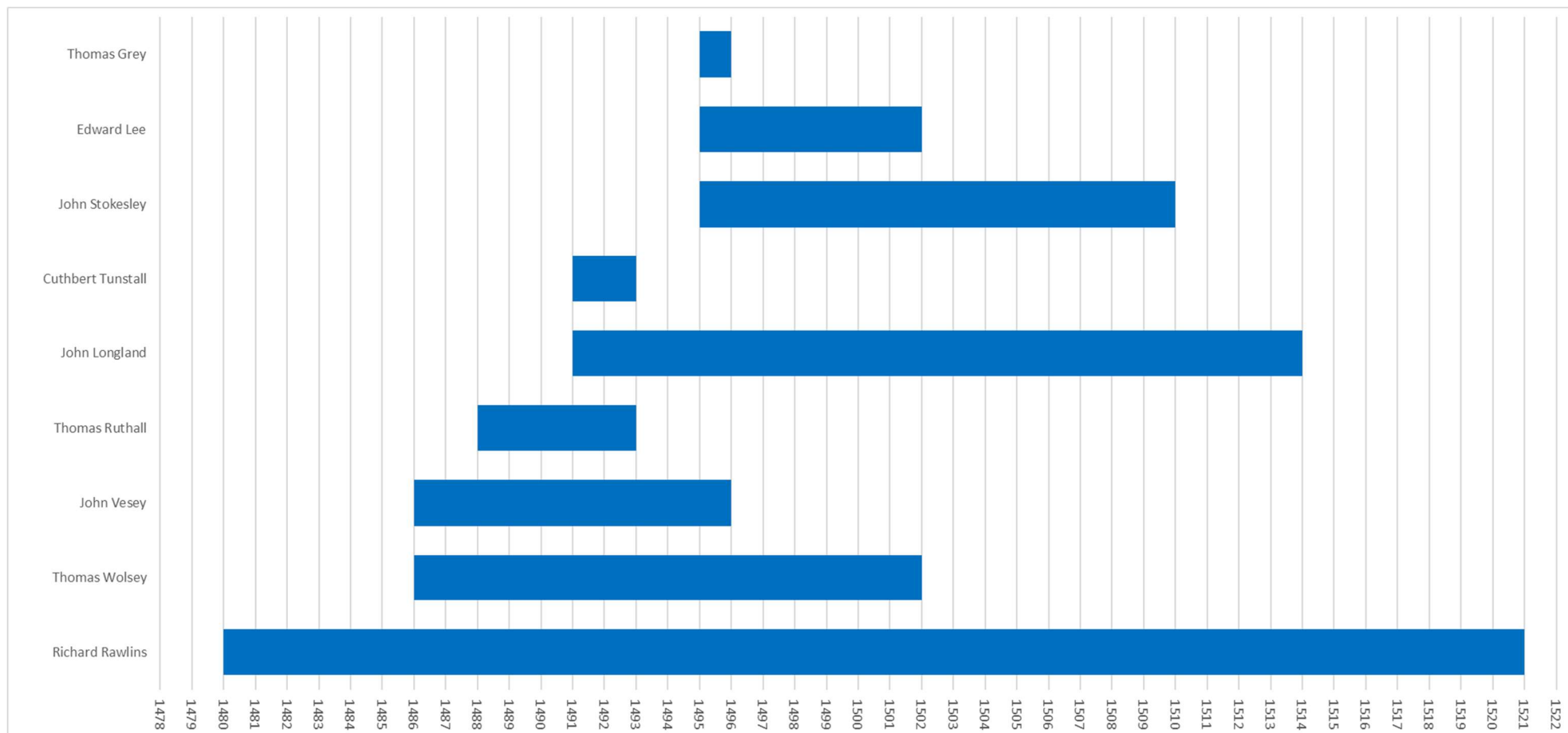


Figure 2.10 Attendance at the University of Oxford between 1478 and 1522.

It was not only the council that this group dominated but also the episcopal bench. Except for Thomas Grey, second Marquess of Dorset, all members also became bishops. Moreover, all of them, except Ruthall, received their preferments during, or shortly after, Wolsey's ascendancy: West became bishop of Ely in 1515, Vesey bishop of Exeter in 1519, Tunstall bishop of London and Longland bishop of Lincoln in 1522, Rawlins bishop of St David's in 1523, and Stokesley bishop of London in 1530. As Lord Chancellor, Archbishop, Cardinal, and papal legate, Wolsey had wide-ranging influence over ecclesiastical appointments and likely had a hand in the appointment of the above men.

The fact that the Cardinal used several of the men as diplomats and personal agents for his properties and educational foundations demonstrated that they were likely part of his circle. The promotion of John Longland to Lincoln can be directly tied to Wolsey. Longland had not only been at the University of Oxford at the same time as Wolsey, but he had also attended the same college, Magdalen. They acted as bursars for Magdalen in the early sixteenth century and presumably knew each other in that capacity.³¹⁶ In addition, Longland's early appointments in St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, and St George's Chapel, Windsor, would have allowed him to maintain a relationship with Wolsey as they were located close to the royal court. He was selected for preferment for the see of Lincoln on 20 March 1521 and also appointed a royal almoner and confessor soon afterwards.³¹⁷ In a letter of 30 March 1521, Cardinal Lorenzo Campeggio congratulated Wolsey on the appointment of Longland to Lincoln, which suggests that contemporaries viewed it as a victory for Wolsey.³¹⁸ Also, Longland would be used extensively by Wolsey in the establishment of his new college at Oxford. The university fell within his diocese of Lincoln, so it is significant that Wolsey ensured that a trusted friend and ally was the diocesan bishop for the project.

There survives voluminous correspondence between Wolsey and Longland regarding the foundation of Cardinal College, and these letters demonstrate the ways that their careers were deeply intertwined. In January 1522, Longland was given the task of seeking the approval of the King for Wolsey's intention of founding a new college at Oxford. He duly reported back that the King thought the endeavour 'one of the most highest recompense that he could do unto you for [such] service your Grace hath done unto him' and that 'his highness did so rejoice [in your] said foundation and college'.³¹⁹ A further letter of October 1526 detailed Longland's efforts to acquire the services of a

³¹⁶ Margaret Bowker, 'John Longland, 1473-1547', *ODNB* (2008).

³¹⁷ BL, Cotton MS: Vitellius B/IV f.86.

³¹⁸ L&P Henry VIII, vol.3, I, en.1208.

³¹⁹ L&P Henry VIII, vol.4, I, en.995.

'singing man' called Taverner from Tattersall to instruct the children of Wolsey's chapel at Cardinal College.³²⁰ The level of Longland's involvement in the college's foundation was reinforced by a letter of 1528, within which he enclosed a legal instrument transferring property from the abbot of Peterborough to Wolsey's college. Longland begged for forgiveness in this letter that the document's words were not 'well couched' and claimed he was afraid to take any 'counsel in drawing it' and so drafted it himself.³²¹ Such an action demonstrated the close involvement of Longland in Wolsey's business and showed that a high level of trust existed between the two men. Wolsey demonstrated his gratitude for Longland's efforts in 1526 when he wrote: 'I thank you for the pains and labours taken by you in providing masters for my college at Oxford. As the teacher of the choir who was to have been brought by you from the college at Leicester, I thank you for your trouble, and leave it to your discretion'.³²² Wolsey's reply shows that the relationship was reciprocal and leaves no doubt that he trusted Longland's judgement.

In addition to the close political cooperation that existed between Longland and Wolsey, there was also evidence of friendship within their correspondence. First, there are several references to the provision of hospitality and the exchanging of gifts.³²³ Longland refers to several occasions when he visited Wolsey and took the time to thank him for his hospitality. For instance, in 1526 Longland wrote twice to Wolsey to thank him for his 'goodness' and to give 'most lovely thanks for your grace's kindness at my last being with your grace to my most singular comfort'.³²⁴ Significantly, the hospitality provided by Wolsey did not appear to be for a specific purpose and was instead a routine part of their friendship.

More evidence of their close relationship comes from the numerous and detailed accounts of his illnesses and ailments that Longland provided to Wolsey. He first mentioned ill health in 1525, when he sought forgiveness for not attending on Wolsey as requested because of a sickness in his household. Furthermore, he mentioned that he had sent all his servants and horses away, but he would recall them if Wolsey still required his presence.³²⁵ Longland's later letters go into greater detail, such as one of June 1526, in which he said he was 'grievously riddled with a pain in my left hip' and asked 'your Grace [to] not [be] offended that I so rudely do express the thing unto you'.³²⁶ Later in

³²⁰ SP 1/39 f.205.

³²¹ SP 1/50 f.81.

³²² SP 1/39 f.103.

³²³ For a full discussion of hospitality and gift-giving see Chapter 5: Friendship.

³²⁴ SP 1/39 f.205; SP 1/40 f.73.

³²⁵ SP 1/59 f.65.

³²⁶ SP 1/35 f.9.

1528, Wolsey granted Longland a special dispensation to eat meat for the betterment of his health and sent 'comforting letters and words' when he was ill.³²⁷ The regularity of the discussion of Longland's health suggests that Wolsey had a genuine interest in the health of his friend and would attempt to alleviate his symptoms when it was within his power to do so.

The families of Longland and Wolsey also played a part in their relationship. In July 1528, Longland offered Wolsey's illegitimate son, Thomas Wynter, the archdeaconry of Oxford, in exchange for a house within the close of Lincoln Cathedral for his nephew, Richard Pate.³²⁸ Not only did Longland show that he knew Wolsey had broken his clerical vows by fathering a son, but he also realised that giving patronage to Wynter would be likely to please Wolsey. Moreover, Longland went further, stating: 'If master Wynter were in England I doubt not that he would be a humble suitor to your grace in this behalf for my said nephew, who hath him in his special favour.'³²⁹ This suggested an existing relationship between the son and the nephew, further strengthening the connection between the older churchmen. The requirement for clergy to remain celibate and unmarried theoretically made familial connections less significant than for laypersons. However, this episode shows that such connections could exist and did play a part in ecclesiastical councillors' relationships.

West was also closely tied to Wolsey. For instance, during an embassy to the French court in February 1515 led by Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, Nicholas West sent personal despatches to Wolsey in addition to the official reports. In these letters, West assured Wolsey that he was seeking to secure the bishopric of Tournai for him and that he should expect an official report from the delegation soon.³³⁰ West was clearly making an effort to keep the Cardinal informed and also working to further his personal agenda, alongside the official aims of the embassy. West's ability and loyalty in this matter no doubt played a part in his elevation to the bishopric of Ely the same year. West himself was under the impression that Wolsey was responsible for his promotion when he wrote in April: 'wishing to have your thanks for your singular goodness showed to me at this time in this my promotion'.³³¹ Also, in the same letter, West asked Wolsey for help in paying for his bulls as he had no money, a request repeated in another letter sent three days later.³³²

³²⁷ SP 1/47 f.52 and SP 1/47 f.208.

³²⁸ SP 1/49 f.109.

³²⁹ SP 1/49 f.109.

³³⁰ SP 1/10 f.66 and SP 1/10 f.67.

³³¹ SP 1.10 f.116.

³³² SP 1/10 f.135.

Furthermore, their correspondence also suggested a personal relationship. Like Longland, West received and sent gifts to Wolsey and shared his hospitality. For example, in 1519, West sent a gift to Wolsey as a 'token of this good new year, my true loving heart, which I humbly beseech your grace principally to regard, and secondary this poor present that this bearer shall deliver'.³³³ He also thanked the Cardinal for his 'great goodness and manifold kindness' on a visit in December 1519.³³⁴ The favour was returned the following year when Wolsey visited West's diocese and thanked him for his 'goodness and loving entertainment'.³³⁵ It is likely that when Wolsey travelled the country, he stayed at the residences of his friends just as they stayed in his household when they were in London. Moreover, the regularity with which gratitude was expressed for the hospitality provided by members of this group suggests that it was a common occurrence and not out of the ordinary.

Another common feature of their correspondence was the description of medical problems. For example, West first described a recurring leg complaint in 1516: 'the skin is clean gone from the calf of my leg to the heel' and that he 'can get no help nor relief'.³³⁶ Like Longland, there is evidence of him seeking Wolsey's advice for his illness. For example, he wrote in December 1519 that since 'the good counsel of your grace I have had continuous health in my body [since] I left from your grace'.³³⁷ He also asked in the same letter for Wolsey to send him a mule so he could continue to exercise in the fields and thus be strong enough to visit him in the summer. Between 1523 and 1529, West mentions the disease in his leg in almost every surviving letter to Wolsey.³³⁸ Significantly, these details are not offered as an excuse for failed tasks, but rather Wolsey appeared to be genuinely interested in the welfare of his friends.

The influence of Wolsey can also be detected in the careers of Vesey and Tunstall. Tunstall received support from Wolsey early in his career when he was used extensively by the Cardinal as a diplomat. He participated in numerous missions to the Low Countries and the court of the Holy Roman Emperor, and Wolsey came to appreciate his astute and direct observations.³³⁹ Tunstall's letters to Wolsey displayed a straightforward manner that suggests they enjoyed a friendly association. He also often included personal observations of his fellow diplomats, such as in 1515 when he described Thomas

³³³ SP 1/19 f.138. He is also recorded sending Wolsey a New Year's gift here: SP 1/29 f.299.

³³⁴ SP 1/19 f.138.

³³⁵ SP 1/21 f.123.

³³⁶ SP 1/14 f.43.

³³⁷ SP 1/19 f.138.

³³⁸ SP 1/29 f.1; SP 1/50 f.113; SP 1/35 f.170; SP 1/34 f.128; SP 1/54 f.227.

³³⁹ D. G. Newcombe, 'Cuthbert Tunstal [Tunstall], 1474-1559', *ODNB* (2013).

More as 'being at a low ebb' requiring 'to be set on float again'.³⁴⁰ He was also appointed canon of Lincoln and prebendary of Stow Longa in 1514 in succession to Wolsey.³⁴¹ His next appointment was as archdeacon of Chester, this time replacing John Vesey, who had been promoted to the bishopric of Exeter.³⁴² Vesey worked closely with Wolsey during his tenure as president of the Council in the Marches of Wales. The initiative was part of Wolsey's policy of reviving the regional councils, so it is highly likely that Wolsey had a hand in choosing the council's president. As well as cooperating on a professional level, the two men also displayed personal affection. In a letter of 1526, Vesey wrote that he had written to the Queen to praise Wolsey's generosity towards Princess Mary so that 'her majesty and the king may the better know it.'³⁴³ This was significant as the letter did not contain a request for a reciprocal favour and appeared to be a genuine effort on Vesey's part to make sure Wolsey received credit for his assistance.

Many of the relationships discussed so far position Wolsey as patron or protector of his group of university friends, and, as chief minister to the king, this was to be expected. However, his relationship with Thomas Ruthall was on a slightly more equal footing, and they are better described as partners rather than servant and master. In 1516, the Venetian ambassador, Giustinian, described Ruthall as Wolsey's 'alter-ego' and 'singing treble to the Cardinal's bass'.³⁴⁴ Furthermore, Giustinian claimed that: 'The whole direction of affairs rests with the Right Reverend Cardinal, the bishop of Durham [Ruthall] and the illustrious Lord Treasurer [Thomas Howard].'³⁴⁵ Giustinian was clearly under the impression that Wolsey and Ruthall presided over England's government and cooperated closely. They indeed dominated the council's proceedings with Wolsey as Lord Chancellor and Ruthall as Lord Privy Seal from 1516. The Lord Chancellor was the *de facto* head of the council before the creation of a lord president, and the privy seal was the instrument used to authenticate council business.

The survival of several of Wolsey's letters written in Ruthall's hand also suggests that Ruthall was acting as Wolsey's secretary, which would have further strengthened the connection between the two men.³⁴⁶ A series of letters sent by Giustinian to the Council of Ten in Venice makes it clear that Wolsey and Ruthall had a well-developed and coordinated strategy for dealing with foreign ambassadors. For instance, in January 1516, Wolsey reassured the ambassador that 'the Emperor would not receive the

³⁴⁰ *L&P Henry VIII*, vol.2, 1, en.679.

³⁴¹ Newcombe, 'Cuthbert Tunstal', *ODNB* (2013).

³⁴² Newcombe, 'Cuthbert Tunstal', *ODNB* (2013).

³⁴³ SP 1/39 f.55.

³⁴⁴ *L&P Henry VIII*, vol.2, 1, en.2205.

³⁴⁵ *L&P Henry VIII*, vol.2, 1, en.2183.

³⁴⁶ BL, Cotton MS: Caligula B/VI f.21.

smallest coin from England to injure Venice', then Giustintian dined with Ruthall, who agreed that nothing was planned against Venice and joked 'by God, we mean to affect your welfare in spite of yourselves'. Similarly, on another occasion, Giustintian faced a concerted attempt to persuade him that Venice should abandon its ally France during the War of the League of Cambrai. First, Wolsey claimed that Francis I was dead or injured in Provence and so would not be able to march to support the Venetians in Italy against the Emperor. This was followed by a meeting with Ruthall, during which he claimed that the Emperor was in Italy with 36,000 men and commented that 'I marvel you have linked yourself to France. If she lose, you lose; if victorious, she will deceive you.'³⁴⁷ It is evident that the two bishops were coordinating their efforts and were regarded as critical members of the English government.

The connections between Wolsey and his university colleagues reveal a significant grouping within the early Tudor privy council. This period has traditionally been seen as simply a time when Wolsey dominated government. However, one man could not operate the full apparatus of the state, and those he chose to install in key positions are vital to understanding the Tudor polity. Also, the network demonstrates how university connections were transformed into lasting groupings that must be acknowledged as having shaped later careers. An early association in an educational setting could create a bond stronger than any temporary political faction and one that did not need constant reinforcement with reward or favour. Such networks provided a pool of contacts and allies from which individuals could draw throughout their careers.

The group of bishops surrounding Wolsey was a significant and previously overlooked grouping. Nevertheless, it was a grouping whose formation had a medieval flavour: a group of university clerics headed by an ecclesiastic Lord Chancellor and Prince of the Church. However, after Wolsey in the early 1530s, the first significant shift in the council's educational composition occurred when the number of non-university educated councillors dropped precipitously. In 1532, 27 out of 36 (75%) councillors had not received any formal higher education. However, by 1534, this number had dropped to 18 out of 29 (62%) and then to 12 out of 21 (57%) in 1537. The overall trend was of a shrinking council that contained a higher proportion of specialist and technically trained men. This was a period of intense political pressure and turmoil during which the King increasingly came to rely on a smaller group of councillors who met more regularly. It was customary for men to be appointed as councillors in the earlier period despite there being no realistic prospect they would attend meetings. Those councillors

³⁴⁷ *L&P Henry VIII*, vol.2, I, en.1638.

who remained were generally the most active and capable, so the council became more orientated toward those with a university education. This process culminated in 1544, when the number of university-educated and non-university educated councillors was split 50/50, with 11 councillors in each category.

The rising importance of formal education to the role of councillor was one of the defining characteristics of conciliar change in the Tudor period. Undoubtedly, the number of councillors educated at a university rose across the period, but there was never a formal requirement for privy councillors to undertake this education. The monarch decided who was to be appointed to their councils throughout the period and it was based solely on their discretion. Determining why the Tudor monarchs increasingly turned to more educated men is open to interpretation. First, there was a growing appreciation of the benefits of formal education more widely. The number of students entering the universities rose across Europe and learning became one of the determinants of social prestige for the political elite. This meant that the pool of men available to the Tudors was more educated than had been the case a generation before. Also, the unique circumstances of the English Reformation played a role in determining who was appointed to the council. Henry VIII's Break with Rome was a radical undertaking that not only required new ways of thinking but also technical competence and legal expertise. It was no coincidence that the first increase in educated councillors occurred during the 1530s when the most radical changes in law and religion were taking place. In this period, a new type of councillor was emerging. The defining features of this new conciliar archetype were formal education, officeholding and being a member of the laity.

The lay university-trained councillor rose to prominence at the expense of the clergy. Until the later 1520s, bishops made up by far the largest component of the university-trained councillors. For much of the 1530s and 1540s, the numbers of bishops and university-educated laymen remained roughly equal. However, the growth of lay education provided the state with alternatives for technically-trained servants. By 1543, laymen overtook bishops as the largest contingent of university-educated councillors, and they were to retain this position for the rest of the century.

Significantly for the present discussion, university education became almost a prerequisite for council membership in Elizabeth's reign, whereas a clerical appointment virtually prevented it. The only confirmed clergyman appointed to Elizabeth's privy council was John Whitgift (c.1530-1604), her final

Archbishop of Canterbury.³⁴⁸ This did not occur until 1586 and was a significant mark of favour as none of Elizabeth's previous archbishops had been afforded the honour. In light of the fact that clergymen were regularly used as councillors by her predecessors, it seems likely that Elizabeth was pursuing a policy of deliberate exclusion. The Queen was always aware of the need to balance the competing voices in her council and relied on a smaller group of close advisors. It was the case that Whitgift's temperament and outlook were more closely aligned with the Queen than his predecessors, and this no doubt played a role in his appointment.³⁴⁹ The appointment immediately elevated the Archbishop's authority at a time when the Queen wanted him to pursue a campaign against Puritan printers and agitators.³⁵⁰ Also, the role of the clergy had changed after the Reformation. There was a renewed focus on pastoral duties and the enforcement of new religious legislation. This not only left less time for a political role but also made it more controversial, as worldly prelates were open to attack by hard-line Protestants. These factors culminated in a privy council that was comprised almost exclusively of university-educated laymen.

-

The education received by privy councillors played an essential part in shaping their intellectual outlook and determining the social circles within which they operated. The overall trend was towards greater levels of academic training as the century progressed. The impact of this change was that the backgrounds of councillors narrowed, meaning that by the end of the period, the privy council was almost entirely united by a shared origin and training. This did not necessarily mean that all councillors shared an identical outlook, but it made them much more likely to share values and hence to cooperate with each other. The dominance of the intellectual ideas of the Renaissance, especially humanism, was accepted almost wholesale by the mid-century by the vast majority of councillors. These ideas and backgrounds played a significant part in the enactment and progress of the Reformation in England.

The social connections made in early educational settings by privy councillors were arguably of greater significance for politics. When looking for factions within the Tudor polity, historians have tended to focus on short term political considerations, but the longer-term social contacts of an individual often played a greater role in the formation of their networks. This chapter has demonstrated several such

³⁴⁸ Nicholas Heath, Mary I's Archbishop of York, may have been a member of the council in the early days of the reign. However, if he was, he did not keep his position for long.

³⁴⁹ William Joseph Sheils, 'John Whitgift, 1530/31-1604', *ODNB* (2008).

³⁵⁰ Sheils, 'John Whitgift', *ODNB* (2008).

networks in action, but more existed within the Tudor polity. Focusing on these informal groupings based on friendship and shared identity reveals more about how Tudor politics and government operated than transient political groupings. This was an age in which personal interaction and connections were the dominant influence on politics and administration. The idea of the political party pursuing a shared agenda did not yet exist. Thus, it is more fruitful to investigate the informal networks of councillors outside immediate political contexts rather than to force them into political parties with shared ideologies and priorities.

Education formed one of the pillars of a new councillor archetype which influenced the identity and interactions of councillors. Some degree of formal academic education became the norm among privy councillors by the latter half of the century, which was a marked contrast to the situation before. Another aspect of this new archetype was the laicisation of the council and the decline in ordained clergymen on the council. This was heavily associated with education as laymen were increasingly drawn to the universities as the institutions that could provide them with the skills and training needed to govern. The final feature of the new councillor archetype was the growing prevalence of officeholding, which is explored in the next two chapters. This growing homogenisation of experience and outlook among councillors resulted in a socially and culturally cohesive council. By the reign of Elizabeth I, the council was remarkably united in purpose and approach, making ideological factional disputes, which were already rare, inconceivable.

Chapter 3 In the Service of the State

Privy councillors were first and foremost advisors to the Crown. Their primary purpose was to counsel the king or queen and carry out royal instructions by issuing orders to other departments and local officials. This had always been the role of royal councillors stretching back into the medieval period.³⁵¹ Royal councils were staffed by two distinct groups: confidants of the king and central government officeholders. There was occasional overlap between these two groups, but generally they formed two socially and culturally distinct groups. The king's companions were drawn from the nobility and knightly classes, while the officeholders came from the Church or professional groups, such as lawyers.³⁵² This changed under the Tudors, and the two groups merged. Using my database, which contains information on all the offices held by Tudor councillors, it is clear that officeholding became a prerequisite of council membership in the sixteenth century. This influenced the type of men called to the council board and created a more culturally and intellectually united council than had previously been the case.

In the sixteenth century, England did not have a professional civil service and the king or queen appointed the vast majority of government officeholders. Officeholders were individuals who held positions within the machinery of the state and carried out functions that dealt with a specific area of governance. It was this specificity that distinguished officeholders from general councillors. For instance, the Lord Treasurer presided over the Crown's financial apparatus in the Exchequer while the Lord High Admiral managed the navy and led it in war. Previous studies have focused on the administrative functions of the various governmental offices, but this does not, on its own, capture the significance of officeholding within Tudor politics and culture.³⁵³ Such studies, inevitably, focus on the specific functions of the offices rather than look at the culture of officeholding. By exploring the backgrounds and shared experiences of the officeholders themselves it is possible to reveal a developing shared conciliar identity at the heart of Tudor government.

³⁵¹ John Watts, 'Counsel and the King's council in England, 1340-1450', in *The Politics of Counsel in England and Scotland 1286-1707* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp.63-86 (pp.65-68).

³⁵² Harriss, 'Medieval Government', pp.31-33.

³⁵³ E. K. Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage Volume I* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1923), pp.27-70; Williams, *The Tudor Regime*, pp.21-108; Williams, *The Later Tudors* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp.124-59; David Loades, *Tudor Government: Structures of Authority in the Sixteenth Century* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), pp.17-79; T. A. Morris, *Tudor Government* (London: Routledge, 1999), pp.38-53.

This identity was not a 'bureaucratic' one and the cultural changes did not create the modern nation state.³⁵⁴ Offices were still viewed as the personal property of their holders and the maintenance of royal favour remained paramount to a successful career. Indeed, the preferences of the monarch did much to set the tone of their rule. Linked with this was the centrality of prestige and social precedence to the operation of Tudor politics. Public standing was vital in Tudor England's strictly regimented society, and offices represented potential wells of esteem to be tapped. These informal processes and intangible forces had a greater impact than any administrative function.

The following chapter outlines the structures of Tudor government and the place of officeholders within these structures. Using my relational database of privy councillors, it is possible to track the type of men who held the major offices of state and tell the story of Tudor administration from the point of view of those who operated the machinery. The first half of the chapter addresses the three main components of Tudor government: the executive, the Royal Household and the financial machinery of the state. Each area is dealt with separately but the connections and overlap between all areas of government is revealed and stressed throughout the chapter. The second half of the chapter focuses specifically on the concept of officeholding and the impact this had on the careers of privy councillors. As part of this, it stresses the enduring personal nature of government service and the centrality of the intangible forces of prestige and legitimacy. Finally, the chapter concludes by building on the concept of a new archetype of councillor outlined in the previous chapter. In Chapter Two, the growing importance of education to councillors was outlined, and here a similar trend is analysed in relation to officeholding. Increasingly across the sixteenth century, councillors became experienced officeholders, who had gained their expertise outside of the Church. The result was a change in the emphasis of state service and a change in the type of man elevated to high office.

Tudor Government

Tudor government consisted of several overlapping structures: the central executive, financial departments like the Exchequer, the Royal Household, and the law courts. The offices varied from ancient well-established positions with a defined jurisdiction and a set fee, such as the Lord Chancellor, to new creations or modified offices designed to administer the new powers and incomes resulting from the Break with Rome, such as the Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations. The following analysis will focus on fourteen key posts within Tudor government. These posts consist of the major

³⁵⁴ Elton, *Tudor Revolution*, pp.425-26

offices of state alongside the principal offices of the Royal Household. The treatment of the executive offices of the state and the household side by side provides a synthesis that previous historians have often avoided. It is common for reference works that deal with Tudor government to look at either the household or government, but the argument here is that they were two inseparable parts of a single whole.³⁵⁵ Therefore, both aspects of Tudor government are considered holistically here which provides a more accurate picture of the daily reality of sixteenth-century administration. Additionally, the tables and charts detailing the membership of all the offices are provided in the appendices.³⁵⁶

Table 3.1 Major Offices of the Tudor State

Executive Offices	Household Offices
Lord Chancellor/ Lord Keeper of the Great Seal	Lord Steward/ Lord Great Master
Lord Treasurer	Lord Great Chamberlain
Lord Privy Seal	Lord Chamberlain
Principal Secretary	Treasurer of the Household
Lord High Admiral	Comptroller of the Household
Chancellor of the Exchequer	Treasurer of the Chamber
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster	Master of the Horse

The different departments were heavily intertwined, and their personnel regularly overlapped. The council was physically located within the household, and posts such as Principal Secretary had functions in both institutions. Financial officials were present in the household and the Exchequer, and the Lord Chancellor had judicial as well as executive functions. The categorisation employed here

³⁵⁵ For instance, David Loades devotes only a short section to 'informal structures' in his book *Tudor Government* which deals with some aspects of household administration as they relate to the culture of the court (pp.246-63). Loades deals more fully with the household in his separate work *The Tudor Court*, but this separation inevitably creates an artificial barrier between the household and 'government'. Similarly, E. K. Chambers' *Elizabethan Stage* deals only with the organisation of the household and its cultural functions. Penry Williams in *The Tudor Regime* confines his discussion of the household to an assessment of the vulnerability of the monarch to influence and manipulation by courtiers (pp.24-27). Steven Gunn does explore the use of household servants in the maintenance of the king's affinity in *Early Tudor Government*, but little attention is given to the functions of household officeholders (pp.33-38). In all of these works, the royal household is given only a cursory treatment amid a much wider consideration of the executive, financial and legal apparatus of the state.

³⁵⁶ See Appendix B.

is intended only as a guide to the primary responsibility of the different offices and to provide structure to the data.

The Executive

The council sat at the centre of government, discussing matters of state and issuing orders to the various departments in the form of letters, enquiries, warrants and commands. These orders were processed by the three writing offices of the Tudor state: the Great Seal, the Privy Seal and the Signet.³⁵⁷ Orders that required full legal authorisation, such as letters patent, warrants and royal proclamations, were drawn up by Chancery and affixed with the Great Seal.³⁵⁸ Standard practice was for Chancery only to act when it received a written and sealed command from one of the two lesser seals.³⁵⁹ The Privy Seal began life as the monarch's personal seal and was how the head of state communicated their will to the rest of the administration. In the thirteenth century, the Privy Seal ceased to be the monarch's personal seal and the post of Keeper of the Privy Seal, later Lord Privy Seal, was created with its own office and clerks.³⁶⁰ As a result, a new personal seal was required, and in the later fourteenth century, the signet was created. The monarch's secretary controlled the signet and had his own staff of clerks. Therefore, the correct passage of formal orders from the council was through the signet, then the Privy Seal, before finally being authorised by the Great Seal.

These three seals were still in operation during the Tudor period, and their holders wielded considerable influence; nonetheless the proper course of action outlined above was often modified and even ignored in the name of efficiency. For example, a bill signed by the monarch was often used to bypass the Privy Seal and Signet and went straight to the Great Seal.³⁶¹ During the reign of Henry VI (1422-61) this expedient was used extensively by the profligate King to grant lands and privileges to his favourites.³⁶² In response, a conciliar ordinance of 1444 stated that all future bills should pass through the proper course in an effort to restrain the King's generosity.³⁶³ Such exhortations were repeated throughout the following century, such as in 1536, when it was laid down in an act of

³⁵⁷ Williams, *The Later Tudors*, p.141.

³⁵⁸ For a detailed breakdown of Tudor bureaucracy see Loades, *Tudor Government*, pp.65-70; Gunn, *Early Tudor Government*, pp.23-71; Williams, *Later Tudors*, pp.141-44; P. W. Lock, 'Officeholders and Officeholding in Early Tudor England c.1520-1540' (Unpublished PhD Thesis: University of Exeter, 1976), pp.5-30.

³⁵⁹ Williams, *The Later Tudors*, p.141.

³⁶⁰ Lock, 'Officeholding and Officeholding', p.16.

³⁶¹ Elton, *Tudor Revolution*, p.276.

³⁶² Lock, 'Officeholding', p.16.

³⁶³ Lock, 'Officeholding', p.17.

Parliament.³⁶⁴ Also, the proper course was only necessary for the most formal instruments, such as letters patent, and a great variety of actions could be authorised by one of the lesser seals or the monarch's signature.

The Great Seal was held by the Lord Chancellor, the highest-ranking of the Great Officers of State. During the Tudor period, the other Great Offices of State were Lord High Steward, Lord High Treasurer, Lord Great Chamberlain, Lord Privy Seal, Lord High Constable, Lord High Admiral, and Earl Marshal.³⁶⁵ However, in this period, the Lord High Constablenesship and Earl Marshalship were empty sinecures devoid of government responsibilities. Similarly, the Lord Great Chamberlain had lost most of his functions within the Royal Household, while the Lord High Treasurer's role was becoming a rubber-stamping exercise until its decline was arrested in the mid-Tudor period. The fortunes of the other Great Offices fluctuated, but the Lord Chancellor remained at the heart of government throughout the sixteenth century. Consequently, the position carried significant responsibilities and could be quite an onerous undertaking. Despite this, the post was much coveted for the patronage, prestige and influence it granted the holder.

The Chancellor was the head of Chancery, and he was required to be present at the sealing of formal documents with the Great Seal; the act of sealing was not merely a ceremonial formality, but in fact conferred legal legitimacy.³⁶⁶ The Chancellor was involved in important policy discussions through his seat on the council, but he could also influence government bureaucracy through his role in the Chancery. For example, in the crisis of 1549, Richard Rich used the authority of the Great Seal to countermand Protector Somerset's personal orders and moved with the other conspirators to prevent him from levying men in the King's name.³⁶⁷ This went beyond rubber-stamping decisions taken elsewhere, with the Chancellor able to delay, expedite or block favoured bills. This is not to say that the Chancellor could oppose the royal will or the council's collective decision, but he could at least impede the implementation of policy.

Below the Lord Chancellor was the Lord Privy Seal, who was the head of the Privy Seal office, established in 1312, which acted as an intermediary department receiving orders from the council and crown officials and transmitting them to the relevant body for execution.³⁶⁸ The council adopted the

³⁶⁴ *Act concerning clerks of the Signet and Privy Seal 1536* (26 HVIII, c.12).

³⁶⁵ The Lord President of the Council would later be included as a Great Officer, but the post was not created until 1529.

³⁶⁶ Lock, 'Officeholding', p.19.

³⁶⁷ SP 10/9 f.42.

³⁶⁸ Elton, *Tudor Revolution*, p.259.

privy seal as the primary instrument by which it gave authority to its decisions in the later Middle Ages.³⁶⁹ However, the increased use of immediate warrants that bypassed the privy seal and the growing prevalence of signed orders in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, caused a decline in the importance of the Privy Seal. Eventually, in recognition of this trend, the council was granted its own seal to authenticate its orders and decisions in 1556.³⁷⁰

In the latter part of the sixteenth century, the privy seal lost its independent standing and became attached to the Principal Secretary. The privy seal had become merely a link in the bureaucratic chain whereby royal grants were confirmed. This process required little if any intervention by the Lord Privy Seal himself by the time of Elizabeth's reign. It was a reflection of the limited functions of the office that William Howard (c.1510-73), Baron of Effingham, an ailing 72-year-old, could perform its duties between 1572 and 1573 with little detriment to the administration. The office itself became a sinecure devoid of any practical responsibilities but remained a secondary source of revenue and prestige for the principal secretary.

The office of principal secretary began as the king's personal secretary in the thirteenth century and was primarily concerned with the management of the king's correspondence. In the early sixteenth century, the secretary controlled the signet and had regular access to the monarch, drafting their correspondence and delivering incoming letters, giving him a degree of influence, but he was not one of the great officers of state and did not normally sit on the council. The secretary could be a powerful intermediary for seekers of royal patronage, being able to present petitions and promote a patron's interests personally to the king. However, exclusion from policy formulation and frequent absences prevented the secretary from being an officer of the first rank. A knowledge of languages and letter writing were essential to the secretary's role in writing the king's letters, but this expertise also meant he was often used in diplomatic business.³⁷¹ A learned man with the monarch's confidence was a useful tool in medieval and Renaissance diplomacy, so the secretary could be deployed abroad for long periods.

The secretary's role remained largely unchanged until the 1530s. The Eltham Ordinances, Cardinal Wolsey's proposals for the reorganisation of the Household and council of 1526, placed the secretary

³⁶⁹ Leonard W. Labaree and Robert E. Moody, 'The Seal of the Privy Council', *English Historical Review*, 43 (1928), 190-202 (p.193).

³⁷⁰ Privy council seal used for the first time here: *Acts of the Privy Council, Volume 5, 1554-1556*, ed. John Roche Dasent (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1892), p.130.

³⁷¹ Elton, *Revolution*, p.32.

in the fourth group of those entitled to 'bouge of court'. 'Bouge of court' was the right to lodgings and rations within the precinct of the king's court and varied depending on social rank and the office held. Thus, not only was the secretary ranked below all other major officers of state but also all barons, viscounts, earls, marquesses, dukes, and bishops.³⁷² In the 1530s, during the tenure of Thomas Cromwell, the secretary was responsible for drafting the council's agenda and preparing its orders for despatch.³⁷³ A memorandum in Cromwell's hand from 1533 detailed 'remembrances' for the 'advyse [of] the lords of the counsell', including for 'the excluding of vagabonndes' from the court and whether any provision 'shallbe made for the payment of the charges of [the] householde'.³⁷⁴ A similar document from 1535 is a more extensive agenda that deals with acts of Parliament, punishment for negligent Justices of the Peace (JPs), tax subsidies, and the marriage of young men to old widows.³⁷⁵ The expanded role of the secretary was recognised in the 1539 Act of Precedence: this decreed that if the secretary was a commoner, he could still sit in the Lords, while if he were a baron, he would rank above all other barons.³⁷⁶ The secretary's purview had expanded to include all areas of royal policy and he had become intrinsically linked with the privy council.

William Paget outlined the duties of the secretary in his *Advise to the Kinge's Counsaill*, written in 1549. This stated: 'all lettres shalbe received by the Secretarie and brought to the counsaill... the Secretarie shall see to the keeping of all lettres, minutes, instructions, and suche other writings as shalbe treated vpon by the counsaill'.³⁷⁷ The secretarial duties outlined by Paget remained the model for principal secretaries for the remainder of the period. John Herbert (1550-1617), an Elizabethan principal secretary, echoed Paget's view of the secretaryship in a document drawn up in 1600. He claimed that a secretary should 'be acquainted with the particular actions and negotiations of ambassadors... to oversee the council book... to have custody of letters from foreign princes and answers made to them... [and] to inform myself of the power and form of proceeding at the council'.³⁷⁸ William Cecil went further in his famous treatise *The state and dignity of a secretary of state's place*, outlining the

³⁷² *The Eltham Ordinance, 1526*, in *A Collection of ordinances and regulations for the government of the Royal Household, made in divers reigns; from King Edward III to King William and Mary*, ed. Henry Pelham (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1790), pp.135-240. The major offices mentioned above the secretary were the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Privy Seal, the Lord Chamberlain, the Queen's Chamberlain, and the Treasurer and Comptroller of the Household.

³⁷³ Elton, *Revolution*, p.315.

³⁷⁴ *L&P Henry VIII*, Vol.6, en.1609. SP 1/81 f.68.

³⁷⁵ *L&P Henry VIII*, Vol.9, en.725.

³⁷⁶ *House of Lords Precedence Act 1539* (31 HVIII, c.10).

³⁷⁷ BL, Egerton MS: 2603, fos.33-4.

³⁷⁸ Dr John Herbert, *Duties of a Secretary* (1600), printed in G. W. Prothero, *Selected Statutes and other Constitutional Documents* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), pp.166-68.

qualities of a good secretary: 'first, that he be created by himself and of his own raising; secondly, that he match not in a fractious family; and lastly, that he hath reasonable capacity and convenient ability'.³⁷⁹ It is significant that Cecil claims that a good secretary should be a self-made man and not beholden to any one faction or family. This was a reflection of the growing professional nature of the office and the increased stability of Tudor politics under Elizabeth compared to her predecessors. Also, the fact that he calls for a man with 'reasonable capacity and convenient ability' suggests that a secretary required certain skills in order to be appointed to the role. This was a recognition of the changing conception of service away from 'natural' counsellors who based their claim on blood and family, to newer men with valuable technical skills. Until the 1530s, the holder was the king's personal secretary, but after this point, the office developed into the secretaryship of state with a more professional role in national policy-making and implementation.

The Household

The seals and their officeholders were the formal mechanisms which facilitated English administration. However, as has already been stressed, Tudor government was not bureaucratic, and personal forces exercised considerable influence. This was most vividly illustrated in the role of the Royal Household and its servants. A list of the practical activities of the Household officers alone is insufficient to convey the role of the institution in Tudor government. The Household may have shed most of the apparatus required for the implementation of policy by the mid-Tudor period, but it remained the sole location in which policy was determined. This was because government policy was also royal policy and always required input from the monarch. None of the Tudor monarchs (except the minor Edward VI) ever relinquished their control over the reins of government. Government policy originated with, or was approved by, the monarch, so proximity and influence were central to a successful political career. In this regard, the Household remained a vital department even after it had lost some of its administrative functions. In addition to the king or queen, the Household also contained the council chamber, foreign ambassadors and dignitaries, and a multitude of suitors looking for preferment. In a system where patronage was the fuel of politics and the monarch was the fount of all patronage, the Royal Household could not be side-lined.

³⁷⁹ William Cecil, *The state and dignity of a secretary of state's place with the care and peril thereof*, printed in Florence M. Greir Evans, *The Principal Secretary of State: A survey of the office from 1558-1680* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1923), pp.58-9.

It was as the setting of politics and government that the Household remained important. In his classic study, Elton claimed that 'Household government' came to an end in the Tudor period as more bureaucratic forms of government developed.³⁸⁰ This argument is certainly plausible when one looks at the constitutional apparatus of the state. The Privy Council was institutionalised in 1540, the 'chamber finance' system of the Yorkists and early Tudors was abandoned, Exchequer supremacy was confirmed in 1553, and new departments were established to administer the royal prerogative, for example, the Court of Wards in 1540. By the end of Elizabeth's reign, Elton argued, the government was free of Household influence.³⁸¹

However, this neglects the fact that Household officials were still entitled to seats on the Privy Council and could play a highly influential role as intermediaries between the various people at court. For example, the Treasurer of the Chamber may not have been handling vast sums of national revenue by the end of the period, but he was still entitled to live and work within the inner sections of the Household, and he still sat on the Privy Council. This meant he interacted with other councillors and, more importantly, the monarch on a daily basis. Such a position could be leveraged for considerably more political influence than an assessment of only its financial responsibility would suggest. 'Household government' may have ended in this period, but Household officials never stopped being key players in Tudor government.

Elton's hypothesis also assumed a narrowly defined conception of political power, in which the overwhelming factor was administrative or bureaucratic control. Such an approach overlooks the relationships between government personnel, which most often determine where real power lies. The ability of officials to provide favours or access to others is one component of this web of relationships, but equally important is the role of status and prestige. Tudor society was strictly hierarchical, and councillors understood the need to cultivate their social standing alongside their administrative portfolio. Often these two things went hand-in-hand with promotion to a particular office granting the holder certain social benefits or precedents. The Household allowed individuals to rise high within the Tudor polity primarily because of the prestige and honour that personal service to the monarch and participation in court ceremonies entailed. This feature became more pronounced through the period as Household officers lost more and more of their executive functions but still drew on a well of prestige associated with their offices.

³⁸⁰ Elton, *Tudor Revolution*, p.394.

³⁸¹ Elton, *Tudor Revolution*, p.372.

The Household was divided into three distinct departments: the Hall, the Chamber, and the Courtyard. This structure remained constant throughout the medieval period, and the fundamental divisions were still visible in Elizabeth's reign. The Lord Steward was head of the Hall and was responsible for the food and drink, lighting and fuel, linen and laundry, and sundry other material necessities of the court. In the medieval period, the king dined in public in the Hall, making him more freely available to his subjects. The Tudors gradually restricted access by withdrawing into the inner Household rooms of the Chamber. The Chamber was the collection of rooms in which the monarch resided and was the domain of the Lord Chamberlain. The Chamberlain presided over the intimate servants of the monarch who, among many other things, waited at their table, dressed them, and guarded the doors of their rooms. Chamber servants (and later Privy Chamber servants) were those closest to the monarch and so the most likely to be used for the sovereign's personal errands and missions. They acted as diplomatic agents of the king or queen and were often appointed military commanders in times of war or unrest.³⁸² The Courtyard was not as coherent and unified a body as the other two Household departments. By the later sixteenth century, the only significant component of the Courtyard was the Royal Stables which was under the control of the Master of Horse.³⁸³

The primary innovation of the Tudors was turning the Privy Chamber into a separate private space in which the monarch would live and work. In the 1490s, the most intimate body service was transferred from chamber servants to a new body of grooms and yeomen.³⁸⁴ The Privy Chamber, however, never officially had its own head officer on a par with the Lord Steward or Lord Chamberlain. The Groom of the Stool was the *de facto* head of the Privy Chamber and wielded considerable influence in Henry VIII's later reign, but he was still theoretically subject to the authority of the Lord Chamberlain. In any case, the succession of two female monarchs significantly diminished the political role of the Privy Chamber. The intimate servants of Mary and Elizabeth were women and hence prohibited from significant involvement in politics.³⁸⁵ This is not to say that the queens' ladies had no voice, but they

³⁸² Eric Ives, 'Henry VIII: The Political Perspective', p.19.

³⁸³ Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, p.33.

³⁸⁴ The exact date of the creation of the Privy Chamber is debated. David Starkey believed it was created in 1495 in response to the treason of Sir William Stanley (c.1435-1495): David Starkey, 'Intimacy and innovation: the rise of the Privy Chamber, 1485-1547', in *The English Court: from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War*, ed. David Starkey (London: Longman, 1987), 71-118 (pp.72-6). Steven Gunn instead points to a Household ordinance of 1493 in which the Privy Chamber is referenced: Gunn, 'The Courtiers of Henry VII', *English Historical Review*, 108 (1993), 23-49 (p.38).

³⁸⁵ David Dean, 'Elizabethan Government and Politics', in *A Companion to Tudor Britain*, eds. Robert Titler and Norman L. Jones (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), 44-60, pp.52-3.

played a supporting role for their male relatives or suitors rather than seeking their own independent political power base.

One of the most significant developments in the structure of the Household was the duplication of household offices. By the mid-twelfth century, the posts of Lord Great Chamberlain, Lord High Steward, Lord High Constable, Chief Butler, and Earl Marshal had become hereditary sinecures.³⁸⁶ The men who held these offices did so by right of birth and were not appointed by the monarch. Also, they provided no practical service within the Household, often only attending court when specifically summoned for a ceremony or display.³⁸⁷ Of course, the king still required officials to manage his Household, so new positions were created. Men of knightly rank were usually appointed to fill these roles rather than great landed peers. By Henry VII's accession in 1485, the offices of Lord Chamberlain and Lord Steward had become firmly established as the head officers of the Household, but these were completely separate from the hereditary positions of Lord Great Chamberlain and Lord High Steward. These officers were responsible for the daily administration of the Household and thus had regular access to the monarch through their attendance at court. The hereditary men would be called upon to officiate on state occasions and had greater prestige and status, but the appointed officers carried out the office's daily functions.

The Lord Steward's department, the Hall, was the part of the Royal Household that dealt with the material necessities of the court. It encompassed all the supply departments of the Household and oversaw the purchase of supplies from food to building materials.³⁸⁸ The Board of the Green Cloth was the governing body of the Household and consisted of the Steward, Treasurer, and Comptroller.³⁸⁹ During the reign of Edward III, it had been common practice for the three officers to meet daily to review the accounts of the various departments under their control.³⁹⁰ They set the budgets of these departments and had the authority to punish malpractice. During Henry VII's reign, the Treasurer and Comptroller oversaw an expenditure of between £14,000 and £20,000 a year for the supply of the

³⁸⁶ Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, p.33.

³⁸⁷ At the beginning of the Tudor period, the Lord Great Chamberlain was a *de jure* title of the de Vere Earls of Oxford. The Earl Marshalship was hereditary in the Howard family, and the Chief Butlership belonged to the Fitzalans, the Earls of Arundel. In the early fifteenth century, the Lord High Stewardship had reverted to the crown and was only occupied at coronations and state trials. Similarly, after the attainder of Edward Stafford, the third Duke of Buckingham, in 1521, the Lord High Constablenesship reverted to the crown only to be bestowed for royal coronations.

³⁸⁸ Elton, *Tudor Revolution*, p.389.

³⁸⁹ The name of this body derived from the green tablecloth that covered the table at which its members sat and was first seen in the early Tudor period.

³⁹⁰ Elton, *Tudor Revolution*, pp.41-2.

Household.³⁹¹ They were also heavily involved in organising court festivals at Christmas and Easter and overseeing special events such as Katherine of Aragon's reception in 1501.³⁹² Nominally this remained the role of the Green Cloth throughout the Tudor period, but, in practice, the attendance of the officers declined.

This phenomenon was not just a product of the Tudor regime. In the household ordinances of Edward IV (the *Liber Niger Domus Regis Angliae*) it was stated: 'This Steward, Thesaurer, or Countroller, of very duetee, one of them, or all, ought to be at the dayly accomptes...' but later it conceded 'in theyre absence clerkes of greene clothe, and the chiefe clerke countroller, shall punyshe offences.'³⁹³ The aspiration was that at least one head officer would account daily, but even this was acknowledged as sometimes impossible and so junior officers could act as their deputies. Thus, even before the Tudors had come to power, it was recognised that household officers were likely to be occupied with other business. Household officers were often used as diplomatic agents, military commanders, and local commissioners.³⁹⁴ A recurring theme of the numerous attempts at household reform in the sixteenth century was the difficulty in getting the chief officers to attend daily at the Green Cloth. The 1539 reforms stipulated that at least one of the officers should attend daily: 'to sitt and to have brought before them all the Bookes of briefments of all the Officers of the Household for the day before passed'.³⁹⁵ Even this compromise could not be maintained, and eventually the clerks performed these duties if none of the great men were available.³⁹⁶

There were two main reasons for the decline in the duties of these officers. First, under the early Tudors, the Hall declined in political importance since the king had stopped dining in it, preferring to withdraw into his private apartments.³⁹⁷ By the end of Elizabeth's reign, the Hall staff had disappeared from the household lists altogether because the Hall was kept only for special occasions.³⁹⁸ Secondly, the chief officers of the Household were taking a more active role in national government through

³⁹¹ Gunn, *Henry VII's New Men and the Making of Tudor England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), p.42.

³⁹² Gunn, *Henry VII's New Men*, p.43.

³⁹³ *Liber Niger Domus Regis of Edward IV*, in *A collection of ordinances and regulations for the government of the royal household: from Edward III to William and Mary*, ed. Henry Pelham (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1790), pp.13-86 (pp.56-7).

³⁹⁴ Gunn, *Henry VII's New Men*, p.43.

³⁹⁵ 'Additions to the Ordinances made at Eltham', in *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Royal Household*, p.228.

³⁹⁶ Elton, *Tudor Revolution*, p.389.

³⁹⁷ Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, p.34.

³⁹⁸ Loades, *Tudor Court*, p.44.

their membership of the privy council. The Steward, Treasurer, and Comptroller no longer had time to audit household accounts, so this function devolved onto their clerks.

Despite their declining duties, the posts were held by some of the most influential men of the century. The appointments of Charles Brandon in 1539 and Robert Dudley in 1587 as Lord Steward can have added little to the political influence of these men and were more recognition of their closeness to the ruling monarch. In instances like these, the office was evidently a reward for loyal service rather than a means to facilitate political control. Nevertheless, the social benefits of certain Household offices were undoubtedly present in contemporaries' minds. For instance, Thomas Cromwell's acquisition of the Lord Great Chamberlainship in 1540 did not provide any additional control over the Household but did give him a role in royal coronations. The Lord Great Chamberlain was responsible for dressing the monarch and investing them with the insignia of rule during the coronation ceremony.³⁹⁹ This was an unprecedented honour which Henry VIII was bestowing upon Cromwell as it meant that, had Cromwell lived, he would have played a prominent role in the coronation of Edward VI. This was a spectacular promotion for a man of such humble social origins and the boost to his prestige would have been considerable. Therefore, the increased social standing and prestige offered by some Household offices, and their comparatively light duties compared to other offices, made them desirable to busy councillors.

The Master of Horse was one of the three principal officers of the Household, but it had only attained this status shortly before the Tudors assumed the throne. In 1480, it was not a chief office and was held by a squire of the body.⁴⁰⁰ The Master of Horse gradually acquired more significance during the early Tudor period, and, by the end of Henry VIII's reign, he was a man of influence, accompanying the monarch when mounted and managing the royal stables. Henry VIII and Elizabeth I were almost constantly on the move between palaces or on hunting trips, so there were many opportunities for such intimacy.

The monarch personally appointed his or her household officers, and their tenures theoretically ended with that monarch's death. At a royal funeral, the household officers broke their white staves of office and threw them into the monarch's grave, symbolically demonstrating the end of their authority. Henry Machyn, a citizen of London, recorded in his diary having witnessed Mary's household officers conducting this ritual at her funeral: 'all the offesers whent to the grayffe, and after brake ther

³⁹⁹ *A complete account of the ceremonies observed in the coronations of the Kings and Queens of England* (London: J. Roberts, J. Stagg and D. Browne, 1727), p.9, 13-14.

⁴⁰⁰ Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, p.34.

stayffes, and cast them in-to the grayffe.⁴⁰¹ Similarly, Philip Gawdy, an English landowner, wrote of Elizabeth's funeral in 1603: 'I saw all the whit staves broken upon ther heads.'⁴⁰² This serves as a reminder that no matter what governmental responsibilities these officers undertook, they did not become completely separated from their role as personal servants of the monarch. It is striking that this highly personal ritual continued in a century that witnessed so much bureaucratic change and attempts to 'modernise' government processes. Rituals such as these are a further reminder of the essentially personal character of government service and the enduring role of prestige and status.

The Financial Machinery

The financial apparatus of the Tudor state was a mixture of ancient formal structures and innovative new accounting methods. The precise details of financial management do not concern the present study, but several posts within the government reveal the changing nature of officeholding. The official government treasury was the Exchequer which was based at Westminster and overseen by the Lord Treasurer. The extent of the Lord Treasurer's oversight in the early part of the period is difficult to determine. Henry VII's first Lord Treasurer, John Lord Dynham (c.1433-1501), appeared to be involved in the daily running of the Exchequer, being almost continually resident at his house in Lambeth.⁴⁰³ However, his immediate successors were less inclined to attend personally: Thomas Howard, second Duke of Norfolk, and his son, Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk, vigorously exercised the patronage powers associated with the post, but left little other indication of their involvement.⁴⁰⁴ It is possible they represented the interests of the Exchequer at the council board, but a lack of council records for the early period prevents certainty.

Indeed, several innovations in the early Tudor period had diminished the role of the Exchequer in terms of national finance, potentially reducing the role of the Lord Treasurer. The so-called 'chamber finance system' of the Yorkists and Henry VII diverted revenue from the Exchequer to the King's Chamber. This allowed more direct and efficient oversight of the kingdom's money as the King could exercise control through his Treasurer of the Chamber. The advantage of this system was that the sovereign could authorise expenditure by word of mouth or by a signed warrant and cut out the

⁴⁰¹ Henry Machyn, *The Diary of Henry Machyn, citizen and merchant-taylor of London, from A.D. 1550 to A.D. 1563*, ed. John Gough Nicholas (London: The Camden Society, 1848), p.183.

⁴⁰² Philip Gawdy, *Letters of Philip Gawdy, 1579-1616*, eds. Francis Bickley and I. H. Jeayes (London: J.B. Nichols, 1906), p.128.

⁴⁰³ Michael Hicks, 'John Dynham, Baron Dynham, c.1433-1501', *ODNB* (2006).

⁴⁰⁴ Gunn, *Early Tudor Government*, p.153.

cumbersome Exchequer.⁴⁰⁵ Also, the king could keep control of expenses by auditing the Treasurer's accounts personally, as Henry VII did regularly and Henry VIII occasionally.⁴⁰⁶

During the tenure of John Heron (1470-1522) between 1492 and 1521, the Chamber reached the pinnacle of its financial responsibility, handling over £200,000 annually by 1506.⁴⁰⁷ When combined with the fact that the Treasurer's accounts were exempt from Exchequer audit, this made Heron a particularly powerful figure in government. This was a remarkable amount of responsibility and influence for any officeholder but especially for one of such humble origins: while his father was a London haberdasher, he was made a knight in 1515.

A later Treasurer, Brian Tuke, wrote to Cromwell in 1534, anxious that the sums he was expected to discharge were too great not to be audited regularly: 'The amounts far exceed any man's power to bear if he should have no discharge till the signing of his books, which is often delayed'.⁴⁰⁸ Tuke's anxiety resulted from Henry VIII's reluctance to audit his accounts personally as was mandated by an act of Parliament and the allocation of much of the Treasurer's previous revenue to other financial departments. Tuke was still expected to discharge money for the maintenance of posts and ambassadors, for royal loans, building works, and military expenses but had a fraction of the income of Heron.⁴⁰⁹ The Treasurership of the Chamber was already declining in importance by the 1530s and was more often than not a financial burden for the occupant. William Cavendish (c.1505-1557), Treasurer between 1546 and 1557, repeatedly complained about the state of disorder in which he received the office and his inability to meet expenditure with a declining income.⁴¹⁰ His receipts in 1546 totalled £46,555, but by 1553 this had dropped to £9,924, which was insufficient to meet his fixed payments.⁴¹¹ By his death in 1557 he was £5,237 in debt.⁴¹²

The complaints of Treasurers also reflected the changing culture and nature of service. National finance was becoming more sophisticated and was diffused among many different institutions. The Treasurer of the Chamber could no longer act as the Treasurer of the kingdom because there were too many bodies competing for revenue. When the king or his chief minister was personally involved

⁴⁰⁵ Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, p.61.

⁴⁰⁶ David Grummitt, 'Henry VII, Chamber Finance and the 'New Monarchy': some new evidence', *Historical Research*, 72 (1999), 239-41.

⁴⁰⁷ P. R. N Carter, 'John Heron, c.1470-1522', *ODNB* (2004).

⁴⁰⁸ BL, Cotton MS: Titus B/IV f.117.

⁴⁰⁹ Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, p.61.

⁴¹⁰ Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, p.62.

⁴¹¹ Sybil M. Jack, 'William Cavendish, 1508-1557', *ODNB* (2008).

⁴¹² Jack, 'William Cavendish', *ODNB* (2008).

in the management of the accounts, the Treasurer could be confident that he would receive adequate resources and not find himself accused of malpractice. By the end of Elizabeth's reign, the government had become diversified, and the various financial officials of the kingdom were represented on the Privy Council and accountable to other councillors. They welcomed the audit of their accounts and worried about being left destitute because they lacked the reassuring presence of the monarch in their transactions.

Early in Elizabeth's reign, a committee was empowered to reform the office of Treasurer of the Chamber, the result of which was to remove its role in national finance. Funds assigned to the Cofferer of the Household, the Surveyor of Works, the Master of Posts, and the Ambassadors no longer passed through his account. Also, under the control of the Groom of the Privy Chamber, the Privy Purse became responsible for all the personal expenses of the monarch.⁴¹³ In this way, the Treasurer lost his role in national finance and his privileged position as the dispenser of the monarch's personal gifts and grants. Not only this, but his account lost its exempt status, and he was now subject to audit by the Exchequer.⁴¹⁴ The Treasurer had become an officer of the second rank, although he was still entitled to a seat on the Privy Council.

Exchequer supremacy was restored in the mid-Tudor period, following which the Lord High Treasurer became the head of national finance in practice as well as name. The various competing revenue departments were amalgamated under the oversight of the Exchequer, and the Lord Treasurer was given a supervisory role.⁴¹⁵ Thus, the fluctuating fortunes of the two key financial offices provide a microcosm of the broader changes taking place within Tudor society and government. They reveal the tension between 'bureaucratic' impulses and the personal and informal methods so often characteristic of sixteenth-century government.

The Tudor state contained several institutions and structures that collectively governed the kingdom. The precise boundaries and purview of the different institutions were not always formalised, and England's bureaucracy and administration showed remarkable flexibility. The present study is principally concerned with the role of the individuals within the machinery, but it is essential to understand how the machinery of government was supposed to operate in order to analyse the impact of individuals on the offices they held. It is also important to remember that officeholding often influenced the interactions between councillors through the roles they were required to perform.

⁴¹³ PC 2/8 f.216.

⁴¹⁴ Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, p.62.

⁴¹⁵ Elton, *Tudor Revolution*, pp.255-6.

Officeholding

It is vital to understand the personal nature of officeholding in Tudor England. Despite older narratives of bureaucratisation and professionalisation, it was still possible to rise high through 'personal' means. That is to say, there was a strong chance that a household servant or close confidant of the monarch could acquire a seat on the council, whether it was 1503 or 1603. The methods of advancement remained relatively static throughout the period, but the qualities sought in officeholders shifted. Offices could still be won on the recommendation of an influential friend or powerful courtier, but there was a growing recognition that certain traits were more valuable than others. This section will explore these changing expectations and how councillors adapted to changing priorities.

The role of the monarch was central to the appointment of major offices. This was an age of personal monarchy, and all of the offices discussed within this chapter were within the monarch's patronage. Despite the growing complexity of royal government during the sixteenth century and the growing value attached to men who possessed technical training and bureaucratic experience, it was still ultimately the opinion of the monarch that mattered most. For instance, as late as 1587, Elizabeth I appointed Christopher Hatton (1540-1591), a man of little legal experience, to the Lord Chancellorship. The primary function of the Lord Chancellor at this point was to serve as a judge in Chancery, and Hatton's immediate predecessors had been men trained in the common law. Hatton enrolled in the Inner Temple in 1560 but he did not become a reader or a bencher.⁴¹⁶ He owed his elevation largely to his relationship with Elizabeth: the two had been friends since childhood.⁴¹⁷ They maintained a close and affectionate relationship in their later lives, as evidenced by the numerous letters that survive. For instance, in 1573, when he sought remedy for an illness at Spa, he wrote to Elizabeth that 'In reading of them [her letters], with my tears I blot them' and that 'I will wash away the faults of these letters with the drops from your poor Lydds and so inclose them.'⁴¹⁸ The use of the Queen's nickname for him, 'Lydds', reinforces that their relationship went beyond sovereign and councillor. It is essential to remain aware of this personal element to Tudor officeholding when considering narratives of professionalisation.

⁴¹⁶ Paul Raffield, 'The Inner Temple revels (1561-62) and the Elizabethan rhetoric of signs: legal iconography at the early modern Inns of Court', in *The Intellectual and Cultural World of the Early Modern Inns of Court*, eds. Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elizabeth Goldring and Sarah Knight (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), pp.32-50 (p.40).

⁴¹⁷ Wallace T. MacCaffrey, 'Christopher Hatton, c.1540-1591', *ODNB* (2016).

⁴¹⁸ 'Christopher Hatton to Queen Elizabeth, 5th June 1573', printed in Nicholas Harris, *Memoirs of the life and times of Sir Christopher Hatton* (London: Richard Bentley, 1847), pp.25-6.

An office did not guarantee political prominence. The holder had to display political skill and maintain the monarch's favour. This is why a breakdown of an office's functions does not tell the whole story. For instance, John Ratcliffe (1452-96), sixth Baron Fitzwalter, appeared to be in an influential position when Henry VII rewarded him with the Lord Stewardship after Bosworth.⁴¹⁹ However, Ratcliffe quarrelled with his neighbours in East Anglia from the outset of the reign and jealously guarded what he perceived as his rights as Steward. He claimed his position as Steward gave him precedence over John de Vere (1442-1513), thirteenth earl of Oxford, in raising troops in East Anglia in preparation for the Stoke campaign in 1487.⁴²⁰ In another incident, Ratcliffe forcibly took possession of the property of William Doget, a Norfolk gentleman, only to be personally reprimanded by the King in Star Chamber.⁴²¹ Ratcliffe became involved in the conspiracy of Perkin Warbeck and would be executed in 1496.⁴²² Ratcliffe's career aptly demonstrated that political prominence was not static nor derived solely from officeholding.

Moreover, Tudor offices were the personal property of their holders. In this way, they lacked the impersonal and bureaucratic element of the later civil service. The personal nature of officeholding often presented problems for Tudor regimes when it came to replacing ineffective officeholders. For instance, old age was not a legitimate reason to deprive someone of their office. As a result, Tudor officeholders could serve long into their later years. This situation could result in officeholders not being able to fulfil the functions for which they had been appointed. For example, Charles Howard (1536-1624), Earl of Nottingham, served as Lord High Admiral until he was 88 years old.⁴²³ The Lord High Admiral was England's only permanent military commander and was required to lead the fleet in war. It is unlikely that the octogenarian Howard served on board a ship at such an advanced age, but he was not removed on those grounds.

The longevity of William Paulet, Marquess of Winchester, caused a similar problem. He was 76 when he was appointed Lord Treasurer in 1550 and served until his death at the age of 98. Significantly, old age was again not viewed as a valid reason to remove him from his position, and even when he retired from the court in 1570, he did not lose his office. At his death in 1572, a scandal was brewing over personal borrowing from royal accounts. It is likely that his death saved him from disgrace. Paulet's

⁴¹⁹ Ian Arthurson, 'John Ratcliffe [Radcliffe], 1452-1496', *ODNB* (2004).

⁴²⁰ Arthurson, 'John Ratcliffe', *ODNB* (2004).

⁴²¹ *Select Cases in the Council of Henry VII*, ed. C. G. Bayne (London: Selden Society, 1958), pp.23-25.

⁴²² T. B. Pugh, 'Henry VII and the Tudor Nobility', in *Tudor Nobility*, pp.49-110 (pp.53-4).

⁴²³ Charles Howard served between 1585 and 1619.

age and lack of attention to his post may well have been the cause of this lax system of accounting.⁴²⁴ This was a potential result of keeping officeholders in position for life and of a culture that viewed offices as personal property.

Culture, Prestige and Legitimacy

The practical duties and responsibilities of Tudor officeholders only tell half the story. In a society in which social standing and precedence determined much of an individual's social interaction with others, the prestige brought by offices was significant. Offices, noble titles, pedigrees and tables of precedence were the scorecards of the power game in Tudor England.⁴²⁵ Consequently, councillors and courtiers jealously guarded their privileges and sought to augment them. Moreover, it was a vital part of the relationships between councillors as they became a more unified group with a corporate identity. In previous centuries, the monarch's council contained individuals of various ranks who viewed their positions within society differently. One such distinction was explored in Chapter Two, with old noblemen being resistant to learning claiming it was the 'business of clerks'. The breakdown of the stigma surrounding education was a unifying force within the identity of the Tudor elite. Similarly, the growth in officeholding and the accompanying prestige associated with serving in royal government contributed to the homogenisation of conciliar culture.

This is not to suggest that precedence disappeared; instead, it is to recognise that those who aspired to influence at the highest level required a seat on the council and control of one of the offices of state. There were few alternative avenues to prestige and influence, especially in the later period. This difference created a distinction between councillors and the rest of the political nation. However, within the council itself a hierarchy existed, which was outlined by legally binding acts of precedence and informal convention. As all councillors were theoretically equal, their offices provided a crucial social distinction between them. Titles of nobility were also important but were often of secondary importance to an individual's office: many officeholders were automatically granted a peerage, and most officeholders outranked their fellow peers by virtue of their office.

The 1539 Act of Precedence overlaid the principles of nobility with those of officeholding for the first time.⁴²⁶ According to that act, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Lord President of the Council, and

⁴²⁴ L. L. Ford, 'William Paulet, first marquess of Winchester, 1474/5-1572', *ODNB* (2004).

⁴²⁵ David Starkey, 'Rivals in Power: The Tudors and the Nobility', in *Rivals in Power*, ed. David Starkey (London: Macmillan, 1990), pp.8-25 (p.8).

⁴²⁶ Starkey, 'Rivals', p.16.

the Lord Privy Seal, if they were barons, were declared to outrank all other nobles, except royal Dukes, during parliaments, councils, and all other assemblies.⁴²⁷ A commoner occupying one of the offices was still entitled to sit in the Lords in the 'order above rehearsed'.⁴²⁸ This act was a recognition that serving the monarch in one of the great offices of state was more valuable than simply holding an aristocratic title; newcomers and social upstarts could outrank peers of ancient lineage by acquiring royal office. Thomas Cromwell's role as Vicegerent in Spirituals was the clearest illustration of this change, as he outranked all other peers and bishops by virtue of this office, sitting below only royal dukes during councils and parliaments. This was a recognition of the vital place of officeholding within Tudor political society.

The traditional way that individuals overcame their social deficiency was through the Church. One of the most famous examples of this was Henry VIII's great minister Thomas Wolsey, who was the son of an Ipswich butcher. Wolsey became Archbishop of York and a Cardinal, which overcame any deficiency in his social standing. However, as the act of 1539 suggests, laymen from outside the aristocracy increasingly held the major offices of state. A consequence of the laicisation of government was increasing concern over the social standing of officeholders. As a result, men who lacked sufficient social weight were sometimes denied the full title of certain offices. For instance, commoners were known as the Lord Keepers of the Great Seal rather than Lord Chancellor.⁴²⁹ A Lord Keeper had previously acted as a deputy for the Lord Chancellor when the Chancellor was unavailable, as happened often when the Chancellor was an ecclesiastic or in the interim between the death of one Lord Chancellor and the appointment of his successor. However, three of Elizabeth's Lord Chancellors were only ever known as Lord Keepers despite holding the office for 34 of the 44 years of her reign. These men were Nicholas Bacon (1510-1579) between 1558 and 1579, John Puckering (1544-1596) between 1592 and 1596, and Thomas Egerton (1540-1617) between 1596 and 1617.

Elizabeth clarified the situation in the 'Lord Keeper Act' of 1562. This established that a Lord Keeper of the Great Seal was 'entitled to like place, pre-eminence, jurisdiction, execution of laws, and all other customs, commodities, and advantages as the Lord Chancellor'.⁴³⁰ This was despite there being no statute restricting the type of man who could be appointed Lord Chancellor. Thus, reviewing statutes and lists of responsibilities can only tell part of the story, as the official records do not indicate why

⁴²⁷ *House of Lords Precedence Act 1539* (31 HVIII, c.10).

⁴²⁸ *House of Lords Precedence Act 1539* (31 HVIII, c.10).

⁴²⁹ Robert Tittler, *Nicholas Bacon: The Making of a Tudor Statesman* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1975), pp.70-71.

⁴³⁰ *Lord Keeper Act 1562* (5 EI, c.18).

some men were Lord Chancellors and others Lord Keepers. It was, in fact, a strange reflection of the social preoccupations of the age: it was acceptable for a commoner to wield the same authority as a peer in the execution of the office but unseemly for him to be granted the same title.

The case of Nicholas Bacon illustrates the increasing willingness of Tudor administrations to overlook social deficiencies in order to appoint laymen who were effective at the role. It was more desirable for Elizabeth to maintain a Lord Keeper for 22 years who was the son of a sheep-reeve and competent than to appoint a more socially significant man of lesser ability to be Lord Chancellor. Of course, this was not an entirely new phenomenon, and the Tudors always appointed the men best qualified to serve them, but whereas previously the Church was used to obscure low social origins, laymen could assume the roles in the later period.

However, while achieving practically the same outcome, the approaches resulted in a different mentality among the officeholders. In this regard, Nicholas Bacon and Cardinal Wolsey provide an instructive contrast. Both men were of humble origin and rose to the chancellorship, but Wolsey felt more secure in his position than Bacon. While not the arrogant bully that some historians have claimed, Wolsey undoubtedly felt no compunction wielding the full authority of Chancery and enjoyed his position as chief officeholder.⁴³¹ However, Bacon remained insecure about his status throughout his career; this insecurity was possibly reflected in the act of 1562 itself. Bacon may have sought greater clarity and a statutory basis for his position as the leader of the House of Lords, a traditional role of the Lord Chancellor. In 1572, he wrote to Cecil in a panic about the impending visit of Elizabeth to his country estate: 'I might understand your advice what you think to be the best way for me to deal in this matter, for in very deed, no man is more raw in such a matter as myself.'⁴³² Bacon's insecurity was undoubtedly reinforced when Elizabeth remarked upon the little house that he had built. He replied that 'it is you [Elizabeth I] that have made me too great for my house'.⁴³³ Despite Bacon's modesty he proceeded to build a 120-foot-long gallery in preparation for the next royal visit.⁴³⁴ He was a man who was constantly trying to prove he was worthy of the favour the Queen had granted him, and her refusal to grant him the full Lord Chancellorship formed a part of this insecurity.

⁴³¹ Guy, 'Wolsey, the Council and the Council Courts', *English Historical Review*, 91 (1976), 481-505 (p.487).
Ives, 'The Fall of Wolsey', pp.290-91.

⁴³² BL, Lansdowne MS: XIV f.176.

⁴³³ Francis Bacon, 'Apothegms', in *The Works of Francis Bacon*, eds. James Spedding, R. L. Ellis and D. D. Heath (14 vols., 1857-74), vol.7, p.144.

⁴³⁴ Tittler, *Nicholas Bacon*, p.147.

Another name change that did not affect the duties of the office was the creation of Charles Brandon as Lord Great Master of the Household rather than Lord Steward in 1539. The Great Master had the same powers and authority as the Lord Steward. An act was passed in parliament confirming the change, which stated: 'it has pleased the Kinges Roiall Majestie to alter and change the name of the Lord Steward of his most honorable houshold into the name of the Greate Maister of his houshold or Grand Maistre Dhostel du Roy.'⁴³⁵ The reason for the change in nomenclature is difficult to determine. Elton believed it was part of Cromwell's scheme to subject the whole Household to the administrative supremacy of the Board of Green Cloth headed by the Great Master.⁴³⁶ However, as noted above, the chief officers of the Household rarely attended the Green Cloth, and it is doubtful that a courtly aristocrat of Charles Brandon's temperament would have been interested in close administrative supervision of Household accounts. It was more likely an attempt to emulate the French 'grand maître' and perhaps an attempt to raise the prestige of Brandon.

Mary I certainly abandoned the name change for the sake of outward appearances. Henry Fitzalan (1512-80), twelfth Earl of Arundel, Mary's only Lord Steward, claimed the reversion was because 'this other name being brought in of late tyme, and taken out of France'.⁴³⁷ As a patriotic Englishman, Fitzalan did not want a title that was associated with the ancient enemy, France. Also, the post had been occupied by John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, when he had tried to divert the throne away from Mary to Lady Jane Grey. Perhaps Mary felt that an attainted traitor's association warranted a return to the traditional title. This is one of several instances of Mary attempting to turn the clock back and reverse changes that had taken place under her father and brother. Such instances give Mary's reign a conservative flavour that goes beyond her religious policies.

The preoccupation with the office's name rather than its functions suggested a position with little substance beyond prestige and social standing. Elizabeth only had a Lord Steward for nine out of forty-five years of her reign. It was a sign of the lack of household duties that were left to the steward that the post could be left empty for so long. Elizabeth's first and longest-serving Lord Steward was Henry Fitzalan, whom she inherited from Mary. Elizabeth's decision to maintain Fitzalan in the post was likely due to a desire not to offend a powerful magnate rather than a positive assessment of him or the office. Fitzalan's successors, William Herbert (1506/7-70), first Earl of Pembroke, and Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, received the post as a sinecure for loyal service. The overall impression is that the

⁴³⁵ *King's Household Act 1540* (32 Henry VIII, c.39).

⁴³⁶ Elton, *Tudor Revolution*, p.395.

⁴³⁷ J. G. Nichols, 'Life of the last Fitz-Alan, earl of Arundel', *Gentleman's Magazine*, 103 (1736), 118-134 (p.121).

office had become devoid of regular responsibility by the end of Elizabeth's reign and that it was solely a mark of royal favour.

The resignation of Henry Fitzalan in 1564 was a good indication of the nature of the Lord Stewardship. As already noted, the office had lost most of its practical function by Elizabeth's reign and was now only a status symbol. However, early in Elizabeth's reign, even this limited role appeared to be threatened. Fitzalan resented the order of precedence at Elizabeth's court and thought Dudley was occupying a position greater than his status dictated. In a letter to Thomas Smith in 1564, William Cecil wrote: 'My Lord of Arundell remanyneth as prisoner in his howse. His offence was that being miscontented with sundry thynges, as he sayd, of interruptions in his office, he surrendered his staff with sundry speeches of offence to the Queen's majesty.'⁴³⁸ Fitzalan was insulted not to be given the respect and dignity he thought was owed to him as Lord Steward and resigned in protest. The episode suggests that Fitzalan believed that the main benefit of the office was the precedence it offered him at court. When the Queen's favourite challenged this precedent, Fitzalan judged the office to be of little value and relinquished the post.

Therefore, the importance of titles and perception played an essential role in the conduct of Tudor officeholders. With its ancient history and prestige, the Church provided greater reassurance and confidence to commoners who had to rub shoulders with the great and the good. However, as the role of churchmen changed across the sixteenth century and they retreated from involvement in government, new mechanisms were required to allow capable commoners to continue to serve the Tudor crown. Administrative fiction, like the distinctions between Lord Chancellor and Lord Keeper, was one solution to this problem, but one which had an uneasy effect on officeholders. The Tudor monarchs retained their capable servants, but those servants never felt entirely secure in the status-conscious social world of Tudor England.

Bound up with prestige and social precedence was the concept of legitimate political power. The different Tudor regimes always tried to maintain the illusion that their actions were in accordance with the law. Innovations were couched in traditional terms and presented as a return to earlier, more pristine times. This had a profound effect on conciliar identity as councillors enacted radical changes in the state and church but continued to see themselves as protectors of an ancient order.

⁴³⁸ 'William Cecil to Thomas Smith, Nov. 1564', in *Queen Elizabeth and her times*, ed. Thomas Wright (London: Henry Colburn Publisher, 1838), p.180.

One of the clearest illustrations of this was the dispute between Thomas Wriothesley and Edward Seymour at the beginning of Edward VI's reign. Thomas Wriothesley was the last Chancellor of Henry VIII and stood to play a key role during the minority of Edward VI. However, on 5 March 1547, just over a month after Henry's death, he was deprived of his office and confined to his London house.⁴³⁹ The ostensible reason for this was that he had improperly delegated authority to four deputies to hear cases in the Chancery in his absence.⁴⁴⁰ The charge was technically correct in that he neglected to obtain the authority of the council to issue the commission, but this was not without precedent.⁴⁴¹ It is more likely that the real reason for his fall was his political opposition to the plans of Edward Seymour. Wriothesley opposed Seymour's creation as Lord Protector on the grounds that Henry's will intended that councillors 'should be all alike in administration'.⁴⁴²

An unknown observer claimed Wriothesley 'was sore against him [Seymour] to be made Protectour, wheare uppen he was putt from his office'.⁴⁴³ Significantly, Wriothesley had questioned whether Seymour and the council were legally entitled to modify the terms of Henry's will and may have refused to apply the seal to the letters patent, which sought to achieve this. The statute of 1536, which had determined the succession and the will itself, provided no authority to nominate a Protector, and the executors had received no new commission from the reigning king to undertake any further action.⁴⁴⁴ By contrast, Wriothesley was reinvested as Lord Chancellor on 31 January 1547 when he received the Great Seal from the hands of King Edward.⁴⁴⁵ The council register records that 'Lord Wriothesley shulde, for avoiding of all questions and doubttes... yealde up the Seale... and the same presently resume and take again of his Highness to the intent he might execute the office of Chauncellor.'⁴⁴⁶

Wriothesley eventually relented in his opposition to the Protectorate and agreed to the council orders on 31 January 1547, conceding that 'it was expedient for one to have governance of the young king'.⁴⁴⁷ Seymour had secured assent to his position as chief executive officer and governor of the king's

⁴³⁹ *APC*, Vol.2, f.85-105.

⁴⁴⁰ *APC*, Vol.2, f.85-105.

⁴⁴¹ Wolsey, More, and Audley had all issued similar commissions. Arthur J. Slavin, 'The Fall of Lord Chancellor Wriothesley: A Study in the Politics of Conspiracy', *Albion*, 7 (1975), 265-286 (p.279).

⁴⁴² *APC*, Vol.2, p.1-2.

⁴⁴³ BL, Additional MS: 48126, f.15a-b.

⁴⁴⁴ Hoak, *The King's Council*, p.43.

⁴⁴⁵ Eyewitness account of the re-investiture contained in a memorandum for the casting of a new seal for Edward VI. NA, C.54/453, m. 33.

⁴⁴⁶ *APC*, Vol.2, p.8-9.

⁴⁴⁷ Gibbons, *Thomas Wriothesley*, p.220-22.

person, but his authority for doing so remained open to doubt. A defining feature of Tudor political culture was that every action had to follow the correct form and procedure, whether it was a convenient fiction or not. In this regard, Wriothesley was a potential threat. It is not known if Wriothesley refused to affix the Great Seal to the letters-patent creating the Protectorate, but it is telling that only six days after his deprivation, his successor, Richard Rich, did so.⁴⁴⁸ Seymour now had indisputable authority granted by the reigning monarch under the Great Seal.

This episode of political unrest not only sheds light on the role and duties of the Lord Chancellor but also provides a glimpse into the culture and psyche of the men within the government. Wriothesley, as a veteran of Henrician politics, was not politically naïve and presumably appreciated the overwhelming strength of Seymour's position. He not only challenged the Protector regardless but did so in terms heavily bound up with his office: there was no legal basis for the establishment of a Protectorate, and he, as the newly reinvested Lord Chancellor, held the greater authority. This suggests a conception of political power that was not solely about the control of administrative machinery or factional politicking but one that had a basis in status and custom.

Archetype: Laity and Clergy

By looking at the characteristics of individuals, we see that men with particular backgrounds, experiences and temperaments became dominant on the council as the period progressed. Therefore, while no 'typical' career path existed for councillors, the archetype of a councillor had changed by the end of the sixteenth century. One of the key components of this archetype was officeholding. By the end of the century, the vast majority of privy councillors were also officeholders who had responsibility for their own departments. The holders of the major offices of state were always a sizeable contingent of the council, but the Tudors effectively restricted membership to this group. During the reign of Henry VIII, 29% of privy councillors held either an executive or household office during their tenure on the privy council. However, by the reign of Elizabeth, this had risen to 71%, and at Elizabeth's death in 1603, only Gilbert Talbot (1552-1616), Earl of Shrewsbury, held no significant office. By restricting council membership to major officeholders, the council became a small panel of experts rather than an amorphous body of advisors.

⁴⁴⁸ *APC*, Vol.2, pp.67-74.

The growing importance of administrative experience and officeholding for councillors was suggested by Dale Hoak and D. M. Loades for the reigns of Edward VI and Mary I respectively.⁴⁴⁹ Similarly, David Dean has remarked upon this trend when reviewing Elizabeth I's council membership and John Guy explored the reasons for the change in the concept of state service.⁴⁵⁰ However, it has never been statistically proved or its significance for the identity and relations between councillors explored. Significantly, holding a major office meant that councillors were more likely to attend meetings regularly as their offices required them to remain in and around London and the court. Thus, the regular contact of councillors and the small size of the council meant that they developed bonds of friendship and family. This small, interconnected and exclusive body developed a corporate identity that set it apart from the rest of the political nation.

The types of men appointed to the major offices provide a striking illustration of the changing archetype of councillor. The general trend was a move towards more humbly-born officeholders who were reliant on the monarch's favour to maintain their positions rather than hereditary nobles. However, there was a second shift during Henry VIII's reign within this trend. While his father had recruited humbly-born administrators from the Church, Henry VIII increasingly looked to the university-educated sons of the gentry and yeomanry. As a result, families that previously were only locally significant or operated on the periphery of royal service now became first rank officers of the Tudor state, able to forge political dynasties of their own.

A useful illustration of this trend is the comparison of Henry VIII's major officeholders at the beginning and at the end of his reign. When Henry VIII ascended the throne, he confirmed most of his father's appointments to the major offices: William Warham (c.1450-1532), Archbishop of Canterbury, was the Lord Chancellor, Richard Foxe (c.1448-1528), bishop of Winchester, was Lord Privy Seal, Thomas Ruthall, bishop of Durham, was the Principal Secretary, Thomas Howard, second Duke of Norfolk, was Lord Treasurer, and John de Vere (1442-1513), thirteenth Earl of Oxford, was the Lord High Admiral. These five men conformed to the prevailing medieval royal servant archetype: three bishops and two hereditary noblemen. In sharp contrast, by the end of Henry VIII's reign, these positions were all occupied by laymen without hereditary peerages.

Thomas Wriothesley, Henry VIII's last Lord Chancellor, was the son of the York Herald William Wriothesley (d.1513) and was elevated to the peerage as Baron Wriothesley in 1544. The Wriothesleys

⁴⁴⁹ Hoak, *The King's Council*, pp.264-66; Loades, *Mary Tudor*, pp.72-73.

⁴⁵⁰ Dean, 'Elizabethan Government and Politics', pp.46-47; Guy, 'Rhetoric of counsel', p.295.

were a gentry family but had strong connections with London and the court. The fact that Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, and Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, stood as godfathers to Thomas's brother Edward was a sign of their rising fortunes.⁴⁵¹ However, Thomas's work as a clerk of the signet in the 1530s under Thomas Cromwell, who was Principal Secretary, facilitated his breakthrough into the top rank of Tudor society.

John Russell served as Lord Privy Seal between 1542 and 1555 and was a member of a prominent Dorset family. In the fourteenth century, the Russells were engaged in commercial activities, including the Bordeaux wine trade, and had gradually expanded their holdings and influence in the county. John Russell's grandfather is likely another John Russell (d.1505) who sat as knight of the shire for Dorset in the Parliament of 1472.⁴⁵² The younger John Russell came to the attention of Henry VII in 1506 when Philip and Joanna, King and Queen of Castille, were forced ashore at Melcombe Regis in Dorset because of a storm. Russell was a member of the party that escorted the King and Queen to meet Henry VII at Windsor.⁴⁵³ He began his career as a gentleman of the chamber in 1507 and successfully cultivated a relationship with the young Henry VIII, fulfilling diplomatic, military, and administrative duties upon Henry's accession in 1509. Henry VIII created him Baron Russell in April 1539, and he was elected knight of the Garter in May 1539. Russell's career path was that of a courtier and household officer, whereas Wriothesley's was that of a bureaucrat, but both hailed from similar social stations and became great officers of state.

John Dudley, Lord High Admiral at the end of Henry VIII's reign, was the son of Edmund Dudley, a highly trusted servant of Henry VII. The Dudleys had been a prominent family in the fifteenth century, and John Dudley's grandfather attended the Parliament of 1440 as Lord Dudley.⁴⁵⁴ John Dudley belonged to a younger branch of the family and began his life under a cloud of suspicion after Henry VIII executed his father in 1509. Dudley was placed in the care of Edward Guildford (c.1474-1534), a well-connected esquire of the body in 1512, and it was through Guildford that he began his career at court. Dudley gained the favour of Henry VIII through participation in Henry's military campaigns and developed a reputation for personal bravery and effective command. Dudley was entitled to the barony of Lisle upon his mother's death sometime between 1525 and 1528, but his claim, if he put it forward, was not recognised.⁴⁵⁵ In 1542, Dudley was created Viscount Lisle in his own right by a new

⁴⁵¹ Michael A. R. Graves, 'Thomas Wriothesley, 1505-1550', *ODNB* (2008).

⁴⁵² Willen, *John Russell*, pp.1-2.

⁴⁵³ BL, Cotton MS: Vespasian C/XII, fos.181-87; Willen, *John Russell*, pp.3-4.

⁴⁵⁴ Hugh Collins, 'John Sutton [John Dudley], 1400-1487', *ODNB* (2008).

⁴⁵⁵ David Loades, *John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, 1504-1553* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p.49.

patent which demonstrated the King's favour, rather than merely his right by kinship.⁴⁵⁶ Dudley had the most distinguished ancestry of Henry VIII's final executive officeholders but he still owed his peerage and position to the favour of Henry VIII.

Henry VIII's final two Principal Secretaries, William Paget and William Petre (c.1505-1572) had even humbler origins than the other executive officeholders. Paget's father was John Prachett or Paget, a citizen of London employed as a shearman and a serjeant-at-mace to the sheriff of London.⁴⁵⁷ The fact that contemporaries were aware of Paget's modest social origins was demonstrated in Mary's reign when his political opponents dismissed him as the son of a catchpole, a medieval tax collector.⁴⁵⁸ Petre was the son of John Petre, a cattle farmer and tanner from Devon who occupied a social position between the yeomanry and gentry.⁴⁵⁹ Despite his parentage, Petre served in the first rank of councillors for nearly forty years and accumulated considerable wealth and power as a result. At his death, he was one of the wealthiest men in the kingdom and his will disposed of £5,000 in gifts and endowments alone.⁴⁶⁰ Petre was not elevated to the peerage by the Tudors, but his son John (1549-1613) was created Baron Petre of Writtle in 1603.⁴⁶¹ This was a meteoric rise for a family that began the sixteenth century as cattle farmers.

At the end of Henry VIII's reign, the post of Lord Treasurer was vacant following the disgrace of Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk, in 1546. The first Lord Treasurer of Edward VI's reign was Edward Seymour, the King's uncle, and he possessed many of the qualities of the new officeholding archetype. His father was Sir John Seymour (c.1473-1536), a prominent member of the Wiltshire gentry who found favour with Henry VIII as a soldier.⁴⁶² Edward was a descendant of the ancient noble families of Percy and Clifford, but his immediate relations did not possess a title. Instead, he owed his elevation to the Earldom of Hertford to his sister Jane's marriage to Henry VIII and his performance in the King's later wars. Thus, he had more in common with his fellow officeholders of the later Henrician era, than with his predecessors as Lord Treasurer.

The new archetype of officeholder during the reign of Henry VIII became a permanent feature of Tudor officeholding. Indeed, this handful of offices illustrates the broader pattern of officeholding in Tudor

⁴⁵⁶ Loades, *John Dudley*, p.49.

⁴⁵⁷ Samuel Rhea Gammon, *Statesman and Schemer: William, First Lord Paget, Tudor Minister* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1972), pp.13-14.

⁴⁵⁸ SP 11/8 f.117.

⁴⁵⁹ C. S. Knighton, 'William Petre, 1505/6-1572', *ODNB* (2011).

⁴⁶⁰ 'Will of Sir William Petre of Ingatestone, Essex' (1573), PROB 11/55/45.

⁴⁶¹ Knighton, 'William Petre', *ODNB* (2011).

⁴⁶² Barrett L. Beer, 'Edward Seymour, c.1500-1552', *ODNB* (2009).

England. For the most part, the major officers were no longer recruited from the Church, and they tended not to be hereditary aristocrats. They were also more likely than not to have received some formal education at a university and to have had some experience in government administration. The prosopographical analysis undertaken here places these trends on a secure statistical foundation and facilitates an understanding of the impact of these changes on the identity and group dynamics of the Tudor elite. The result is the detection of a new conciliar identity that challenges older notions of factions and combinations in Tudor politics, and that has implications for narratives of government modernisation and bureaucratisation.

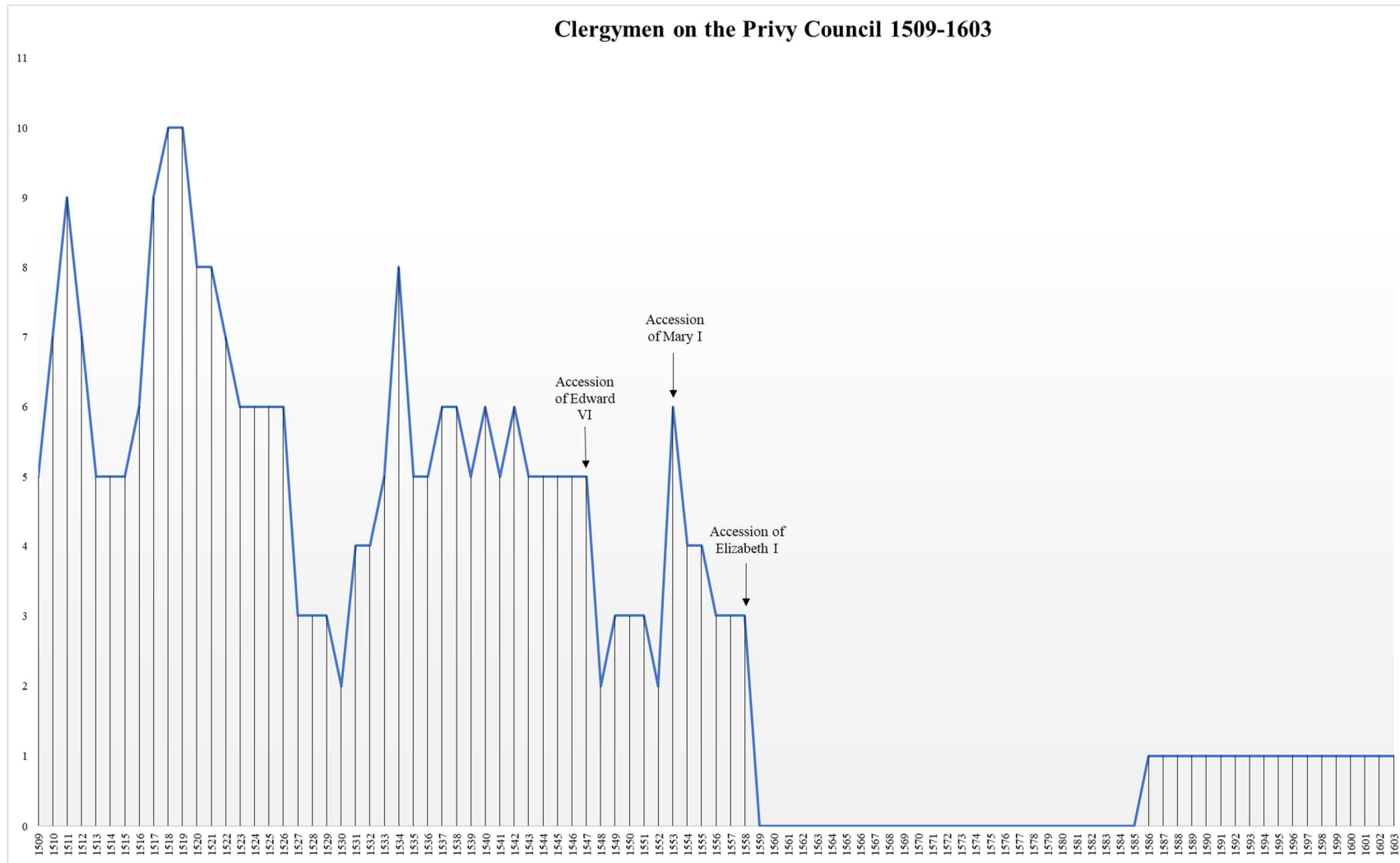


Figure 3.1 Clergymen on the Privy Council 1509-1603

A striking feature of Tudor government compared with medieval administration was the removal of clergymen. When Henry VII seized the throne in 1485, there was nothing to suggest that the dominance of clerical state servants would be broken. Indeed, Henry VII largely maintained the medieval model of employing churchmen as councillors and officeholders. It was only during the reign of his son that things started to change, and clergymen began to lose out to laymen. By the end of Elizabeth's reign, the process was complete, and the clergy had been effectively excluded from a political role at the centre. This trend is clearly identifiable within some of the major offices and demonstrates how successive Tudor governments looked outside the Church for their servants.

For instance, before Thomas More's appointment in 1529, all Lord Chancellors were bishops or leading ecclesiastics. More's tenure was brief: he was executed three years later when he refused to swear an oath acknowledging the king as head of the Church. The Break from Rome necessitated a compliant Chancellor whose loyalty to the crown was complete. Thomas Audley (c.1488-1544) filled this role, and his ability to retain Henry's favour until his death in 1544 was not only a testament to his political skill but also exemplified the emergence of the new breed of royal servant. Pious men of conscience were no longer acceptable, and the king now turned to tractable common law-trained laymen to exercise the office. The unprecedented attacks on the Church's property and authority during this period presumably made the king and his ministers still more inclined to appoint an unknown layman entirely reliant on the king's favour.

The laicisation of the office was interrupted in 1551 when John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, appointed Thomas Goodrich (1494-1554), bishop of Ely, to the role. It is unclear why Dudley picked the bishop. Felicity Heal has speculated that the two men had established a relationship late in the reign of Henry VIII, as evidenced by the fact that Dudley leased Goodrich's episcopal residence of Ely Place, Holborn, in 1547.⁴⁶³ Trust was in short supply among the major players of the Edwardian government, so, significantly, Dudley could have reached outside to someone who was part of his personal network for this crucial post. The minority of Edward VI made his reign inherently more unstable than that of the other Tudor monarchs. These unique circumstances often resulted in interruptions to prevailing trends and patterns.

Mary allowed Goodrich to keep his bishopric, but he lost the Great Seal in favour of Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester. Gardiner was a notable conservative in religion and was the first Lord Chancellor

⁴⁶³ Felicity Heal, 'Thomas Goodrich [Goodryck], 1494-1554', *ODNB* (2005); Felicity Heal, 'The bishops of Ely and their diocese, c.1515-1600' (Unpublished PhD Thesis: University of Cambridge, 1972).

since Thomas Audley in 1544 to die in office. His successor was another ecclesiastic: Nicholas Heath (c.1501-1578), Archbishop of York. The return to ecclesiastic Chancellors has conventionally been ascribed to Mary's conservatism.⁴⁶⁴ However, Goodrich, also a bishop, was an Edwardian appointment, and Elizabeth I may have toyed with the idea of maintaining Archbishop Heath in his position in 1558.⁴⁶⁵ The tradition of ecclesiastic Lord Chancellors was still alive in the minds of contemporaries, but new ideas had also started to emerge. At the death of Gardiner, Bartolomé Carranza (1503-76), Mary's Spanish confessor, observed that William Paget was anxious for the job of Chancellor.⁴⁶⁶ Carranza advised against Paget's appointment on account of his suspect religious position under Henry VIII and Edward VI.⁴⁶⁷ The fact that Paget angled for the position and that his enemies opposed his appointment on the grounds of his lack of religious orthodoxy implies that the appointment of a layman was not in itself viewed as controversial even by Mary's conservative regime.

The differences between the clerical and lay holders of the office were significant. Before their appointment, the five ecclesiastics who served as Lord Chancellor held no significant legal or administrative positions outside the Church.⁴⁶⁸ All began their training for crown service as priests and studied canon or civil law or theology at university. By contrast, all the laymen to be Lord Chancellor attended the Inns of Court and were called to the bar.⁴⁶⁹ Six of the nine also attended a university: Thomas More, Thomas Audley, Thomas Wriothesley, Nicholas Bacon, Christopher Hatton and Thomas Egerton.⁴⁷⁰ The precise details of what most of the laymen studied at university are unfortunately lost, but, significantly, none of them attained a degree. The fact that they all became common lawyers suggests that they are unlikely to have pursued canon or civil law at university. The early years of study at a sixteenth-century university usually comprised a grounding in the liberal arts regardless of the degree undertaken.⁴⁷¹ This was the nature of the study pursued by Thomas More and Thomas Audley during their brief attendance at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, respectively.⁴⁷² It is likely that the other laymen had similar experiences, which stands in contrast to the clergymen who were required to spend at least five years studying to become a bachelor of civil or canon law and a further

⁴⁶⁴ Williams, *The Later Tudors*, p.141; Guy, *Tudor England*, pp.246-7.

⁴⁶⁵ David Loades, 'Nicholas Heath, c.1501-1578', *ODNB* (2008).

⁴⁶⁶ John Edwards, *Mary I* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), p.272.

⁴⁶⁷ Edwards, *Mary I*, p.272.

⁴⁶⁸ A possible exception was Stephen Gardiner who was the King's secretary.

⁴⁶⁹ Wriothesley was not called to the bar but practised as an advocate in a court.

⁴⁷⁰ This number was possibly seven if Richard Rich attended Cambridge, as has been speculated.

⁴⁷¹ Leader, *University of Cambridge*, p.195.

⁴⁷² Thomas More attended Canterbury College, Oxford between 1492-1494 and Thomas Audley attended Buckingham College, Cambridge before being admitted to the Inner Temple aged 22 in 1510.

five years for a doctorate.⁴⁷³ This would have created a different outlook and mentality between the two groups.

The study of canon and civil law required years of laboriously absorbing the principles of the Roman legal code and papal decrees.⁴⁷⁴ Thomas Lever (1521-77), Master of St John's College, Cambridge between 1551 and 1553, described the day of an industrious scholar in 1550: '[They] ryse dayly betwixte foure and fyue of the clocke in the mornynge... from sixe unto ten of the clocke use euer eyther pryuate study or commune lectures. At ten of the clocke they go to dynner... after thys slender dinner they be either teachynge or learnynge untul v. of the clocke in the evenyng.'⁴⁷⁵ The image presented is one of long hours spent reading books and learning legal principles in private study or small lectures with little contact with life outside the university. Lacey Baldwin Smith has argued that this educational experience instilled an inherent conservatism in its pupils.⁴⁷⁶ Similarly, J. A. Muller claimed that Bishop Gardiner's training in the law 'determined the fashion of his thinking... [and] gave him, or at least strengthened in him, that legal temper of conservatism.'⁴⁷⁷ Training in civil and canon law was thought to cause individuals to shrink from innovation and demand order within existing conditions.⁴⁷⁸ In light of this, it is no surprise that Henry VIII turned away from such men when he was seeking creative solutions to his marital problems.

Henry's policy of selecting men trained in the common law from the Inns of Court resulted in Lord Chancellors of a different intellectual disposition entering into Chancery. The learning environment of the Inns of Court was as far removed from the quiet study halls and libraries of the university as it was possible to get. First, discussion and debate were integral parts of the training offered by the Inns of Court.⁴⁷⁹ Aspiring lawyers were expected to participate in mock trials and to debate the principles of common law. Also, an Inns' education created an intellectual framework within which the rigorous interrogation of fundamental principles was central. It was not possible to discover the answer to a question of law after hours of quiet research; rather, it was revealed after a debate with one's colleagues. Thus, the Inns of Court fostered collegiality among their members, resulting in the development of friendships. Similarly, the rich cultural and social life of the Inns was renowned, and

⁴⁷³ Leader, *University of Cambridge*, pp.195-6.

⁴⁷⁴ Smith, *Tudor Prelates*, p.47.

⁴⁷⁵ Thomas Lever, *Sermons*, 1550, ed. Edward Arber (London: Bloomsbury, 1870), pp.121-2.

⁴⁷⁶ Smith, *Tudor Prelates*, p.44.

⁴⁷⁷ J. A. Muller, *Stephen Gardiner and the Tudor Reaction* (London: Macmillan, 1926), pp.8-9.

⁴⁷⁸ Smith, *Tudor Prelates*, p.45.

⁴⁷⁹ Margaret McGlynn, *The Royal Prerogative and the Learning of the Inns of Court* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p.9.

members participated in many revels and social engagements.⁴⁸⁰ These social occasions often overlapped with the royal court and other London institutions, as a result of which the Inns were helpful in developing valuable political connections. Contemporaries often viewed those who studied at the Inns with hostility because their behaviour was frequently regarded as disruptive and immoral.⁴⁸¹ Indeed, it is likely that the unique liberal environment of the Inns of Court produced men freer in thought and more open to innovation than the civil and canon law graduates of the universities. The unprecedented assault on Church property and the radical changes in religious practices that occurred during the tenures of Chancellors Audley, Wriothesley and Rich were unlikely to have been acceptable to their clerical predecessors.

Other offices that reflected the growing laicisation of government during the sixteenth century included the Lord Privy Seal. Only four out of the fifteen holders of the office were clergymen. Both of Henry VII's Lord Privy Seals were bishops.⁴⁸² Henry VIII replaced Thomas Ruthall (d.1523), Bishop of Durham, with Henry Marney in 1516, only the second layperson to ever fill the post.⁴⁸³ Marney only lasted three months in the job before he died, at which point Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, was granted the office. Tunstall was the last clergyman to hold the post, and from Thomas Boleyn's appointment in 1530 onwards, the office became the sole preserve of the laity.

A similar shift occurred in relation to the secretaryship. The King's Secretary was an ecclesiastic for most of the medieval period. It was not unheard of for members of the laity to hold the office but, in the later fifteenth century, clergymen were the norm. All of Henry VII's Principal Secretaries were members of the clergy. The transition from clerical to lay secretaries began in the reign of Henry VIII. Henry had three clerical secretaries, all of whom served before 1534. From 1534 onwards, all of Henry VIII's secretaries were laymen of gentry rank or lower, who possessed administrative experience. However, this did not mark the end of that model of Tudor secretary entirely, as both Edward VI and Mary I had clerical secretaries. Nicholas Wotton (c.1497-1567) was rewarded for his support of John Dudley in 1549 with one of the secretaryships but was soon replaced by William Cecil in 1550.⁴⁸⁴ Wotton was not a pastoral clergyman and spent most of his time engaged in diplomacy on behalf of the crown. Thus, he did not owe his position to his clerical status, rather the opposite. Michael Zell

⁴⁸⁰ McGlynn, *The Royal Prerogative*, p.18.

⁴⁸¹ J. H. Baker, 'The Third university 1450-1550: law school or finishing school', in *The Intellectual and Cultural World of the Early Modern Inns of Court*, eds. Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elizabeth Goldring and Sarah Knight (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), pp.8-26 (p.9).

⁴⁸² Peter Courtenay, Bishop of Exeter, and Richard Foxe, Bishop of Winchester.

⁴⁸³ The first was Nicholas Carew (d.1390) in 1371.

⁴⁸⁴ Michael Zell, 'Nicholas Wotton, c.1497-1567', *ODNB* (2018).

claimed he was perhaps the last of the great early Tudor clerical diplomats who were rewarded with sinecure church offices.⁴⁸⁵ The use of church benefices as rewards for government service continued, but unordained laymen were the beneficiaries by Elizabeth's reign. For instance, Thomas Wilson (1524-1581) became Dean of Durham in 1579 as a reward for his political service but he never visited Durham and carried out his responsibilities by correspondence.⁴⁸⁶ Similarly, John Herbert became Dean of Wells in 1590 despite not being a priest. Therefore, Wilson and Herbert should not really be seen as 'clerical' as they were not ordained priests.

Thus, across Tudor government, the place of clergymen was eroded. This was not a policy that was articulated in any formal or systematic way, and the reasons for this shift are not immediately apparent. However, it seems likely that the Reformation accelerated a trend already in existence. The Reformation fundamentally changed the role of bishops, as Protestant criticism of worldly prelates forced bishops to adopt a more pastoral role in their dioceses. This function was not new, but worldly bishops in the mould of Wolsey had always been primarily focused on their political role rather than the duty to their flocks. Also, the attacks on Church authority and property encouraged monarchs to favour laymen who were less likely to resist such policies. Significantly, the period in which this change occurred in most offices was the decade in which the principal institutional developments of the Reformation were put in place, the 1530s. Whatever the reason, the effect of the change was to make the Tudor elite more homogenous and connected. University-educated, officeholding laymen became the main archetype of councillors, effectively restricting the culture and outlook of those at the top.

Archetype: Class and Experience

Further factors that influenced the archetype of councillor utilised by the Tudors were social standing and experience. As has already been shown, noblemen were always present on the council, but those noblemen who were appointed to the major offices of state tended to be 'new nobles' rather than hereditary peers.⁴⁸⁷ This was a trend closely linked to the decline of clerical servants as many offices once staffed by bishops were now granted to 'new' noblemen. For instance, after the tenure of Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of Durham, the office of Lord Privy Seal was dominated by new Tudor noblemen: Thomas Boleyn, Thomas Cromwell, William Fitzwilliam, John Russell and William Paget.

⁴⁸⁵ Zell, 'Nicholas Wotton', *ODNB* (2018).

⁴⁸⁶ Susan Doran and Jonathan Woolfson, 'Thomas Wilson, 1523/4-1581', *ODNB* (2004).

⁴⁸⁷ For a full discussion of the concept of 'conciliar noblemen' see Chapter 2: The 'New Nobility'.

These men fulfilled a role that clergymen had previously filled, but they were rewarded with noble titles instead of bishoprics.

Similarly, administrative experience or technical training became important to several posts which had previously been empty aristocratic sinecures. The post of Lord Treasurer was established within the Howard family, being passed from Thomas Howard, second Duke of Norfolk, in 1522 to his son Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk. The duties of the Lord Treasurer were in decline under the Howards, as the Dukes were more concerned with other matters than attending personally to their Exchequer duties. Upon the disgrace of the younger Thomas Howard in 1546, he was stripped of the post following which a succession of new men held it. It is also significant that the Exchequer reforms of 1554 were undertaken under the supervision of the active William Paulet rather than one of his aristocratic predecessors. Paulet possessed sufficient technical skill and experience to be able reform the Exchequer system and make the Lord Treasurer the head of national finance. Once the Treasurer acquired these additional powers and roles, it was never again entrusted to an absentee nobleman. It is unlikely that the Howards possessed the training or temperament required for the new Treasurership.

The importance of previous administrative experience was also visible in several other offices. For instance, Ralph Sadler (1507-1587) undertook an extensive apprenticeship in governmental matters before his elevation to the council in 1537. He entered Cromwell's household by 1526 and acted as a clerk and secretary to the chief minister.⁴⁸⁸ He was also clerk of the Hanaper, a post in Chancery responsible for the paperwork of diplomacy, drawing up and enrolling treaties, commissions to envoys and grants of arms to foreign dignitaries.⁴⁸⁹ His experience in Cromwell's household provided the ideal apprenticeship for him to assume the secretaryship himself in 1540. He would go on to serve throughout the turbulent mid-Tudor period and into the reign of Elizabeth I. A man with a similarly long career based on administrative service was Walter Mildmay (c.1523-1589). He began his governmental career in 1540, as a clerk in the Court of Augmentations. He would go on to become an auditor and a surveyor of the same court. Mildmay built a reputation for effective financial management which saw him appointed to a commission in 1552 for the reorganisation of royal

⁴⁸⁸ A. J. Slavin, *Politics and profit: A study of Ralph Sadler, 1507-1547* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), pp.15-16.

⁴⁸⁹ Mary L. Robertson, 'Thomas Cromwell's Servants: The Ministerial Household in Early Tudor Government and Society' (Unpublished PhD Thesis: University of California, 1975), p.175.

finance.⁴⁹⁰ The recommendations of this committee were implemented in 1554 and Augmentations and other independent financial bodies were incorporated into the Exchequer.⁴⁹¹ The pinnacle of Mildmay's career occurred in 1559 when he became Chancellor of the Exchequer and a privy councillor. The fact that Sadler and Mildmay's services were retained by all regimes of the mid-Tudor period demonstrated the importance of administrative experience for the effective continuance of government.

Undoubtedly, technical training and governmental experience were becoming valuable assets to aspiring councillors as they were increasingly expected to exercise managerial responsibility over a department. This resulted in new men entering government offices and a change in the culture of service. Significantly, the concept of 'service' shifted in this period. The idea of the traditional aristocracy as the monarch's 'natural counsellors', who offered informal advice and prevented tyranny, was replaced with a more humanist-classical interpretation which stressed duty to the commonweal and competence.⁴⁹² As part of this new concept of service, councillors were expected to take royal offices and develop an expertise in a particular area of government. This was the beginning of a professional identity of state service, but it was not a conscious programme of reform and many traditional cultural elements remained. For instance, many state servants still sought to build aristocratic dynasties of their own and certain traditional means of advancement, such as service in war, remained viable career paths.

Participation in military activities continued to be an important aspect of state service for privy councillors throughout the sixteenth century. Significantly, when looking for men to lead their armies, monarchs usually turned to their councillors and close confidants. Military glory could act as a means of advancement, as effective battlefield commanders were rewarded with prestigious titles and government offices. However, over the course of the sixteenth century, the nature of military service changed. First, the opportunities for prestige and martial glory declined with the accession of two female sovereigns, who could not lead their troops in battle. Thus, it was no longer possible for relationships to develop between monarch and subject based on the shared brotherhood of arms. Secondly, military officers were increasingly expected to exercise a managerial and administrative responsibility over their departments. This required men who had some technical ability and

⁴⁹⁰ Stanford E. Lehmberg, *Sir Walter Mildmay and Tudor Government* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1964), p.15.

⁴⁹¹ Morris, *Tudor Government*, pp.42, 47.

⁴⁹² Guy, 'Rhetoric of Counsel', p.294.

experience and fostered a different type of military officeholder. All Tudor sovereigns engaged in military campaigns at some point in their reigns, which successful councillors had to navigate and bring to satisfactory conclusions.

The precise nature of English war-making in the sixteenth century does not concern the present study, but the growing professionalisation of soldiers was relevant to the careers of privy councillors. It has been argued by James Raymond and Luke MacMahon that England was searching for military modernity and professionalism during the sixteenth century.⁴⁹³ A key component of this quest was the recurrent use of the same field commanders who provided an 'institutional memory' within the English establishment.⁴⁹⁴ For instance, councillors such as Charles Brandon, Thomas Howard, John Russell, John Dudley, and Edward Seymour were called upon again and again to lead Tudor armies.⁴⁹⁵ These men retained the experiences of one campaign for the next and could provide valuable insight to the council board. Therefore, while England did not possess a standing army it did have a body of experienced military commanders who sat on the privy council and displayed a certain level of professionalism in military matters.

The increasing sophistication of warfare also required a growing body of administrators and a bureaucratic apparatus to provide the weaponry, ammunition and supplies of a campaign. This was most clearly demonstrated in England by the establishment of the ordnance office and the Navy Board. These institutions provided administrative continuity and formed a small nucleus of skilled professionals in times of war.⁴⁹⁶ These new offices required effective leadership from men who were directly accountable to the privy council. For instance, the Lord High Admiral was no longer just expected to lead the English fleet in war, but began also to oversee the building of ships, provision of victuals and the management of a substantial annual budget. In the Elizabethan naval ordinance of 1560, the Lord Admiral's operational independence from other officeholders was confirmed and every naval officer was directly accountable to the Admiral.⁴⁹⁷ The Lord Admiral had ceased to be an

⁴⁹³ James Raymond, *Henry VIII's Military Revolution: The Armies of Sixteenth-Century Britain and Europe* (London: Tauris, 2007), p.182. MacMahon, 'Chivalry, military professionalism and the early Tudor army', pp.189-90.

⁴⁹⁴ Raymond, *Henry VIII's Military Revolution*, p.193.

⁴⁹⁵ Brandon and Howard led men during Henry VIII's invasions of France in 1513, 1522 and 1543, and during the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536. John Russell also led troops against the Pilgrims and in Henry's later French campaigns. He would go on to lead troops during Edward VI's reign against the Western rebels of 1549. Seymour and Dudley owed their rise to prominence to Henry's later wars and would both serve in the military campaigns of Edward VI.

⁴⁹⁶ Raymond, *Henry VIII's Military Revolution*, p.152.

⁴⁹⁷ C. S. Knighton, David Loades and Ben Jones, *Elizabethan Naval Administration* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2013), pp.3-4.

occasional military commander with a single official under his control and had instead become a department head who wielded considerable patronage and influence.

The Lord High Admiral was the only major Tudor officeholder whose primary function was military. Of course, any officeholder or councillor could theoretically lead troops or ships into battle, but they would receive specific commissions or commands from the monarch in such cases. By contrast, leading the fleet in war was part of the Lord Admiral's regular official duties. It is no surprise, then, that the defining feature of Tudor Lord Admirals was that they were experienced military practitioners chosen for their ability to lead men in battle. A firm grasp of tactics and strategy was required as well as the social standing to inspire confidence in the lower orders. Indeed, all Tudor Lord Admirals (except Henry VIII's bastard son Henry Fitzroy who held the office between 1525 and 1536) were of noble rank and had received a grounding in military leadership prior to their appointment.

The reappointment of Edward VI's Lord Admiral, Edward Clinton, in 1558 during Mary's reign demonstrated that military experience was a political asset that could be leveraged. Despite being removed in the early days of her reign due to his Protestant sympathies, Clinton succeeded in persuading the regime of his usefulness primarily on the grounds that his military experience would be invaluable during the war with France. The Spanish ambassador stated that: 'Although the admiral is a double-dealer and principally concerned with his own interests, he has more authority than anyone else in these particular affairs [i.e., warfare].'⁴⁹⁸ Therefore, in a time of military crisis, experience and competence outweighed religious ideology as factors in the Lord Admiral's appointment. This formed part of a broader trend towards an increasingly professional officeholding culture.

A good illustration of the changed nature of the Lord Admiralship were the tenures of some of its early holders. For instance, John de Vere, thirteenth Earl of Oxford, held the post between 1485 and 1513, during which time he never commanded a fleet and was only occasionally interested in his naval duties.⁴⁹⁹ In Henry VII's reign, the navy was small, and its primary purpose was to transport troops to France rather than to engage in naval combat.⁵⁰⁰ This gradually changed during the reign of Henry VIII as he sought to increase ship-building to compete with his continental rivals.⁵⁰¹ However, the appointment of Henry Fitzroy, Henry VIII's infant bastard son, to the Lord Admiralship in 1525, showed

⁴⁹⁸ *CSPS*, vol.13, en.349-50.

⁴⁹⁹ Davies, 'The administration of the Royal Navy', p.269.

⁵⁰⁰ Loades, *The Tudor Navy*, p.2.

⁵⁰¹ Loades, *The Tudor Navy*, p.3.

that the office was still far from the professional position it was to become. Henry VIII wanted to confer prestige upon his son by granting him an unprecedented double dukedom of Somerset and Richmond and giving him the title Lord Admiral. At six years old he was not an active officeholder, and his administrative duties, as well as his command responsibilities, were carried out by vice-admirals Thomas Howard and William Fitzwilliam. Fitzroy had replaced Howard in the post and Fitzwilliam would succeed Fitzroy after he died in 1536. Fitzroy's tenure reflected the informal nature of the office at this point in its history. It contrasts starkly with the nature of the conversation surrounding the office during Mary's reign, recounted above. In 1558, it would have been unthinkable to appoint a child to England's most important military office.

The careers of several Howard family members exemplified the relationship between warfare and politics and demonstrated the changing nature of military service. The Howards had a particular association with the Lord Admiralship, supplying four Admirals across the century. By charting the careers of these men, we can see how, despite institutional changes, the Lord Admiralship had a remarkable continuity in personnel. In 1513, the Lord Admiralship was held first by Edward Howard (c.1476-1513) and then by his brother Thomas. The Howard brothers were the sons of Thomas Howard, second Duke of Norfolk, whose father died fighting for Richard III at Bosworth. The elder Thomas Howard had proven his loyalty to the Tudor dynasty by leading several military campaigns against Yorkist pretenders under Henry VII and was eventually restored as Earl of Surrey in 1497.⁵⁰² It was during these years that his sons received their military education. Edward and the younger Thomas accompanied their father when he led an army north against the Scots in 1497.⁵⁰³ Also, the two Howard brothers, according to the chronicler Raphael Holinshed, led a successful naval expedition against Andrew Barton, the Scottish privateer, in 1511.⁵⁰⁴ Thus, when war with France and Scotland broke out in 1512, the Howards were in a favourable position to assume military leadership roles.

Edward Howard was appointed Lord Admiral during this conflict after the death of John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, in March 1513, but he would die in battle, a mere six weeks later, near Brest during an assault on the French flagship. His exceptionally short tenure was a stark reminder of the inherent dangers of the office. Thomas Howard immediately took over his brother's command: he stabilised the demoralised and depleted fleet, although no further naval operations followed.⁵⁰⁵ Edward's heroic

⁵⁰² David Mead, 'Thomas Howard, second duke of Norfolk, 1443-1524', *ODNB* (2012).

⁵⁰³ David Loades, 'Sir Edward Howard, 1476/7-1513', *ODNB* (2008).

⁵⁰⁴ Raphael Holinshed, *Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (London: Aldersgate Street, 1585), p.811.

⁵⁰⁵ David Loades, 'Sir Edward Howard, 1476/7-1513', *ODNB* (2008).

personal bravery and the crushing victory at Flodden that his father was to win in September mitigated any damage to the family's military reputation. The younger Thomas Howard led the vanguard of his father's army at Flodden and supposedly taunted the Scottish King, James IV, over the death of Andrew Barton at his and his brother's hands.⁵⁰⁶ The younger Thomas Howard would hold several other military commands, both at sea and on land, during his long career in service to the Tudors, leading the royal army against the Pilgrims of Grace in 1536 and in France in 1544.

The careers of the Howards demonstrated the valuable nature of military service as part of a political career within the Tudor polity in the first half of the century. It was primarily due to their military success that Thomas Howard, second Duke of Norfolk, and his son Thomas became privy councillors and gained offices such as Lord Treasurer. Military service would remain a viable method of gaining prestige until the end of the century. However, military glory alone rarely propelled an individual into the Queen's intimate counsels under Mary and Elizabeth. This was likely due to the rather different role that a female monarch played in warfare. A queen could not lead her troops in battle nor even join them on a campaign, so the same opportunities for bonding in the field did not exist. Henry VIII famously enjoyed the company of those who shared his martial passions, which gave those individuals opportunities to enter the royal confidence. Under Mary, this role could be filled to some extent by her husband, Phillip II. However, Elizabeth did not have this option, so any campaign had to be led by one of her subjects, and Elizabeth was always reluctant to relinquish control of affairs.

The careers of the later Howard Lord Admirals William and his son Charles provide evidence of the changed nature of Elizabethan war-making. William Howard (c.1510-73) was a half-brother of Thomas and Edward, but unlike his brothers, he went to university: he studied at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, in the 1530s. The fact that William attended university would give him more in common with his fellow Elizabethan councillors than his more traditionally aristocratic siblings. It could have also made him more acceptable to the increasingly educated Elizabethan elite. He had been too young to serve under either of his brothers during their tenures as Lord Admiral. His first military command was during Edward Seymour's campaign against the Scots in 1544. His first known naval role was in May 1545 when the privy council ordered him to 'repayre to serve upon the sees'; further orders referred to him as 'vice-admiral' and showed him patrolling the channel.⁵⁰⁷ William Howard was a protégé of John Dudley during Dudley's time as Lord Admiral (1543-47). He was 'vice-admiral' to Dudley and was given

⁵⁰⁶ Michael A. R. Graves, 'Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk, 1473-1554', *ODNB* (2008).

⁵⁰⁷ *APC*, Vol.1, p.171.

command of the English fleet in May 1546.⁵⁰⁸ The disgrace of his father and nephew, Henry Howard (c.1516-1547), in 1547 probably prevented him from becoming Lord Admiral in the reign of Edward VI. However, William would find favour in the reign of Mary, replacing the Protestant Edward Clinton, who was initially not trusted by the regime and demoted, as Lord Admiral, on 20 March 1554. Thus, William was an educated man and had spent years in apprenticeship to a previous Lord Admiral in order to gain an understanding of the role. This contrasted with the experience of his brothers before their appointments in 1513, which included little naval experience. Edward and Thomas owed their position more to their intimate positions around the King and their Howard name than practical experience. However, forty years later, in 1553, William needed practical experience commanding ships and some training in how the office worked before he was appointed.

Similarly, Charles Howard received an apprenticeship in naval matters during his father's time as Lord Admiral. He sailed under his father's command in March 1554 in an English fleet that escorted Prince Philip to England to marry Mary.⁵⁰⁹ Charles was close to Elizabeth and was one of her closest male companions, active in diplomacy and within the Queen's household. He was granted several naval commands: for instance, in 1570, he commanded an expedition that was to shadow Spanish ships that were carrying Philip's bride, Anne of Austria, to Spain.⁵¹⁰ He was finally appointed Lord Admiral in 1585. He led the fleet against the Spanish Armada and during the Cadiz expedition. Therefore, like other offices, the position of Lord High Admiral was becoming professional and formalised, and required an experienced and active councillor to effectively manage.

Warfare, therefore, and the position of Lord Admiral in particular, provides an instructive example of the broader changes taking place within officeholding in the sixteenth century. It represented the contradictions that existed within Tudor society and government and the tensions between innovation and tradition. In many ways warfare remained medieval in character, with noblemen leading the lower orders in battle. However, there was a shift in the mid-Tudor period which elevated the importance of experience and managerial competence when considering appointments to military office. Noble councillors still led royal armies and fleets but the characteristics they possessed changed. They exercised a managerial responsibility over their department and were increasingly expected to possess some relevant experience. This was a phenomenon that was affecting other central government offices and contributed to the creation of a new conciliar identity.

⁵⁰⁸ James McDermott, 'William Howard, first baron Howard of Effingham, c.1510-1573', *ODNB* (2008).

⁵⁰⁹ McDermott, 'Charles Howard', *ODNB* (2008).

⁵¹⁰ James McDermott, 'Charles Howard', *ODNB* (2008).

Officeholding became central to the careers of privy councillors across the period, with all but one of Elizabeth's final councillors holding a major national office. Moreover, the council's development into a body of department heads with specialised areas of expertise represented a fundamental shift from the undifferentiated body of advisors of the medieval period. These developments were accompanied by a concomitant change in the concept of service with feudal rhetoric of 'natural counsellors' giving way to a more professional framework based on technical ability and competence. The growing homogenisation of the culture and identity of councillors enabled them to forge close relationships and work effectively together. Additionally, the growing dominance of the council in the administration and the restriction of council membership to major officeholders significantly narrowed the political elite. It was not possible to participate in politics at the highest level without being a member of the privy council. This created a working group of councillors of similar background and outlook by the end of the sixteenth century.

Despite this professionalisation of conciliar identity there did not exist a bureaucratic and 'modern' state in England at the end of the sixteenth century. Personal factors still dominated government and informal structures continued to influence the actions of individuals. For instance, prestige remained central to how councillors viewed themselves and conceived of their roles. The change was that prestige was increasingly being linked to officeholding, rather than just to an aristocratic title. The 1539 Precedence Act intrinsically linked social standing with government service; never again could a regional magnate rival a royal official in prestige and precedence.

The types of men appointed to the great offices of state become strikingly uniform across the sixteenth century. Beginning in the 1530s, clergymen were gradually excluded from government. This culminated in Elizabeth's reign with no major offices being held by priests. Also, there was a turning away from hereditary noblemen in favour of newly elevated men. These men tended to be more educated and possessed more administrative experience than their hereditary peers. It was the fact that these men were increasingly monopolising the great offices of state that had implications for the privy council. This was because council membership was eventually restricted to officeholders. Thus, it is impossible to understand the development of the council and the relationships between councillors without an appreciation of the role of officeholding. Officeholding became central to a new conciliar identity that laid the foundations of future professional identities.

Chapter 4 In the Service of the Community

In Tudor England, political culture and activity were not solely tied to the court and the central government; they also stretched into the localities. For privy councillors, local standing and influence were essential tools which could be leveraged in support of the Crown and for their own long-term political and social success. Privy councillors sat at the top of the political hierarchy and, as a consequence, often played a significant role in their county communities. Their authority to play a part in local society rested on the twin pillars of land and office. This chapter will focus on these two factors in order to show how councillors operated as the Crown's agents in the localities. It will also explore how local activity and geographic distribution affected the relationships between councillors. Finally, it will argue that councillors' perception of their role was a mixture of two cultural identities: that of a regional magnate and that of a royal officeholder.

The structures of sixteenth-century local government are increasingly seen as important to our understanding of Tudor governance as a whole. Recent work by Jonathan McGovern and Laura Flannigan, for instance, has shed light on the role of the sheriff and the operation of justice in the localities.⁵¹¹ These studies have focused on particular offices or institutions and enable the historian to reveal a detailed picture of their operation and impact. Older studies that took a narrow approach in an attempt to provide a national overview of local life across England provide useful detail but can often be institutionally focused. This often has the effect of giving institutions an artificial life of their own, divorced from the people who operated them. For instance, Anthony Fletcher's *Reform in the Provinces* and David Loades' *Tudor Government* provide essential information regarding the powers and responsibilities of different offices, but this often comes at the expense of the personnel involved.⁵¹² The present study approaches local government through the lens of privy councillors in order to reveal how connections between the centre and the periphery worked in practice. In this way, it places the personnel of government at the heart of the study. The functions and responsibilities of offices are explored in relation to how they were used by individuals and the impact this had on relations between officeholders and their followers. By combining the local and national picture, and

⁵¹¹ Jonathan McGovern, *The Tudor Sheriff: A study in Early Modern Administration* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022); Laura Flannigan, 'New evidence of justice-giving by the Early Tudor Council of the North, 1540-43', *Northern History*, 59 (2022), 1-12.

⁵¹² Anthony Fletcher, *Reform in the Provinces* (London: Yale University Press, 1986); Loades, *Tudor Government*.

considering personnel and institutions side by side, this approach provides a new multi-dimensional way of approaching Tudor government that reveals valuable insights into the Tudor polity.

This approach is facilitated by my relational database, which contains details of all the local offices held by privy councillors in the Tudor period. By undertaking queries, it is possible to reveal the types of offices held by councillors and to plot them geographically. This reveals the regions in which particular councillors held authority and the offices through which they wielded it. Such an approach sheds light on the networks of control present in the Tudor system and demonstrates the increasing importance of royal office in the management of the localities. Also, by highlighting the geographic spread of councillors it is possible to explore instances of overlapping spheres of influence that may have had implications for their personal relations. The concentration of multiple councillors in a single area had the potential to cause tension and conflict. However, there are also instances of cooperation and friendship between neighbours. This illustrates how hard it is to create a single national narrative and highlights how important it is to explore personal dynamics as well as councillors' official responsibilities. Thus, the following analysis charts a new path and reveals the dual role of national figures at the centre and in the localities.

The presence of active local agents directly tied to the central government was also beneficial for the Crown. The strong hand of a powerful magnate or royal deputy could ensure the good order and harmony of a particular province. As explored in the previous chapter, during the sixteenth century, the most significant development in government was the growing importance of officeholding. This was also the case at the local level with power in the localities more directly tied to offices granted by the Crown than it had been previously. For instance, stewardships on royal lands, commissions of the peace, gaol delivery and subsidy assessments, and membership of regional councils all augmented the power of individuals. Local officeholding required a different approach to that at the centre, however. It was necessarily more hands off and often exercised through proxies and deputies. Nevertheless, it was a significant component of the new councillor archetype. Councillors were expected to use the authority granted to them by their royal offices to create networks and affinities that could communicate and enforce royal policy. In this way, it was different to the noble affinities of the medieval period which relied on landholding and semi-independent authority to manage the regions.

This is not to claim that landholding ceased to be an important component of local influence. On the contrary, land still provided a stable income and a base from which to influence local politics and administration. Rather, royal offices were used to augment the power of existing notables, or they were granted to their regional rivals in order to undermine them. Therefore, it is unhelpful to talk in

terms of the decline of regional magnates and the strengthening of the royal apparatus of control, as they were two components of the same system. This hypothesis was most forcefully presented by Lawrence Stone in his *Crisis of the Aristocracy* (1967). Stone argued that the Crown was eroding the power of the nobility by subsuming local loyalties under allegiance to itself and that the aristocracy was culturally redundant and had 'lost its nerve' in the face of bureaucratic developments.⁵¹³ Stone's view has been challenged on the grounds that it both overstates the strength of the aristocracy in the medieval period and exaggerates the hostility of the Tudors to their nobility.⁵¹⁴ This debate often presents local government as either domination by magnates or by the Crown. In reality, local governance relied on the cooperation and coordination of both groups. The council always contained a core of regional magnates who controlled large country estates across the kingdom. The change was subtle and was more about the changing culture of the elite than government domination. As the sixteenth century progressed, local governors increasingly sought the Crown's recognition of their position in order to strengthen their authority, rather than trying to break free from royal control. Thus, a regional magnate culture still existed, but it had been subordinated to a culture of service to the Crown. The majority of magnates embraced this changed culture out of political expediency and a desire for royal patronage and profit. This new culture benefited the ruling elite and the monarch as it promised stability in a politically and socially turbulent century.

The first section of this chapter examines the structure of Tudor local government. It explores some of the key offices and mechanisms through which that society was governed. It also explains the criteria for appointment to office and discusses the changing concept of state service in the sixteenth century. The next section builds on this to explore the impact of officeholding on privy councillors' interactions with the localities and how these changed across the period. Councillors increasingly exercised their influence from a distance and through deputies. This type of control favoured the use of offices such as justice of the peace (JP) and lord lieutenant rather than onerous and time-consuming positions like that of sheriff. The chapter then explores the importance of the proper functioning of this system for the stability of the realm and the consequences when that broke down. This leads to a discussion of the essential flexibility of the Tudor system, which was regularly modified to meet changing demands. The final section analyses the distribution of councillors' landed estates and explains the enduring importance of landholding to effective government. As part of this analysis, the

⁵¹³ Stone, *Crisis of the Aristocracy*, pp.129-31.

⁵¹⁴ Bernard, *Tudor Nobility*, pp.6-7.

relations between councillors in the localities are discussed and the significance of geographical proximity explored.

Local Government and Officeholding

Sixteenth century England did not possess a national police force or bureaucracy capable of directly governing the whole country. In the absence of such bodies, English governments relied instead on prominent local men to enforce their edicts and provide intelligence. Powerful noblemen with large estates and affinities often wielded largely independent jurisdiction in their area of influence.⁵¹⁵ Such influence was usually exercised in collaboration with the Crown as the nobility looked to the monarch to provide leadership and security. In order to maintain control over these powerful individuals, local offices granted by the Crown were used to tie their holders directly to the central government.

Alongside the official hierarchy sat a more informal system of control based on land ownership and community relationships. Landlords had extensive legal and social authority over their tenants and played a crucial role in maintaining public order and discipline. In addition, land ownership and the clientage of other men brought landlords the prestige that was essential to maintaining their local power. The precise nature of the control exerted by these arrangements is difficult to quantify as it was based on informal processes and social perception. Nevertheless, it is clear that it played a crucial part in privy councillors' dealings in the localities.

There was a myriad of different local offices to which a councillor could be appointed. Some offices were minor and granted influence over a few villages or small tracts of land, while others could give an individual responsibility for justice across a whole county or region. It is impossible to cover all of them comprehensively here. Instead, what follows is an analysis of some of the most significant local offices held by privy councillors under the Tudors. It is primarily focused on county-level appointments as these provided the greatest local influence and also because they were widespread, allowing for meaningful comparisons between individuals.

The principal administrative unit of Tudor England was the county. The county officers carried out administrative, legal and financial functions and were the only royal agents who the majority of the population would have encountered. The key feature of all county officers was that they were directly answerable to the Crown. In practice, as the sixteenth century progressed, 'the Crown' increasingly

⁵¹⁵ Gunn, *Early Tudor Government*, p.42.

meant the privy council as that body absorbed the routine functions of government. The council received reports from local officials and issued orders in the monarch's name.⁵¹⁶ This two-way communication channel required councillors to be involved in local government and politics, directly or through their clients.

The geographic area covered by the county system expanded in the sixteenth century. When Henry VII seized the throne in 1485, England had 37 counties, but by Elizabeth's accession, there were 52. In the 1530s, Thomas Cromwell spearheaded efforts to extend the English system of local government into Wales to combat the endemic lawlessness of the Principality.⁵¹⁷ Thus, the 1535 Act of Union abolished the marcher lordships and created twelve Welsh counties with their own justices of the peace.⁵¹⁸ Similarly, ancient independent franchises and jurisdictions, such as the County Palatine of Durham, were brought under royal control and had their county administrations brought in line with the rest of the country.⁵¹⁹ These changes were a result of a desire in central government to standardise administrative procedures across the Kingdom and to eliminate pockets of independent jurisdiction. Councillors played a role in both developments, but after this reorganisation, their authority rested more on the fact that they held royal office than their independent regional power base.

The principal county offices were granted at the discretion of the monarch or the major officers of state and constituted a form of patronage. The Tudors did not countenance any suggestion of a natural right to occupy a royal office. For instance, Henry VIII reacted angrily when Thomas Howard, third duke of Norfolk, suggested in 1537 that 'it [was] very necessary to have a nobleman as warden of the East and Middle Marches'.⁵²⁰ The implication was that only a nobleman could command the authority necessary to govern the distant north. The King responded that 'we will not be bound, of a necessity, to be served there with lords, but we will be served with such men, what degree soever they be of as we shall appoint the same'.⁵²¹ The fact that noblemen held all the wardenries at this time demonstrated that Henry VIII was not inherently hostile to the nobility but merely that, in his view, the only criterion for an appointment was the king's favour. Indeed, Henry later appointed both Sir Ralph Eure (d.1545) and Sir Robert Bowes (c.1492-1555) as wardens of the Middle March, perhaps to prove his point. This was something of a challenge to the view of the nobility as 'natural counsellors'

⁵¹⁶ David Loades, *Power in Tudor England* (London: Macmillan, 1997), p.76.

⁵¹⁷ J. Gwynfor Jones, *Early Modern Wales, c.1525-1640* (London: Macmillan, 1994), p.77.

⁵¹⁸ *Act of Union 1535* (27 Henry VIII, c.26).

⁵¹⁹ Gunn, *Government*, p.174.

⁵²⁰ SP 1/118 f.155.

⁵²¹ SP 1/119 f.130.

and governors. The growing consensus was that they could exercise this power only so long as they used it well, and the monarch was the ultimate arbiter of that.⁵²²

The efforts of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, to claim a hereditary right to the office of High Constable of England were similarly discarded by Henry VIII. The post of Constable had been hereditary in the de Bohun family and was believed to have been granted in return for the manors of Wheatenhurst, Harefield and Newham.⁵²³ As a descendant of the de Bohuns and owner of the three manors, Buckingham believed he had a right to the office. He petitioned the council in 1509, on the eve of Henry VIII's coronation, for confirmation of his title and was granted letters patent confirming his, and his heirs', right to the post.⁵²⁴ However, Henry VIII had the patent altered to state that the Constablership would be awarded for one day and would revert to the Crown at sunset on 23 June 1509.⁵²⁵ An enraged Buckingham felt he had been deprived of his rightful inheritance and continued to seek the office. He successfully petitioned the council a second time in 1514 only to be thwarted by another intervention by Henry. The council found in favour of the Duke but reserved the right of the king to excuse him from service. Henry VIII was privately warned by his attorney general that his case was weak, but he was determined to press on regardless.⁵²⁶ Undoubtedly, Henry was wary of Buckingham as a potential claimant to the English throne, but his hostility to Buckingham's claims also formed part of broader Tudor reluctance to relinquish control over patronage.

Similarly, the post of Earl Marshal was traditionally attached to the Dukedom of Norfolk, which was held by the Howard family in the sixteenth century. Once again, Henry overturned this precedent on the death of Thomas Howard, second Duke of Norfolk, in 1524 when he granted the office to his favourite Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk.⁵²⁷ In 1533, the third Duke of Norfolk successfully petitioned the King for the return of the office claiming that his 'auncesto[r]s of longe tyme hadde the same untill nowe of late'.⁵²⁸ At this time, Brandon was out of favour and the Howards were in the ascendant with Anne Boleyn at the height of her influence. Therefore, this episode appeared to be more about punishing Brandon than conceding to Howard's hereditary claim to the office. This

⁵²² Gunn, *Government*, p.45.

⁵²³ Carlow Rawcliffe, *The Staffords: Earls of Stafford and Dukes of Buckingham, 1349-1521* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), p.38.

⁵²⁴ Rawcliffe, *The Staffords*, p.39.

⁵²⁵ *L&P Henry VIII*, vol.1, 1, en.94.

⁵²⁶ R. Keliway, *Reports d'Ascuns Cases Qui ont Evenues au Temps du Roy Henry VII et du Roy Henry VIII* (London, 1688), f.171.

⁵²⁷ *L&P Henry VIII*, vol.3, en.3161.

⁵²⁸ SP 1/75, f.245.

interpretation is reinforced by the fact that this transfer took place shortly after a local squabble in 1532 between the two Dukes' servants which resulted in the death of Sir William Pennington.⁵²⁹ The King was angry that two of his leading gentlemen were ill-disposed towards each other and had already exacted a promise from both parties to end the bloodshed.⁵³⁰ Upon the return of the Earl Marshalship, Cromwell told Brandon the King thought he had demonstrated 'moche more estimacion and zele to norisshe kyndenes and love bytwene my saide lord of Norff[olk] and you, then ye have to that or any office'.⁵³¹ This was a clear indication that Henry was not swayed by claims of hereditary ownership, but was instead using the office as a means of enforcing good behaviour from his leading subjects.

Henry's children continued to grant the Earl Marshalship as they saw fit. Mary I returned the Earl Marshalship to its hereditary owners on a permanent basis, but Elizabeth revoked this again in 1572 after the fourth Duke of Norfolk was found guilty of treason. After this point, it was granted to several leading Elizabethan councillors and was even held jointly in commission by a group of councillors between 1590 and 1597, and then again between 1602 and 1603. The holding of an office by a commission of councillors was a clear demonstration that Elizabeth did not recognise any one person's right to the office, and that she wished to retain control over appointments. In fact, Elizabeth would regularly use commissions for the major offices of state which further illustrated the unified and cooperative nature of her council.

The Tudors gradually subordinated all independent jurisdiction to the authority of the Crown. The Tudor monarchs were assisted in this endeavour by their councillors who increasingly saw government service as being at the discretion of the sovereign.⁵³² Councillors also recognised that offices were not entities that could be easily inherited by an heir, so they tried to establish landed aristocratic dynasties as a means of securing their family's future. This approach created an elite that embodied the new principles of Renaissance state service but with a traditional baronial flavour. This blended culture and outlook was visible in the activities of privy councillors in the localities.

The holding of royal offices was central to privy councillors' authority in the localities. For the majority of the period, the justice of the peace was the primary office through which councillors exercised their control. Councillors usually played a managerial role from a distance and only occasionally got involved

⁵²⁹ Full details of the Pennington incident are discussed below, pp.171-72.

⁵³⁰ SP 1/75 f.245.

⁵³¹ *L&P Henry VIII*, vol.6, en.415.

⁵³² For changing ideas regarding government service see Chapter 2: The Humanist Context.

in the minutiae of local disputes. The position of JP was well suited to this type of control as the councillor was part of a group of justices, and usually exercised a leadership role within the group. This meant that they had knowledge of the business transacted but did not need to be physically present at all times.

The justice of the peace originated in the mid-thirteenth century as the keeper of the peace and was initially intended as an auxiliary officer to the already established county sheriff and coroner.⁵³³ The keeper was to prevent armed men from roaming across the county, arrest marauders and supervise elections of knights of the shire for parliament.⁵³⁴ By 1361, the keeper had become a justice and was responsible for prosecuting felonies.⁵³⁵ The most active justices were generally members of the county gentry, but privy councillors also often held the post and in doing so acted as a link between centre and periphery.

The Lord Chancellor at Westminster appointed JPs to the commissions of the peace for each county. The commissions were issued each year, and deprivation was signalled by excluding the individual's name from the list. If a commission's membership was altered part-way through a term, the whole commission was reissued.⁵³⁶ There was no formal selection process: the only requirement was that the individual was a man of 'substance'.⁵³⁷ Therefore, the favour of the Lord Chancellor was essential for an appointment. This created a system in which court manoeuvring was vital, and those closest to the Lord Chancellor were best placed to intervene on behalf of their friends and allies. The Lord Chancellor's position as an *ex officio* member of the privy council meant that other councillors could lobby on behalf of themselves and their clients. The Chancellor might also seek the opinion of a councillor resident in a particular county as someone who knew the local gentry well.⁵³⁸ The criterion of 'substance' and the fact that appointment was an act of patronage meant that the leaders of local society largely remained the same. Peers and councillors headed the commissions throughout the century and nominated their followers to the lower ranks. However, there was still a notable development in that a royal office became more important in legitimising local authority.

⁵³³ Alan Harding, 'The Origins and Early History of the Keeper of the Peace', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 10 (1959), 85-109 (p.99).

⁵³⁴ Harding, 'The Origins of the Keeper of the Peace', p.92.

⁵³⁵ Esther Moir, *The Justice of the Peace* (Middlesex: Penguin, 1969), p.16.

⁵³⁶ Fletcher, *Reform in the Provinces*, p.4.

⁵³⁷ Loades, *Tudor Government*, p.124.

⁵³⁸ Loades, *Power in Tudor England*, p.74.

In the Tudor period, the primary duties of the commissions were to enforce the statutes of the peace, conduct jury trials, and receive indictments on other pleas of the Crown.⁵³⁹ The commissions were required to assemble four times a year and hence became known as Quarter sessions. Published in 1583, Sir Thomas Smith's *De Republica Anglorum* detailed the nature of English government and described the different institutions of the state. In this work he outlined the role of the JPs: 'The justices of the peace be those in whom at this time for the repressing of robbers theeves, and vagabunds, of privie complots and conspiracies, for riotes and violences, and all other misdemeanours in the common wealth, the prince putteth his special trust.'⁵⁴⁰ Smith's purpose was to describe English institutions and governmental procedures for the benefit of foreigners and outline their differences from other contemporary European kingdoms.⁵⁴¹ Smith makes clear that the primary function of a JP was the maintenance of law and order. Councillors were ideally suited to this role as sixteenth-century law and order relied on social deference to one's betters to ensure compliance.⁵⁴² Also, councillors already possessed the 'prince's special trust' by virtue of their role in national government. As the country's political and social elite, councillors provided a flexible means of securing law and order in a nation that could not afford a permanent police force.

In the sixteenth century, the scope of the work undertaken by JPs expanded significantly as successive Tudor governments sought to increase their direct control over local matters. The fact that JPs were not paid and so cost the Exchequer nothing was presumably a factor in the expansion of their powers. By 1603, 309 statutes imposed responsibilities on JPs, 176 of which had been passed since 1485.⁵⁴³ JPs increasingly had an administrative role as well as a legal one: their duties included monitoring religious observance, economic regulation, the upkeep of roads and bridges and the relief of poverty.⁵⁴⁴ One of the most significant expansions of JPs' power was enacted under Henry VII when they were given the task of overseeing the conduct of sheriffs and other local officials.⁵⁴⁵ This was an explicit recognition of the superior position of JPs in the counties compared with other officials.

This strengthening of the position of the JP locally was reflected in the type of men who sought the lesser position of sheriff. It was rare for a privy councillor also to be a county sheriff: indeed, none of

⁵³⁹ Loades, *Tudor Government*, p.124.

⁵⁴⁰ Thomas Smith, *De Republica Anglorum*, 1582, ed. Mary Dewar (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp.9-143 (p.104).

⁵⁴¹ Mary Dewar, 'Introduction', in Thomas Smith, *De Republica Anglorum*, pp.1-3.

⁵⁴² Fletcher, *Reform in the Provinces*, p.1.

⁵⁴³ Fletcher, *Reform in the Provinces*, p.1.

⁵⁴⁴ Fletcher, *Reform in the Provinces*, pp.1-2.

⁵⁴⁵ Loades, *Tudor Government*, p.124.

Edward VI's or Elizabeth I's councillors were sheriffs during their council tenure. Even during the reigns of Henry VIII and Mary I, the presence of sheriffs on the council was exceptional. Of the 28 councillors who had been a sheriff under Henry VIII, only three held the office after their appointment to the council: William Compton (c.1482-1528), Brian Tuke (d.1545) and Nicholas Vaux (1460-1523). Unusually for the period, Compton had been made sheriff of Worcestershire for life in 1516, and by the time of his appointment to the council in 1526 it was unlikely he could have been very involved in county law enforcement due to his commitments at court.⁵⁴⁶ The practice of appointing sheriffs from the Royal Household began in the early fourteenth century but became a rarity in the Tudor period.⁵⁴⁷ Nicholas Vaux was 'pricked' sheriff of Northamptonshire in 1516, the same year he was made a councillor.⁵⁴⁸ However, his subsequent pardon for not submitting his accounts as sheriff suggests he was too busy to perform the role.⁵⁴⁹ Finally, Brian Tuke was a councillor from 1531 and served as sheriff of Essex for two years between 1533 and 1535.⁵⁵⁰ Tuke was also a JP for Essex throughout this period, and it may have been that the county's proximity to London allowed him a more active role than was possible in more distant counties.

The duties of a sheriff were theoretically broad, but they consistently lost ground to other officers and commissions. As already noted, the JPs became responsible for the bulk of police work, having the power to investigate complaints and arrest offenders, as well as presiding at Quarter Sessions. Also, newly acquired royal lands from 1490 were not included in the sheriff's purview, and instead, a new financial structure of surveyors and receivers was established.⁵⁵¹ This was particularly significant after the Reformation, as the new Court of Augmentations administered the large quantity of confiscated Church land, depriving the sheriff of income and influence. Even after the abolition of the new Church revenue courts and the restoration of the Exchequer supremacy in 1554, the system of surveyors remained.⁵⁵² Finally, the muster commission superseded the sheriff's traditional role in mustering the county militia in Henry VIII's reign. By 1540, the practice of issuing commissions to local gentlemen

⁵⁴⁶ He had been Groom of the Stool since 1510. G. W. Bernard, 'The Rise of Sir William Compton, Early Tudor Courtier', *The English Historical Review*, 96 (1981), 754-777 (p.755).

⁵⁴⁷ McGovern, *Tudor Sheriff*, p.33.

⁵⁴⁸ *L&P Henry VIII*, vol.2, en.2533. The practice of 'pricking' was a medieval custom in which the monarch was presented with the names of the potential shrieval candidates and 'pricked' a hole next to the successful candidate's name.

⁵⁴⁹ L. L. Ford, 'Nicholas Vaux, c.1460-1523', *ODNB* (2008).

⁵⁵⁰ P. R. N. Carter, 'Brian Tuke, d.1545', *ODNB* (2008).

⁵⁵¹ Loades, *Tudor Government*, p.113.

⁵⁵² For a full discussion of the Exchequer reforms see Chapter 3: The Financial Machinery.

and JPs for gathering men for war was well established.⁵⁵³ From Edward VI's reign, responsibility for the county militia was in the hands of a new royal servant, the lord lieutenant.⁵⁵⁴

⁵⁵³ Gladys Scott Thomson, *The Lord Lieutenants in the Sixteenth Century* (London: Longmans, 1923), p.40.

⁵⁵⁴ Thomson, *Lord Lieutenants*, p.13.

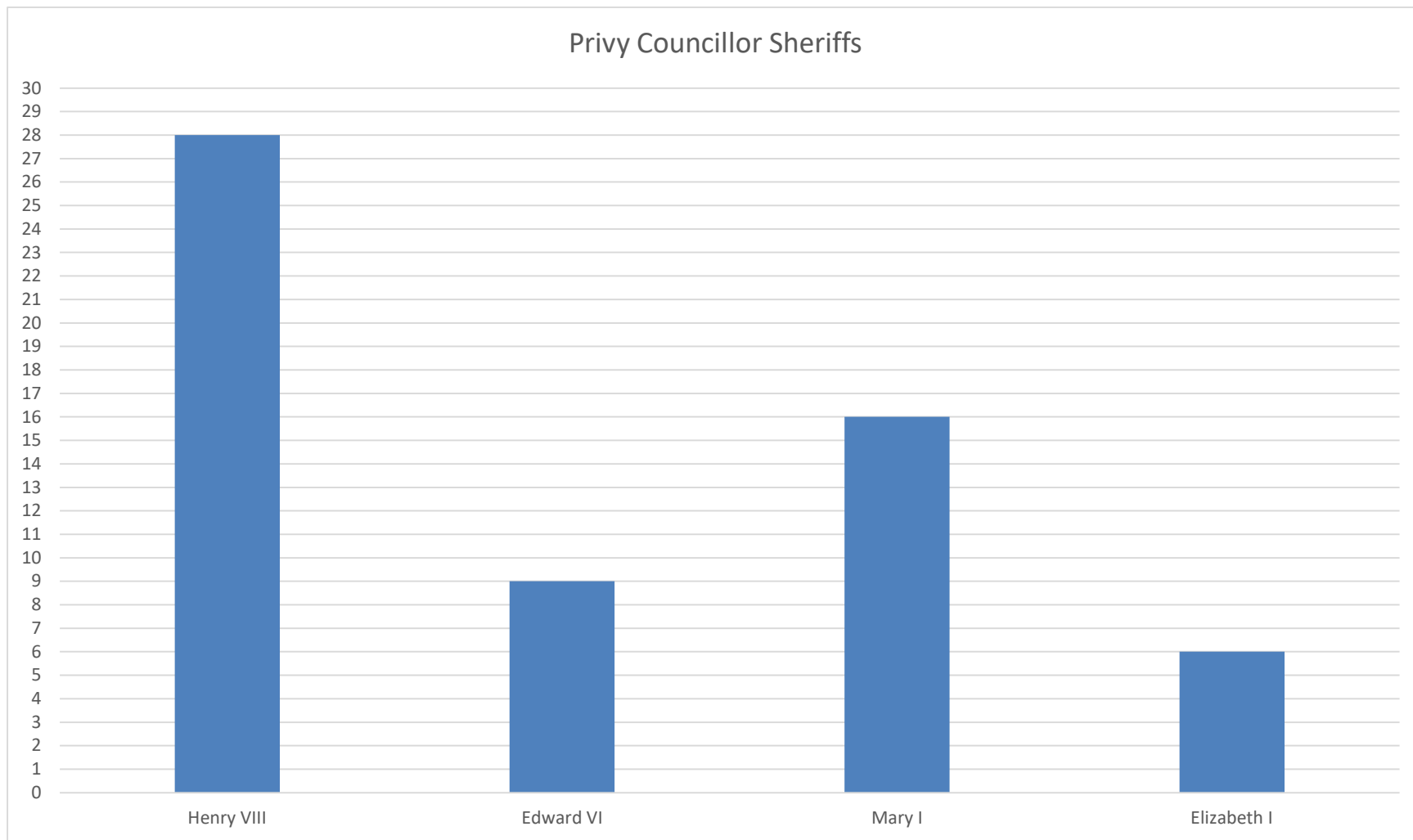


Figure 4.1 Privy Councillors who had served as a sheriff

The two men who were simultaneously sheriff and councillor under Mary held those roles as a consequence of the unique circumstances which surrounded Mary's accession. Upon Edward VI's death, Mary initially rallied the East Anglian elite to her side to combat the usurpation of Jane Grey. This meant that Mary had to reward several members of the East Anglian gentry with seats on her privy council. Typical of this group was John Shelton (c.1503-1558): a landowner in Norfolk and Suffolk, he rallied to Mary's banner in 1553, was appointed to the council and then promptly stopped attending meetings.⁵⁵⁵ From 1554, Shelton spent the rest of his life on his East Anglian estates, so, unsurprisingly, he served as sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk in 1554 and 1555.⁵⁵⁶ Mary's other councillor sheriff, Robert Peckham (1516-1569), was the son of Edmund Peckham (1495-1564), Mary's treasurer, and attended council with more regularity than Shelton but was not in the first rank of officials.⁵⁵⁷ Thus, the large size of Mary's council created many surplus councillors who could devote more attention to local matters than was possible in other reigns. By Elizabeth's reign, the council had become a small elite body, making the occupation of a minor county office unnecessary and indeed undesirable.

Councillors usually possessed the office of sheriff before their appointment to the council, and it could act as a springboard to greater prominence. The county sheriff was appointed each year and had responsibility for investigating crimes, holding defendants until the assize court assembled and empanelling juries.⁵⁵⁸ They also had a financial role in gathering revenues from Crown lands and the profits of justice.⁵⁵⁹ Therefore, a term as sheriff could provide an individual with valuable administrative experience and bring them to the attention of prominent men at court. For example, William Paulet, one of the longest-serving councillors of the century, began his career as the sheriff of his native Hampshire in 1511.⁵⁶⁰ His diocesan bishop Richard Foxe, Bishop of Winchester, noticed the talents he displayed in that role, and wrote to Cardinal Wolsey on his behalf in 1517.⁵⁶¹ Afterwards, Paulet steadily climbed through the administrative ranks before acquiring his council seat in 1526, serving until 1570. Similarly, John Russell was sheriff of Dorset and Somerset between 1527 and 1528.⁵⁶² However, from 1528, Russell rose to an increasingly prominent place at court, using his

⁵⁵⁵ Joseph S. Block, 'Shelton Family', *ODNB* (2006).

⁵⁵⁶ SP 11/5 f.28. PC 2/7 f.311.

⁵⁵⁷ M. K. Dale, 'Sir Robert Peckham', *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1509-1558*, ed. S.T. Bindoff (1982).

⁵⁵⁸ McGovern, *The Tudor Sheriff*, p.2.

⁵⁵⁹ Williams, *Tudor Regime*, p.407.

⁵⁶⁰ *L&P Henry VIII*, vol.1, en.969.

⁵⁶¹ SP 1/232 f.37.

⁵⁶² *L&P Henry VIII*, vol.4, en.3581.

position as a gentleman of the privy chamber to act as an intermediary between Wolsey and the King.⁵⁶³ The following year Russell sat as a knight of the shire in parliament and from 1533 was a JP for Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Northamptonshire, Hertfordshire and Huntingdonshire.⁵⁶⁴ It is perhaps significant that the commissions chosen for Russell were close to London, as this kept him in easy reach of the court, allowing him to continue his functions there. Also, the fact that he was now sitting as a Justice rather than a sheriff indicates his growing status and the less burdensome nature of the office.

The office of sheriff became less valuable as a springboard to further promotion as the period progressed. Only six of Elizabeth I's councillors can be identified as sheriffs prior to their appointment to the council: Ambrose Cave (1503-1568), Thomas Cheyne (c.1485-1558), William Paulet (1474-1572), John Perrot (1528-1592), Francis Russell (1526-1585) and Edward Wotton (1548-1626). In comparison, 90% of Elizabethan councillors were also JPs at some point in their careers.

During the sixteenth century, it was rare for a councillor not to be a JP in at least his home county. At the beginning of Henry VIII's reign, the council consisted of 33 members, 26 (78%) of whom were also justices of the peace in at least one county. In fact, 22 (67%) members were JPs in more than one county. As leaders in local society, the king expected his councillors to enforce royal policy and set the standard for other JPs and local notables. This position as *de facto* head of the commission was made official by the end of Henry VIII's reign when a councillor was often appointed *custos rotulorum*, or keeper of the rolls. They were officially the keeper of the county records, but the clerk of the peace usually undertook this function in practice. The primary role of the *custos rotulorum* was to act as the highest-ranking member of the commission and lead at Quarter sessions.⁵⁶⁵

The size and composition of the council fluctuated considerably during the reign of Henry VIII, but the proportion of JPs on the council remained static. The privy council of 1545-6 contained 28 members, of whom 22 (78%) were JPs. It is striking that despite the radical changes in church and state enacted during Henry's reign, the apparatus for control of the localities remained the same. Every member of Edward VI's council except Nicholas Wotton was also a JP.⁵⁶⁶ The new reformation statutes had to be enforced, and this job often fell to JPs. As a result, the position of councillors as spokesmen and representatives for the central government became even more important.

⁵⁶³ Willen, *John Russell*, p.21.

⁵⁶⁴ Diane Willen, 'John Russell, c.1485-1555', *ODNB* (2008).

⁵⁶⁵ Loades, *Tudor Government*, p.125.

⁵⁶⁶ Wotton was used extensively as a diplomat and was often out of the country.

As the administrative and legal jurisdiction of the commissions of peace expanded, so did their membership. For example, in 1439, the West Riding of Yorkshire had only seven JPs, but by 1545 it had 45.⁵⁶⁷ Similarly, the medieval Norfolk commission of the peace rarely numbered more than 10 JPs but had 34 JPs in 1577, and this had risen to 61 by 1602.⁵⁶⁸ The increased membership provided greater opportunities for councillors to reward their clients and allies. For instance, Henry Bouchier, Earl of Essex, was able to secure the appointment of several members of his affinity to the Essex and Hertfordshire benches. Two such clients, Thomas Clifford and William Bradbury, were named as retainers in the Bouchier's retinue for the 1513 French War.⁵⁶⁹ Furthermore, Bradbury acted as Bouchier's receiver between 1519 and 1534, stood surety for his debts in 1519, and was his London agent in 1534.⁵⁷⁰ Bouchier worked alongside his clients investigating sedition, corruption and robbery and often signed depositions himself.⁵⁷¹ This network within the county administration provided tangible benefits to Bouchier as in 1504 when the Essex bench took indictments for retaining and explicitly exempted the wearing of the Earl's livery.⁵⁷² Thus, Bouchier's ability to get his followers appointed to local office provided the Crown with a means to manage the local area, and provided Bouchier with a means to expand his local power. This dual function of local administration could be a source of strength and tension within sixteenth century government.

Networks and Stability

Networks of followers, who could inform the council of local sentiment, were essential for the stability of the realm. No Tudor government possessed sufficient strength to force an unpopular policy upon an unwilling nation.⁵⁷³ If the government could not guarantee the support of the leading local figures in each county, issuing orders that would not be enforced was pointless. Tudor governments relied on the support of the political elite in order to enact their policies. The ability of the commons to resist

⁵⁶⁷ Gunn, *Early Tudor Government*, pp.28-29.

⁵⁶⁸ Hassell Smith, *County and Court: Government and Politics in Norfolk, 1558-1603* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), pp.52, 60.

⁵⁶⁹ *L&P Henry VIII*, vol.1, en.2055.

⁵⁷⁰ Bradbury standing as surety for debts: SP 1/46 f.253. *L&P Henry VIII*, vol.4, II, en.3929. Acting as Bouchier's agent: SP 1/46 f.223. *L&P Henry VIII*, vol.4, II, en.3929.

⁵⁷¹ *L&P Henry VIII*, vol.4, en.4129, en.4145. *L&P Henry VIII*, vol.6, en.1492. *L&P Henry VIII*, vol.11, en.699. *L&P Henry VIII*, vol.13, II, en.1090.

⁵⁷² Gunn, 'Henry Bouchier, earl of Essex (1472-1540)', in *The Tudor Nobility*, ed. G. W. Bernard (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), pp.134-179 (p.163).

⁵⁷³ The crown required the support, or at least acquiescence, of the political elite to enact its policies. Henry VIII's Break with Rome was greeted with anxiety and hostility by a majority of English people, but the disparate groups of dissenters never came together or received the leadership from the political elite that was required for any successful opposition to royal policy.

the demands of the state were limited, especially when acting alone. However, this is not to say that they did not occasionally force changes in royal policy. For instance, Henry VIII was forced to back down over the Amicable Grant in 1525 due to popular unrest in East Anglia. This was despite having the support of East Anglia's two most prominent noblemen: the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk. The fact that Henry recognised that the policy could not be forced through was a testament to the Tudor sovereign's ability to discern what was politically possible. All adult Tudor monarchs were generally successful in understanding the mood of their people, and they were able to do this partly because they were informed of local feeling by their councillors.

It is possible to see the collapse of this system in the reign of Edward VI when Protector Somerset increasingly side-lined the council in an attempt to rule alone. The breakdown of this intelligence-gathering system and Somerset's arrogance and naivety resulted in the rebellions of 1549. Somerset's social policy aimed at reversing the enclosure of land was popular with the lower orders but resented by the landowning classes. The enclosure of fields previously farmed by a collection of different farmers evicted peasants from land they required to support themselves and their families. The practice was legal and allowed landlords to increase profits by converting arable land into sheep pasture. In June 1548, Somerset issued a proclamation that ordered the strict enforcement of existing enclosure legislation and lamented that people were 'drive[n] to extreme poverty and compelled to leave the places where they were born.'⁵⁷⁴ He also appointed commissions to investigate enclosure in several counties and made his opposition to the practice public.⁵⁷⁵

The Protector was taking the unprecedented step of aligning himself with the commons against the propertied classes. Ethan Shagan has argued that Somerset sought to forge a 'rhetorical alliance' with the commons and invited them to become joint initiators of government policy.⁵⁷⁶ In a letter to the Hampshire commons in 1549, Somerset informed them that he had 'given straight charge to all manner [of] justices and gentlemen that they shall not molest you, being now quiet subjects, with word or deed'.⁵⁷⁷ Furthermore, Somerset conceded to the Thetford rebels that they could choose their

⁵⁷⁴ *Tudor Royal Proclamations Volume 1*, eds. P.L. Hughes and J.F. Larkin (London: Yale University Press, 1964), pp.427-29.

⁵⁷⁵ David Loades, *The Mid-Tudor Crisis 1545-1565* (London: Macmillan, 1992), p.112.

⁵⁷⁶ Ethan H Shagan, 'Popularity' and the 1549 Rebellions Revisited', *English Historical Review*, 115 (2000), 121-133 (126-127). Shagan's interpretation has been challenged by Bernard on the grounds that Somerset's motivations in offering concessions is impossible to determine, and he was likely driven by a desire to get the commons to disband. Bernard, 'New Perspectives or Old Complexities', *English Historical Review*, 115 (2000), 113-120 (p.116).

⁵⁷⁷ BL, Additional MS: 48018, f.391.

own enclosure commissioners: 'because it appeareth from you... that the country be not satisfied to have some of the commissioners now in the commission, if these letters now sent notwithstanding... they will need persist in that obstinacy, then sending up such names as be required by them either to be added to the others or put instead of their places'.⁵⁷⁸ This was a delegation of political authority that ran counter to Tudor England's apparatus of control. Curtailing the power of local elites and expanding popular politics to the commons was a dangerous political gamble.

The policy was doomed from the start due to the Protector's neglect of the traditional apparatus of local government. This neglect began in the council chamber. From early 1548, the Protector had effectively side-lined his fellow councillors. The few meetings he called were used to present his thoughts and decisions to the board rather than to seek their advice or consensus. The council register shows that before 1 June 1547, councillors met most days and regularly signed the register to signify their consent and authorisation of matters discussed. However, in 1548, the council ceased being a consultative body, with meetings becoming sporadic and only three meetings bearing any signatures.⁵⁷⁹ By isolating himself from his councillor colleagues, Somerset cut himself off from the main source of information regarding the sentiments in the counties.

The landowning classes, who were also JPs, were hostile to the Protector's anti-enclosure plans and were unwilling to enforce his orders or cooperate with the commissions. Richard Rich, the Lord Chancellor, admonished the JPs and judges in 1549 for being 'slack' and 'negligent' in enforcing the orders, stating that 'the people have never heard of divers of his majesties Proclamations'.⁵⁸⁰ Thus, Somerset promised the common people action that was impossible to deliver as his concessions ran counter to the landed interest of society's governors. This was the main difference between the concessions offered by Somerset and those offered by Henry VIII in similar circumstances during the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536: Henry's concessions came only at the expense of government policy, not the landed interest of his councillors and officeholders.⁵⁸¹ This was compounded by Somerset's unwillingness to crack down on dissent. William Paget would remark in April 1549 that 'The common people [had become] too liberal in speche, too bolde and... too wise and well learned in their owne conceytes'.⁵⁸² Thus, not only had Somerset advanced policies directed against the interests of those

⁵⁷⁸ BL, Additional MS: 48018, f.389.

⁵⁷⁹ 30 June 1548: PC 2/2 f.355. 17 January 1549: PC 2/2 f.451. 17 March 1549: PC 2/2 f.499.

⁵⁸⁰ R. Grafton, *Grafton's Chronicle*, II, 1569 (London: Longman, 1809), pp.506-07.

⁵⁸¹ M. L. Bush, 'Protector Somerset and the 1549 Rebellions: A Post-revision Questioned', *English Historical Review*, 115 (2000), 103-120 (p.106).

⁵⁸² 'Certayne poyntes', 17 April 1549, Northamptonshire Record Office, *Fitzwilliam* (Milton) MS: c.21.

responsible for enforcing them, but he also blocked attempts to restore order after those policies failed. Somerset had alienated the political nation and disrupted their methods of control, and the result was widespread rebellion.

The threat to stability not only came from a refusal to listen on the part of the central government but also from feuds between prominent local officials. The county of Surrey provides an insight into how privy councillors used their influence to resolve local disputes. Surrey was notoriously fractious, with a feud among the county gentry which dated from the reign of Richard III.⁵⁸³ Nevertheless, from 1519, Cardinal Wolsey attempted to bring the county under control by appointing Sir Thomas Exmewe, one of his London officials, and Sir Richard Rokeby, comptroller of his household, to the commission of the peace.⁵⁸⁴ Significantly for the county's future, William Fitzwilliam, the son of Wolsey's treasurer, also became a JP due to Wolsey's influence.⁵⁸⁵ Fitzwilliam was a close confidant of the King and had good relations with Wolsey, as demonstrated by the fact that Wolsey used him to gather a list of the 'misdemeanors contrary to the King's laws and statutes' that had occurred since Henry's coronation.⁵⁸⁶ Moreover, Wolsey used his client JPs in a misconduct investigation of the Surrey commission of the peace. The investigation led to the ringleaders of the dispute, Sir Matthew Browne, Lord Edmund Howard and Sir John Legh, being sanctioned in Star Chamber.⁵⁸⁷ This episode illustrates the importance of councillors having men on the ground in the counties. Wolsey, at this time, was the most influential man in the government and wielded extensive powers, but he still required trusted men on the Surrey bench in order to bring the rebellious region to heel.

After Wolsey's fall, Fitzwilliam eventually became the leading figure in Surrey politics. Part of the reason for Fitzwilliam's domination was his ability to get allies and clients onto the commission of the peace. First and foremost were his half-brother Anthony Browne and his kinsman William Shelley in 1531.⁵⁸⁸ The relationship between Fitzwilliam and Browne was particularly close and allowed them to dominate Surrey politics.⁵⁸⁹ The Brownes were prominent Surrey gentry, and Fitzwilliam's mother married Anthony Browne Sr (d.1506) around 1500. His half-brother, Anthony, was born shortly after

⁵⁸³ For a full discussion of the feud see William Baxter Robinson, 'The Justices of the Peace of Surrey in National and County Politics, 1483-1570' (Unpublished PhD Thesis: Louisiana State University, 1983), pp.67-99.

⁵⁸⁴ Robinson, 'The Justices of the Peace of Surrey', p.131.

⁵⁸⁵ William B. Robinson, 'William Fitzwilliam, c.1490-1542', *ODNB* (2008).

⁵⁸⁶ Court of Star Chamber: Proceedings, Henry VIII, 2/26/355.

⁵⁸⁷ STAC 2/2/163, 178, 194.

⁵⁸⁸ *L&P Henry VIII*, vol.5, en.119.

⁵⁸⁹ For further evidence of Fitzwilliam and Browne's close relationship see Chapter 5: Fraternal Kinship Networks.

the marriage. This familial connection and its more favourable geographic location explain why Fitzwilliam began acquiring offices and lands in Surrey rather than his native Yorkshire. Fitzwilliam served as steward to several royal properties and parks: these included Henley Park, Worplesdon, Witley, Guildford Park, Bagshot Park, Windsor Park, and Byfleet Park. Incidentally, he acquired houses at Byfleet and Guildford, likely because of the authority he already held in these areas. In addition, he was active on commissions for tenths of spiritualities, goal delivery, sewers, and the commission to inquire about Wolsey's possessions in 1530.

Local quarrels that interrupted the proper functioning of government were present in many counties throughout the sixteenth century, and the decisive role played by councillors was as important in Elizabeth I's reign as it had been in Henry VII's. For instance, a local dispute between two Norfolk gentlemen, Sir Bassingbourne Gawdy (1560-1606) and Sir Thomas Lovell (c.1540-1604), in the 1590s attracted the attention of Roger North (1531-1600), second Baron North. The dispute had resulted in Lovell's dismissal as a JP for suspected recusancy.⁵⁹⁰ North was a privy councillor and treasurer of the Royal Household and was responsible for Lovell's re-appointment to the Norfolk commission. Philip Gawdy, a half-brother of Bassingbourne, reported alarmingly in 1599 that:

The means that he camm in [to the commission of the peace] by was my Lord Northe... He made such a speache at my Lord Northe's boorde how he had long lived in blindness and that now God had opened his eyes... His speache in the ende tended to the good he meant to do his country. Whereupon my Lord upon mere zeale procured him to be in commysion.⁵⁹¹

Thus, Lovell recognised that North was in a position to restore his local fortunes and sought him out in London, impressing him with his religious zeal. This was a particularly effective strategy as North was a renowned Puritan and would likely have been pleased with Lovell's repentance and show of faith.⁵⁹² Also, the episode shows the continuing power of privy councillors over local matters as North 'procured' a seat for Lovell without difficulty.

Privy councillors could play a decisive role in quelling local disputes, but they and their followers could also be the cause of such disputes. Competition between leading councillors and landowners could quickly bring disorder and conflict to a region. Avoiding such tensions was not always possible for the government, especially when dealing with entrenched landed families. For instance, in the late

⁵⁹⁰ Smith, *County and Court*, pp.181-92.

⁵⁹¹ *The Letters of Philip Gawdy 1579-1616*, ed. I.H. Jeayes (London: J.B. Nichols and Sons, 1906), p.111.

⁵⁹² John Craig, 'Roger North, 1531-1600', *ODNB* (2008).

fifteenth century, the Howard Dukes of Norfolk were the dominant power in East Anglia. However, the death of the first Duke fighting for Richard III at Bosworth resulted in the confiscation of most of the family's land and the revocation of the dukedom. Henry VII granted stewardship of the Howard lands to loyal councillors, such as John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, and Thomas West (c.1457-1525), Lord de la Warre.⁵⁹³ It was significant that Henry only granted stewardship of the lands rather than ownership, allowing the Howards to recover them after sufficient displays of loyalty. In 1514, the process of reconciliation was largely complete with the recreation of Thomas Howard as Duke of Norfolk and the return of the bulk of their ancestral lands. However, by that point, a rival power base had begun to develop in East Anglia.

Henry VIII's favourite, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, had established himself as a major player in the region, buying up lands and creating an extensive clientage among the local gentry.⁵⁹⁴ Brandon received the forfeited lands of the Yorkist De La Pole family in East Anglia and was appointed to various stewardships of other lands, such as the estates of the Bishop of Ely.⁵⁹⁵ Initially, the two Dukes cooperated effectively, such as in the collection of the Amicable Grant in 1525. The Grant had caused widespread unrest, and the joint effort of the Dukes was required to suppress it.⁵⁹⁶ Cardinal Wolsey recognised that such collaboration was the best way for the government to control East Anglia, and he thanked them for their 'wyse dyscret and polityque' resolution of the rebellion.⁵⁹⁷ Throughout the 1520s, the Dukes corresponded and cooperated over the production of corn, interruptions in the cloth trade, vagabondage and rioting.⁵⁹⁸ This was a model of how good relations between councillors at the centre could aid in the governance of the localities.

However, the landholdings of Brandon and Howard also demonstrate the risk of allowing two councillors to concentrate their estates in the same region. Brandon's widening clientage network created friction with Howard's network in the region. These tensions came to a head in April 1532 when Sir William Pennington, a tenant of Brandon, was murdered by Richard, Robert and Anthony Southwell, followers of Howard in the sanctuary at Westminster.⁵⁹⁹ Brandon was outraged, and his followers swore an oath to be revenged on the Southwells whether 'it were in the king[']s chamber or

⁵⁹³ Melvin J. Tucker, *The Life of Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey and Second Duke of Norfolk, 1443-1524* (London: Mouton&Co, 1964), p.49.

⁵⁹⁴ Smith, *County and Court*, p.27.

⁵⁹⁵ For a full breakdown of Charles Brandon's East Anglian holdings see Gunn, *Charles Brandon*, pp.38-42.

⁵⁹⁶ Gunn, *Charles Brandon*, pp.79-80.

⁵⁹⁷ SP1/34 f.196. *L&P Henry VIII*, vol.4, I, en.1329.

⁵⁹⁸ *L&P Henry VIII*, vol.4, II, en.3649, en.3664, en.3702, en.3703, en.3703, en.3760, en.3811, en.3883, en.4192.

⁵⁹⁹ *Calendar of State Papers, Venice*, ed. Rawdon Brown (London: HMSO, 1864), Vol.4, en.761.

at the high altar'.⁶⁰⁰ Only the King's intervention prevented further bloodshed when he extracted a promise from Brandon to restrain his clients and declared he wanted 'to see and perceve twoo so greate and honourhable personages as his subjects [Brandon and Howard] so lovynglie and ffrendlie th'oon to love th'other.'⁶⁰¹ The subsequent pardon of the Southwells in June 1532 was unlikely to have eased tensions between the two Dukes and their followers.⁶⁰² Indeed, the Venetian ambassador began talking about a Brandon-Howard feud and linked Brandon and his wife, Mary Tudor, with the opposition to Anne Boleyn.⁶⁰³

Significantly, there is no evidence of personal animosity between the Dukes themselves in this period. Instead, competing local interests resulted in a feud between their followers in East Anglia, which eventually spilled over into national politics. The incident reveals the importance of councillors effectively managing their estates and clients. It also highlights the danger of reading factional motivation into all the interactions between councillors. In this case, the Venetian ambassador assumed that Brandon and his wife were acting on behalf of an anti-Boleyn faction in opposition to the Howards. However, despite a somewhat antagonistic relationship with Anne, Brandon was not directly involved in her arrest and prosecution.⁶⁰⁴ The murder of Pennington was not part of a broader conspiracy against Howard interests but rather was the result of a local rivalry between Pennington and the Southwells. The fact that both sides could call on the patronage and protection of a powerful privy councillor allowed this small dispute to create problems in the central government. This highlights the interconnectedness of national and local government. It also illustrates the dangers of the Crown granting land in areas already dominated by another councillor. The fallout of the East Anglian dispute was one of the reasons that Henry VIII forced Brandon to relocate his estates and power base to Lincolnshire.⁶⁰⁵

It was not only aristocratic councillors who clashed over issues of local influence. The relationship between Sir Thomas Cheyne and Archbishop Cranmer during the 1540s in Kent illustrates that local politics was not just a concern of the laity and reveals the interplay of the different structures and authorities of Tudor England. Cranmer was the primate of the Church of England, and his diocesan cathedral was at Canterbury. As a result, he wielded considerable influence in the county, especially

⁶⁰⁰ SP 1/70 f.186.

⁶⁰¹ SP 1/75 f.245.

⁶⁰² SP 1/70 f.138.

⁶⁰³ CSPV, vol.4, en.761.

⁶⁰⁴ Gunn, *Brandon*, p.119.

⁶⁰⁵ For a full discussion of Brandon's move to Lincolnshire see pp.172-73.

as regards ecclesiastical appointments. He was also the ranking member of the commission of the peace, so he had a hand in the administration of justice. Cranmer's civil and ecclesiastical role contrasted with the military power granted to Thomas Cheyne. Cheyne was warden of the Cinque Ports from 1534 and acquired the constablership of the strategically important castles of Rochester, Queenborough, Dover, and Saltwood.⁶⁰⁶ These offices gave Cheyne a dominant role in organising the county's defence and selecting the county's members of parliament. In addition, he sat as a knight of the shire for Kent himself from at least 1542. To cement his position in the county, Cheyne built a grand new country seat at Shurland, which the king visited in 1532.⁶⁰⁷

Cheyne was also a member of the commission of the peace, and it was in this forum that he came into conflict with the archbishop. Cranmer wrote to Cheyne in 1537 accusing him of attempting to 'extinguish the Word of God' through his threats at the assizes.⁶⁰⁸ Cranmer also pointed out that Cheyne had 'received no small benefits from the King, and are reputed one of his council' in a pointed attack on Cheyne's honour and position. Cheyne responded in an equally acerbic tone that he knew the difference between 'a friendly admonition and a captious impetition or dangerous threat' and that the archbishop had invented the accusation.⁶⁰⁹ He also claimed that 'The things which he [Cranmer] imputes to [me] as having omitted to set forth in sessions are more pertinent to the office of a preacher than of a sitting justiciar in a temporal session of peace.'⁶¹⁰ This exchange not only highlighted the tension that existed between rival councillors in the same county but also the tension between secular and religious authority. The implication in Cheyne's final letter was that the archbishop should keep out of secular matters and concern himself only with affairs of the Church.

The role of privy councillors as local governors was an essential feature of the Tudor system of government. They could command the loyalty of lesser men and build networks that were used by the Crown to monitor general sentiment and enforce royal policy. However, neglecting this apparatus or competing regional interests could destabilise the system and result in the breakdown of law and order. It was, therefore, vital for privy councillors to maintain a local and national presence.

⁶⁰⁶ Stanford Lehmborg, 'Sir Thomas Cheyne, c.1485-1558', *ODNB* (2008).

⁶⁰⁷ Lehmborg, 'Thomas Cheyne', *ODNB* (2008).

⁶⁰⁸ SP 6/2 f.73.

⁶⁰⁹ SP 6/2 f.73.

⁶¹⁰ SP 6/2 f.73.

Landholding and Good Lordship

The local role occupied by councillors was as much based on traditional concepts of good lordship and landholdings as it was on control of an administrative apparatus. Overlapping official governmental and Church structures created a patchwork of landed estates, predominantly owned by the nobility, gentry, Church and the Crown.⁶¹¹ Controlling the tenants of these estates was essential for the proper functioning of government. In the medieval period, great aristocratic families controlled extensive landholdings and commanded the loyalty of their tenants.⁶¹² This loyalty did not necessarily override obedience to the Crown, but royal government had to tread carefully when intervening in areas with well-rooted magnate families. While the independent authority of some noble families undoubtedly declined in the Tudor period, such as the Percys in the North, the Courtenays in the South West, and the Staffords in Wales and Gloucestershire, the role of the landlord remained critical to good government. New royal administrative processes and offices did not wholly replace bonds of good lordship, but instead, merged with them into a new culture of service.

The concept of good lordship was a powerful feature of early modern culture. There was a widespread belief that tenants owed allegiance to their landlords and that landlords had a responsibility to preserve good order for the benefit of their tenants and the nation. The responsibility of leaders of men was a recurring theme in the advice manuals of the period. For instance, the primary purpose of Elyot's *The Book Named the Governor* was to set out a programme for governors that would allow them to best serve the commonweal and provide good lordship to those in their care.⁶¹³ Starkey made a similar point regarding gentlemen: 'what place they occupy in the common weal... pertainth to their office and authority, and so plainly and fully, to be instruct in the administration of justice both public and private.'⁶¹⁴ The implication was that those who had power over other men had a responsibility to act in the interest of the commonwealth.

The bond between tenant and landlord remained strong into Elizabeth's reign. For example, in 1565, George Clarkson, a deputy steward of the seventh Earl of Northumberland, commented that 'it is only natural and no less honourable that his lordship [the earl of Northumberland] should have the

⁶¹¹ D. R. Hainsworth, *Stewards, Lord and People: The Estate Steward and his World in later Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p.1.

⁶¹² Williams, *Tudor Regime*, p.428.

⁶¹³ Thomas Elyot, *The Book Named the Governor*, pp.15-16.

⁶¹⁴ Thomas Starkey, *A Dialogue*, p.170.

government and rule under the Prince here in this county of Northumberland.⁶¹⁵ Clarkson thought landlord-tenant relations were the foundation of good order and considered the nation a series of estate communities. Similarly, in 1594, the Catholic recusant, Sir Thomas Tresham, explained while under questioning in the Fleet regarding the arming of his tenants that they were obliged to ‘furnish a man fit for service, either to himself or his son, if employed in Her Majesty’s wars, or to give 40s’. When accused of burdening his tenants with this demand, he replied that he could not demand such service and that it was part of the lease covenant his tenants had entered into with him.⁶¹⁶ Thus, the strength of the bond between landlord and tenant was still evident in the later sixteenth century and had not yet been replaced by modern bureaucratic processes.

The reference made by these men to ‘Her Majesty’s wars’ and being ‘under the Prince’ reminds us that these relationships were not being leveraged in pursuit of independent power but for the realm’s stability under the Crown. It was in the interests of all members of society that these relationships should be maintained and functioning. The Crown could influence the tenant-landlord relationship through its own estates and by binding the great landowners to itself through office. Privy councillors were at the forefront of this strategy, either as stewards on royal lands or by virtue of their membership of the council and the responsibility that that entailed for their lands.

Tudor privy councillors split their time between the royal court and their country estates. Their estates acted as the focal point of their regional authority and often determined the area in which they would be granted royal office. Also, landed estates provided servants and retainers from which they could build an affinity that could act as intelligence gatherers and local managers while the councillor was absent at court. Therefore, a region home to a privy councillor could have a more direct link with the central government than elsewhere. While such a link did not guarantee order and stability, it could be beneficial to the maintenance of royal authority. Indeed, contemporary responses to regional crises often involved setting set up a councillor in the troublesome region with grants of land and office.

Any assessment of the primary estates of councillors must be qualified by the fact that they often possessed estates and offices across the country. As a result, it is sometimes difficult to determine a councillor’s principal seat of power in the localities. The following analysis used landholdings, offices and residences contained in my database to determine the county in which each privy councillor held the greatest influence and authority. The maps below illustrate which counties contained the primary

⁶¹⁵ Alnwick Castle MS: Al Ib.

⁶¹⁶ *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Elizabeth, 1591-94*, vol.248, p.470-71, en.43-45.

power bases of each privy councillor at particular points in the sixteenth century. The maps were created using the map of England's 'historic counties' created by the *Association of British Counties* as a base.⁶¹⁷ The 'historic counties' are the counties that existed prior to the Counties Act of 1844, and which were largely unchanged from the sixteenth century.⁶¹⁸ I then colour-coded the maps by the percentage of councillors present in a particular county, ranging from over 15% (red) of councillors to between 1% and 4% (blue) of councillors. The numerical disparity in the size of the council under the different Tudors made percentages a better measure than overall numbers as it allows for meaningful comparisons.

The results show several clear overall patterns in the geographic spread of councillors' power bases. First, it highlights the dominance of the South East of England throughout the Tudor period. The area surrounding London had a particularly high concentration of councillors in the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary I and Elizabeth I. The royal palaces and the institutions of government were concentrated in London and its environs. Therefore, councillors based in this region would have had a straightforward commute to the court. In an age of poor transport and communication, proximity to the capital and the seat of government would have been highly beneficial. This proximity also made it more likely for an aspiring councillor to come to the attention of the ruling monarch as they could more easily travel to court. The dominance of the South East was also reflected in the number of councillors appointed to the commissions of the peace in each county. For instance, Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, Hertfordshire, Middlesex, Surrey, Kent and Sussex all had over 30 councillors sitting on their commissions between 1509 and 1603.⁶¹⁹

⁶¹⁷ 'Map of the Historic Counties', *Historic Counties Trust*, 2022 <<https://abcounties.com/map-of-the-counties/>> [Accessed 31 December 2022].

⁶¹⁸ 'The Historic Counties Standard: A Standard for the definition of the Names, Areas and Borders of the Historic Counties of the United Kingdom', *The Historic Counties Trust* (2022), pp.1-24 (p.8).

⁶¹⁹ Due to the lack of commission records for some years the figures here may not capture all councillors who were JPs. However, they offer a good approximation of the numbers and illustrate a clear pattern of membership.

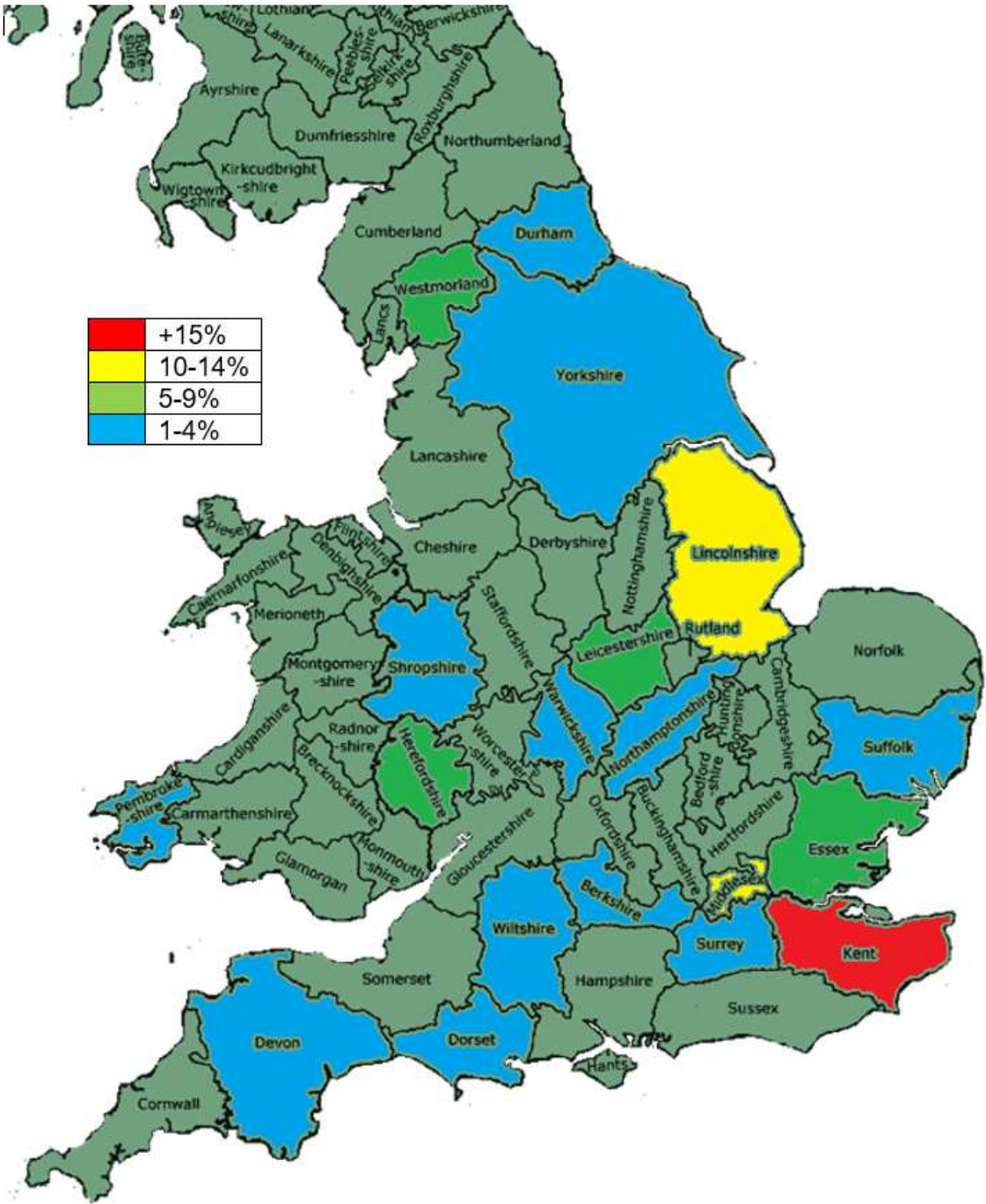


Figure 4.4 The Principal Power Bases of Edward VI's Privy Councillors 1553

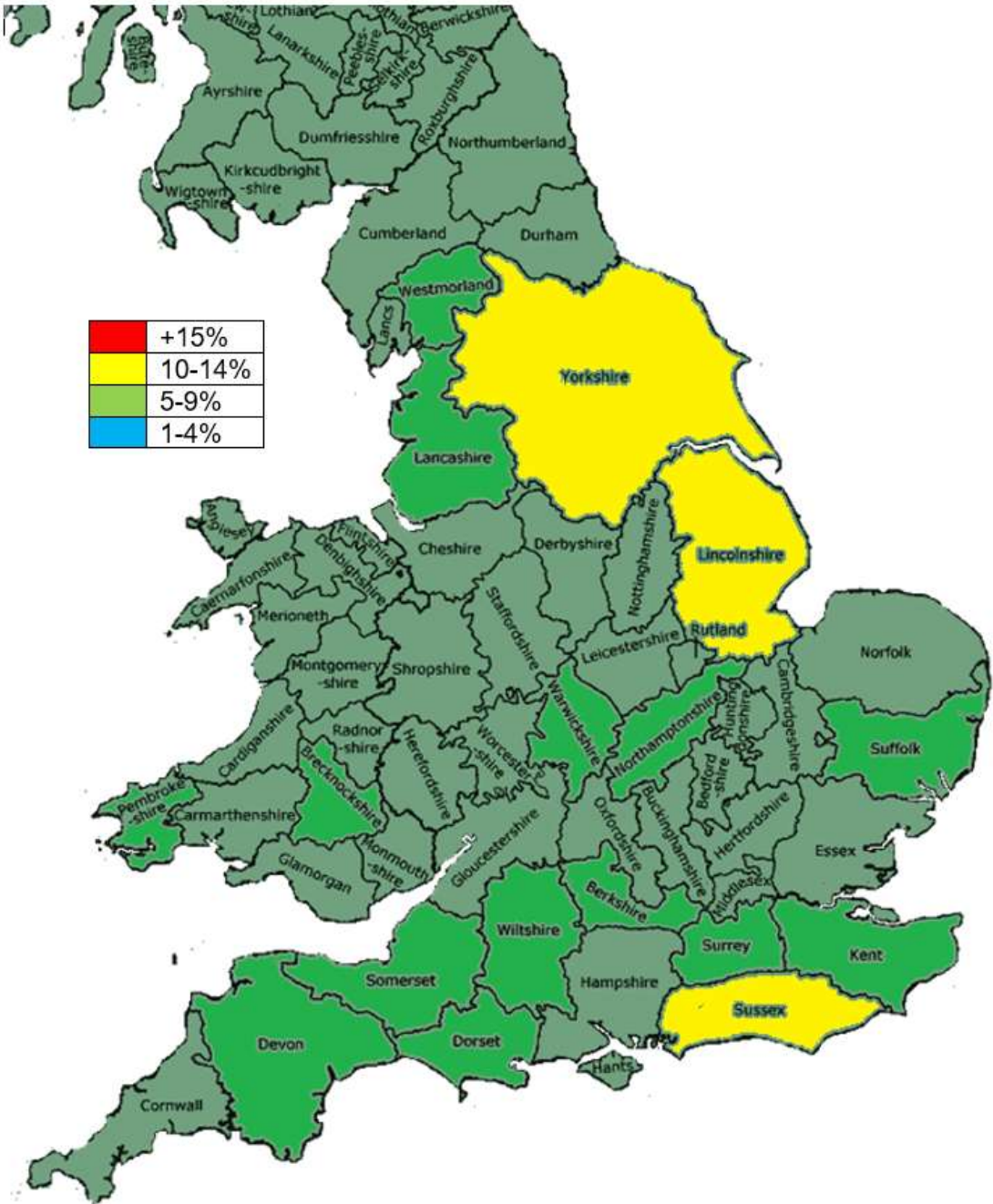


Figure 4.6 The Principal Power Bases of Elizabeth I's Privy Councillors 1558

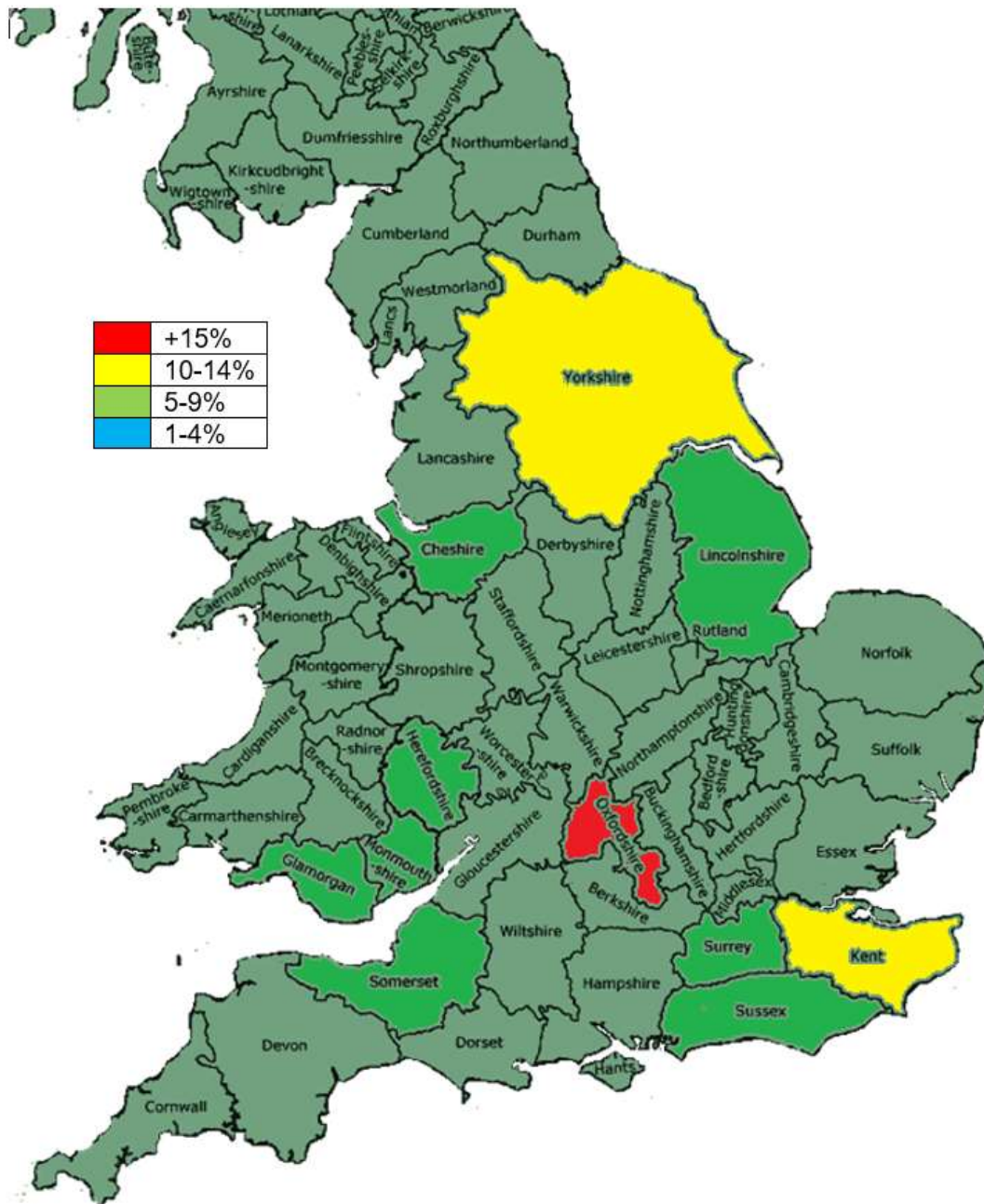


Figure 4.7 The Principal Power Bases of Elizabeth I's Privy Councillors 1603

As a means of governance, the concentration of councillors' estates could prove crucial at times of discontent as they could be relied upon to promote government policy. For example, Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk, possessed extensive estates across East Anglia and was regularly required to intervene in local matters. In 1528, he wrote to Wolsey about how he had rounded up and imprisoned 'divers lewd persons of Bury' who had made 'unlawful assembly', imprisoning some of them in his own house and conducting inquiries to find others.⁶²⁰ He also requested that the prisoners be conveyed to the King, 'as their punishment there would deter others more than here.'⁶²¹ Significantly, there is no suggestion in the correspondence that Howard was ordered to pursue these rioters. Instead, upon discovering the disturbance, he acted on his own initiative to disperse the rioters and restore order. Howard also recognised that if the perpetrators were brought before the King for punishment, that would be a greater deterrent than any action he could perform. Thus, the dual strands of local power are evident: Howard clearly had great authority in his lands and sphere of influence, but even he recognised that ultimate authority belonged to the King.

Similarly, during Elizabeth's reign, Henry Herbert (c.1538-1601), second Earl of Pembroke, the greatest landowner in Glamorgan, regularly intervened there to settle disputes between quarrelsome gentry. In November 1575, for instance, he moved to end a dispute between two local troublemakers, Sir Edward Stradling and Thomas Carne. He wrote to Stradling: 'I have dealt with my cosen Karne for quietness sake, as of my self, not to follow any matter by suit of law, or complaint unto the Counsell; hoping that as he is conformable to any reasonable end that I shall make, so you will not be against that wich is soe requisite and necessary amongst neighbours and friends.'⁶²² Herbert explicitly called on the aggrieved parties to put their faith in his arbitration and not to take matters to the Council or the courts. In a later letter of 1576, Herbert once again used his social position to pressure another local landowner, William Basset, to retract his suit in Star Chamber against Edward Stradling. He said: 'I take it unkindly, considering my travel, and that ye respect not your promise that ye would be... his faithful friend. Surely, if ye retract not your suit in the [Star Chamber], I shall... be a dealer therein to the discovery of your unquietness, and the preventing of such troublesome devices.'⁶²³ These were instances where Herbert acted as a local landowner rather than a royal official. Indeed, he was actively trying to prevent the cases from being heard in the council. His local standing and influence were put

⁶²⁰ *L&P Henry VIII*, vol.4, en.41012.

⁶²¹ *L&P Henry VIII*, vol.4, en.41012.

⁶²² *Stradling Correspondence*, ed. John Montgomery Traherene (London: Longman, 1840), LVIII, pp.65-6.

⁶²³ *Stradling Correspondence*, p.69.

at the disposal of the Crown when he became Lord President of the Council in the Marches of Wales in 1586.⁶²⁴

The potential for overlapping spheres of influence to cause tension and disrupt government has already been outlined in relation to the Howard-Brandon feud in East Anglia. However, geographical proximity could provide councillors with an opportunity to develop friendly relations. For instance, Thomas Sackville (c.1536-1608), first Baron Buckhurst, and William Brooke (1527-1597), tenth Baron Cobham, were neighbours in the counties of Sussex and Kent and were often required to work together on local matters. Sackville's main power base was in Sussex, where he was a JP from 1559 and lord lieutenant of the county from 1569.⁶²⁵ Brooke held the equivalent posts in Kent, and his country estate was based at Cobham Hall.⁶²⁶ In addition, Brooke became Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports in succession to Thomas Cheyne in 1558, giving him a role across the south in managing coastal defences. Thus, both men had an essential role in the administration and defence of the south coast of England. Cooperation between the two can be seen in a commission of 1578 that appointed them to 'apprehend pirates inhabiting Kent'.⁶²⁷ In fact, Brooke suggested that Sackville join him on the commission in the first place.⁶²⁸ Similar commissions were also issued to both men for setting watches and beacons on the coasts.⁶²⁹ This suggests that the two worked well together and does not indicate any regional rivalry between them.

Furthermore, they both joined the privy council on 12 February 1586 and Thomas Morgan, a spy for Mary Queen of Scots, regarded them as of the same 'faction' as William Cecil and in opposition to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester.⁶³⁰ It is likely that Morgan was exaggerating the differences between the two groups, but it is nonetheless significant that Brooke and Sackville were regarded as like-minded allies. Undoubtedly, Sackville had good relations with Brooke's son and successor, Henry Brooke (1564-1619), eleventh Baron Cobham. He wrote to the new Baron Cobham four months after his father had died in 1597:

I have received your Bezar [Bezoar] Stone, which, during my life, I will keep as a perpetual token of your love; if there were nothing but the value which itself deserves, being so rare and

⁶²⁴ SP 12/193 f.107.

⁶²⁵ Rickah Zim, 'Thomas Sackville, c.1536-1608', *ODNB* (2015).

⁶²⁶ Julian Lock, 'William Brooke, 1527-1597', *ODNB* (2008).

⁶²⁷ PC 2/12 f.233.

⁶²⁸ PC 1/12 f.335.

⁶²⁹ PC 2/14 f.209.

⁶³⁰ SP 53/17 f.32. *Calendar of State Papers, Scotland*, vol.8, en.305, p.262.

precious, it were sufficient to bind me unto you, but your noble and bountiful mind, with your love expressed in your letter, is more than I can by any desert requite.⁶³¹

A Bezoar stone was a rare and costly substance formed in an animal's stomach from chewed hair, which contemporaries believed to possess healing properties. Thus, the stone and the warm words of the letter signalled a close connection between Sackville and the younger Brooke that can hardly have been formed in the mere four months since the death of the tenth Baron. The likelihood was that the two families had known each other for a long time before this point, and Sackville was reaffirming this connection now that Henry Brooke was the head of the family. This friendly relationship highlights the difficulty in constructing a national narrative regarding the relationship between councillors. Despite several high-profile disputes in the highly populated South East of England there still existed the possibility of cooperation and collaboration between the leading landowning councillors. This may have become more likely as the period progressed as the small size of Elizabeth's council, and the councillors increasing cultural and political homogenisation, made disputes less likely. Also, the fact that they were few in number and spread over a wide geographical area made overlapping spheres of influence rare.

Compared to the South East, there was a relative absence of councillors' estates in the South West and North of England. This was reflected in the number of councillor JPs in these areas. For example, in the far north, Cumberland, Northumberland and Westmorland all had 15 or fewer councillor JPs across the period. Similarly, Devon, Cornwall and Dorset all had fewer than 20. This was likely due to their distance from the centre of power and the poor-quality transport networks in these predominantly rural areas. Due to the limited government representation in these areas they tended to be the most troublesome and most prone to rebellion.

One solution to these problems was to set up a councillor in the region in order to strengthen royal control. For instance, the King ordered Charles Brandon to relocate from East Anglia to Lincolnshire in the 1530s. Brandon had possessed property in Lincolnshire since 1516 but had shown only minimal interest in the county until that point. However, from 1535, he was often resident and became the dominant magnate in the area. This was partly a consequence of the Lincolnshire rebellion of 1536, which some thought was a result of the lack of a strong hand in the management of the county.⁶³² Brandon was not granted any special powers or commissions to bolster his authority, nor was a

⁶³¹ SP 12/264 f.103.

⁶³² Gunn, *Charles Brandon*, p.143.

regional council set up as in the North or South West. Instead, he was left to establish himself in the county through the traditional means of land and patronage. The Dissolution of the Monasteries provided a unique opportunity to expand his landholdings: he acquired the lands of the dissolved houses of Thornholme, Louth Park, St Katherine's Lincoln, Bullington, Barlings, Kirkstead, Greenfield, Markby, Nocton Park, Vaudey and Newhouse.⁶³³ These lands, combined with manors of his wife, Katherine Willoughby, made him the largest landowner in Lincolnshire. Brandon also placed members of his network into county offices. For instance, Brandon's feodary, Walter Wadlond, and his receiver-general, Robert Browne, became JPs in 1535.⁶³⁴ Brandon also gained the right to nominate the recorder of Lincoln after 1536, who represented the city in parliament, and invariably chose his clients, such as George St Paul in 1542.⁶³⁵ Thus, Brandon's success in establishing a power base in Lincolnshire exemplifies the continuing strength of traditional social and political forces in the Tudor period.

Similarly, this happened in 1539 in the South West with John Russell. He was named steward of the Duchy of Cornwall, Warden of the Stannaries, rider of Dartmoor Forest, keeper of Restmormel Castle, master of the deer hunts at Dartmoor and Exmoor, JP for Devon and Cornwall and commissioner for coastal defences.⁶³⁶ He was also named Lord President of the newly created Council of the West. Regional councils were occasionally set up to govern particular regions, but were often the second-best option, with the Tudors usually preferring to empower a trusted councillor or representative as the dominant force in a region. It was the absence of a suitable candidate that resulted in the creation of a council. This could explain the swift collapse of the Council of the West, as Russell no longer needed it once he had established his dominant regional base. Undoubtedly, Russell would have been a powerful man based solely on his extensive landholdings, but by combining them with royal offices, he became a deputy of the Crown, able to speak with the force of royal authority.

After 1559, Elizabeth I avoided administrative innovations and relied exclusively on the existing apparatus of local government and the traditions of good lordship. This included the greatly expanded commission of the peace, the judges of the assize with their new supervisory powers, and the lord lieutenants.⁶³⁷ In the earlier period, it was common for groups of councillors to be sent into the counties to perform sensitive tasks for the government, but by Elizabeth's reign, the role of councillors in local government was a supervisory one. Local landowners and officeholders would collect

⁶³³ A. J. Hodgget, *Tudor Lincolnshire* (Lincoln: History of Lincolnshire Committee, 1975), p.50.

⁶³⁴ *L&P Henry VIII*, vol.13, I, en.1520.

⁶³⁵ Hodgget, *Tudor Lincolnshire*, pp.102-3.

⁶³⁶ Willen, *John Russell*, p.65.

⁶³⁷ Williams, *Tudor Regime*, p.420.

information, enforce orders handed down from the central government, and then report directly to the council or their local lord lieutenant, who was also often a councillor himself.⁶³⁸ This change in approach was another way in which the council became an executive body staffed by officeholders and overseers. The management of the localities was not solely dependent on the influence and presence of great landowners and the information they provided when they communicated with the centre. The Crown now had its own extensive network of officials tied directly to the centre through the members of the privy council.

The greatest landowner in sixteenth-century England was, of course, the Crown, but the monarchs were absentee landlords, which limited their direct influence. The monarchs appointed stewards and keepers of royal lands, parks and residences to mitigate this shortcoming. A steward spoke with their master's voice and acted as a conduit between them and their tenants to ensure the smooth running and tranquillity of the estate. As a consequence of this role, stewards were often best placed to act as eyes and ears in the affairs of the region or county.⁶³⁹ This role had added significance when the landlord was the monarch and the steward a leading statesman, as the steward became a direct expression of royal authority.

The granting of a royal stewardship was public recognition from the monarch of an individual's position within a particular county or region. For instance, Thomas Audley's authority in the counties surrounding his country seat, Audley End, Essex, was strengthened by his appointment as the steward for the lands of the Duchy of Lancaster in Essex, Middlesex and Hertfordshire in July 1540.⁶⁴⁰ Audley combined these grants with another local royal office: constable of Hertford Castle. Constables were responsible for maintaining royal castles in a good state of repair and preparedness for war. However, few English constables experienced war, and aside from their military functions, castles also acted as centres for sheriffs and justices of the peace.⁶⁴¹ This gave the constable a role in law enforcement in his local area.

Throughout the sixteenth century, stewardships and constablerships remained a viable method of extending conciliar control in the localities. For example, at the beginning of her reign, Elizabeth I used royal patronage to enhance the position of John Perrot (1528-1592), a future councillor, in

⁶³⁸ Williams, *Tudor Regime*, p.420.

⁶³⁹ Hainsworth, *Stewards*, p.3.

⁶⁴⁰ *L&P Henry VIII*, vol.15, en.942.

⁶⁴¹ Richard R. Heiser, 'Castles, Constables, and Politics in Late Twelfth-Century English Governance', *Albion*, 32 (2000), 19-36 (p.20).

Pembrokeshire. He was made steward of the royal manors of Carew, Coedra and Narberth, and constable of Tenby and Narberth Castles.⁶⁴² These offices augmented his considerable landed position in the county, which was further increased in 1561 when he was granted a commission to search out concealed lands which had formerly belonged to the priory of Haverfordwest.⁶⁴³ Perrot was authorised to keep the lands he discovered as a result of this commission's activities. The dissolved monasteries' lands could change the landholding pattern and enhance the position of local notables.

The Dissolution of the Monasteries resulted in the largest redistribution of land in England since the Norman Conquest of 1066. As members of the central executive, councillors were in a favourable position to benefit from the flood of new land entering the market. For instance, in 1537, William Fitzwilliam was granted lands in Sussex worth £264, mostly out of the estates of the priory of Shurlbred and the abbey of Duford.⁶⁴⁴ Similarly, Edward Seymour received lands worth £604 from the Crown prior to his elevation to the title Earl of Hertford in October 1547.⁶⁴⁵ This grant included the extensive lands of the priory of Maiden Bradley in Wiltshire, Seymour's main power base. In fact, the lands Seymour received from the Crown exceeded the value of lands he had inherited from his father (£450).⁶⁴⁶ The Dissolution allowed the Tudor monarchs to endow their loyal servants with significant territory without depleting the Crown lands.

One of the most extensive and significant grants of former monastic land made in the Tudor period went to John Russell. It has already been noted how Russell used royal office to bolster his position in the South West of England. Accompanying these offices was a large grant of former monastic land worth £1000.⁶⁴⁷ The grant included Tavistock Abbey, with the borough of Tavistock, Dunkeswell Abbey and the Black Friars in Exeter, as well as a collection of smaller lands and properties across Devon, Cornwall and Somerset. These grants propelled Russell to a position of pre-eminence and made him the largest landowner in the region. Henry VIII intended Russell to replace Henry Courtenay, Marquess of Exeter, who had been executed in 1538, and recognised that this would require a solid landed base. In normal times, the pattern of landholding remained relatively static, as aside from attainder and forfeiture, there were few opportunities to break up the accumulated landed wealth of families. The Dissolution resulted in vast swathes of land moving into new hands. The recipients were usually those

⁶⁴² Roger Turvey, 'Sir John Perrot, 1528-1592, *ODNB* (2009).

⁶⁴³ Turvey, 'John Perrot', *ODNB*.

⁶⁴⁴ *L&P Henry VIII*, vol.12, II, en.1008.

⁶⁴⁵ SP1/125 f.96. *L&P Henry VIII*, vol.12, II, en.804.

⁶⁴⁶ Miller, *English Nobility*, p.235.

⁶⁴⁷ *L&P Henry VIII*, vol.14, I, en.1354. Joyce Youings, *Devon Monastic Lands: Calendar of Particular Gifts* (London: Boydell & Brewer, 1955), pp.5-7.

at the top of the political system, allowing them to entrench their positions as landowners as well as councillors.

The informal role of councillors in their counties is nonetheless difficult to quantify and assess. They clearly had influence in their capacity as landlords and magnates, but it is impossible to disentangle this from their influence from officeholding. For example, in October 1536, when George Talbot, fourth Earl of Shrewsbury, gathered his tenants to march against the Pilgrims of Grace without a royal command to do so, did men flock to his banner because he was their rightful lord or because he held local office or out of loyalty to the King?⁶⁴⁸ The truth is likely a combination of all three; but any attempt to rank these factors against each other is a fruitless endeavour. Instead, by analysing all facets of a councillor's role in the localities, it is possible to detect a multifaceted culture and approach to local government by privy councillors. Councillors used their position as landlords in combination with royal office to present an authority that was hard to resist.

The ability of a son to inherit his father's position was a key benefit of landholding and was a preoccupation of privy councillors. Most offices were granted only for life, so they would not automatically be inherited by an heir. This could make political prominence transient and fragile. As a result, most privy councillors sought to transform their momentary favour into lasting security by establishing a landed estate and dynasty. The essential requirements for a successful political dynasty were networks of influence, sources of income, and reserves of prestige. These three components could be acquired at court, but success depended on a personal relationship with the monarch, something not easily inherited by an heir. Therefore, it is at the county level that councillors usually sought to establish their families on a secure foundation.

The foundation of a landed dynasty was another aspect of the blended culture of the Tudor elite. The creation of an estate and the building of a magnificent country seat were hallmarks of the medieval nobility, but these were goals pursued by Tudor councillors because they guaranteed a certain level of influence and a secure economic and social foundation. A brief survey of some of the building projects of privy councillors is enough to confirm that these were men who sought to establish multi-generational political dynasties.

The focal point of a councillor's regional affinity was usually a large country manor house. These buildings had various different functions. First and foremost, they provided a comfortable residence

⁶⁴⁸ Bernard, *The Power of the early Tudor Nobility*, p.30. *L&P Henry VIII*, vol.11, en.537. He was named a JP for Yorkshire in April 1536: *L&P HVIII*, vol.10, p.327, en.777.

for councillors when they visited their estates. They also served as an administrative headquarters at which tenants could pay their rents and negotiate leases; as part of this, the owner of the house might be expected to offer hospitality to those who had travelled great distances.⁶⁴⁹ However, their most significant purpose was to demonstrate their owner's wealth and prestige. It complemented a councillor's role in maintaining order as a magnificent house could assert or reinforce claims to power over neighbouring gentry or tenantry.⁶⁵⁰ House building was a competitive enterprise in Tudor England, as members of the elite sought to outdo their peers in terms of the size and sophistication of their houses. The numerous surviving Tudor houses in England are a testament to this aspect of sixteenth-century regional life.

The idea that country houses were power houses, built for political ends, was a favoured interpretation of the later twentieth century. M. Girouard claimed that architecture was a weapon in the power game of Tudor politics and that Henry VIII was a master in the art of projecting political messages through his palaces.⁶⁵¹ For David Howarth, the layout of Tudor palaces reflected the social and political pressures upon Henry VIII, with the creation of a complex suite of private rooms providing a barrier between the King and the demands of his subjects.⁶⁵² However, Bernard has challenged such arguments by pointing out that there is very little contemporary evidence that sheds light on the motivations of the builders of great houses, and that relying on the buildings themselves as evidence risks creating a circular argument. He also questioned the effectiveness of architectural political messaging that few would have seen or understood.⁶⁵³ Nevertheless, there was clearly an expectation that members of the political elite should build large houses or risk losing the respect of their peers and those whose loyalty they demanded. This can be seen in the numerous building projects of privy councillors.

The advent of the Tudor dynasty coincided with an upsurge in interest in architecture inspired by Renaissance ideas. As a result, during the Tudor period, the houses of the elite changed from inward-looking, scattered buildings within a defensive courtyard to bold, symmetrical and lavish structures

⁶⁴⁹ G. W. Bernard, *Power and Politics in Tudor England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), p.178.

⁶⁵⁰ Bernard, *Power and Politics*, p.175.

⁶⁵¹ M. Girouard, 'Henry VIII, king of builders: how Tudor palace architecture became a weapon in the power game', *Tudor Literary Supplement* (1994), pp.16-17; Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: a social and architectural history* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979).

⁶⁵² David Howarth, *Images of Rule: Art and Politics in the English Renaissance, 1485-1649* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), pp.12-13.

⁶⁵³ Bernard, *Power and Politics*, p.177.

facing out to impress visitors.⁶⁵⁴ This transition was emblematic of the changing elite culture within England. The political elite was no longer attempting to build defensive structures in an effort to resist royal authority but was instead constructing magnificent palaces designed to project confidence and a sense of political permanence. In some ways these building projects were the result of insecurity regarding a position that was increasingly dependent on royal favour. This search for permanence and a secure foundation could be the reason why so many councillors emulated the work of royal architects in the design of their houses.

For instance, Henry VIII's building projects at Whitehall Palace and Hampton Court would be emulated by several of his councillors. At Whitehall, the Holbein Gate commissioned by Henry was typical of the English Gothic architectural style featuring heraldic devices, pointed arches and defensive features such as battlements. The gate also featured the symmetry of Renaissance designs and was flanked on each side by long galleries.⁶⁵⁵ Many of these features can also be seen at Hampton Court. The influence of these royal residences are evident in Henry Marney's Layer Marney, Thomas Cheyne's Shurland Hall and Thomas Wriothesley's Titchfield Abbey, all of which were built during Henry's reign.

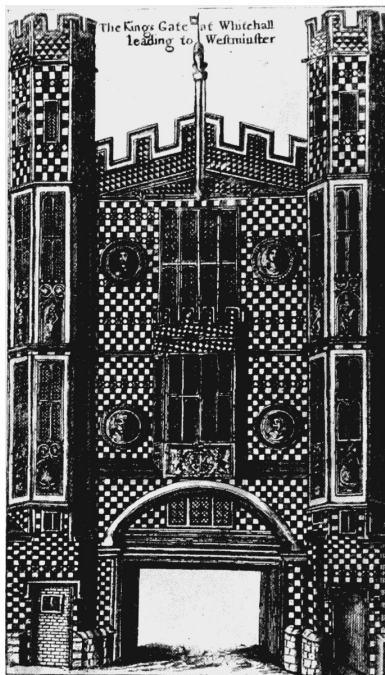


Figure 4.8 Holbein Gate, Whitehall Palace

⁶⁵⁴ Trevor Yorke, *Tudor Houses Explained* (Newbury: Countryside, 2009), p.31.

⁶⁵⁵ Simon Thurley, *Whitehall Palace: An Architectural History of the Royal Apartments 1240-1698* (London: Yale University Press, 1999), pp.43-45.



Figure 4.9 Hampton Court Palace



Figure 4.10 Shurland Hall, Kent.



Figure 4.11 Titchfield Abbey, Hampshire.



Figure 4.12 Layer Marney, Essex.

Building projects undertaken by councillors reached their peak in Elizabeth's reign with councillors competing with each other to create the grandest and most innovative residences. Examples of this include Theobalds, Hertfordshire, and Burghley House, Lincolnshire, both of which were built by the Cecil family. A contemporary observer claimed that Cecil built 'three houses. One in London, for necessity. Another at Burghley; of competency, for the mansion of his barony. And another at Waltham, for his younger sone'.⁶⁵⁶ The account goes on to say that Cecil possessed other houses but they 'be not bigger then will serve for a nobleman', suggesting a contemporary awareness that

⁶⁵⁶ *Desiderata Curiosa: A collection of divers scarce and curious pieces relating chiefly to matters of English History*, ed. Francis Peck (London: T. Evans, 1779), p.25.

noblemen required a house of a certain size and opulence.⁶⁵⁷ This was a reflection of the priorities of Tudor councillors: Cecil needed a house in London as this was the place he undertook the bulk of his work, but he was also expected to build a grand country seat to reflect his status as a baron. The combination of the identities of regional magnate and royal officeholder were given physical expression in the creation of the two buildings.

Christopher Hatton, Lord Chancellor and Elizabeth's favourite, set out to surpass Cecil's building projects when he commissioned his own residence, Holdenby House, in Northamptonshire. The house was built on the same plan as Theobalds, with two great courts covering two acres, a chapel and a long gallery, 146 feet by 22 feet.⁶⁵⁸ Unfortunately, little remains of Theobalds and Holdenby today, but the competition between two of Elizabeth's leading councillors reveals much about how they saw themselves and their priorities. Hatton's desire to build a county seat commensurate with his status revealed the lengths to which councillors would go in order to build a secure political foundation. It also demonstrated the level of competition that existed between men at the top of the political hierarchy. Huge building projects were ruinously expensive, and even the elite struggled to maintain the income required to see them through to completion. Holdenby House effectively bankrupted Hatton, and when he died a few years after its completion in 1591, he owed the Crown £18,071.⁶⁵⁹ Nevertheless, the fact that Hatton was willing to place himself in such a precarious financial position for the sake of outward display suggests that maintaining an appropriate image as a councillor was a vital component of the role.

In this, privy councillors shared much of the culture of the traditional aristocracy, who had built grand residences to demonstrate their power in comparison to their peers. However, in the sixteenth century, there was a change in emphasis from martial power to cultural competition. This was partly an influence of the humanists who praised competition, if conducted in a morally acceptable way. For instance, in Thomas More's idyllic paradise of *Utopia*, the Utopians often competed to have the grandest gardens.⁶⁶⁰ This was another way in which aristocratic culture combined with new ideas regarding service and the Renaissance.

⁶⁵⁷ *Desiderata*, p.26.

⁶⁵⁸ Wallace T. MacCaffery, 'Christopher Hatton, c.1540-1591', *ODNB* (2016).

⁶⁵⁹ MacCaffery, 'Christopher Hatton', *ODNB* (2016).

⁶⁶⁰ Thomas More, *Utopia*, p.212.



Figure 4.13 Burghley House, Lincolnshire.



Figure 4.14 Holdenby House, Northamptonshire.

The provision of hospitality was part of Tudor political life, and a grand property could provide a spectacular backdrop against which councillors could entertain their peers and neighbours. There was no clearer demonstration of the opportunities which hospitality provided than a royal visit. The prestige and political benefits which such a visit might bring presumably offset the considerable

material expense. The opportunities for a royal visit increased as the century progressed because, unlike their father, Edward, Mary and Elizabeth built few new royal palaces themselves. Elizabeth, in particular, was content to let herself be entertained by her councillors in their ever-grander houses rather than increasing her own expense. For instance, Cecil had originally intended Theobalds to be 'but a little pile... but, after he came to enterteyne the quene so often there, he was infored to enlarge it, rather for the quene and her greate traine, & to sett the poore on worke, then for pompe or glory'.⁶⁶¹ In fact, Elizabeth visited Theobalds so often that it virtually became a royal residence, which James I recognised when he exchanged it for Hatfield House with Cecil's son.⁶⁶²

An impending royal visit could cause considerable anxiety to the Queen's hosts. For example, Lord Keeper Nicholas Bacon sought Cecil's reassurance in 1572 when the Queen announced she would visit Bacon's Gorhambury in Hertfordshire. Bacon wanted to know the precise details of the Queen's visit and hoped Cecil would advise him about the expectations relating to royal hospitality. He wrote, 'no man is more rawe in suche a matter then my selfe' and that 'he wold gladly take that cours that might best pleas her Made which I knowe not how better to understand then by your help.'⁶⁶³ Similarly, Thomas Sackville (1536-1608), Lord Buckhurst, worried that his preparations for Elizabeth's visit to Lewes in July 1577 were inadequate and sought the help of Thomas Radcliffe (c.1525-1583), third Earl of Sussex and Lord Chamberlain. Sackville feared that 'the time of provision is so short' and that other hosts nearby would have acquired the best supplies, forcing him to import provisions from Flanders.⁶⁶⁴ He also begged the Lord Chamberlain to delay Elizabeth's visit by a year so he could renovate the house.⁶⁶⁵ This was a striking illustration of the importance of such a visit and the high standards it appeared Elizabeth expected from her councillors. Resigned to his fate, Sackville remarked: 'I can but besech God that the hous[e] do not mislike her; that is my chief care: the rest shallbe performed with that good hart as I am sure yt wilbe accepted.'⁶⁶⁶ Significantly, Bacon and Sackville sought the help of their fellow councillors when faced with a royal visit suggesting that the competition between them was friendly, and that they were instinctively ready to cooperate with each other. A botched royal visit would have presented an opportunity for a political rival to take advantage of the host's

⁶⁶¹ *Desiderata*, p.25.

⁶⁶² Mary Hill Cole, *The Portable Queen: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Ceremony* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2010), p.29.

⁶⁶³ BL, Lansdowne MS: XIV, f.176.

⁶⁶⁴ *Original Letters Illustrative of English History Volume Two*, ed. Henry Ellis (London: Harding, Triphook and Leonard, 1825-1846), pp.271-2.

⁶⁶⁵ Ellis, *Original Letters*, pp.271-2.

⁶⁶⁶ Ellis, *Original Letters*, pp.271-2.

embarrassment and royal displeasure, and the fact that this did not happen suggests a remarkable collegiality between the members of Elizabeth's council.

The desire to establish a political dynasty based on land ownership was a distinctly medieval notion, but one that survived into the sixteenth century. Despite the changing culture surrounding government service and the increasing use of royal offices to legitimise local authority, land still offered the most secure foundation for a political dynasty. This is why councillors continued to build landed estates throughout the sixteenth century.

-

Privy councillors played an essential role in local government in the Tudor period. Their primary function was to act as a conduit between the centre and the localities. The English state did not possess a bureaucracy capable of directly administering the whole realm, so it relied on the political elite to enforce royal policy and maintain order. Councillors used their extensive landholdings and royal offices to carry out this role. While land remained important throughout the century, officeholding increasingly legitimised the authority of regional governors. It was also the case that councillors became overseers rather than active participants in local government and politics as the century progressed.

The local relations between councillors could have significant consequences for national politics and the stability of a particular region. For example, competition between two leading councillors could cause splits in the local gentry and feuding in the county. It was also possible for geographical proximity to foster friendly relations between individuals. Moreover, the Crown was capable of translating one of their servants into a new region and endowing them with extensive lands and offices in order to bolster royal authority. The essential flexibility of the Tudor system partly accounts for its durability in the face of rapid social, economic and political change. Tudor governments regularly adapted their methods of control in the face of challenges, but privy councillors remained the personnel who directed and oversaw the mechanisms of local government, whether they were JPs, commissioners or landlords.

The role of councillors in the localities changed during the sixteenth century as a result of changing perceptions regarding royal service. Councillors continued to seek regional authority and to develop networks of clients in the country, but this was done in collaboration with the Crown. This can most clearly be seen in the growing use of royal offices to legitimise regional power and the increased local cooperation between councillors in Elizabeth's reign. A seat on the council was required to play a significant part in national politics, and it was primarily through council membership that independent

Chapter 4

authority to act in the localities was granted. The overall effect of this was a series of connections and networks that ran from the localities to the centre through the privy council. The system that governed Tudor England was a multifaceted web of offices and custom. It was held together only by the personnel of the privy council and is only comprehensible when viewed through the actions and outlook of the councillors themselves.

Chapter 5 Social Spheres

The relationships which existed between privy councillors had implications for the politics and governance of Tudor England. The preceding chapters have explored the background and careers of Tudor privy councillors and highlighted how these factors shaped their outlook and relationships. In this chapter, these connections are analysed further to highlight the central place of the networks themselves in the Tudor polity. It is only by understanding the relationships between councillors and the groups within which they operated that we can fully understand Tudor government and politics.

Traditionally, historians argued for a factional model of politics in which the elite was divided along ideological lines, and individuals sought power for themselves and their allies above all other considerations. Ives, for instance, claimed that factions were vital to the day-to-day operation of politics and essential to promoting individual councillor's interests.⁶⁶⁷ However, this interpretation presented a fundamentally antagonistic model that saw councillors' interactions through a purely political lens. Increasingly, historians such as Bernard, Mears and Adams, have criticised the factional model of older interpretations, and have instead stressed the prevalence of looser and more fluid associations among the Tudor elite.⁶⁶⁸ This study builds on the work of these historians by exploring the long term personal relationships between councillors. By taking this long-term view, it prevents moments of crisis and turmoil defining the nature of the connection between individuals. Thus, the focus is on the areas where councillors interacted and cooperated with each other and on the friendships that developed between them. The present chapter focuses on these neglected areas in order to reveal the social networks within which councillors operated. The result is a view of the Tudor political elite that sees factional incidents as aberrations and the result of exceptional political circumstances rather than the norm.

The vast majority of privy councillors had cordial relations with their colleagues throughout the Tudor period. Councillors worked closely together, attending regular meetings and working in committees and on commissions with each other. Their social lives were also heavily connected, especially while they were residents at the Court. In these circumstances, personal animosity was rare and not usually tolerated by the Tudor monarchs. It has been argued by Bernard that domination by factions was only

⁶⁶⁷ Ives, 'Henry VIII: The Political Perspective', p.29.

⁶⁶⁸ Bernard, *Power and Politics*, pp.7-17; Mears, 'Courts, Courtiers, and Culture in Tudor England', p.709; Adams, *Leicester and the Court*, pp.18-19.

possible when the monarch was weak and easily influenced.⁶⁶⁹ This was a rare occurrence during the Tudor period, with only the minor Edward VI unable to control his councillors and courtiers. With a child on the throne, a subject could wield royal authority in the king's name, so the resulting conciliar struggles for supremacy were more deadly and acrimonious than at other times during the sixteenth century.

Also, for a short period in the mid-century religious differences split some members of the political elite into opposing camps. This period lasted from the final years of Henry VIII's reign until the accession of Mary and was characterised by a religious fluidity in government. Henry's initial Break with Rome secured the acquiescence of the vast majority of the political nation, and there was minimal disquiet in his council. However, this consensus broke down in his final years as the government's position vacillated between orthodoxy and reform, and councillors began to look towards the next reign. The minority of Edward allowed religion to become a dividing issue in a way that would not have been possible under an adult monarch whose will was well known. As adult monarchs, Mary and Elizabeth made their personal religious stances clear. Consequently, it was impossible to be a member of Mary's privy council and advocate for Protestant reform. Similarly, Elizabeth had no active Catholic privy councillors. In this regard, religion was a less relevant dividing line between councillors than it had been previously.

It is true that, under Elizabeth, a slight distinction emerged between moderate Protestants and the more radical Puritans. However, the traditional picture of factional disputes between these groups presented by J. E. Neale and Conyers Read was overstated.⁶⁷⁰ Increasingly, historians such as Adams and Guy have argued that the Elizabethan establishment was broadly united on policy and only quibbled on how best to implement it.⁶⁷¹ It is impossible to detect any serious ideological factions based upon religious principles during Elizabeth's reign. In fact, their shared religious beliefs were more likely to draw council members together than push them apart. This shared belief and unity was strengthened in the face of Catholic attacks, such as the papal bull of deposition in 1570, the Ridolfi Plot of 1571 and the St Bartholomew's Day massacre in France in 1572. Thus, from the early 1570s, councillors displayed a degree of homogeneity previously unknown. The bonds of religious loyalty that connected Elizabethan councillors were strengthened by ties of family and friendship.

⁶⁶⁹ Bernard, *Who Ruled Tudor England?*, p.133.

⁶⁷⁰ J. E. Neale, *The Elizabethan Political Scene* (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1948); C. Read, 'Faction in the English Privy Council under Elizabeth', *Annual Bulletin of the American Historical Association*, 1 (1911), 111-19.

⁶⁷¹ Adams, *Leicester and the Court*, pp.24-25; Guy, *Tudor England*, pp.254-8.

This is not to claim that rivalry or factions did not exist, but instead to suggest that they were occasional and conditional upon circumstances. Walker has convincingly argued that factional history craves the organised group, or secret network, whose activities and influence can be detected behind the scenes, but that this is rarely supported by evidence.⁶⁷² The case studies in this chapter reinforce this interpretation and instead present the opposite case: that much more evidence for cooperation and cordiality survives than for animosity and discord.

The primary political support network of the majority of councillors was their family. In the early modern period, family was conceived of in broad terms that went beyond the nuclear family. Stone argued that the nuclear family was a loose core at the centre of a dense network of lineage and kin relationships.⁶⁷³ For Stone, distant relations were bound to the family unit by a preoccupation with prestige and wealth. The transmission of property and status through inheritance maintained the coherence of the family unit across generations.⁶⁷⁴ Stone's view of the family as a large and integrated political grouping bound together by economic factors has been challenged by several historians. For instance, Ralph Houlbrooke claimed that relations outside the nuclear family with other kin were weak and that despite monumental developments in the early modern society, there was no fundamental change in familial forms, functions or ideals.⁶⁷⁵ Similarly, Stone's argument that family ties were based on the unemotional realities of economics and inheritance politics was criticised by J. A. Sharpe as a perspective that looked towards the individual, capitalist present.⁶⁷⁶ It is likely that the reality was a middle ground between these two opposing views.

While large kinship networks were unlikely to be under the direct control of the head of the family, the ties between distant relations undoubtedly played a role in determining political allegiance. A distant cousin or uncle on the council provided a focal point for the remainder of the family to petition for patronage while conversely this arrangement provided the councillor with a pool of ready-made clients and allies. A family did not have to be a rigid faction or create solid bonds of political allegiance and could contain differing voices, but it did at least provide the foundation of a network which a councillor could use.

⁶⁷² Walker, *Persuasive Fictions*, pp.1-3.

⁶⁷³ Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800* (London: Penguin Books, 1979), p.69.

⁶⁷⁴ Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage*, p.69.

⁶⁷⁵ Ralph Houlbrooke, *The English Family 1450-1700* (London: Longman, 1984), pp.10-16.

⁶⁷⁶ J. A. Sharpe, *Early Modern England: A Social History 1550-1760* (London: Arnold, 1987), p.59.

Also, family bonds provided some of the strongest connections between councillors in the Tudor period. For example, the half-brothers William Fitzwilliam and Anthony Browne were close allies throughout their careers, as were the sons of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland. These relationships were based on deep affection between the parties as a result of their shared upbringing, while family loyalty was a key component of their careers. Nonetheless, there were several high-profile examples of family tensions becoming deadly rivalries. The demise of Thomas Seymour in 1549 was primarily the result of a contest with his brother Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset and Protector of the Realm. Also, the family ties between several noble families did not prevent them from sitting in judgement on each other: for instance, Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk, presided over the trial of his niece Anne Boleyn in 1536, in which she was condemned to death. Therefore, it is unwise to create blanket interpretations that cover all types of people and circumstances, as there will always be exceptions in matters that rely on human interaction and personal relationships. This chapter argues for a more nuanced approach that highlights the potential strength of familial networks to privy councillors but also accepts that such relationships could break down into bitter disputes.

Membership of the council and possession of an office of state required commitment to the business of government. The privy council was the executive body of the kingdom, requiring its members to debate and find solutions to problems and to advise the monarch. Councillors worked together closely, meeting almost daily by the end of the century. Councillors were linked by a responsibility to provide good service to the monarch and to act in the interests of the realm. The phrase 'public service' was not explicitly articulated until the reign of Elizabeth I, but the concept was present throughout the Tudor period.⁶⁷⁷ By collaborating, often in moments of high tension, councillors forged connections and developed an understanding of their colleagues. The strength of councillors' working relationships can be challenging to detect, as they are often indicated by silence in the surviving sources. If two individuals had a cooperative working relationship and saw each other daily in the performance of their duties, it is unlikely that it would be remarked upon in writing by either party or an observer. Therefore, it is important to search for these 'silences' in the records and combine them with supporting biographical details to reveal connections which have previously been overlooked or downplayed.

⁶⁷⁷ Adams, *Leicester and the Court*, p.84.

A professional association often results in a lasting friendship, which was the case with many privy councillors. Indeed, it is important not to distinguish too starkly between personal and professional interaction. An effective working relationship could indicate a close personal relationship among colleagues. Also, the overwhelming body of sources that survive for this period comes from councillors' professional activities, so it is often necessary to infer councillors' social interactions from these sources. Equally, a role in Tudor government was never a purely professional endeavour and also entailed involvement in the great social occasions of the court and kingdom. Therefore, an individual's personal and professional networks were not as clearly distinguished as in other periods, and so the following case studies consider these activities side by side.

The present chapter seeks to illuminate the many relationships between privy councillors to demonstrate that cooperation was more common than discord. It also uses personal relationships to explain councillors' careers and political actions. The approach taken is to use case studies to illustrate and augment trends and patterns identified during the prosopographical analysis of the data contained in my relational database. The chapter is by no means exhaustive, and many more examples exist of the patterns explored. However, the chosen case studies are particularly compelling examples of the patterns discovered.

The first part of the chapter will explore the theme of friendship and what this meant in a sixteenth-century context. It will outline an extensive case study of a previously unremarked upon friendship network in Henry VIII's early privy chamber to demonstrate how bonds of friendship could cut across factional boundaries and provide a reservoir of mutual support. The second half of the chapter considers the role of familial networks in the careers of councillors. It explores the role of extended family groups in maintaining a councillor's position at the centre of government and the relationship between close family members. The principal case study in this part of the chapter consists of several sets of brothers who were contemporaries on the privy council. The chapter concludes by considering the place of marriage in the web of connections between councillors. All these strands are drawn together in an analysis of the close-knit council of Elizabeth I's later years, which represented the ultimate expression of social networks in action.

Friendship

In any age, friendship is a vital component of an individual's interpersonal web and is especially important for scholars seeking to understand politics. However, despite this, friendship has received comparatively little attention from Tudor historians, who instead focus on rivalry and enmity. A reason

for this is the supposed difficulty in proving its existence, as sources tend to be more explicit in their recognition of rivalry. Nevertheless, evidence of friendly relations does exist, but it needs to be pieced together from a variety of different sources. Also, there is a tendency to assume that open declarations of friendship are disingenuous and part of some political game. However, this was not necessarily the case, as the expression of friendship was a key component of sixteenth-century intellectual and cultural thinking.

The early modern period inherited a rich tradition of friendship, which was shaped by ancient authors, chivalric values and Christianity.⁶⁷⁸ These traditions were not always complementary, and the resulting thinking did not produce one universally agreed blueprint of friendship. The debate over what made a good friend took place within the elite of European society and directly involved several English councillors. The councillors who wrote about friendship provided a valuable insight into contemporary thinking, but they were in the minority. The majority of councillors forged friendships without committing their reflections on that aspect of their life to paper. Nevertheless, all councillors would have had an opinion on friendship, influenced by their upbringing, social values and experience. Exploring the various contemporary discussions surrounding friendship makes it possible to reconstruct the broad traditions within which early modern relationships were forged.

The Renaissance witnessed a renewed flourishing of classical intellectual thought and the creation of the humanist movement based on these principles. The broad characteristics of this movement were explored in Chapter Two, so the focus here is on what ancient thinkers and humanists had to say about friendship. Ancient models of friendship were based on the ethical and moral philosophy of the Greeks and Romans and were concerned, especially, with distinguishing 'perfect' from 'imperfect' friendships. Plato distinguished between friendly love (*philia*) and desire or passion (*eros*) while also stressing the importance of solidarity.⁶⁷⁹ Similarly, for Aristotle, 'perfect' friendship was virtuous and moderate, and avoided the transient pleasures and utilitarian ambitions of 'imperfect' friendships.⁶⁸⁰ Thus, true friends should act in each other's best interests for their friend's sake and not out of self-interest. Also, the passions involved in romantic love should not be sought in friendship, as they could lead to conflict and an absence of reason. Instead, friendship was a positive expression of love that avoided the potentially destructive consequences of passion.

⁶⁷⁸ For an overview of the influences on friendship in Renaissance England see Alan Bray, *The Friend* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), pp.42-77.

⁶⁷⁹ Plato, *The Works of Plato: Lysis*, trans. Irwin Edman (New York: Modern library, 1928) p.15-16, 268-71

⁶⁸⁰ Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, trans. Martin Ostwald (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1962), pp.214-44.

The final key component of ancient friendship was the concept of reciprocity. Cicero was the leading proponent of this approach, claiming that a principle of ‘reciprocity of obligation’ bound members of the imperial community as ‘friends’.⁶⁸¹ This was a more politicised and communal view of friendship than that expounded by the other ancient authors. Cicero maintained the importance of virtue but also stressed that true friendship was not limited to the philosopher or sage but was available to military and political men of good will acting in civil society. He also stressed the place of shared accommodation, companionship in battle and travel, and agreement in public affairs in virtuous friendships.

This model of friendship in public office stood in contrast to the warnings about false friends and flatterers common in sixteenth-century court comment. For instance, in his *Satire*, Thomas Wyatt (1503-1542), the poet and courtier of Henry VIII, wrote: ‘Thou know’st well, first, whoso can seek to please/ Shall purchase friends where truth shall but offend.’⁶⁸² Similarly, Francis Bacon (1561-1626), Lord Chancellor and philosopher, wrote on a number of occasions about friendship and false friends. He warned that ‘There is little friendship in the world, and least of all between equals, which was wont to be magnified [exaggerated]’.⁶⁸³ Contemporary comments such as this can lead to questions about the authenticity of declarations of friendship among the ruling elite, but the intellectual underpinnings of friendship in the sixteenth century were equally important.

Humanists in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were particularly interested in this politically-active form of friendship and attempted to reconcile the concepts of private friendship and political association.⁶⁸⁴ Bacon interrogated this problem in two essays: one on sincere friendship and a second piece on flatterers. He concluded that it was essential for those involved in politics to have ‘faithful counsel, which a man receiveth from his friend’.⁶⁸⁵ An area of constant debate was the conflict between an active and contemplative life and the legitimacy of political action. Most humanists advocated for learned men to enter the service of the state to better society, and friendship had a role to play in this as the foundation of a harmonious state was the harmonious relations among its citizens.⁶⁸⁶ These themes were prominent in More’s *Utopia*, which dealt extensively with this moral

⁶⁸¹ Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De Amicitia*, trans. Benjamin E. Smith (New York: The Century Co, 1906), pp.54-57.

⁶⁸² Sir Thomas Wyatt often lamented the inconstancy of friends in his satires of the English court. Sir Thomas Wyatt, *The Complete Poems*, ed. R.A. Rebholz (London: Penguin, 1978), pp.192-94.

⁶⁸³ Francis Bacon, *The Essays*, ed. John Pitcher (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1985), p.206.

⁶⁸⁴ Reginald Hyatte, *The Arts of Friendship: the idealization of friendship in Medieval and early Renaissance Literature* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994), p.2.

⁶⁸⁵ Bacon, *Essays*, pp.138-44.

⁶⁸⁶ Hyatte, *Arts of Friendship*, p.2.

debate regarding an active political life in its first book. Indeed, David Wootton has claimed friendship was an integral theme throughout *Utopia*. Wootton argued that *Utopia* illustrated Erasmus' adage that 'between friends all is common' and 'friendship is equality'. The island nation of Utopia was a society without class divisions or private property, a place where 'love and friendship themselves become invisible because, instead of being exceptional and exclusive, they are normal and universal.'⁶⁸⁷ Also, when More wrote *Utopia*, the loci of emotional intensity in his life were his friendships with Erasmus and Peter Giles, a Dutch humanist and printer, which were firmly based on the classical ideals of virtuous and honourable friendship.⁶⁸⁸ The humanist model of friendship as the foundation of a harmonious political system directly applied to privy councillors. Thus, friendly relations with one's colleagues not only provided worldly happiness but became almost a duty of state servants, who claimed responsibility for the proper functioning of the commonwealth.

The classical ideas outlined above were not extracted and transplanted into early modern society without modification. The ideas of the pagan authors of antiquity had to contend with the theology and teachings of the Catholic Church, which made several changes to their models. These changes were subtle and more about a shift in emphasis than different objectives or methods. For instance, the Bible itself borrows principles such as reciprocity and equality from Greco-Roman traditions.⁶⁸⁹ At the same time, it replaces friendship's connections to the state and classical deities with an emphasis on religious community and the Christian God.⁶⁹⁰ The language of friendship is found throughout Christian teachings, with some authors claiming that in responding fully to God's love, mortals came closer to Him and became His friends, and that Christ was a friend of humanity.⁶⁹¹ Additionally, friendships could be built on a shared expression of the love and knowledge of God. Indeed, the spiritual view of friendship qualified friendship between men as depending on the relative perfection of the spiritual bond between the mortal and God.⁶⁹² The inherent tension between the Christian and classical models was the Christian instruction to love God above all and the classical emphasis on reciprocal earthly love. Also, the Christian tenet of loving enemies and friends created a more

⁶⁸⁷ David Wootton, 'Friendship Portrayed: A New Account of Utopia', *History Workshop Journal*, 45 (1998), 28-47 (pp.38-39).

⁶⁸⁸ Hannah Chapelle Wojciehowski, 'Triangulating Humanist Friendship: More, Giles and Erasmus, and the making of the *Utopia*', in *Discourses and Representations of Friendship in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1700*, eds. Maritere Lopez, Daniel T. Lochman and Lorna Hutson (Farnham: Taylor & Francis, 2010), pp.45-64 (p.49).

⁶⁸⁹ Alan C. Mitchell, "Greet the Friends by Name": New Testament Evidence for the Greco-Roman Topos on Friendship', in *Greco-Roman Perspectives on Friendship*, ed. John T. Fitzgerald (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), pp.225-62, pp.226-227.

⁶⁹⁰ Mitchell, "Greet the Friends by Name", pp.231-33.

⁶⁹¹ Hyatte, *Arts of Friendship*, pp.50, 169.

⁶⁹² Hyatte, *Arts of Friendship*, p.67.

universalist form of friendship than the exclusive classical group of learned men.⁶⁹³ Nevertheless, the objective of both models was for an individual to surround themselves with dedicated and virtuous men who looked beyond their own enrichment.

The challenge posed to the Catholic Church by the Reformation reinforced some of the tenets that surrounded spiritual friendship. Members of the same confessional denomination had a shared set of beliefs that were opposed by a significant group of their fellow Christians. Personal identities and relationships are often sharpened when they can be defined against an 'other'.⁶⁹⁴ For instance, the Elizabethan establishment was united by its Protestant consensus, which was partly defined by its opposition to Catholicism and the protection of its Protestant queen. As the threats from other confessions increased, a councillor's religious convictions played a significant role in determining the relationships he could forge. Therefore, in the pre-Reformation period, spiritual friendship was most often related to the clergy, but in the sixteenth century, the religion of laypeople could prove decisive in their friendships.

The final major influence on ideas of friendship in the early modern period was chivalric values. Love was an essential component of chivalric tales: the love between the knight and his lady, but also the love between two male companions in arms.⁶⁹⁵ The language of knightly brotherhood was a recurrent theme among the male elite of early modern Europe. It was present in orders of chivalry, such as the Knights of the Garter, in which all knight companions were referred to as brothers and were supposed to be tied together by bonds of loyalty and affection. Also, examples of chivalric companionship abounded in popular stories. For instance, in Arthurian legend, the companionship between Lancelot and Galehaut was central to the *Lancelot-Grail* literary cycle and ultimately ended with Galehaut sacrificing himself for Lancelot.⁶⁹⁶ Acting selflessly for your friends was a cornerstone of most interpretations of friendship, but the chivalric model took this further, advocating a willingness to die for a friend. This was unsurprising given the military nature of chivalric friendships. Not all privy councillors participated in military campaigns, but those who did could forge lasting bonds of friendship with their contemporaries.

⁶⁹³ Maritere Lopez, Daniel T. Lochman and Lorna Hutson, *Discourses and Representations of Friendship in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1700* (Farnham: Taylor & Francis, 2010), p.8.

⁶⁹⁴ Jenkins, *Social Identity*, p.18.

⁶⁹⁵ Hyatte, *Arts of Friendship*, p.89.

⁶⁹⁶ Hyatte, *Arts of Friendship*, p.82, 121.

In the later sixteenth century, Philip Sidney (1554-1586) outlined a model of friendship in his *New Arcadia* that drew on the ancient, chivalric and Christian traditions. He agreed with the ancient authors that an individual could aid an 'imperfect' friend but thought this was best achieved through gentle means rather than the stern rhetoric of Aristotle and Cicero.⁶⁹⁷ This was part of a broader trend in the rhetoric of friendship that stressed civility and hospitality, which contrasted with the dispassionate intellectual discourse of the humanists and the violence of chivalric traditions. It also reflected the growing appreciation of the individual and the shift away from virtuous men's essential 'sameness'.⁶⁹⁸ Thus, courtiers and councillors still discussed the nature of friendship in the later Tudor period and recognised its social and political function. The awareness that individuals' differences did not hinder the relationships they could forge and that there was no single ideal of virtuousness to aspire to was a recognition that friendship was not a rigid construct. This had always been the case, but it was only towards the later sixteenth century that this was explicitly acknowledged.

Theoretical models of friendship are only partly useful in deconstructing the personal relationships of past individuals. The models outlined here contained the most influential ideas discussed by early modern elites, but they were not implemented in a systematic or coherent fashion. Nevertheless, aspects of all the different approaches are visible across the period and among different councillors and provide the historian with a starting point from which to assess personal relationships. Combining an appreciation of the theory with the practice of friendship is essential. Outward displays of affection such as gift-giving, the provision of hospitality, and marriage into someone's family all suggested friendship. Also, written declarations of friendship should not immediately be dismissed as flattery and could signify genuine affection. In the hierarchical society of Tudor England, set forms of address were required when corresponding with a social superior, but between two men of similar rank, intimacy in address was common.⁶⁹⁹ This is particularly significant for privy councillors as they all possessed a similar social station. The word 'friend' was unusual between strangers and was most often used as an expression of goodwill towards the recipient, especially between social equals.⁷⁰⁰

⁶⁹⁷ Wendy Olmsted, *The Imperfect Friend: Emotion and Rhetoric in Sidney, Milton and their contexts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), pp.15-17.

⁶⁹⁸ Daniel T. Lochman, 'Friendship's passion: Love-Fellowship in Sidney's *New Arcadia*', in *Discourses and Representations of Friendship in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1700*, eds. Maritere Lopez, Daniel T. Lochman and Lorna Hutson (Farnham: Taylor & Francis, 2010), pp.65-82 (p.65).

⁶⁹⁹ Minna Nevala, 'Inside and Out: Forms of address in seventeenth and eighteenth century letters' in *Letter Writing*, eds. Terttu Nevalainen and Sanna-Kaisa Tanskanen (Amsterdam: J. Benjamins, 2007), pp.89-114 (p.93).

⁷⁰⁰ Nevala, 'Inside and Out', p.106.

Therefore, when the outward expressions of affection between councillors are placed in their cultural and intellectual context, it is possible to identify new groupings among them.

The Chamber Network

The following extended case study uses surviving evidence of affection to demonstrate how historians have overlooked friendship between certain councillors of Henry VIII.⁷⁰¹ Historians have often remarked that in the early part of his reign, Henry VIII surrounded himself with young companions who shared his passions for sport and revelry. For Starkey, Henry VIII's affable and gregarious personality created 'good fellowship, boon companions, friends and favourites'.⁷⁰² Similarly, while downplaying the role of faction in the privy chamber, Walker discussed the closeness of Henry and his intimate household officials.⁷⁰³ However, the relationships between the household servants themselves have received little attention.

This is one example of a broader phenomenon, but it effectively illustrates how friendship often cut across the 'factional' divisions within Tudor politics. By using prosopography, it was possible to identify a group of men who served Henry VIII in his privy chamber previously unnoticed by historians. The members of this network were bound together by their background, social relations, and friendships rather than by political ideology. As a result, historians who place councillors into factional units or treat individuals in isolation have largely overlooked them. Such a narrow focus fails to consider the whole range of interpersonal relationships and biographical details that characterise human interaction. The existence of this network suggests that friendship at the Tudor court was just as likely to bind men together and influence their actions as faction.

This network consisted of Anthony Browne (c.1500-1548), Anthony Wingfield (1488-1552), Charles Brandon (1484-1545), John Russell (1485-1555), William Fitzwilliam (1490-1542), Arthur Plantagenet (1472-1542), Thomas Cheyne (1485-1558), and William Kingston (1476-1540). They often operated as a collective, not for political or ideological motives but more as a network of mutually supporting friends. Also, significantly, they moved into senior leadership positions within the government and royal household over the course of Henry's reign, making them a potentially potent political force.

⁷⁰¹ Elements of the material discussed here is also published in: Connor M. Huddleston, 'Friendship or Faction? Networks and the Tudor Privy Council, *Emergence*, 12 (2022), 40-55.

⁷⁰² Starkey, 'Intimacy and Innovation', p.77.

⁷⁰³ Walker, *Persuasive Fictions*, pp.35-53.

What follows is an assessment of these men's main biographical details and the factors that linked them together.

Most of these men were aged between 19 and 25 years old at Henry's accession. Kingston was slightly older at 33, and Plantagenet older still at 37, but both were active in the tournaments and court revels of the 1510s. This is significant as individuals of a similar age and upbringing found it easier to forge lasting friendships.⁷⁰⁴ The backgrounds of the eight men reveal that they shared a similar upbringing and education. Aside from Plantagenet, who was the illegitimate son of Edward IV, all the men in this group were from county gentry families. Strikingly, none of them received any formal academic education: there is no record of any of them attending a university or the Inns of Court. From the little we know about their education, it appears to have been conventional for aspiring gentry in the late medieval period: focused on vocational skills in landholding, martial pursuits, and local magistracy.⁷⁰⁵ This was the extent of their academic achievements, and none of them were regarded as particularly learned by contemporaries or historians. However, they shared a love of courtly pursuits and thrived in the festival atmosphere of Henry's early years on the throne.

At Henry VIII's accession in 1509, most of the men were members of the Royal Household. Russell, Fitzwilliam and Kingston were gentleman ushers, while Brandon, Cheyne, Plantagenet and Wingfield were esquires of the body.⁷⁰⁶ These positions involved intimate service of the monarch, and the officeholders would have had daily contact with the king and each other. According to the Household Ordinances of 1494, an esquire of the body 'ought to array the King and unarray him' and 'there must be twoe esquires for the bodie... to lie there [in the King's bedchamber] or else in the next chamber'.⁷⁰⁷ A gentleman usher would also guard the door of the chamber and act as a deputy to the Chamberlain.⁷⁰⁸ Moreover, the total number of men occupying these roles was small. The late fifteenth-century household ordinance, *Liber Niger Domus Regis*, only included four gentlemen ushers and twelve esquires and knights of the body.⁷⁰⁹ Some of these men were also members of the King's most intimate service department, the privy chamber. Russell and Cheyne were gentlemen of the privy chamber from 1516, Browne from 1519, and Plantagenet from 1526. Thus, these men were living

⁷⁰⁴ Hyatte, *Arts of Friendship*, p.216.

⁷⁰⁵ Jewel, *Education*, p.53.

⁷⁰⁶ Anthony Browne was not a member of the household as he was only nine years old.

⁷⁰⁷ *Articles Ordained by King Henry VII for the regulation of his Household, 31st December 1494*, in *A collection of ordinances and regulations for the government of the royal household* (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1790), pp.106-135 (p.118).

⁷⁰⁸ *Articles Ordained by King Henry VII*, pp.116-118.

⁷⁰⁹ *Liber Niger Domus Regis Edward IV*, in *A collection of ordinances and regulations for the government of the royal household* (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1790), pp.106-135 (pp.33-7).

and working in close proximity and were members of a select group of royal servants. It was remarked upon by Cicero that shared accommodations and public service could advance true friendship.⁷¹⁰ This group of men fulfilled these criteria and forged a lasting association as a result.

In addition to their professional activities, the men were also members of the King's circle of young jousting companions. In 1513, an elaborate pageant called 'the ryche mount' was staged to commemorate the feast of Epiphany. Brandon and Cheyne were named to receive 'hose and shoes' and accompany the king, while six unknown men would play the part of disguised gentlemen chaperones for the ladies.⁷¹¹ In light of the fact that the named companions of the King in this revel contained four esquires of the body, it is likely that other members of this network who were in the same post were among the 'disguised gentlemen'.⁷¹² Similarly, all eight men were mentioned in the revel accounts for 1516-17 as participants in court entertainments. Brandon, Fitzwilliam and Kingston took leading roles in jousting tournaments in both years and were given apparel by the master of revels.⁷¹³ In addition, Fitzwilliam, Russell, Browne, Brandon and Cheyne were present for New Year celebrations at Greenwich in 1518, during which the King granted them gifts.⁷¹⁴ Thus, this group of young men worked closely together in their official capacity as household officials and then played together in their leisure time. In their young impressionable years, then, they were in almost constant contact with each other. At the very least, their professional activities created a rapport between them, and their social interaction helped establish friendships that would be sustained throughout their careers.

During the 1530s, these eight men moved into senior leadership positions within the household and government. In 1539, Cheyne was treasurer of the King's household, Kingston was Comptroller, Wingfield was vice-chamberlain, and Browne was Master of Horse. Russell had been comptroller since 1536 but was elevated to a baronage and succeeded Fitzwilliam as Lord High Admiral. Fitzwilliam, meanwhile, became Lord Privy Seal. The new post of Lord Great Master was created for Charles Brandon, who was to have overall control of the royal household. Thus, by 1540, all three household departments (chamber, hall, and stables) were controlled by members of this network. As a consequence of holding these positions, moreover, all were members of the privy council: indeed, they constituted seven of the nineteen council members in 1540. As a result, these men controlled

⁷¹⁰ Cicero, *De Amicitia*, pp.54-57.

⁷¹¹ *L&P Henry VIII*, Vol.2, en.12.5.

⁷¹² Those named to accompany the King were esquires of the body Sir Henry Guildford, Charles Brandon, Thomas Cheyne and Edward Neville. Henry Bouchier, second earl of Essex, was Captain of the king's spears.

⁷¹³ *L&P Henry VIII*, Vol.2, en.12.9.

⁷¹⁴ *L&P Henry VIII*, Vol.2, en.10.6.

access to the King and made up the largest component of the privy council. Importantly, however, they did not operate as a political party with a specific agenda; instead, their interactions were, above all, characterised by their mutual support.

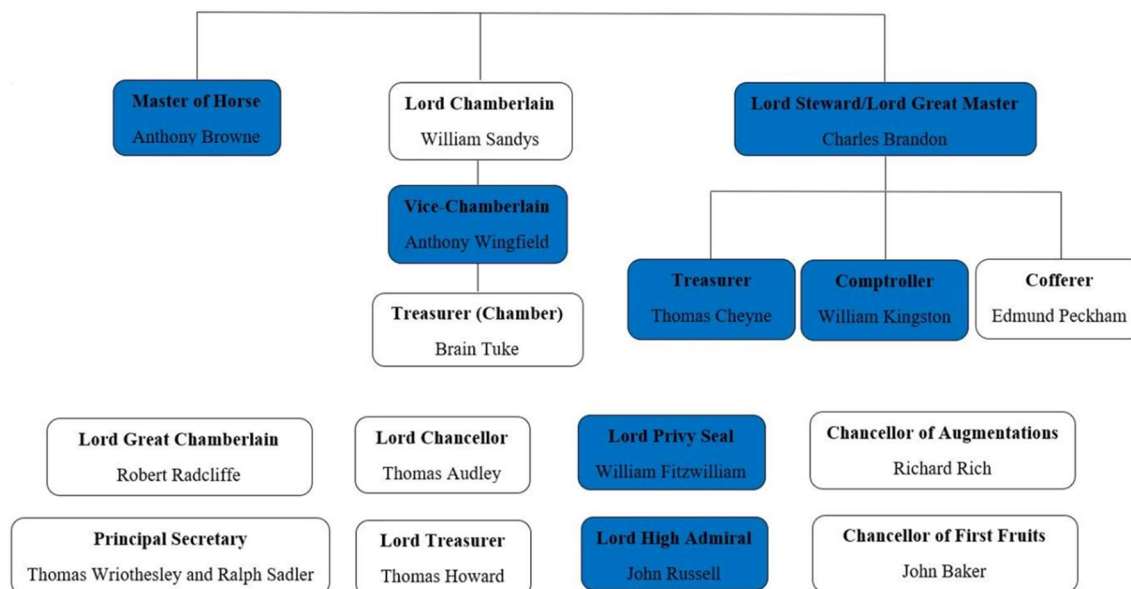


Figure.1 Major Offices of State 1540

Significantly, several members of the network were succeeded in their offices by other members of the group. In this way, the network retained its control of the important offices of state and demonstrated an awareness of its position as a collective. For example, when John Russell became Lord High Admiral in succession to William Fitzwilliam in 1540, he kept William Broke in the office of beaconage and John Trefonwell as commissary general of the Court of Admiralty.⁷¹⁵ This would suggest that Russell either trusted Fitzwilliam's judgment or that he shared a connection with the men in Fitzwilliam's circle. When Russell was created Baron Russell and made Lord President of the Council of the West in March 1539, there was some confusion over who would replace him as comptroller. John Husee, Plantagenet's agent at court, reported to his patron on 9 March 1539 that Cheyne would become comptroller and Kingston treasurer.⁷¹⁶ He corrected this in a letter of 12 March in which he related that Cheyne would be treasurer and Kingston comptroller, while Wingfield would be appointed vice-chamberlain.⁷¹⁷ Despite the confusion, it was significant that all the men in contention for these important posts were members of the chamber network. The reality was that this group of

⁷¹⁵ *L&P Henry VIII*, Vol.15, en.979.

⁷¹⁶ SP 1/144 f.65.

⁷¹⁷ SP 1/144 f.65.

men were firmly entrenched within the Household and government and drew on each other's influence to maintain their positions.

These men would have spoken with each other daily, meaning that most of their communication went unrecorded and is unfortunately therefore largely lost to the historian. However, Plantagenet's appointment as Deputy of Calais in 1533, which necessitated his absence from court, provides a rare insight into the nature of their relationships.⁷¹⁸ In fact, Russell warned Plantagenet against taking the post in Calais, having himself rejected the office in 1532. In 1539, Sir Richard Graynfeld, a mutual friend of both men, recounted the advice Russell had provided to Plantagenet, and Plantagenet confirmed that he had found his advice to be accurate and that it would have been better for him had he remained in England.⁷¹⁹ Plantagenet and Russell had known each other for decades by this point, working closely together in the Royal Household.⁷²⁰ Also, Russell had interceded directly with the King on Plantagenet's behalf over property matters in 1530.⁷²¹ Why Plantagenet rejected the advice of his close friend is unknown, but the fact that it was offered says something about the relationship between the two men. They were close enough to offer career advice and were not offended if it was ignored.

The despatches of Husee shed light on Plantagenet's interactions with his friends and reveal a network of mutual concern. For example, a stream of letters sent by Husee to Plantagenet in 1539 detailed the whereabouts and activities of other members of the network. Plantagenet was particularly concerned to hear about Fitzwilliam's health, as he was ill with an infected leg at the time. Husee wrote four letters between 7 and 31 January, mentioning Fitzwilliam's health and movements in all of them. On 7 January, Husee reported that Fitzwilliam was 'sick in the leg and comes not abroad', then on the 12 January, he reassured Plantagenet that Fitzwilliam was 'amended' before reporting he was back at court on 19 January.⁷²² On 31 January, he claimed that he was speaking daily with Fitzwilliam.⁷²³ It is clear from this exchange that Husee had close contact with Fitzwilliam and that Plantagenet was anxious for news about his friend. Another contact of the Deputy of Calais, James Hawksworth, was also reporting on the activities of Fitzwilliam and said in a letter of 17 March that 'my lord admiral

⁷¹⁸ *L&P Henry VIII*, vol.6, en.300.

⁷¹⁹ *L&P Henry VIII*, vol.14, II, en.105.

⁷²⁰ Willen, *John Russell*, p.24.

⁷²¹ *L&P Henry VIII*, vol.4, en.6456.

⁷²² SP1/142 f.22; SP3/5 f.28; SP1/142 f.94.

⁷²³ SP1/142 f.180.

[Fitzwilliam] is your great friend'.⁷²⁴ The language of friendship was a signifier of affection and was invoked repeatedly by this group.

A particularly telling incident occurred in April 1539, when Kingston tipped off Plantagenet that a certain 'Mr Hare' had been spreading evil rumours about him at court. However, Plantagenet should not worry, he insisted, because his 'friends' Kingston and Browne had intervened with the King on his behalf: 'Mr Browne said the King accepted the letter in good part, and both said they were your friends, that the King favoured you, and that I should write you to beware of the danger of such importunate wretches'.⁷²⁵ It is significant that Husee not only used the word 'friends' but also that Browne and Kingston took it upon themselves to defend their friend's reputation. The language of friendship was often deployed in this period, but here we have evidence of actions as well as words. The support provided during this incident appeared to contain no political agenda aside from helping an isolated friend who could not defend himself.

Aside from professional activities, these men interacted on a personal level. For instance, Russell wrote letters to Plantagenet to keep him abreast of the latest court developments but also included personal enquires. One such letter was from August 1534, in which Russell asked, 'how do you like the air there [Calais]?'⁷²⁶ The conversation was likely a continuation of Russell's concern regarding Plantagenet's initial appointment as deputy of Calais in 1533. Therefore, Russell showed genuine concern for his friend's health and position alongside his efforts to keep him updated on the latest political developments in England.

The relationship between Fitzwilliam and Browne was arguably the closest within this network as they were half-brothers.⁷²⁷ Fitzwilliam and Browne were brought up at the royal court and forged a lasting bond, referring to each other as 'brother' throughout their lives.⁷²⁸ This was significant as it demonstrated a level of familiarity that was unusual for half-brothers. Mina Nevala has demonstrated that in the sixteenth century there was often a distinction made between full-siblings and half-siblings in correspondence. Letters between half-brothers or stepbrothers tended to employ 'negative politeness' in their forms of address, which emphasised the distance between correspondents, for

⁷²⁴ SP 1/144 f.125.

⁷²⁵ SP 1/150 f.102.

⁷²⁶ SP 3/7 f.40.

⁷²⁷ For Fitzwilliam and Browne's cooperation in Surrey see Chapter 4: Networks and Stability.

⁷²⁸ For instance, in 1539: *L&P Henry VIII*, Vol.14, en.520, and in 1541: SP 1/168 f.78.

example, 'Sir', 'your good mastership' or 'your obedient servant'.⁷²⁹ The fact that Fitzwilliam and Browne ignored this social convention and instead adopted 'positive politeness' which stressed the things they had in common and tried to minimise the distance between them represented a genuine display of affection.

In their careers, the brothers shared the same political office several times, usually in the county of Surrey. For instance, they served as bailiffs of Surrey, keepers of Guildford Park and the Great Park, and as justices of the peace.⁷³⁰ Also, Browne was distraught at Fitzwilliam's death in 1542 while leading troops in the north of England. He wrote back to London to ask Lady Fitzwilliam what 'he willed for the burying of his body' and noted that it currently lay in the local parish church with Browne promising 'service daily over him till he be removed'.⁷³¹ He later confided in his friend Russell that 'he dare not write [again] to my lady sister [Lady Fitzwilliam]' because he 'is too in grief' and asked Russell to comfort her in his place.⁷³² The members of the network were united in grief at the death of one of their own and turned instinctively to each other for support.

Gift-giving was an indicator of closeness and affection in the early modern period and featured prominently in the interactions of members of this group. Patricia Fumerton has argued that gift giving 'transmits the trust and generosity of friendship' and that this is normally done without 'ever negotiating terms or values'.⁷³³ Similarly, Felicity Heal described gifts as 'the small coin of social bonding' that symbolised a dialogue between giver and recipient.⁷³⁴ Contemporary intellectuals and writers also commented on the nature of gift giving. For instance, in his *Adages* Erasmus claimed that 'the gifts of enemies are no gifts' and that 'in gifts, it is the spirit that matters'.⁷³⁵ This suggests that any gift giving between rivals and enemies would have been viewed with suspicion and mistrust. The fact that the below examples contain no evidence of such a mistrust between the parties involved implies that the gifts were given in a spirit of friendship.

⁷²⁹ Mina Nevala, 'Family First: Address and subscription formulae in English family correspondence from the fifteenth century to the seventeenth century', in *Diachronic Perspectives on Address Term Systems*, eds. Irma Taavitsainen and Andreas H. Jucker (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2003), pp.147-76 (p.161).

⁷³⁰ *L&P Henry VIII*, Vol.4, en.2132, en.3087, en.3325, en.5243.

⁷³¹ *L&P Henry VIII*, Vol.17, en.951.

⁷³² *L&P Henry VIII*, Vol.17, en.970.

⁷³³ Patricia Fumerton, *Cultural Aesthetics: Renaissance Literature and the Practice of Social Ornament* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1991), p.34.

⁷³⁴ Felicity Heal, 'Food Gifts, the Household and the Politics of Exchange in Early Modern England', *Past & Present*, 199 (1008), 41-70 (p.44).

⁷³⁵ Desiderius Erasmus, *Adages*, trans. Margaret Mann Phillips, *Collected Works of Erasmus* (London: University of Toronto Press, 1982), p.482.

Thus, the giving of gifts represented the existence of bonds of friendship that went beyond a desire for favour or patronage. For example, Russell wrote to Plantagenet in 1533, 'I have received your letter and a goshawk by your servant, for which I thank you. I am glad you and your Lady are in good health.'⁷³⁶ This particular gift did not bring the joy intended as a subsequent letter from Russell demonstrated: 'I thank you for the goshawk you sent me, which has by chance broken out of the mew and escaped.'⁷³⁷ The fact that Russell felt comfortable admitting that he had lost the gift Plantagenet had sent him also revealed a closeness that went beyond colleagues. Also, the fact that the gift was a hawk added further weight to the idea that there was a close bond between the two men. Living animals were one of the most prestigious gifts given in the early modern period.⁷³⁸ Furthermore, animals, such as hawks, horses or dogs, expressed intimacy between men as they could be ridden or used in the hunt.⁷³⁹

Fitzwilliam sent several gifts to Plantagenet during his posting in Calais. Interestingly, Fitzwilliam regularly sent the lord deputy venison from his lands.⁷⁴⁰ The choice of meat was significant for several reasons. First, it appeared to be a particular favourite of Plantagenet, as he would write to his wife, asking her to procure venison for Christmas 1538.⁷⁴¹ It is likely that Fitzwilliam, as a close friend, was aware of this too and knew his gift would be especially appreciated. Also, venison was the most prestigious foodstuff given as a gift in the early modern period.⁷⁴² The exalted place of venison in English life was noted in 1587 by William Harrison (1534-1593), an English clergyman and chronicler, when he wrote, 'venison is neither bought nor sold... but maintained only for the pleasure of the owner and his friends'.⁷⁴³ Part of its prestige was due to its association with the hunt and the possibility that the gift giver had personally hunted the animal. As a keen hunter, Fitzwilliam was recorded sending deer he had personally killed to other courtiers, which might have been the case with Plantagenet's gifts.⁷⁴⁴ If so, it would further strengthen the personal connection between the two men.

⁷³⁶ SP 3/7 f.46.

⁷³⁷ SP 3/7 f.39.

⁷³⁸ Felicity Heal, 'Presenting Noble Beasts: Gifts of animals in Tudor and Stuart Diplomacy', in *Practices of Diplomacy in the Early Modern World c.1410-1800*, eds. Tracey A. Sowerby and Jan Hennings (London: Routledge, 2017), pp.187-203 (p.190).

⁷³⁹ Heal, 'Noble Beasts', p.190.

⁷⁴⁰ Fitzwilliam sent a delivery of venison in August 1534 (SP 3/3 f.84). Then in 1534 he sent two packages, the first in January and again in August (SP 1/110 f.174 and SP 3/5 f.1).

⁷⁴¹ Plantagenet asking his wife for venison at Christmas 1538: SP 3/1 f.13; Lady Lisle promising that 'the venison will not be forgotten' upon Plantagenet's return to Calais: SP 3/1 f.76.

⁷⁴² Heal, 'Food Gifts', p.58.

⁷⁴³ William Harrison, *The Description of England: The classic contemporary account of Tudor social life*, ed. Georges Edelen (New York: Dover Publications, 1994), p.55.

⁷⁴⁴ Fitzwilliam sent Cardinal Wolsey venison he had killed while hunting with the King in 1528: SP 1/50 f.55.

One of the letters accompanying one of Fitzwilliam's gift parcels contained a reference to the men's wives. Fitzwilliam had sent the parcel through an intermediary, Anne Basset, a lady-in-waiting to Queen Jane Seymour. Anne Basset wrote: 'My lord Admiral has given me a buck [venison], ready baked, for you, and says it shall be sent by one of his servants who lives in London.'⁷⁴⁵ The gifting of foodstuffs constructed a distinctive bond between individuals and symbolised a commitment to the recipient's health and welfare.⁷⁴⁶ The prestigious nature of venison has already been noted, but Plantagenet and his wife also regularly gifted wine to their friends back in England.⁷⁴⁷ According to Heal, this was a rare gift in sixteenth-century England outside of town corporations, potentially due to the expense involved in importing it to England.⁷⁴⁸ It was likely due to the Plantagenets' position in Calais that they had easier access to Continental wines.

In the same letter mentioned above, Basset says she has 'recommended you [Lady Lisle] to Lady Hampton [Fitzwilliam's wife], and Lady Browne [Browne's wife]'.⁷⁴⁹ This suggests a connection between the men's wives that again would have further strengthened their personal connections. A further example of this was a letter from Mary Kingston to Lady Lisle in 1539, in which she sought help on behalf of her son: 'I beg you to be a good lady to my poor son Harry Jerningham, the bearer, who is appointed to wait upon my lord Admiral... and to help him to a horse if he have no friends there to provide him one.'⁷⁵⁰ Harry Jerningham was accompanying Fitzwilliam to Calais for the formal reception of Anne of Cleves. Similarly, Katherine, Duchess of Suffolk and Brandon's wife, wrote to Lady Lisle to thank her for the 'good wine and dog' and to note that she desired to be 'recommended to her and her husband, and thanks them both for their kindness'.⁷⁵¹ Again, these are examples of the men's wives acting within their own network to support their families. The families of the councillors were a fully integrated part of the network and worked in concert to gain advancement and favour.

Military service was another particularly prominent feature of these men's interactions. As close companions of the King, they accompanied Henry on his various military campaigns. Thus, for instance, we know that Fitzwilliam and Anthony Wingfield were involved in the capture of Tournai in 1513 because that is when they received their knighthoods.⁷⁵² Later, in 1536, once they became

⁷⁴⁵ SP 3/1 f.85.

⁷⁴⁶ Heal, 'Food Gifts', p.44.

⁷⁴⁷ Gifts of wine to Charles and Katherine Brandon: *L&P Henry VIII*, Vol.7, en.1080. To John Russell: SP 3/7 f.43; SP 1/103 f.278 and SP 1/104 f.48. To Cromwell: SP 1/104 f.34.

⁷⁴⁸ Heal, 'Food Gifts', p.56.

⁷⁴⁹ SP 3/1 f.85.

⁷⁵⁰ SP 3/13 f.5.

⁷⁵¹ *L&P Henry VIII*, Vol.7, en.1080.

⁷⁵² *L&P Henry VIII*, Vol.1, en.2301.

leading magnates and officeholders, Brandon, Russell, Fitzwilliam, and Browne led Henry's forces against the Northern rebels. Several despatches to the council in London survive, which were jointly signed by the men.⁷⁵³ To be successful commanders, they had to be able to cooperate and communicate effectively. That they were able to do this was demonstrated by an exchange between Russell and Browne during the 1544 French war. Russell wrote that despite 'four sundry voyages into France... he [Henry VIII] has not there one foot more than he had 40 years past' and that 'should [Henry] return home without winning anything, this should encourage the Frenchmen little to set by any army that shall pass over hereafter'.⁷⁵⁴ Russell's reports to Henry were a little more subtle and argued that they must stop wandering about in a 'wylde warre' without an aim.⁷⁵⁵ This demonstrated a willingness by members of the network to talk candidly with each other about their situations and was all the more remarkable as if this was discovered, they would be sure to suffer the King's displeasure.

The shared experience of war would have further strengthened the bond between the men as they spent months together on campaign. It would also have added a chivalric dimension to their friendship as they were companions in arms. This connection was reinforced by their membership of the Order of the Garter, England's most prestigious chivalric order.⁷⁵⁶ The network's first member to be elected a Knight of the Garter was Brandon in 1513. Plantagenet and Fitzwilliam followed in 1523 and 1526, respectively. At the chapter meeting in 1539, three knights were elected. They were Russell, Cheyne and Kingston.⁷⁵⁷ All three were nominated, along with Browne, by Fitzwilliam. At the following year's chapter meeting, Browne was elected with votes from Fitzwilliam, Russell, Cheyne and Kingston.⁷⁵⁸ Also, in 1540, the stalls were arranged so that Cheyne and Russell, and Browne and Kingston were sharing a stall in St George's Chapel, Windsor, for the installation service.⁷⁵⁹ In subsequent chapter meetings, the friends often voted as a block for other members of the network. For example, in January 1541, they all voted for Anthony Wingfield, though the king selected Edward Seymour instead.⁷⁶⁰ A further meeting in April 1541 saw Wingfield elected, with Russell, Fitzwilliam, and Browne all voting for him.⁷⁶¹ The members of the order were thus bound together by ties of chivalric

⁷⁵³ SP 1/108 f.3; SP 1/110 f.176; SP 1/112 f.151.

⁷⁵⁴ SP 1/189, fos.153-4.

⁷⁵⁵ SP 1/189, fos.151-2.

⁷⁵⁶ All eight men were members of the Order by 1541, apart from William Kingston, who was elected in 1539 but died in 1540.

⁷⁵⁷ *L&P Henry VIII*, Vol.14, en.833.

⁷⁵⁸ *L&P Henry VIII*, Vol.15, en.707.

⁷⁵⁹ *L&P Henry VIII*, Vol.15, en.707.

⁷⁶⁰ *L&P Henry VIII*, Vol.16, en.440.

⁷⁶¹ *L&P Henry VIII*, Vol.16, en.751.

brotherhood, which added another dimension to the already strong ties of affection that linked them together.

Direct marital connections also joined the families of some of the men. For instance, Thomas Cheyne married Anne, John Russell's stepdaughter, in 1528. However, the marriage led to a dispute over Anne's jointure, which required the King's intervention to settle.⁷⁶² This event has led some historians, such as Russell's and Cheyne's biographers Dianne Willen and Stanford Lehmborg, to claim that they were enemies on rival sides of the supposed dispute between Anne Boleyn and Cardinal Wolsey.⁷⁶³ At some point between November 1525 and October 1526, John Russell married Anne, the widow of John Broughton (d.1518), and sought the guardianship of her two daughters, Katherine and Anne, from her previous marriage. Russell declared, 'My Lady Russell takes the death of her son so sore that if [I] should not obtain... the wardship of the younger sister, it will be her utter undoing.'⁷⁶⁴ The King granted the wardship of Anne to Thomas Cheyne, and he then married her, something interpreted as a victory for Anne Boleyn.⁷⁶⁵ The only justification for this interpretation rests on the fact that Cheyne was a distant relation of Anne, and Russell had enjoyed the patronage of Wolsey.

It is clear from the surviving evidence that some sort of dispute did occur between the two men. Writing in 1528, Richard Page (d.1548), a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, claimed that the King said Cheyne was 'proud and full of opprobrious words, little esteeming his friends that did the most for him'.⁷⁶⁶ The King also banished him from the Chamber until he 'confessed his fault and agreed with Mr Russell; for he will have no grudge amongst his gentlemen'.⁷⁶⁷ Later in a letter to Cromwell in 1533, Russell complained that Cheyne had reneged on their deal for Cheyne's marriage to Russell's stepdaughter, Anne Broughton. Russell claimed that Cheyne 'promised to give me 800/... offered 100/ in jointure, and not to sell any of her lands. He now departs from all these covenants, and offers me 500 marks. He made the most shamefullest bargain and most unlawful that ever gentleman made.'⁷⁶⁸ The fact that Wolsey died in 1530 means that this cannot have been part of a contest between the Cardinal's supporters and those of Anne Boleyn. Also, the specific grievances in the letter are financial, and Russell felt cheated rather than opposed to the match in the first place. In a letter sent five days

⁷⁶² SP 1/48 f.227; SP 1/49 f.167.

⁷⁶³ Starkey, *The reign of Henry VIII: Personalities and Politics*, pp.98-100; Stanford Lehmborg, 'Thomas Cheyne, c.1485-1558', *ODNB* (2008); Willen, *John Russell*, p.23.

⁷⁶⁴ SP 1/48 f.227.

⁷⁶⁵ Stanford Lehmborg, 'Thomas Cheyne, c.1485-1558', *ODNB* (2008).

⁷⁶⁶ SP 1/49 f.167.

⁷⁶⁷ SP 1/49 f.167.

⁷⁶⁸ SP 1/76 f.32.

later it was claimed that the King was 'surprised it has not been long since settled'.⁷⁶⁹ This suggests that the King considered the matter resolved in 1528 and that there had been no further disputes between the gentlemen since then. The impression is that this was a personal dispute that had spilt onto the national stage due to the participants' membership of the Privy Chamber.

The previous association of the two men showed no sign of hostility. In fact, they had remarkably similar upbringings and background. Both were born around 1485 and heralded from prominent county gentry families. Cheyne's father, William (d.1487), was constable of Queenborough Castle in Kent and Sheriff of Kent.⁷⁷⁰ Russell's father, James (d.1505/6), was a Dorset landowner, and his grandfather, John (d.1505), was a knight of the shire for Dorset in 1472.⁷⁷¹ Their families held local influence and power in their respective counties but had yet to emerge on the national stage. Little is known of the two men's education, but both acquired French proficiency, a skill they would use in their later diplomatic activities. These two men would have had much in common upon their first meeting. As demonstrated above, their earlier careers were heavily intertwined in the Royal Household and privy chamber. By the time of the Broughton dispute in 1528, Cheyne and Russell had worked in close proximity to each other for twenty years without evidence of hostility.

The interaction between Russell and Cheyne following the Broughton dispute equally shows no sign of strain or discord. On the contrary, they worked closely together as privy councillors and officers of state for a further 25 years without incident. Both men were close to Cromwell and actively supported the regime through the 1530s. In 1536, Cheyne became Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports and Russell Comptroller of the Household.⁷⁷² On 18 May 1539, both men were installed as Knights of the Garter and attended a feast at Windsor.⁷⁷³ Chapter meetings included an extensive ceremony that featured a sermon in St George's Chapel and a procession to Windsor Castle. Knights sat in pairs in the chapel stalls and walked 'two and two' in the processions.⁷⁷⁴ At one such meeting in 1540, Russell and Cheyne were assigned the same stall for the ceremony and would have interacted extensively throughout the day.⁷⁷⁵ Indeed, in 1547, at another chapter meeting, Russell was appointed lieutenant for the King and was responsible for organising the Garter feast. Significantly, he was to be assisted in this by Cheyne

⁷⁶⁹ SP 1/76 f.45.

⁷⁷⁰ Stanford Lehmborg, 'Thomas Cheyne, c.1485-1558', *ODNB* (2008).

⁷⁷¹ Diane Willen, 'John Russell, c.1485-1555', *ODNB* (2008).

⁷⁷² Stanford Lehmborg, 'Thomas Cheyne, c.1485-1558', *ODNB* (2008). Diane Willen, 'John Russell, c.1485-1555', *ODNB* (2008).

⁷⁷³ *L&P Henry VIII*, vol.14, en.979.

⁷⁷⁴ *The Form of an Installation of a Knight of the Garter* (London: R. Westcote, 1756).

⁷⁷⁵ *L&P Henry VIII*, vol.15, en.707.

and Anthony Wingfield, both members of this grouping.⁷⁷⁶ The feast was a success, and there was no indication that the men struggled to work together. By this point, Anne Broughton had come of age and married Cheyne, and there is no further mention of any quarrel with Russell.

In the 1540s, Russell and Cheyne were regular attenders of the privy council.⁷⁷⁷ On one occasion, they and Thomas Wriothesley were the only councillors remaining in London while the King and the rest of the council were on progress.⁷⁷⁸ A good working relationship would have been desirable in such a small gathering, and there are no indications to the contrary. They also displayed their ability to work together during the 1544-46 war with France. They each commanded a contingent in the army of Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk, and regularly wrote joint despatches to Henry VIII.⁷⁷⁹ Moreover, Russell wrote of Cheyne's son's death at the siege of Boulogne on 22 July 1544 with a concern for 'his comfort' in his final hours.⁷⁸⁰ This was part of a description of a French attack on the English siege camp, and Cheyne is the only casualty mentioned by name, despite the fact that 'divers were slain on both sides'. Russell must have felt an affinity with the Cheynes for the death to be worthy of special mention. He subsequently praised Cheyne to Henry VIII for his 'great pains and diligent service' despite all he had endured.⁷⁸¹ Finally, Cheyne would leave £100 to Russell's son and wife in his will when he died in 1558, two of only four such bequests.⁷⁸²

The evidence from their later careers shows them as loyal councillors able to adapt to the various regimes of the mid-Tudor period. Both served Henry VIII, Somerset, Northumberland, and Mary (and Cheyne lived long enough to be confirmed in his offices by Elizabeth). Their adaptability demonstrated their lack of ideology and loyalty to a particular political faction. This reinforces the nature of this network as essentially non-political and instead a collection of friends who supported each other's personal ambitions and objectives. Also, presumably, their similar outlook and approach made it easier for them to get along and maintain their relationship across the different Tudor regimes.

Therefore, rather than the marriage dispute being symptomatic of an antagonistic relationship, it appears to be a minor blemish on an otherwise cordial and affectionate relationship. Presumably,

⁷⁷⁶ John Anstis, *The register of the most noble Order of the Garter* (London: John Barber, 1724), p.437.

⁷⁷⁷ Their signatures can be found throughout the privy council register of the 1540s.

⁷⁷⁸ SP 1/164 f.158.

⁷⁷⁹ For example: SP 1/189 f.10; SP 1/190 f.141; SP 1/191 f.1; SP 1/191 f.8.

⁷⁸⁰ SP 1/190 f.128.

⁷⁸¹ SP 1/191 f.81.

⁷⁸² PROB 11/42B, fols. 2r-5v. The other people left substantial sums by Cheyne were the Earl of Pembroke and William Howard, Baron Effingham. Russell died in 1555 and so it is unknown if Cheyne also planned to leave a bequest to him as well.

once the financial arrangements had been resolved, the familial connection actually strengthened their relationship. This episode demonstrates the importance of considering all aspects of these men's connections. If Cheyne and Russell are only viewed in relation to political disputes between Anne Boleyn and Cardinal Wolsey, a distorted picture of their relationship emerges. However, if the full scope of their interactions is considered, a more harmonious and cooperative relationship emerges.

Historians have not previously noted the existence of this network within the Tudor court. However, these eight men constituted a coherent and powerful group within Henrician government. While a shared background and social relations connected them, there is no evidence that they were bound by a specific political agenda or ideology. They navigated the various regimes of the early and mid-Tudor period as a loose collection of friends rather than a united political unit ready to throw its weight behind one cause or another. Instances where members of the network appeared to be taking sides in factional disputes were temporary aberrations, as, for example, in the dispute between Russell and Cheyne. Rather, they used their relationships and positions to benefit other members of the network and displayed genuine affection in their interactions. It is also important to note that there is no hint that these arrangements were overtly transactional, with no recompense or return immediately expected. In short, this group was grounded on friendship and mutual loyalty rather than political principles.

Family

Maintaining a political affinity required clients and allies, and often a councillor's family provided a pool of willing recruits. Members of a councillor's family could act as local officers in the counties, agents at court, legal representatives, military companions, or household servants. Such positions demanded loyalty and trust that the client would act in their patron's best interests, so close kin often proved ideal candidates. This mutually beneficial relationship strengthened the family's position as a political unit. Several historians have explored how regional aristocrats employed their kin in positions of responsibility. For example, W. R. B. Robinson explored the use by Henry Somerset, Earl of Worcester, of kinsmen in the government of Wales between 1526 and 1549.⁷⁸³ Similarly, M. Cherry undertook a study of the Courtenay Earls of Devon and their affinity in the southwest of England.⁷⁸⁴

⁷⁸³ W. R. B. Robinson, 'Patronage and hospitality in early Tudor Wales: the role of Henry, earl of Worcester, 1526-49', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 51 (1978), 20-36 (p.25).

⁷⁸⁴ M. Cherry, 'The Courtenay Earls of Devon: the formation and disintegration of a late Medieval aristocratic affinity', *Southern History*, 1 (1979), 71-97 (pp.76-7).

However, these studies are primarily concerned with the local operation of kinship networks and do not connect them to the broader political situation. Also, they exclusively look at magnates rather than the wider spectrum of councillors. As demonstrated in the preceding chapter, the Tudor period witnessed an increasing use of all councillors in a variety of roles. Therefore, similar appreciations of how councillors used their families to assist their political careers can enable a better understanding of the politics and interpersonal dynamics within the privy council.

At the outset, it is important to stress that familial networks were not monolithic blocks united by shared principles and beliefs. In fact, families could contain members who held differing views and convictions but still function as a reserve of political support. The Howard family is an example of this plurality that existed within Tudor dynasties. They held one of England's few dukedoms, that of Norfolk, and were one of the premier aristocratic dynasties of the kingdom. Also, they were a large family with members spread out across the country but particularly concentrated in East Anglia. Discussion of the Howards has often been dominated by the idea that they were religious 'conservatives' and the embodiment of aristocratic tradition.⁷⁸⁵ This was part of a larger tradition that treated dynasties as united groups which shared a set of principles, particularly regarding religion.⁷⁸⁶ However, identity is increasingly seen as having been more fluid than was previously appreciated. For example, Nicola Clark has shown that Mary Howard, Duchess of Richmond and daughter of the third Duke of Norfolk, was an enthusiastic patron of evangelical polemicists and was sympathetic to the cause of reform, despite being a member of the 'conservative' Howards.⁷⁸⁷ Similarly, William Howard, Baron Effingham and brother of the third Duke of Norfolk, was a man of considerable elasticity in belief, able to accommodate himself to the regimes of Edward, Mary and Elizabeth. It was unlikely that a 'Henrician Catholic' and 'politically conservative' man would have been acceptable to the avowedly Protestant Elizabethan regime, but Howard served this regime until his death in 1573.⁷⁸⁸ A more fruitful approach considers individuals' interactions within various networks without necessarily trying to characterise their relationships into an ideological framework. Therefore, the following case studies outline the relationships between several councillors and their families to understand the role

⁷⁸⁵ Alec Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p.213; Michael Graves, 'Thomas Howard, 1473-1554', *ODNB*.

⁷⁸⁶ Joseph S. Block, *Factional Politics and the English Reformation, 1520-1540* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993).

⁷⁸⁷ Clark, *Gender, Family and Politics*, p.160.

⁷⁸⁸ William Howard is described as a 'Henrician Catholic' and 'conservative' in James McDermott, 'William Howard, c.1510-1573', *ODNB* (2008).

of family in supporting the careers of councillors rather than as part of a narrative of faction and the desire of individuals to find ideological allies.

As outlined earlier, there is a debate between historians regarding the intimacy of family members in the sixteenth century. Stone, in particular, presented a view of family relations that was unemotional and distant.⁷⁸⁹ He also claimed that the principle of primogeniture, according to which the eldest son inherited the family title and estate, created tension between the eldest son and heir and his younger brothers.⁷⁹⁰ This was because younger sons could face a more challenging path to political influence and financial independence. However, J. A. Sharpe took issue with this interpretation and used household accounts to show that the nuclear family occupied a central position in most people's lives and emotional expectations. The resources of the household were deployed to support the core family members, and the key relationships were between husband and wife and between parents and their children.⁷⁹¹ Furthermore, new humanist thinking in the sixteenth century celebrated familial love as part of a general optimism regarding human character and potential that marked a 'relaxation' of the formality of medieval familial relations.⁷⁹² Overall, privy councillors' relationships with their relatives appeared to be close, especially among intimate family members. In particular, the hostility that Stone claimed existed between siblings seems to have been almost entirely absent from the brothers who served together on the council.

Fraternal Kinship Networks

The Tudor privy council contained several sets of brothers who provide an insight into how family structures influenced politics and government. While councillors' kin often played a supporting role in their careers, a councillor's brother could achieve influence in his own right and act more as an ally than a client. For instance, it was fairly common for two members of the same family to be contemporaries on the privy council in the first half of the sixteenth century. During Henry VIII's reign alone, the Wingfield, Southwell, Seymour, Howard, and Fitzwilliam/Browne families all had at least two contemporary representatives on the privy council. This practice all but ended under Elizabeth, with Ambrose and Robert Dudley being the only brothers to serve together on the privy council during her reign. The reasons for this are most likely a combination of the smaller size of Elizabeth's privy

⁷⁸⁹ Stone, *The Family*, p.70.

⁷⁹⁰ Stone, *The Family*, p.87.

⁷⁹¹ J. A. Sharpe, *Early Modern England: A Social History 1550-1760* (London: Arnold, 1987), pp.59-61.

⁷⁹² Nevala, 'Family First', pp.149-50.

council and the growing interconnectedness of members. Elizabethan councillors were heavily linked to their colleagues by marriage, so it was no longer as vital to secure the appointment of direct family members to the council to act as allies.

The following case studies focus on all the brothers who served together on the privy council across the Tudor period. They demonstrate that family relations among privy councillors were an important aspect of their careers. Also, this discussion will challenge the notion that primogeniture inheritance governed the relationship between siblings and often resulted in rivalry and distrust between elder and younger brothers.⁷⁹³ On the contrary, cooperation and the pursuit of shared goals were more common than hostility at the highest political level.

The Wingfield family demonstrated the utility of a large affinity based on kinship from which to draw allies and clients. This large Suffolk gentry family had representatives in national and local government and was able to transmit the favour and standing achieved by older members to the next generation. Sir John Wingfield (1428-1481) of Leatheringam was a sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk and a privy councillor of Edward IV in the fifteenth century. Sir John and his wife, Elizabeth Fitzlewis, had sixteen children, of whom twelve were sons.⁷⁹⁴ This large group of siblings provided the foundation of the Wingfield family network in the sixteenth century. Three of the brothers went on to become prominent members of the Tudor elite: Robert (c.1464-1539), Richard (c.1469-1525), and Humphrey (c.1481-1545). Richard and Robert became privy councillors in 1518 and 1519, respectively, while Humphrey became an influential agent for his brothers and other high-profile councillors in East Anglia.

The evidence for the brothers' upbringing is incomplete, but they spent part of their early life together in the family home before moving on to legal training at the Inns of Court: Humphrey was a member of Gray's Inn and became a pleader, practising at Westminster in 1518.⁷⁹⁵ Similarly, Robert was a member of Lincoln's Inn in 1520 and Richard was likely a member of Gray's Inn where his arms were later emblazoned in a window in the hall.⁷⁹⁶ As well as the common law, they also displayed an interest in Christian Humanism. Humphrey established schools in his houses at Ipswich and Brantham in the

⁷⁹³ Stone, *The Family*, p.71.

⁷⁹⁴ Mary L. Robertson, 'Sir Richard Wingfield, c.1469-1525', *ODNB* (2008).

⁷⁹⁵ P. R. N Carter, 'Sir Humphrey Wingfield, c.1481-1545', *ODNB* (2010).

⁷⁹⁶ Mary L. Robertson, 'Sir Richard Wingfield, c.1469-1525', *ODNB* (2008); Mary L. Robertson, 'Sir Robert Wingfield, c.1464-1539', *ODNB* (2008).

1520s and 1530s designed to provide promising boys with a classical education.⁷⁹⁷ One of his most renowned pupils was Roger Ascham, the author and future tutor to Edward VI and Elizabeth I.⁷⁹⁸ Ascham later recounted in *Toxophilus* that he learned Latin and Greek, read the works of Geoffrey Chaucer and Thomas Malory, and developed an interest in archery while in Humphrey's household.⁷⁹⁹ Meanwhile, Robert Wingfield had become acquainted with Erasmus during the latter's stay in England between 1510 and 1515. In 1518, he exchanged letters with Erasmus, Thomas More, and Willibald Pirckheimer, a German Renaissance humanist and Imperial counsellor.⁸⁰⁰ Therefore, they all had a grounding in the common law and an interest in the 'new learning'. As mentioned above, those who shared an upbringing were more likely to have similar values and outlook. This would in turn have made cooperation and friendship easier to achieve.

The brothers genuinely enjoyed each other's company and were willing to offer support throughout their careers. For instance, the older brothers, Robert and Richard, undertook a pilgrimage in 1505. They initially travelled to Rome with Richard Urry, reputed to be their half-brother, further strengthening, perhaps, the sense that they had an attachment to their family. Afterwards, they travelled to the Holy Land, where Robert was made a Knight of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem.⁸⁰¹ It would have been an arduous and spiritually significant journey through unfamiliar lands, so trusted and reliable companions were essential. In 1516, more than a decade later, Richard would recollect the journey, remarking that he had been a 'poor stranger' in Ferrara and was well treated by the Duke.⁸⁰² A separate letter of Robert's in 1516 stated that Ferrara was 'wonderfully strong and well [furnished] with all necessaries. The Duke himself is expert and bellicose.'⁸⁰³ The trip made a lasting impression on the brothers, and their subsequent diplomatic careers likely reinforced the connections made.

The recollections were exchanged during the period when the brothers were both serving as diplomats on the continent. From this time, ample evidence survives of them working together in the pursuit of shared goals. Alan Bray has shown how professional association had the capacity to

⁷⁹⁷ Diarmaid MacCulloch and John Blatchly, 'A House fit for a Queen: Wingfield House in Tacket Street, Ipswich and its Heraldic Room', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology & History*, 38, 1 (1993), pp.13-34 (p.20).

⁷⁹⁸ *The Letters of Roger Ascham*, ed. Alvin Ros (New York: Peter Lang, 1989), p.13.

⁷⁹⁹ Roger Ascham, *English Works*, p.97.

⁸⁰⁰ L&P Henry VIII, vol.2, en.4280.

⁸⁰¹ Robertson, 'Robert Wingfield', *ODNB*.

⁸⁰² SP 1/13 f.248.

⁸⁰³ L&P Henry VIII, vol.2, en.2705.

strengthen childhood friendship by exploring the relationship between the Elizabethan statesmen Fulke Greville (1554-1624) and Philip Sidney (1554-1586). Bray argued that that the two men's joint education in a school in Shrewsbury fostered an intimacy between them that did not merely survive the transition into a life at the Elizabethan court, but in fact thrived, culminating in a plan to build a joint memorial tomb.⁸⁰⁴ It is likely that the Wingfield brothers shared a similar closeness during their professional careers.

During their diplomatic activity, Robert and Richard became particularly close to the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V. Charles wrote to Pedro Sarmiento, bishop of Badajoz, in 1521 that he 'is glad his letters about Richard [Pace] have been so agreeable to the King, and that Sir Robert Wingfield is coming as ambassador' and that he would have desired Richard to stay 'but Sir Robert conducted himself so well with the late emperor [Maximillian], that he would wish for no other substitute'.⁸⁰⁵ Similarly, when Richard Wingfield died in Toledo in 1525, when he was on an embassy to the Imperial court, Charles V granted him the unprecedented honour of being buried within the circuit of the choir in the church of the Friars Observants of San Juan de los Reyes. Cuthbert Tunstall remarked that previously this place 'is foundyd and reservyd for buryall oonly of kinges... and never before was grauntyd to no pryvate person'.⁸⁰⁶ The high regard in which Charles held the Wingfields reveals the shared pro-Imperial sentiments of the two brothers.

The numerous letters that survive from their embassies reveal that this was not just a shared preference but a coordinated approach. In 1513 and 1514, for instance, they were in Europe on diplomatic assignments, Richard in the Netherlands and Robert with Charles V's court. Unfortunately, no direct letters between the brothers survive from this period, but it is clear that they were in regular communication and were keeping each other informed of developments. They often acted as intermediaries for each other, as on 10 and 15 May 1514, when Richard's reports to Henry VIII contained copies of Robert's letters from the court of Charles V.⁸⁰⁷ These despatches make clear that Richard was aware of the contents of the letters he was forwarding. For example, in the letter of 10 May, Richard warned Henry VIII that a letter from Charles V was not in the packet, despite Robert's letter referring to it.⁸⁰⁸ In another letter, Richard wrote to Henry VIII on behalf of his brother: 'we beg

⁸⁰⁴ Bray, *Friend*, pp.43-44.

⁸⁰⁵ *L&P Henry VIII*, vol.3, en.1887.

⁸⁰⁶ BL, Cotton MS: Vespasian C/III f.78.

⁸⁰⁷ *L&P Henry VIII*, vol.1, en.1248, en.2908.

⁸⁰⁸ *L&P Henry VIII*, vol.1, en.2894.

you will send a commission to Sir Robert Wingfield to receive the Emperor's oath to the treaty'.⁸⁰⁹ Richard's letters also displayed knowledge of events at the Emperor's court that match details from his brother's despatches.

The brothers also supported each other financially during their embassies. Richard had delivered 200/ to Robert in October 1514 to support his embassy due to the late arrival of his allowance. Robert wrote on 18 October that 'a year ago he departed from the King at Ypres in Flanders to join the Emperor, and received by his brother, Sir Richard, 200/, all of which he had spent in diets on 5 May last.'⁸¹⁰ Furthermore, Richard displayed an intimate knowledge of Robert's financial affairs when he sought to dissuade the King from appointing him imperial ambassador again in 1521: 'I do not wish this for my brother's sake, especially as the little plate he has is either sold or pawned, and I know he could hardly be here before Christmas.'⁸¹¹ Due to the irregular payments from England, the embassy was costly and often required personal funds to maintain. The financial assistance of his brother was vital in allowing Robert to maintain his post.

Additionally, contemporaries tended to view them as a united party. William Fitzwilliam extolled the virtues of the Wingfields in a letter regarding the King's departure to France in 1524: he referred to Richard's 'wyse counsell and [h]is pene for makying of your letters' and Robert's expertise in 'dispatching other affairs'. He claimed that the King would 'wish for them a thousand times before he comes home'.⁸¹² Contemporary perceptions such as this reinforce the idea that the brothers cooperated closely, as their colleagues were in the best position to assess their relationship.

In a complementary role to his older brothers on the council, Humphrey Wingfield was active in local East Anglian affairs and able to forge connections with other councillors. As a younger son in a large family, Humphrey pursued a career in the law to make a living, and his legal activities would prove beneficial to the family network. In the early sixteenth century, Humphrey forged a close association with Thomas Brandon, Henry VII's master of the horse and father of Charles Brandon, the future Duke of Suffolk, acting as his legal attorney and chief mourner at his funeral in 1510.⁸¹³ Humphrey quickly moved into the service of Brandon's son and by 1518 was the spokesman of Charles Brandon's ducal

⁸⁰⁹ *L&P Henry VIII*, vol.1, en.1764.

⁸¹⁰ SP 1/9 f.99.

⁸¹¹ *L&P Henry VIII*, vol.3, en.1777.

⁸¹² SP 1/32 f.39.

⁸¹³ Gunn, *Charles Brandon*, p.3.

council and his chief negotiator with other councillors.⁸¹⁴ Brandon was one of the most influential councillors of Henry VIII, and he proved to be a valuable ally and patron of the Wingfields. For instance, Brandon interceded on his behalf with Wolsey in 1516 to acquire the post of *custos rotulorum* of Suffolk.⁸¹⁵ In addition, the favour Brandon displayed towards Humphrey likely helped him secure the patronage of other notable councillors, for, by the early 1520s, he was acting as a steward and feoffee for John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, Cardinal Wolsey and the King.⁸¹⁶ Also, during the Amicable Grant crisis in 1525, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk used Humphrey as a joint messenger to Henry and Wolsey with sensitive information regarding the rising.⁸¹⁷ Therefore, Humphrey generated a reputation for effective and loyal service among some of the most influential members of the privy council.

Humphrey's favour with individuals like Brandon likely assisted his brothers' relationships with those councillors. Richard Wingfield acted on Brandon's behalf on some of his most sensitive matters, such as during the failed negotiations for his marriage to Margaret of Savoy, Charles V's regent in the Netherlands.⁸¹⁸ The letter concerned the 'secret matters of the Duke of Suffolk', suggesting that Richard Wingfield was a trusted intermediary. Unfortunately, no direct communication between Humphrey and his brothers survives, but the family's intimate involvement in Brandon's affairs suggests their careers were at the least mutually beneficial, if not coordinated. When Humphrey became the Speaker of the Commons in 1533, he used his status to assist his brother Robert in a dispute with a servant. The servant, William Sybronde, claimed thieves attacked him and stole 46/ of Robert's money, but rather than return to his master and explain, he fled and sought sanctuary in Westminster. Humphrey used his influence as Speaker to have Sybronde 'fetched out of sanctuary, and discharged, on condition that he would be bound for the money'.⁸¹⁹ This was an instance of Robert receiving support from a family member who had built up a separate power base outside of the council.

The intertwined careers of the Wingfields were mutually beneficial and demonstrated the utility of a family network in expanding a councillor's influence. Richard and Robert were able to use their talents as diplomats to rise high in the favour of the King and Cardinal Wolsey. However, this function

⁸¹⁴ E. W. Ives, *The Common Lawyers of Pre-Reformation England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p.15.

⁸¹⁵ *L&P Henry VIII*, vol.2, en.2170.

⁸¹⁶ Gunn, *Charles Brandon*, p.50.

⁸¹⁷ *L&P Henry VIII*, vol.4, en.1319, 1323.

⁸¹⁸ *L&P Henry VIII*, vol.1, en.2941.

⁸¹⁹ SP 2/0 f.105.

necessarily meant that they were away from England for long periods and unable to maintain the personal connections with leading councillors often vital to a successful sixteenth-century political career. This shortcoming was overcome by the activities of their brother, Humphrey, who never reached the council himself, but maintained several high-profile relationships with leading councillors. The reputation for reliability and loyalty developed by each of the Wingfields benefitted the family unit as a whole. The Wingfields also demonstrate that effective familial networks do not always have explicit recognition of their existence in the surviving sources. At no point did the Wingfield brothers state that they were acting towards a shared goal, but their actions were mutually beneficial, and the good name they created and maintained was advantageous for all family members. This can be most clearly seen in the advancement of their nephew, Anthony Wingfield (1488-1552), who became a councillor in 1539 and would go on to have a prosperous career at the Tudor court. Anthony undoubtedly benefited from the solid grounding and relationships established by his uncles.

Richard and Robert Southwell had careers that had various parallels with those of the Wingfields. They were minor Suffolk gentry who managed to rise to high positions within the state through their connections at court. However, whereas the Wingfields used their companionship with Henry VIII and their diplomatic activities to facilitate a court career, the Southwells used their connection to Thomas Cromwell. Their father was Francis Southwell (d.1512), an auditor of the Exchequer and a member of the minor Suffolk gentry. Both brothers received legal training at the Inns of Court: Richard at Lincoln's Inn and Robert at Middle Temple in the 1520s. There is no record of them attending university, but Richard must have been well-educated as he acted as tutor to Cromwell's son, Gregory, in the 1530s. He gave lessons in 'the French tongue, writing, playing at weapons, casting accounts, pastimes of instruments' and tested Gregory daily on the 'English tongue, advertising him of their true pronunciation, explaining the etymology of those words we have borrowed from the French or the Latin'.⁸²⁰ Gregory lived with Richard in Norfolk during his studies, and the two developed a close relationship. In a letter of March 1536 to Cromwell, Richard referred to Gregory as 'your son and mine' and stated that he 'arrived all healthy, pleasant, and in good point, at my most poor cabin and cottage, where he seems better content than there is cause for'.⁸²¹ Later, in December, Richard wrote to Cromwell that he 'has sent up his son, whose absence at this Christmas he laments'.⁸²² Richard displayed affection towards Gregory and thought of him as a surrogate son, and Gregory appeared to enjoy the time he spent with his tutor.

⁸²⁰ SP 1/92 f.104.

⁸²¹ L&P Henry VIII, vol.10, en.507.

⁸²² SP 1/113 f.22.

This relationship facilitated a politically-useful connection with Cromwell, who was then at the height of his power. Richard used this exalted connection to enhance his career and standing during the 1530s. In March 1535, Richard served on commissions to investigate the spiritualities of Norfolk and the city of Norwich.⁸²³ He later acted as a monastic visitor and received the surrender of the Priory of St Mary, Bilsington in Kent.⁸²⁴ Cromwell directed these activities, so he likely had a hand in Richard's appointment. In 1536, thanks to Cromwell's patronage, he secured the position of receiver of the court of augmentations for himself and his brother.⁸²⁵ Richard also directly appealed to Cromwell to intervene with the King on his behalf. For instance, in July 1535, he reminded Cromwell, 'When I last waited on you at the Court, I moved you for the order and charge of the lord Bergavenny's lands in Norfolk and Suffolk. You were pleased to grant me your favor, and would speak to the King about it.'⁸²⁶ Richard became one of Cromwell's trusted operatives and received rewards in return.

During this period, Richard used his brother as a messenger and integrated him into his political dealings. Richard often used Robert to relay information to Cromwell. In March 1536, for example, he wrote to Cromwell, 'I have written to my brother certain remembrances for you.'⁸²⁷ Later, in February 1537, Richard sought Cromwell's help expediting a payment the Abbot of Norton owed him and used his brother to deliver the warrant to Cromwell.⁸²⁸ Robert was also instrumental in repairing a rift between Cromwell and Richard in the same year. The nature of the disagreement is unknown, but Richard wrote in February that 'by letters from my brother I saw... that your lordship hath had causes to be offended with me'.⁸²⁹ In the same letter, Richard referred to 'his accusers', which suggests that enemies at court were attempting to blacken his name with the minister. Robert Southwell relayed this information, acted as Richard's eyes and ears at court, and looked out for his brother's interests. The reputation of a councillor and courtier was vulnerable to malicious smears from his enemies, and often it required the personal intervention of someone favourable to them to repair the damage. This incident reinforces the importance of having a network of allies who could intercede on a councillor's behalf.

Any dispute must have been resolved quickly as, by July 1537, the brothers were acting as Cromwell's subordinates involved in the most politically sensitive matters. Significantly, they were often

⁸²³ SP 1/91 f.107.

⁸²⁴ L&P Henry VIII, vol.10, en.816.

⁸²⁵ Stanford Lehmborg, 'Richard Southwell, c.1502-1564', *ODNB* (2008).

⁸²⁶ SP 1/94 f.116.

⁸²⁷ L&P Henry VIII, vol.10, en.507.

⁸²⁸ SP 1/115 f.171.

⁸²⁹ SP 1/116 f.126.

appointed to the same commissions and tasks, for instance as monastic visitors under Cromwell's supervision.⁸³⁰ Also, Cromwell used them as inspectors of the lands of the sixth earl of Northumberland, who had died in June, leaving his estates to Henry VIII.⁸³¹ After Cromwell's fall in 1540, they continued their joint service, and in January 1541, the privy council tasked them with searching the coffers of Sir John Mason (1503-1566), who had been arrested for the misuse of the king's funds during his time as a diplomat on the continent.⁸³² Furthermore, Robert and Richard both became councillors in 1545, remaining in London while the rest of the council were away with the King managing the defence of the south coast from a French invasion.⁸³³ Therefore, the brothers displayed an effective working relationship, and their superiors likely recognised this as they were regularly appointed to the same commissions.

It is likely that the brothers first attracted Cromwell's attention as a result of an incident on 20 April 1532 when they and some accomplices murdered Sir William Pennington. Pennington was married to a cousin of Charles Brandon and was his tenant of the manor of Costessey. The exact reason for the dispute is unknown, but it may have stemmed from the regional competition between Brandon and the Howards in East Anglia. The Southwells were clients of the Howards at this point. The event brought the brothers closer together as they sought to escape the serious consequences of their actions. They ultimately secured a pardon in June 1532 but had to pay a £1000 fine.⁸³⁴ In the event, the fine was never paid, and Richard granted the King the manors of Coggeshall and Filolls Hall, Essex, instead.⁸³⁵ Cromwell worked to secure the pardon for the Southwells, noting it in a list of obligations and bills in September 1532, and, from that point onwards, their careers were intimately tied to the chief minister.⁸³⁶

The overall impression of the careers of the Southwells is that they were capable and dependable servants who forged amicable relations with those with whom they worked. However, the most striking aspect of their careers was the degree to which they worked together. Their close relationship was fostered at an early age and strengthened by their murder of Pennington and the subsequent desperate search for a reprieve. The fact that they were often appointed to the same commissions and tasks suggested a general appreciation of their ability to work together and deliver results. Their

⁸³⁰ SP 1/122 f.196.

⁸³¹ SP 1/124 f.67.

⁸³² L&P Henry VIII, vol.16, en.469.

⁸³³ SP 1/204 f.159.

⁸³⁴ SP 1/70 f.138.

⁸³⁵ Stanford Lehmborg, 'Richard Southwell, 1502/3-1564', *ODNB* (2008).

⁸³⁶ L&P Henry VIII, vol.5, en.1285.

activities further reinforce the contention that sibling relationships were not cold and antagonistic but close and mutually beneficial.

One of the clearest expressions of the potential closeness between family members was the relationship between Ambrose (c.1530-1590) and Robert Dudley (c.1532-1588). The Dudley brothers were two of the eight sons of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland. They were among the most influential courtiers of Elizabeth I, and both sat on the privy council, Robert from 1562 and Ambrose from 1573. Robert occupied a position of intimacy with the Queen and, as a result, has received considerable attention from historians seeking to understand the dynamics of Elizabethan politics. While Robert's relationship with the Queen was important, and the main reason for his success, it was not the only way he maintained his position. He maintained a network of allies and followers that provided political, financial and military support. At the heart of this network was his brother Ambrose who occupied a unique position among Robert's personal and professional contacts. Robert and Ambrose were completely loyal to each other and displayed a deep affection throughout their lives.

The defining moment of their early lives came in 1553, when they were both in their early twenties and imprisoned in the Tower of London by Mary I. Their father, John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, had tried to deprive Mary Tudor of the crown upon the death of Edward VI on 6 July 1553. The coup collapsed within days, and John Dudley and his five surviving sons (John, Ambrose, Robert, Henry, and Guildford) were arrested and charged with treason. The fact that the whole Dudley family was arrested, not just the father, illustrates how families were assumed to be united political entities. Northumberland was executed on Tower Hill on 22 August 1553. His sons were convicted but remained confined in the Tower. The Dudley brothers likely witnessed their father's execution and, as attainted traitors, lived in fear for their lives. Jeffrey C. Alexander has shown that trauma leaves marks on group consciousness and identity, and that traumatic events create a solidarity among those who experience them.⁸³⁷ As convicted traitors, the Dudley brothers could call on no support outside of their family. Their mother, Jane, Duchess of Northumberland, was the only person to try to intervene with the new Queen on their behalf. She rightly identified Catholicism's importance to the Queen when she asked that her sons be allowed to hear Mass. The Queen issued the following order to Thomas Bridges, lieutenant of the Tower:

⁸³⁷ Jeffery C. Alexander, 'Toward a theory of cultural trauma', in *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity*, ed. Jeffrey C. Alexander (London: University of California Press, 2004), pp.1-30 (pp.1-2).

The Quenes Heighnes' pleasure is, at thumble sute of the Duches of Northumberland, that he shall suffer the said Duches' sonnes; that is to saie, the late Erle of Warwicke, Sir Ambrose, Sir Robert and Henry Dudley to repaire to the Chapell within the Towre, and to here Masse at suche tymes as he shall thinke moost fytt for that purpose, so as he be present with them at thiere being there, geving diligent heed that no maner persone be suffered to have conference with them, and after they shall have harde the Divyne Service to see them conveyed agayne to thier lodging.⁸³⁸

The order clarifies that the brothers were not to 'have conference' with any other persons and were to be supervised by the lieutenant. However, it does not forbid them to talk and interact with each other. In light of their later enthusiasm for Protestantism, these occasions were presumably primarily about demonstrating their respect for Catholicism to win over the Queen. In this respect, it was a collective ruse that required the commitment and understanding of each brother.

Furthermore, while imprisoned, the brothers lived in close proximity to each other. Eyewitnesses recounted how the brothers walked the grounds of the Tower: 'lorde Robert and lorde Gildford [were granted] the liberty of the leades in the Bell Tower' and 'Likewise the lorde Henry and the lord Guildforde [had] the liberty of the leades on Beacham's Tower.'⁸³⁹ The only other people with whom they were permitted to interact were their wives, who were allowed occasional visits. As a result, the brothers were isolated from everyone except their immediate family members and likely surmised that family was their most crucial support network. The unity and solidarity of the Dudleys in this time of adversity was remarkable. There is no evidence that they sought to distance themselves from their father or that they turned on each other in an attempt to save themselves. On the contrary, an unshakeable bond between Robert and Ambrose formed during this period.

While in the Tower, the Dudley brothers, fearing death, carved an elaborate memorial in the Beauchamp Tower wall.⁸⁴⁰ The memorial combines the bear and ragged staff and lion rampant devices of the earls of Warwick and the Dudley family. It also contains a floral border with different flowers representing four of the brothers: oak leaves and acorns for Robert, roses for Ambrose, honeysuckle for Henry, and carnations for Guildford. The chief artist of the work is believed to be the eldest brother, John Dudley, as the name 'IOHN DVDLI' is inscribed beneath it, and he is not represented in floral

⁸³⁸ PC 2/7 f.129.

⁸³⁹ *The Chronicle of Queen Jane, and of two years of Queen Mary*, ed. Nicholas John Gough (London: J.B. Nichols, 1850), pp.27, 33.

⁸⁴⁰ Figure 5.2.

form.⁸⁴¹ An inscription accompanied the memorial: 'You that these beasts do wel behold and se, may deme with ease wherefore here made they be, with borders eke within [there may be found] 4 brothers names who list to search the ground.' The memorial was the most explicit demonstration of the regard in which they held each other. It also demonstrated the centrality of family to their identity and outlook. The heraldic devices used in the memorial were those of an attainted traitor, but the brothers did not abandon them.



Figure 5.2 Dudley memorial in the Beauchamp Tower, Tower of London

In fact, Robert and Ambrose would continue to use these devices upon their release, most significantly at tournaments held in London in 1554 and 1559. The 1554 tournament was organised by Philip II and was designed to foster better relations between the English and Spanish peers at court. As they had only recently been released from captivity, it might have benefitted the brothers to use an alternative device, which would have been in keeping with the flexible nature of heraldic badges.⁸⁴² However, in a surviving illustration of the 1559 tournament, their arms are prominently displayed.⁸⁴³ The ragged staff of the Dudleys can be seen in the heraldry of the first and fourth knights. Also, the small crescent on the fourth knight is the younger brothers mark of 'difference', indicating that this is Robert.⁸⁴⁴ They

⁸⁴¹ Derek A. Wilson, *The Uncrowned Kings of England: The black history of the Dudleys and the Tudor throne* (New York: Carroll & Graf, 2005), p.237.

⁸⁴² Richard McCoy, 'From the Tower to the Tiltyard: Robert Dudley's Return to Glory', *The Historical Journal*, 27 (1984), 425-235 (p.432).

⁸⁴³ Figure 5.3.

⁸⁴⁴ McCoy, 'From Tower', p.432.

would also continue to use these heraldic devices for the rest of their lives. The brothers placed their commitment to their family above political considerations.

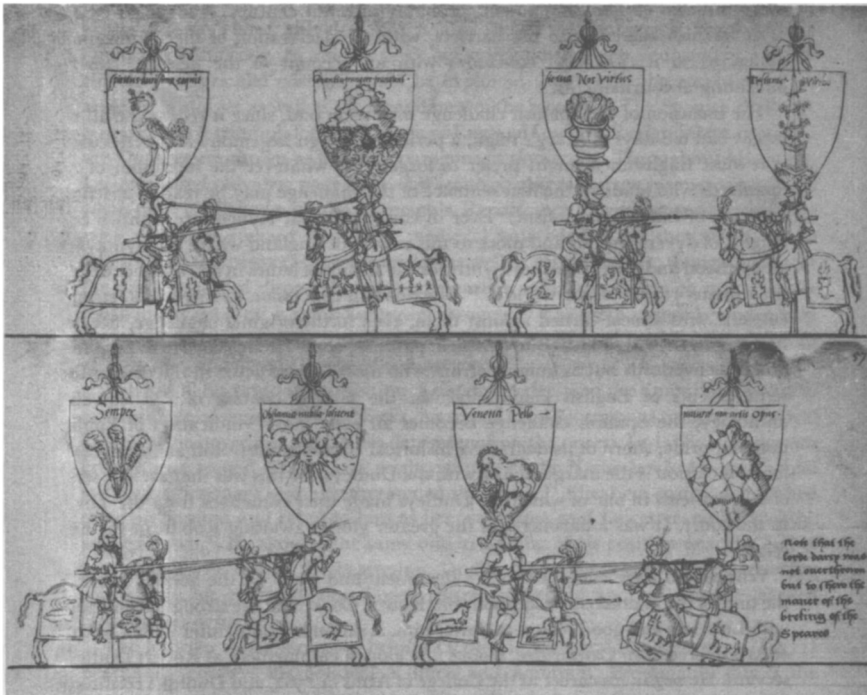


Figure 5.3 Tournament Cheque, Royal College of Arms in Richard McCoy, ‘From the Tower to the Tiltyard’, pp.425-235

Robert and Ambrose experienced the death of almost all members of their immediate family within a short period of time. Their father’s execution was followed in February 1554 by the execution of their youngest brother, Guildford, and his wife, Jane Grey. These would have been deeply traumatic events that no doubt drew the surviving brothers closer together. Further tragedy followed with the deaths, by natural causes, of their mother and older brother John Dudley, just days after he was released from the Tower in October 1554. The three surviving brothers (Ambrose, Robert, and Henry) had no protectors and few allies and thus had to rely heavily on each other. They sought to improve their situation by seeking the favour of Philip II of Spain, Mary’s husband. They enlisted to fight for Philip in France and were recorded as commanders in the English army in 1557.⁸⁴⁵ However, more misfortune followed as Henry was killed in the fighting at St Quentin, France. Robert Dudley later recalled that his

⁸⁴⁵ SP 11/11 f.12.

brother was killed 'before his own eyes'.⁸⁴⁶ Ambrose and Robert were now the Dudley line's sole male survivors.

The events of Ambrose and Robert's early lives were traumatic and forged a strong bond between the brothers. Their personal and professional activities were heavily intertwined throughout the remainder of their lives. Numerous surviving letters detail this close personal affection. For example, they often exchanged gifts and provided financial support to each other. In 1562, when Ambrose was in France as part of the Newhaven expedition, Elizabeth's attempt to intervene in the French Wars of Religion on the side of the Huguenots, he received the gift of a horse from Robert. In a letter sent afterwards, Ambrose thanked his brother for 'the good horse which he sent, and trusts one day to break a staff upon him for his sake. When he is upon that horse with the Queen's token, which she sent, about his neck he thinks he should do wonders.'⁸⁴⁷ The letter suggests a high degree of familiarity and talks of a return gift of 'the best setter in France'.⁸⁴⁸ The gifting of animals has already been discussed and suggests a close relationship between the brothers.⁸⁴⁹ This exchange represented a general situation of mutual support rather than a transactional relationship. The gifts were not sent in exchange for a return favour but rather appeared to be a spontaneous display of affection.

Similarly, the brothers provided each other with financial support in difficult times. In November 1555, Robert was experiencing financial difficulty as Mary I had confiscated the Dudley lands, and his wife, Amy Rosbart, was yet to receive her inheritance. Robert's brothers stepped in to offer financial assistance: Henry Dudley allowed Robert and his wife to stay at his house in Christchurch, London, and Ambrose agreed to transfer the dowager Duchess' estate to him for £800.⁸⁵⁰ They, therefore, provided Robert with suitable accommodation in London and the country and a means to support himself. Robert reciprocated in 1565 with a similar favour when he paid the bills of all the contestants who participated in the jousting tournament put on as part of the celebrations for Ambrose's wedding.⁸⁵¹ Robert also participated in the tournament and attended the wedding itself. Later, Ambrose would witness Robert's marriage to Lettice Devereux in 1578 and become godfather to his illegitimate son, Robert Dudley.

⁸⁴⁶ Archives Generales du Royaume, Brussels, papiers d'etat et de l'audience 361, f.156v. Simon Adams, 'Robert Dudley, 1532/3-1588', *ODNB* (2008).

⁸⁴⁷ SP 70/49 f.87.

⁸⁴⁸ SP 70/49 f.87.

⁸⁴⁹ The intimacy represented by animals as gifts is discussed above in Chapter 5: Friendship.

⁸⁵⁰ Simon Adams, 'Ambrose Dudley, c.1530-1590', *ODNB* (2008).

⁸⁵¹ Anthony Wagner, *Heralds of England* (London: HMSO, 1967), p.105.

The brothers regularly provided hospitality to each other and interacted socially. Indeed, Adams has described them as 'inseparable'.⁸⁵² He noted that Ambrose only visited his midland estates when he was in his brother's company. These visits took place in 1566, 1571, and 1580 and two further were recorded when the court was on progress in 1572 and 1575.⁸⁵³ They also visited the spas at Buxton, Bristol, and Bath together in 1577 and 1587 and would go on to patronise them extensively.⁸⁵⁴ These were personal trips with no political or career benefit, so one presumes that the brothers enjoyed each other's company.

This personal affection is also explicit in some of their surviving correspondence. For example, Robert referred to his brother as 'him I love as myself' in a letter written to Francis Russell, the second earl of Bedford, in 1564.⁸⁵⁵ The purpose of this letter was to arrange a marriage between Ambrose and Russell's eldest daughter Ann. This was the marriage that took place in 1565, for which Robert paid the tournament fees, revealing the truth of Robert's words. The letter is also an example of Robert using his position as an influential courtier to secure a favourable marriage for his brother. Ambrose reciprocated the affection when he wrote: 'lett me have your best advyce what is best for me to doe for that I meane to take soche partt as you doe.'⁸⁵⁶ Ambrose also wrote that 'there is no man knoweth his [Robert's] doings better than I myself' in a letter defending his brother against 'slandrous reports' that he had overthrown 'the Godly exercise used at Southam'.⁸⁵⁷ Ambrose and Robert demonstrated an intimate familiarity with each other's affairs and a willingness to defend and advance their brother's name and position.

The careers and professional activities of Ambrose and Robert Dudley were heavily intertwined. They used the same men of business, lawyers, and officers on their midland and Welsh estates. Adams has convincingly contended that it would actually be more accurate to refer to a Dudley affinity than two separate networks.⁸⁵⁸ The intermingling of their estates and interests is the most explicit expression of their trust. It demonstrates that they could rely on each other to act in their best interests and that they trusted each other with sensitive information. Robert also held Ambrose's proxy for the

⁸⁵² Simon Adams, 'Ambrose Dudley, c.1530-1590', *ODNB* (2008).

⁸⁵³ Adams, 'Ambrose Dudley', *ODNB* (2008).

⁸⁵⁴ Adams, 'Queen Elizabeth's eyes at court', *Leicester and the Court*, p.143.

⁸⁵⁵ 'Robert Dudley to Francis Russell' (1564) in 'An unpublished letter of Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, 1564', *Notes and Queries*, 67 (1881), pp.283-284, p.284.

⁸⁵⁶ *The Correspondence of Robert Dudley, earl of Leycester*, ed. J. Bruce (London: Camden Society, 1844), p.284.

⁸⁵⁷ 'The Earl of Warwick to Thomas Wood' (1576) in *Godly People: Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism*, ed. Patrick Collinson (London: Bloomsbury, 2003), p.93.

⁸⁵⁸ Adams, 'The Dudley Clientele, 1553-1563', p.243.

parliaments of 1566, 1571, and 1584. This allowed him to vote on his brother's behalf, further suggesting that their preferences and priorities were aligned.

This professional cooperation also extended into politics. The brothers were political allies throughout Elizabeth's reign and supported each other at crucial moments. One such event was Ambrose's military expedition to Newhaven in 1562. Elizabeth had decided to intervene in the French Wars of Religion, and despite Robert campaigning for the command, Ambrose was selected to lead the force. While this might have bred resentment in Robert that his brother was allowed to gain martial glory instead of him, their letters demonstrate that Robert did everything he could to support his older brother. For instance, Ambrose asked Robert to intervene several times to assist in the procurement of supplies and favours for his clients. On 28 November, Ambrose asked Robert to assist a man called Thomas Jones in procuring further ships for the campaign.⁸⁵⁹ Another letter sent on the same day to the privy council outlined the same request.⁸⁶⁰ Ambrose was asking for his brother's backing on the privy council by sending a personal letter alongside the official correspondence. In this endeavour he was successful, as a letter from the Queen to Ambrose on 2 December confirmed the despatch of three additional galleys to assist in Newhaven's defence.⁸⁶¹ Later that month, he asked Robert to intervene with the Queen over the employment of the soldier, John Goodman, in Dieppe or Newhaven.⁸⁶² Ambrose was aware of Robert's influential position within the English government and with the Queen and sought to use it for his political advantage.

Ambrose returned to England in August 1563 with the remnants of his expedition. He had received a leg injury, and many of his men were infected with the plague. Robert was very concerned about his brother's health and was keen to monitor his journey back to England. Thomas Smith, the ambassador to France, wrote to the Constable that 'Having heard of the surrender of Havre and that Warwick is badly wounded, he desires him to allow the bearer to visit him, in order that he may be able, when he goes to England, to give a true account of his condition to his brother, the Earl of Leicester.'⁸⁶³ Despite the risks of plague, Robert visited his brother upon his return, much to the Queen's displeasure. Robert wrote an apologetic letter to Elizabeth explaining his actions stating, 'the natural care and love toward

⁸⁵⁹ SP 70/45 f.155.

⁸⁶⁰ SP 70/45 f.153.

⁸⁶¹ SP 70/46 f.19.

⁸⁶² SP 70/46 f.208.

⁸⁶³ SP 70/61 f.93.

my brother might well much sooner have provoked me to desire the sight of him.⁸⁶⁴ Not even the plague, nor even Elizabeth's wrath, could keep Robert from his brother's side.

The Dudley brothers were bound together by tragedy and learnt to rely on each other after losing most of their family. Their careers demonstrated that a councillor's brother could often be his most important and influential supporter. This case-study also demonstrates that conventional historical thinking about the relationship between siblings is simplistic and that rivalry and hostility did not always characterise these relationships. This is more significant when it comes to the Dudleys as Ambrose was the eldest and might, therefore, have been expected to be the dominant partner, but in this instance, Robert was the more influential. The fact that there was no hostility on Ambrose's part to this situation was a testament to their good relationship.

It is nonetheless important to address a prominent exception to this general trend of cooperation between brothers. That is the antagonistic relationship between Edward and Thomas Seymour which ultimately led to both brothers' death on the scaffold. As the uncles of King Edward VI, both men expected a prominent position in their nephew's government when he ascended the throne in 1547. However, it quickly became apparent that Edward was to occupy a dominant role as Lord Protector of the Realm and governor of the King's person, with Thomas receiving only the Lord Admiralship. This was the root of their difficult relationship with an anonymous contemporary observer stating: 'the cause of the falling owte of the Protector and the Admyrall was the ambition of the Admirall and the envy he had that his brother should be more advaunced than he'.⁸⁶⁵ Thomas believed that the functions of protector and governor of the King's person should be divided, and that he should be granted one of them. Sir William Sharrington, a co-conspirator of Thomas' scheme to overthrow his brother in 1549, claimed that 'he [Thomas] thought yt was not the kinges [Henry VIII's] will, that eny oon man sholde haue bothe the gouernement of the King... and also the realme'.⁸⁶⁶ Thus, their relationship had much greater significance for politics and governance than the other familial privy councillor relationships. The competition for control of the King and the realm added a dimension to their relationship that made hostility more likely.

⁸⁶⁴ 'Lord Robert Dudley to Queen Elizabeth' (7 August 1563), printed in Simon Adams, *Leicester and the Court*, p.138.

⁸⁶⁵ BL, Additional MS: 48023, f.350.

⁸⁶⁶ *A Collection of State Papers: relating to affairs in the reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth: from the year 1542 to 1570*, ed. Samuel Haynes (London: Bowyer, 1740), p.90.

Furthermore, Thomas possessed an inflated sense of his own importance and had a reckless personality. For instance, his rush to marry Katherine Parr, Henry VIII's widow, only 34 days after Henry's death demonstrated a lack of awareness for the consequences of his actions. Indeed, at his trial in 1549, it was claimed that the wedding had taken place so quickly, that if Catherine gave birth to a child, it would be impossible to know if Thomas or Henry was the father.⁸⁶⁷ Thomas was clearly eager to buttress his prestige and standing in order to compete with his elder brother. The marriage certainly provoked the bitter jealousy of Edward's wife, Anne Stanhope, as there was now a doubt as to who held greater precedence: Anne as the wife of the Protector of the Realm or Catherine as Dowager Queen.⁸⁶⁸ Thomas' recklessness was also demonstrated by the fact that he pursued a relationship with Princess Elizabeth, while she resided in Catherine's household, despite being married to her step-mother, to say nothing of the fact she was the sister of the King.⁸⁶⁹ His schemes to marry Elizabeth, after Catherine's death, came to nothing but did demonstrate his unrestrained ambition and cavalier attitude to social propriety. Finally, Thomas' rash actions in attempting to kidnap the King in 1549 demonstrated that he did not possess a personality that was capable of compromising with this brother.

Edward's feelings towards his brother are difficult to determine, but as the dominant party he appeared to view him as a nuisance and may have been strong-armed into agreeing to his execution by the other councillors. This was the view of Elizabeth, reflecting after the events when she was imprisoned in the Tower by Mary I, when she claimed she heard Edward say, 'if his brother had been suffered to speak with him, he had never suffered; but the persuasions were made to him so great, that he was brought in belief that he could not live safely if the Admiral lived, and that made him give his consent to his death'.⁸⁷⁰ Thus, the brothers were playing a game with the highest stakes and with personalities that made total victory or defeat the only outcomes. This makes them an intriguing exception to the general picture of cordial relations between siblings in Tudor England.

On the whole, though, the families of Tudor privy councillors commonly provided their most reliable network of supporters. First and foremost, councillors often had cordial relations with their immediate family members, despite complex economic ties and primogeniture inheritance rules. These good

⁸⁶⁷ BL, Harleian MS: 249 f.38 (19b).

⁸⁶⁸ Bernard, 'The downfall of Sir Thomas Seymour', in *Tudor Nobility*, p.215.

⁸⁶⁹ The nature and extent of Thomas and Elizabeth's relationship are debated, but there are several accounts of inappropriate intimacy, such as the account of Katherine Ashley, gentlewomen to Princess Elizabeth: *Collection of State Papers*, p.100-01.

⁸⁷⁰ *Original Letters Illustrative of English History*, II, pp.254-57.

relations could be forged by shared experience. In the turbulent Tudor period, many councillors turned to their immediate family as the only people they could trust. This was the case with the Dudleys and, to some extent, the Southwells, as they experienced the trauma of death and prosecution as a family. These warm relationships manifested themselves in close cooperation during councillors' careers. For instance, all the family groupings explored here displayed a high level of coordination and cooperation in their public and private dealings. The Wingfields had the most extensive familial network, stretching from local offices in Norfolk and Suffolk to the council, Parliament and Household. They also demonstrated the utility of a respected family name for people building a career at the Tudor court.

Finally, influential councillors could reward their close family members to strengthen their own positions. A large component of sixteenth-century politics was the ability to reward loyal people with offices, and often a councillor's most trusted clients were members of his own family. For instance, once Richard Southwell had achieved sufficient favour with Cromwell, he immediately began to advocate for similar preferment for his brother. Thus, a family with good relations and shared goals was a potent force within Tudor politics as members could support and reinforce each other's positions. However, rivalry between family members was dangerous and often detrimental to the whole kinship network as the family's reputation suffered. The case studies explored here challenge traditional notions of antagonistic and cold relations between close family members and demonstrate the vital role of family members in supporting a councillor's position.

Conciliar Families

Sixteenth-century European society was built on hereditary privilege, and inherited wealth and status were key to the identity of many elites. In theory, the privy council sat outside of this system, with membership determined solely at the discretion of the monarch and appointments being only for life. This enabled the monarch to restrict the influence of any one family by limiting their representation on their council. Nevertheless, political dynasties did emerge that were able to get multiple members appointed to the privy council and successfully pass their seats through the generations. What follows is an exploration of those top conciliar families and an assessment of what made them successful.

Tracking biologically-related councillors shows that each reign had a few favoured families who were always represented on the council. The graph below includes all men of the same family who were members of the privy council. In total, 25 English families had multiple members appointed as councillors between 1509 and 1603. The graph represents each councillor's tenure as a coloured line. This shows two things: first, how long particular families maintained their influence on the council,

and second, if there were multiple members of the same family present on the council at the same time.

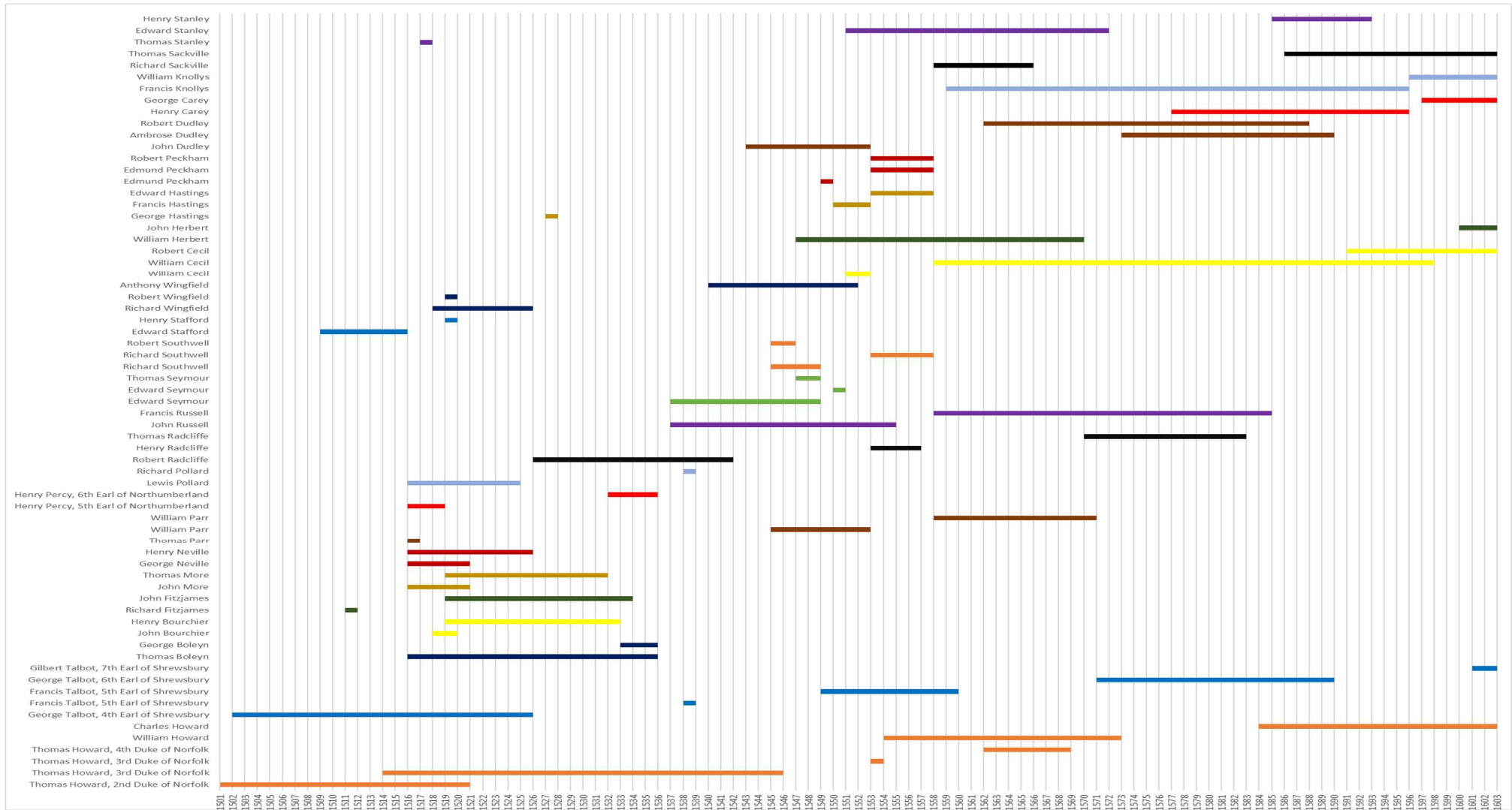


Figure 5.4 Biologically-related councillors, 1509-1603

In the early period, before the formal institutionalisation of the privy council around 1536, it was not uncommon for multiple members of the same family to serve on the council at the same time. However, membership of the council was fluid in this period and members could make brief appearances of little consequence. For instance, Henry VIII allowed Henry Bouchier, second Earl of Essex, to join his father on the council briefly in 1519, but neither man attended regularly, and the second Earl had dropped off the council by 1533 despite living until 1540.⁸⁷¹ Similarly, Henry Percy, fifth Earl of Northumberland, was a councillor between 1516 and 1519, and his son, the sixth Earl (c.1502-1537), between 1532 and 1536, but neither of them regularly attended, being occupied by duties in the North of England. Furthermore, William Parr, Marquess of Northampton (1513-1571), joined the council in 1545, but this owed little to his father, Sir Thomas Parr's (1478-1517) brief membership between 1516 and 1517. Thomas Parr had died before acquiring significant preferment from Henry, and William's subsequent career instead resulted from his sister's marriage to the King.⁸⁷² The brief stints of council membership by Thomas Parr, John Bouchier and Henry Percy did not greatly influence the subsequent elevation of their sons and, consequently, should not be considered the continuation of a political grouping.

The strong showing of the Howard and Boleyn families, however, was the result of a conscious policy of elevation by Henry VIII. For example, Thomas Howard, second Duke of Norfolk, was a councillor from 1501 to his death in 1521 and was joined by his son, Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, in 1514. The Howards were England's premier aristocratic family and had won a crushing victory over the Scots at the Battle of Flodden in 1513. Thus, the elevation of Surrey reflected Henry VIII's favour and confidence at that moment. Similarly, the contemporary service of Thomas and George Boleyn (c.1504-1536) on the council from 1533 until 1536 was due to the King's relationship with their daughter and sister, Anne. It should also be remembered that the Howards and Boleyns were related by marriage, with Thomas Boleyn being married to Elizabeth Howard, daughter of the second Duke of Norfolk. Therefore, they represented one familial network. This was the only time Henry VIII would simultaneously and deliberately promote so many members of the same family to positions of authority, but the promotion of members of the same family network became the norm under Elizabeth.⁸⁷³

⁸⁷¹ James P. Carley, 'John Bouchier, c.1467-1533', *ODNB* (2004); S. J. Gunn, 'Henry Bouchier, 1472-1540', *ODNB* (2004).

⁸⁷² Rosemary Horrox, 'Parr Family, c.1370-1517', *ODNB* (2006).

⁸⁷³ Such promotions were almost unheard of under Edward VI and Mary I, with only Robert Peckham following his father, Edmund, on Mary's council.

Elizabeth I had a habit of replacing fathers with sons on her council, which added a hereditary principle to council membership. This had the effect of entrenching particular dynasties at the top of the political hierarchy and created a new hereditary layer to the political elite. Also, the Elizabethan council was more connected by marriage and kinship than any other Tudor council, creating a very unified and insular elite that was difficult for outsiders to penetrate.

In the mid-Tudor period, the council received an infusion of new blood. Elizabeth turned away from several conciliar families: no member of the Peckham, Hastings, Southwell, Wingfield or Seymour families ever sat on her council. Also, for the first time, Careys, Sackvilles and Knollys received seats on the council and crucially maintained them for the majority of Elizabeth's reign. Only a handful of families maintained a presence on the council between Henry VIII and Elizabeth I's reigns. The only families with a councillor in every reign were the Russells, the Talbots and the Stanleys. The religious tensions of the mid-Tudor period meant that different regimes excluded several well-established families. For instance, the generally Catholic-leaning Howards were present on the council in all reigns apart from the Protestant Edward VI, while the Protestant Parrs were excluded under Mary. The religious division was a growing factor in council membership and partly responsible for the new men who became councillors under Elizabeth.

Other monarchs had introduced new men into their councils, but the longevity of service under Elizabeth was unique. Members of the Dudley, Carey, Stanley, Knollys, and Cecil families served almost unbroken tenures across Elizabeth's long reign. This was a consequence of the more settled nature of politics and the entrenchment of a particular councillor archetype in Elizabeth's reign. As a result, a small collection of families could dominate the council without arousing significant opposition from the rest of the political class. Those excluded presumably resented their exclusion, but unlike in the earlier period, their scope for action was limited. The Elizabethan council did not contain a myriad of dissenting voices, all vying for influence; it was small, and its members adhered to a similar political and religious outlook that resulted from their upbringing and early experiences. Also, they effectively monopolised power in their hands through strategic marriages and relationships.

The table below shows snapshots of the Elizabethan privy council at four points in the reign. It demonstrates the continuity of some Elizabethan conciliar families across the 45-year reign. The only family to maintain a continuous presence on the council was the Cecils. Families such as the Howards, the Sackvilles and the Talbots had long careers on the council, but the members of the younger generation had to wait several years before earning their seats. This demonstrated that sons did not have an inherited right to a council seat and that the decision still rested with Elizabeth. It also illustrates Elizabeth's desire to keep the council small.

Table 5.1 Elizabethan Privy Council Membership in 1558, 1577, 1591 and 1603

Elizabethan Privy Council			
1558	1577	1591	1603
William Cecil (c.1520-1598)	William Cecil, Baron Burghley	William Cecil, Baron Burghley Sir Robert Cecil (1563-1612)	Sir Robert Cecil
Francis Talbot, fifth Earl of Shrewsbury (1500-1560)	George Talbot, sixth Earl of Shrewsbury (c.1522-1590)		Gilbert Talbot, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury (1552-1616)
Edward Clinton, first Earl of Lincoln (1512-1585)	Edward Clinton, first Earl of Lincoln		
Francis Russell, second Earl of Bedford (c.1526-1585)	Francis Russell, second Earl of Bedford		
Henry Fitzalan, twelfth Earl of Arundel (1512-1580)	Henry Fitzalan, twelfth Earl of Arundel		
Sir Ralph Sadler (1507-1587)	Sir Ralph Sadler		
William Howard, first Baron Effingham (1510-1573)		Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham (1536-1624)	Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham
Sir Richard Sackville (d.1566)		Thomas Sackville, first Baron Buckhurst (c.1536-1608)	Thomas Sackville, first Baron Buckhurst
William Herbert, first Earl of Pembroke (c.1506-1570)			Sir John Herbert (c.1540-1617)
Edward Stanley, third Earl of Derby (1509-1572)		Henry Stanley, fourth Earl of Derby (1531-1593)	
Nicholas Heath, Archbishop of York (c.1501-1578)			
William Parr, Marquess of Northampton (1513-1571)			

Chapter 5

William Paulet, first Marquess of Winchester (c.1474-1572)			
Sir Nicholas Bacon (1510-1579)			
Sir John Mason (c.1503-1566)			
Sir Ambrose Cave (c.1503-1568)			
Sir Thomas Cheyne (c.1485-1558)			
Sir William Petre (c.1505-1572)			
Sir Edward Rogers (c.1498-1568)			
Sir Thomas Parry (c.1515-1560)			
	Sir Francis Knollys (c.1511-1596)	Sir Francis Knollys	Sir William Knollys (c.1545-1632)
	Henry Carey, first Baron Hunsdon (1526-1596)	Henry Carey, first Baron Hunsdon	George Carey, second Baron Hunsdon (1548-1603)
	Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester (c.1532-1588) Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick (c.1530-1590)		
	Thomas Radcliffe, third Earl of Sussex (c.1526-1583)		
	Sir Walter Mildmay (c.1520-1589)		
	Sir James Croft (c.1518-1590)		

	Sir Francis Walsingham (c.1532-1590)		
	Thomas Wilson (c.1523-1581)		
	Sir Christopher Hatton (c.1540-1591)	Sir Christopher Hatton	
		William Brooke, tenth Baron Cobham (1527-1597)	
		Sir John Wolley (d.1596)	
		Sir Thomas Heneage (c.1532-1595)	
		Sir John Perrot (1528-1592)	
		Sir John Puckering (c.1543-1596)	
		Sir John Fortescue (1533-1607)	Sir John Fortescue
		John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury (c.1530-1604)	John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury
			Edward Somerset, fourth Earl of Worcester (c.1550-1628)
			Sir John Stanhope (c.1540-1621)
			Sir Edward Wotton (1548-1628)
			Sir John Popham (c.1531-1607)

			Sir Thomas Egerton (1540-1617)
--	--	--	--------------------------------

The insular nature of the council is even more apparent when considering more distant relations and marriage connections. At Elizabeth's death, her council numbered only fourteen members, at least seven of whom had a familial connection to another councillor. These ranged from cousins, such as Charles Howard and John Herbert, whose mothers, Mary and Margaret Gamage, were sisters, to brothers-in-law like George Carey (1548-1603), second Baron Hunsdon, and Charles Howard, second Baron of Effingham. Howard was a friend of George's father, Henry Carey, first Baron Hunsdon, and the two had long collaborated on the council since Carey's appointment in 1577, regularly attending meetings together. They also participated in joint commissions, such as in 1585, when they were appointed to negotiate with the Dutch States General and in 1592, when they drew up a table of precedence alongside William Cecil.⁸⁷⁴ In August 1578, Henry Carey sent a diplomatic despatch from Scotland which contained a cask of five falcons, one of which he instructed was to be delivered to Howard.⁸⁷⁵ They also both participated in court entertainments and tournaments.⁸⁷⁶ Their friendship likely contributed to Howard's marriage to Henry Carey's daughter, Katherine, in 1563.

Additionally, George Carey was a cousin of William Knollys (c.1545-1632), Earl of Banbury and another councillor; Knollys was the son of Carey's aunt, another Katherine Carey. The two families had a long association. Knollys's father, Francis, wrote to Carey's father in 1568, when Francis was Mary Queen of Scots' jailor, supporting a supposed marriage between the exiled Queen and Carey's son, George. He wrote that 'she [Mary Queen of Scots] would be well content to match in this case with George Carey, or if Her Majesty like not of an elder brother she would not refuse one of his younger brethren.'⁸⁷⁷ Francis Knollys evidently thought he was being supportive of his brother-in-law's ambitions. However, when word of these rumours reached Carey's ears, he was horrified and quickly wrote to William Cecil to disavow the scheme. Significantly, he also asked that his 'brother' Knollys not be punished for reporting the incident: Carey wrote that he 'trusts that the Queen will not conceive such a want of discretion or knowledge of his [Knollys'] duty as to deal for any marriage with such a personage either for his son or anybody else'.⁸⁷⁸ The fact that Knollys' instinct was to support

⁸⁷⁴ *Calendar of State Papers: Foreign*, vol.19, p.708; SP 46/4 f.45.

⁸⁷⁵ BL, MS Cotton: Caligula C/III f.563.

⁸⁷⁶ They are listed as opponents in a jousting tournament here: *Calendar of manuscripts of the Marquis of Salisbury, preserved at Hatfield House*, vol.11, en.1322, p.540.

⁸⁷⁷ SP 59/15 f.270.

⁸⁷⁸ SP 59/15 f.268.

Carey's apparent desire to marry his son to a foreign Queen who was in his care demonstrated the strength of the connection between the two families. This was a highly sensitive political matter, which could have aroused the hostility of Elizabeth I, and Knollys was taking a substantial risk even commenting on the suggestion.

A further connection of the Carey family ran through George Carey's wife, Elizabeth Spencer's sister, Alice, who married Thomas Egerton (1540-1617), the Lord Chancellor. Thus, through three separate familial relationships, George Carey had connections with other councillors who were his contemporaries on the council. These relationships also stretched back into the earlier years of the reign, with the men's fathers establishing many of these connections. Thus, the familial network of one councillor encompassed several of his fellow councillors, and while they did not operate as a united political body, they were a source of support that could be drawn upon.

Similarly, many of the same themes were present in the relationship between the Cecils and the Brookes. The relationship culminated in the marriage of Robert Cecil to Elizabeth Brooke, the daughter of William Brooke, tenth Baron Cobham, in 1589. William Brooke was a councillor from 1586 until his death in 1597 and he worked closely with William and Robert Cecil. As early as 1557, during the reign of Mary I, William Cecil spent Christmas with William Brooke's father, George Brooke, ninth Baron Cobham.⁸⁷⁹ This close relationship was transferred to the son upon George Brooke's death in 1558. Numerous examples exist of William Cecil and William Brooke working together during Elizabeth's reign. In 1565, for example, Cecil was working on Brooke's behalf to persuade Elizabeth to appoint some of his clients to royal office. He wrote that he was 'sorry that he cannot obtain Her Majesty's assent to his suit, being so profitable for herself. Sees therein the baseness of his credit, but will nevertheless continue to prosecute it'.⁸⁸⁰ A year later, Cecil wrote a pleasant letter to Brooke, in which he displayed knowledge of his financial difficulties: 'I am very sorry that it is out of my power to ease your Lordship from the unpleasant calling upon you for your debt; but I see, where your Lordship is not presently able, no remedy but to bear with you.'⁸⁸¹ In the same letter, Cecil says, 'I am most sorry for to understand of your sickness... pain in your head, which must not be increased by too much musing of this troublesome age and time.'⁸⁸² The relationship between the two men went beyond professional acquaintances and demonstrated genuine affection.

⁸⁷⁹ *Salisbury manuscripts*, vol.1, en.543, p.145.

⁸⁸⁰ *Salisbury manuscripts*, vol.1, en.1071, p.324.

⁸⁸¹ *Salisbury manuscripts*, vol.1, en.1115, p.338.

⁸⁸² *Salisbury manuscripts*, vol.1, en.1115, p.338.

This relationship was maintained throughout their long careers. In 1593, Brooke wrote to Robert Cecil, addressing him as son-in-law and informing him about the mustering of troops in Kent. He also claimed that he had eaten dinner with Robert's father the previous night.⁸⁸³ At this time, Brooke was 66 and William Cecil 73, and they had known each other for close to 40 years. The fathers' relationship remained strong, and Brooke went on to show paternal concern for his new son-in-law. He wrote in August 1593 to thank Robert for sending him venison and for reserving a chamber at court for him.⁸⁸⁴ Also, from the end of 1593, he began addressing him as 'my good son' rather than son-in-law, demonstrating a deepening of the affection between the two men.⁸⁸⁵ This episode illustrates a unique feature of the familial network, the fact that connections could easily be passed on to the next generation. Friendships depend on the interaction and rapport between two individuals, but a familial connection permanently binds two families together.

The Cecils also had a connection with John Stanhope (1559-1611), whose wife, Margaret Mackwilliams, was the daughter of Mary Cheke, the first wife of John Cheke, William Cecil's friend and brother-in-law. William Cecil had a very close relationship with John Cheke, whom he met at St John's College, Cambridge and with whom he developed a lifelong affection. Through Cecil's interactions with Cheke, he came into contact with his sister Mary (c.1520-1544). They married on 8 August 1541, a match neither financially nor socially suitable to Cecil's background, suggesting the couple were motivated by a genuine love for each other.⁸⁸⁶ Cecil's subsequent favour toward the Cheke family and their relations would seem to confirm this. He would intervene several times on behalf of John Stanhope's mother, Lady Stanhope, in her quest to find suitable preferments for her children. For instance, it was Cecil who procured a prebendary in York for Edward Stanhope in 1572.⁸⁸⁷ Also, despite only being distantly related, Robert Cecil referred to John Stanhope as his cousin in 1588 in a letter to his father.⁸⁸⁸ This was evidence of 'positive politeness' being used to minimise the distance between the two men and demonstrate their goodwill.⁸⁸⁹ Robert and John exchanged many friendly letters discussing council business in the 1590s and were close political allies.⁸⁹⁰ Stanhope's wife, Margaret, would also write to Robert Cecil seeking assistance with her first husband's will.⁸⁹¹ Thus, even distant

⁸⁸³ *Salisbury manuscripts*, vol.4, en.724, p.321.

⁸⁸⁴ *Salisbury manuscripts*, vol.4, en.803, p.355.

⁸⁸⁵ *Salisbury manuscripts*, vol.4, en.927, p.412.

⁸⁸⁶ Wallace T. MacCaffrey, 'William Cecil, c.1520-1598', *ODNB* (2004).

⁸⁸⁷ BL, Lansdowne MS: XVI f.84.

⁸⁸⁸ SP 15/30 f.156.

⁸⁸⁹ For a full discussion of concepts of friendship see above Chapter 5: Friendship.

⁸⁹⁰ *Salisbury manuscripts*, vol.5, en.763, p.370.

⁸⁹¹ *Salisbury manuscripts*, vol.6, en.830, p.364.

family connections could provide the basis of a network of mutual support. They also drew councillors closer together by creating overlapping social circles and relationships. Major differences of opinion and dispute within the council became less likely as the majority of councillors had grown up surrounded by their future peers and their families and enjoyed long-standing connections and relationships.

The affectionate and mutually supportive relationship between the brothers, Robert and Ambrose Dudley, has already been recounted, but the Dudley family also had connections to other councillors. For instance, Francis Knollys' daughter, Lettice, married Walter Devereux, first Earl of Essex, and then after his death, she married Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. Also, Lettice was the mother of Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex. This connected the Knollys family with two of the most prominent conciliar families of Elizabeth's reign. The Dudleys were also linked with Edward Clinton, first Earl of Lincoln, through Clinton's wife, Ursula, the daughter of Elizabeth Dudley, the sister of Robert and Ambrose. William Davison's (d.1608), principal secretary 1586-87, wife, Catherine, was the daughter of Mary Hill, the daughter of Elizabeth Isley, a cousin of Robert and Ambrose's mother. This was a remote connection, but Robert Dudley always addressed William Davison as 'cousin Davison', demonstrating a recognition of kinship.⁸⁹² The extensive conciliar networks of the Dudleys and Cecils, in particular, demonstrate that even the most influential councillors could not dominate the council without allies. A William Cecil or Robert Dudley might look unassailable in their control of council business or their influence with the monarch, but they required a support network of friends and family to maintain their positions and wield the authority they had been granted.

The overall picture is thus one which consists of a web of complex and extensive relationships, which made council meetings almost resemble a family gathering. Almost all of Elizabeth's councillors had a personal connection of some sort with their peers. The family bonds provided a foundation of friendly relations which were deepened by long-shared careers on the council. The combination of family and friendship on Elizabeth's council was the ultimate expression of the networks that existed between councillors throughout the Tudor period. However, due to the circumstances of Elizabeth's reign, these networks encompassed the whole council rather than groups within it. This was only possible because of the developments related to the council and conciliar culture in the earlier period. The council had increasingly become the sole executive body of the realm, and membership of it became a necessity for those who aspired to the highest political authority. The natural consequence of this

⁸⁹² Examples of Dudley referring to Davison as cousin: SP 83/3 f.89; SP 83/5 f.69; SP 83/21 f.110; SP 52/35 f.42; BL, Harleian MS: 285 f.65.

was that councillors intermarried in order to strengthen their positions. A side effect of this was that the council became more insular and exclusive. It also made the council more collegiate and less likely to descend into bitter disputes over policy or personalities. Therefore, it is impossible to understand Tudor politics or institutional developments without considering the personalities or networks that underpinned them. The council did not become an effective instrument of government simply because of its bureaucratisation or institutionalisation but because its members were able to work together effectively and collaboratively.

-

As this chapter has demonstrated, the connections between privy councillors were essential to their careers and indeed to the workings of sixteenth-century politics. Councillors developed good relationships with their contemporaries through long-term association and sometimes reinforced these connections through marriage. By investigating the interpersonal relations of councillors across their lives, rather than only in moments of political crisis, it is possible to reveal the true nature of their interactions. Councillors acted within several overlapping networks that were not mutually exclusive. Political factions were one of these spheres, but they were often the least significant and of the shortest duration. Councillors with different social and intellectual backgrounds and outlooks may have found themselves collaborating on a particular issue, but it would be wrong to see the factions as ideological. An ideology requires a coherent policy and a plan to implement it; no Tudor 'faction' had such clarity in its goals. Also, sharing an ideology suggests a commitment to joint goals and enterprises that rarely existed in the sixteenth century. Instead, councillors came together in informal groupings to achieve short-term goals or confront short-term crises. If historians take political discord as a starting point, it is easy to use scant evidence to create 'political factions' and rivalries out of minor incidents. However, by reconstructing the relationships of councillors outside of politics, it is possible to provide the essential context to their actions.

The longer-term groups of which councillors were a part were based on bonds of family and friendship. The Tudor elite was a small group of families who shared many cultural and social features. This, combined with their long associations in service of the monarch, facilitated mostly cordial and cooperative relations. It is striking that despite monumental changes in the sixteenth century Tudor government remained effective, and there was no breakdown in law and order as in other European kingdoms. This was primarily down to the English political elite's effective working relationships and united outlook, the most explicit expression of which, as we have seen, were the many networks which linked the members of the privy council.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

The idea of the Tudor period as marking a break with what had gone before continues to be an attractive proposition. Undoubtedly, major changes in religion, culture, and administration did occur in sixteenth-century England. The best way of understanding these developments is by analysing the men who ran the machinery of government as it is these men who provide the greatest insights into the operation of the Tudor system, and the changes which occurred to it during this period. By analysing the characteristics of this group, it is possible to see dramatic changes in the composition and outlook of the political elite. A new elite archetype emerged in the sixteenth century which was based on humanist-inspired education, officeholding and membership of the laity. The beliefs and approach of these state servants were closely aligned with the monarchs they served, and they helped the Tudors enforce and maintain seismic changes in English social and political life. Without their support it was unlikely that these changes would have succeeded. Yet despite this, these individuals have received comparatively little attention from historians. This dissertation has analysed this vital group in order to reveal how this new archetype formed and operated within the Tudor state.

A central component of the new archetype of privy councillors was the influence of their upbringing and education. This dissertation has proved conclusively that formal education was becoming increasingly important to those who aspired to a seat on the privy council. The growing prevalence of university education among councillors as the period progressed represented a fundamental change from the medieval period. Henry VIII's reign witnessed an influx of university men in the early 1530s, and by the end of Elizabeth I's reign, over 90% of her councillors had spent at least some time at a university. The education that they would have experienced at these institutions was heavily influenced by humanist ideas and teachings. Much of the humanist programme was concerned with how to be a good Christian and was critical of some Church practices and institutions. Therefore, it is significant that the council experienced an influx of humanist-influenced men in the period when the Church was under attack by the secular authorities. Henry VIII and Elizabeth I rewarded men who would further their religious policies, and in the process altered the intellectual balance of the privy council. Thus, it is impossible to fully understand the intellectual underpinnings and the implementation of the English Reformation without considering the role of privy councillors.

In the medieval period, the university-educated component of the council was dominated by the clergy. This was due to the fact that universities were almost exclusively the preserve of priests. This changed in the sixteenth century as increasing numbers of laymen sought an academic education. The

result was an erosion of the clergy's monopoly on the technical offices of the state. This period saw the last clerical Lord Chancellor, Lord Privy Seal and Principal Secretary in English history.⁸⁹³ The eclipse of the clergy as councillors was a striking feature of the period. This was likely due to a combination of factors: first, the influence of the Reformation had increased the focus on the pastoral responsibilities of priests. Second, the state now had alternatives, in the form of educated laymen, when it looked to fill administrative posts within government. This dissertation has shown that the regimes of Edward VI and Elizabeth I were the most hostile to clerical councillors, with Edward having only three clergymen on his council and Elizabeth only one. The result of this change was the narrowing of conciliar identity as laymen often experienced a fundamentally different upbringing and education compared to their clerical peers. Moreover, the removal of celibate priests allowed for a growing interconnectedness between councillors as they married into each other's families.

A further shrinking of the elite took place in the social background of councillors, with the emergence of a new group of noblemen. The Tudors, and in particular Henry VIII, created a new nobility of sorts in the councillors they chose to ennoble. In the 1520s and 1530s Henry VIII elevated a large contingent of men who served on his council or in offices of state. This group and their descendants would dominate the council for the remainder of the century. In this way, there was a 'new Tudor nobility' but it was not created in opposition to any other group. In fact, new nobles assimilated into the old aristocracy quickly and both groups shared many of the same cultural preoccupations and dynastic priorities. Moreover, there is also considerable evidence that the two groups got along and cooperated well. The distinguishing feature of this new nobility was the expectation that they would be active in central government and become officeholders.

Officeholding became a central feature of the new councillor archetype. Across the sixteenth century, there was an increasing expectation that privy councillors would also be officeholders and manage a department of state. By 1603, all but one councillor were also officeholders. Being an officeholder meant being active in administration and having expertise in a particular field. This meant that the council became a small body of experts rather than a large amorphous body of royal advisors. This in turn led to the development of an embryonic professional culture that united councillors and laid the groundwork for later professional identities. The shared intellectual and cultural milieu in which councillors operated helped forge bonds between them that were not easily cast aside.

⁸⁹³ James I would appoint John Williams, bishop of Lincoln, as Lord Keeper of the Great Seal in 1621.

The extensive quantity of biographical data collected on each councillor has facilitated multi-variate analysis that has revealed that similarity and cooperation were more common than animosity and discord. By tracing patterns in the data, it was possible to identify several groupings that had not previously been recognised by historians. Such groups included the collection of Chamber servants from early in Henry VIII's reign who went on to prominent position in Tudor government, the alumni of St Paul's school of the 1520s, and the group of bishops connected to the University of Oxford in the late fifteenth century. These associations created bonds of friendship and familiarity that transcended factional classifications and contained no political element beyond mutual support.

These networks are not only significant because they represent new groupings but also because they undermine the validity of older factional groupings. Several members of these new groupings were once described as factional enemies: these included Thomas Cheyne and John Russell, and William Paget and Thomas Wriothesley. However, when the full scope of their backgrounds, and interactions are considered there is little evidence of animosity and no ideological division between them. Individuals did not conceive of politics in this ideological way and rarely drew rigid political dividing lines.

Furthermore, the ideological underpinnings of some 'factions' becomes incoherent when their members are subjected to prosopographical analysis. For instance, the supposed rivalry of John Russell and Thomas Cheyne is revealed to be only a temporary dispute over the dowry of Russell's stepdaughter, Anne, upon her marriage to Cheyne. Without considering the context of their long-term relationship, Cheyne's and Russell's biographers and others, considered this minor incident to be a part of a broader factional struggle between Cardinal Wolsey and Anne Boleyn.⁸⁹⁴ In reality the two men had a long and harmonious relationship that originated in their youth and spanned the length of their careers in government. Similarly, the association of William Paget and Stephen Gardiner at the University of Cambridge was a greater influence on their future relationship than any ideological division between conservative and *politique*. Too often historians have created political factions and then retrospectively applied them to individuals. This approach creates a predisposition towards interpreting all moments of tension as part of some grand ideological struggle, rather than as part of the natural pressures of political power. A more fruitful approach, and the one adopted in this dissertation, is to investigate the backgrounds, careers and beliefs of the political participants first, and then to determine the nature of their relationships with their peers. At the same time, it is

⁸⁹⁴ Starkey, *The reign of Henry VIII: Personalities and Politics*, pp.98-100; Stanford Lehmberg, 'Thomas Cheyne, c.1485-1558', *ODNB* (2008); Willen, *John Russell*, p.23.

essential to take a long-term view of politics as the actions of individuals outside moments of political crisis often undermine their factional classifications.

Another benefit of the prosopographical approach adopted here is that it avoids reliance on a small source base. Often factional narratives are based on a narrow evidence base that draws on a single source or author. For instance, the supposed rivalry between William Cecil and Robert Dudley in the 1560s and 1570s, has become part of historical tradition.⁸⁹⁵ However, the evidence to support this interpretation is thin. Most of the evidence of animosity was drawn from contemporary polemical works such as *Leicester's Commonwealth* and *A Treatise of Treasons*, written by the Elizabethan regime's Catholic enemies. It suited the authors of such accounts to portray the Elizabethan establishment as factional, and so one should treat them with considerable caution.

When the full range of the two men's backgrounds and interactions are considered, moreover, no outright hostility is visible. Cecil and Dudley received a similar education, held the same religious views, exchanged gifts and hospitality regularly, and broadly agreed on domestic and foreign policy. It would not be surprising if there were an element of professional rivalry between the Queen's two leading servants, but to call them enemies locked in a factional struggle is an overstatement. In this way, prosopography can overcome the deficiency in material for individuals and overcome reliance on a narrow source base. By drawing together all the strands of an individual's life, we can discover a more nuanced picture of their relationships.

A major finding of this dissertation has been the growing cultural similarity of Tudor privy councillors as the century progressed. It has been outlined how the upbringing and education of councillors became increasingly unified and also that their careers in central government followed similar patterns. This gave them much in common by the time they sat together at the council table. In addition, the promotion of many of them into the ranks of the nobility resulted in a modification of aristocratic culture to encompass the values of service and education. In this way, the differences between aristocratic councillors and their non-titled peers became less significant as the period progressed. The overall result of this homogenisation of cultural and intellectual outlook was that cooperation between councillors became easier to achieve. The clearest expression of this was the Elizabethan privy council which was remarkably united in purpose and priorities. This was a significant

⁸⁹⁵ Conyers Read, 'Walsingham and Burghley in Queen Elizabeth's Privy Council', *The English Historical Review*, 28 (1913), 34-58 (pp.42-43); Neale, 'Elizabethan Political Scene', p.70; Ives, *Faction in Tudor England*, p.22; William MacCaffrey, *Queen Elizabeth and the Making of Policy, 1572-1588* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), pp.443-45, 448.

factor in the success of Elizabeth's reign. The Elizabethan establishment was broadly united on all the major areas of policy and monopolised all levers of legitimate political power. This was not something that they discovered or created but was rather a result of conciliar developments of the preceding century. These developments were not principally administrative ones, however, but cultural and social, as a new identity and outlook was forged by the Tudor political elite.

It is only through prosopography that this new identity has been detected, and while the Tudor privy council represents but one group, the trends discovered suggest a revision of our notions of interpersonal relations more broadly in the early modern period. Historical actors operated within overlapping structures, such as family, social circle, and professional networks, and it is only by exploring these connections that an accurate picture of political life can be revealed. It is now widely recognised that an approach focused on people and their interactions is the most fruitful way of understanding historical communities and societies.

Recently, prosopography has been used to investigate social questions. However, this project has demonstrated its viability as a means of understanding government and political change. In this it builds on the early pioneers of prosopography from the early twentieth century who also attempted to construct national political narratives from their datasets. These attempts were often flawed due to the limited amount of data that could be gathered for each individual. However, new digital tools are now available that allow large data sets to be stored, catalogued and measured. A study of this scale would have been impossible before the advent of these digital tools. By storing data in a database, the user is able to search and cross reference entries to discover trends and patterns in the data previously invisible to historians.

Much of the biographical information for major individuals is known to historians but has never been combined in a searchable format alongside similar information for other individuals. By bringing all this data together, new queries and investigations are possible. It is also true that the modular nature of the database allows factors to be added or modified relatively easily. This means that future projects can build on the work carried out here. It is my hope that the database can one day be expanded and made publicly available for other scholars to use.

The use of new digital tools combined with prosopography presents a highly effective method of investigating political change. The same data gathering and analysis techniques employed here can easily be extrapolated onto other groups and communities. Such an approach can facilitate new questions and interpretations of previously well-trodden fields. This approach was used in this dissertation to present a revision of previous thinking regarding factions and combinations in Tudor

politics and revealed a more cooperative and harmonious political elite. It also highlighted a growing cultural and social homogenisation among that political elite. These discoveries point to the need for a wider re-evaluation of the nature of Tudor politics and government that takes advantage of the developments in digital tools and methodologies. The Tudor privy council was not composed of the bloodthirsty and backstabbing caricatures of historical drama; rather it was made up of a group of men who possessed a collective understanding and affinity, which provided stability in an uncertain and revolutionary century.

Appendix A Privy Councillors

Table 6.1 Privy Councillors of Henry VIII

Council Tenure	Councillor	Birth/Death Dates
1509-1527	Robert Brudenell	1461-1531
1509-1517	John Butler	d.1517
1509-1526	Humphrey Coningsby	d.1535
1509-1519	John Cutte	d.1521
1509-1519	Thomas Darcy	1467-1537
1509-1522	Thomas Docwra	1458-1527
1509-1512	Thomas Englefield	1455-1514
1509	John Fisher	d.1510
1509-1512	John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester	1469-1535
1509-1522	John Fyneux	1441-1525
1509-1510	William Greville	1464-1513
1509-1518	William Hody	d.1524
1509-1521	Thomas Howard, 2 nd Duke of Norfolk	1443-1524
1509-1522	Thomas Lovell	1449-1524
1509-1518	Richard Nykke	1447-1535
1509-1521	John Port	1472-1540
1509-1518	Robert Rede	d.1519
1509-1521	Thomas Ruthall	1468-1523
1509-1522	Charles Somerset	1460-1526

Appendix A

1509-1516	Edward Stafford	1478-1521
1509-1526	George Talbot	1468-1538
1509	Edward Vaughn	d.1522
1509-1512	William Warham	1450-1532
1510-1519	William Atwater	1450-1521
1510-1520	John Ernley	1464-1520
1510-1517	Richard Foxe	1447-1528
1510-1532	John Hussey	1465-1537
1510-1532	John Islip	1464-1532
1510-1521	Henry Marney	1456-1523
1510-1516	Robert Sheffield	1462-1518
1510-1511	Robert Southwell	d.1514
1510-1529	Thomas Wolsey	1470-1530
1510-1531	Henry Wyatt	1460-1536
1510	Richard Fitzjames	d.1522
1511-1518	Edward Poynings	1459-1521
1511	John Yonge	1466-1516
1512	Richard Kidderminster	1461-1534
1513-1545	Charles Brandon	1484-1545
1514-1546	Thomas Howard, 3 rd Duke of Norfolk	1473-1554
1515-1521	William Blount	1478-1534
1516-1520	Edward Belknap	1471-1521
1516-1519	Robert Blagg	-

1516-1536	Thomas Boleyn	1476-1539
1516-1519	John Caryl	d.1523
1516-1518	Edmund Denny	d.1520
1516-1519	Robert Drury	1456-1535
1516-1521	Richard Elyot	d.1522
1516-1526	Thomas Grey	1477-1530
1516-1531	Henry Guildford	1489-1532
1516-1519	John Heron	1470-1522
1516-1521	John More	1451-1530
1516-1521	George Neville	1469-1535
1516-1526	Thomas Neville	1484-1542
1516-1518	John Newport	-
1516	Edward Palmer	1466-1517
1516	Brian Palmes	-
1516-1517	Thomas Parr	1478-1517
1516-1519	Henry Percy, 5 th Earl of Northumberland	1478-1527
1516-1519	Thomas Pigott	1478-1519
1516-1525	Lewis Pollard	1465-1526
1516-1540	William Sandys	1470-1540
1516-1520	Nicholas Vaux	1460-1523
1516-1518	Nicholas West	1461-1533
1516-1519	Bartholomew Westby	d.1516
1516-1521	Thomas Wyndham	1468-1521
1517-1518	Charles Booth	d.1535

Appendix A

1517-1522	David Owen	1459-1535
1517-1519	Richard Rawlins	1460-1536
1517	Thomas Stanley	1485-1521
1517-1521	John Vesey	1462-1554
1518-1520	Maurice Berkeley	1467-1523
1518	Geoffrey Blythe	d.1530
1518-1520	John Bouchier	1467-1533
1518	John Brooke	d.1522
1518	John Colet	1467-1519
1518	Hugh Conway	1440-1518
1518	Robert Dacres	-
1518	Robert Dymoke	1461-1545
1518-1534	Anthony Fitzherbert	1470-1538
1518-1542	William Fitzwilliam	1490-1542
1518	John Newdigate	1460-1528
1518-1526	Richard Pace	1483-1536
1518	John Peche	1450-1538
1518	John Reeve	1479-1540
1518-1547	Cuthbert Tunstall	1474-1559
1518-1534	Richard Weston	1465-1541
1518-1532	Andrew Windsor	1467-1543
1518-1526	Richard Wingfield	1469-1525
1519-1533	Henry Bouchier	1472-1540
1519	Robert Brooke	-

1519-1521	Weston Browne	-
1519-1526	John Clerk	1481-1541
1519	Gerard Dannett	1473-1520
1519-1538	John Dauncey	1484-1545
1519-1534	John Fitzjames	1470-1538
1519	Richard Grey	1478-1524
1519-1525	John Kite	d.1537
1519-1526	John Longland	1473-1547
1519-1526	Thomas Magnus	1463-1550
1519-1532	Thomas More	1478-1535
1519	Henry Stafford	1479-1523
1519	John Taylor	d.1534
1519	Robert Wingfield	1464-1539
1520-1526	Richard Broke	d.1529
1521	John Rainsford	1482-1559
1521-1526	Richard Sacheverell	1469-1534
1526	William Compton	1482-1528
1526-1537	Henry Courtenay	1498-1538
1526-1537	John de Vere, 15 th Earl of Oxford	1482-1540
1526	Girolamo Ghunucci	1480-1541
1526-1540	William Kingston	1476-1540
1526-1532	John Mordaunt, 1 st Baron Mordaunt	1480-1562
1526-1547	William Paulet	1474-1572

Appendix A

1526-1533	Arthur Plantagenet	1472-1542
1526-1542	Robert Radcliffe	1482-1542
1526-1540	Richard Sampson	d.1554
1526-1532	Richard Wolman	d.1537
1527	George Hastings	1486-1544
1531-1544	Thomas Audley	1488-1544
1531-1547	Stephen Gardiner	1483-1555
1531-1542	Edward Lee	1481-1544
1531-1533	Brian Tuke	d.1545
1532	John Alleyn	d.1544
1532-1536	Thomas Bedyll	1486-1537
1532-1536	Henry Percy, 6 th Earl of Northumberland	1502-1537
1532	William Skeffington	d.1535
1532	William Sulyard	-
1532-1535	John Tregonwell	1498-1565
1532	Edmund Walsingham	1480-1550
1533-1536	George Boleyn	1504-1536
1533	William Bryttayn	-
1533	Thomas Derby	1501-1552
1533-1538	Edward Fox	1496-1538
1533-1534	Robert Norwich	d.1535
1534	John Capon	d.1557
1534-1547	John Gage	1479-1556
1534	Thomas Goodrich	1494-1554

1534	John Stokesley	1475-1539
1535	Richard Curwen	-
1535	Richard Layton	1498-1544
1536-1540	Thomas Cromwell	1485-1540
1537-1547	Thomas Cranmer	1489-1556
1537-1547	John Russell	1485-1555
1537-1547	Edward Seymour	1500-1552
1538-1547	John Baker	1489-1558
1538-1547	Anthony Browne	1500-1548
1538	John Hales	1469-1540
1538	Richard Pollard	d.1542
1538	Francis Talbot	1500-1560
1538-1547	Thomas Wriothesley	1505-1550
1540-1547	Thomas Cheyne	1485-1558
1540	William Eure	1483-1548
1540-1547	Nicholas Heath	1501-1578
1540-1547	William Petre	1505-1572
1540-1547	Richard Rich	1496-1567
1540-1547	Ralph Sadler	1507-1587
1540-1547	Anthony Wingfield	1488-1552
1542-1543	Thomas Dacre	d.1565
1542-1547	Thomas Thirlby	1500-1570
1543-1547	John Dudley	1504-1553
1543-1547	William Paget	1505-1563

Appendix A

1545-1547	Edward North	1504-1564
1545-1547	William Parr	1513-1571
1545-1547	Richard Southwell	1502-1564
1545-1547	Robert Southwell	1506-1559
1546-1547	Henry Fitzalan	1512-1580
1546-1547	Nicholas Wotton	1497-1567
1547	Thomas Seymour	1509-1549

Table 6.2 Privy Councillors of Edward VI

Council Tenure	Councillor	Birth/Death Dates
1547-1553	John Baker	1489-1558
1547-1553	Thomas Bromley	d.1555
1547-1548	Anthony Browne	1502-1564
1547-1553	Thomas Cheyne	1485-1558
1547-1553	Thomas Cranmer	1489-1556
1547-1549	Anthony Denny	1501-1549
1547-1553	John Dudley	1504-1553
1547-1550	Henry Fitzalan	1512-1580
1547-1553	John Gage	1479-1556
1547-1553	William Herbert	1506-1570
1547-1553	Edward Montagu	1480-1557
1547-1553	Edward North	1504-1564
1547-1551	William Paget	1505-1563
1547-1548	William Parr	1513-1571

1547-1553	William Paulet	1474-1572
1547-1553	William Petre	1505-1572
1547-1553	Richard Rich	1496-1567
1547-1553	John Russell	1485-1555
1547-1553	Ralph Sadler	1507-1587
1547-1549	Thomas Seymour	1509-1549
1547-1549	Edward Seymour	1500-1552
1547-1549	Richard Southwell	1502-1564
1547-1551	Cuthbert Tunstall	1474-1559
1547-1551	Thomas Wentworth	1501-1551
1547-1552	Anthony Wingfield	1488-1552
1547-1551	Edward Wotton	1489-1551
1547-1553	Nicholas Wotton	1497-1567
1547	Thomas Wriothesley	1505-1550
1548-1549	Thomas Smith	1513-1577
1549-1553	Thomas Darcy, 1 st Baron Darcy	1506-1558
1549-1553	Thomas Goodrich	1494-1554
1549-1553	Henry Grey	1517-1554
1549-1553	William Parr	1513-1571
1549	Edmund Peckham	1495-1564
1549-1553	Francis Talbot	1500-1560
1549-1550	Thomas Wriothesley	1505-1550
1550-1553	George Brooke	1497-1558
1550-1553	Edward Clinton	1512-1585

Appendix A

1550-1553	Walter Devereux	1489-1556
1550-1553	Francis Hastings	1513-1560
1550-1553	John Mason	1503-1566
1550-1551	Edward Seymour	1500-1552
1551-1553	Robert Bowes	1493-1555
1551-1553	William Cecil	1520-1598
1551	Henry Fitzalan	1512-1580
1551-1553	John Gates	1504-1553
1551-1553	Philip Hoby	1504-1558
1551-1553	Henry Neville	1524-1564
1551-1553	Edward Stanley	1509-1572
1552-1553	Richard Cotton	1497-1556
1553	John Cheke	1514-1557
1553	William Paget	1505-1563

Table 6.3 Privy Councillors of Mary I

Council Tenure	Councillor	Birth/Death Dates
1553-1558	John Baker	1489-1558
1553-1558	Henry Bedingfeld	1509-1583
1553-1558	John Bouchier, 2 nd Earl of Bath	1499-1561
1553-1558	John Bourne	1518-1575
1553-1558	Thomas Cheyne	1485-1558
1553-1558	Thomas Cornwallis	1518-1604
1553-1558	William Drury	1527-1579

1553-1558	Francis Englefield	1521-1596
1553-1558	Henry Fitzalan	1512-1580
1553-1558	Richard Freston	1500-1558
1553-1556	John Gage	1479-1556
1553-1555	Stephen Gardiner	1483-1555
1553-1557	Nicholas Hare	1495-1557
1553-1558	Edward Hastings	1512-1572
1553-1558	Nicholas Heath	1501-1578
1553-1558	Clement Heigham	1500-1571
1553-1558	William Herbert	1506-1570
1553-1554	Thomas Howard, 3 rd Duke of Norfolk	1473-1554
1553-1557	John Huddleston	1517-1557
1553-1558	Henry Jerningham	1509-1572
1553-1558	John Mason	1503-1566
1553-1558	John Mordaunt, 2 nd Baron Mordaunt	1508-1571
1553-1554	Richard Morgan	d.1556
1553-1558	William Paget	1505-1563
1553-1558	William Paulet	1474-1572
1553-1558	Robert Peckham	1516-1569
1553-1558	Edmund Peckham	1495-1564
1553-1558	William Petre	1505-1572
1553-1557	Henry Radcliffe	1507-1557
1553-1558	Richard Rich	1496-1567

Appendix A

1553-1557	Robert Rochester	1500-1557
1553-1555	John Russell	1485-1555
1553-1558	John Shelton	1503-1558
1553-1558	Richard Southwell	1502-1564
1553-1556	Anthony St Leger	1496-1559
1553-1558	Edward Stanley	1509-1572
1553-1554	Robert Strelley	1518-1554
1553-1558	Francis Talbot	1500-1560
1553-1558	Thomas Thirlby	1500-1570
1553-1558	Cuthbert Tunstall	1474-1559
1553-1558	Edward Waldegrave	1516-1561
1553-1558	Thomas Wentworth, 2 nd Baron Wentworth	1525-1584
1553-1554	Thomas West	1472-1554
1553-1558	Thomas Wharton	1520-1572
1554-1558	William Howard	1510-1573
1556-1558	John Boxall	1524-1571
1557-1558	Anthony Browne, Viscount Montagu	1528-1592
1557-1558	Edward Clinton	1512-1585
1557-1558	William Cordell	1522-1581
1557-1558	Nicholas Wotton	1497-1567

Table 6.4 Privy Councillors of Elizabeth I

Council Tenure	Councillor	Birth/Death Dates
-----------------------	-------------------	--------------------------

1558-1579	Nicholas Bacon	1510-1579
1558-1568	Ambrose Cave	1503-1568
1558-1598	William Cecil	1520-1598
1558	Thomas Cheyne	1485-1558
1558-1585	Edward Clinton	1512-1585
1558-1580	Henry Fitzalan	1512-1580
1558-1559	Nicholas Heath	1501-1578
1558-1570	William Herbert	1506-1570
1558-1573	William Howard	1510-1573
1558-1566	John Mason	1503-1566
1558-1571	William Parr	1513-1571
1558-1560	Thomas Parry	1515-1560
1558-1570	William Paulet	1474-1572
1558-1572	William Petre	1505-1572
1558-1568	Edward Rogers	1498-1568
1558-1585	Francis Russell	1526-1585
1558-1566	Richard Sackville	1507-1566
1558-1587	Ralph Sadler	1507-1587
1558-1572	Edward Stanley	1509-1572
1558-1560	Francis Talbot	1500-1560
1559-1596	Francis Knollys	1511-1596
1562-1588	Robert Dudley	1532-1588
1562-1569	Thomas Howard, 4 th Duke of Norfolk	1538-1572
1562-1567	Nicholas Wotton	1497-1567

Appendix A

1566-1590	James Croft	1518-1590
1566-1589	Walter Mildmay	1520-1589
1570-1583	Thomas Radcliffe	1526-1583
1571-1577	Thomas Smith	1513-1577
1571-1590	George Talbot, 6 th Earl of Shrewsbury	1522-1590
1573-1590	Ambrose Dudley	1530-1590
1573-1590	Francis Walsingham	1532-1590
1577-1596	Henry Carey	1526-1596
1577-1591	Christopher Hatton	1540-1591
1577-1581	Thomas Wilson	1523-1581
1579-1587	Thomas Bromley	1530-1587
1584-1603	Charles Howard	1536-1624
1585-1588	Amias Paulet	1532-1588
1585-1593	Henry Stanley	1531-1593
1586-1597	William Brooke	1527-1597
1586-1587	William Davison	d.1608
1586-1603	Thomas Sackville	1536-1608
1586-1603	John Whitgift	1530-1604
1586-1596	John Wolley	d.1596
1587-1595	Thomas Heneage	1532-1596
1588-1603	John Fortescue	1533-1607
1588-1591	John Perrot	1528-1592
1591-1603	Robert Cecil	1563-1612
1592-1596	John Puckering	1544-1596

1593-1599	Walter Devereux	1489-1556
1596-1603	Thomas Egerton	1540-1617
1596-1603	William Knollys	1545-1632
1596-1600	Roger North	1531-1600
1597-1603	George Carey	1548-1603
1599-1603	John Popham	1531-1607
1600-1603	John Herbert	1540-1617
1601-1603	Edward Somerset	1550-1628
1601-1603	John Stanhope	1540-1621
1601-1603	Gilbert Talbot	1552-1616
1602-1603	Edward Wotton	1548-1628

Appendix B National Offices

Table 6.5 Lord Chancellors and Lord Keepers

Lord Chancellor (*Lord Keeper)		
Tenure	Name	Date of Birth and Death
1485-1486	John Alcock	(1430-1500)
1486-1500	John Morton	(d.1500)
1500-1503	Henry Deane	(1440-1503)
1503-1515	William Warham	(1450-1532)
1515-1529	Thomas Wolsey	(1470-1530)
1529-1532	Thomas More	(1478-1535)
1533-1544	Thomas Audley	(1488-1544)
1544-1547	Thomas Wriothesley	(1505-1550)
1547-1551	Richard Rich	(1496-1567)
1551-1553	Thomas Goodrich	(1494-1554)
1553-1555	Stephen Gardiner	(1483-1555)
1556-1558	Nicholas Heath	(1501-1578)
1558-1579	Nicholas Bacon*	(1510-1579)
1579-1587	Thomas Bromley	(1530-1587)
1587-1591	Christopher Hatton	(1540-1591)
1591-1592	In Commission	
1592-1596	John Puckering*	(1544-1596)
1596-1617	Thomas Egerton*	(1540-1617)

Table 6.6 Lords Privy Seal

Lord Privy Seal		
Tenure	Name	Date of Birth and Death
1485-1487	Peter Courtenay	(c.1432-1492)
1487-1516	Richard Foxe	(1447/8-1528)
1516-1523	Thomas Ruthall	(1468-1523)
1523	Henry Marney	(1456/7-1523)
1523-1530	Cuthbert Tunstall	(1474-1559)
1530-1536	Thomas Boleyn	(1476/7-1539)
1536-1540	Thomas Cromwell	(c.1485-1540)
1540-1542	William Fitzwilliam	(c.1490-1542)
1542-1555	John Russell	(c.1485-1555)
1556-1558	William Paget	(1505/6-1563)
1558-1572	William Cecil	(1520/1-1598)
1572-1573	William Howard	(c.1510-1573)
1573-1576	Thomas Smith	(1513-1577)
1576-1590	Francis Walsingham	(c.1532-1590)
1590-1598	William Cecil*	(1520/1-1598)
1598-1608	Robert Cecil	(1563-1612)

Table 6.7 Principal Secretaries

Principal Secretary		
Tenure	Name	Date of Birth and Death
1485-1487	Richard Foxe	(1447/8-1528)
1487-1495	Oliver King	(d.1503)
1500-1516	Thomas Ruthall	(d.1523)
1516-1526	Richard Pace	(c.1483-1536)
1518-1526	Thomas More	(1478-1535)
1526-1529	William Knight	(1475/6-1547)
1529-1534	Stephen Gardiner	(c.1495-1555)
1534-1540	Thomas Cromwell	(c.1485-1540)
1540-1544	Thomas Wriothesley	(1505-1550)
1540-1543	Ralph Sadler	(1507-1587)
1543-1547	William Paget	(1505/6-1563)
1544-1557	William Petre	(1505/6-1572)
1548-1549	Thomas Smith	(1513-1577)
1549-1550	Nicholas Wotton	(c.1497-1567)
1550-1553	William Cecil	(1520/1-1598)
1553-1553	John Cheke	(1514-1557)
1553-1558	John Bourne	(1518-1575)
1557-1558	John Boxall	(1524/5-1571)
1558-1572	William Cecil	(1520/1-1598)
1572-1576	Thomas Smith	(1513-1577)
1573-1590	Francis Walsingham	(c.1532-1590)
1577-1581	Thomas Wilson	(1523/4-1581)
1586-1587	William Davison	(d.1608)
1590-1596	William Cecil	(1520/1-1598)
1596-1612	Robert Cecil	(1563-1612)
1600-1617	John Herbert	(c.1540-1617)

Table 6.8 Lord High Treasurers

Lord High Treasurer		
Tenure	Name	Date of Birth and Death
1486-1501	John Dynham	(c.1433-1501)
1501-1522	Thomas Howard, second Duke of Norfolk	(1443-1524)
1522-1546	Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk	(1473-1554)
1547-1550	Edward Seymour	(1500-1552)
1550-1572	William Paulet	(c.1483-1572)
1572-1598	William Cecil	(1520-1598)
1599-1603	Thomas Sackville	(1536-1608)

Table 6.9 Lord High Admirals

Lord High Admiral		
Tenure	Name	Date of Birth and Death
1485-1513	John de Vere	(1442-1513)
1513-1513	Edward Howard	(c.1476-1513)
1513-1525	Thomas Howard	(1473-1554)
1525-1536	Henry Fitzroy	(1519-1536)
1536-1540	William Fitzwilliam	(c.1490-1542)
1540-1542	John Russell	(c.1485-1555)
1542-1543	Edward Seymour	(c.1500-1552)
1543-1547	John Dudley	(1504-1553)
1547-1549	Thomas Seymour	(c.1509-1549)
1549-1550	John Dudley	(1504-1553)
1550-1553	Edward Clinton	(1512-1585)
1554-1558	William Howard	(c.1510-1573)
1558-1585	Edward Clinton	(1512-1585)
1585-1619	Charles Howard	(1536-1624)

Table 6.10 Lord Stewards and Lord Great Masters

Lord Steward/Lord Great Master(*)		
Tenure	Name	Date of Birth and
1485-1488	John Ratcliffe	(1452-1496)
1488-1502	Robert Willoughby	(1452-1502)
1502-1538	George Talbot	(1468-1538)
1539-1545	Charles Brandon*	(1484-1545)
1545-1550	William Paulet*	(1474-1572)
1550-1553	John Dudley*	(1504-1553)
1553-1564	Henry Fitzalan	(1512-1580)
1568-1570	William Herbert	(1506/7-1570)
1587-1588	Robert Dudley	(1532-1588)

Table 6.11 Treasurers of the Household

Treasurer of the Household		
Tenure	Name	Date of Birth and Death
1484-1494	Richard Croft	(1429/30-1509)
1503-1519	Thomas Lovell	(c.1449-1524)
1519-1521	Edward Poynings	(1459-1521)
1521-1525	Thomas Boleyn	(1476/7-1539)
1525-1537	William Fitzwilliam	(c.1490-1542)
1537-1539	William Paulet	(1474/5-1572)
1539-1558	Thomas Cheyne	(c.1485-1558)
1558-1560	Thomas Parry	(1515-1560)
1570-1596	Francis Knollys	(1511/12-1596)
1596-1600	Roger North	(1531-1600)
1602-1616	William Knollys	(c.1545-1632)

Table 6.12 Comptrollers of the Household

Comptroller of the Household		
Tenure	Name	Date of Birth and Death
1485-1489	Richard Edgcumbe	(c.1443-1489)
1492	Roger Tocotes	-
1494-1506	Richard Guildford	(c.1450-1506)
1507-1509	John Hussey	(1465/6-1537)
1509-1519	Edward Poynings	(1459-1521)
1519-1521	Thomas Boleyn	(1476/7-1539)
1522-1532	Henry Guildford	(1489-1532)
1532-1536	William Paulet	(1474/5-1572)
1536-1539	John Russell	(c.1485-1555)
1539-1540	William Kingston	(c.1476-1540)
1540-1547	John Gage	(1479-1556)
1547-1549	William Paget	(1505/6-1563)
1550-1552	Anthony Wingfield	(1488-1552)
1552-1553	Richard Cotton	(1497-1556)
1553-1557	Robert Rochester	(c.1500-1557)
1557-1558	Thomas Cornwallis	(1518/9-1604)
1558-1559	Thomas Parry	(1515-1560)
1559-1568	Edward Rogers	(c.1498-1568)
1570-1590	James Croft	(c.1518-1590)
1596-1602	William Knollys	(c.1545-1632)
1602-1616	Edward Wotton	(1548-1628)

Table 6.13 Lord Great Chamberlains

Lord Great Chamberlain		
Tenure	Name	Date of Birth and Death
1485-1513	John de Vere, 13 th Earl of Oxford	(1442-1513)
1513-1526	John de Vere, 14 th Earl of Oxford	(1499-1526)
1526-1540	John de Vere, 15 th Earl of Oxford	(1482-1540)
1540	Thomas Cromwell	(1485-1540)
1540-1542	Robert Radcliffe	(1482/3-1542)
1543-1547	Edward Seymour	(c.1500-1552)
1547-1550	John Dudley	(1504-1553)
1550-1553	William Parr	(1513-1571)
1553-1562	John de Vere, 16 th Earl of Oxford	(1516-1562)
1562-1604	Edward de Vere, 17 th Earl of Oxford	(1550-1604)

Table 6.14 Lord Chamberlains of the Household

Lord Chamberlain of the Household		
Tenure	Name	Date of Birth and Death
1485-1494	William Stanley	(c.1435-1495)
1495-1508	Giles Daubeney	(1451/2-1508)
1509-1526	Charles Somerset	(c.1460-1526)
1526-1540	William Sandys	(c.1470-1540)
1543-1546	William Paulet	(1474/5-1572)
1546-1550	Henry Fitzalan	(1512-1580)
1550-1551	Thomas Wentworth	(1501-1551)
1551-1553	Thomas Darcy	(1506-1558)
1553-1556	John Gage	(1479-1556)
1557-1558	Edward Hastings	(c.1512-1572)
1558-1572	William Howard	(c.1510-1573)
1572-1583	Thomas Radcliffe	(1526/7-1583)
1584-1585	Charles Howard	(1536-1624)
1585-1596	Henry Carery	(1526-1596)
1596-1597	William Brooke	(1527-1597)
1597-1603	George Carey	(1548-1603)

Table 6.15 Treasurers of the Chamber

Treasurer of the Chamber		
Tenure	Name	Date of Birth and Death
1485-1492	Thomas Lovell	(c.1449-1524)
1492-1521	John Heron	(c.1470-1522)
1521-1522	John Myclowe/Mickslowe/Micklowe	(d.1522)
1523-1528	Henry Wyatt	(c.1460-1536)
1528-1545	Brian Tuke	(d.1545)
1545-1546	Anthony Rowse	-
1546-1557	William Cavendish	(1508-1557)
1558-1566	John Mason	(c.1503-1566)
1566-1570	Francis Knollys	(1511/12-1596)
1570-1595	Thomas Heneage	(c.1532-1595)
1596-1618	John Stanhope	(c.1540-1621)

Table 6.16 Masters of Horse

Master of Horse		
Tenure	Name	Date of Birth and Death
Left office by 1499	Edward Burgh	(c.1463-1528)
1499-1510	Thomas Brandon	(d.1510)
1510-1512	Thomas Knyvet	(c.1485-1512)
1512-1515	Charles Brandon	(c.1484-1545)
1515-1522	Henry Guildford	(1489-1532)
1522-1538	Nicholas Carew	(c.1496-1539)
1539-1548	Anthony Browne	(c.1500-1548)
1549-1552	William Herbert	(1506/7-1570)
1552-1553	John Dudley, 2 nd Earl of Warwick	(c.1527-1554)
1553-1557	Edward Hastings	(c.1512-1572)
1557-1558	Henry Jerningham	(1509/10-1572)
1558-1587	Robert Dudley	(1532/3-1588)
1587-1601	Robert Devereux	(1565-1601)
1601-1616	Edward Somerset	(c.1550-1628)

Table 6.17 Chancellors of the Duchy of Lancaster

Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster		
Tenure	Name	Date of Birth and Death
1483-1486	Thomas Metcalfe	(d.1504)
1486-1503	Reginald Bray	(c.1440-1503)
1503-1505	John Mordaunt	(d.1505)
1505-1509	Richard Empson	(c.1450-1510)
1509-1523	Henry Marney	(c.1447-1523)
1523-1525	Richard Wingfield	(c.1469-1525)
1525-1529	Thomas More	(1478-1535)
1529-1533	William Fitzwilliam	(c.1490-1542)
1533-1547	John Gage	(1479-1556)
1547-1552	William Paget	(1505/6-1563)
1552-1553	John Gates	(1504-1553)
1553-1557	Robert Rochester	(c.1516-1561)
1558-1559	Edward Waldegrave	(c.1516-1561)
1559-1568	Ambrose Cave	(c.1503-1568)
1568-1587	Ralph Sadler	(1507-1587)
1587-1590	Francis Walsingham	(c.1532-1590)
1590-1595	Thomas Heneage	(1532-1595)
1595-1597	In Commission	
1597-1599	Robert Cecil	(1563-1612)
1599-1601	In Commission	
1601-1607	John Fortescue	(c.1531-1607)

Table 6.18 Chancellors of the Exchequer

Chancellor of the Exchequer		
Tenure	Name	Date of Birth and Death
1485-1524	Thomas Lovell	(d.1524)
1524-1533	John Bouchier, 2 nd Baron Berners	(c.1467-1533)
1533-1540	Thomas Cromwell	(c.1485-1540)
1540-1558	John Baker	(c.1489-1558)
1559-1589	Walter Mildmay	(1520/1-1589)
1589-1603	John Fortescue	(1533-1607)

Appendix C Local Offices

Table 6.19 Lord Lieutenants 1559

County	Lord Lieutenant
Norfolk	Thomas Howard, fourth Duke of Norfolk
Suffolk	Thomas Howard, fourth Duke of Norfolk
Sussex	Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel*
Surrey	Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel*
Devon	Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford*
Cornwall	Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford*
Lincolnshire	William Willoughby, Baron Willoughby Sir Robert Tyrwhitt Sir Edward Dymock
Kent	William Brooke, Baron Cobham*
Somerset	William Herbert, first Earl of Pembroke*
Wiltshire	William Herbert, first Earl of Pembroke*
The Twelve Shires of Wales	William Herbert, first Earl of Pembroke*
Dorset	James Blount, Baron Mountjoy
Gloucestershire	Edmund Brydges, Baron Chandos
Hertfordshire	Henry Parker, Baron Morley Sir Ralph Sadler*
Essex	John de Vere, sixteenth Earl of Oxford
Berkshire	Sir William Fitzwilliam
Oxfordshire	Sir Edward Rogers*

Table 6.20 Lord Lieutenants 1569 and 1587

County	Lord Lieutenant (1569)	Lord Lieutenant (1587)
Norfolk, Suffolk	Thomas Wentworth, Baron Wentworth	Thomas Radcliffe, third Earl of Sussex*
Sussex	Thomas Sackville, Baron Buckhurst* Thomas West, Baron de la Warr	Thomas Sackville, Baron Buckhurst* Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham*
Surrey	William Howard, Baron Effingham*	Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham*
Devon	Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford*	William Bouchier, third Earl of Bath
Cornwall	Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford*	Sir Walter Raleigh
Lincolnshire	Edward Clinton, Baron Clinton*	William Cecil, Baron Burghley*
Kent	William Brooke, Baron Cobham*	William Brooke, Baron Cobham*
Somerset, Wiltshire	William Herbert, first Earl of Pembroke*	Henry Herbert, second earl of Pembroke
The Twelve Shires of Wales	William Herbert, first Earl of Pembroke*	Henry Herbert, second earl of Pembroke
Herefordshire	Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester*	Henry Herbert, second earl of Pembroke
Dorset	James Blount, Baron Mountjoy William Paulet, first Maquess of Winchester*	William Paulet, third Marquess of Winchester
Gloucestershire	Edmund Brydges, Baron Chandos	Giles Brydges, Baron Chandos

Appendix C

Hertfordshire	Sir Ralph Sadler*	William Cecil, Baron Burghley*
Essex	Richard Rich, Baron Rich John Darcy, Baron Darcy of Chiche	William Cecil, Baron Burghley*
Berkshire		Sir Francis Knollys*
Oxfordshire	Sir Francis Knollys*	Henry Norris, Baron Norreys
Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire	George Talbot, sixth Earl of Shrewsbury*	George Talbot, sixth Earl of Shrewsbury*
Staffordshire	Walter Devereux, first Earl of Essex	George Talbot, sixth Earl of Shrewsbury*
Lancashire, Cheshire	Edward Stanley, third Earl of Derby*	Henry Stanley, fourth Earl of Derby*
Hampshire	William Paulet, first Maquess of Winchester*	William Paulet, third Marquess of Winchester Henry Radcliffe, fourth Earl of Sussex
Leicestershire	Henry Hastings, third Earl of Huntingdon	Henry Hastings, third Earl of Huntingdon
Rutland	Henry Hastings, third Earl of Huntingdon	Henry Hastings, third Earl of Huntingdon
Yorkshire, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland		Henry Hastings, third Earl of Huntingdon
Cambridgeshire	Roger North, Baron North	Roger North, Baron North*
Huntingdonshire	Sir Walter Mildmay* Sir Robert Tyrwhitt	John St John, Baron St John of Blesto

Salop	Sir Andrew Corbett	Henry Herbert, second earl of Pembroke
Worcestershire		Henry Herbert, second earl of Pembroke
Warwickshire	Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick*	Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick*
Bedfordshire	John St John, Baron St John of Blesto	Henry Grey, sixth Earl of Kent
Middlesex	William Paulet, first Maquess of Winchester*	
Northamptonshire	William Parr, first Marquess of Northampton*	Sir Christopher Hatton*
Buckinghamshire	Henry Grey, Baron Grey	Henry Grey, Baron Grey

Appendix D Privy Councillor Attendance

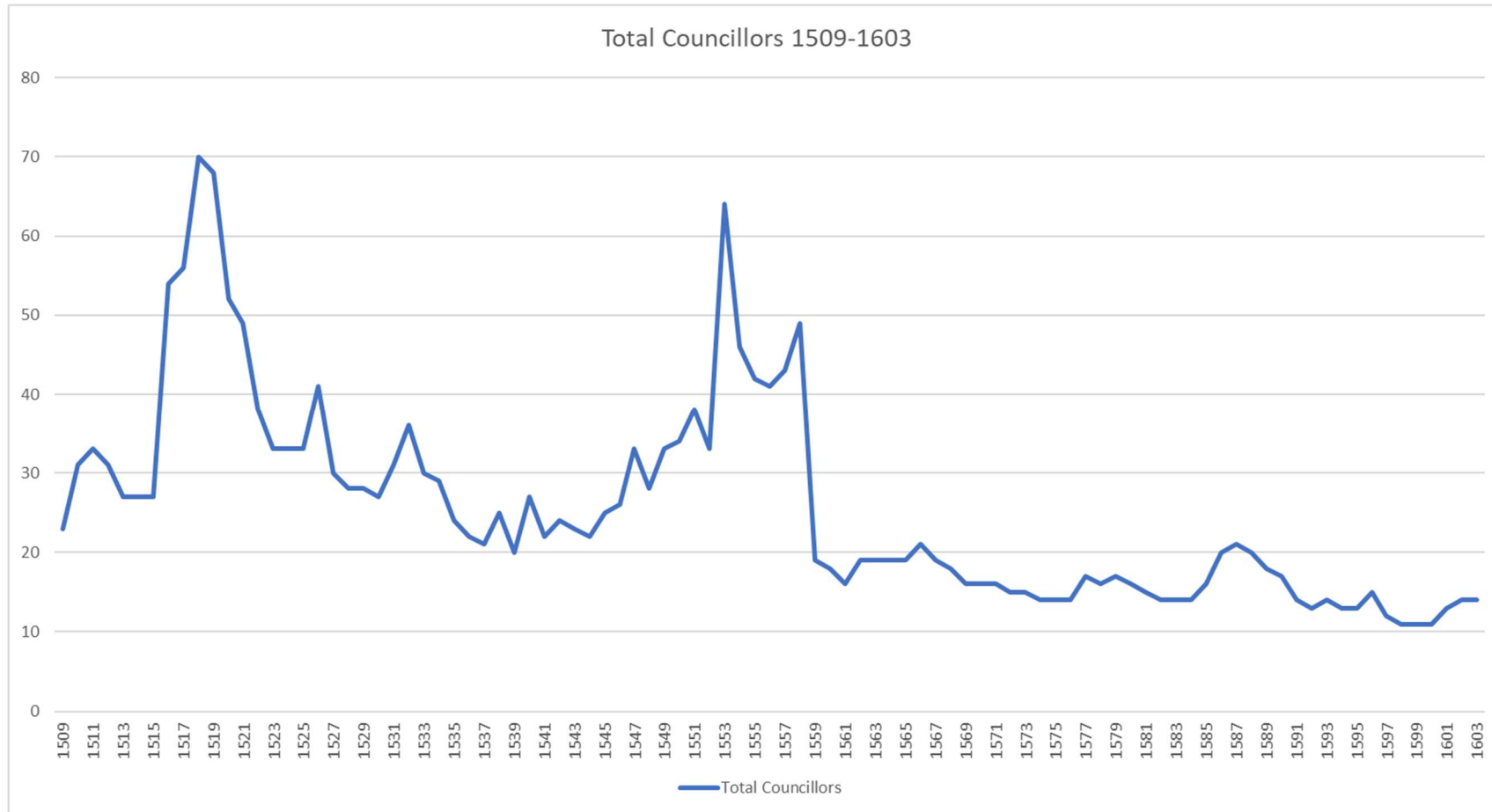


Figure 6.1 Total Privy Councillors 1509-1603

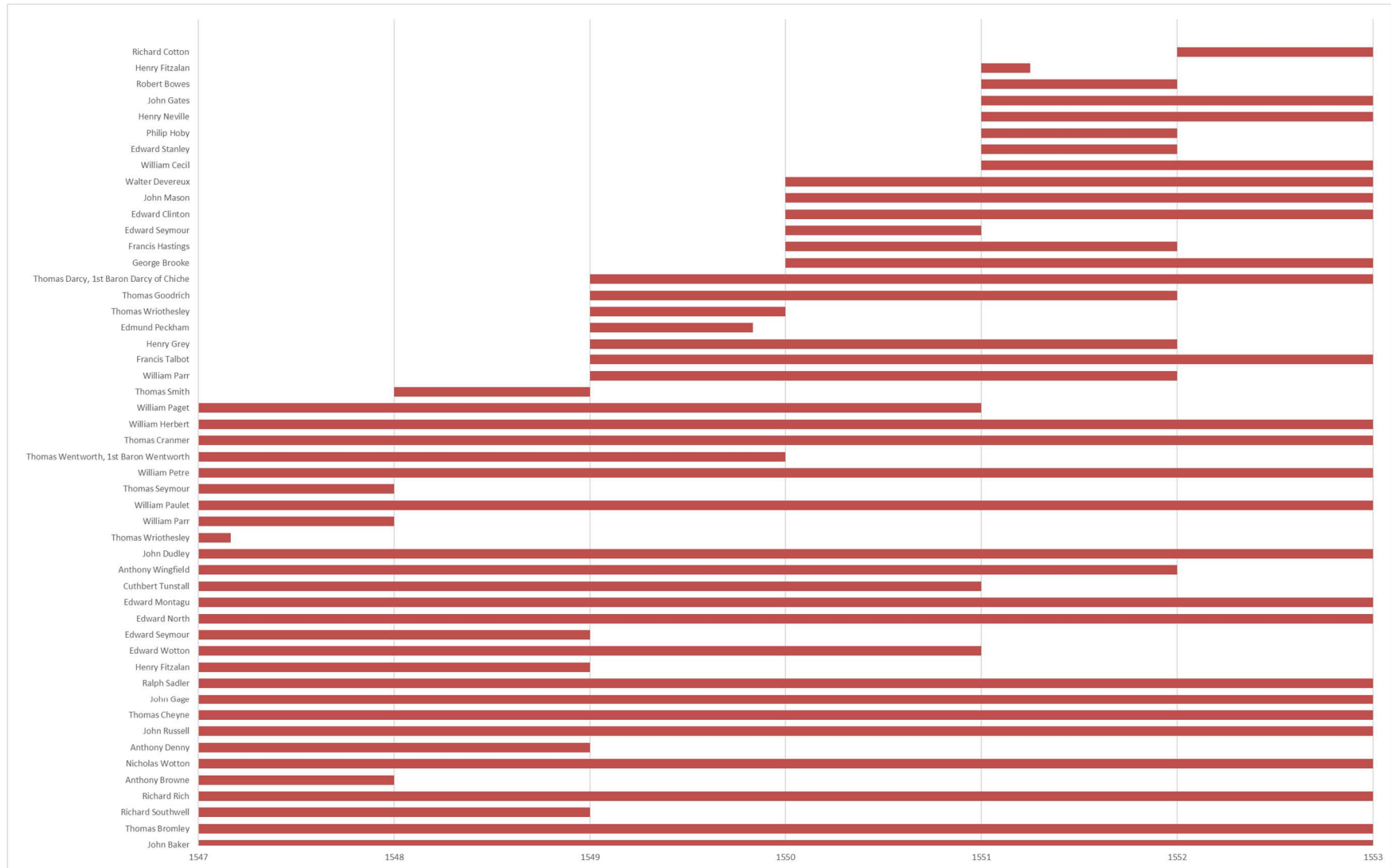


Figure 6.2 Privy Councillor Attendance - Edward VI 1547-1553

Appendix D

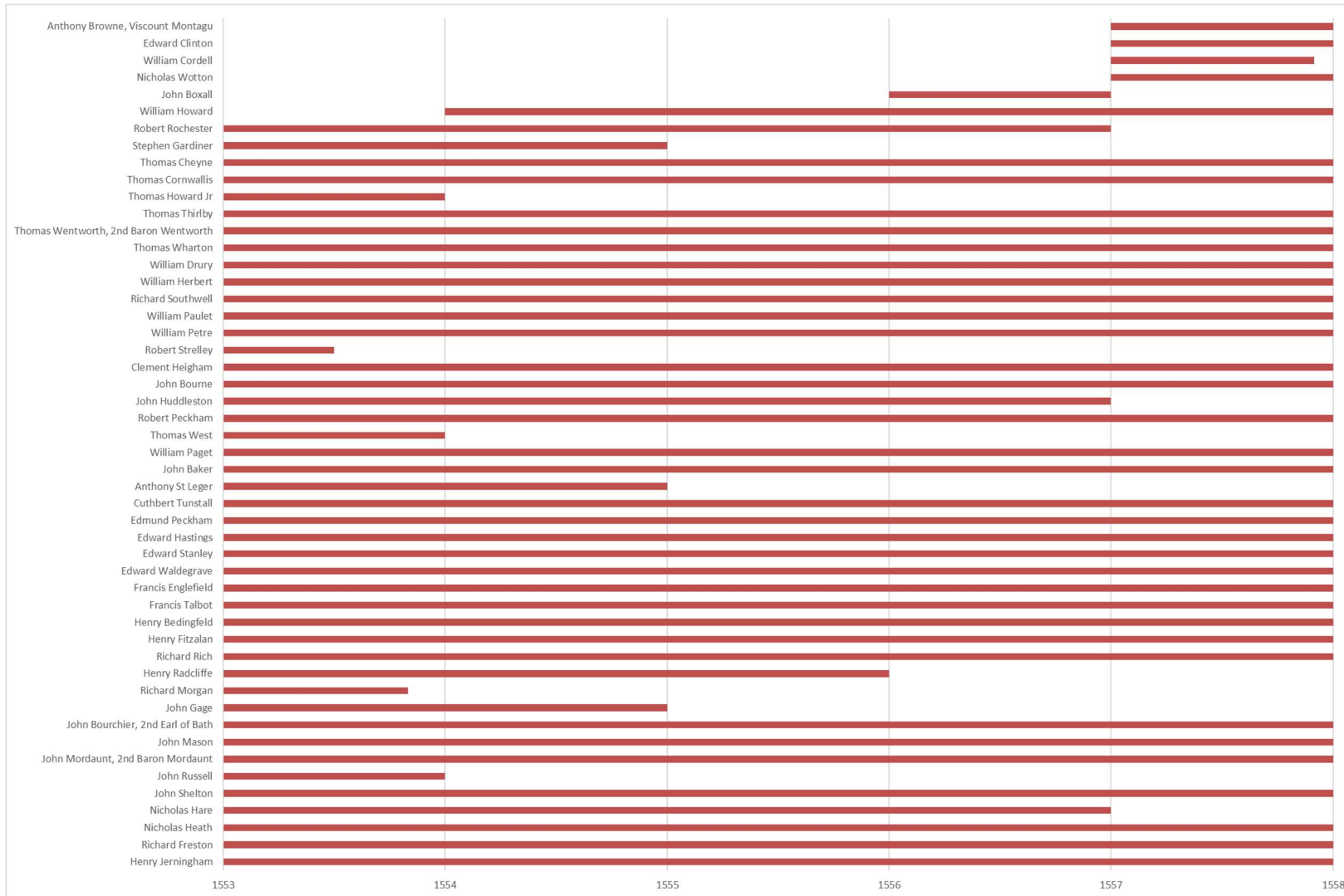


Figure 6.3 Privy Councillor Attendance - Mary I 1553-1558

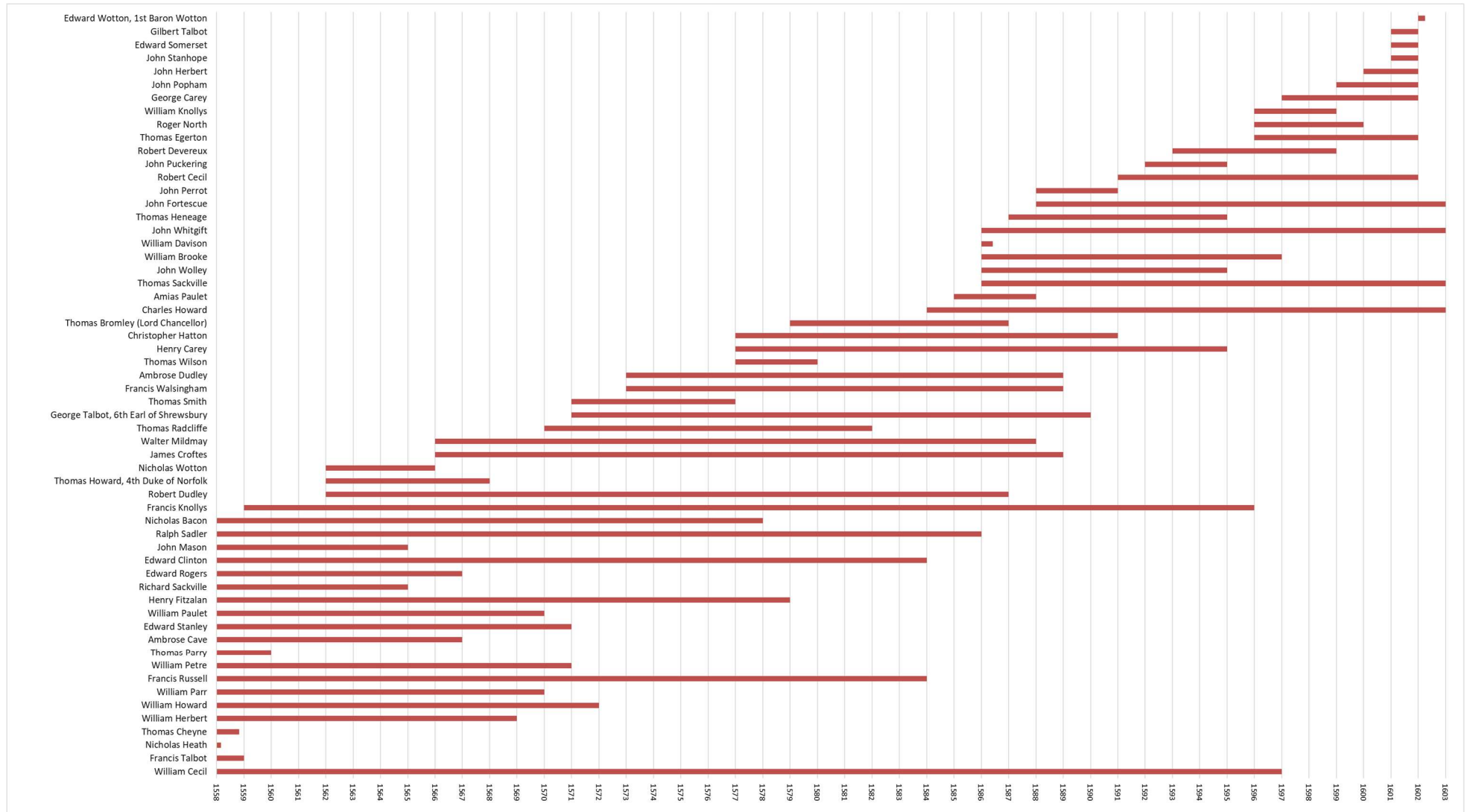


Figure 6.4 Privy Councillor Attendance - Elizabeth I 1558-1603

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Manuscripts

Alnwick Castle MS: Al Ib

Lambeth Palace Library, MS: 247, I, f.3

Historical Manuscripts Commission, Foljgabe MS: f.125b

National Archives, Court of Star Chamber (STAC): Proceedings, Henry VIII

National Archives, State Papers (SP) 1-7: Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII (304 volumes)

National Archives, SP 10: Domestic, Edward VI (19 volumes)

National Archives, SP 11: Domestic, Mary I (14 volumes)

National Archives, SP12: Domestic, Elizabeth I (289 volumes)

National Archives, SP13: Domestic, Elizabeth I: Large Documents (9 volumes)

National Archives, Privy Council (PC) 2: Registers (128 volumes)

National Archives, PC 4: Minutes and Associated Papers (5 volumes)

National Archives, PC 13: Sheriff's Lists (1 volume)

National Archives, MS: c.54/453, m.33

Prerogative Court of Canterbury and related Probate Jurisdictions (PROB): Will Registers

British Library, Additional MSS: 48018, f.391; 48126, f.15a-b

British Library, Egerton MS: 2603, fos.33-4

British Library, Cotton MSS: Caligula B/VI f.21, C/III f.563; Titus B/II f.160, B/IV f.117, B/XI/2 f.374; Cleopatra E/V f.75; Vitellius B/IV f.86; Vespasian C/III f.78, C/XII, fos.181-87, C/XIV/1 f.295, F/XIII f.263

British Library, Hargrave MS: 249 f.226

British Library, Harleian MSS: 6074 fos.51-2; 285 f.65

British Library, Lansdowne MSS: XIV f.176; XVI f.84

British Library, MS: C.53.14

The Huntingdon Library, Ellesmere MSS: 2655, fos.7-8v; 2654, fos.22v-25

Calendars

- Acts of the Privy Council*, ed. J. R. Dasent (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1890-1964)
- Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon. The Marquis of Salisbury, preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire*, Vol.1 (London: HMSO, 1883)
- Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon. The Marquis of Salisbury, preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire*, Vol.5 (London: HMSO, 1980)
- Calendar of State Papers Domestic Series of the Reign of Edward VI 1547-1553*, ed. C. S. Knighton (London: HMSO, 1992)
- Calendar of State Papers Domestic Series of the Reign of Mary I, 1553-1558*, ed. C. S. Knighton (London: HMSO, 1998)
- Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth I, and James I*, eds. R. Lemon and M. A. E. Green (London: Longman, 1856-72)
- Calendar of State Papers, Foreign*, ed. William B. Turnbull (London: HMSO, 1861)
- Calendar of State Papers, Scotland*, ed. Joseph Bain (Edinburgh: H. M. General Register House, 1898-1936)
- Calendar of State Papers, Spain*, ed. G. A. Bergenroth (London: HMSO, 1862)
- Calendar of State Papers, Venice*, ed. Rawdon Brown (London: HMSO, 1864)
- Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII* (21 vols), eds. J. S. Brewer, J. Gardiner and R. H. Brodie (London: HMSO, 1862-1932)

Printed Sources

- A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household, Made in Divers Reigns, from Edward III to William and Mary*, ed. Henry Pelham (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1790)
- A Collection of Original Letters from the Bishops to the Privy Council, 1564*, ed. Mary Bateson (London: The Camden Society, 1893)
- A Collection of State Papers: relating to affairs in the reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth: from the year 1542 to 1570*, ed. Samuel Haynes (London: Bowyer, 1740)
- A Complete Account of the Ceremonies Observed in the Coronations of the Kings and Queens of England* (London: J. Roberts, J. Stagg and D. Browne, 1727)
- Additions the Ordinances made at Eltham*, in *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household, Made in Divers Reigns, from Edward III to William and Mary*, ed. Henry Pelham (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1790), pp.208-40
- Anstis, John, *The Register of the Most Noble Order of The Garter* (London: John Barber, 1724)
- Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, trans. by Martin Ostwald (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1962)
- Articles Ordained by King Henry VII for the regulation of his household*, in *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household, Made in Divers Reigns, from Edward III to William and Mary*, ed. Henry Pelham (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1790), pp.107-33

Bibliography

- Ascham, Roger, *English Works: Toxophilus, Report of the Affairs and State of Germany, and The Scholemaster*, ed. William Aldis Wright (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010)
- The Scholemaster* (London: Printed by John Daye, Aldersgate, 1573)
- , *The Whole Works of Roger Ascham*, ed. J. A. Giles (London: John Russell Smith, 1865)
- Bacon, Francis, *The Works of Francis Bacon*, eds. James Spedding, Robert Leslie Ellis, and Douglas Denon Heath (London: Longman, 1861)
- Braham, Humfrey, *The Institucion of a Gentlemen*, 1568 (London: EEBO Editions, 2010)
- Byrne, M. St Clare, *The Lisle Letters* (London: Chicago, 1981)
- Castiglione, B., *The Book of the Courtier*, trans. George Bull (London: Penguin, 2005)
- Cavendish, George, *The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey*, ed. Richard D. Sylvester (London: Oxford University Press, 1959)
- Cecil, William, *The state and dignity of a secretary of state's place with the care and peril thereof*, printed in Florence M. Greir Evans, *The Principal Secretary of State: A Survey of the office from 1558-1680* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1923), pp.58-59
- Cicero, Marcus Tullius, *De Amicitia*, trans. Benjamin E. Smith (New York: The Century Co, 1906)
- , *De officiis*, trans. Walter Miller (London: Heinemann, 1913)
- Desiderata Curiosa: A Collection of Divers Scarce and Curious Pieces Relating Chiefly to Matters of English History*, ed. Francis Peck (London: T. Evans, 1779)
- Dudley, Edmund, *The Tree of the Commonwealth*, 1509, ed. D. M. Brodie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948)
- Elyot, Thomas, *The Book Named the Governor*, 1531, ed. S. E. Lehmborg (London: Everyman's Library, 1970)
- Erasmus, Desiderius, *Adages*, trans., Margaret Mann Phillips Phillips (London: University of Toronto Press, 1982)
- , *On the Writing of Letters*, 1534, in *Collected works of Erasmus, volume 25*, trans. Charles Fantazzi (London: University of Toronto Press, 1985)
- , 'The Treatise *De Ratione Studii*, that is, *Upon the Right Method of Instruction*', in *Desiderious Erasmus concerning the aim and method of Education*, ed. William Harrison Woodward (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1901), pp.161-178
- Foxe, John, *The Unabridged Actes and Monumments Online*, 1563 (Sheffield: The Digital Humanities Institute, 2011)
- Gawdy, Philip, *Letters of Philip Gawdy of West Harling, Norfolk, and of London to Various Members of His Family, 1579-1616*, eds. Francis B. Bickley and I. H. Jeayes (London: J. B. Nichols and sons, 1906)
- Grafton, R., *Grafton's Chronicle: or history of England to which Is added his table of the bailiffs, sheriffs, and mayors of the city of London from the year 1189 to 1558* (London: Longman, 1809)

- Hall, Edward, *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Families of Lancastre and Yorke* (London: Richard Grafton, 1548)
- , *Hall's Chronicle: Containing the History of England, during the Reign of Henry the Fourth, and the Succeeding Monarchs, to the End of the Reign of Henry the Eighth, in Which Are Particularly Described the Manners and Customs of Those Periods*, ed. Henry Ellis (London: J. Johnson, 1809)
- Herbert, John, *Duties of a secretary*, 1600, printed in G. W. Prothero, *Selected Statutes and other Constitutional Documents* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), pp.166-68
- Holinshed, Raphael, *Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (London: Aldersgate Street, 1585)
- Humphrey, Lawrence, *The Nobles or Of Nobility* (London: Thomas Marshe, 1563)
- Keliway, R., *Reports d'Ascuns Cases Qui ont Evenues au Temps du Roy Henry VII et du Roy Henry VIII* (London, 1688)
- Latimer, Hugh, *Sermons*, ed. George Elwes Corrie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1885)
- Lever, Thomas, *Sermons*, 1550, ed. Edward Arber (London: Bloomsbury, 1870)
- Liber Niger Domus Regis of Edward IV*, printed in *A Collection of ordinances and regulations for the government of the royal household: from Edward III to William and Mary*, ed. Henry Pelham (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1790), pp.13-86
- Machyn, Henry, *The Diary of Henry Machyn: Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London, from A.D. 1550 to A.D. 1563*, ed. John Gough Nichols (London: Camden Society, 1848)
- More, Thomas, *Utopia*, 1516, ed. David Price (London: Verso, 2016)
- Narratives of the Days of the Reformation*, ed. J. G. Nicholls (London: Camden Society, 1859)
- Original Letters, Illustrative of English History*, ed. Henry Ellis (London: Harding, Triphook and Leonard, 1825)
- Pace, Richard, *De Fructu Qui Ex Doctrina Percipitur*, 1517, eds. Frank Manley and Richard S. Sylvester (New York: Renaissance Society of America and Frederick Ungar, 1967)
- Plato, *The Works of Plato: Lysis*, trans. Irwin Edman (New York: Modern library, 1928)
- Prothero, G. W., *Select Statutes and Other Constitutional Documents* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913)
- Queen Elizabeth and Her Times: A Series of Original Letters, 2 Vols*, ed. Thomas Wright (London: Henry Colburn Publisher, 1838)
- Select Cases in the Council of Henry VII*, ed. C. G. Bayne (London: Selden Society, 1958)
- Smith, Thomas, *De Republica Anglorum*, ed. Mary Dewar (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982)
- Starkey, Thomas, *A Dialogue between Cardinal Pole and Thomas Lupset*, ed. Thomas F. Mayer (London: Royal Historical Society, 1989)
- The Book of Noblesse: Addressed to King Edward the Fourth on His Invasion of France in 1475*, ed. John Gough Nichols (New York: Burt Franklin, 2010)

Bibliography

- The Chronicle of Queen Jane and of Two Years of Queen Mary and Especially of The Rebellion of Sir Thomas Wyatt, Written by a Resident in the Tower of London*, ed. John Gough Nichols (London: Camden Society, 1850)
- The Correspondence of Robert Dudley, earl of Leycester*, ed. J. Bruce (London: Camden Society, 1844)
- The Eltham Ordinance, 1526*, in *A Collection of ordinances and regulations for the government of the royal household: from Edward III to William and Mary*, ed. Henry Pelham (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1790), pp.135-207
- The Form of an Installation of a Knight of the Garter* (London: R. Westcote, 1756)
- The Hamilton Papers, Vol. II 1543-1590*, ed. Joseph Bain (Edinburgh: H. M. General Register House, 1892)
- The Letters of Roger Ascham*, ed. Alvin Ros (New York: Peter Lang, 1989)
- The Letters of Steven Gardiner*, ed. J. A. Muller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1933)
- The Statutes of the Realm*, vols 3-6 (London: Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1963)
- The Register of Cardinal Wolsey*, ed. Herbert Chitty (Oxford: The Canterbury and York Society, 1926)
- Tudor Royal Proclamations*, 3 vols, eds. P. L. Hughes and J. F. Larkin (London: Yale University Press, 1964-69)
- Traherene, John Montgomery, ed. *Stradling Correspondence* (London: Longman, 1840)
- Vergil, Polydore, *The Anglica Historia, 1485-1537*, ed. D. Hay (London: Royal Historical Society, 1950)
- Visitation articles and injunctions of the period of the Reformation, II*, ed. Walter Howard Frere (London: Longmans, 1910)
- Wriothesley, Charles, *A Chronicle of England During the Reigns of the Tudors from 1485 to 1559*, 2 vols., ed. William Douglas Hamilton (London: Longmans, 1838)

Secondary Sources

- Adams, Simon, *Leicester and the Court: Essays on Elizabethan Politics* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002)
- , 'The Dudley Clientele', in *The Tudor Nobility*, ed. G. W. Bernard (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), pp.241-265
- Aikin, James, *Memoirs of the Court of James I* (London: Longman, 1889)
- Alexander, Jeffrey C., 'Toward a Theory of Cultural Trauma', in *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity* (London: University of California Press, 2003), pp. 1–30
- Alexander, Jeffrey C., Ron Eyerman, Bernard Giesen, Neil J. Smelser, and Piotr Sztompka, *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity* (London: University of California Press, 2004)
- Alexander, Michael Van Cleave, *The Growth of English Education 1348-1648: A Social and Cultural History* (London: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990)

- Alford, Stephen, *Kingship and Politics in the Reign of Edward VI* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)
- , 'Politics and Political History in the Tudor Century', *The Historical Journal*, 42 (1999), 535–48
- Anderson, Andrew H., 'Henry, Lord Stafford (1501-1563) in Local and Central Government', *The English Historical Review*, 78 (1963), 225–42
- , 'The Books and Interests of Henry, Lord Stafford', *The Library*, 21 (1966), 87–114
- Archambault, Paul, 'The Analogy of the "Body" in Renaissance Political Literature', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 29 (1967), 21–53
- Archer, Ian W., *Religion, Politics, and Society in Sixteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)
- Archer, Jayne Elisabeth, Elizabeth Goldring, and Sarah Knight, eds. *The Intellectual and Cultural World of the Early Modern Inns of Court* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013)
- Arnold, Jonathan, *The Great Humanists: An Introduction* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011)
- Aston, T.H., 'Oxford's Medieval Alumni', *Past & Present*, 74 (1977), 3–40
- Aston, T. H., G. D. Duncan, and T. A. R. Evans, 'The Medieval Alumni of the University of Cambridge', *Past & Present*, 86 (1980), 9–86
- Averil, Cameron, *Fifty Years of Prosopography: The Later Roman Empire, Byzantium and Beyond* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003)
- Raymond, James, *Henry VIII's Military Revolution: The Armies of Sixteenth-Century Britain and Europe* (London: Tauris, 2007)
- Badhwar, Neera Kapur, ed. *Friendship: A Philosophical Reader* (London: Cornell University Press)
- Baker, J. H., 'The Third university 1450-1550: law school or finishing school', in *The Intellectual and Cultural World of the Early Modern Inns of Court*, eds. Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elizabeth Goldring, and Sarah Knight (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), pp.8-26
- Baldwin, James Fosdick, *The King's Council in England during the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913)
- Beerens, Anna, 'Friends, Acquaintances, Pupils and Patrons: Japanese Intellectual Life in the Late Eighteenth Century: A Prosopographical Approach' (Unpublished PhD Thesis: Leiden University Press, 2006)
- Bermejo, Saúl Martínez, 'Voice, Orality, and the Performance of Political Counsel in Early Modern Spain', *The Historical Journal*, 61 (2018), 891–911
- Bernard, G. W., 'New Perspective or Old Complexities', *English Historical Review*, 115 (2000), 113-120
- , *Power and Politics in Tudor England: Essays* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000)
- , 'The Fall of Wolsey Reconsidered', *Journal of British Studies*, 35 (1996), 277–310
- , *The Late Medieval English Church, Vitality and Vulnerability Beford the Break with Rome* (Yale University Press, 2012)

Bibliography

- , *The Power of the Early Tudor Nobility: A Study of the Fourth and Fifth Earls of Shrewsbury* (Sussex: Harvester Press, 1985)
- , 'The Rise of Sir William Compton, Early Tudor Courtier', *The English Historical Review*, 96 (1981), 754–77
- , ed. *The Tudor Nobility* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992)
- , *Who Ruled Tudor England?* (London: Bloomsbury, 2022)
- , *The King's Reformation* (London: Yale University Press, 2005)
- Betteridge, Thomas, and Anna Riehl, *Tudor Court Culture* (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 2010)
- Biow, Douglas, *Doctors, Ambassadors, Secretaries: Humanism and Professions in Renaissance Italy* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2002)
- Bland, D.S., 'Rhetoric and the Law Student in Sixteenth-Century England', *Studies in Philology*, 54 (1957), 498–508
- Block, Joseph S., *Factional Politics and the English Reformation, 1520-1540* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993)
- , 'The Rise of the Tudor State', in *A Companion to Tudor Britain*, eds. Robert Tittler and Norman L. Jones (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), pp. 29–43
- Boulton, D'Arcy J. D., *The Knights of the Crown: The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe, 1325-1520* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1987)
- Braddock, Robert C., 'The Rewards of Office-Holding in Tudor England', *Journal of British Studies*, 14 (1975), 29–47
- Bray, Alan, *The Friend* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003)
- Brigden, Susan, *New Worlds, Lost Worlds: The Rule of the Tudors 1485-1603* (London: Penguin Books, 2000)
- , "'The Shadow That You Know": Sir Thomas Wyatt and Sir Francis Bryan at Court and in Embassy', *The Historical Journal*, 39 (1996), 1–31
- Brink, Jean R., 'Literacy and Education', in *Companion to English Renaissance Literature and Culture*, ed. Michael Hattaway (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000)
- Brockliss, L. W. B., *The University of Oxford: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016)
- Brown, A. L., *The Governance of Late Medieval England 1272-1461* (London: Edward Arnold, 1989)
- , 'The King's Councillors in Fifteenth-Century England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 19 (1969), 95–118
- Brown, Keith M., *Noble Power in Scotland from the Reformation to the Revolution* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011)
- Bruneau, William, 'Towards a New Collective Biography: The University of British Columbia Professoriate, 1915-1945', *Canadian Journal of Education*, 19 (1994), 65–79

- Burton, Gideon, 'From Ars Dictaminis to Ars Conscribendi Epistolis: Renaissance Letter-Writing Manuals in the Context of Humanism', in *Letter-Writing Manuals and Instruction from Antiquity to the Present*, eds. Carol Poster and Linda C. Mitchell (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2007), pp. 88–101
- Bush, M. L., 'Protector Somerset and the 1549 Rebellions: A Post-revision Questioned', *English Historical Review*, 115 (2000), 113-120
- , 'The Tudor Polity and the Pilgrimage of Grace', *Historical Research*, 80 (2007), 47–72
- Carleton, Kenneth, *Bishops and Reform in the English Church 1520-1559* (Cambridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2001)
- Carney, T. F., 'Prosopography payoffs and pitfalls', *Phoenix: Journal of the Classical Association of Canada*, 27 (1993), 156-179
- Chambers, E. K., *Elizabethan Stage, Volume I* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009)
- Charlton, Kenneth, *Education in Renaissance England* (London: Routledge, 1968)
- Chase, E. P., review of *The structure of Politics at the Accession of George III*, by Lewis Namier, *The American Political Science Review*, 23 (1929), 772-73
- Cherry, M., 'The Courtenay Earls of Devon: the formation and disintegration of a late Medieval aristocratic affinity', *Southern History*, 1 (1979), 71-97
- Chibi, Andrew Alan, *Henry VIII's Bishops: Diplomats, Administrators, Scholars, and Shepherds* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)
- Chrimes, S. B., *Henry VII* (London: Yale University Press, 1999)
- Clark, Nicola, *Gender, Family, and Politics: The Howard Women, 1485-1558* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018)
- Clark, Peter, *English Provincial Society from the Reformation to the Revolution: Religion, Politics and Society in Kent 1500-1640* (Sussex: Harvester Press, 1977)
- Cobban, Alan B, 'Pembroke College: It's Educational Significance in Late Medieval Cambridge', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 10 (1991), 1–16
- Cole, Mary Hill, *The Portable Queen: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Ceremony* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2010)
- Coleman, Christopher, and David Starkey, eds. *Revolution Reassessed: Revisions in the History of Tudor Government and Administration* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986)
- Collinson, Patrick., ed. *Elizabethan Essays* (London: Hambledon Press, 1994)
- , 'De republica Anglorum: or, history with the politics put back', in *Elizabethan Essays* (London: Hambledon Press, 1994), pp.1-29
- , 'The Monarchical Republic of Elizabeth I', in *Elizabethan Essays* (London: Hambledon Press, 1994), pp.31-58

Bibliography

- Cooper, Charles Henry, and T. Cooper, eds. *Athenae Cantabrigienses: Volume 1: 1500–1585* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- Cooper, J. P., 'A Revolution in Tudor History?', *Past & Present*, 26 (1963), 110–12
- , *Land, Men, and Beliefs: Studies in Early-Modern History* (London: Hambledon Press, 1983)
- Coss, Peter, *The Origins of the English Gentry*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)
- Crane, Mary Thomas, 'Early Tudor Humanism', in *Companion to English Renaissance Literature and Culture*, ed. Michael Hattaway (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), pp. 13–27
- Crankshaw, David J., 'The Tudor privy council, c.1540-1603', *State Papers Online 1509-1714* (2009)
- Cressy, David, *Education in Tudor and Stuart England* (London: Camelot, 1975)
- Cross, Claire, David Loades, and J. J. Scarisbrick, eds. *Law and Government under the Tudors* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988)
- Davies, C. S. L., 'The Administration of the Royal Navy under Henry VIII: The Origins of the Navy Board', *The English Historical Review*, 80 (1965), 268–88
- Daw, Ben, 'Elections to the Order of the Garter in the Reign of Edward IV, 1461-83', *Medieval Prosopography*, 19 (1998), 187–213
- Dean, David, 'Elizabethan Government and Politics', in *A Companion to Tudor Britain*, eds. Robert Tittler and Norman L. Jones (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), pp. 44–60
- Dickinson, Janet, *Court Politics and the Earl of Essex, 1589-1601* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2012)
- Doran, Susan, 'Elizabeth I and Counsel', in *The Politics of Counsel in England and Scotland, 1286-1707*, ed. Jacqueline Rose (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 151–70
- , *Elizabeth I and Her Circle* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015)
- Dowling, Maria, *Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII* (London: Croom Helm, 1986)
- Dumolyn, Koenraad Verboven, Myriam Carlier, Jan, 'A Short Manual to the Art of Prosopography', in *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: A Handbook*, ed. K. S. B. Keats-Rohan (Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research, Linacre College, University of Oxford, 2007), pp. 36–69
- Dunham, William Huse, 'The Ellesmere Extracts from the "Acta Consilii" of King Henry VIII', *The English Historical Review*, 58 (1943), 301–18
- , 'The Members of Henry VIII's Whole Council, 1509–1527', *The English Historical Review*, 59 (1944), 187–210
- Edwards, John, *Mary I* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011)
- Ellis, Steven G., *Tudor Frontiers and Noble Power: The Making of the British State, Tudor Frontiers and Noble Power* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001)
- , 'A border baron and the Tudor state: The rise and fall of Lord Dacre of the North', *The Historical Journal*, 35 (1992), 253-277
- Elton, G. R., 'A Revolution in Tudor History?', *Past & Present*, 32 (1965), 103–9

- , *England under the Tudors* (London: Routledge, 1991)
- , *Policy and Police: The Enforcement of the Reformation in the Age of Thomas Cromwell* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972)
- , 'Presidential Address: Tudor Government: The Points of Contact. II. The Council', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 25 (1975), 195–211
- , *Studies in Tudor and Stuart Politics and Government, Volume 4* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992)
- , *The Tudor Constitution: Documents and Commentary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960)
- , *The Tudor Revolution in Government: Administrative changes in the reign of Henry VIII* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973)
- , 'The Tudor Revolution: A Reply', *Past & Present*, 29 (1964), 26–49
- Evans, Florence M. Greir, *The Principal Secretary of State: A Survey of the Office from 1558 to 1680* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1923)
- Everett, Michael, *The Rise of Thomas Cromwell: Power and Politics in the Reign of Henry VIII, 1485-1534* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015)
- Fitzgerald, John T., *Greco-Roman Perspectives on Friendship* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997)
- Flannigan, Laura, 'New evidence of justice-giving by the Early Tudor Council of the North, 1540-43', *Northern History*, 59 (2022), 1-12
- Ferster, Judith, *Fictions of Advice: The Literature and Politics of Counsel in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996)
- Fletcher, Anthony, *Reform in the Provinces* (London: Yale University Press, 1986)
- Fletcher, Anthony, and Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions* (London: Routledge, 2016)
- Fletcher, Catherine, *Diplomacy in Renaissance Rome: The Rise of the Resident Ambassador* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015)
- Freeman, Thomas S., 'Inventing Bloody Mary: Perceptions of Mary Tudor from the Restoration to the Twentieth Century', in *Mary Tudor Old and New Perspectives*, eds. Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2011)
- French, H. R., 'Social Status, Localism and the "Middle Sort of People" in England 1620-1750', *Past & Present*, 166, 2000, 66–99
- , *The Middle Sort of People in Provincial England, 1600-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008)
- French, Henry, and Mark Rothery, "'Upon Your Entry into the World": Masculine Values and the Threshold of Adulthood among Landed Elites in England 1680–1800', *Social History*, 33 (2008), 402–22
- Friedeburg, Robert von, and J. S. Morrill, *Monarchy Transformed: Princes and Their Elites in Early Modern Western Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017)

Bibliography

- Friedman, Alice T., 'The Influence of Humanism on the Education of Girls and Boys in Tudor England', *History of Education Quarterly*, 25 (1985), 57–70
- Fuller, Thomas, *The History of the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1840)
- Fumerton, Patricia, *Cultural Aesthetics: Renaissance Literature and the Practice of Social Ornament* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991)
- Gammon, S. R., *Statesmen and Schemer: William, First Lord Paget, Tudor Minister* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1973)
- Gibbons, G. N., *The Political Career of Thomas Wriothesley, First Earl of Southampton, 1505-1550* (Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 2001)
- Girouard, Mark, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978)
- Goring, J. J., 'The General Proscription of 1522', *The English Historical Review*, 86 (1971), 681–705
- , 'The Military Obligations of the English People, 1511-1558' (Unpublished PhD Thesis: Queen Mary University, 1955)
- Grafton, Anthony, and Lisa Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities* (London: Duckworth, 1986)
- Graves, Michael A. R., *The Tudor Parliaments: Crown, Lords and Commons 1485-1603* (London: Longman, 1985)
- Green, Ian, *Humanism and Protestantism in Early Modern English Education* (Farnham: Routledge, 2016)
- Green, Lawrence D., 'Dictamen in England, 1500-1700', in *Letter-Writing Manuals and Instruction from Antiquity to the Present*, eds. Carol Poster and Linda C. Mitchell (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2007), pp. 102–26
- Greenblatt, Stephen, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning, from More to Shakespeare* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2005)
- Grendler, Paul F., 'Schooling in Western Europe', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 43 (1990), 775–87
- , 'The Universities of the Renaissance and Reformation', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 57 (2004), 1–42
- Greevers, Liesbeth and Mirella Marini, *Dynastic Identity in Early Modern Europe: Rulers, Aristocrats and the Formation of Identities* (London: Routledge, 2015)
- Grummitt, David, 'Calais 1485-1547: A Study in Early Tudor Politics and Government' (Unpublished PhD Thesis: University of London, 1997)
- , 'Henry VII, Chamber Finance and the 'New Monarchy': Some New Evidence', *Historical Research*, 72 (1999), 229–43
- , 'Household, Politics and Political Morality in the Reign of Henry VII', *Historical Research*, 82 (2009), 393–411
- Gunn, S. J., *Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk c.1484-1545* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988)
- , *Early Tudor Government, 1485-1558* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995)

- , 'Henry Bouchier, earl of Essex (1472-1540)', in *Tudor Nobility*, ed. G. W. Bernard (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), pp.134-179
- , *Henry VII's New Men and the Making of Tudor England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017)
- , 'The Courtiers of Henry VII', *The English Historical Review*, 108 (1993), 23–49
- , 'The Structures of Politics in Early Tudor England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5 (1995), 59–90
- Gunn, Simon and Lucy Faire, *Research Methods for History* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012)
- Guy, J. A, 'Privy Council: Revolution or Evolution?', in *Revolution Reassessed: Revisions in the History of Tudor Government and Administration*, eds. David Starkey and Christopher Coleman (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), pp. 59–87
- , *The Cardinal's Court: The Impact of Thomas Wolsey in Star Chamber* (Hassocks: Harvester Press, 1977)
- , 'The Tudor Age (1485-1603)', in *The Oxford Illustrated History of Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), pp.223-85
- , 'The Rhetoric of Counsel in Early Modern England', in *Tudor Political Culture*, ed. Dale Hoak (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 292–310
- , *Thomas More* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000)
- , *Tudor England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988)
- , ed. *Tudor Monarchy* (London: Arnold, 1997)
- , 'Wolsey, the Council and the Council Courts', *The English Historical Review*, 91 (1976), 481–505
- Gwyn, Peter, *The King's Cardinal: The Rise and Fall of Cardinal Wolsey* (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1990)
- Hainsworth, D.R., *Stewards, Lord and People: The Estate Steward and His World in Later Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992)
- Hammer, Paul E. J., *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics: The Political Career of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, 1585-1597* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)
- Harbison, E. H., *Rival Ambassadors at the Court of Queen Mary* (London: Oxford University Press, 1940)
- Harding, Alan, 'The Origins and Early History of the Keeper of the Peace: The Alexander Prize Essay', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 10 (1960), 85–109
- Harris, Barbara J., *English Aristocratic Women, 1450-1550: Marriage and Family, Property and Careers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002)
- Harris, Nicholas, *Memoirs of the Life and Times of Sir Christopher Hatton* (London: Richard Bentley, 1847)
- Harrison, William, *The Description of England: The classic contemporary account of Tudor social life*, ed. Georges Edelen (New York: Dover Publications, 1994)
- Harriss, G. L., 'Medieval Government and Statecraft', *Past & Present*, 25 (1963), 8–39

Bibliography

- , 'Introduction', in *England in the fifteenth century*, ed. K. B. McFarlane (London: Hambledon Press, 1981), pp.i-xxvi
- , *Shaping the Nation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005)
- Harriss, G. L., and Penry Williams, 'A Revolution in Tudor History?', *Past & Present*, 31 (1965), 87–96
- Harvey, Nancy Lenz, *Thomas, Cardinal Wolsey* (London: Macmillan, 1980)
- Hattaway, Michael, ed. *A Companion to English Renaissance Literature and Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000)
- Heal, Felicity, 'Food Gifts, the Household and the Politics of Exchange in Early Modern England', *Past & Present*, 199 (2008), 41–70
- , *Hospitality in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990)
- , *Of Prelates and Princes: A Study of the Economic and Social Position of the Tudor Episcopate* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980)
- , 'Presenting Noble Beasts: Gifts of Animals in Tudor and Stuart Diplomacy', in *Practices of Diplomacy in the Early Modern World c.1410-1800*, eds. Tracey A. Sowerby and Jan Hennings (London: Routledge, 2017), pp. 187–203
- , 'The bishops of Ely and their diocese, c.1515-1600' (Unpublished PhD Thesis: University of Cambridge, 1972)
- Heiser, Richard R., 'Castles, Constables, and Politics in Late Twelfth-Century English Governance', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 32 (2000), 19–36
- Hicks, Michael, 'Cement or Solvent? Kinship and Politics in late Medieval England: The Case of the Nevilles', *History*, 83 (1998), 31-46
- Hindle, Steve, *The State and Social Change in Early Modern England, 1550-1640* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002)
- Hoak, D. E., *The King's Council in the Reign of Edward VI* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976)
- , ed. *Tudor Political Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995)
- Hodgett, Gerald A. J., *Tudor Lincolnshire* (Lincoln: History of Lincolnshire Committee, 1975)
- Houlbrooke, Ralph A., *The English Family 1450-1700* (London: Longman, 1984)
- Howard, Maurice, *The Early Tudor Country House: Architecture and Politics 1490-1550* (London: George Philip, 1987)
- Howarth, David, *Images of Rule: Art and Politics in the English Renaissance, 1485-1649* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997)
- Hoyle, R. W., *The Pilgrimage of Grace and the Politics of the 1530s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001)
- , "'Wrightsonian Incorporation" and the Public Rhetoric of Mid-Tudor England', *History*, 101 (2016), 20–41

- Hudson, Winthrop S., *The Cambridge Connection and the Elizabethan Settlement of 1559* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1980)
- Huddleston, Connor M., 'A Community of Councillors: Tudor Government and Prosopography', *Question*, 6 (2021), 44-53
- , 'Friendship or Faction? Networks and the Tudor Privy Council', *Emergence*, 12 (2022), 40-55
- Hughes, P. L., and J. F. Larkin, eds. *Tudor Royal Proclamations* (London: Yale University Press, 1964)
- Hutton, Sarah, 'Platonism, Stoicism, Scepticism and Classical Imitation', in *Companion to English Renaissance Literature and Culture*, ed. Michael Hattaway (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), pp. 44–58
- Hyatte, Reginald, *The Arts of Friendship: The Idealization of Friendship in Medieval and Early Renaissance Literature* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994)
- Isaac, Veronica, 'Presuming Too Far "above His Very Base and Low Degree"?: Thomas Cromwell's Use of Textiles in His Schemes for Social and Political Success (1527-1540)', *Journal of the Costume Society*, 45 (2011), 8-23
- Ives, E. W., *The Common Lawyers of Pre-Reformation England: Thomas Kebell: A Case Study*, Cambridge Studies in English Legal History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983)
- , *Anne Boleyn* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986)
- , 'Faction at the Court of Henry VIII: The Fall of Anne Boleyn', *History*, 57 (1972), 169–88
- , *Faction in Tudor England* (London: Historical Association, 1979)
- , *Henry VIII* (Oxford University Press, 2007)
- , 'Henry VIII: The Political Perspective', in *The Reign of Henry VIII: Politics, Policy and Piety*, ed. Diarmaid MacCulloch (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 1995), pp. 13–34
- , 'Henry VIII's will: the protectorate provisions of 1546-1547', *Historical Journal*, 37 (1994), 901-14
- , 'The Fall of Wolsey', in *Wolsey: Church, State and Art*, ed. S. J. Gunn and P. J. Lindley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp.286-315
- James, M. E., 'The Concept of Order and the Northern Rising 1569', *Past & Present*, 60 (1973), 49–83
- , ed. *Society, Politics and Culture: Studies in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986)
- Jardine, Lisa, and Anthony Grafton, "'Studied for Action": How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy', *Past & Present*, 129 (1990), 30–78
- Jeayes, I. H., *The Letters of Philip Gawdy, 1579-1616* (London: J. B. Nichols and Sons, 1906)
- Jenkins, Richard, *Social Identity* (Oxon: Routledge, 2014)
- Jewell, Helen M., *Education in Early Modern England* (London: Macmillan, 1998)
- Johnston, Andrew, 'William Paget and the Late-Henrician Polity, 1543-1547' (Unpublished PhD Thesis: University of St Andrews, 2004)

Bibliography

- Jones, J. Gwynfor, *Early Modern Wales, c.1525-1640* (London: Macmillan, 1994)
- Keats-Rohan, K. S. B., ed. *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: A Handbook* (Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research, Linacre College, University of Oxford, 2007)
- Kjær, Lars, *The Medieval Gift and the Classical Tradition: Ideals and the Performance of Generosity in Medieval England, 1100–1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019)
- Knighton, C. S., David Loades, and Ben Jones, *Elizabethan Naval Administration* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013)
- Labaree, Leonard W., and Robert E. Moody, 'The Seal of the Privy Council', *The English Historical Review*, 43 (1928), 190–202
- Lander, J. R., *English Justices of the Peace, 1461-1509* (Gloucester: Sutton Pub Ltd, 1989)
- , *Crown and Nobility, 1450-1509* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1976)
- , 'The Yorkist Council and Administration, 1461-1485', *The English Historical Review*, 73 (1958), 27-46
- Leader, Damian Riehl, 'Professorships and Academic Reform at Cambridge: 1488-1520', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 14 (1983), 215–27
- Lehmberg, Stanford E., *Sir Walter Mildmay and Tudor Government* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1964)
- Loach, Jennifer, *Edward VI* (London: Yale University Press, 1999)
- , *Parliament and the Crown in the reign of Mary Tudor* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986)
- Loades, David, *John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland 1504-1553* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996)
- , *Power in Tudor England* (London: Macmillan, 1997)
- , *The Mid-Tudor Crisis 1545-1565* (London: Macmillan, 1992)
- , *The Tudor Navy: An Administrative, Political and Military History* (Oxon: Ashgate, 1992)
- , *The Tudors: The history of a dynasty* (London: Continuum, 2012)
- , *Tudor Government: Structures of Authority in the Sixteenth Century* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997)
- , *The Reign of Mary Tudor* (London: Ernest Benn, 1979)
- Lochman, Daniel T., 'Friendship's Passion: Love-Fellowship in Sidney's New Arcadia', in *Discourses and Representations of Friendship in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1700* (Farnham: Taylor & Francis, 2010), pp. 65–82
- Lock, P. W., 'Officeholders and Officeholding in Early Tudor England c.1520-1540' (Unpublished PhD Thesis: University of Exeter, 1976)
- López, Maritere, Daniel T. Lochman, and Lorna Hutson, *Discourses and Representations of Friendship in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1700* (Farnham: Taylor & Francis Group, 2010)
- Lupton, J. H., *A Life of John Colet, D. D., Dean of St. Paul's and Founder of St. Paul's School* (London: G. Bell, 1909)

- MacCaffrey, Wallace T., *Elizabeth I: War and Politics, 1588-1603* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992)
- , *Queen Elizabeth and the Making of Policy, 1572-1588* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981)
- MacCulloch, Diarmaid, *Thomas Cromwell: A Life* (London: Penguin Books, 2018)
- , 'Two Dons in Politics: Thomas Cranmer and Stephen Gardiner, 1503-1533', *The Historical Journal*, 37 (1994), 1–22
- MacCulloch, Diarmaid, and John Blatchly, 'A House fit for a Queen: Wingfield House in Tacket Street, Ipswich and its Heraldic Room', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology & History*, 38 (1993), 13-34
- MacMahon, Luke, 'Chivalry, Military Professionalism and the Early Tudor Army in Renaissance Europe: A Reassessment', in *Chivalric Ethos and the Development of Military Professionalism*, ed. D. J. B Trim (Leiden: Brill, 2003), pp. 183–212
- Malkiewicz, A. J. A., 'An Eye-Witness's Account of the Coup d'État of October 1549', *The English Historical Review*, 70 (1955), 600–609
- Manning, Roger B., 'The Crisis of Episcopal Authority during the Reign of Elizabeth I', *Journal of British Studies*, 11 (1971), 1–25
- Mathisen, Ralph W., 'Medieval Prosopography and Computers: Theoretical and Methodological Considerations', *Medieval Prosopography*, 9 (1988), 73-128
- , 'Where Are All the PDBs?: The Creation of Prosopographical Databases for the Ancient and Medieval Worlds', in *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: A Handbook*, ed. K. S. B. Keats-Rohan (Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research, Linacre College, University of Oxford, 2007), pp. 95–126
- Mayer, Thomas F., 'Faction and Ideology: Thomas Starkey's Dialogue', *The Historical Journal*, 28 (1985), 1–25
- , 'On the Road to 1534: The Occupation of Tournai and Henry VIII's Theory of Sovereignty', in *Tudor Political Culture* ed. Dale Hoak (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp.11-30
- McCoy, Richard C., 'From the Tower to the Tiltyard: Robert Dudley's Return to Glory', *The Historical Journal*, 27 (1984), 425–35
- McFarlane, K. B., *The Nobility of Later Medieval England: The Ford Lectures for 1953 and Related Studies* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973)
- McGlynn, Margaret, *The Royal Prerogative and the Learning of the Inns of Court* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)
- McGovern, Jonathan, *Tudor Sheriff: A Study in Early Modern Administration* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022)
- McLaren, A. N., *Political Culture in the Reign of Elizabeth I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)
- Mears, Natalie, 'Courts, Courtiers, and Culture in Tudor England', *The Historical Journal*, 46 (2003), 703–22
- , *Queenship and Political Discourse in the Elizabethan Realms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005)

Bibliography

- , *Queenship in the Elizabethan Realms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- Merton, Robert K., 'Science, Technology and Society in Seventeenth Century England', *Osiris*, 4 (1938), 360–632
- Meyer, Alfred H Conrad and John Robert, *The Economics of Slavery and Other Studies in Economic History* (Chicago: Aldine, 1964)
- Michon, Cedric, 'State Prelates in Renaissance France and England: New Light on the formation of Early Modern States', *History Compass*, 9 (2011), 876–886
- Miller, Helen, *Henry VIII and the English Nobility* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986)
- , 'Henry VIII's Unwritten Will: Grants of Lands and Honours in 1547', in *Wealth and Power in Tudor England*, eds. E. W. Ives, R. J. Knecht, and J. J. Scarisbrick (London: The Athlone Press, 1978), pp. 86–105
- Mitchell, Alan C., 'Greet the Friends by Name': New Testament Evidence for the Greco-Roman Topos on Friendship', in *Greco-Roman Perspectives on Friendship*, ed. John T. Fitzgerald (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), pp. 225–62
- Moir, Esther, *The Justice of the Peace* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969)
- Morgan, Gideon Cohen, Andrew Flinn, Kevin, 'Towards a Mixed Method Social History: Combining Quantitative and Qualitative Methods in the Study of Collective Biography', in *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: A Handbook*, ed. K. S. B. Keats-Rohan (Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research, Linacre College, University of Oxford, 2007), pp. 211–30
- Morgan, Victor, and Christopher Brooke, *A History of the University of Cambridge: Volume 2, 1546–1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004)
- Morris, T. A., *Tudor Government* (London: Routledge, 1999)
- Muller, J. A., *Stephen Gardiner and the Tudor Reaction* (London: Macmillan, 1926)
- Murray, Alexander, *Reason and Society in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978)
- Myers, A. R., Cecil H. Clough, and R.B. Dobson, *Crown, Household and Parliament in Fifteenth Century England* (London: Bloomsbury, 2003)
- Myers, Christopher H., 'The Demography of Royal Navy Surgeons: Some Views on the Process of Prosopography', *Journal of World-Historical Information*, 2 (2015), 44–53
- Namier, Lewis, *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III* (London: Macmillan, 1957)
- Nauert, Charles G., 'Humanist Infiltration into the Academic World: Some Studies of Northern Universities', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 43 (1990), 799–812
- Neale, J. E., 'The Elizabethan Political Scene', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 34 (1948), 97–117
- Nevala, Minna, 'Family First: Address and Subscription Formulae in English Family Correspondence from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Century', in *Diachronic Perspectives on Address Term Systems* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2003), pp. 147–76

- , 'Inside and Out: Forms of Address in Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Letters', in *Letter Writing* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2007), pp. 89–114
- Nevalainen, Terttu, and Sanna-Kaisa Tanskanen, *Letter Writing* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2007)
- Newbold, W. Webster, 'Letter Writing and Vernacular Literacy in Sixteenth-Century England', in *Letter-Writing Manuals and Instruction from Antiquity to the Present*, eds. Carol Poster and Linda C. Mitchell (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2007), pp. 127–40
- Nichols, John, 'The Life of the Last Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel', *Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, 103 (1736), 118–24
- Nodes, Daniel J., and Daniel T. Lochman, *Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions: John Colet on the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy of Dionysius* (Leiden: Brill, 2013)
- O'Day, Rosemary, *The Routledge Companion to the Tudor Age* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2010)
- Olmsted, Wendy, *The Imperfect Friend: Emotion and Rhetoric in Sidney, Milton and Their Contexts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008)
- Otway-Ruthven, J., 'The King's Secretary in the Fifteenth Century', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 19 (1936), 81–100
- Page, William, Granville Proby, and S Inskip Ladds, eds. *A History of the County of Huntingdon: Volume 2* (London: Victoria County History, 1932)
- Paul, Joanne, 'Agency at the Crossroads of the 16th Century: Governance and the State in Humanist and Contemporary Political Thought' (unpublished Master's Dissertation, University of Victoria, 2010)
- , *Counsel and command in early modern English thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020)
- Peltonen, Markku, *Classical Humanism and Republicanism in English Political Thought, 1570–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995)
- Perry, Curtis, 'Court and Coterie Culture', in *A Companion to English Renaissance Literature and Culture*, ed. Michael Hattaway (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 106–18
- Pocock, J. G. A., ed. *The Varieties of British Political Thought, 1500–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994)
- Pogson, Rex, 'God's Law and Man's: Stephen Gardiner and the Problem of Loyalty', in *Law and Government under the Tudors*, eds. Claire Cross, David Loades, and J. J. Scarisbrick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 67–90
- Pollard, A. F., 'Council, Star Chamber, and Privy Council under the Tudors: I. The Council', *The English Historical Review*, 37 (1922), 337–60
- , 'Council, Star Chamber, and Privy Council under the Tudors: II. The Star Chamber', *The English Historical Review*, 37 (1922), 516–39
- , 'Council, Star Chamber, and Privy Council under the Tudors III. The Privy Council', *The English Historical Review*, 38 (1923), 42–60

Bibliography

- , *The History of England from the Accession of Edward VI to the Death of Elizabeth* (London: Longmans, 1910)
- Pollnitz, Aysha, 'Humanism and Court Culture in the Education of Tudor Royal Children', in *Tudor Court Culture*, eds. Thomas Betteridge and Anna Riehl (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 2010), pp. 42–58
- , *Princely Education in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015)
- Poster, Carol, and Linda C. Mitchell, eds. *Letter-Writing Manuals and Instruction from Antiquity to the Present* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2007)
- Potter, D. L., 'Diplomacy in the Mid-16th Century: England and France, 1536-1550' (Unpublished PhD Thesis: University of Cambridge, 1973)
- Prest, Wilfrid, 'Legal Education of the Gentry at the Inns of Court, 1560-1640', *Past & Present*, 38 (1967), 20–39
- Pugh, T. B., 'Henry VII and the Tudor Nobility', in *Tudor Nobility*, ed. G. W. Bernard (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), pp.49-110
- Raffield, Paul, 'The Inner Temple revels (1561-62) and the Elizabethan rhetoric of signs: legal iconography at the early modern Inns of Court', in *The Intellectual and Cultural World of the Early Modern Inns of Court*, eds. Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elizabeth Goldring and Sarah Knight (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2022), pp.32-50
- Rawcliffe, Carlow, *The Staffords: Earls of Stafford and Dukes of Buckingham, 1349-1521* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978)
- Raymond, Chris, 'Humanities Researchers Experience a 'Sea Change' in the Use of Computers in their Disciplines', *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 35 (1989), 6-8
- Read, C., 'Faction in the English Privy Council under Elizabeth', *Annual Bulletin of the American Association*, 1 (1911), 111-19
- , 'Walsingham and Burghley in Queen Elizabeth's Privy Council', *The English Historical Review*, 28 (1913), 34-58
- Redworth, Glyn, *In Defence of the Catholic Church: The Life of Stephen Gardiner* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990)
- Reid, R. R., *The King's Council in the North* (London: Longmans, 1921)
- Rex, Richard, 'Councils, Counsel and Consensus in Henry VIII's Reformation', in *The Politics of Counsel in England and Scotland, 1286-1707*, ed. Jacqueline Rose (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 135–50
- , 'The English Campaign against Luther in the 1520s (*The Alexander Prize Essay*)', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 39 (1989), 85–106
- , *The Theology of John Fisher* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991)
- Richardson, Glenn, *The Field of Cloth of Gold* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014)

- Ridder-Symoens, H. De, ed. *A History of the University in Europe, Volume II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)
- Robertson, Mary L., 'Profit and purpose in the development of Thomas Cromwell's landed estates', *Journal of Historical Studies*, 29 (1990), 317–346
- , *Thomas Cromwell's Servants: The Ministerial Household in Early Tudor Government and Society* (Unpublished PhD Thesis: University of California, 1975)
- Robinson, William Baxter, 'The Justices of the Peace of Surrey in National and County Politics, 1483-1570' (Unpublished PhD Thesis: Louisiana State University, 1983)
- Robinson, W. R. B., 'Patronage and hospitality in early Tudor Wales: the role of Henry, earl of Worcester, 1526-49', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 51 (1978), 20-36
- Rose, Jacqueline, ed. *The Politics of Counsel in England and Scotland, 1286-1707* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016)
- , 'The Problem of Political Counsel in Medieval and Early Modern England and Scotland', in *The Politics of Counsel in England and Scotland, 1286-1707* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 1–44
- Ross, Charles, ed. *Patronage, Pedigree and Power in Later Medieval England* (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1979)
- Ross, James, *John de Vere, Thirteenth Earl of Oxford 1442-1513: 'The Foremost Man of the Kingdom'* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer Press, 2011)
- Rowse, A. L., *Tudor Cornwall* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1941)
- Russell, Elizabeth, 'Mary Tudor and Mr. Jorkins', *Historical Research*, 63 (1990), 263-76
- Ryrie, Alec, *The Age of Reformation: The Tudor and Stewart Realms, 1485-1603* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2009)
- , *The Gospel and Henry VIII: Evangelicals in the Early English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)
- Sangha, Laura, and Jonathan Willis, eds. *Understanding Early Modern Primary Sources* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2016)
- Saul, Nigel, *Chivalry in Medieval England* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011)
- Scarisbrick, J. J., *Henry VIII* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1968)
- Schoeck, R. J., 'Rhetoric and Law in Sixteenth-Century England', *Studies in Philology*, 50 (1953), 110–27
- Shagan, Ethan H., *Popular Politics and the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)
- , '"Popularity" and the 1549 Rebellions Revisited', *English Historical Review*, 115 (2000), 121–33
- , 'Protector Somerset and the 1549 Rebellions: New Sources and New Perspectives', *The English Historical Review*, 114 (1999), 34–63
- Sharpe, J. A., *Early Modern England a Social History 1550-1760* (London: Arnold, 1997)

Bibliography

- Sil, Narasingha Prosad, 'The Rise and Fall of Sir John Gates', *The Historical Journal*, 24 (1981), 929–43
- , *Tudor Placemen and Statesmen: Select Case Studies* (London: Associated University Presses, 2001)
- Skinner, Quentin, *Reason and Rhetoric in the Philosophy of Hobbes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996)
- , *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought volume 1: The Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978)
- Slavin, Arthur J., ed. *Tudor Men and Institutions: Studies in English Law and Government* (Louisiana: Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1972)
- , 'The Fall of Lord Chancellor Wriothesley: A study in the politics of conspiracy', *Albion*, 7 (1975), 265-286
- , *Politics and Profit: A Study of Sir Ralph Sadler, 1507-1547* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966)
- Smith, Hassell, A., *County and Court: Government and Politics in Norfolk, 1558-1603* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974)
- Smith, Lacey Baldwin, *Tudor Prelates and Politics 1536-1558* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953)
- Smith, R. B., *Land and Politics in the England of Henry VIII: The West Riding of Yorkshire: 1530-46* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970)
- Smythe, Dion, 'A White shade of Pale: Issues and Opportunities in Prosopography', in *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: A Handbook*, ed. Keats-Rohan (Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research, Linacre College, University of Oxford, 2007) pp.137-138
- , 'Prosopography', in *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, eds. Robin Cormack, John F. Haldon, and Elizabeth Jeffreys (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp.177-181
- Sowerby, Tracey A., and Jan Hennings, eds., *Practices of Diplomacy in the Early Modern World c.1410-1800* (London: Routledge, 2017)
- Starkey, David, 'After the Revolution', in *Revolution Reassessed*, eds. Christopher Coleman and David Starkey (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 199–208
- , 'Court and Government', in *Revolution Reassessed*, eds. Christopher Coleman and David Starkey (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 29–58
- , 'From Feud to Faction', *History Today*, 32 (1982), 16–22
- , 'Intimacy and Innovation: The Rise of the Privy Chamber, 1485-1547', in *The English Court: From the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War*, ed. David Starkey (London: Longman, 1987), pp. 71–118
- , *Rivals in Power* (London: Macmillan, 1990)
- , 'The Court: Castiglione's Ideal and Tudor Reality; Being a Discussion of Sir Thomas Wyatt's Satire Addressed to Sir Francis Bryan', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 45 (1982), 232–39
- , *The English Court: From the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War* (London: Longman, 1987)

- , *The Reign of Henry VIII: Personalities and Politics* (London: George Philip, 1985)
- Stone, Lawrence, 'Prosopography', *Daedalus*, 100 (1971), 46-71
- , *The Crisis of the Aristocracy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965)
- , *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800* (London: Penguin Books, 1979)
- Stone, Lawrence, and Jeanne C. Fawtier, *An Open Elite?: England 1540-1880* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995)
- Strype, John, *Annals of the Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1824)
- Stuckey, Michael, 'Enjoyed by the Laws of This Assembly: The Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries and the Prosopographical Approach', in *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: A Handbook*, ed. Keats-Rohan (Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research, Linacre College, University of Oxford, 2007), pp. 499–526
- Syme, Ronald, *The Roman Revolution* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960)
- Taavitsainen, Irma, and Andreas H. Jucker, eds. *Diachronic Perspectives on Address Term Systems* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2003)
- 'The Historic Counties Standard: A Standard for the Definition of the Names, Areas and Borders of the Historic Counties of the United Kingdom', *The Historic Counties Trust* (2022) 1–24
- Thomas, Peter, review of *The Structure of Politics at the Accession George III*, by Lewis Namier, *Reviews in History* (1957), 514
- Thomson, Gladys Scott, *Lords Lieutenants in the Sixteenth Century: A Study in Local Tudor Administration* (London: Longmans, 1923)
- Thurley, Simon, *Whitehall Palace: An Architectural History of the Royal Apartments 1240-1698* (London: Yale University Press, 1999)
- Tilley, Arthur, 'Greek Studies in England in the Early Sixteenth Century', *The English Historical Review*, 53 (1938), 221–39
- Tittler, Robert, *Nicholas Bacon: The Making of a Tudor Statesman* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1976)
- Tittler, Robert, and Norman L. Jones, eds. *A Companion to Tudor Britain* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004)
- Tucker, Melvin J., *The Life of Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey and Second Duke of Norfolk, 1443-1524* (London: Mouton & Co., 1964)
- Verboven, Koenraad, Myruam Carlier and Jan Dumolyn, 'A Short Manual to the art of Prosopography', in *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: A Handbook*, ed. Keats-Rohan (Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research, Linacre College, University of Oxford, 2007) pp.35-70
- Viroli, Maurizio, *From Politics to Reason of State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992)
- Underwood, Malcolm G, 'Politics and Piety in the Household of Lady Margaret Beaufort', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 38 (1987), 39–52
- Wagner, Anthony, *Heralds of England* (London: HMSO, 1967)

Bibliography

- Walker, Greg, *Persuasive Fictions: Faction, Faith and Political Culture in the Reign of Henry VIII* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996)
- , 'The 'expulsion of the minions' of 1519', *Historical Journal*, 32 (1989), 1-16
- Warnicke, Retha M., 'Family and Kinship Relations at the Henrician Court: The Boleyns and Howards', in *Tudor Political Culture*, ed. Dale Hoak (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 31–53
- Watts, John, 'Counsel and the King's Council in England, c.1340-1540', in *The Politics of Counsel in England and Scotland, 1286-1707*, ed. Jacqueline Rose (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 63–86
- Watts, S. J., and Susan J. Watts, *From Border to Middle Shire Northumberland 1586-1625* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1975)
- Weikel, Ann, 'Crown and Council: A Study of Mary Tudor and Her Privy Council' (Unpublished PhD Thesis: Yale University, 1966)
- , 'The Marian Council Revisited', in *The Mid-Tudor Polity c.1540-1560*, eds. Jennifer Loach and Robert Tittler (London: Macmillan, 1980), pp. 52–73
- Willen, Diane, *John Russell: First Earl of Bedford, One of the King's Men* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1981)
- Williams, Penry, 'Dr. Elton's Interpretation of the Age', *Past & Present*, 25 (1963), 3–8
- , *The Later Tudors: England 1547-1603* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995)
- , *The Tudor Regime* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979)
- , 'The Tudor State', *Past & Present*, 25 (1963), 39–58
- Wilson, Derek A., *The Uncrowned Kings of England: The Black History of the Dudleys and the Tudor Throne* (New York: Carroll & Graf, 2005)
- Wojciehowski, Hannah Chapelle, 'Triangulating Humanist Friendship: More, Giles and Erasmus, and the making of the *Utopia*', in *Discourses and Representations of Friendship in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1700*, eds. Maritere Lopez, Daniel T. Lochman and Lorna Hutson (Farnham: Taylor & Francis, 2010), pp.45-64
- Wood, Andy, "'A Lyttull Worde Ys Tresson": Loyalty, Denunciation, and Popular Politics in Tudor England', *Journal of British Studies*, 48 (2009), 837–47
- , *The 1549 Rebellions and the Making of Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007)
- Woodward, William Harrison, *Desiderius Erasmus Concerning the Aim and Method of Education* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1904)
- Wootton, David, 'Friendship Portrayed: A New Account of Utopia', *History Workshop Journal*, 45, 1998, 28–47
- Yorke, Trevor, *Tudor Houses Explained* (Newbury, Berkshire: Countryside, 2009)
- Youngs, Joyce, *Devon Monastic Lands: Calendar of Particulars for Grants 1536-1558* (London: Boydell & Brewer, 1955)

ODNB Articles

- Adams, Simon, 'Davison, William (d. 1608)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/7306>>
- , 'Dudley, Ambrose, Earl of Warwick (c. 1530–1590)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/8143>>
- , 'Dudley, Robert, Earl of Leicester (1532/3–1588)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/8160>>
- Adams, Simon, Alan Bryson, and Mitchell Leimon, 'Walsingham, Sir Francis (c. 1532–1590)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28624>>
- Alsop, J. D., 'Baker, Sir John', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-1124>>
- Archer, Ian W., 'Smith, Sir Thomas (1513–1577)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/25906>>
- Armstrong, C. D. C., 'Gardiner, Stephen', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10364>>
- Baker, J. H., 'Broke, Sir Richard', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/3496>>
- , 'Bromley, Sir Thomas (d. 1555)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/3512>>
- , 'Brudenell, Sir Robert', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/3766>>
- , 'Caryll, John', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/69360>>
- , 'Coningsby [Conyngesby], Sir Humphrey', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6074>>
- , 'Cordell, Sir William (1522–1581)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6306>>
- , 'Egerton, Thomas, First Viscount Brackley (1540–1617)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/8594>>
- , 'Fitzherbert, Sir Anthony', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/9602>>
- , 'Fitzjames, Sir John', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/9611>>
- , 'Fyneux [Fenex], Sir John', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10261>>

Bibliography

- , 'Hales, John', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/11912>>
- , 'Hare, Sir Nicholas (c. 1495–1557)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12305>>
- , 'Heigham, Sir Clement (b. in or before 1500, d. 1571)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12867>>
- , 'Hody, Sir William', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/13456>>
- , 'Montagu, Sir Edward (1480s–1557)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19006>>
- , 'Morgan, Sir Richard (d. 1556)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19232>>
- , 'Norwich, Sir Robert', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/20363>>
- , 'Pollard, Sir Lewis', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22470>>
- , 'Pollard, Sir Richard', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/69369>>
- , 'Port, Sir John', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22552>>
- , 'Rede, Sir Robert', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/23247>>
- , 'Southwell, Sir Robert', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26063>>
- Beer, Barrett L., 'Seymour, Edward, Duke of Somerset [Known as Protector Somerset]', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/25159>>
- Bell, Gary M., 'Hoby, Sir Philip (1504/5–1558)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/13413>>
- Bernard, G. W., 'Compton, Sir William', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6039>>
- , 'Seymour, Thomas', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/25181>>
- , 'Talbot, Francis, Fifth Earl of Shrewsbury (1500–1560)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26926>>
- Block, Joseph S., 'Boleyn, George, Viscount Rochford', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/2793>>

- Bowker, Margaret, 'Atwater, William', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/879>>
- , 'Longland, John', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/16986>>
- Braddock, Robert C., 'Grey, Henry, Duke of Suffolk (1517–1554)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/11535>>
- , 'Grey, Thomas', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/11561>>
- Bryson, Alan, 'Cheke, Sir John (1514–1557)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/5211>>
- , 'St Leger, Sir Anthony (1496?–1559)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/24512>>
- Burrow, Colin, 'Wyatt, Sir Thomas (c. 1503–1542)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/30111>>
- Carley, James P., 'Blount, William', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/2702>>
- , 'Bourchier, John, Second Baron Berners', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/2990>>
- , 'Marney, Henry, First Baron Marney', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/70724>>
- Carter, P. R. N., 'Bedyll, Thomas', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/1943>>
- , 'Heron, Sir John', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/70791>>
- , 'Mason, Sir John (c. 1503–1566)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18278>>
- , 'North, Edward, First Baron North', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/20300>>
- , 'Rich, Richard, First Baron Rich (1496/7–1567)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/23491>>
- , 'Taylor, John', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27042>>
- , 'Tuke, Sir Brian', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27803>>
- , 'Wentworth, Thomas, First Baron Wentworth (1501–1551)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/29053>>

Bibliography

- , 'Wingfield, Sir Anthony', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/29733>>
- Chibi, Andrew A., 'Docwra, Sir Thomas', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/7726>>
- , 'Fox, Edward', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10027>>
- , 'Sampson, Richard', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/24594>>
- , 'Stokesley, John', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26563>>
- Christine M. Newman, 'Bowes, Sir Robert (1493?–1555)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/3058>>
- Clough, Cecil H., 'Ghinucci, Girolamo', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/66931>>
- Cooper, J. P. D., 'Courtenay, Henry, Marquess of Exeter', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6451>>
- , 'Rawlins, Richard', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/23186>>
- Cowley, F. G., 'Vaughan [Fychan], Edward', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28126>>
- Craig, John, 'North, Roger, Second Baron North (1531–1600)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/20312>>
- Croft, Pauline, 'Cecil, Robert, First Earl of Salisbury (1563–1612)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4980>>
- , 'Somerset, Edward, Fourth Earl of Worcester (c. 1550–1628)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26005>>
- Cross, Claire, 'Hastings, Francis, Second Earl of Huntingdon (1513/14–1560)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12566>>
- , 'Hastings, George, First Earl of Huntingdon', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12570>>
- , 'Lee, Edward', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/16278>>
- Cunich, Peter, 'Kidderminster [Kedermyster, Kyderminstre], Richard', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/15236>>
- , 'Layton, Richard', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/16226>>

- Curtis, Cathy, 'Pace, Richard', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/21065>>
- Davies, C. S. L., 'Fox [Fuxe], Richard', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10051>>
- , 'Stafford, Edward, Third Duke of Buckingham', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26202>>
- Davies, Catharine, 'Cotton, Sir Richard (b. in or before 1497, d. 1556)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/70786>>
- , 'Neville, Sir Thomas', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19964>>
- Denton, Barry, 'Wentworth, Thomas, Second Baron Wentworth and de Jure Seventh Baron Le Despenser (1525–1584)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/29054>>
- Dockray, Keith, 'Guildford, Sir Henry', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/11721>>
- , 'Stafford, Henry, Earl of Wiltshire (c.1479-1523)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/70804>>
- , 'Neville, Ralph, Fourth Earl of Westmorland (1498–1549)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19953>>
- Doran, Susan, and Jonathan Woolfson, 'Wilson, Thomas (1523/4–1581)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/29688>>
- Duffin, Anne, 'Clinton, Edward Fiennes de, First Earl of Lincoln (1512–1585)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/5679>>
- Elizinga, J.G., 'Browne, Anthony, First Viscount Montagu (1528–1592)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/3667>>
- Ellis, Steven G., 'Croft, Sir James (c. 1518–1590)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6719>>
- , 'Poynings, Sir Edward', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22683>>
- Ford, L. L., 'Audley, Thomas', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-896>>
- , 'Mildmay, Sir Walter (1520/21–1589)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18696>>
- , 'Paulet, William', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/21622>>

Bibliography

- , 'Vaux, Nicholas, First Baron Vaux', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28162>>
- Fritze, Ronald H., 'Sandys, William', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/24653>>
- Goldring, Elizabeth, 'Talbot, George, Sixth Earl of Shrewsbury (c. 1522–1590)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26928>>
- Graves, Michael A. R., 'Howard, Thomas, Third Duke of Norfolk (1473–1554)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/13940>>
- , 'Rogers, Sir Edward (c. 1498–1568)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/23971>>
- , 'Wriothesley, Thomas', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/30076>>
- Grummitt, David, 'Plantagenet, Arthur, Viscount Lisle', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22355>>
- , 'Radcliffe, Robert', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22991>>
- , 'Wharton, Thomas, Second Baron Wharton (1520–1572)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/29173>>
- Gunn, S. J., 'Bourchier, Henry, Second Earl of Essex', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/2988>>
- , 'Brandon, Charles, First Duke of Suffolk', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/3260>>
- , 'Lovell, Sir Thomas', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/17065>>
- Hammer, Paul E. J., 'Devereux, Robert, Second Earl of Essex (1565–1601)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/7565>>
- Harvey, Barbara F., 'Islip, John', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/14492>>
- Hawkyard, Alasdair, 'Neville, George, Third Baron Bergavenny', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19935>>
- Head, David M., 'Howard, Thomas, Second Duke of Norfolk (1443–1524)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/13939>>
- Heal, Felicity, 'Goodrich [Goodryck], Thomas', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10980>>
- , 'West, Nicholas', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/29091>>

- Hicks, Michael, 'Dynham, John, Baron Dynham (c.1433-1501)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006)
- , 'Heneage, Sir Thomas (b. in or before 1532, d. 1595)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12921>>
- , 'Paulet, Sir Amias (c. 1532–1588)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/21612>>
- , 'Stanhope, John, First Baron Stanhope (c. 1540–1621)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26249>>
- , 'Talbot, Gilbert, Seventh Earl of Shrewsbury (1552–1616)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26930>>
- Horrox, Rosemary, 'Parr Family (per. c. 1370–1517)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/52790>>
- House, Seymour Baker, 'More, Sir Thomas [St Thomas More]', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19191>>
- Howell A. Lloyd, 'Devereux, Walter, First Viscount Hereford (c. 1489–1558)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/7567>>
- Hoyle, R. W., 'Darcy, Thomas', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/7148>>
- , 'Hussey, John, Baron Hussey (1465/6–1537)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/14266>>
- , 'Percy, Henry Algernon, Fifth Earl of Northumberland', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/21936>>
- Hughes, Jonathan, 'Boleyn, Thomas', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/2795>>
- , 'Parry, Sir Thomas (b. in or before 1515, d. 1560)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/21433>>
- , 'Rochester, Sir Robert (c. 1500–1557)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/23918>>
- , 'Somerset [Formerly Beaufort], Charles', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26004>>
- Hyde, Patricia, 'Drury, Sir Robert', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/8097>>
- Ibbetson, David, 'Popham, Sir John (c. 1531–1607)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22543>>
- Ives, E. W., 'More, Sir John', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19183>>

Bibliography

- Jack, Sybil M., 'Cave, Sir Ambrose (c. 1503–1568)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4920>>
- , 'Paget, William', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/21121>>
- , 'Sackville, Sir Richard (d. 1566)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/24447>>
- , 'Wolsey, Thomas', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/29854>>
- James, Susan E., 'Parr, William', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/21405>>
- Johnson, Margot, 'Ruthall, Thomas', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/24359>>
- Jones, N.G., 'Bromley, Sir Thomas (c. 1530–1587)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/3513>>
- , 'Puckering, Sir John (1543/4–1596)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22860>>
- Kelsey, Sean, 'Drury, Sir William (1527–1579)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/8101>>
- Knafla, Louis A., 'Stanley, Edward, Third Earl of Derby (1509–1572)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26262>>
- Knighton, C. S., 'Boxall, John (1524/5–1571)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/3094>>
- , 'Brooke, George, Ninth Baron Cobham (c. 1497–1558)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/70783>>
- , 'Mordaunt, John, First Baron Mordaunt', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19166>>
- , 'Mordaunt, John, Second Baron Mordaunt (1508–1571)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/70756>>
- , 'Petre, William', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-22047>>
- , 'Thirlby, Thomas', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27184>>
- Lehmberg, Stanford, 'Cheyne, Sir Thomas', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/5263>>
- , 'Elyot, Thomas', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://www.oxforddnb->

com.bris.idm.oclc.org/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-8782?rskey=LbGHHq&result=1 [accessed 16 May 2019]

- , 'Kingston, Sir William', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/15628>>
- , 'Southwell, Sir Richard (1502/3–1564)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26062>>
- , 'Weston, Sir Richard', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/29124>>
- Leithead, Howard, 'Cromwell, Thomas', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6769>>
- Loades, David, 'Darcy, Thomas, First Baron Darcy of Chiche (1506–1558)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/70579>>
- , 'Dudley, John, Duke of Northumberland (1504–1553)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/8156>>
- , 'Hastings, Edward, Baron Hastings of Loughborough (1512/15?–1572)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12563>>
- Lock, Julian, 'Brooke, William, Tenth Baron Cobham (1527–1597)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/61735>>
- , 'Fitzalan, Henry, Twelfth Earl of Arundel', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/9530>>
- , 'Sheffield, Sir Robert', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/25299>>
- Loomie, A. J., 'Englefield, Sir Francis (1522–1596)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/8811>>
- , 'Wotton, Edward, First Baron Wotton (1548–1628)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/30000>>
- Louisa, Angelo J., 'Capon [Salcot], John', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4592>>
- Löwe, J. Andreas, 'Fortescue, Sir John (1533–1607)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/9945>>
- Lyons, Mary Ann, 'Skeffington, Sir William', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/25659>>
- MacCaffrey, Wallace T., 'Carey, Henry, First Baron Hunsdon (1526–1596)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4649>>
- , 'Cecil, William, First Baron Burghley (1520/21–1598)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4983>>

Bibliography

- , 'Hatton, Sir Christopher (c. 1540–1591)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12605>>
- , 'Knollys, Sir Francis (1511/12–1596)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/15755>>
- , 'Radcliffe, Thomas, Third Earl of Sussex (1526/7–1583)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22993>>
- , 'Russell, Francis, Second Earl of Bedford (1526/7–1585)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/24306>>
- , 'Sidney, Sir Henry (1529–1586)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/25520>>
- MacCulloch, Diarmaid, 'Cranmer, Thomas', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6615>>
- MacMahon, Luke, 'Peckham, Sir Edmund (b. in or before 1495, d. 1564)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/21742>>
- , 'Peckham, Sir Edmund (b. in or before 1495, d. 1564)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/21742>>
- , 'Wotton, Sir Edward (1489?–1551)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/29998>>
- Mayer, T.F., 'Starkey, Thomas', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://www-oxforddnb-com.bris.idm.oclc.org/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-26318?rskey=hEZuLY&result=1>> [accessed 16 May 2019]
- McDermott, James, 'Howard, Charles, Second Baron Howard of Effingham and First Earl of Nottingham (1536–1624)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/13885>>
- , 'Howard, William, First Baron Howard of Effingham (c. 1510–1573)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/13946>>
- McGladdery, C. A., 'Magnus, Thomas', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/17786>>
- Musson, A. J., 'Dymoke [Dymmok] Family (per. c. 1340–c. 1580)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/42007>>
- Narasingha P. Sil, 'Herbert, William, First Earl of Pembroke (1506/7–1570)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/13055>>
- Newcombe, D. G., 'Booth, Charles', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/42092>>
- , 'Kite, John', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/15693>>

- , ‘Tunstal [Tunstall], Cuthbert’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27817>>
- O’Day, Rosemary, ‘Ascham, Roger’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<https://www-oxforddnb-com.bris.idm.oclc.org/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-732?rskey=oFBmA3&result=1>> [accessed 16 May 2019]
- Orme, Nicholas, ‘Conway, Sir Hugh’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/109666>>
- , ‘Vesey [Formerly Harman], John’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28262>>
- Parry, Glyn, ‘Wolley, Sir John (d. 1596)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/29844>>
- Phillips, Gervase, ‘Sadler, Sir Ralph’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/24462>>
- Potter, David, ‘Gage, Sir John’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10272>>
- Rex, Richard, ‘Clerk, John (1481/2?–1541)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/5615>>
- , ‘Fisher, John [St John Fisher]’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/9498>>
- Riordan, Michael, ‘Englefield, Sir Thomas’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/57100>>
- , ‘West, Thomas, Eighth Baron West and Ninth Baron de La Warr (1472–1554)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/29099>>
- Robertson, Mary L., ‘Wingfield, Sir Richard’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/29739>>
- , ‘Wingfield, Sir Robert’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/29741>>
- Robison, William B., ‘Browne, Sir Anthony’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/3665>>
- , ‘Fitzwilliam, William’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/9663>>
- , ‘Walsingham, Sir Edmund’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28622>>
- Scarbrick, J. J., ‘Warham, William’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28741>>

Bibliography

- Schoeck, R. J., 'Elyot, Sir Richard', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/8781>>
- Shaw, Anthony N., 'Tregonwell, Sir John', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27683>>
- , 'Tregonwell, Sir John', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27683>>
- Sheils, William Joseph, 'Whitgift, John (1530/31?–1604)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/29311>>
- Sil, Narasingha P., 'Denny, Sir Anthony (1501–1549)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/7506>>
- , 'Gates, Sir John (1504–1553)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10448>>
- Stater, Victor, 'Knollys, William, First Earl of Banbury (c. 1545–1632)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/15760>>
- Tanner, Norman P., 'Nix [Nykke], Richard', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/20205>>
- Thompson, S., 'Fitzjames, Richard', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/9612>>
- Tittler, Robert, 'Bacon, Sir Nicholas (1510–1579)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/1002>>
- Trapp, J. B., 'Colet, John', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-5898>>
- Turvey, Roger, 'Perrot, Sir John (1528–1592)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/21986>>
- Usher, Brett, 'Wolman, Richard', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/29846>>
- Watkin, T.G., 'Herbert, Sir John (c. 1540–1617)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/68194>>
- Weikel, Ann, 'Bedingfeld [Bedingfield], Sir Henry (1509x11–1583)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/1936>>
- , 'Cornwallis, Sir Thomas (1518/19–1604)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6343>>
- , 'Jerningham [Jernegan], Sir Henry (1509/10–1572)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/14785>>
- , 'Waldegrave, Sir Edward (1516/17–1561)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28433>>

- Whittick, Christopher, 'Ernley, Sir John', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/69362>>
- Willen, Diane, 'Russell, John, First Earl of Bedford', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/24319>>
- Zell, Michael, 'Wotton, Nicholas', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/30002>>
- Zim, Rivkah, 'Sackville, Thomas, First Baron Buckhurst and First Earl of Dorset (c. 1536–1608)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/24450>>