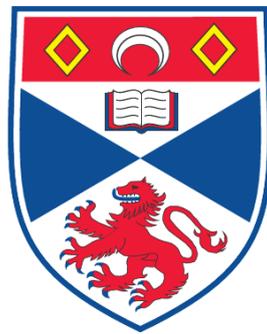


**WILLIAM PAGET AND THE LATE-HENRICAN POLITY, 1543-
1547**

Andrew Johnston

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St. Andrews**



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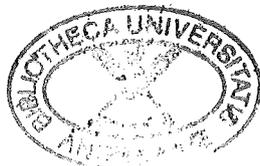
William Paget and the late-Henrican polity, 1543-1547

Andrew Johnston

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

University of St Andrews

December 2003



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Abstract

This thesis explores the late-Henrican polity through the archive and perspective of William Paget, Henry VIII's secretary at the end of his reign. Paget's papers as secretary (1543-1547), that form the basis of the thesis, are an extensive, unique and relatively under-used source. From this starting-point Paget's role as secretary is explored and he is revealed as the personal servant of the king, whose natural environment was the court. As such he was an influential source of counsel and perhaps the key patronage-broker at court. In this context Paget also had a significant influence over the operation of the dry stamp at the end of the reign. Equally, Paget's role in shaping the function of the secretary and his relations with the recently formed privy council was of considerable importance, providing the template for later Tudor secretaries.

Diplomacy in the uncertain world of the 1540s was one of Paget's primary concerns and his priorities can be seen as trying to provide security and stability for the realm. This is revealed not only in his 'Consultation' of August 1546 but also in his diplomacy with the French, the Schmalkaldic League and the Papacy. In this he sometimes found himself at odds with the king and leading a privy council united in a desire for peace.

Politically Paget has traditionally been cast as an ambitious *politique*, the 'master of practices' and part of the earl of Hertford's reform party. Whilst acknowledging Paget's close relations with Hertford this thesis questions the factional interpretation of the last years of the reign and argues that the predominant concern of Paget and his fellow privy councillors was a peaceful succession in which unanimity rather than conflict was the key-note.

CONTENTS

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	ii
<i>Abbreviations</i>	iii
<i>References</i>	vi
<i>Introduction</i>	vii
1. William Paget's secretarial archive	1
2. King's secretary	28
3. Counselling the king; Henry VIII, Paget and the privy council	67
4. The late-Henrican secretariat	104
5. Policy and diplomacy 1543-1547	141
6. Paget and his 'circle' 1543-1547	174
7. Paget and conciliar politics 1543-1547	208
<i>Conclusion</i>	238
<i>Appendices</i>	245
<i>Bibliography</i>	307

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On a more personal level I have many debts. Jon Cook read all of this thesis with remarkable attention to detail at the end of a busy term. Kate Marsden and James Pile offered invaluable help with Latin. Alan Bryson has read various drafts of most of the chapters and has always been a source of advice and friendship. Equally Natalie Mears and Lisa Ford have been generous fellow travellers and office-mates as Tudor Ph.D. students at St Andrews. On frequent trips to London I must thank Sam BurrIDGE, Marc Ragot, Martin and Vicki Barnet, Brandon Gardner and Matt Mullaly for floor space, sofa space or even, sometimes, a bed. If they wondered what I was doing with my life, occasionally betrayed by incredulous looks as I explained the existence of a history Ph.D. student, at least they never said so. The same applies to Anne and Nick May who have been constantly supportive and generous.

Several individuals require special thanks. My parents first made me realise the importance of education and I am very grateful for all they have done for me. Dave Verner-Jeffreys has been a good friend for many years and his presence only a couple of hours away during my time at St Andrews was invaluable. I can measure how long this thesis has been in progress by Stanley's lifetime. He has always provided light relief. Finally, only Juliet knows what she has had to put up with over the last few years. If you can dedicate a Ph.D. then this is dedicated to her with love and affection.

Abbreviations

<i>APC</i>	<i>Acts of the privy council of England</i> , eds. J.R. Dasent <i>et al</i> (n.s., xxxvii vols.; London, 1890-1964).
BL	British Library, London.
Bindoff	S.T. Bindoff (ed.), <i>The history of parliament. The House of Commons, 1509-1558</i> (iii vols.; London, 1982).
Briquet	C.M. Briquet, <i>Les filigranes. Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier depuis leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600. Avec 39 figures dans le texte et 16,122 facsimiles de filigranes</i> (iv vols.; Paris, 1907).
Caius	Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge
<i>CSP Spanish</i>	<i>Letters, despatches, and state papers, relating to the negotiations between England and Spain, preserved in the archives at Vienna, Brussels, Simancas and elsewhere</i> , eds. M.A.S. Hume, R. Tyler <i>et al</i> (xv vols.; London, 1862-1954).
C	Chancery
Corr. Pol.	Correspondence Politique
<i>DKR</i>	<i>Deputy keeper's reports. Reports of the deputy keeper of the Public Record Office</i> (London, 1840-).
<i>DNB</i>	<i>Dictionary of national biography</i> , eds. L. Stephen and S. Lee (lxiii vols.; London, 1885-1900).
DL	Duchy of Lancaster.

E	Exchequer.
fo(s).	folio(s).
GLRO	Greater London Record Office, London.
Hatfield, Cecil	Hatfield House, Hertfordshire, Cecil Papers.
<i>HO</i>	<i>A collection of ordinances and regulations for the government of the royal household</i> (Society of Antiquaries, London, 1790).
<i>Letters and papers</i>	<i>Letters and papers, foreign and domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII, 1509-1547</i> , eds. J.S. Brewer, J. Gairdner and R.H. Brodie (xxi vols. and Addenda; London, 1862-1932).
Longleat	Longleat House, Wiltshire.
LC	Lord Chamberlain's Department.
MS(S)	Manuscript(s)
MPI	Maps and Plans
n.s.	new series
n(s).	note(s)
NRO	Northamptonshire Record Office, Northamptonshire
OBS	Obsolete
o.s.	old series

PPC	<i>Proceedings and ordinances of the privy council of England, 1368-1542</i> , ed. N.H. Nicholas <i>et al</i> (vii vols.; London, 1834-1837).
PRO	Public Record Office, London
PSO	Privy Seal Office
ser.	series
SO	Signet Office
SP	State Paper
<i>State papers of Henry VIII</i>	<i>State papers during the reign of Henry VIII</i> (xi vols.; London, 1830-1852).
STC	<i>A short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English books printed abroad, 1475-1640</i> , eds. W.A. Jackson, F.S. Ferguson and K.F. Panzer (iii vols.; London, 1986-1991).
StaffRO	Staffordshire Record Office, Stafford

Note on quotations and references

All quotations are in the original spelling, the thorn has been transcribed as in the original, ‘u’, ‘v’, ‘i’ and ‘j’ have been transcribed as individual writers or printers used them and contractions have been expanded using italics (*maiestie*). Capitalisation has been modernised, where necessary. Textual additions above the line are shown using ^marks^. Conjectural reconstruction, where the manuscript has been damaged or where the words are not fully legible or have been omitted, is shown in [square brackets]. All dates are New Style.

Certain manuscripts have been refoiliated a number of times, though not consistently. References to PRO, SP 1 are to the foliation at the bottom right corner. For PRO, SP 4 the foliation is to the ink stamp found on each page. For PRO, SP 7, PRO, SP 10, PRO, SP 11, StaffRO, D 603 and Hatfield, Cecil MSS the reference is to the piece number. References to Longleat, Seymour MSS are to the foliation at the top right corner. For other manuscripts the foliation adopted is explained in the footnote.

INTRODUCTION

William Paget was born in humble obscurity in around 1506.¹ A Londoner, he was educated first at St Paul's school, then newly re-founded under the influence of John Colet, and from there proceeded to Trinity Hall, Cambridge to study civil law. At Cambridge he came under the wing of the master of Trinity Hall, Stephen Gardiner, along with his school contemporary, Thomas Wriothesley. Thereafter he gradually climbed the rungs to influence and high office through a combination of secretarial and diplomatic service. By the early 1530s he was a clerk of the signet and had been engaged on diplomatic missions in support of the divorce campaign and in Germany. It was also at this point that Paget drifted away from Gardiner and adopted Thomas Cromwell as his patron. In August 1540 he became clerk of the privy council and in the following year was sent to France as Henry VIII's ambassador. His big break, though, came on his return to England in April 1543 when he was appointed to the privy council and replaced Sir Ralph Sadler as one of Henry's two secretaries. From this point Paget became one of the dominant figures at the Tudor court and in political life. By the end of Henry's reign he was amongst the king's most trusted *confidants* and was one of the architects of the protectorate. Under Edward and Mary, despite occasional reversals, his administrative and diplomatic experience, combined with political nous, meant that he was an indispensable heavy-weight at the council board. Only under Elizabeth, for reasons that have never been fully explained, was he excluded from the privy council, five years before his death in 1563.

So for nearly twenty years in the 1540s and 1550s Paget was a major figure, and yet little has been written about him. There is only one full-length study by Dr S.R. Gammon, and, though published in 1972, it is really a substantially unrevised Ph.D. thesis from 1953.² It therefore represents scholarship that is fifty years old. The result is that we have two characterisations of Paget which sit uncomfortably beside each other. There is Paget the *politique*, the 'master of practices' handed down from Ponet; and there is Paget the rather dull bureaucrat, the Cromwell *manqué*. The reasons for this inadequate coverage are various, but two are particularly notable: the relative neglect of the mid-Tudor period and Paget's archival legacy. In comparison with the decades immediately before and after, the 1540s and 1550s have traditionally been pushed into the background. Seduced, like

¹ For the basic biographical information see, Bindoff, iii, pp. 42-46.

² S.R. Gammon, *Statesman and schemer. William, first Lord Paget* (Newton Abbot, 1973); A.J. Slavin, *Politics and profit. A study of Sir Ralph Sadler, 1507-1547* (Cambridge, 1966), p. vii.

contemporaries, by the dazzling young Henry VIII, his larger than life cardinal and the momentous events of the 1530s, historians have found the increasingly sick, irascible Henry of later years a distinctly less attractive prospect. Equally, Elizabeth and the Elizabethans have continually drawn the gaze whilst the reigns of her two siblings have appeared unwanted and unloved. G.R. Elton, for example, in his classic and influential textbook, *England under the Tudors*, first published in 1955, devoted 90 pages to Henry VIII's reign up to 1540, 125 to Elizabeth's, yet a mere 21 to Edward and Mary's reigns combined.³ Only relatively recently have attempts been made to redress this traditional imbalance.⁴

So the broad trends in Tudor historiography have not exactly forced Paget into the limelight. In addition to this uneven coverage of the Tudor century, Paget's patchy archive has not helped his cause. His working papers, built up over the course of nearly 40 years are largely lost and this necessarily imposes significant limits on what it is possible to know about Paget's life. Importantly, of those letters sent to Paget by others, few, if any, relate to matters other than high politics and royal administration and therefore any attempts to reconstruct less public connections and a more private world are further circumscribed. Unlike many Tudor secretaries, like Richard Pace, Thomas More, Gardiner, John Cheke or William Cecil, Paget produced no published work, no books, or statement of political creed. Further, we cannot say with any accuracy what books he read since his library has not survived and no near contemporary inventory of his library has yet come to light, therefore the kind of analysis which is possible with the likes of Pace, Smith or Cecil cannot be undertaken with Paget.⁵ Yet he was a man of considerable learning. As well as Cambridge he spent a year at the University of Paris in the late 1520s, spoke five or six languages and, according to Foxe, lectured in Philip Melanchthon's *Rhetorik* at Cambridge in the early 1520s.⁶ Indeed, such was his Latinity that he took a principal role, Meliphidippa, in the college

³ G.R. Elton, *England under the Tudors* (London, 1974 edn.).

⁴ In this respect Dr Knighton's new calendars for the reigns of Edward and Mary are clearly important, C.S. Knighton (ed.), *State papers of Edward VI. Calendar of state papers domestic series of the reign of Edward VI 1547-1553* (London, 1992); C.S. Knighton (ed.), *State papers of Mary I. Calendar of state papers domestic series of the reign of Mary I 1553-1558* (London, 1998). Also indicative are the recent studies of Edward's reign, J. Loach, *Edward VI* (London, 1999); Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Tudor church militant. Edward VI and the protestant reformation* (London, 1999); Stephen Alford, *Kingship and politics in the reign of Edward VI* (Cambridge, 2002).

⁵ For example, C. Curtis, 'Richard Pace; pedagogy, counsel and satire', unpublished University of Cambridge Ph.D. (1997); M. Dewar, *Sir Thomas Smith. A Tudor intellectual in office* (London, 1964); Stephen Alford, *The early Elizabethan polity. William Cecil and the British succession crisis, 1558-1569* (Cambridge, 1998).

⁶ Bindoff, iii, p. 43.

performance of Plautus's *Miles Gloriosus*, alongside Gardiner and Wriothesley. He was a patron of scholars. John Leland the antiquary and founder of the King's Library was a friend from schooldays. Roger Ascham in his preface to *Toxophilus* explained that Paget was responsible for 'setting forthe' the work and both Johann Sleidan and Richard Sherry dedicated books to him.⁷ And he certainly had a library. By 1617 the library of William, fifth Lord Paget at West Drayton was considerable, with an inventory which ran to 51 pages.⁸ Though Thomas, Secretary Paget's second son, was a noted bibliophile, his father founded this collection.⁹ Paget was thus, like other Tudor secretaries, the quintessential scholar and man of affairs, but one who, unlike More, seems to have had no difficulty in opting for the *vita activa* over a life of contemplation.

Unfortunately, despite tantalising glimpses, the evidence precludes detailed treatment of Paget as renaissance scholar and patron, an approach I somewhat naively hoped might be possible when research for this thesis began. Of course such vagaries of archival survival are what shape Tudor history. Thomas Wolsey's diplomacy has attracted far more analysis than his domestic legacy because virtually none of his papers relating to affairs within England exists. Even Elton cautioned, 'it may be that Cromwell appears to dominate his age so much because his papers have survived'.¹⁰ Cecil bestrides the second half of the sixteenth century, at least in part because of the size and scope of his extant archive. Ironically, until recently the career of Robert Beale remained under-researched precisely because of the volume and integrity of his unique archive.¹¹

The same considerations applied as this thesis took shape. When it became apparent that much of Paget's archive as secretary between 1543-1547 had survived, and that it was relatively under-used, it became the logical starting-point for an investigation into Paget. Thus the existence of the archive, combined with the relative neglect of the 1540s, has largely shaped the focus of this thesis. It is clearly not an attempt to write a conventional biography. There is certainly much more to be said about Paget, both before 1543 and especially after 1547. Detailed treatment of Paget's

⁷ Roger Ascham, *Toxophilus, the schole of shoting conteyned in two bookes* (London, 1545; STC 837), sigs. A2v-A3r; Johann Sleidan, *Summa doctrinae Platonibus de republica et legibus* (Strasburg, 1548); Richard Sherry, *A treatise of the figures of grammer and rhetorike* (London, 1555; STC 22429).

⁸ BL Harley MS. 3267.

⁹ Andrew H. Harrison, 'The books of Thomas, Lord Paget (c. 1544-1590)', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 6 (1972-1976), pp. 226-242.

¹⁰ G.R. Elton, *The Tudor revolution in government. Administrative changes in the reign of Henry VIII* (Cambridge, 1953), p. 5.

political experience under Edward and Mary, and the real reasons for his demise under Elizabeth would make a fascinating study. It is not, though, the one I have attempted here. Rather this is an attempt to use Paget and his archive as a means to examine the late-Henrican polity. This is the way the thesis has emerged. It does not, therefore, fit neatly into any particular historiographical debate, ranging as it does across administration, diplomacy and politics. This is not to say that there are not clear preoccupations which run through the thesis, and these will be quickly and readily apparent. I hope that some sense of place, the importance of the court and the geography of the royal palaces themselves seep into the work. The idea of counsel and how the king interacted with his courtiers is never far from the surface. Nor is the idea that politics is about personalities who have both a public and a private life, that the distinctions between both are blurred, and that the 'informal' is at least as important as the 'formal' in understanding politics and political culture. The influence of particular historians, notably John Guy, David Starkey and Simon Thurley should therefore be obvious. Equally, at different points in different chapters I do stumble over certain debates that are addressed but rarely is there a categorical answer. Anybody who has ever looked at the 1540s, particularly its politics, knows that certainty is elusive. David Starkey has argued that, 'the evidence for Henry VIII's last years is the most complex and hardest to interpret of the whole reign'.¹² Similarly, when trying to construct a convincing and coherent account of Stephen Gardiner's role in that crucial but evidentially inscrutable year, 1546, Glyn Redworth conceded that, 'all accounts are therefore obliged to be in the nature of interpretative essays'.¹³ Throughout the thesis I have tried to present evidence in this light and draw attention to these difficulties.

The thesis itself can be broken down into three sections; the first four chapters, in some respects the heart of the thesis, are an investigation into Paget as Henry VIII's secretary; chapter five looks at Paget's role in diplomacy between 1544-1547; chapters six and seven focus on politics. The starting point for this research was a close study of the state papers, Paget's secretarial archive, between 1543-1547. Chapter one is an analysis of this archive and seeks to identify what extant papers constitute this archive, what collections they come from and how they have survived the last 450 years. Supplementing this chapter is Appendix 1, which sifts through SP1, by far the largest source of Paget's archive, and distinguishes those papers which properly belong in the

¹¹ Mark Taviner, 'Robert Beale and the Elizabethan polity', unpublished University of St Andrews Ph.D. (2000), p. 2.

¹² David Starkey, *The reign of Henry VIII: personalities and politics* (London, 1985), p. 169.

secretarial archive from those which subsequently came to be mixed with it. From this starting-point chapter two, three and four logically follow. Chapters two and three focus on the dual position Paget held as both the king's secretary and a privy councillor. Chapter two begins by locating Paget firmly in the environs of the court, and here Appendix 2, which is a comparison of the itineraries of Henry, Paget and the privy council, provides some evidential moorings. Thereafter the chapter looks at what the job of secretary to Henry entailed. Paget was the focus for a vast correspondence and large office. It fell to him to manage this avalanche of paper, to present correspondence to the king, to draft Henry's letters, to provide him with counsel and to act as his orator. Equally, proximity to the king made him an extremely powerful patronage-broker, and this last dimension to his role leads to a consideration of the relationship between Paget and the gentlemen of the privy chamber, particularly over the operation of the dry stamp at the end of the reign. Chapter three looks at the way in which Paget's dual position as king's secretary and privy councillor influenced his role: in particular it analyses the powerful position Paget enjoyed as the conduit of information between the king and his privy council. The first part of the chapter therefore looks in some detail at the debate surrounding the location of the privy council chamber and from there it considers more generally the ways in which Henry and his privy council interacted and how the king was counselled. The last part of this section, chapter four, looks more broadly at how the office over which Paget presided operated and considers the personnel, the drafting and sorting of correspondence, and the work of the clerks of the signet and the clerks of the privy council.

Chapter five, to some extent, stands alone. Given that most of the paper which passed through his hands, much of the counsel which he imparted and many hours of his time were devoted to England's diplomatic position in the increasingly uncertain world of the 1540s, it would have been difficult, and perhaps perverse, not to consider the nature of Paget's diplomacy in some detail. This was particularly the case after I discovered an extremely revealing and little-used document written by Paget in August 1546 which said a great deal about his vision of England's position in Europe. The chapter begins with a consideration of this 'consultation', a full transcription of which appears in Appendix 3, and then moves on to look at the broader factors which influenced Paget and the privy council in their attitudes to foreign powers. The chapter ends by looking at three important diplomatic episodes which provide case-studies of Paget's approach to diplomacy. At the same

¹³ G. Redworth, *In defence of the church catholic. The life of Stephen Gardiner* (Oxford, 1990), p. 231, n.

time this chapter does touch upon many of the themes relating to counsel, the privy council and Paget's relationship with the king outlined in the first four chapters. It also begins to consider the structure of politics at the end of the reign.

It is politics and specifically Paget's experience of politics which provides the focus for the last two chapters. This part of the thesis treads on ground which is both relatively well-worn and controversial. Chapter six sidesteps the better-known debates of the 1540s and attempts to investigate Paget's networks of relationships and connections below the level of the privy council, in particular those within his secretariat, Prince Edward's household and at court. Although many of the sources are relatively familiar it does, I think, suggest a new perspective on Paget, his views and outlook. Chapter seven, in contrast, plunges into the debates surrounding the factional, or otherwise, nature of the last years of Henry's reign. Again, the focus is very much on Paget's experience of this and considers his relationships with the key figures like Hertford, Lisle, Gardiner and Wriothesley, before looking specifically at the year 1546 and, finally, the highly contentious issue of Henry's will itself.

1. William Paget's secretarial archive

William Paget's books and papers, the raw materials with which one would seek to reconstruct his world and life, have unsurprisingly become scattered throughout a number of collections and archives since his death in 1563. What remains is variable, both in volume and content. The vast majority of Paget-related material both before and after his secretaryship (1543-1547) consists of out-letters sent by Paget to others. For the period prior to April 1543 most of this correspondence can be found in the Henrican state papers and deals predominantly with his diplomacy in Germany in the early 1530s and his service as Henry VIII's ambassador to Francis I between 1541-1543.¹ From the latter period there also exists the letter book he kept as ambassador, now in the collection at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.² Paget's extant correspondence after 1547 is much greater and considerably more diffuse. Unsurprisingly, some of these letters are found amongst the state papers in the Public Record Office and similar collections in the British Library. Other letters are in private collections, like the Cecil manuscripts at Hatfield House. Of this post-1547 material there also exist a number of letter books kept by Paget, recording his out-letters, including the important one in the Fitzwilliam of Milton Collection held at the Northamptonshire Record Office. Some attempts have been made to draw together the papers from this period in *The letters of William, Lord Paget of Beaudesert, 1547-1563*, edited by B.L. Beer and S.M. Jack.³ It is important to note, though, that, with the possible exception of the letter books, none of this correspondence would have constituted part of Paget's archive, that is to say the papers in his possession, at his death in 1563. One might expect to find Paget's in-letters and office papers amongst the Paget family archives in the manuscripts of the marquess of Anglesey, but this collection is indeed 'disappointingly incomplete'.⁴

¹ These can all be found calendared in *Letters and papers*. The only letter I have found in this period outside SP 1 is, Cromwell to Paget, 13 October 1539, StaffRO, D 603/K/1/1/3.

² Caius MS. 362/597; *A descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts in the library of Gonville and Caius College* ed. M.R. James (ii vols.; Cambridge, 1907-1914), ii, pp. 629-630. For the importance of the letter book see, D.L. Potter, 'Diplomacy in the mid-sixteenth century: England and France, 1536-1550', unpublished University of Cambridge Ph.D. (1973), p. 311, n. 4.

³ B.L. Beer and S.M. Jack (eds.), *The letters of William, Lord Paget of Beaudesert, 1547-1563, Camden Miscellany*, 25 (Camden Society, 4th ser., 13; London, 1974), pp. 1-142. For the provenance of this material see, pp. 3-9. For the Fitzwilliam of Milton letter book see also, B.L. Beer, 'The Paget letter book', *Manuscripta*, 14 (1970), pp. 176-179

⁴ Beer and Jack, *The letters of William, Lord Paget*, p. 3. With the exception of 20 of the earliest letters in the collection, which are still kept at Plas Newydd, Anglesey, the papers of the marquess of Anglesey are permanently deposited in the Staffordshire Record Office and the Greater London Record Office. Those relating to William Paget are, respectively, StaffRO, D 603 and GLRO, Acc. 466. The 20 earliest letters

It is perhaps partly due to this unpromising archival legacy that an important figure like Paget has attracted surprisingly little attention from modern historians. It may equally be due to the fact that his archive as secretary (1543-1547) is dauntingly extensive. As Henry's secretary from April 1543 (and the dominant secretary after Wriothesley's appointment as lord chancellor in May 1544) until the king's death in January 1547, Paget stood at the head of the nerve-centre of Henrican administration. At the helm of an ever-expanding office Paget's secretariat was responsible for the correspondence of both the king and his privy council. This was staffed by four signet clerks, French and Latin secretaries, three clerks of the privy council and other now anonymous clerks responsible for drafting documents, sorting incoming correspondence and other secretarial work one would associate with a busy office.⁵ This office clearly generated and sorted a vast body of documents, which in the 1540s was particularly extensive due to the unprecedented demands of war and diplomacy.

It is Paget's secretarial archive which forms the basis of this thesis. However, unlike his later letters, no attempt has been made to reconstruct this archive. The editors of the 1547-1563 collection explain that Paget's 'correspondence from the earlier period has been omitted because the larger part of it has been calendared in the *Letters and papers of Henry VIII*.⁶ In fact, Paget's secretarial archive is dispersed amongst a number of collections and, although much was calendared in the nineteenth century by the editors of *Letters and papers*, the integrity of the original archive has been lost due to the actions of archivists and the vagaries of the 450 years since Paget's death. Yet anyone seeking to understand the office of secretary and indeed the way the polity functioned in the late Henrican period needs to try to 'reconstruct in his mind the content and arrangement of the original archive'.⁷ The comments Professor Guy makes about the need for the historian of the star chamber to reconstruct the archive are equally valid for the historian of the secretary. In particular one wants to know about the provenance of documents in an archive, or as

still in Anglesey date from Henry VIII's reign, photocopies of which are at Stafford, StaffRO, D 603/K/1/1/1-24. GLRO, Acc. 466 is a collection of predominantly post-1547 material relating to Paget's estates in and around London. These have been used by S.A.J. McVeigh, *Drayton of the Pagets* (West Drayton, 1970)

⁵ For a consideration of the personnel of the office see below, chapter 4.

⁶ Beer and Jack, *The letters of William, Lord Paget*, p. 1.

⁷ John Guy, 'Wolsey's star chamber: a study in archival reconstruction', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 5 (1975), p. 170.

Elton put it, lamenting the reordering of Thomas Cromwell's papers, 'one wants to know where the paper was found and preferably how it got there'.⁸

Today the vast bulk of Paget's papers are to be found in the Public Record Office, the main collection being State papers, Henry VIII: general series (SP 1).⁹ State papers: documents signed by stamp (SP 4) also contain a few rough drafts from Paget's office.¹⁰ A substantial number of documents can also be found in State papers Scotland, Henry VIII (SP 49) and State papers Ireland, Henry VIII (SP 60). In the British Library a large collection of state papers relating to Scotland can be found in Additional MSS 32646-32657. Many of these are Henrican. The vast majority relate to the 1540s and would therefore have constituted part of Paget's archive. Indeed some are drafts in Paget's hand and include some rough notes made by Paget, apparently at the end of 1543, in the manner of a remembrance or memorial relating to the actions of James Hamilton, earl of Arran and Cardinal David Beaton.¹¹ In the Cottonian collection some of Paget's papers relating to French affairs are in Caligula E iv and one stray letter to him from Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, in 1546 has found its way into Titus B ii.¹²

Outside of the capital the manuscripts of the marquess of Anglesey both at Plas Newydd, Anglesey, and at the Staffordshire Record Office contain some of Paget's secretarial papers, though the majority relate to estate matters or to the period after 1547. At the Northamptonshire Record Office amongst the collection of the earl Fitzwilliam of Milton is the Paget letter book, which, although it largely relates to the Edwardian period, including some of Paget's important letters to Edward Seymour, duke of Somerset, does contain some Henrican material. Finally, there are at Hatfield House a small number of Paget's papers, in particular some notes made by him

⁸ G.R. Elton, *England, 1200-1640* (London, 1969), p. 72.

⁹ Here I am principally concerned with what have become known as the state papers. The many other extant manuscripts generated by Paget's office amongst the exchequer, privy seal office and chancery files are considered below, chapter 4.

¹⁰ The dry stamp papers are dealt with more fully below, chapter 2.

¹¹ BL Additional MS. 32653, fos. 221r-222r.

¹² The papers in BL Cotton MS. Caligula E. iv, represent part of Paget's archive when ambassador in France (1541-1543), as well as those when secretary. One manuscript which belongs with this body of papers is BL Cotton MS. Otho C. x, fos. 256r-258v (pencil top right), which is a letter from the privy council to Paget, 12th Nov 1541. The reason it has strayed from the Caligula collection is presumably due to its importance. It is one of the fullest accounts of the fall of Catherine Howard and her adulterous liaisons and is printed *in extensio* in, *PPC*, vii, pp. 352-356. For more on the provenance of this collection see below, pp. 19-20.

probably in the late autumn of 1544 relating to finance and to the question of whether it was necessary to call parliament.¹³

The purpose of what follows here is essentially twofold. Firstly, it is to identify what extant documents originally constituted part of Paget's secretarial archive and to sort from his archive those other papers which have been incorporated with them in the last 450 years. In so doing, some light is also shed on how the papers of contemporaries found their way into Paget's archive during his time as secretary. Secondly, some attempt is made to investigate the provenance of these manuscripts and to establish how Paget's papers ended up where they are today.

I

Of all of these archives the most important, and daunting, is SP 1. It is daunting not least because SP 1 constitutes an archive of 228 manuscript volumes for the period 1509-1547 and even in the relatively short years of Paget's tenure as secretary from 1543 it amounts to 51 manuscript volumes which contain in the region of 4714 individual manuscripts. However, perhaps the greatest problem facing the historian trying to reconstruct a secretarial archive from SP 1 is that it has suffered badly from poor archival practice, in a number of respects.¹⁴ Firstly, the original order of papers was broken up and reordered on a chronological basis, mainly in the nineteenth century, thus destroying the integrity of the archives of individual ministers, most infamously Cromwell's papers.¹⁵ In this respect SP 1 differs little from the other state papers. There are no Tudor domestic papers and no Tudor foreign papers prior to 1580 which have the character of an 'organic deposit'.¹⁶ However, SP 1 differs from the other state papers in two important respects. Firstly, it is an artificial collection made up primarily of the confiscated papers of Thomas Wolsey and

¹³ Hatfield, Cecil MS. 36, nos. 21-23.

¹⁴ For a fuller discussion of this see Elton, *England, 1200-1640*, p. 72.

¹⁵ J.S. Brewer, the first editor of *Letters and papers*, himself accepted that a return to the original order of the Henrican papers would have been desirable, but argued that this was impossible by the time he came to order and catalogue the manuscripts because of the actions of previous archivists such as Arthur Agarde. It was this which led to their chronological ordering, *Letters and papers*, I, pp. ix-x.

¹⁶ Elton, *England, 1200-1640*, p. 73.

Cromwell.¹⁷ It is not, taken as a whole, primarily the archive of the king's secretary, which the state papers subsequent to 1547 generally are.¹⁸ Secondly, again unlike the later collections of state papers, SP 1 contains a host of material included by the Victorian archivists, who constructed the collection from a variety of non-secretarial sources, with no indication of the provenance of this material.

How does this affect reconstructing the secretarial archive 1543-1547? Clearly these deficiencies create problems. One wants to know if a document was originally to be found in the archive and this engenders considerable uncertainty. However, it is possible to build up, with some accuracy, an idea of the provenance of many of the documents in SP 1 relating to the period from Paget's appointment as secretary to the end of the reign. Of the 4714 documents in SP 1 during these years, well over two-thirds can clearly be identified as papers which would have constituted the secretarial archive. These are the in-letters sent to Henry VIII, the privy council, or to the secretaries themselves, Thomas Wriothesley, William Petre or Paget himself. In addition there are the numerous drafts of letters of the privy council, Henry VIII, or, less frequently, drafts of letters to be sent by the secretaries in their own name. Also within this body of documents one can include those papers which clearly bear the hand of one of the secretaries or one of the other individuals who worked within the office.

It is once this large body of papers have been accounted for that the difficulties begin with the substantial remainder of approximately 1,364 papers whose provenance, at first sight, is less readily identifiable. Nevertheless, with some investigation the source of many of these documents can be established.¹⁹ A note on method is necessary at this point. The first body of documents considered here are those which would not have originally constituted the secretarial archive and have found their way into SP 1 through the additions of archivists. Thereafter follows an analysis of those which probably would have been in the secretarial archive. The means of reaching this conclusion are various. For some documents it is clear from internal evidence why they found their

¹⁷ These were originally held in the Chapter House at Westminster Abbey as part of the records of the exchequer, treasury of receipt. It was not until the state paper commission set about publishing transcripts of the Henrican state papers in the 1830s that they were transferred to the state paper office.

¹⁸ Of course most of Cromwell's papers are those from his time as secretary, but they are papers seized at his fall and not deposited on leaving office.

¹⁹ Of that 1,364 one can disregard the 31 later or modern copies of original documents, see Appendix 1, pp. 245-246. The following analysis of SP 1 is complemented by the data provided in Appendix 1.

way into the archive. In particular, papers were often enclosed in letters to Paget, or to the privy council, or to the king and because of the chronological arrangement of SP 1 this becomes obscured. The editors of *Letters and papers* were inconsistent in noting when a document was enclosed in another letter and more often than not they failed to include a footnote to that effect.²⁰ This is particularly the case when an enclosure dates from some time before the letter in which it is enclosed. On other documents it is possible to discern an endorsement, sometimes with just the date and the names of the correspondents, but sometimes with more detailed information, which identifies it as having been received by Paget's office. Finally, and fortuitously, there exists an inventory taken shortly after Henry VIII's death, probably by Ralph Sadler, of 'bagges of bokes *lettres* and other writenges remayneng in the study at *Westminster*'.²¹ With the use of this inventory it is therefore possible to locate with some accuracy what papers in SP 1 were in the secretarial archive at the end of the reign. It should, though, be noted that the inventory is variable in the precision with which it describes a paper. Often one has a reference only to a bag of papers relating to a particular country. Whilst this is of course valuable information, it is of limited use. It is only rarely that one has a reference to a particular document in sufficient detail that it can be identified beyond any doubt.²²

Between April 1543-January 1547 there are in the region of 150 letters and papers in SP 1 which make up the correspondence of the Johnson family who were merchants of the Staple and wool exporters. Because the firm went bankrupt in 1553 the papers were confiscated by the privy council and ended up amongst the public archives.²³ Those letters which covered the Henrican period were integrated with SP 1.²⁴ Others relating to the Henrican period which were not initially bound in SP 1 and included in *Letters and papers* found their way into SP 1 later and are

²⁰ Indeed occasionally the editors of *Letters and papers* noted on the manuscript itself that a paper was enclosed in a letter but failed to include a footnote to that effect in *Letters and papers* itself. For example, PRO, SP 1/213, fo. 54v. For other pitfalls associated with over-reliance on *Letter and papers* see, R.W. Hoyle, *The pilgrimage of grace and the politics of the 1530s* (Oxford, 2001), pp. viii-ix.

²¹ PRO, SP 45/20, fo. 1r. See also, 30th *DKR*, Appendix, pp. 212-224. It is here that Sadler is identified as the individual responsible for this inventory.

²² For example the rather incongruous case of a licence to Dr Gwent allowing him to remain covered in the presence of the king due to a skin condition on his scalp. A modern copy of this licence exists in the state papers, PRO, SP 1/180, fo. 75r-v, yet it is also noted in the 1547 inventory, 'a pardon for doctor Gwent for his bonet', PRO, SP 45/20, fo. 6r.

²³ For the history of the Johnson papers see Elton, *England, 1200-1640*, pp. 164-165. For a more detailed account see B. Winchester, *Tudor family portrait* (London, 1955), pp. 13-14. After seizure by the privy council the papers went to the lord chancellor and thereafter to the Tower of London. There they remained until the nineteenth century when they were transferred to the record office at Chancery Lane.

calendared in the *Addenda to Letters and papers*. The Johnson papers covering the Edwardian period can be found in State papers domestic: supplementary (SP 46).

There are also in the region of 30 documents in SP 1 which relate specifically to Katherine Parr, and particularly her lands, and to her auditor Anthony Bouchier.²⁵ These papers include letters to Bouchier dealing with the queen's revenues, drafts in his hand, and miscellaneous memoranda generated by his office.²⁶ The reason these have survived is because Thomas Seymour, Lord Seymour of Sudeley, married Katherine in the summer of 1547 and would have acquired her papers on her death in September 1548. Seymour himself was arrested for treason and executed in March 1549 and his papers, including those kept by Bouchier, were seized.²⁷ The Bouchier papers seem to have met a similar fate to the Johnson papers, in that although some of these were integrated with SP 1, others can be found in SP 46

Particularly numerous in SP 1 are papers that ought to belong to the archives of the court of augmentations.²⁸ Despite the fact that the records of the court were generally well preserved and kept centrally in one place, within the augmentation office of the exchequer, many have strayed into other collections and some were incorporated into SP 1.²⁹ These documents are various in nature and scope. Some are letters to the chief officers of the court, such as Sir Richard Riche, Sir Edward North and Sir John Williams.³⁰ However, there are also a large number of papers relating to the work of the court at the end of Henry's reign in chasing up debts to the crown in the form of rent arrears from crown lands. As with the Johnson and Bouchier papers, the Edwardian papers which strayed from the main archives of the court can be found in SP 46.

Just as the papers of Cromwell and Wolsey, and indeed Bouchier and the Johnsons, are evidence of the unfortunate fate of their owners, so in SP 1 one finds evidence of other attainted individuals, whose papers have been incorporated into the archive. Sir John Gates, the brother-in-law of Sir

²⁴ See Appendix 1, pp. 246-251.

²⁵ See Appendix 1, pp. 251-252.

²⁶ For example, PRO, SP 1/194, fos. 202r-203v; PRO, SP 1/196, fo. 10r-v; PRO, SP 1/217, fo. 174r-v.

²⁷ Bindoff, i, pp. 465-466.

²⁸ For a full discussion of these see, W.C. Richardson, *A history of the court of augmentations, 1536-1554* (Baton Rouge, La., 1961), pp. 475-491.

²⁹ See Appendix 1, pp. 252-256. Those in SP 1 total in the region of 84.

³⁰ For a list of the chief officers of the court of augmentations see Richardson, *Court of augmentations*, pp. 492-494.

Anthony Denny, was a member of the king's privy chamber from February 1542 until the end of Henry's reign and became vice-chamberlain and a privy councillor under Edward. However, with the accession of Mary I he was attainted and executed on 22 August 1553.³¹ A small number of his papers were incorporated into SP 1.³² On the same day Gates went to the block John Dudley, by then the duke of Northumberland, was also put to death and approximately 19 of his papers from the Henrican period also found their way into SP 1.³³ Over six years before Gates and Dudley were executed, Thomas Howard, third duke of Norfolk, and Surrey awaited a similar fate. Surrey was executed and a few of his papers are now in SP 1. The old duke famously escaped execution due to Henry's timely death but his papers were also seized and some are now in SP 1.³⁴

II

Clearly none of the papers discussed so far properly belongs to the secretarial archive, though analysis of the 1547 inventory indicates that the papers of attainted individuals did find their way into the archive at that time.³⁵ However, a number of other groups of papers now in SP 1 may have found their way into the secretarial archive in the 1540s. In 1545 the privy council and its offshoot, the privy council in London issued a large number of warrants for payment which were sent to the exchequer. On the strength of these warrants, signed by privy councillors, the exchequer was to release money, often to the bearer of the warrant, which was to be put to the use specified on the warrant. This was generally for the purpose of defence. A large number of these warrants survive in SP 1.³⁶ Why they are there is unclear, one would expect to find them in the archive of the exchequer; possibly they were returned to the privy council once the payment had been made.³⁷

³¹ For a full treatment of his career see, Narasingha P. Sil, 'The rise and fall of Sir John Gates', *Historical Journal*, 24 (1981), pp. 929-943.

³² See Appendix 1, p. 256. More of Gates's papers were later included in the *Addenda to Letters and papers*.

³³ See Appendix 1, pp. 256-257.

³⁴ See Appendix 1, pp. 257-258. Internal evidence in the Norfolk papers suggests that they may also have found their way into the secretarial archive in the course of conciliar business in much the same way as Wriothesley's papers seem to have done, see below, pp. 15-16.

³⁵ For example, 'A bag of *lettres* confessions etc touching the matyer of the last Quene attaynted', PRO, SP 45/20, fo. 1v.

³⁶ See Appendix 1, pp. 258-261.

³⁷ There is no mention of these warrants in the 1547 inventory of papers.

Equally, there also exist a large number of warrants, mainly sent by Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, to Sadler in the first half of 1544. During this period Hertford was lieutenant in the north and in charge of the English campaign against the Scots in the spring of that year. Sadler was high treasurer of the wars in Scotland from February 1544-October 1545. These warrants form the bulk of Sadler's extant archive for these years, though there are also a few letters to him and a number of drafts in his hand.³⁸ Most of the warrants from Hertford cover the month from the end of April 1544 to the end of May 1544 when the English army left Newcastle, advanced north to sack Edinburgh and returned back to Newcastle. They abruptly end on 27 May, shortly after which Hertford returned to London, arriving in the capital at the latest by 26 June 1544. The striking point about all of these papers is the fact that, with the exception of the first document, a warrant to Sadler to pay certain moneys to the lord high admiral, Viscount Lisle (John Dudley), and a few documents which date from 1545, all the papers relate to, and indeed are concentrated in, the period of Hertford's lieutenancy in the north.³⁹ The fact that they essentially begin with Hertford's arrival and more significantly effectively end with his departure must create a strong presumption that Hertford kept these papers and presumably deposited them in the secretarial archive on his return to London.⁴⁰

Similar comments might be made about two other groups of papers: Sir William Parr's papers from when he was lord warden of the marches from April-December 1543; and Charles Brandon, first duke of Suffolk's papers from his period as lord lieutenant on the borders from January 1543 until March 1544.⁴¹ There are 64 letters addressed to Parr, brother of Katherine, covering the period April-December 1543, when he was largely based at Warkworth, Northumberland, on the north east coast of England between Newcastle and Berwick. Most of the letters are from the headquarters of the northern army under Suffolk's lieutenancy based largely at Darlington.⁴² There are, though, a few from the privy council and Wriothesley, at court. Significantly these papers

³⁸ See Appendix 1, pp. 261-263. The rest of Sadler's papers for these years can be found in PRO, SP 49 and BL Additional MSS. 32650-32656. In fact, Sadler's letters in SP 1 are generally drafts or office copies which he would have kept. The final drafts which were actually sent back to Henry and the privy council are generally to be found in the BL Additional MS. collection.

³⁹ The warrant to Sadler to pay monies to Lisle is dated 27 February 1544, PRO, SP 1/183, fo. 136r. The papers from 1545 are PRO, SP 1/200, fos. 227r-228v; PRO, SP 1/200, fos. 229r-230v; PRO, SP 1/201, fos. 102r-103v; PRO, SP 1/201, fo. 172r-v.

⁴⁰ There is no specific mention of these papers in the 1547 inventory of papers but they might have been accounted for under the more general heading 'A bag of matiers of Scotland', PRO, SP 45/20, fo. 1r.

⁴¹ See Appendix 1, pp. 263-267.

⁴² Only for a short period in the summer of 1543 did Suffolk move north to Newcastle.

abruptly end with Parr's recall south. On 25 September Parr was called to Darlington and by 27 September was at Darlington.⁴³ He seems to have remained there until at least 18 October and by 23 December was at court for his creation as the earl of Essex at Hampton Court.⁴⁴ What then happened to the papers he had accumulated during this time? The last dated extant letter is the one recalling him to Darlington of 25 September. The presumption must be that either he brought them south to London or, more probably, they were left with Suffolk at Darlington and incorporated with the duke's papers from his time as lord lieutenant in the north. Of Suffolk's papers only around 32 are extant from the period April 1543-March 1544 when he returned to court and passed the office on to Hertford. Some of these papers are letters to Suffolk; others are drafts or copies by his clerk. There are also a number of accounts from John Uvedale, who was treasurer of the garrisons in the north from August 1542 to January 1544 and then deputy to Sadler as under treasurer of the wars against the Scots, until resuming his former position in October 1545.⁴⁵ For much of the period of Suffolk's lieutenancy Uvedale seems to have been based in Newcastle and sent these accounts to the duke.⁴⁶ Again the presumption must be that Suffolk brought these papers back down to London in March 1544 and deposited them in the secretarial archive.⁴⁷

Another group of papers which seem to form a separate collection are those of Sir John Wallop during 1543-1544.⁴⁸ Throughout this period Wallop was captain of the army in Flanders and deputy of Guisnes. Many of these letters are either from Adrien de Croy, the Imperial governor of Flanders and Artois, or Oudart du Bies, the marechal of France, seneschal of the Boulonnois and lieutenant of Picardy. Within this collection are also included a number of letters to Lord Maltravers, captain of Calais. Some of these papers were clearly sent to Paget's office at the time. For example, on 27 June 1543 Francis I wrote to du Bies with regard to negotiations between himself and Henry VIII.⁴⁹ He instructed du Bies to inform Maltravers of his reply and indicated

⁴³ Suffolk, Tunstall and Browne to Parr, 25 September 1543, PRO, SP 1/181, fo. 169r-v; Suffolk, Parr, Tunstall and Browne to the privy council, 27 September 1543, BL Additional MS. 32652, fos. 153r-154v.

⁴⁴ Suffolk, Parr and Tunstall to the privy council, 18 October 1543, BL Additional MS. 35652, fos. 221r-222v. For his creation as earl of Essex, BL Additional MS. 6113, fo. 113r.

⁴⁵ Bindoff, iii, pp. 508-509.

⁴⁶ There are 11 of these accounts but PRO, SP 1/183, fo. 51r. makes it clear that his accounts were enclosed in letters to Suffolk.

⁴⁷ There is no specific mention of these papers in the 1547 inventory, though they again might have been considered as part of the papers covering Scottish affairs. There is, though, a clear reference to Uvedale's accounts in the inventory, PRO, SP 45/20, fo. 11r.

⁴⁸ See Appendix 1, p. 267.

⁴⁹ Francis I to du Bies, 27 June 1543, PRO, SP 1/179, fo. 125r-v.

that he wished to receive an answer from the English king. This letter from Francis I was duly enclosed in du Bies's letter to Maltravers, which requested an answer from Henry within twenty days.⁵⁰ The communication which must have followed from Maltravers to Henry VIII or one of the secretaries has not survived, but there must be a strong presumption that Maltravers sent both the French letters back to England. Further evidence that these papers were sent back to the secretariat at the time is provided by a two page paper in French which is essentially intelligence with regard to the movements of French troops in the late summer of 1543 at the time when Wallop was captain of the English force sent to support the Imperial forces. The endorsement reads 'Advertisements sent from Mr. Wallop'.⁵¹ However, we can locate this collection with certainty to the secretarial archive by 1547 as they are included in the 1547 inventory of papers.⁵²

Other documents which one can say with certainty found their way into the archive during Paget's time as secretary are papers from Nicholas Wotton.⁵³ From April-November 1543 Wotton was ambassador to Mary of Hungary, thereafter he became English ambassador at Charles V's court until his return to England in 1546 and his appointment as a privy councillor in April of that year. It is clear from the archive that Wotton was particularly diligent in sending to Paget such intelligence and information as was required or which he thought appropriate and we are fortunate in having particularly clear evidence of his contribution to the secretarial archive. In May 1543 Wotton was sending intelligence of Charles V's movements in the form of copies of two letters which had been sent to Mary of Hungary.⁵⁴ At the beginning of June 1543 Thomas Seymour (who was joint ambassador with Wotton at Mary of Hungary's court from May-July 1543) received a letter from a Petrus a Boes, offering to provide troops for Henry VIII.⁵⁵ Internal evidence, it is clearly a communication intended to be passed on to Henry, in addition to the endorsements, provides much evidence that it was sent back to England. What puts this beyond doubt is a letter from Seymour and Wotton to Henry VIII of 6 June in which they explain, 'we have of late

⁵⁰ Du Bies to Lord Maltravers, 30 June 1543, PRO, SP 1/179, fo. 147r-v.

⁵¹ PRO, SP 1/181, fo. 208r-v.

⁵² '*lettres and writenges touching guisnes and from mr wallop being Capytayn general of thayd ministered to Themperor anno xxxv Regis Henrici viii*', PRO, SP 45/20, fo. 2v.

⁵³ See Appendix 1, p. 268.

⁵⁴ PRO, SP 1/177, fo. 187r-v. The letters are copied, in Wotton's distinctive italic hand, onto one folio headed 'A cople of the secretaryes letter to the queene Regent'. The folio also bears a secretarial endorsement, 'Copie of the *lettres* of Themperors embarkeing'.

⁵⁵ PRO, SP 1/178, fo. 126r-v. The letter bears a note dating receipt of the letter in Wotton's hand underneath the address and a secretarial endorsement, 'heir peter de Boyes to Sir Thomas Seymour', PRO, SP 1/178, fo. 127v.

received ^thes^ letter herein inclosyd from one peter de boes to whom we have wryten that we wyll advertyse your highnes of it *and* upon forther knowlege of your pleasure to signifie unto hym accordynglie'.⁵⁶ On 20 June 1543 Seymour and Wotton were again communicating with Henry VIII and, on this occasion, the privy council.⁵⁷ Enclosed in their letter to the privy council was one they had received from William Castlyn, governor of the English merchants at Antwerp.⁵⁸ In the following year, as Wotton dragged around after Charles V, while the emperor conducted his campaign against Francis I, a French herald, Francois Maillard, was taken and questioned by Charles's secretary, Joise Bave.⁵⁹ Not only did Wotton include a copy of the letter given to the herald when he was sent on his way, but he also supplies a copy of the interrogation to which the unfortunate French herald was subjected.⁶⁰

A particularly good example of Wotton's intelligence gathering comes in the form of the treaty signed between Charles V and Denmark in May 1544. In SP 1 there are two copies of this treaty one in 'duche' and one translated into Latin.⁶¹ The German version bears a heading in Wotton's hand and the Latin text has an endorsement also penned by Wotton. This in itself is enough to suggest that this was acquired by Wotton in order to be sent back to the secretariat. However, we are fortunate to have a bill of expenses for May and June 1544, sent back to England by Wotton. Included in this is an entry detailing the sum, 24s, which Wotton paid to secretary Bave's clerks to write out a copy of the treaty with Denmark.⁶² In the same expenses account there are further sums expended for the purpose of acquiring copies of papers which would have similarly been sent back to the secretariat. For the rest of his time as ambassador Wotton continued to send back important papers and intelligence. Wotton sent back a copy of the treaty of Crepy, the treaty between Charles V and Francis I which rendered Henry's diplomatic situation perilous for the last two years of his

⁵⁶ Seymour and Wotton to Henry VIII, 6 June 1543, PRO, SP 1/178, fo. 164v.

⁵⁷ Seymour and Wotton to Henry VIII, 20 June 1543, PRO, SP 1/179, fo. 78r; Seymour and Wotton to privy council, 20 June 1543, PRO, SP 1/179, fo. 79r.

⁵⁸ William Castlyn to Seymour and Wotton, 19 June 1543, PRO, SP 1/179, fo. 70r.

⁵⁹ This is recounted in Wotton's letter to Henry VIII, PRO, SP 1/183, fos. 171r-172r.

⁶⁰ For the letter given to the herald, PRO, SP 1/183, fo. 175r-v. For the details of the interrogation see, PRO, SP 1/183, fos. 140r-143r.

⁶¹ PRO, SP 1/187, fos. 242r-254v (the German version); PRO, SP 1/187, fos. 256r-263r (the Latin translation).

⁶² PRO, SP 1/189, fo. 139r.

reign.⁶³ By the summer of 1545 Wotton was providing intelligence of Charles V's deliberations at his Imperial diet through his contact, Jacobus Gislenus Thalassius of Metz.⁶⁴

Papers sent by Christopher Mont and Edmund Harvel also explain the presence of a number of documents in SP 1 which, at first sight, appear not to belong in the secretarial archive. Throughout the 1530s and 1540s Mont was the key English agent in Germany, instrumental in forging links between Henry and the protestants in the Holy Roman Empire. In addition to the numerous letters sent by Mont to Henry, Paget, Wriothesley or Petre, there are around 23 further documents in the 1543-1547 period which were sent by Mont.⁶⁵ In the spring of 1544 he sent details from the Imperial diet at Speyer.⁶⁶ Later on in the year he was providing details of relations between Pope Paul III, and Charles V.⁶⁷ At the end of 1545 Mont enclosed a two page memoranda of news from Venice in a letter to Henry.⁶⁸ Mont also provided details of the protestants' relations with the French king.⁶⁹ In the course of 1546, as Henry's government made concerted attempts to revive relations with the German princes, using Mont as the conduit for communication, it is clear from the archive that Mont sent back to the secretariat letters from the princes, most notably from the Landgrave Philip of Hesse. Indeed a pattern emerges from the archive which suggests that Mont sent back to England both the original from the Landgrave as well as a Latin translation in his own hand.⁷⁰ Significantly, the 1547 inventory records a bag of letters and writings from Mont.⁷¹

Henry's agent in Venice, Harvel, also sent a number of papers back to the secretariat, though to a lesser extent than Mont.⁷² Some of these letters were actually sent to his friend, the privy councillor Lord John Russell, but internal evidence indicates that these were concerned with state affairs and often included with letters sent to Henry, which helps to explain why they came to end up in the

⁶³ PRO, SP 1/192, fos. 174r-186r. The manuscript is headed in Wotton's hand.

⁶⁴ Thalassius sent Wotton details of the diet, PRO, SP 1/204, fos. 183r-184v (Thalassius's account of the Diet) and PRO, SP 1/205, fo. 35r-v (Thalassius's letter to Wotton). These were passed on to Paget in Wotton's letter to Paget of 5 August 1545, PRO, SP 1/205, fo. 85r.

⁶⁵ See Appendix 1, pp. 268-270.

⁶⁶ PRO, SP 1/187, fo. 66r-v (Mont's hand).

⁶⁷ PRO, SP 1/191, fo. 165r (Mont's hand).

⁶⁸ The memo is PRO, SP 1/211, fo. 138r-v. The letter to Henry is that of 7 January 1546, PRO, SP 1/213, fos. 38r-39v.

⁶⁹ PRO, SP 1/213, fos. 53r-54v; PRO, SP 1/214, fo. 10r-v; PRO, SP 1/214, fos. 28r-29v.

⁷⁰ There are a number of these letters. Presumably the translation was for the benefit of those working from the papers within the secretariat. Given Paget's own diplomatic background, though, it is likely that he could have worked from the German originals.

⁷¹ PRO, SP 45/20, fo. 1v.

secretarial archive.⁷³ Other papers and information were enclosed in letters to Henry.⁷⁴ It is probably Harvel's intelligence which accounts for the reference in the 1547 inventory to 'a litle bag of matiers of venyce'.⁷⁵

In addition to papers from ambassadors and agents abroad, it is also possible to identify a body of papers which initially were in the possession of the Imperial ambassador but which found their way into Paget's archive in the course of business and diplomacy between Henry and the Empire.⁷⁶ On 6 June 1543 Mary of Hungary wrote to Eustace Chapuys, the principal cause being to ask him to request of Henry his military assistance against the French, in accordance with the treaty signed in February between Henry and Charles V. The internal evidence indicates its specific relevance to the English government. In the secretarial archive there is a copy of the letter in the hand of Chapuys's clerk, with a secretarial endorsement.⁷⁷ It is clear therefore that Chapuys must have passed a copy of the letter on to the secretariat. A number of other letters in this body of papers relate to commercial disputes between England and the Low Countries, which the privy council were frequently engaged in and which of course led to the papers coming into the secretarial archive. A good example of this is a paper sent by Chapuys, presumably to the privy council, in the summer of 1543 when a dispute over the duty English merchants were being forced to pay in the Low Countries was threatening to jeopardize the military alliance between Henry and the Empire.⁷⁸ This flow of papers, though, was not all one way. There is evidence of letters from Paget's archive finding their way into that of the Imperial ambassador in order that particular information be communicated. In the spring of 1544 Henry and the privy council were clearly keen to advertise the English defeat of the Scots to their Imperial allies. It is for this reason that a copy of a letter of May 1544 from Lisle to Paget, detailing the success of the English troops at Leith and

⁷² See Appendix 1, p. 270.

⁷³ For example PRO, SP 1/201, fos. 71r-v, 73r-v, two letters to Russell in which was enclosed a letter to Henry, PRO, SP 1/201, fos. 68r-69v.

⁷⁴ For example, Charles V to the marquess of Castiglione, 22 April 1545, PRO, SP 1/187, fo. 13r-v. This copy was enclosed in Harvel's letter to Henry VIII of 16 May 1545, PRO, SP 1/201, fos. 68r-69v.

⁷⁵ PRO, SP 45/20, fo. 1r.

⁷⁶ See Appendix 1, p. 270-271. The Imperial ambassadors during Paget's time as secretary were, successively, Eustace Chapuys (July 1540-May 1545) and Francois van der Delft (December 1544-end of reign). In the first half of 1545 both ambassadors were in England.

⁷⁷ PRO, SP 1/178, fos. 162r-163v. This is only one of several letters sent by Mary of Hungary which, either in the form of a contemporary copy or the original itself, found its way into the secretarial archive.

⁷⁸ PRO, SP 1/180, fos. 55r-56v. The document bears a secretarial endorsement, 'From thEmperor's ambassador'.

Edinburgh, and the humiliating flight of Cardinal Beaton found its way into the Imperial archives.⁷⁹ Keen to publicise this success Paget must have sent a copy to Chapuys or sent the original to him to enable a copy to be made.⁸⁰

III

As king's secretary Paget was responsible for the papers and documents generated by the work of the privy council. The clerks of the privy council were part of the staff of his office. It is no surprise therefore to find many papers in SP 1 which relate directly to the work of the privy council and individual privy councillors. Most numerous amongst the papers addressed to individual councillors that ended up in the secretarial archive are those addressed to Wriothesley.⁸¹ One possibility for Wriothesley's papers being in the archive is that, along with others arrested for treason, they were seized on his own fall in March 1547. However, this is unlikely, as Wriothesley was rehabilitated with John Dudley, earl of Warwick's coup in 1549 and the papers themselves are so intimately related to affairs of state that it is far more likely that they were incorporated into the conciliar archive in the course of conciliar business. For example, of the 48 papers identified as originating from Wriothesley, 26 are either from Stephen Vaughan, John Dymock or William Damesell. These three individuals were all English agents in the Low Countries engaged in raising finance on the Antwerp money markets, co-ordinating the mustering of foreign mercenary troops and the business of acquiring supplies for the English armies in 1544 and 1545. It was precisely this type of activity that the privy council were managing in 1544-1545 and usually a letter from Vaughan to Wriothesley was accompanied by a letter to the privy council and often a letter to Paget as well.⁸² What further indicates that these papers are more properly regarded as conciliar papers is that sometimes they were addressed to Wriothesley and to other privy councillors as well, suggesting that the addressees had a collective responsibility for a particular area of policy or administration. The most obvious example of this is a series of letters sent by Vaughan to

⁷⁹ Lisle to Paget, 8 May 1544, *CSP Spanish 1544*, p. 86.

⁸⁰ Equally, in 1546 John Dymock writing to Paget anticipated that the enclosure in his letter would be shown by Paget to the Imperial ambassador, Dymock to Paget, 14 June 1546, PRO, SP 1/220, fo. 105r.

⁸¹ See Appendix 1, pp. 271-273.

⁸² Instances of this are too numerous to cite, but for an example see, Vaughan to privy council, 18 January 1545, PRO, SP 1/197, fos. 101r-102r; Vaughan to Wriothesley, 18 January 1545, PRO, SP 1/197, fo. 103r; Vaughan to Paget, 18 January 1545, PRO, SP 1/197, fo. 105r.

Wriothesley, Suffolk and Sir Anthony Browne in June 1544, all of which relate to Vaughan's attempts to secure a loan at Antwerp, to be used to pay for mercenaries, through Jasper Douche.⁸³ It should come as no surprise that such letters were directed to Wriothesley as he had, at least as early as the spring of 1544, a special responsibility, along with Paget, for financial matters within the privy council. Further evidence of this is provided by letters from Riche, high treasurer of the wars against France, in 1544 and Sir Brian Tuke, treasurer of the chamber, in 1545.⁸⁴

What is particularly revealing about a couple of these letters to Wriothesley is that although they are addressed to him the endorsement makes it clear that they were treated as papers which properly belonged in the secretarial/conciliar archive. On 4 June 1545 Robert Holgate, archbishop of York wrote to Wriothesley. Whilst the letter is addressed 'to the ryghte honorable and my singler good Lorde the Lorde Wryethesley the lorde Chauncelor of England', the endorsement records the letter as from 'Tharchebishop of yorke to the counsaill'.⁸⁵ Further, a month and a half later, on 19 July Wotton wrote to Wriothesley. Again, whilst the address reads, 'to the right honorable and my verye good Lorde my Lorde wryothesley Lorde Chancelor of England', the endorsement records 'Doctor Wootton to mr. secretary mr. paget'.⁸⁶

Apart from Wriothesley there are other papers relating to other privy councillors which clearly found their way into the archive in the course of conciliar business. In the summer of 1545 as England braced itself for invasion from the French the defence of the realm was co-ordinated and administered by the privy council and three privy councillors, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and Lord Russell, the lord privy seal and president of the council in the west, were entrusted with the defence of East Anglia, the south coast, and the south west respectively. A small number of Russell's papers from this time have survived in SP 1; some are letters to him, and others are his copies.⁸⁷ Clearly Russell would have kept the privy councillors at court informed of his activities

⁸³ For details of Vaughan's activities and his broker, Jasper Douche, see W.C. Richardson, *Stephen Vaughan, financial agent of Henry VIII: a study of financial relations with the Low Countries* (Baton Rouge, La., 1953), *passim*. The four letters are, 4 June 1544, PRO, SP 1/188, fos. 58r-59v; 17 June 1544, PRO, SP 1/188, fos. 197r-199r; 18 June 1544, PRO, SP 1/188, fos. 215r-216r; 24 June 1544, PRO, SP 1/189, fo. 62r.

⁸⁴ Riche to Wriothesley, 6 September 1544, PRO, SP 1/192, fos. 30r-31v; Riche to Wriothesley, 30 October 1544, PRO, SP 1/194, fos. 140r-141v; Tuke to Wriothesley, 25 July 1545, PRO, SP 1/204, fos. 129r-130v. For a fuller discussion of Wriothesley's financial responsibilities see below, pp. 148-152.

⁸⁵ PRO, SP 1/201, fo. 208v.

⁸⁶ PRO, SP 1/204, fo. 66v.

⁸⁷ See Appendix 1, p. 273.

and these papers seem to be what is left of his communications. Indeed one series of letters we can say with certainty were sent back to the court because they were mentioned as being enclosed in a letter from Russell to the privy council.⁸⁸

Similarly there is a small number of the privy councillor William Paulet, Lord St John's papers from 1545-1546.⁸⁹ During these years St John had a special responsibility for the supplying of victuals, particularly to the navy. Most of the letters to St John deal with this aspect of his work, which was of course part of the overall role of the privy council to administer the war effort. A letter of 12 August 1545 from Francois van der Delft to St John demonstrates how such papers came to Paget's archive. The letter is effectively a petition by the Imperial ambassador on behalf of a merchant company from Arras, whose cargo of Gascon wine was on a ship escorted back to London by one of the king's ships of war. Enclosed in the letter is a formal petition to St John by the merchants, Jehan Herlin, Alard Drumel and Company. St John's involvement with regard to victualling the king's navy presumably identified him as the man to be approached by van der Delft. However, it is also clear that the papers ended up amongst Paget's archive because the letter asks St John to show the petition to Paget and through Paget obtain restitution of the wine.⁹⁰

Aside from conciliar papers which can be associated with particular privy councillors there are, of course, in SP 1 a large number of papers which can be, with varying degrees of certainty, identified with the work of the privy council. The most important and interesting of these are those which are effectively advice, either to the privy council or advice from the privy council to the king.⁹¹ For example in the autumn of 1543 policy towards Scotland was on the agenda and on several occasions the privy council received advice from Sir Thomas Wharton, deputy warden of the west marches and captain of Carlisle, counselling them against a large invasion.⁹² These were generally

⁸⁸ The letters enclosed to the privy council were from a Sir John Horsey to Russell, PRO, SP 1/206, fos. 90r-94r. Russell's letter to the privy council mentions that, 'I send hereinclosed Sir John Horsseys lettres to me', PRO, SP 1/206, fo. 192r.

⁸⁹ See Appendix 1, pp. 273-274.

⁹⁰ The letter is PRO, SP 1/205, fo. 178r. The petition is PRO, SP 1/205, fo. 179r.

⁹¹ These are dealt with more fully below, pp. 87-94.

⁹² Wharton's opinions are PRO, SP 1/181, fos. 145r-146v; PRO, SP 1/181, fos. 147r-148v; PRO, SP 1/181, fos. 194r-197v; PRO, SP 1/181, fos. 198r-199v. On one occasion one also finds the opinion of Sir Ralph Evers, PRO, SP 1/181, fos. 200r-201v. There is also an opinion by Sir Ralph's father, Sir William Evers, captain of Berwick and deputy warden of the east marches, but this is likely to be more accurately placed in Suffolk's archive since it is in the hand of his clerk, PRO, SP 1/182, fos. 195r-196v.

enclosed in letters from privy councillors operating in the north.⁹³ Final confirmation that they remained in Paget's archive is that these opinions are listed specifically in the 1547 inventory.⁹⁴ There are similar consultative-type documents relating to the navy at the end of October 1544. One is clearly a memo of issues to be put to the king and is endorsed 'Articles touching the ships, whereupon to know the King's Majesty's pleasure'.⁹⁵ Another is from Sir Thomas Seymour to the privy council offering his opinion regarding naval matters.⁹⁶

In addition to these documents, there are many other papers which are closely related to the work of the privy council in the 1540s. For example the recruiting of mercenaries, especially from Germany, occupied much conciliar time in 1544 and 1545. As a result, one finds memos relating to the payment of these troops.⁹⁷ Equally there are numerous bills of payments and contracts for loans to pay for these mercenaries. Most of these bargains were struck by Vaughan at Antwerp and his voluminous correspondence to the king, privy council and, especially, Paget and Wriothesley is clear evidence that these papers belong to the conciliar/secretarial archive. Amongst the conciliar papers is a large number which were sent to and from different groups of privy councillors in 1544. The reason for this is that from the early summer of 1544, when the French campaign began, through to the end of the year the privy council was geographically divided into different groups. During the French campaign itself some privy councillors remained with the king besieging Boulogne, others remained at Montreuil in the ill-fated siege there and a third group remained in England in the form of the regency council. When the king returned to England this three-way division contracted to a split between those privy councillors at court in England and those who remained at Calais until late autumn. The vast majority of this correspondence is clearly conciliar in that the addresses and endorsements on the letters make mention of the 'council' in some way. However, there are also other letters which are addressed to certain named privy councillors from other named privy councillors. These can equally be considered to be 'conciliar' and therefore part of Paget's archive. This is not simply because of their content but on one such letter, from Norfolk

⁹³ For example Wharton's advice in mid-September 1543 was enclosed in a letter from Suffolk, Parr and Tunstall to privy council, 17 September 1543, BL Additional MS. 32652, fos. 101r-103v.

⁹⁴ PRO, SP 45/20, fo. 12r.

⁹⁵ PRO, SP 1/194, fos. 115r-116v.

⁹⁶ PRO, SP 1/194, fos. 117r-118v. It was addressed to the privy council and is endorsed, 'Sir Thomas Seymour's advise for meting of th'ole navie'.

⁹⁷ PRO, SP 1/188, fo. 214r-v. This relates to the payment of Christopher von Landenberg's troops.

to Suffolk, the endorsement is in John Mason's hand. This correspondence must have been considered conciliar business because it is endorsed by the clerk of the privy council.⁹⁸

Another example of papers which must have found their way into the conciliar archive in the course of conciliar business are a number which would originally have been in the possession of Thomas Chamberlain.⁹⁹ In both 1544 and 1545 Chamberlain, as well as being governor of the English merchants at Antwerp, acted as one of the king's agents responsible for the mustering of German mercenaries in the Low Countries. In relation to this are a number of letters which would originally have been in the possession of Thomas Thirlby, the privy councillor and bishop of Westminster. In the late summer and autumn of 1545 he was ambassador at the court of Charles V and a number of letters to him from English agents in the Low Countries have survived in SP 1. It is likely that these were passed on to the privy council by Thirlby. Indeed we know that he kept copies of the letters he sent to some of these agents and forwarded them to the king.¹⁰⁰

IV

In the British Library there are a number of Paget's papers in the Cottonian collection. This should come as no surprise since Sir Robert Cotton is well known to have plundered the state papers at the beginning of the seventeenth century.¹⁰¹ What is particularly interesting about these papers, though, is that they cover periods before and during Paget's time as secretary, and we also have some revealing correspondence from the latter part of the seventeenth century which offers further clues as to provenance. All of Paget's papers in the Cotton collection except for one manuscript relate to

⁹⁸ Norfolk to Suffolk, 5 August 1544, PRO, SP 1/191, fos. 46r-47v.

⁹⁹ See Appendix 1, p. 274.

¹⁰⁰ On 30 September 1545 Thirlby wrote to Henry VIII, PRO, SP 1/208, fo. 114v, and mentioned that he enclosed copies of his letters to Vaughan and to the 'commissaries'. These are PRO, SP 1/208, fo. 118r-v (to Vaughan) and PRO, SP 1/208, fo. 119r-v (to the commissaries).

¹⁰¹ For the problems experienced by Brewer due to the actions of Cotton and the consequent dispersal of the state papers see his preface to *Letters and papers*, I, pp. xii-xiii. Brewer took a Victorian moral tone implying, disapprovingly, that not merely negligence but fraud was to play in Cotton's acquisitions. For the specific threat that Cotton posed to the state papers see, R.B. Wernham, 'The public records in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', in L. Fox (ed.), *English historical scholarship in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries* (Oxford, 1956), pp. 22-23. More generally on Cotton and his collections see, K. Sharpe, *Sir Robert Cotton, 1586-1631: history and politics in early modern England* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 48-83.

French affairs.¹⁰² Some are the letters Paget received as ambassador in the early 1540s and the remainder are his papers when negotiating the treaty of Camp in 1546. Given that Cotton would have acquired all of these from the archives of the state paper office it means that Paget kept some of his papers from the period before he was secretary in the secretarial archive. This seems to reinforce what has been seen already, that very often the papers of English ambassadors and agents abroad came back to the archive of the secretary and the presence of these papers amongst the archive is not simply a consequence of Paget's appointment as secretary.

With these papers though we are particularly fortunate in knowing what happened to them after their extraction from the state paper office. On 11 June 1678 William Dugdale wrote to a Dr Johnston recounting that Sir Thomas Cotton, Sir Robert Cotton's son, informed him that he had '2 large bales of ancient papers of State and other things of note which had never been opened since they were so packed up by his father'.¹⁰³ As a result Dugdale set about 'putting all those papers into order, they being all papers of State, many of them Cardinal Wolsey's papers, Cromwell's, Cecill's, Walsingham's, *and other secretaries*...Those which related to France, Rome, Germany, Denmark, and Scotland, I sorted by themselves; so likewise all others in order of time'.¹⁰⁴ Having ordered the papers chronologically Dugdale had them bound into 40 volumes, though he seems to have harboured some resentment that Sir Thomas ('though he was a man of 6,000l per annum estate') did not even offer him a sixpence for his trouble!¹⁰⁵

The other major collection of Paget's secretarial papers in the British Library is the Scottish state papers.¹⁰⁶ In fact the Henrican state papers relating to Scotland in the British Library are rather more substantial than those which remain in the PRO. Of course originally they were all part of the same collection and at some point those now in the British Library were removed from the state paper office. Between 1547 and the latter part of the sixteenth century they gravitated north, where they became part of the archives of the council of the north at York. They remained there until

¹⁰² The exception is, Surrey to Paget, July 1546, BL Cotton. Titus B. ii, fos. 39r-40v (pencil top right).

¹⁰³ Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, *Sixth Report* (London, 1877), p. 453.

¹⁰⁴ Royal Commission, *Sixth Report*, p. 453 (my italics).

¹⁰⁵ Royal Commission, *Sixth Report*, p. 453. A fairly cursory check of BL Cotton MS. Caligula suggests that Caligula B-E., still constitutes most of these papers, *A catalogue of the manuscripts in the Cottonian library deposited in the British Museum*, ed. J. Planta (London, 1802), pp. 46-187.

Charles I's reign, when James Hamilton, first duke of Hamilton removed them to Scotland and added them to his own library.¹⁰⁷ Many of these were then calendared in the Hamilton Papers.¹⁰⁸ How they came to leave the secretarial archive is not clear but some of the earlier papers in this collection dating from the 1530s are endorsed by William Cecil and were probably handled by him when he went on a mission to Scotland in 1560.¹⁰⁹ As secretary Cecil would have had custody of (or at least access to) these papers and one might speculate that the Henrican and Edwardian parts of the collection found their way north through him.

Of the secretarial papers now to be found outside London, the most numerous are those of the marquess of Anglesey. Most of the documents in this collection are private papers but several relate to affairs of state, the most numerous of which are Paget's notes and papers kept when he was negotiating the treaty of Camp in 1546. The provenance of these is no mystery as the present marquess of Anglesey is Paget's *descendant*. Across the midlands at Northampton there are two documents in Paget's hand which relate to the last months of Henry's reign, but in fact are likely to date from his son's reign. One is a copy of Paget's opinion of foreign affairs in August 1546 and the other is a detailed account of the proceedings concerning Henry's will.¹¹⁰ They are different in type from the rest so far discussed as they are enclosed at the end of a letter book which otherwise contains letters dating from Edward VI's reign. The letter book is not arranged in chronological order which, as Beer and Jack have suggested, points to it having been compiled at a later date.¹¹¹ Quite why it was put together is unclear. It might have been prepared to form some sort of defence of Paget's actions at a later date, but when this might have been, if indeed it was compiled for that

¹⁰⁶ BL Additional MSS. 32646-32652 comprises 12 volumes of state papers relating to Anglo-Scottish affairs from 1532-1585. The vast majority of the papers cover the 1532-1545 period. The volumes covering Paget's secretaryship are BL Additional MS. 32650 (vol. v)-32656 (vol. xi).

¹⁰⁷ For these details on provenance see the British Library on-line catalogue.

¹⁰⁸ For further details on the provenance of these papers see, J. Bain (ed.), *The Hamilton papers. Letters and papers illustrating the political relations of England and Scotland in the XVIth century* (ii vols.; Edinburgh, 1890), i, pp. ix-xi.

¹⁰⁹ Bain (ed.), *The Hamilton papers*, i, pp. ix-xi.

¹¹⁰ NRO, F(W)M 21, fos. 23r-26v; Beer and Jack (eds.), *The letters of William, Lord Paget*, p. 5.

¹¹¹ Beer and Jack (eds.), *The letters of William, Lord Paget*, p. 5.

purpose, is obscure.¹¹² Similar uncertainty extends to why it is amongst the family correspondence of the earl Fitzwilliam of Milton.¹¹³

At Hatfield House there are also a small number of papers which might have been originally from the secretarial archive but which subsequently strayed. Most of the Henrican documents of the 1540s at Hatfield were originally in Edward Seymour's archive.¹¹⁴ Both as the earl of Hertford and subsequently the duke of Somerset, Seymour's secretary by the later 1540s was William Cecil, which explains their location at Hatfield.¹¹⁵ The documents which were probably originally in Paget's archive are either privy council drafts, letters to Henry VIII or memoranda relating to supplies for the English possessions in France, one of which is in Paget's hand. Presumably through either Seymour or Cecil, both of whom had access to the state papers, these documents strayed.

V

If one draws together all Paget's papers from these various archives one has, therefore, a remarkably full and integrated secretarial archive. Clearly there have been losses over the last 450 years but much does still survive, particularly in SP 1. This is unsurprising as Paget was extremely careful to ensure he retained copies of his correspondence.¹¹⁶ It also explains why the state papers of the 1540s belonging to the marquess of Anglesey are nothing like as extensive as, for example, those Elizabethan papers at Hatfield House, because unlike Cecil, most of Paget's state papers remained precisely that, state papers, and were not carried off by him in any great numbers when

¹¹² Beer and Jack (eds.), *The letters of William, Lord Paget*, pp. 5-6.

¹¹³ Beer and Jack note that one possibility is that Sir Walter Mildmay may have acquired the letterbook. In 1569 his daughter married Sir William Fitzwilliam, Beer and Jack (eds.), *The letters of William, Lord Paget*, p. 5.

¹¹⁴ Henrican manuscripts at Hatfield are calendared in, Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, *Calendar of the manuscripts of the most honourable the marquis of Salisbury, K.G. etc., preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire*, eds. R.A. Roberts *et al* (xxiv vols.; London, 1883-1976), i, pp. 3-49.

¹¹⁵ For general comments on the Cecil papers, Royal Commission, *Calendar of the manuscripts...*, *preserved at Hatfield House*, i, pp. iii-vi.

¹¹⁶ For example in March 1544 Paget sent Hertford the original of a document of which he had had no time to make a copy and requested that Hertford return a copy by the next post, Hatfield, Cecil MS. 231, no. 5. In August 1545 Hertford, Tunstall and Sadler wrote to Paget ending with the comment that they return an original paper, 'according to your desire', PRO, SP 1/206, fo. 4v. Later in the same month Hertford returned letters from the French king, PRO, SP 49/8, fo. 136v (pencil bottom right).

he left office.¹¹⁷ It was exactly this point which Robert Beale discussed when he wrote in 1592 in his 'Treatise of the Office of a Counsellor and Principall Secretarie to her Majestie', that a secretary should keep his private papers and those relating to 'publicke' affairs separate. Beale recommended,

In the Colleccion of thinges I would wish a distinccion used betweene that *which* is publicke and that *which* is private,-that is, a separacion betweene those thinges *which* are her *Maiestie's* Recordes and appertaines unto her and those *which* a Secretarie getteth by his private industrie and charge. Heretofore there was a chamber in Westminster where such thinges, towards the latter end of King Henry 8, were kept and were not in the Secretaries private Custodie; but since, that order hath beene neglected and those thinges which weare publicke have been culled out and gathered into private bookes...¹¹⁸

Beale's words are revealing as they confirm what has been argued thus far. However, they go one stage further and refer to the location of the secretarial archive at the end of Henry's reign. According to Beale the state papers were kept in a 'chamber at Westminster' and were 'not in the Secretarie's private Custodie', and these are the crucial phrases. What do we know of the custody of the state papers? By 1618 the state papers were housed in the Tower over the gateway connecting the eastern and western parts of the palace of Whitehall, known as the Holbein Gate built in 1531-1532.¹¹⁹ The important question of the pre-1618 location of the state papers is considered in the next chapter. However, it is worth considering briefly here the custody of the papers since that date, not least because it helps to explain how the collection became damaged and parts lost, largely through neglect.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ This was appreciated by S.R. Gammon in his, *Statesman and schemer. William, first Lord Paget* (Newton Abbot, 1973), p. 67. For a contrary view see A.J. Slavin, *Politics and profit. A study of Sir Ralph Sadler, 1507-1547* (Cambridge, 1966), p. 64.

¹¹⁸ C. Read, *Mr secretary Walsingham and the policy of Queen Elizabeth* (iii vols.; Oxford, 1925), i, Appendix, p. 431.

¹¹⁹ F.S. Thomas, *A history of the state paper office; with a view of the documents therein deposited* (London, 1849), p. 8. For the Holbein Gate see S. Thurley, *Whitehall palace. An architectural history of the royal apartments, 1240-1698* (Yale, 1999), pp. 43-47.

¹²⁰ Despite the importance of the state papers to historians of Tudor and Stuart England there is no modern detailed work on the state paper office. It is certainly beyond the scope of the present study. Thomas's *History of the state paper office* provides a useful overview but this is rather dated. Much valuable information on the office up to 1800 is calendared in, 30th *DKR*, Appendix, pp. 212-293. The preface to *State papers during the reign of Henry VIII* (xi vols.; London, 1830-1852) is useful, especially pp. ix-xx. PRO, SP 45 also contains a wealth of documents relating to the history of the office, including the minute book of the state paper commission, 1825-1855, PRO, SP 45/80. PRO, 36/1-58 contains the minutes of the royal commission on public records 1800-1837, and in this can be found information on the office from 1800. Obsolete lists in the PRO contains useful material, including a, 'General survey of the documents deposited and presented in his Majesty's state paper office Whitehall and middle treasury

Between 1618 and the beginning of the eighteenth century the state papers remained in the Holbein Gate, housed in two rooms, three closets and three turrets.¹²¹ In this period they survived the fire of 12 January 1619 that damaged much of Whitehall, though they suffered considerable disorder as they were thrown into blankets to escape the flames. Further state papers were lost during the civil war and interregnum.¹²² By the beginning of the eighteenth century, though, the condition of the state papers was beginning to cause alarm, as it was for the next hundred years, and this, along with the fact that few secretarial papers were being deposited there led to a report from the House of Lords in 1705 recommending a revamping of the office including the acquisition of new rooms at Whitehall. As a result the upper floor of the lord chamberlain's lodgings at the Cockpit was appropriated for the state paper office and an apartment 80ft long and 25ft wide, which became known as the middle treasury gallery, was added to the office.¹²³ For the next 100 years the state papers were located on two different sites. The papers in the Holbein Gate remained there until 1750 when the gate was pulled down, at which point they were found to have suffered still further due to wet and vermin. At this date the papers in the Holbein Gate were removed to an old house in Scotland Yard.

By 1800, therefore, the state papers were split between middle treasury gallery and Scotland Yard. In that year the royal commission on public records began to sit and amongst their concerns was the condition of the state papers, particularly those at Scotland Yard. At the first meeting of the commission on 22 July 1800 it was resolved that the surveyor of the king's works be written to and,

that Mr Wyatt [the surveyor] be directed to examine and report to this board upon the security and convenience of the State Paper Office in Middle Scotland Yard Whitehall: and the practicality of removing the Records and Papers now kept in that office to a situation contiguous or nearer to the offices of His Majesty's principal Secretaries of State¹²⁴

gallery, May 1817', PRO, OBS, 1/862. From 1855 the reports of the deputy keeper of the public records detail the custody of the papers.

¹²¹ Thomas, *History of the state paper office*, p. 8.

¹²² Thomas, *History of the state paper office*, p. 8

¹²³ *State papers of Henry VIII*, i, p. xix.

¹²⁴ PRO, 36/1, pp. 4-5.

Nearly three and a half years later it was still recommended that these papers be 'transferred from the present *damp and ruinous tenement*, and lodged in some public building fire proof', but Mr. Wyatt had still not reported, nor did he ever do so.¹²⁵ In July 1806 still nothing had been resolved but the commissioners were sufficiently concerned to adjourn their meeting 'to the State Paper Office in Scotland Yard, and from thence to the Old Paper Office near the Treasury Apartments to view the condition of the State Papers therein deposited, and to consider of a more secure and convenient place for that purpose'.¹²⁶

In July 1807 a plan submitted by John Bruce, then the keeper of the state papers, to remove them to a new building in Caddick's Row was rejected, and by 1810 moves were afoot to transfer them to government offices which had recently been vacated by the office of woods and forests, at Whitehall.¹²⁷ There is a series of correspondence in 1811 which suggests that this plan was given the go-ahead, largely because the commissioners were acutely aware of the damage being done to the state papers as long as they remained at their respective locations but the transfer does not seem to have taken place.¹²⁸ The survey of documents in the state paper office of May 1817 indicates that the papers had not moved in the 17 years that the royal commission had sat and F.S. Thomas writes that it was not until 1819 that the papers at Scotland Yard were finally moved to a house in Great George St., the Scotland Yard building by that date being in so dilapidated a state that it had to be pulled down.¹²⁹

During 1819-1833 the state papers remained on their separate sites at Great George St. and the middle treasury gallery. When the state paper commission began to sit in 1825 they met at the Great George St. site, unsurprising given that the Henrican papers were there and their main work at this stage was the publication of the state papers of Henry VIII.¹³⁰ By 1829, though, what must have been envisaged as a final solution to the problem of the care and custody of the state papers was in progress. Sir John Soane had been commissioned to design a new purpose-built state paper

¹²⁵ PRO, 36/1, p. 112 (my italics).

¹²⁶ PRO, 36/3, p. 66.

¹²⁷ PRO, 36/3, p. 138; PRO 36/4, p. 384.

¹²⁸ PRO, 36/5, pp. 4-11.

¹²⁹ PRO, OBS 1/862, p. 1; Thomas, *History of the state paper office*, p. 9. The location of the office on Great George St. was no. 34., PRO, SP 45/80, p. 39.

¹³⁰ In the minute book recording the details of the first sitting of the state paper commission on 8 July 1825 it mentions that all the state papers to the reign of Charles I had been transferred to the Great George St. office, PRO, SP 45/80, p. 10.

office at Duke St., St James's Park, and in 1833 the papers in middle treasury gallery and at Great George St., were transferred to this new site.¹³¹ At last all the state papers had been brought together once more and housed in a suitable building.

However, with the establishment of the record department in 1838 pressure built to merge the state papers with the rest of the public records to create one central repository for public records.¹³² With the death of the keeper of the state papers, Henry Hobhouse, in 1854, this took place, though at first the papers remained at Duke St. By 1861, though, the deputy keeper of the public records wrote, 'in consequence of the proposed destruction of the State Paper Office to make room for the erection of new Government Offices it has been found necessary to remove the Records from the State Paper branch Office to the Public Record Repository'.¹³³ By the following year he was able to report that all the state papers had been removed to the record office at Chancery Lane and, 'this removal having been completed during 1862, the building has been pulled down'.¹³⁴ The state papers then remained at Chancery Lane until the early 1990s, when they were moved to their present location at Kew.

Given the remarkable degree of neglect suffered by the state papers in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it is perhaps surprising that such an extensive collection of Paget's papers remains. Nevertheless, once the secretarial archive buried in SP 1 is revealed and placed alongside Paget's remaining secretarial papers in other collections one is left with a unique survival. This is partly because the state papers really begin with Paget's tenure as secretary in the 1540s. Cromwell's archive is different in nature, composition and the means by which it found its way into the public domain. Of the papers kept by Wriothesley and Sadler as secretaries between 1540 and 1543 very few remain, reflected in the pages of *Letters and papers* which during these years are

¹³¹ A copy of John Soane's original plans for the office, a grand four-storey repository, is still held at the PRO, PRO, MPI 1/276. The last meeting of the state paper commission to be held at Great George St., was on 4th Feb 1833, PRO, SP 45/80, p. 34. By 13 November 1833 Henry Hobhouse, the keeper of the state papers, was writing regulations governing the operation of the Duke St. site 'on taking possession of the Building recently erected for the reception of His Majesty's State Papers', PRO, SP 45/78 (no page or folio numbers).

¹³² This is far too complex to consider in any detail here. Thomas considers it briefly, *History of the state paper office*, pp. 10-13. A full discussion of the process and arguments can be found in, *The deputy keeper's report to the master of the rolls on the subject of the union of the state paper office with the record department*, 30 July 1853, PRO, SP 45/79.

¹³³ 23rd DKR, p. 6.

¹³⁴ 24th DKR, p. 8.

padded-out with an eclectic selection of material. In contrast Paget's archive is extensive, something which did not happen by chance since, as we have seen, he was fastidious in his desire to retain copies of letters and maintain the integrity of his papers. But Paget's archive as secretary is important in another, perhaps more significant respect. Between the upheavals of the 1530s, with the establishment of a reformed polity, and then minority and female rule which dominated the second half of the Tudor century, only in the last years of Henry's reign did this reformed polity function as it was supposed to, with an adult male monarch at its head. Paget's archive is the pre-eminent source with which to study this polity.

2. King's secretary

On 23 April 1543 Paget 'was sworne in the office off one off the twoo principall secretaries' and 'admitted to be one allso off the Pryvye Cownsell'.¹ As king's secretary he occupied a position which in the course of the sixteenth century was central to the exercise of executive authority not just in England but throughout Europe. In France the *secrétaires d'état* had emerged as key figures within the French polity by the middle of the century.² Charles V's secretaries, Francisco de los Cobos and Nicholas Perrenot, seigneur de Granvelle enjoyed considerable influence, and by the second half of the century in Spain, the most sensitive of correspondence relating to high policy went through the hands of Philip II's private secretary Mateo Vazquez de Leca.³ Such men were at the heart of the political system and able not only to act but to observe the polity in which they functioned. Thus one of their number became one of the great political philosophers of the age: Niccolo Machiavelli.

By the end of the fifteenth century the principal roles of the king's secretary in England had emerged. He was a member of the king's chamber; this can be seen clearly in the *Liber Niger* of Edward IV.⁴ This resulted in almost constant attendance at court and easy access to the king.⁵ This was of course essential because his main role was to read the king's correspondence to him and to write his letters. By virtue of the fact that he controlled the king's correspondence he was familiar with the threads of royal policy, which generally meant diplomatic policy. In this way the king's secretary became an expert in diplomacy and was often used in this context as an ambassador or

¹ APC, i, p. 118. To be able to date the appointment with such precision is not without significance. Because the office was a household position, prior to this secretaries were appointed on the oral instruction of the king rather than by letters patent, thus creating difficulties in dating appointments. We can date Paget's appointment through the existence of the privy council register, Paget being the first secretary appointed since August 1540 and the keeping of a formal privy council register. For the problems of dating the appointments of Cromwell, Sadler and Wriothesley see, G.R. Elton, *The Tudor revolution in government. Administrative changes in the reign of Henry VIII* (Cambridge, 1953), pp. 124-125 and A.J. Slavin, *Politics and profit. A study of Sir Ralph Sadler, 1507-1547* (Cambridge, 1966), p. 46.

² N.M. Sutherland, *The French secretaries of state in the age of Catherine de Medici* (London, 1962), pp. 7-17.

³ H.G. Koenigsberger, 'The Empire of Charles V in Europe', in *The New Cambridge Modern History*, eds. G.R. Elton et al, (xiv vols.; Cambridge, 1957-1970), ii, p. 309. Geoffrey Parker, *The grand strategy of Philip II* (Yale, 1998), pp. 397-398.

⁴ A.R. Myers, *The household of Edward IV. The black book and the ordinance of 1478* (Manchester, 1959), pp. 110-111. For the role of the fifteenth century secretary see, J. Otway-Ruthven, *The king's secretary and the signet office in the fifteenth century* (Cambridge, 1939), pp. 60-75.

⁵ Otway-Ruthven, *The king's secretary*, p. 64.

diplomatic agent. Control of the king's correspondence also meant that he had custody of the instrument which gave royal letters their authenticity, the smallest of the royal seals, the signet. As a result the secretary controlled the wheels of patronage. This is because by the later fifteenth century it was the signet which set in motion the formalised process by which a bill or a warrant passed to the privy seal and then the great seal, under which grants within the royal gift were bestowed. Given the importance which this office clearly had within the polity it is unsurprising that in the course of the fifteenth century the secretary also came to attend the king's council with growing frequency and the position itself was bestowed upon men of increasing status.⁶ By the beginning of Henry VIII's reign his secretary, Thomas Ruthal, was elevated to the bishopric of Durham.⁷

However, if these were the formalised functions of the secretary by the early sixteenth century it is important to realise that the role during Henry VIII's reign did vary according to political circumstance, the character and experience of the incumbent, and his relationship with the king. For example, in the first half of the reign one of the key tasks of the secretary was to act as an intermediary between Wolsey and Henry VIII, since king and minister were rarely together.⁸ Furthermore, before 1529 secretarial duties were often carved up between a number of courtiers, since Richard Pace, the official secretary, was frequently absent abroad, particularly in the 1520s.⁹ From the summer of 1529 Stephen Gardiner was secretary and his extensive involvement in the divorce campaign, his habitual attendance at court, combined with the fall of Wolsey gave him an unprecedented degree of influence, such that when he left for France on embassy at the end of 1531, the king claimed that his 'absence is the lack of my right hand'.¹⁰ Indeed, along with Norfolk and Suffolk, he was at the heart of the king's counsels between Wolsey's fall and early 1532.¹¹ By 1533 Cromwell was effectively the king's secretary, assuming the role officially the following year,

⁶ F.M.G. Evans, *The principal secretary of state. A survey of the office from 1558 to 1680* (Manchester, 1923), pp. 15-17.

⁷ Elton, *Tudor revolution*, p. 32, n. 2.

⁸ On this see, Elton, *Tudor revolution*, pp. 56-59; John Guy, *The public career of Sir Thomas More* (New Haven and London, 1980), pp. 15-24; John Guy, 'Wolsey and the Tudor polity', in John Guy (ed.), *The Tudor monarchy* (London, 1997), pp. 310-312; David Starkey, 'The King's privy chamber, 1485-1547', unpublished University of Cambridge Ph.D. (1973), pp. 309-320; David Starkey, 'Court, council and nobility', in R.G. Asch and A.M. Birke (eds.), *Princes, patronage, and the nobility. The court at the beginning of the modern age, c.1450-1650* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 183-186.

⁹ In fact, 'Pace spent twenty of his twenty-seven active adult years in Italy', C.M. Curtis, 'Richard Pace; pedagogy, counsel and satire', unpublished University of Cambridge Ph.D. (1997), p. 141.

¹⁰ G. Redworth, *In defence of the church catholic. The life of Stephen Gardiner* (Oxford, 1990), p. 39.

¹¹ Redworth, *In defence*, p. 27

but his host of duties and titles meant that he rarely acted in a secretarial capacity, relying instead on court agents like Sadler and, after 1536, his appointees within the privy chamber.¹² After 1540 the office was divided, with Wriothesley and Sadler assuming Cromwell's inheritance.¹³ The role of the secretary was therefore a dynamic one. Above all, though, the king's secretary was a courtier *par excellence*.

For the last four years of Henry VIII's reign Paget held this key post, first as the junior partner to Wriothesley, and then as the senior to Petre.¹⁴ The purpose of this chapter is therefore to analyse his role and in particular his world at court. Ultimately this analysis turns on three key areas which are discussed in turn: the physical environment within which Paget operated at court; his control of royal correspondence and influence over policy; and his role as a patronage broker, which necessarily requires a consideration of the operation of the dry stamp during the closing years of the reign.

I

It is at the court that any analysis of Paget's activities must begin. This can be demonstrated most effectively by a consideration of the itineraries of Henry VIII and Paget between April 1543 and January 1547.¹⁵ In the last years of the reign Henry VIII spent long periods of time at his principal residences at Whitehall and Greenwich, and to a lesser extent Windsor and Hampton Court. In between these periods the king's movements were determined largely by military necessity. Early in June 1543 Henry made a brief visit to the Essex coast to check on coastal defences, the result being a decision to spend £2,717 on fortifications around Harwich.¹⁶ In the middle of July 1543 Henry left Hampton Court and travelled down the Thames to Oatlands. This was the beginning of an extensive progress which took him first south towards Guildford and then north via The More,

¹² For a fuller discussion of this see below, pp. 59-60.

¹³ The circumstances surrounding the division of the office in 1540 are variously treated by Elton, *Tudor revolution*, pp. 312-315; Slavin, *Politics and profit*, pp. 46-50; Starkey, 'King's privy chamber', pp. 333-338.

¹⁴ Significantly, Wriothesley was away from court for much of the autumn of 1543 due to ill health, therefore Paget very quickly assumed the lion's share of the job.

¹⁵ For the details of this see, Appendix 2.

¹⁶ H.M. Colvin (ed.), *The history of the king's works* (vi vols.; HMSO, 1963-1982), iv, pp. 470-471.

Amphill and Grafton to its satellite, Langley, before returning to Whitehall by 20 December and then on to Hampton Court to keep Christmas. A five month progress such as this was never to be repeated. The tame wanderings in September 1546 which took the sick king on a circuit to Hampton Court and back again via Woking, Guildford, Chobham and Windsor were a pale imitation of the spectacular progresses with which he began his reign. In 1544 the king spent the whole of the year at Whitehall, St James's, Greenwich or Hampton Court, apart from the expedition to France for which he departed from London on 11 July, returning to the capital by 13 October. Again in 1545 for most of the year the king remained in the vicinity of London, mainly at the larger palaces, with the exception of Hampton Court, which he visited for only a day before returning on Christmas Eve to keep Christmas there. Instead of the summer progress, though, the threat of French invasion drew him to Portsmouth, for which he left Greenwich on 5 July, returning to Windsor on 13 September. In 1546, with the exception of the short progress in September, the king barely left his principal residences and favoured Greenwich and Whitehall in particular.

If one compares Paget's itinerary with that of the king the striking feature is that he was rarely away from court. From his appointment in April 1543 he seems to have been everywhere with the king until the end of May 1544, including the brief visit to Harwich and the extended progress to Woodstock. Between mid-May and mid-June 1544 he was away on embassy visiting Charles V, but was again at the king's side throughout the subsequent French campaign. For a month between mid-October and mid-November 1544 Paget was again away at Calais but thereafter seems to have been at court until the end of February 1545, when he went to Brussels to negotiate the release from arrest of English merchant ships. On this occasion he was away for six weeks. He barely seems to have been away from court for the next seven months before a more extended two month stay at Calais, from late November, negotiating peace terms with the French. After the collapse of these negotiations in mid-January 1546 Paget left the court for only six weeks, negotiating the treaty of Camp in early summer 1546. This means that Paget was away from court for only seven months between April 1543 and January 1547, when Henry died. On each occasion he was abroad he was dealing with the most sensitive matters of state, often acting as the king's personal representative.¹⁷

¹⁷ Paget's diplomatic activities are discussed below, chapter 5.

One consequence of this attendance at court was a phenomenal workload, which was not for the faint-hearted. This of course was not without precedent. Cromwell and Wolsey had voracious appetites for work and More was virtually an insomniac, rising at 2 am each day and spending the subsequent five hours in prayer and study.¹⁸ There appear to be only two references to Paget visiting his estate at West Drayton, Middlesex, in nearly four years. Once was three weeks before he accompanied the king to France in 1544: on that occasion he managed to steal three days from Wednesday to Saturday.¹⁹ Earlier that same year he was ‘from the courte in the cuntry’, possibly for as long as a week according to one of Hertford’s agents at court, John Berwick.²⁰ Clearly there would have been other occasions, but Paget’s leisure was small. When Thomas More was secretary in the 1520s he had similar difficulties, and ‘was obliged to mope dejectedly for days, feigning stupidity in order to bore Henry into letting him go home to supper’.²¹ On occasion it appears Paget was required to remain at court when most others had left. At the beginning of November 1545 he lamented from the court at Windsor that, ‘I am leeft alone the rest gone ^sum^ home sum to the terme sum a hawking and sum a hunting’.²² A cursory glance at the times of his correspondence shows that Paget worked at all hours, many letters being written after midnight.

It was of course the weight of correspondence with which he had to deal that bore heavily on him, so that, not infrequently, correspondents were moved to complain that they had had no reply to their letters. This was a common bleat from Vaughan, but even fellow privy councillors like Suffolk and Gardiner at times felt neglected.²³ Gardiner, when at Antwerp negotiating at the end of 1545 for peace with the French, complained, ‘we have now received but one letter for eleven’.²⁴ However, during the same period Gardiner himself explained that, ‘I wryte long bablyng letters to youe to provoke youe to take the more payne by my example. Ye have many moo to wryte unto, but I remembre not that nowe’.²⁵ The last phrase was perhaps a wistful reminiscence of his own

¹⁸ John Guy, *Thomas More* (London, 2000), p. 64.

¹⁹ Paget to Cobham, 17 June 1544, BL Harley MS. 283, fo. 273r-v. The dates were Wednesday 18 June-Saturday 21 June.

²⁰ Berwick to Hertford, 31 March 1544, Longleat, Seymour MS. 4, fo. 66v. He was not at court on Monday 31 March and did not return until Friday 4 April.

²¹ Guy, *Public career*, p. 15.

²² Paget to Gardiner and Thirlby, 6 November 1545, BL Additional MS. 25114, fo. 341r.

²³ For an example of Vaughan’s frustration, Vaughan to Paget, 15 February 1545, PRO, SP 1/198, fo. 75r.

²⁴ Gardiner to Paget, 19 November 1545, PRO, SP 1/210, fo. 186r. It is this lack of response from Paget to Gardiner during this period that leads Redworth to the conclusion that Paget was by now shunning his former mentor, Redworth, *In defence*, pp. 227-228. A more persuasive explanation may simply be pressure of work.

²⁵ Gardiner to Paget, 7 November 1545, PRO, SP 1/210, fo. 52r.

time as secretary and the pressure he felt. In November 1545, when diplomatic and financial pressures were at their height, the weight of events seems to have got the better of Paget. We do not have what must have been a stinging letter which Paget sent to Wriothesley, now lord chancellor, but Wriothesley's reply is revealing:

If I did not considre, that you be contynuelly occupied and troubled with greate and weighty affayres, whiche sumtyme soo disquiet and distempre the body, as a man laden with them, as you be, shal seme almost wery of himself...I wold complain of you to yourself...But when I remembre, howe men in that place [i.e. king's secretary] be sumtyme over layd with greate and weighty [affairs which] in themselves have many tymes suche a deformytie and repugnance, that they engendre presently a melancholy humour in him, that hath the mayning of them...I must impute your hole letter to have passed, when you mynded sumwhat elles²⁶

So vehement had Paget been that Wriothesley suggests that Paget's words 'might brede 100 bees in a mannes hed'.²⁷ Certainly Wriothesley's analysis of the pressure secretaries had to bear is borne out by another close acquaintance, Vaughan. At the end of December 1545 Vaughan wrote to Paget explaining, 'Sir William Petre secretary chanced yesternight at the court to fall suddenly diseased but he is god be thankyd well again. The man is of a weak nature and cannot bear such great pains such as secretaries as you two be are wont to be charged and laden with'.²⁸ Petre's collapse may have been partly brought on due to Paget's own absence abroad, thus increasing Petre's own workload.

Paget was therefore a *habitué* of the court, a courtier. Indeed on this evidence he could hardly get away from the place. This of course should not surprise us since the king's secretary's role had always been to receive the king's correspondence and write his letters. What this necessarily entailed was ready access to the king and therefore to the king's privy lodgings. There is ample evidence for this. On Christmas Eve 1545 Paget was in France trying to negotiate peace with the French. Petre wrote a now well-known letter to him recounting the famous speech Henry had made to parliament that day. In a less celebrated, but important passage in the present context, Petre wrote that the king spoke:

²⁶ Wriothesley to Paget, 8 November 1545, PRO, SP 1/210, fo. 55r.

²⁷ Wriothesley to Paget, 8 November 1545, PRO, SP 1/210, fo. 55v.

²⁸ Vaughan to Paget, 22 December 1545, PRO, SP 1/212, fo. 106r.

with a gravity, so sententiously, so kingly, or rather fatherly, as peradventure to you that hath been used to his daily talks should have been no great wonder (and yet I saw some that hear him often enough largely water their plants), but to us, that have not heard him often, was such a joy and marvellous comfort as I reckon this day one of the happiest of my life.²⁹

This clearly tells us some important things about the relative importance of Paget and Petre in their role as secretaries, but for the present it is clear that Paget met with the king on a daily basis. Less than a month later Paget was back in the country writing to Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, explaining that he had gone to the king and passed a day or two with him.³⁰ The campaign in France did nothing to diminish this close personal proximity. At the end of July 1544, Philip de Montmorency, sieur de Courriers, an envoy of Charles V, recounted his arrival at Henry VIII's camp and that, 'as we were about to sit down to table, the latter [Paget] received orders to go immediately to the king, which he did'.³¹ Perhaps most graphically there are Paget's own accounts of his relationship with the king and the access this afforded him. Within weeks of the king's death the Imperial ambassador, van der Delft, wrote to Charles V explaining that,

he [Paget] assures me that the late king three or four days before his death insisted upon having him (Paget) with him alone, they passing entire nights in conversation together; and that at his (Paget's) request the other Councillors were admitted to the king's presence, he having urged in the first place that the Earl of Hertford should be summoned, whereafter the Earl was closeted with the king and Paget for at least two or three hours before the other Councillors were called in.³²

This last account is again reminiscent of More's relationship with Henry when he was secretary. Then, 'Henry would send for More to discuss astronomy, geometry and theology, as well as mere worldly trifles. He would drag More out on the roof on cloudless nights to gaze at the stars'.³³ Similarly, at his deposition before the privy council a few days after the king's death, Paget explained, 'after the tyme that the late Duke of Norfolk and his sonne, the late Erle of Surrey, were apprehended...the said King devised with me a part (as it is well knowen he used to open his plesour to me alone in many thinges) for the bestoweng of the landes belonging to the said Duke

²⁹ Petre to Paget, 24 December 1545, PRO, SP 1/212, fo. 111r (later copy). The original, PRO, SP 1/212, fos. 108r-110r, is badly damaged and the microfilm virtually illegible.

³⁰ Paget to Surrey, 18 January 1546, *Letters and papers*, XXI, i, 81.

³¹ De Courriers to Chapuys, 31 July 1544, *CSP Spanish 1544*, p. 279.

³² Van der Delft to Charles V, 12 February 1547, *CSP Spanish 1547-1549*, pp. 30-31.

³³ Guy, *Public career*, p. 15.

and Erle'.³⁴ If Paget was rarely far away from the king, it begs the important question of where exactly did Paget work from within the royal palaces? The answer to this question turns on where the state papers, effectively Paget's secretarial archive discussed in the previous chapter, were located at the end of Henry VIII's reign. For this we need to return to Robert Beale's 'Treatise', in which he explains that towards the end of Henry VIII's reign the state papers were kept in 'a chamber at Westminster' but 'were not in the Secretarie's private custody'.³⁵ If we can rely on Beale then this is important because it means that Paget's papers were not kept in his own rooms at court but were kept elsewhere.³⁶ They were in fact kept in the king's privy lodgings, unsurprising given that in a personal monarchy the papers of the state were the private property of the king and for this there is a variety of evidence. In the first place there is the inventory taken shortly after Henry VIII's death of 'bagges of bokes *lettres* and other writengs remayneng in the study at westminster and in several tilles wthin the same'.³⁷ These books, letters and writings were, in effect, the state papers. At the end of the eighteenth century, in 1799, the keeper of the state papers, John Bruce, wrote a 'Sketch of the Origin and present Situation of the State Paper Office', in which he argued that the state papers in the reign of Henry VIII were kept 'within the precincts of the Palace of Westminster...and the Papers were lodged in Rooms over the Old Gateway at Whitehall'.³⁸ By the 'Old Gateway at Whitehall' Bruce meant the Holbein Gate, which by the end of Henry VIII's reign constituted the most secret of the king's privy lodgings, including his chair

³⁴ APC, ii, pp. 15-16. Whilst much of what Paget said on this occasion is open to scrutiny, that the king habitually 'devised' with his secretary from within the confines of his privy lodgings can be suggested with some certainty.

³⁵ C. Read, *Mr secretary Walsingham and the policy of Queen Elizabeth*, (iii vols.; Oxford, 1925), i, Appendix, p. 431. In the account which follows I am concerned with papers kept at Westminster, that is, the king's new palace of Westminster at Whitehall which was Henry's 'working' palace at the end of the reign. For a full consideration of the difference between 'Whitehall' and 'Westminster' see below, pp. 73-74. Where Paget worked from in the other palaces cannot be established with any certainty due to the paucity of evidence.

³⁶ It will become clear that here I am essentially following what R.B. Wernham wrote in 1956 in his 'The public records in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', in L. Fox (ed.), *English historical scholarship in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries* (Oxford, 1956), where he argued that 'most of the State Papers were in fact then [at the end of Henry VIII's reign] kept in chests and 'tills' in the King's study', p. 20. My account, though, goes rather further than Wernham's.

³⁷ PRO, SP 45/20, fo. 1r. This in itself, though, does not locate the papers in the privy lodgings, as Wernham seems to have assumed. It could equally apply to another study, possibly Paget's, elsewhere at Whitehall.

³⁸ PRO, SP 45/75. This document has no page or folio numbers. Bruce has to be treated with considerable caution. In the same sketch he suggested that the first keeper of the state papers was Sir Thomas Lake during the reign of Henry VIII. In fact Lake did not become a keeper until 1603.

house or secret study.³⁹ What further reinforces the idea that Henry VIII had custody of his own papers is a request made by Paget to Petre at the end of 1545, 'I pray you move the kinges maiestie for the ffrench kinges lettre toching thayde ^at themperors being in provence^'.⁴⁰ It was the king to whom Petre had to resort to get hold of this letter. If one looks at the inventory of papers in the 'study at westminster', this particular letter, by 1547, would have been found amongst 'A great bagge of matiers of ffrance', 'lettres and matiers touching thambassadors in ffrance' or, most likely, 'dyverse lettres of the emperors the french kinges the french kinges mothers and the regent of fflaundes owne handes and oon lettre of the king of Scotos owne hand'.⁴¹

The state papers were therefore in the custody of the king, but where was the room? On the face of it the answer should be simple as the 1547 inventory of papers locates the room as the 'study' or the 'study over' and as we have seen Bruce wrote that the papers were kept in the Holbein Gate. However, by 1547 the privy lodgings contained a number of rooms which were at some time referred to as a study and Bruce was writing over 250 years after the period in question. It is therefore necessary to look at the privy lodgings by 1547 in some detail. The great difficulty in discussing the king's privy lodgings by the end of the reign is that they were indeed 'privy' and therefore we have no full description of them. The evidence is diffuse and we are forced to rely on tantalising but incomplete incidental references. This problem is compounded by the fact that they were, as with all royal apartments, located on the first floor, which means that archaeological evidence is limited. However, recent work by Simon Thurley has considerably developed what is known about the likely layout of the lodgings and the rooms within. At the heart of the king's privy lodgings was the privy gallery constructed in the early 1530s.⁴² This ran at right angles from the king's withdrawing chamber and began with king's privy closet, continued through the Holbein Gate and over to the other side of King Street where it continued as the gallery over the tiltyard. It was off this privy gallery that the king's privy lodgings lay. By the last few years of the reign, though, these lodgings had themselves undergone a further sub-division which meant that the inner

³⁹ S. Thurley, *Whitehall palace. An architectural history of the royal apartments, 1240-1698* (London, 1999), pp. 43-47 and plans 72 and 75.

⁴⁰ Paget to Petre, 27 November 1545, PRO, SP 1/211, fo. 91v.

⁴¹ PRO, SP 45/20, fo. 1r, PRO, SP 45/20, fo. 2v, PRO, SP 45/20, fo. 4r.

⁴² Thurley, *Whitehall*, pp. 43-47.

sanctum of privy lodgings were what Thurley has called the 'secret lodgings' which began with the royal bedchamber.⁴³

With the use of the inventory taken at Henry's death it is possible with some accuracy to reconstruct the layout of these rooms and, importantly, the contents within them. Of the rooms in the privy lodgings there are four in the 1547 inventory which are described as studies. These are, the 'Studie at the hether ende of the Long Gallorie', the 'Kynges secrete studie called the Chaier house', the 'lytle Study nexte the kynges olde Bedde Chambre', and the 'lytle studie called the newe librarye'.⁴⁴ Of these, three were located within the king's secret lodgings, beyond the bedchamber. The exception to this was the study at the 'hether ende of the Longe Gallorie' which was probably the privy closet.⁴⁵ In all these studies one finds the kind of furnishings and paraphernalia which one might associate with an office or study, and a good deal more besides, just to remind one that this was where the king lived as well as worked. In all probability business would have been conducted in any one of these rooms. In a personal monarchy affairs of state were conducted wherever the king was. We know that Henry frequently dealt with business whilst hearing mass, which he generally heard in his privy closet. Back in 1536 Sadler, acting as Cromwell's agent, had been told by Henry to come to him at, 'masse tyme to rede the same [a memorial from Cromwell] unto his grace'. The king, though, could not be induced to sign and Sadler concluded 'it wolbe harde to gette any billes signed at this tyme seeing that I have myssed to have them done at masse tyme'.⁴⁶ However, the details of the furnishings in this room do not suggest that the state papers were kept there. In any case, by the 1540s the privy closet was less 'privy' than it had been earlier in the reign and its location before the threshold of the bedchamber and the secret lodgings beyond make it an unlikely home for the most sensitive papers.

⁴³ S. Thurley, *The royal palaces of Tudor England. Architecture and court life, c. 1460-1547* (London, 1993), pp. 139-143.

⁴⁴ David Starkey (ed.), *The inventory of king Henry VIII, Society of Antiquaries MS 129 and British Library MS Harley 1419, the transcript* (London, 1998), pp. 233, 246, 260.

⁴⁵ Thurley, *Whitehall*, p. 62. Thurley uses the word 'nether' rather than 'hether', which is presumably a difference of transcription between him and the editors of *The inventory*. It should not surprise us that this study was also referred to as a closet, since in the sixteenth century these were often used for both study and prayer, Thurley, *Royal palaces*, pp. 125-127.

⁴⁶ Sadler to Cromwell, [11 January] 1536, PRO, SP 1/101, fo. 57r. For Henry VIII's penchant for dealing with affairs of state at mass see, E.W. Ives, 'Henry VIII: the political perspective', in Diarmaid MacCulloch (ed.), *The reign of Henry VIII. Politics, policy and piety* (Basingstoke, 1995), p. 22. Henry sometimes heard as many as three to five masses in any one day, and except on Sundays and important Holy Days, these were heard in his privy closet rather than the royal chapel, see F. Kisby, 'The early Tudor royal household chapel, 1485-1547', unpublished University of London Ph.D. (1996), pp. 129-135.

This leaves us with three possibilities within the secret lodgings. The 1547 inventory of state papers gives some information about the way in which papers and books were stored in the study. In all there were 24 bags of books and one 'male' containing a variety of letters. In addition to this there were two 'litle cofers' and two 'greate cofers'. There were also many papers stored 'In the cupbordes and tiles in the studie' and indeed 'speciall thinges in the studye in a till written upon speciall matyer'. Finally there was a large collection of books and letters stored in a chest. If one compares this to the 1547 inventory of Henry VIII's palaces there is one particular study which appears to bear a close correlation to the study containing the state papers. This is the 'Little study called the newe librarye'. The very first entry in this room in the inventory reads, 'First xxii bagges of lether and Canvas with sundrye wrytinges from sondrie places beyonde the Sea'.⁴⁷ Given that the study containing the state papers seems to have contained 24 bags, 16 of which contained letters and papers dealing with 'sondrie places beyond the Sea' there must exist a strong presumption that we have located the study. This becomes stronger when one considers that the seventh entry in the inventory reads, 'Item a cuppbourde full of tilles *videlicet* <in> the lower part sondrie wrytinges concerning rekeninges with plattes and petygrees The next rowne aboue the same sondrie plattes and wrytinges twoo tilles next aboue the same with sondrie wrytinges in theym two tilles aboue thoes likewise'.⁴⁸ So it continues describing a cupboard full of tills containing papers, though the individual papers are generally not identified. Again this bears a striking resemblance to the cupboards and tills referred to in the inventory of state papers. Finally, some of the other contents of this particular study suggest a room in which affairs of state were conducted. There was 'a litle coffre like a shippe Coffre with bulles' belonging to the king. There was also 'a square boxe conteyning treatise & commissions for peace'.

It is worth reiterating that affairs of state would have been conducted in any part of the privy lodgings and all of the studies contain papers and the paraphernalia associated with writing. However, of all the rooms this 'litle study called the newe librarye' is the one which most closely correlates to the details we have in the inventory of the state papers. The room itself was located, by 1547, beyond the old bedchamber but before the secret jewel house, off the privy gallery.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Starkey, *Inventory*, p. 260.

⁴⁸ Starkey, *Inventory*, p. 260.

⁴⁹ Thurley, *Whitehall*, p. 67, plan 75.

But what of the study over the Holbein Gate? As we have seen this is where the state papers later came to reside and this is where a later keeper of the state papers thought they were kept at the end of the reign. If one looks at the contents of this 'secrete studie' or 'chaier house' the striking aspect is that it is full of furniture in which papers and documents could have been kept.⁵⁰ There are numerous 'cabons' or cabinets used for storing documents and equally numerous 'coofers' which would have been used for the same purpose, though only rarely are any documents mentioned.⁵¹ Furthermore there are numerous desks, 'standisshes' and tables, which again suggests that this was a place where work on papers and documents took place.⁵² To this we should add one particularly telling piece of evidence. After a description of the chair house in the inventory is a memorandum dated 12 November 1549,

the stuffe left in the kinges secrete Juelhowse in the studye at (*westminster*) the hether ende of the longe gallery in the Chairehouse & and in the studie next the kinges olde Bedchambreat Westminster were in the only custody of the duke of Somersett vntill the tyme of his trowble beinge in Octobre Anno tercio Regis Edwardi vjti at which tyme the keys were delyuered to the kinges most honorable Counsaill and by ther commaundement the doors sealed vntil the said xijth day of Novembre...⁵³

The clear implication of this is that both the study called the new library next to the old bedchamber and the study in the chair house had a special significance, presumably because of the papers they contained, to which Somerset wished to control access. In the same way, access to the state papers had been controlled in Henry VIII's reign by virtue of the fact that they were kept within his tightly controlled secret lodgings at Whitehall.⁵⁴

However, whilst it is clear that many papers were kept in the secret lodgings, by no means all of the secretarial archive was kept there. The majority of the papers listed in the 1547 inventory of state papers pre-date Paget's appointment as secretary, and of course many current papers must

⁵⁰ It was called the king's chair house because these housed the two wheelchairs used by Henry at the end of the reign to enable him to move about his secret lodgings when his ulcerated leg caused particular problems, Thurley, *Whitehall*, pp. 63-64.

⁵¹ Even then the description is cursory, for example in one cabinet there were 'dyuerse Rolles of Parchment of sondrye thinges', Starkey, *Inventory*, p. 234.

⁵² Interestingly, it was on such a 'standisshes' in the secret lodgings that Anthony Denny inserted Paget's gift in the so-called 'unfulfilled gifts clause' at the end of the reign. 'Wherwithall I, Sir Antony Deny, toke his Majestes standisshes there bye, and axed what his pleasour was I shuld put in', *APC*, ii, p. 20.

⁵³ Starkey, *Inventory*, p. 235.

⁵⁴ For the 'completely private' nature of these lodgings see, Thurley, *Whitehall*, p. 64.

have been kept in Paget's own lodgings at court. Unfortunately precisely where this was is unclear, but we do have some clues. The principal evidence is a letter from Paget to Petre of 24 November 1545. As a result of changes to the king's privy lodgings at Whitehall at this time Paget's own accommodation was reallocated. His complaint to Petre is sufficiently important to be quoted fully:

I pray you move Mr Carden [Sir Thomas Carwarden], or Mr Denny, for my lodging, and that I may have another chamber, in stede of that His Majesty hath taken. For you knowe that the chamber over the gate wil scant receyve my bedde, and a table to write at, for my self. The study you know is no mete place to be trampled in for diseasing His Majestie. I must nedes have a place to kepe my table in. They sayd I shuld have [the] lodging over the gate, where Mr Baynton lay, which [I much] want. I have no place, nother for my own clerkes, nor such others as must serve His Majestie, as the Latyn Secretary, the French Secretary, the Clerkes of the Counsail, the Clerkes of the Signet, to write in; and His Majesties affayres be not to be written in every place, but where they may be secret, and where I may resort to se the doying of the same. I speke not so moche for myn own self, as for His Majesties service, as both I, and such as must serve hym, may be redy at his hand.⁵⁵

The extract is frustratingly incomplete in its references, but important conclusions can nevertheless be drawn. In the course of the 1540s, and clearly at the end of 1545, the king's secret lodgings were reorganised and the western end of the privy gallery which had previously been used as a thoroughfare for courtiers was blocked off, meaning that 'the king's lodgings became completely private at the western end of the privy gallery'.⁵⁶ The fact that Paget was displaced by these architectural modifications means that prior to November 1545 his office was in the vicinity of Henry's secret lodgings. David Starkey has suggested that in 1545 Paget's lodging had been at the western end of the privy gallery.⁵⁷ This would certainly fit with these facts. After that date the whereabouts of his new lodgings is unclear. Thurley has suggested that after this date Paget's lodging at Whitehall consisted of 'two very small rooms in the northern gatehouse'.⁵⁸ Paget makes the point that the study, by this he means the king's study, cannot be cluttered with all of his office personnel. But at the same time Paget argues that his secretariat must be 'redy at his [the king's] hand', which provides further confirmation that certainly prior to November 1545 his office was close to the secret lodgings. What the letter also indicates unequivocally is that Paget's secretariat,

⁵⁵ Paget to Petre, 24 November 1545, *State papers of Henry VIII*, i, p. xiii. I have used the transcription in *State papers* as the original is damaged rendering the microfilm version virtually illegible.

⁵⁶ Thurley, *Whitehall*, p. 62-4.

⁵⁷ David Starkey, 'Tudor government: the facts?', *Historical Journal*, 31 (1988), p. 926, n. 19.

⁵⁸ Thurley, *Royal palaces*, p. 130.

which included his personal clerks, the clerks of the signet, the clerks of the privy council and so on, worked from his own lodgings at Whitehall.⁵⁹

The model we have, therefore, for the environment in which Paget worked in the 1540s is that he clearly worked from, and had access to the king's study, next to the old bedchamber, which is where many of the state papers were kept.⁶⁰ Of course his private office, which would have run to in excess of ten men, could not operate from here. Instead they worked from Paget's own lodgings at court which prior to 1545 were in the vicinity of the privy lodgings at the western end of the privy gallery. After this date Paget was displaced and his secretariat moved, possibly to the northern gate house.

To this model one further layer needs to be conjectured. At the end of February 1545 Paget was about to embark from Dover for the continent and in a telling postscript Petre is informed, 'you shall fynde fontaneys cyphre among the rest of the cyphres written upon *with greke lettres Bertheuilles cyphre*'.⁶¹ This is important because it suggests that Petre was unfamiliar with the location of the ciphers. Ciphers were amongst the most secret of secretarial papers and Paget certainly had a responsibility for constructing ciphers since he wrote to Hertford in March 1544 explaining that the king had instructed him to devise one for Hertford and send it to him.⁶² Some ciphers were kept with the rest of the state papers in the king's study. There is a reference to, 'Mr Sadleirs the bishops of London and Westminster the *bishop* of Winchestre mr *secretary* mr pagets mr Buclers my *lord* of Norffolk and dyverse other cyphre used by them at their beeng in Spayn ffrance Scotland etc'.⁶³ However, by 1545 all of these were out of date. No doubt they were used as models from which to construct new ciphers but none of them was in current use. It means that there was another room to which Petre was being directed. This might have been the office in which Paget's secretariat worked, but Petre might reasonably be expected to be familiar with the location of papers there. What it suggests is that there was a further room somewhere in Whitehall

⁵⁹ For a full discussion of the secretariat see, chapter 4.

⁶⁰ Again David Starkey concurs with this view, 'the room, we know, was called 'the Study', and the study was naturally available to the secretary...the council's study and the king's own working study (which was within hearing-distance of his bedchamber and most likely next to it) were the same, and the council's records were stored among his records-which should surprise no one, for it was his council after all', 'Tudor government: the facts?', p. 926. A cursory survey of the inventory of papers indicates that conciliar papers were also located here.

⁶¹ Paget to Petre, 24 February 1545, PRO, SP 1/198, fo. 161v.

⁶² Paget to Hertford, 11 March 1544, Hatfield, Cecil MS. 231, no. 3.

palace, possibly annexed to Paget's lodgings, which was Paget's own preserve and in which he kept particularly sensitive material. This is confirmed by reference to a letter from Paget to Petre:

I pray you to move the kinges maiestie for the ffrench kinges *lettre* toching thayde^{at} theemperors being in provence[^] Mr Sadleyr I thynk can tell sumwhat of it for...when he was in your place he had the sorting of all such *lettres* to the kinges maiestie ffrom the ffrench king and such lyke or els it remayneth in the study the keys wherof I leeft at my house-chanon row in the wyndow of my bed chamber to be sent to you if mr mason have them not⁶⁴

Clearly the study to which Paget refers was not the king's study, rather it was a room which Paget guarded jealously and to which only he had the keys. That Paget did indeed have a separate room in which he stored his most sensitive papers is finally confirmed by Beale, 'A Secretarie must have a speciall Cabinet, whereof he is himselfe to keepe the Keye, for his signetts, Ciphers and secrett Intelligences, distinguishing the boxes or tills rather by letters than by the names of the Countryes or places, keepinge that only unto himselfe, for the names may inflame a desire to come by such thinges'.⁶⁵ Exchange the word 'study' for 'Cabinet' and Paget was doing precisely what Beale prescribed nearly fifty years later, right down to labelling the tills with letters. Being a man of the renaissance these were, of course, in Greek.

II

In 1587, at the trial of an Elizabethan principal secretary, William Davison, Sir Walter Mildmay explained that 'the secretary...was the eare and mynd of the prince, yea her penne & mouth...'⁶⁶ Forty years earlier Paget was the king's eyes and ears. It was the king's secretary who bridged the gap between the monarch and the wider political community, at home and abroad. Of course members of the privy council and the privy chamber counselled and informed the king, but most information was channelled through Paget, who presented it to the king. This naturally led to Paget being a major source of advice, of counsel on all matters. Finally, it was Paget who was both the

⁶³ PRO, SP 45/20, fo. 6v

⁶⁴ Paget to Petre, 27 November 1545, PRO, SP 1/211, fo. 91v.

⁶⁵ Read, *Mr secretary Walsingham*, i, Appendix, p. 428.

⁶⁶ Mark Taviner, 'Robert Beale and the Elizabethan polity', unpublished University of St Andrews Ph.D. (2000), p. 104.

‘penne & mouth’ of Henry in his last years. He drafted the king’s letters and was his orator, both at home and abroad.

As secretary Paget stood at the apex of an immensely complex and dense information network. As the previous chapter demonstrated he received a wide diversity of papers and documents on a daily basis. From abroad he would receive letters from the official ambassador or ambassadors or from unofficial agents working on the king’s business. Equally he received letters from military commanders and privy councillors when they were not at court. It was also through Paget that foreign ambassadors resident in England sought to communicate with the king. Of course he also dealt with letters originating from foreign princes. This various correspondence might be addressed to the king, the privy council or to Paget himself, but all came to his office and all were channelled through him to the king.⁶⁷ Paget’s archive drips with evidence that all channels of communication were focused on him. By the beginning of June 1543 Chapuys was sending letters to Paget to be declared to the king.⁶⁸ A few months later Sir Francis Bryan wrote that ‘I send yow no newys by cause I know yow shalbe preavie to all those that comythe to the kynges *Maiestie*’.⁶⁹ Sir John Wallop writing from the same campaign comments ‘the rest of or *procedinges* you shall *perceyve* by the kinges *maiesties* letters’.⁷⁰ The same sense of Paget’s intimacy with the king’s correspondence is reflected in Hertford’s request that, ‘I have received a *lettre* from my brother wherin is conteyned no newes for that the same be conferred only in the kinges *Maiesties* *lettres* wherof I desire you to make me *participant* encase yor leasure maye suffre it’.⁷¹ Similar examples could be invoked from throughout the period of Paget’s secretaryship. Interestingly all those cited above come from the first few months of Paget’s tenure, indicating that from very early on Paget was privy to all. Indeed on one occasion in 1544 despite the fact that a letter was addressed ‘To the

⁶⁷ For a fuller discussion of the relationship between this correspondence and the formation of policy see the next chapter. The most literal description of Paget’s contact with the king’s correspondence is perhaps, ‘the *xxi* of this *present* we wrote to the Kinges *Maiestie* all such *occurentes* as we herd then we trust thei be cum *salfie* to your handes’, Bucler and Mont to Paget, 27 October 1545, PRO, SP 1/209, fo. 141r.

⁶⁸ Chapuys to Paget, 3 June 1543, PRO, SP 1/178, fo. 139r.

⁶⁹ Brian to Paget, 25 October 1543, PRO, SP 1/182, fo. 33r.

⁷⁰ Wallop to Paget, 6 November 1543, PRO, SP 1/182, fo. 78r.

⁷¹ Hertford to Paget, 15 August 1543, PRO, SP 1/181, fo. 44r.

kynges moost Royall Maiestie', the endorsement reads 'The Duk of Suffolk to Mr Secretary Mr. Paget'.⁷² A letter to the king was a letter to Paget.

The most frequent type of letter Paget received were those from ambassadors abroad, which might be variously addressed to the king, the privy council or to Paget. The reasons why an ambassador would address a letter variously to one or more of these three recipients are interesting in themselves. Typically an ambassador would write a lengthy letter to the king, detailing relevant events and negotiations, and include an additional covering letter to Paget.⁷³ The assumption, sometimes explicitly mentioned, was that Paget would convey the letter to the king so the covering letter often included extra intelligence and information not thought appropriate for the longer dispatch to the king. The covering letter to Paget would also generally contain personal information and typically a request for Paget to pursue some suit for the ambassador.⁷⁴ Occasionally the ambassador was pressed for time and the covering letter was an apologetic note referring Paget to the letter to the king.⁷⁵

However, ambassadors also directed letters solely to the privy council or to Paget. The reasons for this were various. The main reason a letter was directed to Paget or the privy council rather than to Henry was that it was thought not sufficiently important.⁷⁶ Even for a secretary like Petre

⁷² Suffolk to Henry VIII, 24 July 1544, PRO, SP 1/190, fo. 140v. On at least one occasion a letter was endorsed as being sent to Henry and Paget, 'Thambassadors for the protestantes to the kinges maiestie and mr paget secretary', PRO, SP 1/209, fo. 113v.

⁷³ The letter to the king was usually notable by the careful clerk's hand which drafted the letter. The letter to Paget was frequently scribbled in a much rougher hand, often by the ambassador himself. This was particularly characteristic of Nicholas Wotton's correspondence, see above, pp. 11-13. But see also Thirlby to Henry VIII, 19 October 1545, PRO, SP 1/209 fos. 63r-64v; Thirlby to Paget, 19 October 1545, PRO, SP 1/209 fos. 65r-68v. Equally, ambassadorial letters had to be filtered through the secretary and his office due to the use of ciphers. For one example, see, Wotton to Henry VIII, 24 July 1544, PRO, SP 1/190, fos. 146r-148v., the decipher, PRO, SP 1/190, fo. 151r., Wotton to Paget, 24 July 1544, PRO, SP 1/190, fo. 152r-v. The practice of sending a covering letter was also observed when Cromwell was secretary, M.L. Robertson, 'Thomas Cromwell's servants. The ministerial household in early Tudor government and society', unpublished UCLA Ph.D. (1975), p. 241

⁷⁴ For this see below, pp. 54-55.

⁷⁵ Brian to Paget, 6 December 1543, PRO, SP 1/182, fo. 149r, 'by cause I knowe that yow shall be preavy to all our procedings here make me me refrayn my penn yn makynge a longe letter but by cause ye shulde nat conseave no unkyndnes yn me I write to you these few short lynes'. Wotton to Paget, 6 September 1544, PRO, SP 1/192, fo. 36r. 'for haste I wrote not to yow the last tyme that I wrote to the kinges highnesse'.

⁷⁶ Gardiner to Paget, 27 January 1546, PRO, SP 1/128, fo. 169r. In this letter Gardiner explains to Paget that he took the opportunity to send a letter and inform him of 'occurents' because a messenger happened to be going to Calais. However, he included no letter to the king because he had nothing of sufficient importance to write. Similarly Thomas Chamberlain wrote from Antwerp, 'as for thoccurentes here at this

addressing the letter correctly could be a cause for confusion, ‘if I have nott doon well taddress thies *lettres* to the consayl lett me have yor advise I will amend the next Bycause thies maters be long and tedious I thought it nott best to adrresse the same to the kinges *maiestie*’.⁷⁷ Clearly, though, there was no rigid rule and knowing what information to direct to whom was part of the skill of the ambassador. Alternatively, information in a letter to Paget was provided so that he might use his discretion in proffering it for the king’s consideration. In the spring of 1544 Wotton wrote to Paget of the advantages that might ensue from Charles V not declaring the Scots to be his common enemy, ‘The *which* my dubte I have thought it to be my *parte* to signefye unto you praing you that if this thing seeme either to you not worthy to be considered or if it have been remembrid and debatid all readye that then you wyll keepe it to yor self or els to move it and speke of it as you shall thinke beste’.⁷⁸ This idea that it was not for the ambassador to offer counsel to the king, but convey advice to the secretary which he might, at his discretion convey to the king, was neatly expressed by Walter Bucler and Mont writing from Germany in 1545, ‘of this [their counsel], by cause it apperyd more lyke a mater of counslyng then of advertysyng, I made no mention in the letters to the Kynge’s Majestie, yet Doctor Mont and I both thought it expedient to wryte it to you and to my Lord Chaunsler [Wriothesley], to thintent you myght knowe other mennys myndes’.⁷⁹ Alternatively, a letter to Paget might simply be sent because the letter addressed to the king had already been sealed up and additional information could therefore more easily be sent to Paget.⁸⁰ On at least one occasion it was fear of writing directly to the king to convey bad news which led to an appeal to Paget to do the dirty work. After the failure of the English army to take Landersey in October 1543 Wallop wrote, ‘Thies news are so far dyscrepant frome my expectacion that I am ashamed to write the same to the Kinges Majesty’.⁸¹ The job fell to Paget.

tyme ar not of suche waight that I dare troble the Kinges Majestie with them yet it maie please you to be certified of them and finding them of eny effect to use of them *with* His Majestie as ye shall seme good’, Chamberlain to Paget, 2 April 1546, PRO, SP 1/185, fo. 77v.

⁷⁷ Petre to Paget, 28 May 1545, PRO, SP 1/201, fo. 155v. The letter also serves to underline Paget’s greater seniority and experience.

⁷⁸ Wotton to Paget, 4 March 1544, PRO, SP 1/183, fo. 179r. Privy councillors might also ask Paget to exercise similar discretion in showing letters to the king. Hertford wrote to Paget commenting, ‘I have received a *lettre* ffrom my Lieutennt in Jersay the *which* for that it poportith somme newes I have sent unto you her*with* disiring you encase ye shall thinke it good to shewe thise unto the kinges *maiestie*’, Hertford to Paget, 15 August 1543, PRO, SP 1/181, fo. 44r.

⁷⁹ Bucler and Mont to Paget or Petre, 3 April 1545, PRO, SP 1/199, fo. 182r.

⁸⁰ Hertford to Paget, 3 June 1545, PRO, SP 1/201, fo. 201r.

⁸¹ Wallop to Paget, 29 Oct 1543, PRO, SP 1/182, fo. 45v.

As well as official ambassadors Paget was kept informed of events across Europe by a host of agents and Englishmen abroad: Christopher Mont, Stephen Vaughan, William Damesell, John Dymock, Thomas Chamberlain, to name a few. In the case of Vaughan and Chamberlain this was an accepted part of their broader role as representatives of the merchant adventurers in Antwerp. At times of international crisis the weight of this correspondence could increase dramatically. For example at the beginning of 1545, when, for a moment, Henry VIII's government clearly feared that the arrest of English merchant shipping in Low Countries was a prelude to military aggression by Charles V, Paget was inundated with hasty letters from the continent informing him of events.⁸²

Whilst Paget had to be kept abreast of European developments, the pressure for constant information came equally from the king. Henry VIII was keen to be kept regularly informed. Most ambassadorial instructions contained a clause requiring them to be diligent in sending back information and a common complaint from the king was that ambassadors did not write with sufficient regularity.⁸³ Equally common were apologies from agents and ambassadors abroad for not having written recently. This was one reason why William Howard was replaced by Paget as ambassador to Francis I in 1541.⁸⁴

Significantly this correspondence greatly illuminates Paget's role as a conduit to the king. As well as using his discretion in what he relayed to Henry, Paget was often asked to frame things favourably to him, so that the actions of the writer might be seen in a favourable light. After the

⁸² Paget received a letter from Stephen Vaughan and William Damesell in Antwerp addressed to Henry VIII, Vaughan and Damesell to Henry VIII, 6 January 1545, PRO, SP 1/197, fo. 37r. This had been passed on by Nicholas Wotton and Edward Carne in Ghent, who addressed their own letter relaying further information about the arrest, Wotton and Carne to Paget, 6 January 1545, PRO, SP 1/197, fos. 33r-35r. William Claye, deputy governor of the English merchants at Bergen, in Brabant, sent a letter to the privy council detailing events there, Claye to privy council, 7 January 1545, PRO, SP 1/197, fos. 41r-42v. John Sturgeon, governor of the English merchants at Antwerp also sent a letter back to England, which equally must have come into Paget's hands as it has survived in his archive, Sturgeon to the merchant adventurers at London, [6?] January 1545, PRO, SP 1/197, fos. 39r-40v.

⁸³ Paget's own instructions when he was sent as ambassador to Francis I contain the usual formula, 'and with diligence tadvertise his Majestie of the same accordingly', Instructions to William Paget, Caius MSS. 597/362, pp. 2-3.

⁸⁴ Marillac to Francis I, 12 October 1541, *Correspondence politique de Mm. De Castillon et de Marillac*, ed. J. Kaulek (Paris, 1885), p. 348, 'et qu'ilz sont apperceuz ledit millord Guillem avoir este peu dilligent de leur faire entendre toutes nouvelles et que souvent ses advis sont icy venuz apres qu'on avoit este adverti de toutes pars de ce qu'il escripvoit, de quoy ils ne restoiert gueres satisfaitz comme ceulx qui sont curieux d'entendre les premiers tout ce qu'il se faict par le monde' [and they believe the said Lord William to have been slow in sending news and that often his dispatches have arrived after the

lengthy negotiations at Bourbourg, in Flanders, in 1545, Petre sought Paget's help 'that our doings may be taken in gracious part', His concern was evident since he prayed 'God we have contented the King's Majesty'.⁸⁵ As well as being the conduit to Henry, it was also, naturally, Paget's assistance that was sought when an answer was required of him, particularly if it was a matter of urgency. For example in October 1543 Lord Maltravers, the deputy of Calais, wrote to Paget, explaining 'I have thought goode to signifie to you to thintent yt may pleas you tadvertise me with sped of his [i.e. Henry's] moost gracious resolution'.⁸⁶ Equally, in March 1544 Wotton explained to Paget the difficulties he was encountering raising 1,000 mercenaries at a rate that Henry was prepared to pay. Uncertain as to how to proceed he sought an answer from the king via Paget, 'and therefore I shall require you to put this mater in remembrance so as it be not forgotten'.⁸⁷ As an intermediary between correspondents and Henry, Paget's role was not limited to foreign ambassadors or military commanders abroad. It extended equally to privy councillors, even Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury. In January 1546 Cranmer wrote to Paget from his house at Bekisbourne outside Canterbury:

Aftre my veray hartie comendations having sent by this bearer *lettres* to be deliuered unto the kinges maiestie by you *with* a mynute of another *lettre* in the same enclosure (the cotype wherof you shall herewith receyve) to be sent unto me from the kinges maiestie Thies shalbe to desire you to peruse the sayd mynute and if it be not formeably made I praye you to refourme the same *with* suche correction as shall seme unto you moost requisite and therapon to deliver it unto the kinges maiesty knowing his graces further pleasure in the same⁸⁸

So here Paget was even called upon to amend the letter of a prominent privy councillor before it was presented to the king.⁸⁹ Through the flow of correspondence, then, Paget was Henry VIII's

information has come from other sources, which they find very unsatisfactory as here they wish to be the first to hear what goes on in the world].

⁸⁵ Petre to Paget, 17 July 1545, PRO, SP 1/204, fo. 43r. Paget's help could even be invoked to apologise for spelling mistakes. Richard Layton, who was ambassador to Mary of Hungary in 1544 explained to Paget that in his last letter to the king he had written 'Tornay for Torwen'. Thus, 'I pray you make myne excuse in that behalfe', Layton to Paget, 9 March 1544, PRO, SP 1/183, fo. 192r.

⁸⁶ Maltravers to Paget, 11 October 1543, PRO, SP 1/182, fo. 15r.

⁸⁷ Wotton to Paget, 19 March 1544, PRO, SP 1/184, fo. 5r. There are numerous other instances of this sort of thing, for a few examples, PRO, SP 1/182, fo. 42r; PRO, SP 1/201, fo. 61r; PRO, SP 1/201, fo. 83r-v; PRO, SP 1/201, fo. 91r.

⁸⁸ Cranmer to Paget, 20 January 1546, PRO, SP 1/213, fo. 124r.

⁸⁹ Intervention in framing papers for presentation equally applied to documents addressed to the privy council. In July 1544 Edward Vaughan wrote to the privy council and enclosed a letter to Paget in which he postscripted, 'I pray you yf my *lettre* to the counsell be not well pend helpe yt in the reding for you

contact with the world beyond the court, and indeed beyond the confines of the privy lodgings. Of course this meant he could also act as a block to the flow of information. This was the case in September 1544 when Paget's friend, Lord Cobham requested he be given brief leave from his post as deputy of Calais. Paget replied that, 'as toching your licence...the state of the world at this present makith your presence there so necessary as nether youe may honestly desyre to be absent from your charge nor I honestly sue for the same'.⁹⁰

Conveying this information to the king took place within the context of the royal audience.⁹¹ Here in the king's privy lodgings Paget's role was to offer documents for signing, present other information, for example letters from privy councillors or ambassadors, counsel the king and take instructions or dictation for the drafting of documents in the king's name.⁹² It was in this environment that Paget's skill as a courtier was most needed. Wolsey and Cromwell were both well aware of the need to 'manage' Henry, their preferred methods being eloquence and the timely presentation of a gift, often a jewel or mechanical device.⁹³ Later in the century William Cecil and Francis Walsingham were equally aware of the need to read the royal mood.⁹⁴ Doubtless Paget followed Beale's advice that before any audience he should learn of the royal humour from the gentlemen of the privy chamber.⁹⁵ Before the king Paget had to present Henry's correspondence. When Pace was secretary he explained to Wolsey that:

I nevyr rehersydde your graces *lettres* diminutely or fully but by the kyngis expresse *commaundement* whoo redyth all your *lettres* wyth grete diligence...yff I wolde informe the kyng othrewyse off your graces *lettres* than the troith is I conith nott so do wythowte grete schiame and to myne owne evident ruine ffor hys grace doith rede them all hys selffe and

know my secretaryship not to be very good', Vaughan to Paget, 20 July 1544, PRO, SP 1/190, fo. 100r. The letter to the privy council is PRO, SP 1/190, fo. 98r.

⁹⁰ Paget to Cobham, 29 September 1544, BL Harley MS. 283, fo. 190r (pencil top right).

⁹¹ For the process when Cecil and Walsingham were secretaries see, Taviner, 'Robert Beale', pp. 107-111.

⁹² The presentation of documents for signing in Henry VIII's reign, particularly in the last eighteen months when the dry stamp was in operation, raises important questions in its own right and for that reason is dealt with separately below, pp. 58-64.

⁹³ For Wolsey see Vergil's comments in David Starkey, *The reign of Henry VIII: personalities and politics* (London, 1985), pp. 61-62. The sketch of Anthony Denny's New Year's gift for Henry in 1544 illustrates Henry's love of the mechanical. Cromwell's use of mechanical gifts to induce the king to sign papers is reflected in Sadler's letter in 1536, 'I delyvered unto his grace your locke and opened unto him all the gynnes of the same which his grace lyketh marvelously well and hertely thanked you for the same', Sadler to Cromwell, [11 January] 1536, PRO, SP 1/101, fo. 57v.

⁹⁴ Taviner, 'Robert Beale', pp. 107-108.

⁹⁵ Taviner, 'Robert Beale', p. 107.

examine the same at laysor wyth grete deliberacion and haith better wytte to undrestonde them than I to informe hym.⁹⁶

Whilst Henry might have read all of Wolsey's letters, most correspondence he had read to him.⁹⁷

By the end of the reign the king appears to have both read some letters himself and had some read to him by Paget. For example in May 1544 Paget wrote to Chamberlain on behalf of the privy council commenting that, 'the Kinges *Maietie* hath sene yor *lettres* lately addressed unto me Sir william paget'.⁹⁸ Equally, correspondents would write to Paget asking that he 'present' letters to the king. In July 1544 Russell wrote to Paget about the seige at Montreuil, 'as I have signified unto the kinges *Maiestie* by my *lettres* hereinclosed which I beseche you may be presented unto the same'.⁹⁹ However, as well as showing and presenting letters to Henry, Paget clearly also read letters to the king. As he explained to Wotton in May 1544, 'I have receyved your *lettre* with another to the Kinges *Maiestie* which the [sic] his *maiestie* hath herd'.¹⁰⁰ Occasionally Paget would write on behalf of the privy council, 'we have sene your *lettre* lately written unto me the Secretarie...whiche the Kinges *Maiestie* hath also harde'.¹⁰¹ Oral presentation of letter is clearly what the earl of Shrewsbury had in mind when he sent Paget a bundle of letters, 'to thintent you maye declare theeffect of the same to the kinges *maiestie*'.¹⁰² However, there is an interesting distinction here between simple reading *verbatim* of the letters and the expectation that Paget might also provide a *précis* of the key elements of a letter. A *précis* would of course give Paget discretion

⁹⁶ Pace to Wolsey, 29 October 1521, PRO, SP 1/23, fos. 101r-102v.

⁹⁷ Tuke to Wolsey, 22 February 1529, BL Cotton MS. Vitellius B. xi, fo. 81r (pencil top right). At this stage in 1529 Brian Tuke was acting as secretary. For an example of More reading Wolsey's correspondence to Henry see, More to Wolsey, 1 September 1523, BL Cotton MS. Caligula B. i, fo. 319r (pencil top right).

⁹⁸ Privy council to Chamberlain, 1 May 1544, PRO, SP 1/187, fo. 77r (drafted by Paget). Similarly, privy council to Wotton and Carne, 12 January 1545, PRO, SP 1/197, fo. 81r, 'the kinges *Maieste* hath seen your seuerall *lettres* written at sundry tymes both to his *Maiestie* and to us of his counsail and nowe last that which you wrote to me the Secretary' (draft corrected by Paget); privy council with the king to Norfolk and others, 10 August 1544, PRO, SP 1/191, fo. 72r, 'It may like you to understand that the Kinges *maiestie* hath sene yor *lettres* addressed unto us by this bearer Richmond'.

⁹⁹ Russell to Paget, 16 July 1544, PRO, SP 1/190, fo. 49r. A week later Russell used similar words, 'I send hereinclosed *lettres* unto the kinges *Maiestie* I pray you good Mr Secretary to present them to his *Maiestie*', Russell to Paget, 22 July 1544, PRO, SP 1/190, fo. 128r.

¹⁰⁰ Paget to Wotton, 14 May 1544, PRO, SP 1/187, fo. 123r.

¹⁰¹ Privy council with the king to privy council with the queen, 23 August 1544, PRO, SP 1/191, fo. 158r.

¹⁰² Shrewsbury to Paget, 23 April 1545, PRO, SP 1/200, fo. 60r. Requesting Paget to 'declare' the contents of letters seems to have been a common formula, for other examples see, PRO, SP 1/200, fo. 145r; PRO, SP 1/201, fo. 116r; PRO, SP 1/202, fo. 19r; PRO, SP 1/202, fo. 103r.

in what to include and what to leave out, and an *ex tempore* rendering would naturally require Paget to demonstrate his rhetorical skill in the framing of the *précis*.¹⁰³

In the process of presenting information to the king Paget would also offer counsel.¹⁰⁴ In the sixteenth century giving counsel was as much an exercise in oratory as anything else. In public counsel and oratory coalesced as the secretary acted as the king's spokesman. In this context it is revealing to consider how two previous Henrican secretaries, Pace and More, counselled the king. In Pace, Henry had a secretary who was well-versed in rhetorical technique and who, thanks partly to his interest in and experience of the Venetian oligarchic republic, argued that temporal and spiritual authority had an obligation to take counsel and limit their authority by conciliar deliberative bodies.¹⁰⁵ As secretary Pace was in the perfect position both to offer counsel and to exhibit the rhetorical skills necessary to impart that counsel. These were of course the quintessential skills of the courtier.

How this worked in the context of the court can no longer be reconstructed since the conversations are lost. However, the fusion of counsel and rhetoric does survive in the form of Pace's public orations. Pace gave an oration in Latin at the Field of Cloth of Gold in June 1520, but the text appears not to have survived. However, the text of Pace's Latin oration at St Paul's cathedral at the proclamation of the treaty of Universal Peace in October 1518 is extant. It is important because it demonstrates Pace's rhetorical skill, his appreciation of rhetorical theory, and also the weight he places on wise and prudent counsel, to which both Henry VIII and Francis I had subjected themselves in the interests of peace.¹⁰⁶ Significantly, the cause of peace was itself one which Pace

¹⁰³ It was clearly the suspicion that Pace was misrepresenting his letters which led to Wolsey's attack on Pace against which he was defending himself in the letter above. In the practice of presenting documents by the secretary one can again see the continuity across the century. Discussing the method employed by principal secretaries in Elizabeth's reign Mark Taviner writes, 'this he could do in two forms, by oral presentation (either by reading the document *verbatim* or by abbreviating the contents - here either *ex tempore* or by reading a pre-prepared abbreviate) or by showing the document to Elizabeth to allow her to read it herself', Taviner, 'Robert Beale', p. 109.

¹⁰⁴ The question of counselling the king and the role of both Paget and the privy council in this process is discussed in detail below, chapter 3.

¹⁰⁵ For Pace's conciliarism see C. Curtis, 'Richard Pace; pedagogy, counsel and satire', unpublished university of Cambridge Ph.D. (1997), esp. pp. 228-244.

¹⁰⁶ As Curtis explains, 'Pace presents both the English king and Francis I...as both young, powerful, wealthy and yet as having each repressed by reason (*ratio*) and counsel (*consilium*) the youthful propensity to extend territory', 'Richard Pace', p. 177.

would have urged upon the king in a more private context. Warmongering was one of the substantial criticisms Pace levelled against Julius II in the *Julius exclusus*.¹⁰⁷

More, like Pace, had received a classical education, if of a north European rather than Italianate variety, and was, like Pace, skilled in the *ars eloquentiae*, which had been honed by his profession as a common lawyer.¹⁰⁸ Thus More's eloquence was put to use as the king's public orator, for example in his formal oration to welcome Charles V to London on 6 June 1522.¹⁰⁹ Perhaps most tellingly though, More was able to take opportunities afforded to him to counsel the king to a far greater extent than Pace ever could. As secretary More was always close to the king, like Paget, and it has been recently shown that More's influence on the anti-Lutheran campaign of the 1520s was considerable. Indeed 'the years in which More was the King's sole secretary were dominated by the anti-Lutheran campaign'.¹¹⁰ His role can be most clearly seen in the series of writings and works beginning with Henry's 1521 *Defence of the seven sacraments*, which he edited, through to the 1529 *Dialogue concerning heresies*.¹¹¹ Here was a secretary having a profound impact on the course of royal policy and being used by the king to frame and mould policy.

Like Pace and More, Paget was counsellor and orator for Henry in both a public and private environment. From within the privy lodgings it is clear that the wider political world believed he had considerable influence with the king. By the middle of 1545 the Imperial ambassador, van der Delft, was convinced that Paget was the king's principal adviser.¹¹² In terms of policy Paget's perceived influence can be most clearly seen in negotiations in the winter of 1545-1546. On this occasion the German protestants were acting as mediators between French and English embassies to try to secure peace.¹¹³ In the course of negotiations the issue of Scotland emerged as a sticking point, the French insisting on a guarantee that Scotland would not be invaded by Henry VIII. Paget responded by promising to do his best to persuade Henry to agree to this. As he explained to Petre,

¹⁰⁷ Curtis, 'Richard Pace', p. 217.

¹⁰⁸ Guy, *Thomas More*, pp. 22-39. For treatment of oratorical training, esp. p. 25.

¹⁰⁹ J.B. Trapp and H. Schulte Hurbueggen, *'The King's good servant': Sir Thomas More 1477/8-1535* (London, 1977), p. 12.

¹¹⁰ Guy, *Thomas More*, p. 116

¹¹¹ Guy, *Thomas More*, pp. 114-115.

¹¹² Van der Delft to the Burgomaster and Corporation of Bruges, 18 June 1545, *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, p. 131. This letter is also notable because van der Delft explains that in order to pursue their suit successfully 'the only way is to gain friends about him [Henry]', Paget presumably being the key individual.

¹¹³ The very fact that the protestants were mediators at all was largely down to Paget.

‘for albeit they would have accepted my simple promes for myn endeavour to the contrary, yet did they cum to that offre upon opinion that His Majestie had me so gretly in favour, as I myght perswade Him to absteyn thinvasion of the Scottes’.¹¹⁴ It was because of Paget’s perceived influence with Henry during the French campaign that Francis I’s deputies were instructed to offer money to the king’s counsellors, and to Paget in particular, in the course of peace negotiations.¹¹⁵

In addition to counselling one would also expect Paget to fulfil the role of king’s orator in the public environment. His education as a civil lawyer and diplomatic background gave him the model training.¹¹⁶ There are no examples of Paget delivering set-piece orations like Pace or More. However, there is evidence that Paget had all the rhetorical skills required of a secretary. At the end of June 1543 the privy council delivered an ultimatum to a French envoy in the council chamber. The issue of Paget’s detention in France a few months before came up in conversation, which the French ambassador did his best to justify and excuse, ‘nevertheless, he could not with all that persuade the audience; for Master Paget, happening to be present in the Council room, got up and contradicted his statement, relating how he himself had been arrested and detained in France by the King’s commands’.¹¹⁷ Evidence of Paget’s eloquence also comes in the perhaps unlikely testimony of Anne Askew, who recounted, ‘then came master Pagett to me with manye gloryouse wordes, and desyred me to speake my mynde unto hym’.¹¹⁸ In the guise of orator it was also Paget’s role to read letters patent on the occasion of the titles being conferred. So when Wriothesley was created baron Wriothesley in January 1544 in the king’s presence chamber, ‘Gartier deliuered the sayde letters patentes to the lord greate chamberlein of england who deliuered them to the kinges highnes And the king deliuered them to Mr Pagette Secretary to rede them openly’.¹¹⁹ Paget also acted as the

¹¹⁴ Paget to Petre, 3 January 1546, PRO, SP 1/213, fo. 22r.

¹¹⁵ Instructions to Francis I’s Deputies, 2 September 1544, *Letters and papers*, XIX, i, 175, ‘the Deputies may make promises of money to such as seem to have influence in this business, especially to secretary Paget’.

¹¹⁶ Paget’s interest in rhetorical theory is also suggested by Mont’s intention, in 1544, to send Paget copies of two orations recently printed at Strasburg. Interestingly, according to Mont one of these outlines the tyranny of the ‘Roman Dominator’, Charles V. In fact, Mont could not send these to Paget, for fear of burdening the bearer, Mont to Paget, 12 August 1544, PRO, SP 1/191, fo. 93r.

¹¹⁷ Chapuys to Mary of Hungary, 24 June 1543, *CSP Spanish 1542-1543*, p. 420.

¹¹⁸ John Bale, *The lattre examinacyon of Anne Askewe, latelye martyred in Smythfelde* (Marpurg, 1547; STC 848), sig. C4v.

¹¹⁹ BL Additional MS. 6113, fo. 114r (pencil top right).

king's orator in the important area of communicating Henry's wishes and instructions to foreign ambassadors.¹²⁰

Paget was therefore, in Mildmay's words, the 'mouth' of the king. But he was also his 'penne'.¹²¹ In the privacy of the privy lodgings Paget took instructions for the drafting of documents or dictation. Again, if we return to earlier in the reign we have a vivid description of how this worked in practice, Pace explaining to Wolsey in 1521 that the king,

commaundydde me to brynge *your sayde lettres* in to hys priveye chiambre wyth penne and inke and there he wolde declare unto me whatt I schulde wryte and when hys grace hadde *your sayde lettres* he redde the same iij tymes and markydde suche places as itt pleasydde hym to make answeere unto and commaundydde me to wryte and to reherse as lykede hym and nott further to medyl wyth that answeere.¹²²

Here then was Henry giving oral dictation.¹²³ The alternative was correction of documents already drafted by the secretary. This was still very much a subject pertinent in 1592 when Beale wrote his 'Treatise', in which he recounted a tale from the 1540s:

It is reported of *King Henry 8* that when *Sir William Peter*, at the first time that he was Secretarie, seemed to be dismaied for that the *King* crossed and blotted out manye thinges in a wrightinge *which* he had made, the *King* willed him not to take it in evill parte, for it is I, sayd he, that made both Crumwell, Wriothoeslie and Pagett good Secretaries and so must I doe to thee.¹²⁴

¹²⁰ For two examples on consecutive days, de Courrieres and Chapuys to Charles V, 26 September 1544, *CSP Spanish 1544*, p. 370, 'this very morning the King sent us word by Secretary Paiget'; de Courrieres and Chapuys to Charles V, 27 September 1544, *CSP Spanish 1544*, p. 373, 'Secretary Paiget came from the King to tell us that he has news of the vanguard of the French army having already crossed the river and in consequence of that he had changed his plans of campaign'. See also, Baumbach and Sleidan to Paget, 19 October 1545, PRO, SP 1/209, fo. 62r.

¹²¹ Paget's education and training as a clerk made him a renowned scribe, see Leland's comments, J.P. Carley, 'John Leland in Paris: the evidence of his poetry', *Studies in Philology*, 83 (1986), p. 33. Thirlby implies as much when he asks Paget, 'I wolde that you wolde make us the articles of the peax or of the truisse in forma ye knowe what an yvell penne clarke I am', Thirlby to Paget, 15 October 1545, PRO, SP 1/209 fo. 23r.

¹²² Pace to Wolsey, 29 October 1521, PRO, SP 1/23, fo. 101v.

¹²³ The 'distinctively medieval practice of oral dictation' was still the predominant way in which Elizabeth I 'penned' her letters, Taviner, 'Robert Beale', p. 297. Again this demonstrates the strong continuity of method spanning the beginning and end of the century.

¹²⁴ Read, *Mr secretary Walsingham*, i, Appendix, p. 439. Examples from SP1 in the 1543-1547 period of Henry's hand in the drafting process are very scarce.

Beale further advised that princes themselves best know their own meaning and it took time for a secretary to become familiar with their 'humours' in order to produce drafts that would effectively convey their wishes. This of course only serves to underscore the close relationship a secretary had with the monarch. Certainly Paget's hand is evident in many royal drafts, particularly in the important area of ambassadorial instructions. Indeed when Paget himself went abroad he generally drafted his own instructions.¹²⁵ What weight of influence this gave Paget is difficult to discern. However, an interesting example of the dynamics of this process occurred in March 1544. On this occasion Paget was acting for Hertford, who wanted the king to write on his behalf to the bishop of Salisbury, with whom he was in dispute over a property transaction.¹²⁶ Paget explained to Hertford that initially the king was reluctant to write, but after discussion with Paget Henry relented. Paget explained that Henry told him what to write, but that he would also draw another letter of his own and show the king both.¹²⁷ What it reveals is that even once Henry had dictated to Paget his wishes, Paget's position was sufficient for him to produce another draft of his own making, one which was more in tune with Hertford's wishes. The outcome of this tale is, though, a reminder that the buck stopped with the king. Henry rejected Paget's draft, preferring his own device, and the secretary wrote to Hertford to break the bad news.¹²⁸

III

Access to the king on a daily basis of course meant that Paget was not only in a position to influence policy. At least as important was his pivotal role in the dispersal of patronage. Anyone familiar with Paget's archive cannot fail to be struck by the weight of petitions and the requests for help in suits. These came most often from ambassadors and agents abroad.¹²⁹ These suits covered

¹²⁵ For example Paget's instructions of November 1545 for the protestant mediation between England and France, PRO, SP 1/210, fos. 168r-170v.

¹²⁶ This whole episode will be treated in more detail below, pp. 56-57.

¹²⁷ Paget to Hertford, 11 March 1544, Hatfield, Cecil MS. 231, no. 3.

¹²⁸ Paget to Hertford, 11 March 1544, Hatfield, Cecil MS. 231, no. 3. For another example of Paget's help being solicited to get the king to write a letter, 'I pray you therefore good Mr Secretary to solicyte this matter unto the kinges *Maiestie* so as it may please the same to direct his lettres of thanks unto *Monsieur de Rue*', Russell to Paget, 16 July 1544, PRO, SP 1/190 fo. 49r.

¹²⁹ This impression of course is likely to be due to the fact simply that these petitions have survived in greatest weight in the archives. The conversations which Paget must have had with suitors at court are of course lost, but that they took place is beyond doubt. Indeed, Paget said as much in November 1545, when writing to Petre that he needed bigger lodgings, one of the reasons being that, 'you know what a number we have alwayes, both of necessary ministres, *and also of suters*, to be depeched in them [i.e. his rooms]', *State papers of Henry VIII*, i, p. xiii (my italics).

anything from relatively minor matters to requests for considerable assistance. Frequently Paget received requests to secure increased diets, but Paget could also be instrumental in securing more substantial patronage.¹³⁰ For example, it was Paget who secured Wotton's position as dean of York.¹³¹ The volume and variety of Vaughan's requests could form the subject of a small book in themselves.¹³² Once the act against the chantries was passed at the end of 1545 Paget received frequent requests for help in acquiring this property.¹³³ An agent or ambassador abroad was forced to rely heavily on Paget's support in their absence, but as Vaughan found, when roles were reversed he did not have the skill in managing the king to sue for his own advantage. At the end of 1545 Vaughan wrote to his patron in France, 'sythens my comyng home I have lerned that all the chauntryes in Englonde shall fall into the *kinges maiesties* handes which makithe me wyshe a thowsand tymes that ye wer here for that I wold purchase...some small porcon of landes or howses in London'.¹³⁴ Despite spending a 'pleasaunt' two hours with the king the previous day Vaughan judged it, 'muche more expedient at that tyme rather not to sue then sue and to assaye whether by another person [Paget?] I myght obteyn that my self was loth to crave'.¹³⁵ What was required was someone experienced and skilled at dealing with the king, as Chamberlain appreciated when he wrote to Paget to see if customs rates might be adjusted to the benefit of the merchants adventurers in Antwerp, of whom he was governor, 'I write to your mastership this only to have your advice howe this sute wher best to be made unto the *kinges maiestie* and by what meane and whider you

¹³⁰ Wotton to Paget, 23 February 1544, PRO, SP 1/183, fo. 128r, for the request. Wotton to Paget, 19 March 1544, PRO, SP 1/184, fo. 5r., 'My duetie remembrid for the paynes by yow taken for the obteyning of my new warrant I *perceave* right well how much I am bownden unto you for the which I rendre you most hartie thankes and shallbe glad and desyrous to do you and yours eny service or pleasure that shall lye in my lytle powre to do'. For similar requests from Vaughan, Vaughan to Paget, 23 July 1544, PRO, SP 1/190, fo. 134r; Vaughan to Paget, 30 July 1544, PRO, SP 1/190, fo. 219r.

¹³¹ Paget to Petre, 3 June 1544, PRO, SP 1/188, fo. 48r, 'Mr peter I pray youe devise the meanes eyther by yor self by my lord chauncelor or mr deny...to get for mr wootton sum of mr laytons promocons...ffor I assure youe mr wootton is an honest man and servith the *kinges maiestie* here well to his charge far above his diettes'; Wotton to Paget, 29 June 1544, PRO, SP 1/189, fo. 137r, 'Mr honnynges and Mr husey my frendes bothe have advertised me that you have shewid them that it hathe pleasid the *kinges highnes* to bestowe the deanrye of yorke upon me'.

¹³² For a few examples of Vaughan's requests for assistance see, Vaughan to Paget, 26 March 1544, PRO, SP 1/184, fo. 21r; Vaughan to Paget, 12 September 1544, PRO, SP 1/192, fo. 67r; Vaughan to Paget, 21 November 1544, PRO, SP 1/195, fos. 154r-155r; most interesting are his comments in, Vaughan to Paget, 20 September 1545, PRO, SP 1/208, fos. 39r-40v, where he asks Paget to protect his children's schoolmaster, Richard Cobb, from Edmund Bonner, the bishop of London, who Vaughan feared was to be questioned on religious matters.

¹³³ For example Thomas Chamberlain's requests, Chamberlain to Paget, 7 January 1546, PRO, SP 1/213, fo. 36r-v.

¹³⁴ Vaughan to Paget, 22 December 1545, PRO, SP 1/212, fo. 106r.

¹³⁵ Vaughan to Paget, 22 December 1545, PRO, SP 1/212, fo. 106r.

think that his *maiestie* would not grant the redresse of this matter at lest for vii yeres at the sute of some aboute his highnes'.¹³⁶ Would the suit be helped by a New Years gift to the king from the company? Chamberlain was obviously aware of the king's love of expensive jewels. An elaborate gilt fountain was for sale in Antwerp, worth least £260. Might the king be persuaded with such a gift? Of course the man who presented the suit and secured a favourable result would receive £260, the value of the fountain. Here was a thinly veiled incentive for Paget.¹³⁷

However, bigger fish, in the form of privy councillors, also sought Paget's assistance to pursue their suits. For example, in the late summer of 1545 Lisle was seeking Paget's help to secure the lord great mastership.¹³⁸ The reason Paget's patronage was sought was because of his control of the signet. This is because by the middle of the fifteenth century a formalised procedure had emerged whereby a signet warrant was required to set in motion the chain of events which finally culminated in enrolment in chancery on the patent rolls.¹³⁹ Initially a petition or bill (a petition approved and countersigned by the secretary) was presented to the king by the secretary. On the assent of the king the petition or bill went to the signet office, which as we have seen was at court in the 1540s, where one of the clerks drew up a formal signet warrant. If satisfactory the signet warrant was countersigned by the secretary and only then did it go to the privy seal office at Westminster. There a clerk of the privy seal drew up the privy seal warrant which in turn went to chancery where it was enrolled and letters patent issued.¹⁴⁰ From this outline it is clear that a secretary like Paget potentially had enormous influence in the dispersal of patronage.

Paget's actual involvement can be illustrated from events in spring 1544. Towards the end of February, Hertford left court to take up the position of lieutenant in the north, leaving Berwick to

¹³⁶ Chamberlain to Paget, 18 December 1545, PRO, SP 1/212, fos. 68r-69r.

¹³⁷ Chamberlain to Paget, 18 December 1545, PRO, SP 1/212, fos. 68r-69r.

¹³⁸ Lisle to Paget, 20 September 1545, PRO, SP 1/208, fos. 33r-34r; Lisle to Paget, 22 September 1545, PRO, SP 1/208, fos. 49r-50r; David Loades, *John Dudley, duke of Northumberland 1504-1553* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 72-75.

¹³⁹ The traditional date for this routine is 1444, when Henry VI's council are supposed to have made attempts to control the king's haphazard dispersal of patronage, *King's secretary*, Otway-Ruthven, pp. 34-37; David Starkey, 'Court and government', in Christopher Coleman and David Starkey (eds.), *Revolution reassessed. Revisions in the history of Tudor government and administration* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 47-48. This date has been disputed more recently, see John Watts, *Henry VI and the politics of kingship* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 255-256.

¹⁴⁰ This procedure is outlined in greater detail and with reference to Sadler's docket book in, Slavin, *Politics and profit*, pp. 54-58.

act as his agent at court.¹⁴¹ Berwick was left to pursue a number of land transactions, to get the king to write to the Bishop of Salisbury and to secure a licence for Hertford which would allow a group of merchants to export 1,000 tons of woollen stuff to Jersey (which Hertford controlled) and which would allow a group of French merchants to bring 1,000 tons of goods into Jersey.¹⁴² This matter of the licence was of course sensitive as England was at war with France, but Hertford stood to make a killing by the deal. Berwick used Paget as the conduit to the king. On 6 March Berwick wrote that, ‘Master Secretary hath promised me to be ynhande *with* the kinges maiestie as shortlye as he can ffynde a conuenyent tyme aswell for the lycence as for his graces *lettre* to the Bisshope of Sarum’.¹⁴³ Three days later, ‘Mr Secretorye showide me that he hath spoken *with* the kynges maiestie’, who granted the licence, Berwick accordingly observing that, ‘I take the saide *master* Secretary to be youre very ffrende’.¹⁴⁴ Paget himself in his letter to Hertford two days later reported that, ‘after sum debatemet of the matyer [Henry] is likewise pleased to grant to youe the same for the *which your seruant* mr berwik and I will cause a bill to be drawn and I shall get it signed assone as I can’.¹⁴⁵ However, this was not the end of the matter, or the end of Paget’s involvement. Two weeks later Berwick reported that ‘the lycence ys sygnyd by the kynges maiestie and passyde the sygnet And this mornyng yt was offeryd to my lord privy seall howbeyt he made answer he could not then be at leysure’.¹⁴⁶ For the next two weeks the progress of the licence was delayed by the lord privy seal, Russell, who refused to seal the privy seal warrant. Berwick was therefore forced to resort to Paget whom he implored to pressure Russell into sealing the warrant.¹⁴⁷ It is clear that the licence only passed the privy seal due to Paget’s intervention, and indeed the whole matter remained in limbo at the beginning of April when Paget was away from court. The warrant was finally received by Berwick from the privy seal on 9 April.

¹⁴¹ Berwick was given power of attorney to receive monies on Hertford’s behalf on 26 February 1544, Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, *Report on the manuscripts of the most honourable marquess of Bath, preserved at Longleat*, eds. M. Blatcher *et al* (v vols.; London 1904-1980), iv, p. 90.

¹⁴² *Letters and papers*, XIX, i, 442(7).

¹⁴³ Berwick to Hertford, 6 March 1544, Longleat, Seymour MS. 4, fos. 41r-42v.

¹⁴⁴ Berwick to Hertford, 9 March 1544, Longleat, Seymour MS. 4, fos. 49r-50v.

¹⁴⁵ Paget to Hertford, 11 March 1544, Hatfield, Cecil MS. 231, no. 3.

¹⁴⁶ Berwick to Hertford, 25 March 1544, Longleat, Seymour MS. 4, fo. 56r.

¹⁴⁷ The whole process can be followed in detail in, *Report on the manuscripts of the...marquess of Bath*, eds. M. Blatcher *et al*, iv, pp. 96-103. Russell’s obstinacy resulted in a terse letter from Hertford, in which Hertford complains he ‘had rather have an open enmy than a feyned frende’, Hertford to Russell, 30 March 1544, Longleat, Seymour MS. 4, fos. 3r-5v. Interestingly, Berwick first showed this letter to Paget before delivering it to Russell, Berwick to Hertford, 6 April 1544, Longleat, Seymour MS. 4, fo. 68r.

Apart from the political significance of Paget's acting on Hertford's behalf, the episode also clearly illustrates Paget's involvement in the patronage process. His role was crucial not simply in acquiring the assent of the king but also, in this instance, in ensuring the warrant passed through the hurdles required before it reached chancery.¹⁴⁸ However, by the 1540s the signet was no longer the '*primum mobile* of government', which it perhaps had been in the fifteenth century.¹⁴⁹ In the course of the first half of the sixteenth century, the royal signature, or sign manual, came to assume an increasingly important role in the authentication of the royal will. By the reign of Henry VIII it was on his signature that 'hung the plans of councillors and the hopes of suitors'.¹⁵⁰ What was its relationship with the signet? It could be used as a warrant for the signet, in a sense a fourth 'seal' coming before the signet. It could be used with the signet to add greater weight to a signet warrant or it could be used to bypass the signet altogether.¹⁵¹ Importantly, whilst the signet remained in the custody and under the control of the secretaries, Paget and Petre, the sign manual could be secured by anyone who had sufficient access to the king. The sign manual could thus, in theory, be an alternative or indeed a rival to the signet, and thus undermine the power of the secretary.¹⁵²

This has led David Starkey to develop the idea that in the course of the reign the secretariat focused around the king's secretary and the signet came to be displaced by an inner secretariat, more intimate with the king and therefore more important, revolving around the privy chamber and the sign manual and in particular the chief gentleman of the privy chamber. This reaches its apotheosis in the last eighteen months of the reign when the dry stamp was in use, controlled by the chief gentleman, with the result that, 'round Denny...was a true inner household administration-answerable to Denny first as acting and finally formal head of the Privy Chamber-which was actually based in the multitude of strong rooms and closets honeycombing off the privy lodging at Whitehall'.¹⁵³ This in turn has led Starkey to develop two related but separate arguments, one political and one governmental. In terms of the politics of the last months of Henry's reign Starkey has argued that the ability to control the dry stamp allowed the Seymour faction, through Denny, to tamper with the king's will and establish a dispersal of patronage and a political set-up favourable to their interests after Henry died. In terms of government he has used control of the sign manual,

¹⁴⁸ It also illustrates why Cromwell was keen to control both the signet and the privy seal.

¹⁴⁹ Starkey, 'Court and government', p. 46.

¹⁵⁰ Starkey, 'Court and government', p. 48.

¹⁵¹ Starkey, 'Court and government', pp. 46-47.

¹⁵² Starkey, 'Court and government', p. 47.

¹⁵³ Starkey, 'Court and government', p. 56.

and in particular the dry stamp, to demonstrate the victory of household government, in the form of the privy chamber, over an 'Eltonian' institution in the guise of the king's secretary. The two become dovetailed *viz.*, 'in 1529, before Cromwell, 'household' government had unmade a minister; in 1547, after Cromwell, 'household' government made both a Protector and a Reformation'.¹⁵⁴ The controversy surrounding the will and the politics of the last months of the reign are not my concern here.¹⁵⁵ It is the second, governmental, aspect of Starkey's argument which needs to be considered here, because it strikes at the heart of Paget's influence depicted so far in this chapter.

The key to the argument is control of the sign manual. This is therefore the focus of the following discussion, which needs to be traced back to the beginning of the reign.¹⁵⁶ During Wolsey's ascendancy, his frequent absence from court meant that he needed a person or people at court to secure the royal sign manual. This could be the official secretary, Pace, it could be More, it could be other acting secretaries like Richard Sampson or Sir Brian Tuke, or it was occasionally members of the privy chamber.¹⁵⁷ Essentially, it might be anyone Wolsey trusted within the court. The one reason Wolsey did not use the privy chamber more was because he regarded its members as politically unreliable. Therefore, under Wolsey there was no systematic use of the privy chamber to acquire the sign manual.¹⁵⁸ Under Cromwell, until 1536, the privy chamber was not used at all to secure the sign manual, again because the members of the privy chamber were politically unreliable, so Cromwell either went to court himself or worked through an agent, particularly Sadler.¹⁵⁹ This only changed after summer 1536, after which Henry Norris had been

¹⁵⁴ Starkey, 'Court and government', p. 58.

¹⁵⁵ This is considered below, chapter 7.

¹⁵⁶ Starkey actually identifies 'two major secretarial tasks about the king', the presentation of documents for the sign manual and acting as conduit between king and minister, Starkey, 'King's privy chamber', p. 309. This is clearly too narrow a definition, as this chapter has demonstrated. By the 1540s with no Wolsey or Cromwell the function of go-between clearly lapsed. Paget's role as conduit between the king and the 'collegiate minister' in the form of the privy council will be discussed in the next chapter.

¹⁵⁷ Starkey, 'King's privy chamber', pp. 309-316.

¹⁵⁸ Interestingly, Starkey stresses this in his thesis, arguing that one should not view the concentration of papers in the hands of the groom of the stool for signing as a regular procedure. The temptation to do so, 'should be resisted. Far too many other people are known to have been involved in getting the sign manual as well', Starkey, 'King's privy chamber', p. 312. However, 13 years later Starkey argued, on the contrary, that, 'underlying the basic diversity a clear basic pattern was emerging...responsibility for getting the king's signature increasingly belonged to the privy chamber', David Starkey, 'Intimacy and innovation: the rise of the privy chamber, 1485-1547', in David Starkey (ed.), *The English court: from the wars of the roses to the civil war* (London, 1987), p. 99. I am not aware of any new evidence in the intervening years to support this decisive shift of emphasis.

¹⁵⁹ Starkey, 'King's privy chamber', pp. 321-322; Slavin, *Politics and profit*, p. 28.

replaced by the politically reliable Thomas Heneage as groom of the stool.¹⁶⁰ From this point until his fall four years later Cromwell focused all his documents for signing on Heneage and the equally trustworthy Bryan so that a clear pattern emerged *viz.*, ‘the minister’s office sent a batch of papers to the chief gentleman at court, who in turn got them signed and returned them to the minister, usually at Austin Friars’.¹⁶¹ Thus runs Starkey’s argument. It is interesting to note that even on his own evidence what he discerns as a trend towards the use of the privy chamber to secure the sign manual only actually operated in this fashion for four of the first 31 years of the reign.¹⁶²

But what of the period after Cromwell’s fall, and, in particular, 1543-1547, during Paget’s time as secretary? Here we need to distinguish between the period before and after the introduction of the dry stamp in September 1545. Prior to September 1545, it is clear that both Paget and the gentlemen of the privy chamber, particularly Denny, were important in acquiring the sign manual.¹⁶³ To return to the events of March 1544, Paget said he would get Hertford’s bill signed.¹⁶⁴ And there are numerous other instances of suitors asking Paget to secure the royal sign manual.¹⁶⁵ This is not to deny the influence of Denny around the king or his ability to secure the sign manual. Berwick refers to petitioning Denny regarding a position wanted by a David Clayton, one of Seymour’s clients, explaining, ‘all the counceile of the saide courte of Augmentacyons are well contentyd to the same, as shall appere unto your lordshipe by a cople of their *lettres* herin incloside *whiche* we sent to mr dennye who *promesyde* to have donne the same [i.e. secure the king’s sign

¹⁶⁰ Starkey, ‘King’s privy chamber’, pp. 322-325; Starkey, ‘Court and government’, pp. 52-53.

¹⁶¹ Starkey, ‘Court and government’, p. 53. Whether the system worked this neatly is open to question. One reason for this is that it relies to an extent on Cromwell being at Austin Friars for much of the 1536-1540 period, or at least not at court. In fact, as Starkey has argued elsewhere, from April 1537 Cromwell may well have been at court for much of the time, ‘as the council attendant faded out after April 1537 it was replaced by a minister attendant [Cromwell]’, Starkey, ‘Court, council and nobility in Tudor England’, p. 193. It clearly turns on Cromwell’s itinerary. If Cromwell was at court it is unlikely he would have needed a go-between, he could secure the sign manual himself. Starkey uses Merriman’s itinerary, but despite his assurance that ‘a glance at Cromwell’s itinerary shows that he did [attend court ordinarily]’, Merriman’s itinerary is far from conclusive. There are too many gaps, R.B. Merriman, *Life and letters of Thomas Cromwell* (ii vols.; Oxford, 1902), ii, pp. 279-282.

¹⁶² That is from 1536-40 and only then if one disregards the details outlined in n. 161, above.

¹⁶³ Starkey himself is clear about this, ‘from mid-1540 the promotion of documents was divided between the chief gentlemen and the secretary. The secretary presented secretarial and conciliar papers, together with many private petitions: the chief gentlemen handled most of the remaining private petitions as well as the business of other government departments such as the revenue courts’, ‘King’s privy chamber’, pp. 337-338.

¹⁶⁴ Paget to Hertford, 11 March 1544, Hatfield, Cecil MS. 231, no. 3.

¹⁶⁵ Paget to Cobham, 17 June 1544, BL Harley MS. 283, fo. 273r (pencil top right); Norfolk and Russell to Paget, 11 August 1544, PRO, SP 1/191, fo. 81r.

manual] and hathe delayide yt from the iiiith daye of Januarye unto this daye [6 March]'.¹⁶⁶ Paget was well aware of Denny's influence, reflected in his oft quoted advice to Hertford in 1544, that he would, 'do wel to salut now and then with a word or two in a *lettre* my lord of Suffolk and my lord Wriothesley and such others as you shal think good forgetting not mr denye'.¹⁶⁷ However, prior to September 1545 one cannot make a case for Denny monopolising control of the sign manual. Paget's ability to secure the sign manual and his custody of the signet still made him a key, if not the key, patronage broker.

However, what of the eighteen months during which the dry stamp was in use? Much of Starkey's account of the use and operation of the dry stamp remains valid, and it is worth outlining the essentials here. From the beginning of September 1545 until the end of the reign a register was kept of all documents 'whiche the Kinges Majestie caused me, William Clerc, to stamp with his Hieghnnes Secret Stamp, at dyverse tymes and places in this moneth'. Three men, Denny, John Gates and William Clerc were responsible for the custody and operation of the dry stamp. The details of how the stamp was to be used, and to what documents it was to be applied, are outlined in a special licence, the 'licentia ad signandum billas sive warranta'. This explains that a dry, uninked stamp should be used to make an impression on the document, which should then be inked-in. Clerc was responsible for the clerical work and Denny or Gates or both acted as witnesses. Each document stamped in this way was to be entered in a register and it was this register which was to be signed each month by the king. According to the licence any document could be validated by the stamp, including in the end the king's will.¹⁶⁸ An important aspect passed over by the licence was issue of the custody of the stamp. However, Starkey worked this out and suggested that initially the stamp remained in Henry's custody but from April 1546 it passed to Gates.¹⁶⁹ This, in a nutshell, was 'nothing less than a new sub-department of household administration which we can call the sign manual office'.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁶ Berwick to Hertford, 6 March 1544, Longleat, Seymour MS. 4, fo. 42r. There are numerous other instances of Denny being petitioned. Even Paget, when absent in France, instructed Petre to go to Denny and Cawarden (another gentleman of the privy chamber), over the difficulties in his room allocation, 'I pray you move Mr. Carden [Carwarden], or Mr. Deny, for my lodging, and that I may have another chamber', *State papers of Henry VIII*, i, p. xiii.

¹⁶⁷ Paget to Hertford, 5 April 1544, Hatfield, Cecil MS. 231, no. 72.

¹⁶⁸ For a discussion on this point see, E.W. Ives, 'Henry VIII's will: a forensic conundrum', *Historical Journal*, 35 (1992), pp. 781-783.

¹⁶⁹ Starkey, 'King's privy chamber', pp. 346-347.

¹⁷⁰ Starkey, 'King's privy chamber', p. 348.

Thus far there is little one can disagree with Starkey about. However, it is the significance he puts on these new arrangements which create difficulties. The key to this is an analysis of the documents 'preferred' to the dry stamp. In the registers of the documents signed by stamp after the entry for each document there usually follows an indication of at whose suit a document has been presented. Often there is an indication that it has been counter-signed or (to use the words of the register) 'subscribed' by the head of a department, such as Sir Anthony Browne, master of the horse. In the case of Sir Nicholas Hare, master of requests, the words 'at the request of' is sometimes used. The most important and frequent notation, though, is 'preferred'. As Starkey recognised, 'the use of the notation tells us who would actually have presented the bill in question to Henry if the king had still been signing himself. Thus for the first time, the whole business of 'promoting to the King's sign' can be discussed with statistical precision'.¹⁷¹ Starkey's analysis of the figures yields two important observations. Firstly, documents on the register which do not carry the notation 'preferred' were the responsibility of the chief gentlemen of the privy chamber. Secondly, and on that basis, he concludes that 'the secretaries handled 434 documents, the chief gentlemen 800'.¹⁷² By lining up the secretaries against the chief gentlemen he seems to show, by a statistical 'knockdown', that the 'inner household administration' in the hands of Denny and Heneage was much more influential in the process of securing the royal sign manual.

However, a slightly different approach to the figures yields very different results. Rather than comparing the secretaries directly with the chief gentlemen, if one looks at the number of documents preferred by individuals an alternative picture emerges. Of the two secretaries Paget prefers considerably more documents than Petre, 370 to 57, reflecting his position as the more dominant of the two secretaries. More significantly, if one combines numbers of 'unpreferred' documents with the numbers which can be clearly ascribed to the chief gentlemen, one arrives at a figure of a little over 900.¹⁷³ During the operation of the dry stamp there were 3 chief gentlemen.¹⁷⁴ A rough division would lead to each chief gentleman preferring approximately 300 documents each. This is a crude division, and no doubt Denny preferred a higher proportion, if for no other

¹⁷¹ Starkey, 'King's privy chamber', p. 351.

¹⁷² Starkey, 'King's privy chamber', p. 355.

¹⁷³ I am persuaded by Starkey's argument that an 'unpreferred' bill really meant a bill preferred by a chief gentleman, Starkey, 'King's privy chamber', pp. 353-355.

¹⁷⁴ These were Denny, Sir Thomas Heneage and Sir William Herbert. Herbert replaced Heneage in October 1546, Starkey, 'Intimacy and innovation', p. 116.

reason than that he was a chief gentleman throughout the period. However, the pattern is clear. Paget, the dominant secretary, was as important in securing the sign manual during the operation of the dry stamp as any one chief gentlemen of the privy chamber.

Paget's involvement in the operation of the dry stamp seems to be further supported by several documents in the archive which are rough notes of documents to which the stamp was applied between 27 September and 29 October 1545.¹⁷⁵ There are seven of these schedules and of the seven, five are in the hand of 'clerk A', an anonymous clerk from Paget's office who seems to have worked closely with Paget.¹⁷⁶ These five schedules cover all of the documents preferred by him that month. Each one is fairly similar, comprising a list of the documents preferred, being a summary of each of the documents, with Paget's signature at the bottom. At the head of four of the five lists is the date on which the documents were preferred and on two of those schedules there are documents preferred on consecutive dates. In these cases the appropriate dates are above the lists. Therefore, the schedule for 27 to 28 September 1545 reads:

Bills signed at wyndesor xxxvii
September Anno xxxvii preferred by
mr. Secretarie pagett.

The kinges maiesties promesse for the performauce
of the bande of london to the ffowkere

His maiesties promesse for the performauce of
the bande to henry Saluage and others

The like *promisse* to Antony bonvise

An other *promisse* of like tenor to John
Gyraldi and others

A bill for mr Petre in lieu of his lettres
patentes that be cancelled subscribed
by the chauncelor of thaugmentations

A bill for Artigo for an encrease of his
annuatye of one hundred crownes

¹⁷⁵ PRO, SP 4/1, fos. 58-64. The foliation in SP 4 differs from SP 1 in that documents in SP 4 have a printed page number.

¹⁷⁶ The five for which Paget was responsible are PRO, SP 4/1, fos. 58, 60, 62-64.

A like bill for Jehan Ribault

william paget

At wyndesor xxviii Sept
Anno Regis xxxvii

The kinges maiesties lettres of comfort to my lord
chamberlain in his sikenes

william paget¹⁷⁷

This is the only month for which such notes exist. It might be that Paget kept other notes which were lost, or it may be that Paget kept schedules early in the operation of this new mechanism to acquire the sign manual but later neglected to do so. The wording at the head of the schedule cited above suggests that the list was drawn up after the bills had passed the sign manual. In the other four schedules this wording does not appear and all that is written is the date. However, the fact that on two of the five schedules there are two dates further indicates that these were lists of documents kept as a memorandum after stamping. It may well be that Paget simply kept a record of documents which he had preferred for reference, which would have been in keeping with his scrupulous secretarial style. However, the most important aspect of the schedule cited above is that they comprise all of the documents to which the sign manual was applied on the 27 and 28 September. What it suggests is that the dry stamp could be specifically invoked to deal with Paget's requirements.

However, the real problem with seeing the last years of Henry's reign as a victory for an inner household administration based around the privy chamber and the chief gentlemen is that it rests on a fundamental misconception about what Paget's role was and in particular his physical location.¹⁷⁸ The great strength of the groom of the stool or (later) the chief gentleman of the privy chamber was his close physical proximity to the king and his skill as a courtier:

¹⁷⁷ PRO, SP 4/1, fo. 58.

¹⁷⁸ It might also be added that it rests on an entirely false premise that the 'inner household administration' around Denny in the privy chamber was in some sense in competition with the official secretaries and the signet.

The groom of the stool...was professionally a superb courtier who could spot, better than almost anyone else, those moments at which the king's good humour made him less indisposed to write than usual...because of his perpetual attendance on the king he had a better chance of catching Henry at such moments than anyone else without exception.¹⁷⁹

By the end of the reign, according to Starkey, this meant that the chief gentlemen and the dry stamp saw, 'the culmination of the whole tendency of Henry VIII's reign, which had been to replace the signet and its keeper the secretary (who had gone out of court) with another household 'seal', the sign manual, and its 'keeper' the chief gentlemen'.¹⁸⁰ The point about Paget as secretary is that he had not 'gone out of court'.¹⁸¹ Far from it: at times, like More before him, he could not get away from the place if he tried. Furthermore, neither had the signet. The signet and the clerks which provided the secretariat for it were located at court. Both the secretary and the secretariat around the signet were located very close to the privy lodgings themselves. Paget saw Henry on a daily basis and had easy access to him. Paget, like Denny, was also the quintessential courtier who could also spot the king's moments of good humour. Furthermore, we know that Paget must have had access to the state papers which were kept in the privy lodgings, in the 'lytle Study nexte the kynge's olde Bedde Chambre'.¹⁸² He therefore trod the same intimate corridors as Denny.

What emerges from this analysis is a much clearer focus on why Paget was able to exert influence in the last years of Henry VIII's reign. Historians have long accepted Paget's importance at the end of the reign, but the dynamics of how this worked have not been articulated. Adopting an approach which takes the environment of the court as the starting point brings his role into perspective. The result is that Paget emerges for what he was: a courtier. Of course he was responsible for the workings of a busy office, and to that extent Paget was a 'bureaucrat', but ultimately in the 1540s the king's secretary was a personal servant of the monarch not the state and his importance and role was ultimately defined by personal interaction with the king. But a clearer perspective is also brought to the relative importance of Paget and the privy chamber. Nobody can dispute the influence of the gentlemen of the privy chamber, particularly Denny, but just as Denny was 'near

¹⁷⁹ Starkey, 'King's privy chamber', p. 313-314.

¹⁸⁰ Starkey, 'King's privy chamber', p. 355.

¹⁸¹ This is the key point, and it is one which Starkey later revised. Interestingly, he then uses it as a stick with which to beat Elton: 'Professor Elton's insistence that the secretary was "not part of the household"...is frankly incredible', 'Tudor government: the facts?', p. 926.

¹⁸² This is important because in Starkey's thesis he uses this to support the view that the groom of the stool alone had access to these papers, because of their location in the privy lodgings. Starkey actually goes back on this by implication, if not explicitly in 'Tudor government; the facts?', p. 926 and n. 19. As Starkey acknowledges, 'the study was naturally available to the secretary'.

about the king', so was Paget.¹⁸³ What arguably gave Paget even greater influence, though, was his command of royal correspondence and membership of the privy council. Because of this Paget had a grasp on all the threads of royal policy, particularly diplomatic policy. It is to the formation of policy, how the king was counselled, and the relationship between Henry, Paget and the privy council that we must turn in the next chapter.

¹⁸³ Starkey, 'Intimacy and innovation', p. 71.

3. Counselling the king; Henry VIII, Paget and the privy council

By the 1540s Henry VIII governed through a privy council whose role has traditionally been interpreted as fulfilling a judicial, administrative and executive function.¹ Despite all the debate over the emergence of the privy council, which lay at the heart of the controversy surrounding G.R. Elton's 'revolution' in government, historians have generally accepted that after the rubicon of 10 August 1540, with the keeping of the council registers, something properly called a privy council existed and that one of its key functions was not simply to execute policy, but to be involved in its formulation as well. However, precisely how the privy council counselled Henry VIII in the last seven years of his reign has all but escaped the attention of historians. Once again the focus has been on the 1520s, and particularly the 1530s, leaving the 1540s remarkably under-researched. It is therefore the purpose of this chapter to explore this virgin territory.

This is unavoidable if one is seeking to explain Paget's role in the polity. Elton, in his analysis of Cromwell understood that the increasing weight which the king's secretary enjoyed politically in the 1530s was closely linked to the development of the privy council and more recently Stephen Alford has shown that Cecil's influence derived, as least in part, from his role as conduit between Elizabeth and her privy council.² In fact, an important theme of this chapter is Paget's role as the channel of communication between king and privy council. Like his daughter Elizabeth, Henry VIII did not ordinarily attend the meetings of his privy council. From this simple fact flow multifarious issues and questions about how decisions were made and the way in which policy was formulated. How did the king communicate with his privy council and vice versa? Where did the privy council meet and what was the proximity between the council chamber, assuming there was one, and the king's person? Were all privy councillors equally involved in the process of policy formation, or were some more influential than others? Above all, where did Paget, as king's secretary and a privy councillor fit into this dynamic? On 23 April 1543 Paget was sworn as both a privy councillor and the king's secretary, reflecting the fact that these were related, but nevertheless different roles. Later in the century Beale made the same distinction, explaining that, 'the place of a Secretarie...consisteth partlie in dealing with her Majestie and partlie with the rest of her highnes

¹ John Guy, *Tudor England* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 154-164.

² G.R. Elton, *The Tudor revolution in government. Administrative changes in the reign of Henry VIII* (Cambridge, 1953), pp. 352-369. Stephen Alford, *The early Elizabethan polity. William Cecil and the British succession crisis, 1558-1569* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 14, 32.

most honourable privie Councill'.³ As the man who met with the king on a daily basis, and who was responsible for the day-to-day functioning of the privy council, Paget was uniquely positioned to influence the direction and execution of policy. How this worked in practice is the purpose of this chapter, the first half of which is devoted to the key issue of the location of the privy council chamber. Thereafter the question of how Henry, Paget and the privy council interacted on a daily basis becomes the focus.⁴

I

The physical location of the privy council has been the subject of some debate, particularly between David Starkey and Elton.⁵ This is because the question is crucial to a proper understanding of the Henrican and indeed the Tudor polity. For Elton, the modern, bureaucratic organ of government, the product of Cromwell's 'revolution', could not really have been a court based body. Indeed, 'the privy council, in its deliberations and its administrative actions, stood out as a body separate from the monarch's personal setting'.⁶ Starkey, in contrast, asserting the primacy of the court as fundamental to any understanding of the Tudor polity, locates the privy council firmly within the precincts of the royal court. Indeed, for Starkey, the privy council was culturally and politically subsumed within the court, so, 'the privy council was part of the court

³ C. Read, *Mr secretary Walsingham and the policy of Queen Elizabeth* (iii vols.; 1925), i, Appendix, p. 424. See also, Alford, *early Elizabethan polity*, pp. 9-10, who makes the same point about Cecil's role.

⁴ I am concerned with the interaction of the king, the privy council and Paget in the counselling process. This chapter is manifestly not an attempt to discuss the privy council of the 1540s in all its facets. Nor does it focus to any great degree on Paget's role as *chef de bureau* of the privy council and his management of the administrative side of the privy council's work. This, along with the work of the clerks of the privy council is discussed below, chapter 4.

⁵ The main literature for this is, David Starkey, *The English court: from the wars of the roses to the civil war*, (London, 1987), pp. 1-24, and see also the plan, p. vi; G.R. Elton, 'Tudor government', *Historical Journal*, 31 (1988), pp. 425-434; David Starkey, 'Tudor government: the facts?', *Historical Journal*, 31, (1988), pp. 921-931; David Starkey, 'Court, council and nobility', in R.G. Asch and A.M. Birke, (eds.), *Princes, patronage, and the nobility. The court at the beginning of the modern age c.1450-1650* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 175-203; S. Thurley, *The royal palaces of Tudor England. Architecture and court life, c. 1460-1547* (London, 1993), pp. 137-138; S. Thurley, *Whitehall palace. An architectural history of the royal apartments, 1240-1698* (Yale, 1999), pp. 37-68. George Bernard's recent comment on this issue adds little to the debate. It is really a comparison of the positions of Elton and Starkey, in which he backs Elton. He takes no account of Thurley's research, G.W. Bernard, 'Court and government', in his *Power and politics in Tudor England* (Ashgate, 2000), pp. 130-131.

⁶ Elton, 'Tudor government', p. 434

and, together with the privy chamber, formed its inner ring'.⁷ So an apparently obscure debate, drawing on architecture and the geography of the royal palaces actually represents the nub of two entirely conflicting views of Tudor monarchy. On the one hand a privy council meeting from a fixed base at Westminster, separate from the royal court, reflects Elton's basic predisposition that a distinctive style of law and government arose, almost despite the monarch and the court. On the other, a privy council subsumed physically within the precincts of the court is a prerequisite of a renaissance court in which the king was counselled in the style of a Roman emperor.⁸ On the face of it, it seems remarkable that such a basic issue has hitherto had no conclusive explanation, but this is partly due to the entrenched positions of two of the main authorities and partly due to the ambiguous nature of the evidence. Where, then, did the privy council meet in the 1540s?

The most straightforward place to start is with the itineraries of the king and the privy council.⁹ A comparison of the two makes it clear that with a few exceptions the privy council of the 1540s was a court based body, following the king.¹⁰ Significantly, this included the occasions when the king progressed far from the administrative centre in London, in 1541 on his progress to the north, in 1543 on his last extended progress and in 1545 on his journey to Portsmouth to be present at the encounter with the French.¹¹ There were instances when the privy council appears not to have been with the king, but on a number of these occasions the separation can be reasonably explained by the political situation. For example, for much of December 1541, whilst the king moved between palaces on the outskirts of London the register records the privy council as sitting at 'Westminster'.¹² However, this should not surprise us since this was in the immediate aftermath of the revelations about Catherine Howard. The privy council was engaged in investigating the

⁷ Starkey, *The English court*, p. 16.

⁸ That is, in a similar way to Francis I in the same period, John Guy, 'The French king's council, 1483-1526', in R.A. Griffiths and J. Sherbourne (eds.), *Kings and nobles in the later middle ages* (Gloucester and New York, 1986), p. 278.

⁹ For the itinerary of the privy council I have drawn on the entries in the register.

¹⁰ The itineraries make it clear that the king moved first and the privy council lagged behind. Indeed, on some occasions the privy council did not meet precisely because, as the clerk recorded in the register, it was a 'removing day', *PPC*, vii, pp. 151, 160, 161, 167, 188, 189, 190, 209, 210, 211; *APC*, i, p. 61. On this occasion, 'Thye Kinges Highnes went to London and there contynewed tyll Sondag, all the whiche tyme the Cownsell sate nott', pp. 113, 149, 208, 236.

¹¹ The absence of the register in 1544 unfortunately precludes any analysis of whether it followed the king to France.

¹² The problem of nomenclature between the old palace of 'Westminster' and the court at 'Whitehall' is discussed more fully below, pp. 73-74. In 1541 Henry left Whitehall on 29 November, returning to Greenwich on 23 December. The register records meetings of the privy council at 'Westminster' during this period, *PPC*, vii, pp. 274-286, but whether this means Whitehall or star chamber cannot be discerned.

allegations and the king was coming to terms with her infidelity. Even then some of the small number of attendants he took with him were privy councillors.¹³ In the first half of June 1543 the privy council and king were again separated, but the reason was a flying visit by the king to check on coastal defences in Essex. Once again he was still attended by privy councillors, including Paget, though the register indicates the main body of the privy council remained at 'Westminster'. In the middle of May 1546 the king went to Whitehall whilst most of the council remained at Greenwich investigating allegations of heresy. Paget was in France, but significantly Petre went with Henry and retained contact with the privy council by correspondence.¹⁴ Finally, at the end of the reign, from mid-November 1546 until mid-January 1547 whilst the king again moved from palace to palace around London the privy council, on the occasions where we have a record of the location of a meeting, met in 'Westminster' or at the houses of prominent privy councillors. On a number of occasions this was at Ely Place, Holborn, at Wriothesley's house. This was because Surrey was held there initially after his arrest and so privy councillors gathered there to subject him to initial questioning.¹⁵ During the same period the Imperial ambassador, Francois van der Delft reported that many privy council meetings took place at Hertford's house. Once again the circumstance of a sick king, a political crisis and the rising star of Hertford combined to separate the king from his privy council. Significantly, it did not separate the king from his secretary, Paget remaining with Henry certainly for some of this period.¹⁶

¹³ Russell, Sir Anthony Wingfield and Browne went with the king, with Sadler in attendance for at least some of this period.

¹⁴ The king was at Whitehall from Monday 10 May until Saturday 15 May. The register records meetings of the privy council at Greenwich, *APC*, i, pp. 413-417. At least some of their time was taken up examining Dr Crome and others. This is confirmed by van der Delft's report to Charles V, *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, p. 394. On Friday 14 a letter was sent to 'Mr. Secretary at Westminster' with Henry, outlining the details of the interrogations, *APC*, i, p. 417.

¹⁵ The meetings at Ely Place took place on 9, 15, 20, 22, 23, 24, 27 and 29 December 1546, and 2 January 1547. Another meeting at Ely Place is recorded which may have taken place on 8 December, *APC*, i, pp. 556-562. On 13 December van der Delft had an audience with the privy council which had been delayed for several days because of the privy council's investigation into the Howards and in which he explains that for the previous five or six days Surrey had been held at Wriothesley's house, van der Delft to Mary of Hungary, 14 December 1546, *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, p. 527. Ten days later van der Delft wrote to Charles V explaining that Hertford and Lisle's influence was increasing and that 'the meetings of the council are mostly held in the earl of Hertford's house', van der Delft to Charles V, 24 December 1546, *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, p. 534. Significantly, neither Surrey's interrogation nor the meeting at Hertford's house leaves any trace on the register.

¹⁶ At van der Delft's audience with the privy council on 13 December 1546 he observed that all the privy council was present, 'except secretary Paget, who was with the king', van der Delft to Mary of Hungary, 14 December 1546, *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, p. 528.

In addition to this there were shorter periods when the king was briefly to be found in a different place from the privy council, though often there is little or no evidence explaining the reasons for this.¹⁷ What is clear, though, is that if Henry was on a progress which took him some distance from London and into places where the accommodation was limited the privy council was billeted within easy reach of the king.¹⁸

Of course the privy council met at court and followed the king because it was part of the royal household, expressed in the ordinances which regulated the court. The Eltham Ordinances of 1526 list twenty councillors who were to 'give their attendance upon his [Henry VIII's] most royall person'.¹⁹ The 1540 household ordinances make it clear that the privy council was a court based body, its members on the roll for bouge of court, entitling them to reside and eat at court.²⁰ Equally, most members of the privy council held a household office. Perhaps the clearest expression of the privy council as a household body in the 1540s comes from a man who knew the court well, Eustace Chapuys. In the spring of 1544, as a gesture of friendship on the part of the emperor, the duke of Albuquerque was sent to reside near Henry VIII's court. So welcome was the duke that he was even invited to attend meetings of the privy council and 'has several times been invited to dine with the privy councillors and appear as if he were one of the King's household...'²¹

In fact, it is references from ambassadorial reports which provide further evidence that the privy council met habitually at court. Letters from Chapuys and van der Delft frequently recount attendance at court, involving audiences with both the king and the privy council. In one particularly vivid account Chapuys describes his arrival at court in May 1545, at nine in the morning, carried in a chair. Whilst crossing the garden facing the queen's lodgings, he came across Katherine Parr and Princess Mary.²² After conversation with both, he 'went to the councillors', where he discussed a variety of issues with the privy council before dining with them.

¹⁷ For example the meeting at Russell's house on Saturday 4 March 1542, *APC*, i, pp. 317-318.

¹⁸ Between 12-21 September 1542 the king was at Pirgo while the privy council was at Havering, *APC*, pp. 32-35. Pirgo was the lodge to the north-east of London attached to the larger residence at Havering, H.M. Colvin, *The history of the king's works* (vi vols.; HMSO, 1963-1984), iv, p. 151.

¹⁹ *HO*, p. 159.

²⁰ BL Additional MS. 45716A, fos. 2r-5v (pencil top right).

²¹ Chapuys to Granvelle, 27 May 1544, *CSP Spanish 1544*, p. 182.

²² Unfortunately Henry's itinerary is not clear as to whether this encounter took place at Whitehall or St James's Palace, Appendix 2, p. 290.

Subsequently, after Paget had been to Henry, Chapuys was summoned to the king's presence.²³ A few weeks later, at the beginning of June, by which time Chapuys had been replaced by van der Delft, the new ambassador describes going to visit the privy council, 'arriving early, before the whole of the members had assembled'. After discussions with the privy council he dined with them, continued talks after eating and, having been engaged in conversation by Paget as he was leaving, 'left the chamber with the ordinary salutation, and was honourably and courteously conducted to the outer precincts of the court by the king's master of the horse'.²⁴

What further reinforces this view is evidence from the work of the council in a judicial capacity. The privy council had a judicial role in ensuring that peace was kept within the verge of the royal court.²⁵ So in April 1541 they examined Sir Edmund Knevet and Thomas Clere on the basis that, 'they had made affray togiders in the tenes play wtin the Kinges highnes courte and in the said affray had shed bloodde'.²⁶ This only makes sense if the councillors were ordinarily resident at court. Equally, when the council called before them individuals for examination, it was to the court that they were summoned. In June 1545 a letter was sent to a Mr Biston, 'to repayre unto the Courte and to present himself before the Cownsell wyth all convenient diligence'.²⁷ At the beginning of 1546 a summons was sent to an unnamed individual, 'to repayre before the Counsell wheresoever the Courte for the tyme shuld be'.²⁸

In the face of this evidence it seems astonishing that Elton could have argued that the privy council met in an entirely different location from the court. In fact, Elton did concede that,

of course it tried to meet where the sovereign was since it wished to give advice at speed, and royal palaces therefore provided accommodation for it. However, the permanent council chamber, in a room adjoining to which the records were stored, seems to have been

²³ Chapuys to Charles V, 9 May 1545, *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, pp. 103-110.

²⁴ Van der Delft to Charles V, 12 June 1545, *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, pp. 117-124. Instances of ambassadors coming to court to meet with the king and the privy council are numerous. For other examples see, *CSP Spanish 1542-1543*, pp. 334, 361; *CSP Spanish 1544*, pp. 32, 50, 94, 204-205; *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, p. 1.

²⁵ Starkey, 'Court, council and nobility', pp. 197-198. The verge was the area 12 miles around wherever the king was resident.

²⁶ *PPC*, vii, p. 181. For the statute of 1542 which was a response to this incident see, S.E. Lehmborg, *The later parliaments of Henry VIII, 1536-1547* (Cambridge, 1977), pp. 157-158.

²⁷ *APC*, i, p. 181.

²⁸ *APC*, i, p. 306. For other examples see, *APC*, i, pp. 205, 396.

the one in Westminster palace where neither monarch nor court ever resided after the 1510s²⁹

This particular interpretation has serious flaws when applied to the 1540s which need to be examined here. Contrary to Elton's view, by the 1540s the bulk of the records of the privy council were kept in the king's study, off the privy gallery, at the king's New Palace of Westminster, also known as Whitehall, which was of course occupied by the king and court in the 1540s.³⁰ It is, though, in the confusion between Westminster and Whitehall that the basis of the misinterpretation lies.³¹ As Starkey has made clear, the gaudy new palace which Henry constructed from Wolsey's old York Place in the course of the 1530s, colloquially known as Whitehall, and in which the court resided, was technically a part of a larger tract of royal property, properly called Westminster. This incorporated the old palace at Westminster, which indeed since the fire of 1512 had not been used as a royal residence, but had rather become the administrative and legal centre.³² This technical nomenclature was fully expressed in the Act 28 Henry VIII c.12 of 1536. The difficulty is that whilst contemporaries speaking colloquially, and historians subsequently, have referred to 'Whitehall', those responsible for official documents, including the clerks of the privy council, foreign ambassadors, and indeed correspondents writing from 'Whitehall' invariably used the technical definition of 'Westminster', expressed in the statute. So in April 1546 van der Delft and Cornelius Scepperus wrote that 'we were invited by the principal lords of the council yesterday to visit them, and we were with them this afternoon at Westminster, where the king is at present staying'.³³ Similarly, signet letters written in the king's name bore the address Westminster, though clearly this meant the court not the old palace. Equally, princess Mary could write a letter addressed from 'the palace of the King, my sovereign lord and father, at Westminster'.³⁴ In 1545 when Paget wanted to know what was happening about his study at court he referred to Westminster, not Whitehall.³⁵ Most pertinent for anyone studying the privy council in the 1540s is that the entries in the privy council register invariably refer to Westminster, never to Whitehall.

²⁹ Elton, 'Tudor government', p. 433.

³⁰ See above, pp. 35-42. Evidence that the council kept records in 'the study' is also reflected in the register, *APC*, i, pp. 278, 395. The rest were kept in Paget's study.

³¹ Starkey has fully discussed this issue in, 'Tudor government: the facts?', pp. 922-923.

³² For all of this see, Starkey, *The English court*, pp. 18-19; Starkey, 'Tudor government: the facts?', pp. 922-923; Starkey, 'Court and council', p. 188.

³³ Scepperus and van der Delft to Mary of Hungary, 5 April 1546, *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, p. 365.

³⁴ Mary to the Duke of Albuquerque, 1 August 1546, *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, p. 446.

³⁵ Paget to Petre, 14 December 1545, PRO, SP 1/212, fo. 23r, 'my chambr at westminster'.

This variable nomenclature would not be a problem were it not for the fact that within the area of Westminster there were two council chambers, one at the old palace, which Elton identifies as the centre for deliberation of the post-1540 privy council, and one at the new palace at Whitehall.³⁶ The council chamber, or *camera stellata* (star chamber) at the old palace, located on an upper floor overlooking the river, had originally been built by Edward III for his council and consisted of two rooms.³⁷ The public, outer chamber was the room in which sessions of the court were held, and was modified throughout the sixteenth century, particularly during Wolsey's tenure as lord chancellor: this was after all his famous star chamber. However, as well as the public chamber there was an adjoining private inner chamber, containing a canopied throne, where the king and his council could meet for private deliberation, and it was probably here that they dined.

Under Wolsey the king's council had most frequently met at star chamber and in the inner chamber. However, after 1529 and the effective separation of the judicial and administrative functions of the council, the star chamber was used predominantly when the privy councillors sat as a court in term time, on Wednesday and Friday.³⁸ In the 1540s the clearest account of privy councillors sitting in star chamber in a judicial capacity comes from Paget, when clerk of the privy council, in which he explains, 'at my comyng to the starre chambr there fownd I all the lordes to the nombre of xvii assembled for a conference toching the lorde daces case...To counsail they went and had *with* them *present* the chief Justices *with* other of the kinges lerned counsail'.³⁹ The records to which Elton referred as being stored in a 'room adjoining' were those of the court of star chamber, the judicial body, not the privy council.⁴⁰

³⁶ Elton, 'Tudor government', p. 433. Elton essentially follows Pollard's views from the 1920s, A.F. Pollard, 'Council, star chamber and privy council under the Tudors', *English Historical Review*, 37 (1922), pp. 516-517; 38 (1923), p. 49.

³⁷ For discussion of star chamber itself see Starkey, 'Tudor government: the facts?', pp. 923-924; John Guy, *The court of star chamber and its records to the reign of Elizabeth I* (HMSO, 1985), pp. 1-2.

³⁸ The routine sitting of star chamber on Wednesday and Friday in term time was established by Wolsey and remained the norm until the court was abolished in 1641. For this and the separation of the administrative and judicial functions of the king's council see, John Guy, 'The privy council: revolution or evolution?', in Christopher Coleman and David Starkey (eds.), *Revolution reassessed. Revisions in the history of Tudor government and administration* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 62-68 and Fig. 1.

³⁹ Paget to Wriothsley, 27 June 1541, PRO, SP 1/166, fo. 73v. Interestingly, these meetings in star chamber do not conform to the Wednesday/Friday model.

⁴⁰ Guy, *Court of star chamber*, p. 19. As Professor Guy explains, half of the star chamber archive, the proceedings to 1625, was stored at the court itself in large wainscot presses. After the court was abolished in 1641 it was removed to the Chapter House at Westminster and it is this which today comprises classes PRO, STAC 1-10 at the Public Record Office. The other half of the archive, including the post-1625 proceedings, was stored in the star chamber office at Gray's Inn. This is now lost.

Although the privy council habitually met at court and generally only gathered at star chamber when sitting as a court, they clearly did occasionally use star chamber for other meetings.⁴¹ The register records five meetings of the privy council at the old palace, on Tuesday 24 May 1541, Wednesday 23 November 1541, Thursday 21 December 1542, Wednesday 13 May 1545, Tuesday 3 December 1545, and Wednesday 7 July 1546, though only in 1546 is there an entry of proceedings registered by the clerk.⁴² Further, it is clear that on other occasions, not recorded in the register, the privy council met at star chamber. On Friday 22 June 1543 one particularly important assembly took place there, which is fortuitously well-documented. On Monday 4 June 1543 Henry left Whitehall for the Essex coast. He did not return to the environs of the capital until Tuesday 19 June, when he went to Greenwich. For all of this period the privy council register records meetings taking place at 'Westminster'. However, once the king returned to Greenwich, there is no record of any meetings in the register from Tuesday 19 until Sunday 24 June. This was nevertheless a very important week, in which we know the privy council did meet. On Thursday 21 June privy councillors in London, meeting in star chamber, wrote to the privy council at court at Greenwich, regarding the declaration to be made to the French ambassador on the following day in star chamber. Their letter indicates that the privy councillors in London had been to court at Greenwich the previous day to discuss the matter of the declaration, 'yesterdaye at *our departing* from the cote albeit we knewe the kinges highnes pleashure generally of making the Intimation tomorrow to the french Ambassador according whereunto we appointed themperors ambassador to be here at the Sterr chambre'.⁴³ This is confirmed by Chapuys, who explained to Mary of Hungary that, 'on Wednesday, the 20th inst., it was resolved in the Privy Council that, according to my first opinion in the matter, the two heralds should conjointly make the formal declaration and intimation of war

⁴¹ The fact that the privy council met at court and in the star chamber is significantly reflected in the warrant which established the divided secretaryship, 'His Majestie ordeyneth, that in all Counseilles, aswel in His Majesties Houhold, as in Sterre Chambre, and elleswhere', *State papers of Henry VIII*, i, p. 623.

⁴² *PPC*, vii, pp. 193, 272; *APC*, i, pp. 66-67, 160, 279, 476; Starkey, 'Tudor government: the facts?', p. 924. Starkey omits the meetings in December 1542, and May and December 1545. The absence of a record of proceedings on four of the five of these occasions does indeed suggest that the meetings in star chamber were, 'a *dies non* for the clerk of the privy council'. However, Paget's obvious presence at star chamber on the occasion cited above, pp. 74-75, does rather conflict with the neat assumption that the clerk of the privy council was not required when the privy council met at star chamber. There was probably greater flexibility than an historian would like. More generally on the clerk of the privy council see below, pp. 131-138.

⁴³ Privy council in London to privy council with the king, 21 June 1543, PRO, SP 1/179, fo. 81r.

to the French ambassador'.⁴⁴ It is also clear from the letter from the privy councillors in London that the declaration was to be made on 22 June in star chamber, because they indicate that they have summoned the Imperial ambassador, Chapuys, to star chamber to be present at the declaration. Sure enough, Chapuys records that on Friday 22 June he was present at the declaration, 'this was done yesterday, the 22nd, after dinner, at Westminster, in the presence of all the privy councillors, and of several lords and gentlemen'.⁴⁵

This episode highlights a number of important issues. In the present context it confirms that the privy council did meet in star chamber on occasions not recorded in the register, though this may be explained by the significance and formality of this particular event.⁴⁶ During this period the privy council register was probably at Greenwich, with the king at court. It also indicates that the council in London on occasion used star chamber.⁴⁷ Finally, it once again highlights the problem of nomenclature, Chapuys referring to star chamber as the council chamber at 'Westminster'.

However, despite these assemblies in star chamber, the privy council generally met at court, though precisely where at court is obscure. There are numerous references to the existence of council chambers in the various royal palaces.⁴⁸ It is well known that earlier in the reign there were council chambers at the Tower, Wolsey's York Place, Bridewell Palace and Hampton Court, in addition to the star chamber in the old palace at Westminster and of course wherever the privy council met at Whitehall from the early 1530s.⁴⁹

The key question is the location of the privy council chamber at Whitehall, because this was Henry's principal and most visited residence in the 1540s. It was also the place where the privy council records were kept, in the king's study. Whitehall also has the most evidence. For these

⁴⁴ Chapuys to Mary of Hungary, 23 June 1543, *CSP Spanish 1542-1543*, p. 415.

⁴⁵ Chapuys to Mary of Hungary, 23 June 1543, *CSP Spanish 1542-1543*, p. 415.

⁴⁶ Chapuys indicates that individuals other than privy councillors were present.

⁴⁷ Between 5-18 June 1543, the king was in Essex and the register records that the privy council met at 'Westminster'. On 21 June the privy councillors in London were at star chamber. This raises the possibility that for the two week period at the beginning of June the privy council met at star chamber and not at Whitehall. The king after all was absent. Here again the word 'Westminster' obscures the real location. For Starkey's comments on this see, 'Tudor government: the facts?', p. 924, n. 13.

⁴⁸ Evidence occurs throughout this chapter. To cite a few other instances, *CSP Spanish 1544*, p. 135; *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, pp. 55, 155, 189.

⁴⁹ Thurley, *Royal palaces*, p. 137. It was in the council chamber in the Tower that the first meetings of the privy council took place after Henry's death, *APC*, ii, pp. 3-25, esp. p. 8.

reasons it has attracted some attention. For David Starkey the privy council chamber was located within the privy lodgings, in a room on the northern side of the long gallery, a short distance from the location of the records in the study.⁵⁰ Until recently this view was supported by Simon Thurley's work on the royal palaces. Thus, according to Thurley, 'at Whitehall, in 1532, the council chamber was built off the King's long gallery...It was thus within the King's privy lodging and approached from the privy gallery'.⁵¹ However, Thurley now suggests that this structure could not have been built before 1547 and it does not appear to have been used as a council chamber until perhaps as late as Elizabeth's reign.⁵²

The reasons for this shift are derived mainly from a reappraisal both of archaeological evidence at Whitehall and documentary sources. By the 1540s to the north of the privy gallery there was a 'privy garden', around which a wooden loggia was built.⁵³ This loggia had been completed by 1547.⁵⁴ The building that subsequently became the council chamber at Whitehall extended north off the privy gallery and into the loggia: thus part of the loggia had to be demolished to accommodate the new structure. According to Thurley, this new structure, 'could date from 1547 or later', but there could have been no privy council chamber to the north of the privy gallery until 1547 at the earliest.⁵⁵

Whilst Thurley has effectively rejected what was hitherto regarded as the location of the late Henrican council chamber, he has not managed to provide a firm answer to where the council did meet. Of course the problem is sparse evidence. Most contemporaries took it as understood where the chamber was, so ambassadorial reports, which provide most evidence, still rarely mention the rooms: rather they discuss the content of conversations. However, there is a strong case for suggesting that the council chamber, whilst close to the king's privy lodgings, was not in the privy

⁵⁰ Starkey, *The English court*, pp. 17-18, and see particularly the plan, p. vi. In locating the council chamber here Starkey essentially follows Colvin's analysis of the likely location of apartments at Whitehall. See, Colvin (ed.), *The history of the king's works*, iv, p. 309, Fig. 24. As George Bernard has rightly commented, Colvin provided no evidence for dating this structure to Henry's reign, Bernard, 'Court and government', p. 130.

⁵¹ Thurley, *Royal palaces*, p. 137.

⁵² Thurley, *Whitehall*, pp. 61, 67.

⁵³ Thurley, *Whitehall*, p. 61.

⁵⁴ Thurley, *Whitehall*, p. 67.

⁵⁵ In fact, Thurley suggests that it was used first not as a council chamber but as a new privy chamber for Edward VI. Certainly in 1584 it was used by the Elizabethan privy council, though it is not called a council chamber in the building accounts until 1606-1607, Thurley, *Whitehall*, p. 67.

gallery at all, but in the more public environment of the king's dining chamber or presence chamber. This view rests, firstly, on the most unambiguous reference to the location of council meetings, which comes from the Eltham Ordinances of 1526. This explains that councillors should meet 'everie day in the forenoone by ten of the clock at the furthest, and at afternoone by two of the clock, in the king's dyneng chamber, or such other place as shall fortune to be appoynted for the Councell chamber'.⁵⁶ In 1526 the king's dining chamber, or presence chamber, was 'the principal ceremonial room of the house'.⁵⁷ It was also known as the chamber of estate due to the cloth of estate which hung directly opposite the entrance. When Henry VIII dined in a formal, public environment, this is where he ate. Importantly, this is also where foreign ambassadors were entertained and dined. Of course, in practice the king rarely ate in this public space, rather he ate in the private context of his privy chamber or, later in the reign, his privy lodgings. Instead, habitually it was the upper members of the court who ate in the king's dining chamber. According to the Eltham Ordinances spiritual peers and those temporal peers above the rank of baron were entitled to eat there.⁵⁸ If one looks at the typical plan of Henrican palaces the king's dining chamber was the principal room before the king's privy chamber. It was therefore accessible to the elite of the court, but not beyond the threshold of the highly restricted privy chamber.

What further supports this view is the clear link between dining and the council chamber. In November 1537, during the mourning for the death of Jane Seymour at Hampton Court, 'the duke of Northefolk with other of the kynges Connsell [went] into the connsell Chambre to dynner, whiche being endid, sate to determyne soche thinges as was mete for the provision of thesaide intierment'.⁵⁹ In the 1540s there are numerous instances of the Imperial ambassador meeting with the council, dining with them and then conversations and discussions continuing after dinner. The implication is always that this takes place in the same room. In June 1545 van der Delft describes meeting with the privy council until dinner, at which point all the councillors rose, one after the other and went to wash, after which they all went to table.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ *HO*, p. 160.

⁵⁷ Thurley, *Royal palaces*, p. 122. This account of the king's dining chamber follows Thurley's account, pp. 122-125.

⁵⁸ *HO*, p. 153.

⁵⁹ BL Additional MS. 71009, fos. 37r-39r (pencil top right).

⁶⁰ Van der Delft to Charles V, 12 June 1545, *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, pp. 120-121. For other examples of ambassadors dining with the privy council see, *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, pp. 2, 25, 106-107.

The key evidence, though, comes from the 1539-1540 Ordinances.⁶¹ As David Starkey has pointed out, these Ordinances make it clear that the privy council dined in the council chamber.⁶² However, in 1540 the right to dine in the council chamber was limited to the elite of the court: those above the rank of baron. It is for this reason, as David Starkey points out, that Cromwell, hitherto a mere baron, was elevated to the earldom of Essex. 'His promotion took place on 18th April 1540. That day he dined in the council chamber with his fellow earls and dukes. He had made the inner circle at last'.⁶³ It is precisely this social exclusivity which locates the council chamber of 1540 as the same place as the 1526 dining chamber. The Eltham Ordinances required that the dining chamber, where the council was to meet, when used for dining, should only admit those above the rank of baron. The council chamber of 1540 was therefore the dining chamber or presence chamber. However, the problem was that on this basis an important element of the post-1540 privy council would be excluded from dining in the council chamber, because of rank. In fact the 1540 Ordinances explain in detail the nature of this exclusion. The secretaries, for example, were to dine in their own chambers.⁶⁴ However, this is precisely the point that was addressed in the course of the 1540s so that by 1546 all privy councillors were able not only to sit at the council board but to dine there as well.⁶⁵

Finally, it is this which explains the terms of access to the dining chamber as expressed in BL Additional MS 71009. This section of the manuscript probably dates from the end of Henry VIII's reign.⁶⁶ In describing the duties of a gentleman usher the author explains that a yeoman usher should let no one enter 'the kinges ^dinyinge^ chamber onles he be a Gentilman the servante of of [sic] a Duk a Marques an Earle or a Baron at the least or a gentilman beinge servant to one of the

⁶¹ BL Additional MS. 45716A, fo. 9r-v (pencil top right).

⁶² Starkey, 'Court, council and nobility', p. 196. The Ordinance reads, 'The lord gret maister and the lordes sitting withe him, to be *serued with* ij messes of meate in the kinges counsaill chambre and to be at dynner dailye x ten of the clock and at supper by v of the clock', BL Additional MS. 45716A, fo. 9r. Significantly, ten in the morning was the time the council was to assemble in the dining chamber in the 1526 Ordinances.

⁶³ Starkey, 'Court, council and nobility', p. 197.

⁶⁴ BL Additional MS. 45716A, fo. 10v. Although the warrant which established the divided secretaryship in April 1540 indicates that the secretaries were to sit at a table with the lord privy seal, BL Stowe MS. 141, fo. 78r-v.

⁶⁵ Starkey, 'Court, council and nobility', p. 196. The changes can be seen in the additions to the Ordinances, *HO*, pp. 208-210. This process seems to reach maturity in 1546 when, in a list of the Ordinary of the Household, all 19 privy councillors are listed under the heading, 'counsaill chambre', BL Cotton MS. Vespasian C. xiv, fo. 106r (pencil top right). This manuscript is a later Elizabethan copy.

⁶⁶ For a detailed analysis of the manuscript and its dating see F. Kisby, 'The early Tudor royal household chapel, 1485-1547', unpublished University of London Ph.D. (1995), pp. 555-564.

kinges counsaile'.⁶⁷ The reason for allowing such access was to enable the servant to wait upon these men at table. The important point is that by the end of the decade access to the king's dining chamber was, by implication, afforded to barons and members of the privy council, because this is where they met and dined.⁶⁸

Locating the council chamber in the dining chamber, within close proximity to the privy lodgings but not within the inner sanctum makes sense from another perspective. The privy council, when sitting at the council board, frequently had before it all manner of mean individuals. These are plentifully recorded in the register. To take just one example, in December 1540 the register records that, 'thre several *lettres* of apparance wer written; oon to Richard Bankes, the other to Grafton of London prynters, and the thirde to William Gray, to appere before the Counsaile upon Sonday next at viij of the clock in the mornynge'.⁶⁹ It would be surprising if people of such social status were taken so far into the private lodgings of the king.⁷⁰ A related point emerges when one considers a famous story from the 1540s concerning Thomas Cranmer. The origin of the story rests with Ralph Morice, Cranmer's secretary, who, it becomes clear in the account, was an eye-witness. In his anecdotes he recalls an occasion, probably in 1543, when the conservatives within the privy council sought to attack Cranmer on the basis of his suspect doctrinal belief. Having informed the king of the action it was going to take the privy council arranged for Cranmer to be at the council by eight o'clock the following morning. Unknown to the council the king had discussed the issue with Cranmer the previous evening and was ready to protect him. Henry, though, was not going to intervene until the privy council had begun to spring their trap. Thus:

The next mornynge, according to the kynges monition and my lorde Cranmer's expectation, the counsaile sent for hym by viii of the clocke in the mornynge; and when he came to the counsaile chamber doore, he was not permitted to enter into the counsaile chamber, but

⁶⁷ BL Additional MS. 71009, fo. 10v.

⁶⁸ BL Additional MS. 71009 also makes explicit the fact that the dining chamber was the same room as the presence chamber by explaining that the yeomen ushers should, 'keape the kinges dininge chamber dore wher the clothe of estate hangeth', fo. 10r-v. It is not, therefore, to be confused with the dining chamber located in the privy gallery by the 1540s. For this see, Thurley, *Whitehall*, p. 63, plan 72.

⁶⁹ *PPC*, vii, p. 103. This was written on Thursday 30 December. The next two Sundays the council was at Hampton Court.

⁷⁰ Equally, John Berwick, Hertford's court agent, describes loitering outside the council chamber, 'I delivered your letter to my Lord Privy Seal, as he came alone from the Council Chamber', Berwick to Hertford, 6 April 1544, Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, *Report on the manuscripts of the most honourable marquess of Bath, preserved at Longleat*, eds. M. Blatcher *et al* (5 vols.; London, 1904-1980), iv, p. 101. During this period the court was at Whitehall.

stode withoute the doore emonges servyng men and lackeis above thre quarters of an hower, many counsellors and other men nowe and then going in and oute. The matter semed strange, as I than thoughte, and therefore I went to doctor [William] Buttes and tolde hym the maner of the thing, who by and by came and kepe my lorde company. And yet, or that he was called into the counsaile, D. Buttes wente to the king, and told hym that he had sene a strange sighte. “What ys that?”, quod the kyng, “Mary! (saied he,) my lorde of Canterbury ys become a lackey or a servyng man: for well I wootte he hath stande emonges them in this hower almoste at the counsaile chambre doore, so that I was ashamed to kepe hym company there any lenger”. “What! (quod the king,) standeth he withoute the counsaile chamber doore? Have thei servid me so? (saied the king) It is well enough, (saied he,) I shall talke with theym by and bye”.⁷¹

Of course this is a fascinating account for many reasons, but in the present context the implications are clear. Outside the council chamber lay much of the hubbub of the court, lackeys and serving men. This was not the tightly restricted privy or secret lodgings. Indeed it is the fact that Cranmer is made to linger there which particularly shocks Morice, then Butts, and then ultimately the king. When the privy council went to confront the king to excuse its action Henry rebuked them in the following terms, ‘Ah! my lordes, I hadd thoughte that I had hadd a discrete and wise counsaile, but nowe I perceyve that I am deceyvid. Howe have ye handeled here my L. of Canterbury? What make ye of him a slave, shitting [shutting] hym oute of the councell-chamber emonges servyng men?’.⁷² Significantly, immediately before the king’s dining chamber, the council chamber described above, was an ante-chamber or hall place in which one would almost certainly have found the lackeys and serving men described by Morice. As Thurley has explained, ‘The hall place was an area before the door to an important room’.⁷³ It was also the type of area which became cluttered with mess and filth especially from waste food, which is precisely why the Eltham Ordinances ordered that these areas be kept clear.⁷⁴ One can imagine the debris of the previous evening’s meal being cleared from the hall place by serving men at the same time as Cranmer waited to be called into the chamber.⁷⁵ This was why the king was so incensed.

Another tale of political exclusion, this time from Foxe, relating to Stephen Gardiner seems to further confirm this model. At some point towards the end of the reign:

⁷¹ J.G. Nichols (ed.), *Narratives of the days of the reformation* (Camden Society, 1st ser., 77; London, 1859), pp. 256-257.

⁷² Nichols, *Narratives*, p. 258.

⁷³ Thurley, *Royal palaces*, p. 122.

⁷⁴ *HO*, p. 153.

the king, immediately after his repair to London, fell sick, and caused divers times his whole council to come unto him about his will, and other grave affairs. At that time the bishop [Gardiner] also would come up with them into the outer privy chamber, and there remain until the council came from the king, and then go down with them again, to the end (as then was thought) to blind the world withal.⁷⁶

The implication here is that access to the threshold of the privy chamber, but not into or beyond the privy chamber itself identified him as a privy councillor. It is not clear what Foxe means by 'outer privy chamber', but immediately before the privy chamber was the dining chamber, the council chamber. It seems, then, that Gardiner was hovering in the area around the council chamber, but unable to get beyond into the inner sanctum of Henry's privy chamber and beyond.

Further, it is only by locating the council chamber at a greater distance from the king's privy lodgings, indeed before the privy gallery altogether, that one can really make sense of Petre's comment to Paget on Christmas Eve 1545, which makes it clear that Petre, unlike Paget, experienced face-to-face contact with the king relatively infrequently.⁷⁷ If the council chamber had been located on the privy gallery one would expect Petre, a frequent presence in council meetings over the previous 18 months, to have had more regular contact with the king. It is this which renders Starkey's vision of a privy gallery buzzing with privy councillors and members of the privy chamber unrealistic.⁷⁸ It would locate in excess of 30 people in the confines of the long gallery at a time when Henry increasingly sought seclusion, demonstrated by the expanding secret lodgings at the end of the reign. This is not to deny that privy councillors met with the king and had access to his presence, but simply that it was not as immediate and easy as has hitherto been assumed. It was probably informal, and the degree of access is likely to have depended on variables such as the king's mood and the political standing of the councillor.

On the basis of this analysis we have a new model for the context in which the privy council of the 1540s operated. To the extent that the privy council did meet, from time to time, in Star Chamber, Professor Elton was right. However, habitually the council met at court, and the permanent

⁷⁵ *HO*, p. 122.

⁷⁶ John Foxe, *The actes and monuments of John Foxe and a life of the martyrologist, and vindication of the work*, ed. G. Townsend (viii vols.; London, 1843-1849), v, p. 691.

⁷⁷ Petre to Paget, 24 December 1545, PRO, SP 1/212, fo. 111r. See above, pp. 33-34.

⁷⁸ Starkey, *The English court*, pp. 17-20. Nowhere does Starkey produce any evidence that privy councillors had the run of the privy gallery beyond the location of the council chamber and the study.

repository for its records, by the 1540s, was the king's study, off the long gallery at Whitehall. Yet the privy council itself did not meet in the long gallery, but in a more public space, the presence or dining chamber. Undoubtedly privy councillors had access to the king, but the privy councillor who had permanent access to the king and to the conciliar archive in the study was the secretary, Paget. How this affected the day-to-day process of counsel and consultation is the purpose of the rest of the chapter.

II

The image of Henry VIII, particularly in the last two decades of his reign, is a familiar one. It is that of the mighty prince, who, after the break from Rome and the defining statute, the 1533 Act in Restraint of Appeals, advocated the concept of imperial monarchy, whose *imperium* could not be restrained by an earthly authority, spiritual or temporal. It is the Old Testament kingship of David or Solomon, with the former of whom Henry seems to have identified increasingly in the 1540s.⁷⁹ If this was the image and the theory, at a practical day-to-day level the king was equally pervasive. Paget himself after all explained to Petre that he needed a study near the king in order to expedite the affairs of state.⁸⁰ The typical privy council letter began, 'the king has seen your letters to us and wills us...'⁸¹ The king's intimate role in the running of the French campaign in 1544 is well-known and is unsurprising given his predilection for military matters, but what is less predictable is Henry's involvement in the minutiae of all manner of other business.⁸² After returning from France in 1544 he was preoccupied with apparently mundane issues surrounding the supplies going to Calais and Boulogne and concerned to be kept informed on a daily basis.⁸³ In both 1544 and 1545 he was involved with the drafting of proclamations to be issued in Scotland.⁸⁴ The detailed conduct

There are, to my knowledge, no formal regulations governing the access of privy councillors to the king's privy lodgings.

⁷⁹ John Guy, 'Tudor monarchy and its critiques', in his *The Tudor monarchy* (London, 1997), pp. 82-83.

⁸⁰ Paget to Petre, 24 November 1545, *State papers of Henry VIII*, i, p. xiii.

⁸¹ For a typical example see, privy council to Wotton and Carne, 12 [January] 1545, PRO, SP 1/197, fo. 81r.

⁸² A good example of just how involved he was in the military campaign is, Paget to Suffolk, 18 July 1544, PRO, SP 1/190, fos. 78r-80v. Equally, his hand is evident in the defence strategy in 1545, *APC*, i, p. 174.

⁸³ Privy council to Lord St John, 20 October 1544, PRO, SP 1/194, fos. 20r-21v; Henry VIII to Lisle, 22 October 1544, PRO, SP 1/194, fos. 45r-46v; privy council to privy council at Calais, 26 October 1544, PRO, SP 1/194, fos. 66r-68v; privy council to Lisle, 3 November 1544, PRO, SP 1/194, fos. 209r-210v.

⁸⁴ Hertford to Henry VIII, 21 March 1544, BL Additional MS. 32654, fo. 48r-v; Hertford, Tunstall and Sadler to Henry VIII, 25 August 1545, PRO, SP 49/8, fos. 145r-146v (pencil bottom right).

of naval matters also attracted his close attention, as did the interference of French supplies to Ardes.⁸⁵ One would expect his involvement in the assembling of parliament, but perhaps not his daily attendance in 1545.⁸⁶ In 1544 Henry was unable to attend a meeting of the knights of the garter due to urgent affairs of state.⁸⁷ In August 1545 Sir Anthony St Leger writing to Henry about the state of Ireland supposed the king to be troubled with weighty matters of state.⁸⁸ Many further examples could be made. What they show is that any remnant of the old historiography, of a king some how at the periphery of serious 'government' and the affairs of state is fundamentally inaccurate.⁸⁹ As Virginia Murphy has shown, at least as early as 1527, when Henry first became actively involved in his divorce campaign, the king lay at the heart of the policy-making process.⁹⁰ This was never more so than in the 1540s, despite his age and ailments. Indeed the king's periodic bouts of illness did not marginalise him, but rather the political and policy-making processes were held in abeyance until he recovered. As the privy council explained to Paget in March 1545, during his embassy to the Low Countries:

The kinges maiestie havinge seen your *lettres* of the [...] of this instant and tharticles which you sent *with* the same taketh your *proceedinges* in right thankfull parte and wold have signified his most gracious pleasour for aunswer to your said *lettres* at this present, saving that his highnes hath byn moche trobled *with* a rewme and cough so as he neither could *without* hurt of his person bestow any tyme about the consideracion of the maters therof nor consult with his counsell about the same sens the receipt of your said *lettres*. But the said cough and rewme beginning now (thankes be to god) to diminisse we trust his maiestie will *within* few dayes be more hable to take paynes and thereafter resolve for full aunswer to be made unto you therin.⁹¹

⁸⁵ Lisle to Henry VIII, 21 July 1545, Hatfield, Cecil MS. 1, nos. 35-36.; Lisle to Paget, 2 August 1545, PRO, SP 1/205, fos. 31r-32v; privy council to Lord Grey of Wilton, 24 November 1544, PRO, SP 1/195, fo. 167r.

⁸⁶ For Wriothesley's desire to find out when Henry wanted to call the parliament, Wriothesley to privy council, 9 September 1545, PRO, SP 1/207, fo. 109r. For comments on his daily attendance, *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, p. 279.

⁸⁷ *Letters and papers*, XIX, i, 384.

⁸⁸ St Leger to Henry VIII, 3 August 1545, PRO, SP 60/12, fo. 33r (ink stamp bottom right).

⁸⁹ Elton, *Tudor revolution in government*, pp. 37-40, 66-71

⁹⁰ V. Murphy, 'The literature and propaganda of Henry VIII's first divorce', in Diarmaid MacCulloch (ed.), *The reign of Henry VIII. Politics, policy and piety* (London, 1995), pp. 135-158.

⁹¹ Privy council to Paget and Wotton, 13 March 1545, PRO, SP 1/199, fo. 23r. Illness also frustrated audiences with ambassadors; Chapuys to Charles V, 17 May 1545, *CSP Spanish 1544*, p. 159, Chapuys was unable to see the king, 'owing to him having taken some medicine in the form of pills'; Scepperus to Mary of Hungary, 14 March 1546, *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, pp. 324-325, on this occasion the king's troublesome leg prevented an audience.

What this revealing interlude also demonstrates is the assumption that in the process of making a decision Henry would 'consult with his Counsell'.⁹² This was no isolated incident either. Henry VIII regarded counsel as central to the exercise of his authority, whether this be over the invasion to Scotland in 1544 or overtures by Charles V to mediate in peace negotiations with Francis I.⁹³

For all the king's *imperium*, and his pervasive influence on the day-to-day running of affairs, "it was counsel that made the exercise of royal power legitimate".⁹⁴ In recent years Tudor historians have become increasingly aware of how classical-humanist concepts of counsel informed and regulated political action. In Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*, Thomas Starkey's *Dialogue* and Sir Thomas Elyot's *The governor* the renaissance concept of counsel is a consistent theme. But prescriptions of limited monarchy were not solely classical-humanist models. The political and intellectual *milieu*, stimulated by the spread of the renaissance across northern Europe and, in England, with the added impetus of the break from Rome, revived other theories of limited monarchy, drawing on ecclesiastical conciliarism, feudal-baronial conciliarism, linked to the idea of the king's natural councillors, and the common law models of Christopher St German.⁹⁵ All these ideas, and hybrid forms of them, were current in the 1530s and 1540s, and helped to define

⁹² For similar examples see, privy council to Paget, 12 April 1542, PRO, SP 1/170, fos. 1r-19v., in which they report the king's audience with Marillac. To Marillac's question as to what he should write to Francis I, Henry replied, 'I shall...devise with my council of this matter these holydays and then I shall give you further answer'; Chapuys to Mary of Hungary, 8 January 1541, *CSP Spanish 1541*, p. 307, on receipt of letters from Gardiner, 'this king and the members of his Privy Council have since been deliberating two days running upon the contents of that despatch'.

⁹³ Henry VIII to Suffolk, 29 January 1544, BL Additional MS. 32653, fos. 263r-269v, in which Henry asked Suffolk, 'to signifie unto us in a *lettre aparte* what *your* opinion is touching thinvasion to be made at the sayd tyme of *marche* ^with the sayd xxm^ [20 thousand men] and whither you thinke there may be ^provyded^ sufficient furniture of victual for it or not'; privy council to the privy council at Calais, 3 November 1544, PRO, SP 1/194, fos. 204r-205v., which begins, 'his *maiestie* hath not resolved but mynding to have the same more naturally wayed and debated hath commaunded us tadvertise your lordshipes of the same to thintent that after you shall *with* good advise considre them and what commodite or incommodite might ensue of them his *maiestie* may hyre from you what your opinions shall be therin *with* diligence', and ends, 'thies be the poinctes wherin his *maiestie* requireth your lordship advises *which* his *maiestie* woll continually loke for till the same shall arrive *with* him'. For their extensive counsel, or 'opinion' three days later see, privy council at Calais to Henry VIII, 6 November 1544, PRO, SP 1/195, fos. 18r-22v. That we know of these instances is only due to the fact that this advice had to be written because of the absence of the privy councillors from the court. It reflects what usually would have been imparted in conversation.

⁹⁴ Guy, 'Tudor monarchy and its critiques', p. 80.

⁹⁵ The literature on this is large, but see particularly, John Guy, 'The rhetoric of counsel in early modern England', in D. Hoak (ed.), *Tudor political culture* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 292-310; Guy, 'Tudor monarchy and its critiques', pp. 78-109; John Guy, 'The Tudor privy council: an insular or renaissance model?', unpublished paper, read at Warburg Institute Symposium (1999), pp. 1-21.

the culture of politics. As John Guy has argued for the Tudor century, ‘the language of counsel is ubiquitous’.⁹⁶

However, the important issue here is not the theory of counsel and limited monarchy, but how and to what extent these ideas influenced practical politics. In particular, to what extent and by what means did privy councillors counsel?⁹⁷ As a starting point it is worth highlighting the fact that although the king did not generally attend meetings of his privy council at the council board, he frequently did meet with the council, as a body, to discuss policy and take counsel. Importantly, though, this could be on issues of high policy or administration and the grey area in between. On 23 November 1541 the privy council register records a well-attended meeting of the privy council, the entry reading, ‘the forenoon the Lordes sate in the Sterrechawmber, and all the afternone wer with the King’.⁹⁸ This is rare, since the register does not usually record the attendance of the king. Typically on this occasion the clerk made no reference to the business discussed, but there must be a strong presumption that the agenda was dominated by the Catherine Howard affair. Equally, in September 1545 the council was ‘called to the King to debate affairs of Boulogne and the North’.⁹⁹ The result was a letter from the privy council, drafted by Petre, to Hertford declaring the decisions taken the previous day.¹⁰⁰ However, more often our window into the meetings between the king and council is provided by ambassadorial reports. The issue of Boulogne was still a cause of debate at the beginning of 1546, van der Delft recording that, ‘two days since the King consulted the whole Council, and summoned his Captains, the English and foreign’, to discuss the defence of the town.¹⁰¹ At the beginning of February 1544 Chapuys records the privy council engaged in ‘several consultations and long debates in the King’s presence’ over the declaration against the duke of Holstein.¹⁰² This matter was still alive two months later, and while in audience with the council, pressing for the English declaration, Chapuys explained that the councillors wished, ‘to consult

⁹⁶ Guy, ‘The Tudor privy council’, p. 2.

⁹⁷ The privy council register provides few clues, since it was primarily a record of administrative decisions, and because the clerk was generally excluded when issues of policy were discussed. For a full discussion of this see below, p. 131.

⁹⁸ *APC*, i, p. 272. Similarly, on 21 December 1540, ‘Themperors ambassador was *with* the King and the Counsail togidres, and after the themperors Ambassador was *with* the Counsail in the Counsail Chamber’, *PPC*, vii, p. 95.

⁹⁹ *APC*, i, p. 241.

¹⁰⁰ Privy council to Hertford, 9 September 1545, PRO, SP 49/8, fo. 167r-v (pencil bottom right).

¹⁰¹ Van der Delft to Charles V, 19 January 1546, *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, p. 294.

¹⁰² Chapuys to Charles V, 2 February 1544, *CSP Spanish 1544*, p. 32.

first with the King their master, who was then in his chamber, as they actually did'.¹⁰³ Similarly, in February 1545, again in audience with the privy council, Chapuys' successor, van der Delft, raised the issue of the restitution of certain Spanish ships seized by English subjects. The result was that the council went first to confer with the king and returned to explain that the king would give Chapuys an audience the following day. At the audience the next day Chapuys was taken to the king by Suffolk and Wriothsley, both of whom remained in the room during the audience.¹⁰⁴ Later in the year van der Delft was again at the council board, discussing the options for peace mediation between Henry and Francis. No resolution was reached, 'except that they would talk the matter over again with the king'.¹⁰⁵ A few days later van der Delft found himself before the king, in the course of discussion a divergence between the king's position and that of his council was exposed, the council apparently acting beyond their instructions, Henry, 'thereupon summoned the Councillors and addressed them very harshly', the councillors remaining for the rest of the audience.¹⁰⁶

On these occasions the privy council, corporately, was meeting with the king to discuss, debate, and occasionally witness a tirade, face-to-face.¹⁰⁷ That we know about them at all is largely due to the chance fact that the ambassador thought these occasions worth recounting to Charles V. It is likely, therefore, that these accounts represent the tip of the iceberg. However, the other means by which the privy council collectively might consult with Henry was by submitting written memoranda for the king's consideration and decision. Such documents were broadly of two types. First, there were papers which contained a number of issues or questions, formulated by the council at the council board, to which Henry's answer was required. Secondly, there were conciliar opinions or reports, sometimes directly solicited by the king, presumably to enable him to reach a decision. In both cases the mediation of the secretary between the king and the privy council was crucial.

¹⁰³ Chapuys to Charles V, 12 April 1544, *CSP Spanish 1544*, p. 95. This particular instance also serves to reinforce the fact that the privy council met at court, in close proximity to the king's privy lodgings.

¹⁰⁴ Van der Delft to Charles V, 13 February 1545, *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, p. 33.

¹⁰⁵ Van der Delft to Charles V, 23 July 1545, *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, p. 190. Later in the same letter van der Delft mentions that the council, 'after communicating with the King...sent me word that I might come to them to-day at about 9, and they would then tell me what the king had ordered', p. 191.

¹⁰⁶ Van der Delft to Charles V, 28 July 1545, *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, pp. 200-202.

Of the former there are a number of particularly good examples in the archive. A memorial from 9 September 1546 relating to the administration of affairs in Boulogne illuminates this conciliar process and Paget's centrality to it.¹⁰⁸ The document is headed 'A memoryall unto the kinges *Maiestie* Counsell' and endorsed 'Copie of my lord Grayes [of Wilton], etc., memorall to the counsaill here and thanswere from them to the same ix Septembre'. It is drafted in the form of paragraphs, fourteen in this case, each of which deals with a separate issue. The original sent by Grey was presumably filed and a copy taken for the purpose of conciliar deliberation, since next to most of the paragraphs is inserted the resolution of the council in Paget's hand. So for a mundane administrative matter, 'we requyre a warrant for the payment of iii men at armes more then the nombre whome my lord founde placed here at his comyng hither', the conciliar response is, 'a warrant for that which is past and from henceforth to serve as horsemen of the crew'.¹⁰⁹ That these are largely decisions made by the council, without reference to the king, is suggested by the wording of the endorsement: this is the answer of the privy council. However, Paget's annotations also suggest some consultation with the king. To the opening paragraph, 'ffurst we requyre yor lordships to knowe the kinges *maiesties* pleasure touching the fortificacon of the yongman whether the same shalbe fortified forthwith or remayn tyll the begynnyng of the yere Aduertesing yor lordships that the nombre appoynted therunto remayneth in the meane tyme to the Citadell', the annotation reads, 'his *maiestie* is pleased it shall go furth out of hand as the surveior of the workes can declare'.¹¹⁰ This being a weightier issue, Grey requested, and Paget accordingly sought the advice of the king. However, even a relatively minor matter, the sixth item, 'we requyre to knowe if the cap [captain] of the gard shall contynue or no', seems to have warranted the king's attention, the annotation reading, 'the kinges *pleasure* is to have hym contynew and mr dudley to enjoy it'.¹¹¹

A similar manuscript, containing a series of articles, thirty in all, in the form of paragraphs, on a paper endorsed 'The titling of thacts of Parliament to be made in Ireland', dating from March 1541 also conforms to this pattern.¹¹² The marginalia, in secretary Wriothesley's hand indicates the

¹⁰⁷ For another example of the privy council as a group going to the king, see *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, p. 93. *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, p. 25. See also *APC*, i, pp. 185-186, 8 June 1545 when Wriothesley, Norfolk, Essex and Gardiner were appointed at a privy council meeting to deliver a report to Henry.

¹⁰⁸ PRO, SP 1/224, fos. 95r-97v.

¹⁰⁹ PRO, SP 1/224, fo. 95r.

¹¹⁰ PRO, SP 1/224, fo. 95r.

¹¹¹ PRO, SP 1/224, fo. 95r. Significantly, the editors of the calendared version omit any reference to consulting the king on this point, *Letters and papers*, XXI, ii, 54.

¹¹² PRO, SP 60/10, fos. 29r-31v (ink stamp top right). There is also a later copy of this MS, fos. 32r-33v.

decisions of the king. Whether the paper originated with the privy council is unclear, but there can be no doubt for another paper, dating from September 1546, endorsed, 'articles subscribed by the lo:writhsley lo:Chancellor the L. St. John and the Bishop of Winchester, and presented to the Kings *Maiestie* for establishment of things in Ireland'.¹¹³ Unfortunately the original is lost and we are forced to rely on a later copy. However, the transcriber indicated that the marginalia in the original were in Paget's hand, and in other respects the copy conforms to the pattern of a series of issues, in the form of paragraphs, this time thirty, against which Paget has inserted Henry's response. So to the brief item, 'a new Patent for the Deputy because the old is void by Statute by his comming out of Ireland', Paget's marginalia reads, 'the kings *Maiestie* is pleased'.¹¹⁴

Significantly, decisions relating to the establishment of the regency council in July 1544 seem to have been recorded in a similar way. On a document dated 7 July 1544 at 'Westminster', endorsed, 'Things ordred at home' the key provisions of the regency council are outlined.¹¹⁵ As with the other drafts the paper is organised by a series of items, in paragraph form, so that the first reads, 'ffyrst touching the Quenes hieghnes and my Lord Prince'.¹¹⁶ However, rather than Henry's response being recorded in the marginalia, in this case the difference is that after each issue the king's response follows the main body of the text. The third item reads, 'for a lieutenant in cace and who shalbe of counsail wth him', to which the response underneath is, 'his *maiestie* is pleased that my lord of hetford shalbe his Lieutenant in cace And to tak his commision for that purpose wth all thinges requisite by thauctorite of the Quene Regent wth thadvise of the counsail aforsayde if nede so requyre'.¹¹⁷ Paget's role as intermediary is again present, his hand being responsible for the corrections. Another manuscript comparable in arrangement, with five different articles requiring an answer, dating from October 1544, relates to naval matters and is endorsed, 'Articles touching the shippes wherupon to know the kinges *maiesties* please'.¹¹⁸ Clearly this memorandum preceded any consultation with the king. This is also the case with another 'Memoriall' dating from the end of 1545 relating to the negotiations then in hand with the French in which the protestant princes

¹¹³ PRO, SP 60/12, fos. 114r-117v (ink stamp top right).

¹¹⁴ PRO, SP 60/12, fo. 114v.

¹¹⁵ PRO, SP 1/189, fos. 227r-229r.

¹¹⁶ PRO, SP 1/189, fo. 227r.

¹¹⁷ PRO, SP 1/189, fo. 228r.

¹¹⁸ PRO, SP 1/194, fo. 115r-v.

were acting as mediators.¹¹⁹ The draft itself is arranged in the form of nine paragraphs, each of which deals with a particular issue. The fifth paragraph considers the prospect of a ‘further meeting of the protestantes and other commissioners for bothe the princes primo maii or suche other tyme as shalbe thought mete’, which ‘my lordes lyk it well’.¹²⁰ It clearly represents the result of conciliar deliberation, prior to any consultation with the king, since the last two paragraphs resolve to refer these matters to his direction. They read, ‘Touching the persons to be comprehended the kinges maiesties pleasure to be known Touching the pension for Brewno and money in hande the kinges maiesties pleasure to be knowen’.¹²¹

Taken together these drafts highlight a number of important characteristics about the counselling process in the 1540s. Firstly, they confirm the fact that the privy council registers provide little help in working out the process of policy formation at the council board. Of the six memoranda cited two relate to 1544. It is therefore impossible to map these onto the privy council registers since they are missing between July 1543 and May 1545. However, the remaining four correspond to periods for which registers are extant, and yet no evidence of conciliar deliberation is recorded by the clerk. Equally, although a precise date for the memoranda relating to the protestant mediation is elusive, the document does make it clear that both Paget and Gardiner were abroad at this date, thus fixing it between 21 November 1545 and 5 January 1546. However, there is no record of any discussion in the register.¹²² The same point can be made for both memorials of September 1546 relating to Boulogne and Ireland.¹²³ Whilst the registers do illuminate aspects of the processes and administrative work of the privy council, what they do not reveal are the debates and means by which policy was actually formulated at the council board. There are two reasons for

¹¹⁹ PRO, SP 1/212, fo. 116r-v. *Letters and papers* have given it the title of a ‘memoranda of consultations of the Council as to the negotiations with France’, *Letter and papers*, XX, ii, 1036. The endorsement ‘memorall’ does not appear on the manuscript but is recorded in *Letters and papers*.

¹²⁰ PRO, SP 1/212, fo. 116r. Interestingly, next to the second paragraph dealing with the issue of including the Scots in any treaty with the French, which the councillors make clear they wish to avoid, are the words ‘my lord of Hertford’, in Hertford’s hand. Given Hertford’s intimate connection with Scottish affairs this perhaps indicates some influence on his part in this resolution.

¹²¹ PRO, SP 1/212, fo. 116v.

¹²² APC, i, pp. 272-306.

¹²³ APC, i, pp. 527-533. The register records meetings on the 3, 8, 10, 11, 12, 16, 24, 27 and 28 September. The Boulogne memorial is dated 9 September. The privy council meeting recorded for 9 October does contain evidence of extensive consultations between the king and the council over Boulogne, APC, i, pp. 537-542. However, though there is an overlap regarding some items, for example provision for payment for post and ‘espial money’, the 9 September memorial and the 9 October entry in the register deal with substantially different issues. The conclusion must therefore be that the 9 September meeting, as one might expect, was not recorded in the register by the clerks of the privy council.

this. Firstly, the purpose of the register and the clerk was to ‘writte entre and registre all such decrees determinacons *lettres* and other such thinges as he shuld be appoynted to entre in a book etc’.¹²⁴ It was not the purpose of the register to record the process but the conclusion of the debate, though often even this is absent. Secondly, it seems characteristic of the Tudor privy council that, especially at more sensitive meetings dealing with areas of high policy, the clerk was excluded from the meeting.¹²⁵

This therefore raises the important question of who was responsible for the drafting of these conciliar memoranda. During the first decade of Elizabeth’s reign William Cecil as secretary acted as clerk during conciliar discussions over issues of high policy, and therefore his rough memoranda of these meetings provide a unique glimpse into conciliar debate and the counselling process in the 1560s.¹²⁶ Though the 1540s provide no comparable riches the few memoranda that do exist suggest something similar took place at the end of Henry’s reign. The memorandum of 7 July 1544, for example is largely a fair draft, in the hand of a clerk used frequently by Paget, with a few minor corrections and additions in Paget’s hand.¹²⁷ The 1545-1546 memorandum relating to French negotiations had nothing to do with Paget since he was out of the country. However, this is again a fair draft, in the hand of a clerk who frequently worked with Petre.¹²⁸ What this suggests is a process by which the secretary, Paget or Petre, kept rough notes in the council meeting, which were then re-drafted by an intimate clerk. The September 1546 memorandum relating to Boulogne also conforms to a similar pattern. The series of questions is in the hand of one of Paget’s clerks. The endorsement makes this clear by explaining that it is a copy.¹²⁹ The marginalia, in Paget’s hand, are the responses of the council and the king. Therefore one can envisage Paget taking this paper both to a council meeting and then to the king and noting the action to be taken. This of course is the key point. Paget’s annotations and marginalia on these papers recording the decisions of the council and the king illuminate his role as the interface between the king and his council.

¹²⁴ *PPC*, vii, p. 4.

¹²⁵ Alford, *early Elizabethan polity*, pp. 10-11; M.B. Pulman, *The Elizabethan privy council in the fifteen-seventies* (Berkeley, Ca., 1971), p. 52.

¹²⁶ Alford, *early Elizabethan polity*, p. 11.

¹²⁷ PRO, SP 1/189, fos. 227r-229r.

¹²⁸ PRO, SP 1/212, fo. 116r-v. Though agreeing that this was probably a conciliar memorandum Professor Potter suggested that this was drafted by Petre himself, but it bears little resemblance to Petre’s hand, D.L. Potter, ‘Diplomacy in the mid-sixteenth century: England and France, 1536-1550’, unpublished University of Cambridge Ph.D. (1973), p. 133, n. 2.

¹²⁹ PRO, SP 1/224, fo. 96v.

Furthermore, the technique of listing a series of articles or items to which a response is required for each is one which Paget expressly endorsed in a letter to Petre in May 1546.¹³⁰

Rather than submit a host of articles for Henry's consideration, the council might be required by him to offer their written advice on an issue. Such an occasion arose in April 1544 after the successful invasion of Scotland. Hertford was keen to fortify Leith and wrote to the king to that end. The letter from the privy council which responded to this explained that the king had, 'both 'himself consydered and wayed the same moost gravely and prudently as you knowe well ynough he canne but also commaunded us likewise to consulte thereuppon and to putt in writting thereasons that diswad aswell his *Maiestie* as us from your lordships opinion'.¹³¹ Alternatively, the council might submit to the king an unsolicited report. In September 1544 Chapuys was pressing Paget to raise the issue of peace negotiations with the king, to which, 'Paget made no other answer to our request than a promise to lay the matter before the Privy Council, and take care that after deliberating upon it a report should be addressed to the King'.¹³²

Certainly there are a number of such reports or 'consultations' directed to the king from the privy council. In 1541 a report dealing with Irish matters was submitted to the king from the council, which begins, 'Sir uppon discours as it pleased your *maiestie* to make unto us the last daye touching the matyers of Irlande we have sithens according to our duetyes bothe debated the same more groundely amonges ourselfes and also communed therof at good length *with* Sir Thomas Cusak'. What then follows is the council's opinion of how affairs in Ireland should be ordered in the future.¹³³ Importantly, whilst the fair copy is in the hand of a clerk, there also exists the

¹³⁰ Paget to Petre, 1 May 1546, PRO, SP 1/217, fo. 153r. Significantly, the technique mirrors the communication between the select council and Philip between 1555-58, John Guy, 'The Marian court and Tudor policy-making', unpublished Windsor Conference paper (1998), p. 16.

¹³¹ Privy council to Hertford, 17 April 1544, BL Additional MS. 32654, fo. 123r. In addition to the letter there is the consultation itself entitled, 'A consultacon whether therle of hertford shold nowe entreprise any newe fortificacon in the leghe as was entended at his departure', BL Additional MS. 32654, fos. 127r-129v. There are also contemporary copies of both, BL Additional MS. 32654, fos. 130r-136v. A further document touching on the same issues entitled, 'A consultacon of the counsail in thies twoo articles following fyrst whither Therle of hertford shuld nowe entreprise any new *fortificacon* in Scotland the second what were convenyent to be writen to the sayd Erle...', BL Additional MS. 32654, fos. 120r-122v.

¹³² Chapuys to Charles V, 3 September 1544, *CSP Spanish 1544*, p. 319. For a similar example in March 1544 Chapuys, in an audience with the privy council, urged them to declare against Holstein, explaining, 'I have, however, begged them [the privy council] to think of the affair, and talk it over with the rest of their colleagues, so as to lay the case before the king their master', Chapuys to Charles V, 16 March 1544, *CSP Spanish 1544*, p. 75.

¹³³ PRO, SP 60/10, fos. 133r-134v. This is the fair copy which runs to three pages

working draft, written presumably at or just after the council's deliberations, which is in Wriothesley's hand.¹³⁴ This seems to confirm the process already suggested by which the secretary, this time Wriothesley, kept rough notes of conciliar deliberations at the council board before a fair copy was drafted by a clerk. In 1544 the councillors attending the king at Boulogne submitted written proposals to Henry detailing the way in which the city should be taken, titled 'ffor thassaulte'.¹³⁵ In the following year the council produced a series of reports, some of which they called 'consultations' for the king, outlining the readiness of the country to withstand the expected invasion from the French.¹³⁶

The best example of a consultation, though, in terms of the breadth of its concerns and issues comes not from the council but from Paget himself. In a paper titled 'A Consultacon In august 1546' Paget offers an incisive analysis of Henry's position in the summer of 1546. The occasion for Paget's advice was the hostile international situation, with Francis I, Pope Paul III and Charles V all threatening the realm.¹³⁷ Whether the king solicited this advice or Paget himself submitted it on his own initiative cannot be said with certainty, though it would be surprising if such a wide-ranging and important analysis was not occasioned by the king's request. Importantly, the advice is echoed in many of Paget's writings or 'critiques' to Somerset during the protectorate. What is particularly significant, though, is the word 'consultacon', employed by Paget and used to define a number of the conciliar papers. It is Elyot's language in *The governor*, in which he explains the 'thing that is consultation is the general denomination of the act wherein men do devise together and reason what is to be done'.¹³⁸ Indeed according to Elyot, 'consultation' specifically was the mean by which 'counsel is expressed'.¹³⁹ The linguistic parallel is striking and seems to reflect the fusion of Elyot's theory and late Henrican practice. Significantly, this is precisely the language used by Cecil in his conciliar memoranda of the 1560s which were directed at Elizabeth.¹⁴⁰

Through both face-to-face and written consultations the privy council of the 1540s counselled the king. The other means by which the council communicated with the king was by one or more

¹³⁴ PRO, SP 60/10, fos. 127r-132v. This is Wriothesley's eight page working draft.

¹³⁵ PRO, SP 1/192, fos. 69r-70v.

¹³⁶ PRO, SP 1/200, fos. 185r-196v.

¹³⁷ This consultation is discussed at length below, pp. 142-145.

¹³⁸ Thomas Elyot, *The boke named the governor*, ed. S.E. Lehmberg (London, 1962), pp. 236-237.

¹³⁹ Elyot, *The governor*, p. 238.

¹⁴⁰ Alford, *early Elizabethan polity*, p. 13.

councillors leaving the council chamber to consult with the king before returning to the chamber with the king's determination. This was the practice as early as September 1540 when, with the court at Grafton, 'Mr Treasurer [Sir Thomas Cheney] and the Mr of the Horse [Sir Anthony Browne] went from the Counsaill to the King for the knoweledge of his pleasr touching the matiers of Herons and other matiers and brought aunswer'.¹⁴¹ During an audience with the privy council in 1545 Chapuys and van der Delft recorded that, 'after some further conversation, the Chancellor [Wriothesley] and the Duke of Suffolk went to report to the King, and on their return after they had conferred at length with the rest of the Council, we went to dinner and subsequently resumed the discussion'.¹⁴²

However, the key conduits again were the secretaries, especially Paget. During an audience with the privy council, this time in 1544, 'the Privy Council sent to the King one of its members, my lord Wrythesley and the secretary (Paget), the former of whom returned soon after with the following answer'.¹⁴³ Equally, in 1545 Chapuys found himself at dinner with the privy council following lengthy discussions. After sitting next to Suffolk and Wriothesley, the two privy councillors, 'called Secretary Paget to come and talk with me, whilst they (Wriothesley and Suffolk) seated themselves a little lower down in order to leave room for Paget and myself to communicate the more freely...After some further conversation Paget went to the King; and shortly afterwards summoned me to the presence'.¹⁴⁴ Similarly, in July 1545 after arriving early at court and meeting with the privy council, 'at last when it was getting late, Paget came in, but shortly afterwards he was sent to the King by the Council, and on his return he told the members in English that the King wished to see me'.¹⁴⁵ Therefore, Paget was the interface between Henry in his privy lodgings and the privy council sitting in the council chamber. Equally, when the privy council was split between an attendant council at court and a rump resident in London, Paget was the point of contact between the two. This was particularly the case in the last months of Henry's life in

¹⁴¹ *PPC*, vii, p. 27.

¹⁴² Chapuys and van der Delft to Charles V, 11 January 1545, *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, p. 25. It was Wriothesley and Suffolk who escorted van der Delft to his audience with the king a month later, van der Delft to Charles V, 13 February 1545, *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, p. 33.

¹⁴³ Chapuys to Mary of Hungary, 12 April 1545, *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, p. 96. The reference to, 'the secretary', is perplexing since it implies that he was not a member of the council. However, it is unlikely Chapuys was talking about anyone other than Paget.

¹⁴⁴ Chapuys to Charles V, 9 May 1545, *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, pp. 106-107.

¹⁴⁵ Van der Delft to Charles V, 2 July 1545, *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, p. 153.

1546, but even back in 1540 Wriothesley found himself as the point of contact between the king on a short progress around the south-east and the privy councillors who returned to their estates.¹⁴⁶

Thus far the picture presented is of a privy council working collectively as a policy-forming body. However, some recent historiography relating to Mary and Elizabeth's reigns suggests that the process of policy-making often in fact devolved to a much smaller probouleutic group of counsellors. At the heart of the policy-making process in Mary's reign lay not the, by then, large official privy council, but an inner circle which from August 1555 was recognised as the select council.¹⁴⁷ This group of eight or nine counsellors met at court to discuss issues of high policy, submitting reports to Philip for his perusal from 1555 until the end of the reign. Whilst the institutional privy council of Mary's reign busied itself with administration, sub-dividing into committees for that purpose, the informal select council determined policy.¹⁴⁸ In short, 'the Select Council, like the "inner circle" that had preceded it, was both a policy-making forum and a probouleutic committee, but it was regarded neither as an official bureaucratic agency distinct from the Privy Council nor as a committee of the Privy Council'.¹⁴⁹ A parallel in Elizabeth's reign has been made for her style of policy-making in the course of the Anjou marriage negotiations, in which the queen seems to have relied upon informal groups of counsellors numbering between six and nine.¹⁵⁰ Even the privy council of the 1560s, though perhaps operating along more 'conventional' lines as both an administrative and policy-making forum, was a relatively small body, with no more than ten councillors at its heart.¹⁵¹ Earlier in his own reign, policy had often been determined by conversations between Henry and Wolsey before consultation with the council.¹⁵² During 1529-1530, Henry had relied on an inner ring of around 11 to advise on high policy during his divorce.¹⁵³ Glyn Redworth argues that during the same period an inner circle of three, Gardiner, Suffolk and Norfolk was responsible for key policy decisions.¹⁵⁴ In contrast the

¹⁴⁶ *PPC*, vii, p. 89.

¹⁴⁷ Guy, 'The Marian court', pp. 10-14.

¹⁴⁸ For the committees see especially, D.E. Hoak, 'Two revolutions in Tudor government: the formation and organisation of Mary I's privy council', in *Revolution reassessed*, pp. 91-92, 107-111

¹⁴⁹ Guy, 'The Marian court', p. 18

¹⁵⁰ Natalie Mears, 'The "Personal Rule" of Elizabeth I: marriage, succession and catholic conspiracy, c.1578-c.1582', unpublished University of St Andrews Ph.D. (1999), pp. 88-100. and esp., p. 93. For similar dynamics under Northumberland, Alan Bryson, "'The special men in every shere". The Edwardian regime, 1547-1553', unpublished University of St Andrews Ph.D. (2001), p. 203.

¹⁵¹ Alford, *early Elizabethan polity*, p. 207.

¹⁵² John Guy, 'Wolsey and the Tudor polity', in his *Tudor monarchy*, pp. 309-316.

¹⁵³ John Guy, *The public career of Sir Thomas More* (New Haven and London, 1980), p. 128.

¹⁵⁴ Glyn Redworth, *In defence of the church catholic. The life of Stephen Gardiner* (Oxford, 1990), p. 27.

assumption has generally been that the privy council of the 1540s, a group of around twenty men, helped formulate policy. A consideration of this issue is particularly important because after 1547 Tudor governors had to deal with the problems of a child king and female rule. Only in the 1540s could the reformed Tudor polity function as it was supposed to, with an adult male as monarch.

However, working out precisely who was involved in policy-formation, and if probouleutic groups existed in Henry's last years, is a vexed problem. Certainly, as we have seen, large and important meetings of the privy council did take place. Indeed, in November 1544, after the privy council had written to the privy councillors in Calais asking their advice on the mediation of Charles V, Paget replied to Petre explaining, 'you know we [the privy councillors in Calais] be few of Council for so important a matter', the implication being that on important issues the consultative process should be more inclusive.¹⁵⁵ In theory all privy councillors were equal, and therefore entitled to similar information. From Calais in 1545 Paget wrote to Petre of Tunstall, his fellow privy councillor and colleague on the embassy, in the following terms, 'bycause I perceyved that the president whom the protestants repute for a favourer of theyr part is prevye to the same albeit they pretendith otherwise I have lykewise from tyme to tyme bycause my lord of durham is of the *kinges maiesties* pryvey counsail coicated the same also to hym albeit the protestantes know not of it'.¹⁵⁶ For Paget, Tunstall's status as a privy councillor entitled him to this information. In 1544 Norfolk, Russell and Sir Thomas Cheney expressed similar sentiments to Suffolk. Norfolk wrote to Suffolk, both dukes being then in France, asking what the king's strategy and plans were for the coming campaign, 'wee moste hartely desire you plainelye tadvertise us what his *Maiestie* is mynded to doe, Or els we shall have cause to think we be not taken as his *Maiesties* privie counsaylors'.¹⁵⁷ In fact, three days later Suffolk and Browne replied that they were as much in the dark as Norfolk, explaining, 'you seeme to thinke us straunge as though we knoweng it [Henry's intentions] shulde

¹⁵⁵ Paget to Petre, 5 November 1544, PRO, SP 1/195, fo. 1r.

¹⁵⁶ Paget to Petre, 14 December 1545, PRO, SP 1/212, fo. 22r.

¹⁵⁷ Norfolk, Russell and Cheney to Suffolk and others, 5 July 1544, PRO, SP 1/189, fo. 208r. This was not the first occasion Norfolk had written to this end. The previous day, he had written in his own hand, 'with most herty recommendacions this shallbe to desire you both to advertise me what the kynges maieties intent is to do wich shallbe kept secret to my lord pryve seale *master* tresorer^ and my selff and seuerly it wer very necessary we know the same for many causis', Norfolk to Suffolk and Browne, 4 July 1544, PRO, SP 1/189, fo. 195r. By promising to make only Russell and Cheney privy to this information he was impliedly subscribing to the convention that other privy councillors should have equal access to information.

keepe it secret from you Surely we are as ignorant therein as you arr... Assone as we may have any ynkeleng of his maiesties determinacon we shall not fayle to advertise you of it'.¹⁵⁸

However, the sensitivity Norfolk was displaying over his effective exclusion from the decision over military objectives in 1544 demonstrates precisely that some privy councillors were more important, more influential, than others. Certainly twenty is a high number of individuals to be consistently involved in policy-making, particularly in the context of the Marian and Elizabethan models. John Guy has argued that in Henry's last years nine privy councillors 'ran the country'.¹⁵⁹ This is significant since it corresponds broadly with the numbers involved in Marian and Elizabethan deliberations. However, these numbers are taken from the registers, which, as we have seen, do not provide much indication of the policy making-process. Equally, the conciliar memoranda of the 1540s fail to give any indication of attendance. However, if one looks at the itineraries of privy councillors in the last few years of the reign, the demands of war and diplomacy meant that for much of the time perhaps only half of the privy council was able to attend court at any one time.¹⁶⁰ The events of June and July 1544 offer a glimpse of this, usually obscure dynamic.¹⁶¹ In early June 1544 two key issues had yet to be resolved: the form of the regency government in Henry's absence and the English military objectives in the coming campaign. At the beginning of June Hertford was recalled from the north by Henry, partly for the express purpose of advising on the regency council. As the king explained:

wheras we be determyned very shortly by the grace of god tadvance forward in our oune person to the execucion of our entended entreprise agaynst ffraunce To thintent before our departure we might vively undrestande by your oune relacion the state of those partes and also to conferre with youe at lenght both of the same and for thorder of our affayres here in our absen[ce], lykeas your service ministred sith your repayre northwardes, hath been from tyme to tyme very agreable to us.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁸ Suffolk and Browne to Norfolk, Russell and Cheney, 8 July 1544, BL Harley MS. 6989, fo. 129r.

¹⁵⁹ Guy, *Tudor England*, p. 189 and n. 32.

¹⁶⁰ This is where the registers do provide useful information since they, along with correspondence, do indicate who was at court. For some of the pitfalls of using registers in this way, though, see C.S. Knighton, 'The principal secretaries in the reign of Edward VI: reflections on their office and archive', in C. Cross, D. Loades and J.J. Scarisbrick (eds.), *Law and government under the Tudors* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 171.

¹⁶¹ Unfortunately, the absence of the register during this period prevents a closer analysis of the relationship between the privy council register and the policy-making process.

¹⁶² Henry VIII to Hertford, 10 June 1544, BL Additional MS. 32655, fo. 12r-v. Interestingly, Katherine Parr was well aware of Hertford's imminent recall at least a week before this letter. As she wrote to Lady Hertford, 'Madam, my lord youre husbandes comyng hyther is not altered, for he schall come home before

Hertford was back in London by 26 June for a large meeting of the privy council at Hyde Park, which seems to have constituted something of a send off for the contingent of the army leaving with Suffolk. Norfolk had already left at the beginning of the month, along with Russell and Cheney. With Suffolk went Gardiner, Gage, Browne, and William Paulet, Lord St John. Tunstall and Sadler were still in the north at Darlington. Thus ten privy councillors were not in a position to advise on the issues of the Regency council or the campaign in France, and there is no extant correspondence to suggest that they were involved in the process. Further, it is clear that these decisions were taken only at the beginning of July, probably in the second week of the month, with essentially only the Regency council and Paget left at court.¹⁶³ Equally, the decisions concerning the military aims of the campaign were made at exactly the same time. On the same day as the conciliar memoranda about the regency council, 7 July, the councillors left at court wrote to Norfolk and Russell, explaining:

And wheras in *your* sayd *lettre* to my lord of Suffolk and the *Master* of thorse youe are desyrous to knowe of his *Maiesties* determinacon for his own procedinges his *Maiestie* hath willed us to signifie unto youe to be kept secret unto youre lordshippes and *Master* Treasurer that his *Maiestie* myndith hymself to lay siege to boloyne trusting although youe be vij or viij dayes before hym at Monterel yet if youe make not the better spede to be as far forward at boloyne as youe shalbe at Monterel.¹⁶⁴

Thus, important decisions were clearly made without the involvement of all councillors, and in this particular instance the inclusion of Hertford in the process was particularly required.

This should not surprise us. At the most basic level the ability to counsel the king relied to a large extent on proximity, on the ability to speak to him. This is the basis on which it is argued that Paget, along with others who were near about the king, was able to wield such influence in the last years of the reign. Of course councillors could write their opinions, couched in suitably obsequious

the Kinges maiestye take hys journey over the sees, as it pleasyth hys maiestye to declare to me of late', Katherine Parr to Lady Hertford, 3 June 1544, Hatfield, Cecil MS. 147, no. 6.

¹⁶³ As we have seen the conciliar draft is dated 7 July, PRO, SP 1/189, fos. 227r-229r. The subsequent signed bills establishing the commissions were delivered into chancery on 9 and 11 July, *Letters and papers*, XIX, ii, 1035(78, 86, 87, 88).

¹⁶⁴ Privy council to [Norfolk and Russell], 7 July 1544, BL Harley MS. 6989, fo. 127r-v. The letter, drafted by Paget, is signed by all six of the regency council (Cranmer, Wriothesley, Hertford, Parr, Thirlby and Petre) as well as Paget and Wingfield.

language, but there was no substitute for being at court. The frustration of being thus marginalised is well reflected in Gardiner's words to Paget from Bruges in November 1545:

I am very moch troubled *with* the state of our affayres for albeit whenne I am in England I canne quiet myself *with* speking of my mynde whenne I am called and doing faythfully therin and attending diligently to be redy to doo as I am comaunded I trouble not myself *with* other devises yet whenne I am appointed to this place I cannot forbere norhold my penne styl but as my mynde is encombred *with* the matiers soo to be buysy in wryting and divising¹⁶⁵

Paget himself clearly feared the prospect of prolonged absence from court. In addition to the issue of physical proximity, Henry, notoriously secretive, might restrict knowledge about certain matters to a very few. In August 1541, when overtures began to arrange the meeting between Henry and James V, Henry wrote to Thomas Audley, who was in London, and instructed him to have drafted a number of safe-conducts. Henry explained that a meeting between the two kings was likely and that the information should be kept secret, even from other members of the privy council.¹⁶⁶ Equally, in 1544 he was adamant that Suffolk should divulge nothing of their communications as they contemplated the invasion of Scotland.¹⁶⁷

The perception that some councillors were more influential than others is certainly to be found in ambassadorial reports. This is the reason why, in the summer of 1544 during peace negotiations, the French were prepared to offer a financial incentive to those English councillors 'such as seem to have influence in this business, especially to secretary Paget'.¹⁶⁸ Frequently Paget is identified as the king's closest adviser and most influential councillor.¹⁶⁹ Alternatively, Paget, along with Gardiner, is seen jointly as one of two key men of influence.¹⁷⁰ By the end of 1546 the perception

¹⁶⁵ Gardiner to Paget, 13 November 1545, PRO, SP 1/210, fo. 128r.

¹⁶⁶ Henry VIII to Audley, 29 August 1541, PRO, SP 1/167, fos. 8r-9v.

¹⁶⁷ Henry VIII to Suffolk, 29 January 1544, BL Additional MS. 32653, fo. 269r.

¹⁶⁸ *Letters and papers*, XIX, ii, 175.

¹⁶⁹ Chapuys and van der Delft to Charles V, 21 February 1545, *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, p. 35; van der Delft to the Burgomaster and Corporation of Bruges, 18 June 1545, *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, p. 131; van der Delft to Charles V, 23 and 24 July 1545, *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, p. 193; van der Delft to Charles V, 17 August 1545, *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, p. 231.

¹⁷⁰ Scepperus and van der Delft to Mary of Hungary, 21 August 1545, *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, p. 235. The implication here is that Wriothesley and Suffolk are perceived as highly influential as well; van der Delft to Charles V, 14 October 1545, *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, p. 265; van der Delft to Mary of Hungary, 6 July 1546, *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, p. 425. On one occasion Nicholas Wotton was described as, 'an intimate councillor of the king', Scepperus and van der Delft to Mary of Hungary, 6 April 1546, *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, p. 371.

was that Hertford and Lisle were of greatest influence.¹⁷¹ In general terms there was an idea that Henry had 'principal members of his council', who formed an inner ring.¹⁷² This idea is implicit in any factional interpretation of the reign.

By the 1540s Henry clearly regarded advice, counsel, as necessary to his position as monarch. This counsel might be imparted collectively by the privy council in a relatively formal manner, or through informal discussions in the privy lodgings with prominent councillors. The classical-humanist conception of counsel, though, not only involved the idea of advice, it also required action to be taken upon that advice.¹⁷³ By contrast, in the summer of 1544, at the coal-face of politics and policy, Norfolk, wanting to know of the king's military plans, commented, 'of makeinge us privie thereunto can no hurte cum ffor knowynge the same we mae frome tyme to tyme advertise his highenes of or [our] opyniones which is at his pleasure to take or leave as he shall thinke best'.¹⁷⁴ Which of these diverging views better reflected late-Henrican practice?

The evidence that Henry consulted and debated with his privy councillors is overwhelming and it would be perverse if such interaction did not result in advice, at least occasionally, being acted upon. Unfortunately, clear evidence of advice being submitted and resulting action is rare. One such occasion, though, came in April 1545, over the issue of English delegates to meet with imperial deputies at Gravelines to discuss Anglo-imperial trade. On 26 April Chapuys and van der Delft wrote of a proposed change in the delegates:

With regard to the choice of the English Commissioners for the joint arbitration at Gravelines, your Majesty has already been informed... The Councillors, up to yesterday, had made no change, but Paget told our man this morning that the Council were going at once to see the King, for the purpose of obtaining the nomination of Dr. [Edward] Carne, the resident ambassador to your Majesty, in the place of the Court Master [Chamberlain] or of Vaughan.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷¹ Van der Delft to Charles V, 24 December 1546, *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, pp. 533-534.

¹⁷² Van der Delft to Charles V, 9 October 1545, *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, p. 262.

¹⁷³ As Elyot explained, counsel, or 'consultation is the general denomination of the act wherein men do devise together', but most importantly, 'reason what is to be done'. Elyot, *The governor*, pp. 236-237. The same point is made in Alford, *early Elizabethan polity*, p. 32-33.

¹⁷⁴ Norfolk, Russell and Cheney to Suffolk and others, 5 July 1544, PRO, SP 1/189, fo. 208r.

¹⁷⁵ Chapuys and van der Delft to Mary of Hungary, 26 April 1545, *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, p. 93.

Two days later the privy council wrote to Carne informing him that the king had decided that he should be appointed as one of the commissioners.¹⁷⁶

Nevertheless, over key issues, in which he had a particular interest, Henry was more than capable of acting contrary to counsel. As we have seen, at the end of January 1544 Henry asked Suffolk, his lieutenant in the north, for his advice on an invasion of Scotland in March.¹⁷⁷ Suffolk's advice three days later was unequivocal: to prepare supplies for such a force within six weeks would be impossible.¹⁷⁸ Nevertheless, within the week Suffolk received a letter from the privy council signifying Henry's determination to launch the invasion in March.¹⁷⁹ In the last years of the reign there were two issues in particular over which the king faced the overwhelming opposition of his privy council: his decision to lead the 1544 invasion in person and his insistence on retaining Boulogne. The controversy over Boulogne will be looked at in chapter five, but the former issue is worth considering here. The original terms of the military alliance with Charles V provided for both the emperor and Henry to lead their armies in person.¹⁸⁰ However, Henry's health problems in the spring of 1544 clearly became a cause for increasing concern. By the middle of May Chapuys wrote that, 'he is so weak on his legs that he can hardly stand'.¹⁸¹ As a result those around Henry, including the privy council, were urging him to reconsider his decision.¹⁸² The problem, though, was partly Charles V's own insistence on leading his army. Henry would not lose face. Thus Paget specifically asked Chapuys to write to Mary of Hungary, in the hope that she could dissuade

¹⁷⁶ Privy council to Wotton [and Carne], 28 April 1545, PRO, SP 1/200, fo. 98v; privy council to Carne, 28 April 1545, PRO, SP 1/200, fo. 100r.

¹⁷⁷ Henry VIII to Suffolk, 29 January 1544, BL Additional MS. 32653, fo. 265r.

¹⁷⁸ Suffolk to Henry VIII, 1 February 1544, BL Additional MS. 32653, fos. 270r-271v.

¹⁷⁹ Privy council to Suffolk, 5 February 1544, BL Additional MS. 32653, fos. 274r-277v.

¹⁸⁰ For a similar interpretation of these events see, J.J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII* (London, 1968), pp. 445-446.

¹⁸¹ Chapuys to Mary of Hungary, 18 May 1544, *CSP Spanish 1544*, p. 165.

¹⁸² Chapuys to Mary of Hungary, 18 May 1544, *CSP Spanish 1544*, p. 165, 'all those who surround him have tried, though in vain, to dissuade him from his purpose'; Chapuys to Charles V, 18 June 1544, *CSP Spanish 1544*, p. 206, 'before the departure of secretary Paget with his message to Your Majesty, that secretary himself had given me to understand clearly enough that the King his master, at the request and prayers of his privy councillors, and other high personages of his kingdom, that he should excuse himself from going personally over'. Equally, if the comments of Paget and Gardiner, in 1544 and 1545 respectively, are any guide to the general feeling amongst senior councillors there was a pervading fear of the king's demise before the maturity of prince Edward and the threat to the realm which would flow from this. Hence it is unsurprising that many would counsel the king against what was considered a risky venture for his health. For Gardiner's fears see below, pp. 145-146. Paget's memorandum in November 1544 reflects a similar concern, Hatfield, Cecil MS, 36, no. 21.

Charles from leading his army, giving the privy council a better chance of dissuading Henry.¹⁸³ However, despite Paget's own mission to the emperor, which was partly conceived in the hope of changing the emperor's mind, Charles V was insistent. Instead Charles V sent de Courriers back to England with Paget to put further pressure on Henry. What is particularly revealing is Paget's position over de Courier's mission. As Charles V explained to Chapuys:

They [Paget and Wotton] also praised above all things Our resolution-of which the sieur de Granvelle informed them on the following day-of sending to England from Flanders some high personage or other for the purpose of better persuading the King to adopt the mutual line of conduct traced on the said note, without however letting him know that both his secretary [Paget] and his resident ambassador here [Wotton] approved of Our advice in that respect for fear of wounding the King's susceptibilities in so delicate a matter.¹⁸⁴

In the event, despite the pressure of the privy council and that of Charles V, communicated by de Courriers in an audience with Henry on 14 June, Henry of course was not deflected from his intention to lead his army.¹⁸⁵ This was acknowledged by Charles V on 27 June, when he said of the matter, 'there is nothing to remark'.¹⁸⁶

The interaction between Henry and his privy council at the end of the reign was a dynamic process, and counsel was imparted through a variety of formal and informal means. At its heart rested the fundamental determinant of physical proximity. The privy council met at court a short distance from, but probably not within, Henry's privy lodgings. In many respects the picture which emerges corresponds to that which Stephen Alford discerned in the first decade of Elizabeth's reign, that is of a privy council which was both an administrative and policy-making forum, in which the secretary acted as the principal intermediary between the council board and the monarch's person. Paget's dual role as king's secretary and privy councillor, which gave him both constant access to Henry and control over the papers of both the king and the privy council, were the necessary preconditions for this powerful role as go-between. In fact, there must be a strong presumption that the role Cecil assumed as secretary in the 1560s was essentially forged in the 1540s by Paget, or, as Professor Ives has presciently put it, 'for Paget read William Cecil, and we have arrived at the

¹⁸³ Chapuys to Mary of Hungary, 18 May 1544, *CSP Spanish 1544*, pp. 164-166.

¹⁸⁴ Charles V to Chapuys, 3 June 1544, *CSP Spanish 1544*, p. 194.

¹⁸⁵ Chapuys to Charles V, 18 June 1544, *CSP Spanish 1544*, pp. 202-204.

¹⁸⁶ Charles V to Chapuys, 27 June 1544, *CSP Spanish 1544*, p.217.

political system of Elizabeth I'.¹⁸⁷ However, undoubtedly the process was more nuanced and cannot be reduced to a single model. Because the privy council was subsumed into the court, privy councillors undoubtedly imparted counsel both individually and in smaller groups within the context of the king's privy lodgings, counselling the king in the manner of a Roman emperor. Most importantly, though, counsel was clearly integral to the process of decision-making. Whether councillors expected Henry to act on their advice or not, and by the 1540s the king was an old, experienced monarch of formidable personality, well able to disregard their advice, there was an assumption that he would consult with his council.

¹⁸⁷ E.W. Ives, 'Henry VIII: the political perspective', in MacCulloch (ed.), *The reign of Henry VIII*, p. 28.

4. The late Henrican secretariat

As king's secretary Paget was the focal point for the workings of a large office that existed primarily to assist the secretary in the expedition of Henry's business and that of the privy council. The interest of this office is essentially two-fold. In the first place, looking at its operation in an administrative sense contextualises the work of a secretary and the way in which he fits into the broader picture of the late Henrican polity. Secondly, the secretariat was far more than a collection of 'men in grey suits' filing, sorting and scribbling away. The clerks with whom Paget worked were also the people with whom he spent most time. The social, intellectual and educational milieu of the office tells us important things about Paget in a wider sense. Chapter six will look in greater detail at the personalities within the office and Paget's circle more broadly. What this chapter seeks to do is to examine the late Henrican secretariat from a predominantly administrative perspective.

The secretariat of the 1540s falls between two periods about which considerably more is known of secretarial administration, the 1530s and the last two decades of the century. G.R. Elton and Mary Robertson have been able to draw on Thomas Cromwell's papers of the 1530s to reconstruct his office and the way it functioned and more recently Mark Taviner has shed much light on Francis Walsingham's secretariat.¹ This latter period is particularly rich in sources. The physical decline of Walsingham and William Cecil allied to the political scandal surrounding another secretary, William Davison, in the late 1580s led to a flurry of interest in the secretaryship and a series of reflections on the office. The most notable of these were Nicholas Faunt's, 'Discourse touching the office of principal secretary of estate' and Robert Beale's, 'Treatise of the office of a councillor and principall secretarie to her majestie', both of 1592.² This chapter does, therefore, draw upon

¹ G.R. Elton, *The Tudor revolution in government. Administrative changes in the reign of Henry VIII* (Cambridge, 1953), pp. 259-315; M.L. Robertson, 'Thomas Cromwell's servants. The ministerial household in early Tudor government and society', unpublished UCLA Ph.D. (1975), pp. 153-197; Mark Taviner, 'Robert Beale and the Elizabethan polity', unpublished University of St Andrews Ph.D. (2000), pp. 104-126.

² Robert Beale, 'A Treatise of the Office of a Councillor and Princiall Secretarie to her Majestie', printed in, C. Read, *Mr secretary Walsingham and the policy of Queen Elizabeth* (iii vols.; London, 1925), i, Appendix, pp. 423-443; Nicholas Faunt, 'Discourse touchinge the Office of principall Secretarie of Estate

the 1530s and the archive of the 1590s both by way of comparison and occasionally to fill in the gaps of the evidence for the 1540s. Nevertheless, sufficient material does survive, particularly in the correspondence, to build a useful model for the secretariat over which Paget presided. The chapter begins by considering the personnel within the office, the dominant role of Paget's own private clerk, Nicasius Yetsweirt, and the process of patronage which secured positions within the royal secretariat. Thereafter the working of the office itself becomes the focus, with the roles of the clerks of the signet and the clerks of the privy council analysed in turn.

I

The previous two chapters have sought to reconstruct Paget's world at court and to suggest something of the physical environment in which he functioned. When at court, and specifically at Whitehall, Paget moved between the council chamber, the king's privy lodgings (in particular the studies in the long gallery) and his own office which was in close proximity to the king's apartments. If he could get away from the court he might escape a few hundred yards to his house on Canon Row, which lay between the old palace of Westminster and the new one at Whitehall. The hub of Paget's office was centred on his own lodgings at court. These probably amounted to little more than two rooms from which those in his secretariat worked. It was undoubtedly a difficult and cramped arrangement since in addition to the clerks of the signet, the clerks of the privy council and the French and Latin secretaries, these lodgings also housed Paget's 'own clerks'.³ By the middle of the sixteenth century secretaries relied on both the 'official' royal clerks, like the clerks of the signet, as well as their own clerks: personal servants from within their own household. At the end of the century both Beale and Faunt prescribed this arrangement, but it seems to have originated with Cromwell and certainly Cecil and Walsingham used both the royal secretariat and their household clerks.⁴ In the course of the sixteenth century, both in England and France household secretariats became the norm for great men, particularly for those with political

etc.', ed. C. Hughes, *English Historical Review*, 20 (1905), pp. 499-508; Angel Day, *The English secretorie* (London, 1592 edn.; STC 6402).

³ Paget to Petre, 24 November 1545, *State papers of Henry VIII*, i, p. xiii.

ambition.⁵ However, whilst these secretarial organisations were manifestly their own, the king's secretary both brought with him clerks from his own household and inherited the royal servants.

Paget's own household clerks, with one notable exception, barely emerge from the shadows. Though this may be due to fragmentary evidence there is good reason to suppose that Paget's use of household clerks was actually fairly limited. It has been argued recently that secretaries like Paget, Thomas Wriothesley and William Petre did not require the same extensive structure of household secretariat as Cromwell, Cecil or Walsingham because they never enjoyed comparable political influence.⁶ Another consideration was security. At the end of the century Beale and Faunt criticised Walsingham for using too many household clerks and recommended Cecil's practice of limiting himself to two or three intimate clerks.⁷ In the same year, 1592, Angel Day in *The English secretorie*, explained that secrecy was at the heart of the secretary's role and the same concern was articulated by Paget himself in 1545, explaining, 'his Majesties affayres be not to be written in every place, but where they may be secret'.⁸ Henry's own predilection for secrecy would only have reinforced this preoccupation.

These factors may explain why one particular household clerk seems to have largely monopolised the role of private secretary to Paget: the Fleming Nicasius Yetsweirt. In his 'Discourse' Faunt recommended that a secretary should have recourse to only one, most intimate servant, 'as his owne penne, his mouth, his eye, his eare, and keeper of his most secrett Cabinet'.⁹ In many respects Yetsweirt fulfilled this role. Professor Potter is probably right to suggest that he came to work for Paget after the latter's return from France in 1543. His hand appears drafting papers in

⁴ Faunt, 'Discourse', p. 500; Beale, 'Treatise', pp. 426-427; Elton, *Tudor revolution*, pp. 304-305; Robertson, 'Cromwell's servants', pp. 158-162; Tavinor, 'Robert Beale', pp. 117-120.

⁵ By way of comparison, see, for example, A.G.R. Smith, 'The secretariats of the Cecils, circa 1580-1612', *English Historical Review*, 83 (1968), pp. 481-504; Paul E. J. Hammer, 'The uses of scholarship: the secretariat of Robert Devereux, second earl of Essex, c. 1585-1601', *English Historical Review*, 109 (1994), pp. 26-51; Joan Davies, 'The secretariat of Henri I, duc de Montmorency, 1563-1614', *English Historical Review*, 115 (2000), pp. 812-842.

⁶ Tavinor, 'Robert Beale', p. 119.

⁷ Beale, 'Treatise', p. 427; Faunt, 'Discourse', pp. 500-501.

⁸ Day, *English secretorie*, pp. 108-109; Paget to Petre, 24 November 1545, *State papers of Henry VIII*, i, p. xiii.

⁹ Faunt, 'Discourse', p. 501.

May 1543 and certainly by March 1544 he was a familiar figure at court.¹⁰ As John Berwick, Hertford's court agent, explained to John Thynne, Yetsweirt, 'ys very dyllygent when I haue eny thyng to do *with* mr secrettory'.¹¹ Yetsweirt was already Paget's 'fixer', his eyes and ears, and in the course of the next couple of years he became invaluable to Paget. The closeness of their relationship, and the wide variety of tasks entrusted to Yetsweirt, is perhaps best reflected in a particularly well-documented episode in September and October 1546. The reason we know so much about it is because it was a period when Paget and Yetsweirt were apart for several weeks and thus we have some correspondence.

The separation of master and servant arose from a dispute, not resolved at the treaty of Camp (June 1546) between Henry and Francis I, over a debt of 512,022 crowns which Henry claimed had been owed to him by Francis since 1529. At the end of August 1546 William Petre and Dr William Maye, dean of St Paul's, went to Calais to resolve the dispute where they met with a French delegation on 10 September 1546.¹² Unsurprisingly the French commissioners claimed ignorance of any letters signed by Francis in 1529 which would bind him to such an obligation and they insisted on seeing the originals which the English claimed to hold.¹³ As a result Petre and Maye requested the originals from Henry, at which point Yetsweirt's involvement began. Paget and Yetsweirt were at court at Guildford, the king having left a residue of privy councillors at London. On receipt of the request from Petre and Maye, Henry initially consented to deliver the original to them, with Yetsweirt acting as courier.¹⁴ However, there was a change of heart and instead it was decided that a copy should be made in London, verified by the French ambassador who was to see

¹⁰ PRO, SP 1/178, fos. 42r-43v. This MS is begun and corrected in Paget's hand. The rest of the draft is in Yetsweirt's hand; D.L. Potter, 'Diplomacy in the mid-sixteenth century: England and France, 1536-1550', unpublished University of Cambridge Ph.D. (1973), p. 314.

¹¹ Berwick to Thynne, 19 March 1544, Longleat, Seymour MS. 4, fo. 138v. On this occasion Berwick had delivered to Yetsweirt a consignment of seeds for Paget.

¹² Petre to Paget, 2 September 1546, PRO, SP 1/224, fo. 22r; Petre to Paget, 4 September 1546, PRO, SP 1/224, fos. 40r-41v; Petre to Paget, 6 September 1546, PRO, SP 1/224, fos. 53r-54v.

¹³ Petre and Maye to Henry VIII, 10 September 1546, PRO, SP 1/224, fos. 107r-108v. They were not satisfied by the copies produced by Petre and claimed that they could not find any record of such a document in their archives.

¹⁴ Henry VIII to Petre and Maye, September 1546, PRO, SP 1/225, fo. 5r-v, 'we have thought good to satisfy your request and send unto you by our trusty servaunt Nicasius yetsweirt this bearer the sayd originall'. Significantly, this signet letter was drafted by Yetsweirt, but, though signed by Henry, is not the one which was sent. Rather this was filed, as the endorsement indicates, 'the *kinges lettre* signed and not sent to mr petre etc'. The letter is not dated. *Letters and papers* dates it to 19/20 September, but in fact it must date to 11-16 September.

the original.¹⁵ To that end Yetsweirt probably left court on 16th, because the following morning he went to Wriothlesley's house to deliver the king's instructions.¹⁶ However, Yetsweirt was acting as more than simply a courier. At Wriothlesley's house in Holborn he found the lord chancellor and Hertford and communicated the most sensitive of information, 'I declared unto both my said Lordes, the kinges Maiesties state, even as it like it your Mastership to gyve me instructions who were very sory to here it again of me (for it seamed they had had sum incling of it, before my cummyng), and yet moost glad again to perceyve by me that his Maiestie was so sone and so well recovered'.¹⁷ In addition he spoke with Hertford, explaining what Paget wanted Hertford to do with his post at Calais, for where the earl was bound to leave the next day. To Wriothlesley he also had important business on behalf of Paget, since he had brought with him warrants from Paget which required money from the lord chancellor. Wriothlesley apparently laughed, explaining that cash reserves were 'very drye'. Nevertheless, Yetsweirt appointed 'Mr Armill' to attend Wriothlesley to try to get the necessary money.¹⁸ After spending a couple of days in London, while de Selve took copies of the originals, Yetsweirt left the capital for Calais, probably on 19th, where he arrived on 21st.¹⁹

However, with this done, it becomes clear that Yetsweirt was not simply in Calais to deliver letters. His primary purpose was a private one, to secure a marriage with the daughter of James Bouchier. Paget's very personal intervention here, writing letters to Bouchier on behalf of Yetsweirt, not only seems to have secured the match but reflects the close reciprocal relationship between master

¹⁵ This change of heart is made clear by Odet de Selve's letter to the French commissioners, de Selve to the French Commissioners, 18 September 1546, 'ledict seigneur chancellier m'a replicque que le roy son maistre ne vouloyt envoyer ledict original par dela le peril et hazard de la mer' [the said lord chancellor told me that the king his master did not wish to send the original due to the risks of the channel crossing], Corr. Pol., 6, fo. 35v .

¹⁶ Privy council in London to privy council at court, 17 September 1546, PRO, SP 1/224, fos. 176r-177v. Yetsweirt also delivered letters from Scotland and from Wotton, which had gone first to the court.

¹⁷ Yetsweirt to Paget, 17 September 1546, PRO, SP 1/224, fos. 178r-179v.

¹⁸ Yetsweirt to Paget, 17 September 1546, PRO, SP 1/224, fos. 178r-179v. 'Mr. Armill' was Armigell Wade, who was to become a clerk of the privy council early in Edward's reign. This, along with a letter Wade himself sent to Paget the same day suggests that Wade was also by this stage working for Paget, since not only was he to act as Paget's agent with Wriothlesley, but he was entrusted by Paget to deal confidentially with de Selve, the French ambassador, Wade to Paget, [17 September] 1546, PRO, SP 1/224, fo. 182r.

¹⁹ On 18th he wrote to Paget about the events that afternoon at Wriothlesley's house when de Selve arrived and took his drafts, Yetsweirt to Paget, 18 September 1546, PRO, SP 1/224, fo. 190 r-v. On 20th the privy council in London wrote recounting the same events explaining that Yetsweirt had now left for Calais, privy council in London to privy council at court, 20 September 1546, PRO, SP 1/224, fos. 6r-11v; Petre to Paget, 22 September 1546, PRO, SP 1/225, fo. 24r.

and servant. As Yetsweirt wrote to Paget, ‘as touching my sute which it pleased yor *mastership* not like a *master* but as a moost loving father to comend I do not doubt but that your commendations have so wrought *with* mr bouchier and others here as I trust before my *departure* hens to see such succes therof as shall be to my full cotentacon’.²⁰ In addition to this personal business, the other reason Yetsweirt travelled to Calais was to go on from there to Flanders, leaving on 25 September, the purpose of which was both to visit his friends and to act as Paget’s agent and informer, ‘to learn what is don ther’.²¹ After more than two weeks gathering intelligence in Flanders Yetsweirt returned to Calais and his letter to Paget at this point is again revealing. Paget seems to have had responsibility for Lord Cobham’s daughter who lived in his household which, as Yetsweirt was aware, was about to remove to Paget’s estates in Staffordshire. To Yetsweirt fell the task of persuading Cobham that he might look to place his daughter somewhere else, in Kent or at least near London, though Cobham’s response seems to have been equivocal.²² Here in a domestic, private context we see Yetsweirt acting as Paget’s ‘fixer’. Small wonder then that, as Yetsweirt wrote in the same letter, ‘yor *mastership* doth write that you looke for me now euery hower’.²³ Significantly, this episode demonstrates that Paget’s relationship with Yetsweirt very much reflects the kind of bonds Faunt prescribed between a secretary and his most intimate servant, in that, ‘the dutie of a servant in this kind must proceed from a speciall loue and affeccion hee beareth towards his Master, ye same beeing grounded likewise upon some testimonie of his masters good opinion and recipracall love borne vnto him’.²⁴ Even after Yetsweirt became a royal servant, as French secretary with Mason, he was universally recognised as Paget’s man, Paget’s servant.²⁵

The parallels with the practices advocated later in the century can be taken still further. Faunt explained that this special intimate servant should be keeper of the secretary’s most secret cabinet (the cabinet containing the ciphers) and indeed this was Yetsweirt’s role since the vast majority of

²⁰ Yetsweirt to Paget, 24 September 1546, PRO, SP 1/225, fo. 47r. Yetsweirt’s intuition about Paget’s influence was confirmed in a letter from Bouchier to Paget five days later in which Bouchier explained he was sympathetic to the match because of the, ‘goodnesse and great frendship whiche we have founde in you’, Bouchier to Paget, 29 September 1546, PRO, SP 1/225, fo. 85r.

²¹ Yetsweirt to Paget, 24 September 1546, PRO, SP 1/225, fo. 47r.

²² Yetsweirt to Paget, 10 October 1546, PRO, SP 1/225, fo. 172v.

²³ Yetsweirt to Paget, 10 October 1546, PRO, SP 1/225, fo. 172r.

²⁴ Faunt, ‘Discourse’, p. 501.

²⁵ In the signet letter signed by Henry he refers to, ‘our trusty servant Nicasius’, Henry VIII to Petre and Maye, September 1546, PRO, SP 1/225, fo. 5r. But to everyone, including Petre and Bouchier he was Paget’s servant, Petre to Paget, 22 September 1546, PRO, SP 1/225, fo. 24r; Bouchier to Paget, 29 September 1546, PRO, SP 1/225, fo. 85r.

deciphered documents in the secretarial archive are in his hand.²⁶ Further confirmation can be found in February 1545 when Paget wrote to Petre from Dover on his way to the continent. Scribbled at the end of the letter were a few lines providing information about where Petre might find certain ciphers. Whilst most of the letter was Paget's holograph, the postscript, explaining the location of the ciphers, was in Yetsweirt's hand.²⁷

In addition to Yetsweirt, Paget naturally made extensive use of the royal secretariat. When Paget returned from France in 1543 this secretariat consisted of eight offices: the two clerks of the privy council, four clerks of the signet, and the French and Latin secretaries. William Honnyngs and John Mason had both been acting clerks of the privy council during Paget's absence and were confirmed in their positions on the day of Paget's appointment as king's secretary and privy councillor.²⁸ Honnyngs also retained his position as one of the four clerks of the signet, along with John Godsalue, Richard Taverner and Thomas Knight. Equally, Mason combined his clerkship of the council with the French secretaryship. The Latin secretary was Peter Vannes.

By 1543 the longest-serving member of the secretariat was the Italian, Vannes.²⁹ He originally became the assistant to Henry's Latin secretary, Andrea Ammonio, in 1513 and the following year became one of Wolsey's secretaries. At some point during Wolsey's ascendancy, and presumably through his influence, Vannes became Latin secretary, though the precise date is elusive. He retained the position through the remainder of Henry's reign and into Edward's. Of the clerks of the signet Godsalue had been appointed by January 1531. He seems to have owed his position to a variety of influences, including Stephen Gardiner, the secretary at that time, Cromwell, to whom he was recommended by Gardiner, and possibly Wriothesley, who at this point was connected to Gardiner and Cromwell and to whom Godsalue claimed kinship.³⁰ Another former Cromwellian connection was Taverner, who, after working for Cromwell from the early 1530s was made a clerk

²⁶ For a few examples, PRO, SP 1/190, fo. 151r. (this decipher begins in Yetsweirt's hand and is completed in another, possibly Godsalue's hand); PRO, SP 1/192, fo. 34r; PRO, SP 1/201, fo. 124r; PRO, SP 1/202, fo. 34r; PRO, SP 1/203, fo. 126r; PRO, SP 1/204, fos. 32r-33v; PRO, SP 1/205, fo. 15r-v (headed by Paget); PRO, SP 1/205, fo. 237r-v; PRO, SP 1/206, fo. 29r-v; PRO, SP 1/206, fo. 204r.

²⁷ Paget to Petre, 24 February 1545, PRO, SP 1/198, fo. 161r-v. The editors of *Letters and papers* noted that the postscript was in a different hand, but did not recognise it as Yetsweirt's, *Letters and papers*, XX, i, 256.

²⁸ *APC*, i, p. 118

²⁹ *DNB*.

³⁰ Bindoff, ii, p. 221

of the signet in 1537.³¹ Similarly, Knight, appointed clerk of the signet in April 1540, was a Cromwellian creation and may partly have owed his position to the influence of his brother-in-law, Wriothesley, whom he replaced in 1540.³² Of the clerks of the signet, Honnyngs was the most recent. Having been granted the reversion of the next vacancy in the office in October 1541, the first indication of his appointment came in April 1543 when he also became clerk of the privy council.³³ Mason's position as acting clerk of the privy council in 1541 was swiftly followed in 1542 by the French secretaryship.³⁴

What Paget inherited therefore were individuals appointed by Wriothesley, Cromwell, Gardiner and even Wolsey, all of whom, with the exception of Wolsey, were former secretaries. Although these clerks were primarily royal servants, explaining why they survived changes of secretaries, when vacancies to these offices arose the new appointments were within the gift of the secretary. At Gardiner's trial he made it clear that Paget's appointment as clerk of the signet back in 1530 was due to his patronage.³⁵ Wriothesley owed his identical promotion in the same year to Gardiner's patronage and Cromwell, similarly, put his own servants like Taverner into positions within the secretariat. Such an arrangement gave the secretary a useful source of patronage, a means of broadening his authority and a way of ensuring that only men of proven ability and whom he trusted, came into the office.

How the process worked during Paget's time is particularly well-documented by the case of Gregory Raylton, Ralph Sadler's personal secretary. In January 1544 Raylton was granted the reversion on the next vacancy as clerk of the signet.³⁶ Importantly, Wriothesley was still the senior secretary at the time and so the relationship between Sadler and Wriothesley was probably the dominant factor in this appointment, though Paget was close to both of them. In April 1545, when Knight became one of the under-treasurers of the mint, a vacancy in the signet office arose into

³¹ Bindoff, iii, p. 424

³² Robertson, 'Cromwell's servants', pp. 511-512.

³³ PRO, C 82/810, 9 May 1541.

³⁴ *PPC*, vii, p. 248; PRO, C 82/800, 20 September 1542.

³⁵ John Foxe, *The acts and monuments of John Foxe and a life of the martyrologist, and a vindication of the work*, ed. G. Townsend (viii vols.; London, 1843-1849), vi, pp. 259-260

³⁶ PRO, C82/818, 17 January 1544. This seems to have been common practice. Honnyngs was granted a similar reversion in October 1541.

which Raylton should have stepped.³⁷ However, Raylton was in the north at Darlington with Sadler, who was high treasurer for the wars against the Scots. Sadler wrote to Paget imploring him to persuade the king to allow a deputy to act in the position in Raylton's place, since, 'ffor asmuche as I have nowe a greate charge hanging upon me and cannott convenientlie spare the said Gregorie during my aboode heere, bicause he hath in a maner hoolie the doynge of all my things undre me wherin he serveth me here bothe honestlie diligentlie and paynfullie'.³⁸ As a substitute for Raylton, Sadler continued, 'and if it shall please you after the kynges *Maiesties* pleasure knowen in the *premisses* tappoint Nycasius yor man or any other whom you shall thinke good to supplie the said Gregories place...howe soever you by yor discretion shall lymyte and appoynte the proffittes of the same office...I will take upon me that the said Gregorie shall for his *parte* stande to'.³⁹ The degree to which sixteenth century governors relied on their personal secretaries is clearly revealed here. Raylton was indispensable for Sadler and the parallel between Paget and Yetsweirt is striking. Sadler viewed Raylton as a man of ability, though more importantly in the present context he expressed the degree of discretion that the secretary had in making appointments and indeed controlling the remuneration from them. Sadler assumed that Paget would appoint Yetsweirt to act as substitute.⁴⁰ This appears to have happened, indeed within days of the receipt of Sadler's letter a warrant was drafted and delivered into chancery giving Yetsweirt the reversion on the next vacancy in the signet office.⁴¹ Seven months later Yetsweirt joined Mason as one of now two French secretaries.⁴² Apart from Raylton and Yetsweirt the other appointments to the secretariat during Paget's secretaryship under Henry were those of Thomas Chaloner and Nicholas Rusticus. Chaloner became the third clerk of the privy council in November 1545, and given the close relationship between Paget and Chaloner it is probable that the secretary's influence secured this

³⁷ PRO, C82/836, 7 April 1545. The warrant backdates Knight's payment in this office to the previous Christmas, suggesting that in fact he had assumed this role for several months already. The May letter from Sadler to Paget, though, follows soon after the April warrant, suggesting the contrary.

³⁸ Sadler to Paget, 1 May 1545, PRO, SP 1/200, fo. 129r.

³⁹ Sadler to Paget, 1 May 1545, PRO, SP 1/200, fo. 129r.

⁴⁰ Sadler was back at court by 24 October 1545, at which time Raylton must have begun work in the secretariat. Certainly Raylton was listed as one of the four clerks of the signet at Edward's coronation in 1547, PRO, LC 2/3/1, fo. 117 (ink top right, on each page), PRO, LC 2/3/2, fo. 43 (pencil top right, on each page).

⁴¹ PRO, C 82/839, 7 May 1545. Quite when Yetsweirt officially came into the office is unclear. Yetsweirt, along with Raylton, Godsalve and Taverner, were listed as clerks of the signet in 1547 at Edward's coronation, PRO, LC 2/3/2, fo. 43. However, Honnyngs, though not listed here, seems to have remained a clerk of the signet until his death in 1569, Bindoff, ii, p. 383.

⁴² PRO, SP 4/1, fo. 66. This was preferred by Paget. PRO, C 82/845, 12 November 1545.

position.⁴³ The Italian Rusticus is an altogether more elusive figure, who became Latin secretary in October 1546.⁴⁴ This position he held jointly with the incumbent and fellow native of Lucca, Vannes.

II

By the 1540s one of the clearest responsibilities of the king's secretary was to oversee the administration of the signet and the activities of the four clerks of the signet. However, reconstructing the organisation of the signet office in the 1540s presents difficulties since, like the state papers and records of the privy council, the signet office archive was largely destroyed by the fire at Whitehall in 1619.⁴⁵ Of the signet warrants, some remain in the chancery records and others amongst those of the privy seal. Rough drafts and copies can be found in the state papers.⁴⁶ Of the registers kept by the secretaries as a record of what warrants passed the signet, the earliest is that of John Kendal from Richard III's reign.⁴⁷ Between then and 1585, when a series of registers begins, we have only one, that belonging to Sadler from April 1540 to December 1542.⁴⁸ This information is, though, augmented by the existence of a book kept by Godsalue detailing his activities as a signet clerk in 1534 and 1541-1543.⁴⁹ Other information can be discerned from the 1536 Act, which dealt with the organisation of the signet and privy seal clerks, a 1557

⁴³ This is discussed further below, pp. 182-184.

⁴⁴ PRO, SP 4/1, fo. 103. This was preferred by Paget. PRO, C 82/859, 2 November 1546.

⁴⁵ J. Otway-Ruthven, *The king's secretary and the signet office in the fifteenth century* (Cambridge, 1939), p. 115

⁴⁶ PRO, C 82/809-864; PRO, PSO 1/71; PRO, PSO 2/4-9.

⁴⁷ *British Library Harleian manuscript 433*, eds. R. Horrox and P.W. Hammond, (iv vols.; Upminster and London, 1979-1983).

⁴⁸ David Starkey, 'Court and government', in David Starkey and Christopher Coleman (eds.), *Revolution reassessed. Revisions in the history of Tudor government and administration* (Oxford, 1986), p. 46; PRO, SO 3/1 signet docquet book, January 1585-March 1597; Sadler's docquet book, BL Additional MS. 33818. A collection of docquets ranging from Edward to Elizabeth's reign can also be found in, PRO, SP 38, Signet Office: Docquets.

⁴⁹ PRO, DL 42/133.

memorandum concerning the organisation of the signet office and incidental references amongst the state papers and privy council registers.⁵⁰

From at least the fourteenth century the secretary had clerks to assist him in the work surrounding the operation of the signet. The clerks themselves, like the secretary, were members of the chamber and on the roll for bouge of court. The earliest confirmation of this comes from the 1478 household ordinances which provide that there should be four 'sufficiant Writers of the King's Signet', who were entitled to dine at court in the king's hall.⁵¹ Though the number of signet clerks did fluctuate during the fifteenth century, by the early sixteenth century four was customary.⁵² By 1526 each of the four clerks was entitled to bouge of court with stabling for three horses and allowed lodging for two servants.⁵³ However, between the end of the fifteenth century and the 1530s relatively little is known about the operation and organisation of the work of the signet clerks.⁵⁴ This *lacuna* ceases in the 1530s with Elton's and, to a lesser extent, Robertson's work on the signet and Cromwell's secretariat.⁵⁵ Elton's analysis of the signet office focused on two principal areas. In the first place he looked at the changes in organisation of the office envisaged in Cromwell's orders of 1534 and the Act of 1536.⁵⁶ Secondly, he looked at the operation of the signet and the work of the office in practice between 1534-1540.⁵⁷ To take Cromwell's 1534 orders first, these certainly seem to be an attempt by him, only a few months after taking the reins as secretary, to regularise the work of the office. They provided for a rota system in which two clerks would work each month on the routine administration of the office, the drafting and sealing of signet warrants, leaving two clerks to assist Cromwell in conciliar business and matters relating to

⁵⁰ PRO, SP 11/10, no. 7.

⁵¹ A.R. Myers, *The household of Edward IV. The black book and the ordinance of 1478* (Manchester, 1959), p. 110.

⁵² Otway-Ruthven, *King's secretary*, pp. 110-113; Elton, *Tudor revolution*, p. 261.

⁵³ *HO*, p. 198.

⁵⁴ Between Otway-Ruthven's work on the fifteenth century office and Elton there is very little. Works on Pace by Wegg and Curtis do not concern themselves with the issue, nor do the biographies of Stephen Gardiner by Muller and Redworth. J. Wegg, *Richard Pace. A Tudor diplomatist* (New York and London, 1971 edn.); C. Curtis, 'Richard Pace; pedagogy, counsel and satire', unpublished University of Cambridge Ph.D. dissertation (1997); J.A. Muller, *Stephen Gardiner and the Tudor reaction* (New York, 1926); G. Redworth, *In defence of the church catholic. The life of Stephen Gardiner* (Oxford, 1990). Evans' discussion of the secretary's office and the signet office is useful but tends to focus on the later Elizabethan and particularly the Stuart secretaries, for which there is considerably more material, F.M.G. Evans, *The principal secretary of state. A survey of the office from 1558 to 1680* (Manchester, 1923), pp. 152-221.

⁵⁵ Elton, *Tudor revolution*, pp. 261-286; Robertson, 'Thomas Cromwell's servants', pp. 156-163.

⁵⁶ Elton, *Tudor revolution*, pp. 261-276.

⁵⁷ Elton, *Tudor revolution*, pp. 276-286.

the king. In addition, the clerks were to sign any signet warrant themselves, to demonstrate that the warrant had been examined by them, and all documents passing the signet were to be registered in a book by the duty clerk. Finally, and no doubt of chief concern to the clerks themselves, the 1534 orders provided for a clear system of fees payable to the clerks for the drafting and sealing of signet warrants. Like the 1534 orders, the 1536 Act provided for a clear system of fees to be paid to the clerks, both of the signet and the privy seal for their services in drafting warrants. In so doing it confirmed and reasserted the supposed practice going back to Henry VI's reign which required a signet warrant to initiate the process by which grants could be made under the great seal.⁵⁸

Elton's interpretation is highly-coloured, both by his desire to ascribe to Cromwell responsibility for the 1534 orders and the 1536 Act, and by his desire to demonstrate that both were overwhelmingly innovatory. Certainly Cromwell's responsibility for the 1534 orders seems beyond doubt, and Elton argues convincingly for his dominant role in framing the 1536 statute. Equally, the idea of a rota, regularising payment to the clerks, and the requirement that all signet warrants should bear the signature of a signet clerk seem to have been new. However, important aspects of these measures were rather less innovatory. The idea of a register recording all documents passing the signet seems to have been practised back in the fifteenth century, reflected in Kendal's register. Secondly, the 1536 Act, which gave a statutory footing to the process of the affirmation of seals from signet to privy seal to chancery, was, as Elton concedes, a reaffirmation of a practice that had been in existence since 1441 or 1444.⁵⁹ More than this, one may object to Elton's crucial point that the signet had 'gone out of court'.⁶⁰ As the previous chapter demonstrated the signet remained firmly at court in the custody of the secretaries, both of whom were courtiers.

What Elton did do in his analysis, though, was establish a structure around which he thought Cromwell sought to operate the signet office. The irony, of which Elton was well aware, was that having established these mechanisms, by and large, they were then disregarded. Cromwell 'did not practise what he preached'.⁶¹ Nevertheless, despite waiving his own reforms, Elton argued that

⁵⁸ Elton, *Tudor revolution*, pp. 270-276.

⁵⁹ The dating has traditionally been regarded as 1444, but research by John Watts suggests it might be 1441. Evans, *Principal secretary*, pp. 195-196; Elton, *Tudor revolution*, p. 271; John Watts, *Henry VI and the politics of kingship* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 255-256.

⁶⁰ Elton, *Tudor revolution*, pp. 273-274

⁶¹ Elton, *Tudor revolution*, p. 285.

Cromwell did lay the foundations for the post-1540 signet office: his impact was enduring. This brings us to the 1540s, about which one significant caveat must be made at the outset. Much of the most useful material from the 1540s pre-dates Paget's appointment as secretary in 1543. In particular, Sadler's signet register covers the period 1540-1542, and Godsolve's register of bills signed relates to 1540-1543. Equally, the signet letters preserved in the privy seal files are particularly full in 1540-1543, but virtually disappear after this date. There is no reason to suggest that this absence is because of any change in practice. It is more likely to be due to an archival accident. This analysis of the signet office must therefore be predominantly based on evidence from the 1540-1543 period, though some gloss from 1543-1547 can be added from scattered evidence of signet practices in the state papers and the privy council registers.

According to the terms of the warrant that established the divided secretaryship in 1540, both secretaries, Wriothesley and Sadler, were to keep a record of all documents that passed their signet, in the form of a register.⁶² Sadler's register has survived.⁶³ The register itself is bound with a vellum cover and contains 74 folios, which list those documents that passed Sadler's signet between 1st April 1540 to December 1542. The entries are made in a fairly uniform manner, with the relevant month at the top of the page followed by a brief summary of each document to have passed the seal. To the right of each entry a fee is generally noted and under many is inserted the name of a signet clerk, presumably the clerk responsible for drafting the document. At the end of the entry for each month one usually finds the totals of fees derived in that month and a similar account from Wriothesley's register. This makes it clear that Wriothesley did indeed keep a register, now lost, and that regular consultation between Sadler and Wriothesley must have taken place to ensure the correct distribution of fees, and presumably to ensure that the same bill did not pass each of their signets.

⁶² BL Stowe MS. 141, fo. 78r-v, which explains that Sadler and Wriothesley shall, 'have and kepe twoo His Graces Seales, called Signetes; and with the same, seale al suche thinges, warrauntes, and writinges, bothe for inwarde and outwarde parties, as have been accustomed to be passed heretofore by the same; every of the sayd Thomas Wriothesely, and Raf Sadler, nevertheles, to kepe a booke, conteynyg al suche thinges, as shall passe by either of their handes, and thone to be made ever pryve to thothers registre'.

⁶³ BL Additional MS. 35818. Slavin looked in some detail at the register, but his analysis focused on what it told him about Sadler's role as a patronage broker, rather than any conclusions that might be drawn about the signet clerks and the secretariat, A.J. Slavin, *Politics and profit. A study of Sir Ralph Sadler, 1507-1547* (Cambridge, 1966), pp. 54-58.

Importantly, by looking at the names of individual clerks responsible for drafting documents one can get a sense of which clerks dealt with much of this routine work. Of the 28 months covered by the register, there are 10 months where no documents are listed, which might indicate periods when Sadler was away from court or at least when he was not responsible for signet matters. For the remaining 18 months the names of between one to four of the signet clerks appear in the register as being responsible for drafting documents, the usual number being two or three.⁶⁴ Significantly, though, a change in the broad pattern of work seems to have occurred from January 1542. Between April 1540 and December 1541 typically one sees the names of two or three clerks appearing each month, the bulk of the work being done by Taverner and Godsolve. John Huttoft, a clerk of the signet between 1539 and 1541, and Knight are less prevalent.⁶⁵ Paget's name appears on three months throughout the whole of the period, in March, June and July 1541, which indicates he still undertook some limited signet work despite his role as clerk of the privy council. However, from January 1542 the bulk of the work in the signet office, on the basis of Sadler's register, was undertaken by Honnyngs, with some assistance from Taverner or Godsolve, who, along with Knight were thereby freed up to deal with other matters. Of the nine months for which there are entries in 1542 Honnyngs appears in every one, either solely, as in January and September, or with another clerk, invariably either Taverner or Godsolve. Knight's name is absent.⁶⁶

The evidence from Sadler's register is, in itself, not conclusive. The lost register held by Wriothesley, were we able to see it, might indicate that one or more of the other clerks undertook considerable routine work under the signet held by him. However, if one adds the evidence of the signet warrants themselves amongst the files of the privy seal office, the view that by the early 1540s Honnyngs dealt with the bulk of routine signet matters is confirmed. From the signatures on the extant signet warrants amongst the privy seal files for the 12 month period between October 1541 and September 1542, the following emerges:

⁶⁴ In December 1541 (Godsolve), January and September 1542 (both Honnyngs) only one name appears. At the other extreme, in November 1540 the names of all four clerks at that time, Knight, Huttoft, Godsolve and Taverner, appear as having drafted documents for the signet.

⁶⁵ For details on Huttoft see, Robertson, 'Thomas Cromwell's servants', p. 505.

⁶⁶ This evidence also enables a fairly precise answer to be given to the previously elusive question of the date of Honnyngs appointment as a signet clerk. Bindoff, ii, p. 383 notes that in October 1541, 'he had been granted the reversion of the next vacancy among the four clerks of the signet, an office which he was holding in May 1543'. Honnyng's name first appears on the register in January 1542, which indicates that he was appointed shortly after being granted the reversion in October, thus sometime in November or December 1541. The PSO files indicate that Honnyngs was drafting signet letters from at least as early as October 1541, PRO, PSO 2/7.

Table 1.

Honnyngs;	373
Taverner;	85
Knight;	79
Godsalve;	76
Paget;	1
Clerc;	1
Unsigned/damaged;	15
Total no. of signet warrants;	630 ⁶⁷

From this a number of conclusions can be drawn. Firstly, unlike the 1530s when Godsalve dealt with most of the routine work of the signet office, from 1542 Honnyngs seems to have assumed this responsibility.⁶⁸ Secondly, both Sadler's register and the extant signet warrants make it clear that the neat rota envisaged by Cromwell in 1534 was disregarded after 1540 in the same way as it had been before. In fact entrusting one clerk with the routine office work in part anticipates what was actually proposed under Mary, by which time only one clerk was attendant to fulfil this role.⁶⁹ Further, the large number of signet warrants in the privy seal files after 1540 confirms Elton's comments that the formal process of the seals was resumed after Cromwell's fall in 1540. We know that the formal process laid down by the 1536 statute was rigidly observed during Paget's secretaryship thanks to the episode in 1544 when Hertford had such difficulty in ensuring that his

⁶⁷ These figures represent the total number of signatures, between the relevant dates, found on the extant signet warrants in PRO, PSO 2/7-9. Clerc was probably William Clerc, a clerk of the privy seal and later the clerk who inked-in the impressions made by the dry stamp, David Starkey, 'The king's privy chamber, 1485-1547', unpublished University of Cambridge Ph.D. (1973), pp. 349-350.

⁶⁸ Elton, *Tudor revolution*, p. 266.

⁶⁹ PRO, SP 11/10, no. 7. These regulations, though, envisaged that each clerk would observe a month or two-month stint undertaking this routine work, rather than all the work consistently devolving to one of the four.

licence proceeded smoothly through the privy seal. In order to push his licence through he had to enlist the support of Paget and in the process strained his relations with the lord privy seal, Russell. The fact that the secretary and the lord privy seal were different individuals after Cromwell was, of course, central to this. The only caveat that one might add rest on two letters sent by Wriothesley to Paget early in November 1545, expressing concern about the passage of warrants to admiralty and chancery. Wriothesley wrote that he heard of a licence under the admiralty seal, granted only on the weight of a letter from the privy council, and a signet letter relating to the deanery of St Pauls which, 'euer yet passed the greate seale I wene if they procede uppon it...It woll scant be by the lawe a warrant'.⁷⁰

Aside from work relating to the signet as a warranty for other seals, a chief function of the signet office was traditionally affixing the signet to royal correspondence. As Elton said of the 1530s, the signet, 'was the seal with which the king's correspondence was sealed'.⁷¹ The vast majority of extant royal correspondence from the 1543-1547 period consists of drafts amongst the state papers to which the signet has therefore not been affixed. In SP1 there are in the region of 100 drafts of letters which would have been sent in the king's name. Many of these are letters to be sent to foreign powers and a substantial number are drafts of instructions for individuals sent on foreign embassies. Others are to be directed to individuals or institutions within the realm. What is striking about the drafting of this royal correspondence is the extremely close supervision given to it by the secretaries.

Royal instructions to embassies abroad provide a particularly good example of this. Traditionally such instructions passed the signet. There are examples of such instructions being entered in Sadler's register. By the end of the reign there are frequent entries of instructions in the dry stamp registers, after which they might have been sealed with the signet. Between 1543-1547 the hands on these instructions are limited to a very few individuals. These were the secretaries, Wriothesley, Paget and Petre, two clerks, 'clerk A' and 'clerk B', and Yetsweirt. Gardiner's instructions from October 1545 reflect the typical process, although these are particularly useful since there are two sets of drafts.⁷² The earlier draft is in the hand of clerk B, who seems generally to have worked

⁷⁰ Wriothesley to Paget, 2 November 1545, PRO, SP 1/209, fo. 213r; Wriothesley to Paget, [?] November 1545, PRO, SP 1/210, fo. 43v. See also *APC*, i, p. 321.

⁷¹ Elton, *Tudor revolution*, p. 282, and generally, pp. 282-284.

⁷² Gardiner's Instructions, PRO, SP 1/209, fos. 39r-43v.

more closely with Petre, but on this occasion it is Paget who corrected the draft. Subsequently, though, another draft was written by Yetsweirt, which was also corrected by Paget. The final draft has not survived, since this is doubtless the one which Gardiner took with him to the Imperial court. Typically these drafts are double-spaced to allow insertions and corrections from the secretary. Very often instructions are headed in the hand of the secretary with clerk A, clerk B or Yetsweirt drafting the instructions themselves. Occasionally, one sees a number of different hands on the same draft, for example, the instructions for Walter Bucler and Christopher Mont in January 1545, which is drafted by clerk A and Yetsweirt, and corrected by Paget.⁷³ The involvement of the king in drafting such instructions can generally only be guessed at. Presumably Paget either handed drafts to the king or read them and corrected them according to the king's verbal instructions. However, occasionally one can see Henry's personal intervention, for example in the instructions given to Nicholas Wotton in February 1545, a draft of which is heavily annotated both by Paget and Henry.⁷⁴

Of the correspondence to foreign powers, the vast majority of which is directed to Francis I or Charles V, most drafts are in French and, unsurprisingly, the hands of the French secretaries, Mason and Yetsweirt predominate.⁷⁵ Only two extant drafts are in the hand of the Latin secretary Peter Vannes.⁷⁶ This may be simply an archival accident, but it is more likely to be the result of Latin losing its predominant position as the language in which diplomacy was conducted, allied to Vannes' age and probably his marginal position within the secretariat.⁷⁷ Nevertheless, the first of these two drafts again demonstrates Paget's close supervision of royal correspondence. Halfway down the draft is an insertion in Paget's hand and at the bottom of the draft he has written, 'I pray you to add in later that *which* I have written in English and to put it in where the crosse standith in

⁷³ Bucler and Mont's Instructions, PRO, SP 1/197, fos. 135r-149v. From the same month there are draft instructions to Hertford, which are drafted both by clerk B and Nicasius and corrected by Paget, PRO, SP 1/197, fos. 213r-220v.

⁷⁴ Wotton's Instructions, PRO, SP 1/198, fos. 3r-10v. L.B. Smith suggested that Henry was a frequent annotator of drafts and books, L.B. Smith, *Henry VIII: the mask of royalty* (London, 1971), p. 43. If this was the case earlier in the reign, it is not so in the last few years. This, in part explains the difficulty in discerning the king's hand (metaphorically) behind policy decisions, though, in 1544 for example Hertford sent Henry a draft proclamation to alter, Hertford to Henry VIII, 21 March 1544, BL Additional MS. 32654, fos. 48r-49v.

⁷⁵ Henry VIII (draft) to Charles V, 1 September 1544, PRO, SP 1/191, fo. 226r (drafted by Mason).

⁷⁶ Henry VIII to the Landgrave, 4 July 1545, PRO, SP 1/203, fo. 60r-v; Henry VIII (draft), [?] July 1546, PRO, SP 1/222, fo. 148r-v. Both are drafted and countersigned by Vannes.

⁷⁷ The might be contrasted with the 1530s when, according to Elton, most of Henry's diplomatic correspondence was in Latin and drafted by Vannes, Elton, *Tudor revolution*, p. 283.

the lyn after *continetur* and before *coeterum*'.⁷⁸ The royal correspondence was therefore the preserve of the secretaries and their clerks and the French and Latin secretaries: the signet clerks do not feature in the drafting of Henry's letters in the last years of the reign. It may be that their only function in this respect was the sealing of the letters themselves.

Implicit in the preceding analysis is the idea that signet clerks were responsible for more than simply drafting and sealing signet warrants. Beyond the routine work of the office the signet clerks were delegated other responsibilities, though the fragmentary state of the evidence makes it difficult to reconstruct with much precision. This is particularly the case with Knight, Raylton and Taverner. Though Knight's signature appears with some frequency in signet warrants in the early 1540s, by the time of Paget's secretaryship, his role is elusive. In 1543 what evidence there is relates to his work as a clerk of the parliament.⁷⁹ In 1544 he appears to have remained in England with the regency council, under Petre's broad supervision. In 1545 he was again clerk of the parliament and subsequently left the office and became an under-treasurer of the mint. This move might largely be explained by his attachment to Wriothesley, his brother-in-law, with whom he worked closely in financial matters.⁸⁰ Even less can be said about the role of Knight's replacement, Raylton. Equally, there is a paucity of evidence regarding Taverner's role within the office. In September 1544 he was sent to deliver £3,000 to Sadler, high treasurer of the wars in the north, 'for wages for garrisons upon the Borders and for other affairs in the North'.⁸¹ This means that he, along with Honnyngs and Knight remained with the regency council during the 1544 campaign. Godsalue, though, along with Mason, went to France in 1544. Some windows into his world are provided by his activities associated with the French campaign. A few days before leaving for France he was paid £58 16s, 'for siluer to engrave a greate seale, and for the engraving therof And for a bagge of crimsyn velvet curyuslie embrodered to be carried with the kinges maiestie in his voyage agaynst ffrance'.⁸² During the same French campaign he was paid 2s a day and allowed two clerks, each of whom were paid 12d a day.⁸³ Like other members of the secretariat, Godsalue

⁷⁸ PRO, SP 1/203, fo. 60r.

⁷⁹ *Letters and papers*, XVIII, i, 67; PRO, C 82/810, 10 May 1543.

⁸⁰ Wriothesley to Paget and Petre, 26 August 1545, PRO, SP 1/206, fo. 243r; Wriothesley to Paget, 27 August 1545, PRO, SP 1/207, fo. 14r.

⁸¹ *Letters and papers*, XIX, ii, 257.

⁸² PRO, E 315/253, fo. 54 (foliation in roman numerals in original sixteenth century hand at the bottom of each page).

⁸³ BL Additional MS. 5753, fo. 70r.

was occasionally entrusted with delivering money for the payment of royal affairs, including payment of wages of troops.⁸⁴

More, though, can be said about Godsalve. His register indicates that, at least in the early 1540s, he had a very clear and important responsibility when it came to recording the king's sign manual. The book itself, of 297 folios, is bound with a vellum cover, and its form and appearance are very similar to Sadler's signet register.⁸⁵ Inside the cover are a number of attempts at Godsalve's signature, followed by the 1534 orders of the signet clerks (fo. 1r-v), a draft relating to an Act in the Reformation parliament (fo. 2r-v) and then a series of drafts which, as Elton noted, probably constitutes a collection of precedents for signet clerks (fos. 3r-16v).⁸⁶ The rest of the book constitutes a register kept by Godsalve of bills signed by the king from 9 January 1541-30 September 1543 (fos. 25r-282r).⁸⁷

The first question which emerges from this is why does one have a series of entries which date from around 1534 (Elton established that many of the precedents date from around this period) in the same book as a register relating to the years 1541-1543? Scrutiny of the paper-stock used in the book helps answer this. The book itself is composed of two different paper-stocks, both dating from the early 1530s.⁸⁸ There are no additional leaves from a different stock inserted at any point. Importantly, the paper-stock does not change when the register begins, but rather it changes in the middle of the register itself. This strongly suggests that the book was pre-bound, presumably between 1532-1534, and the orders and precedents written at that point. Subsequently it was left unused until 1541 when it was picked up and used as a register.

The entries in the register itself contain details of the bills signed by the king on a given day, and the day on which those signed bills were delivered to their recipients, for which Godsalve was presumably responsible. The register seems to be a working book, similar to Sadler's signet

⁸⁴ APC, i, pp. 195, 501.

⁸⁵ PRO, DL 42/133. The book measures 295mm x 203mm, with three leather straps 31mm in width running across the spine. On the vellum cover in a secretary hand is written, 'A book of Direction taken by Tho: Cromwell principal secretarie to H8 touching the ordering of the signett office Allso tempore H8 divers grante of offices landes & diuers other thinges by privie seale or bills signed'. Beneath this in a later hand, 'Temp Hen; 8 A Booke belonging to secretary of state' (examined under uv light).

⁸⁶ For Elton's analysis see, *Tudor revolution*, pp. 267-268.

⁸⁷ Fos. 17r-24v and fos. 282v-296r are blank.

register, and provides a record of the days in the early 1540s when the king signed bills. In that respect it is similar to the rough registers of the dry stamp. It is also clear evidence that the signet clerks, specifically Godsalve in the early 1540s, maintained a tight grip not only on documents which passed the signet, but also those bills signed by the king. Such a record was essential and demonstrates the continuity between Godsalve's register and the registers of the dry stamp.

Another area of responsibility which can be clearly ascribed to Godsalve is the custody of papers kept in the exchequer, treasury of receipt. Although most documents generated by Paget's secretariat remained at court, an important group of papers, diplomatic documents, had, since at least the thirteenth century, been deposited in the treasury of the receipt of the exchequer.⁸⁹ These papers, generally the treaties made between English kings and other foreign powers and other papers related to the negotiations, continued to be deposited there until the seventeenth century. After this time they remained in the custody of the secretary of state. Accordingly, many of the original treaties made during Henry's reign remain amongst the exchequer archives, and we know that Paget personally deposited such papers in the treasury of receipt because of two extant schedules. The first, from 1544, begins, 'this byll indented witnesseth that Sr William paget knight oon of the kinges hiegnes two principal secretaries hath deyvered the day of date hereof unto the Threasourer and chamblaine of his *Maiesties* exchequier to be kept in his hiegnes treasury these peces of writing following'.⁹⁰ Then follow brief summaries of the documents deposited, papers relating to the agreement made with Charles's commissioners in December 1543 and agreements made with Matthew Stewart, earl of Lennox and William Cunningham, earl of Glencairn in the spring of 1544, together with a note of the boxes in which these papers were stored. The second schedule, of 29 July 1546, begins, 'Receyued of sir William paget knight oon of the kinges Mates two principall Secretaries these writings following to be leyde upp in the treasoure howse'.⁹¹ The four documents which follow all relate to negotiations with the French, and particularly the ambassador, de Selve, in the course of July.

Godsalve had a particular responsibility within Paget's secretariat for the papers stored in the treasury of receipt. Two documents, one relating to the December 1543 treaty with Charles, the

⁸⁸ Fos. 1-243 bear the watermark of a 'P', Briquet 8653 (Rotterdam, 1532); fos. 246-297, watermark a gloved hand, Briquet 11428 (Namur, 1530).

⁸⁹ These are now E30, Exchequer: Treasury of Receipt; Diplomatic Documents.

⁹⁰ PRO, E 36/253, fo. 30r.

other relating to negotiations with the emperor in October 1544, which fall within the category of diplomatic documents stored in the treasury of receipt, are countersigned by Godsalue.⁹² Unsurprisingly, Godsalue also seems to have had specialist knowledge of these papers. In November 1545 Gardiner and Thirlby wrote from Charles's court asking for a copy of a letter from Francis. Given that the letter dealt with treaty obligations, particularly Francis's obligations over pensions payments, it was the type of document which would have been stored in the treasury of receipt. The letter from the privy council, drafted by Paget to Gardiner and Thirlby, explained, 'and as for the french kinges *lettre* wherof ye desire a copy we can not fynd it And for thobligacon of iiijc lml [450, 000] crownes both my lord of duresme and mr Godsalue sayeth that it was redelivered in at Compaigne when you were there *present your self*'.⁹³ This knowledge was borne from a great familiarity with the papers. On more than one occasion Godsalue emerges as the man who drafted copies of papers from the treasury of receipt. In fact, in April 1546 Paget was moved to write to Petre from Calais to complain about Godsalue's shoddy work, 'Mr peter wythe most hartie commendacons I retourne to you herewythe the copie of the treatie wythe fraunce copied out of the ~~treas~~ treasury by master godsalue so false wrytten that in one place as you shall perceyve I can find no congruite I pray you cause hym to *searche* the treasury agayne and to examyne the thing better'.⁹⁴ As well as copies Godsalue was also required to draft commissions, forms of which would also habitually be stored in the treasury of receipt.⁹⁵

This role continued after Henry's death. Indeed it is at the beginning of Edward's reign that Godsalue's position as the interface between the secretariat and the treasury is most explicit.⁹⁶ The privy council register records that on 9 March 1547, Godsalue was handed Henry's will before all

⁹¹ PRO, SP 1/222, fo. 131r.

⁹² PRO, E 30/1474; PRO, E 30/1707.

⁹³ Privy council to Gardiner, 17 November 1545, PRO, SP 1/210, fo. 174v.

⁹⁴ Paget to Petre, 24 April 1546, PRO, SP 1/217, fo. 87r. In September 1546 it was Godsalue who was required to copy a document, outlining the obligations of Francis to make pension payments to Henry, at Wriothesley's house at Holborn, Yetsweirt to Paget, 17 September 1546, PRO, SP 1/224, fos. 178r-179v; Yetsweirt to Paget, 18 September 1546, PRO, SP 1/224, fo. 190r; de Selve to the French Commissioners, 18 September 1546, Corr Pol., 6, fo. 35v, in which de Selve explains that Godsalue would sign such copies himself.

⁹⁵ Tunstall to Paget, 2 July 1546, PRO, SP 1/221, fo. 60r, 'according as I promised you I drewe a commission yesternight and deliuered it to mr Godsalue requyring him to be *with* you this daye for perfytinge of the same'. Another draft commission, evidently sent to Godsalue, contains the revealing note, 'Mr godsalue this muste be written by yor self againste to morowe morning *with* the kinges stile at length before yt And the Commissioners names *in forma inclusa* entred in the due place', PRO, SP 1/223, fo. 47v.

⁹⁶ I am grateful to Dr Alan Bryson for drawing my attention to Godsalue's continuing role under Edward.

the council, and from there went to the treasury to deposit the will beside that of Henry VII.⁹⁷ In September 1551 Godsalve was rewarded with the handsome sum of £100, 'in consideration of his long service and paynes susteyned in thoften exemplification of the recordes of treaties and leagues and other wrytinges in the xchequier, and the sorting of the same'.⁹⁸

III

As Godsalve's duties suggest, the sorting and ordering of a substantial body of letters and papers constituted one of the key roles of Paget's office. Faunt in his 'Discourse' explained that the volume of correspondence and the problems of dealing with a regular avalanche of papers was a great headache to a secretary and it was a difficulty to which an efficient solution had to be found.⁹⁹ Though some papers had to follow Paget and the itinerant court, most were stored in more permanent repositories. As well as the treasury of receipt, which was in a sense a 'national' archive, we have seen how many papers were stored in the king's study in the privy gallery and in the king's Chair House in the Holbein Gate. Other papers would have been kept in Paget's own chamber at Whitehall and in the study where the ciphers were filed away. In addition Paget's house in Canon Row, only a few hundred yards from Whitehall Palace, might also have contained working papers. Certainly in the 1530s Cromwell kept many of his working papers either at the Rolls House off Chancery Lane, by virtue of his position as master of the rolls, or at his house at Austin Friars.¹⁰⁰ Cecil later acquired Paget's house on Canon Row and might equally have kept papers there. Like those of many sixteenth century governors, Paget's office was highly organised and in common with Cromwell and Cecil his mastery of his own office and papers was

⁹⁷ *APC*, ii, pp. 59-60. Significantly, once at the treasury, Godsalve was handed a receipt signed by Thomas Daniel, William Walters and John Lamb, 'officers of the saide Exchequer'. The signature of the latter two, Walter and Lamb, can be seen on the schedule/receipt of papers delivered by Paget into the treasury on 29 July 1546, PRO, SP 1/222, fo. 131r.

⁹⁸ *APC*, ii, p. 354. For other references to Godsalve's role, see *APC*, ii, pp. 65, 80; *APC*, iii, pp. 24, 216, 225.

⁹⁹ Faunt, 'Discourse', pp. 501-502

¹⁰⁰ Robertson, 'Thomas Cromwell's servants', pp. 164-166; The vast majority of Cromwell's office papers were still at Austin Friars in 1545, Sadler to privy council, 11 April 1545, PRO, SP 1/199, fos. 227r-228v.

formidable.¹⁰¹ On numerous occasions in 1545 and 1546, when abroad, Paget was able to write back to court, generally to Petre, requesting a particular document and specifying where it was to be found. At the end of April 1546 Paget wrote to Petre from Calais asking him ‘to send me a cotype of a schedule written *with* nychasius hand beyng among the wrytinges in the bundel of the matters of this army in which schedule is expressed the nombre of horses and fotemen’.¹⁰² A week later Paget, still in Calais, was able to advise the king that he would find details of a particular ‘secret’ matter in a letter from Edmund Harvel to Paget himself. This letter, explained Paget, ‘remayneth among the other letters in Mr Peters keping, sealed with my seale, bycause your pleasure was to have it kept secret. It is in the pacquet of Harveles letters of March or February’.¹⁰³

The vast bulk of Paget’s extant archive were working papers and as such were not bound but kept loose, as we have seen, in bundles and packets, for ease of reference and so that they might be portable. Henry, other privy councillors and ambassadors abroad frequently required these papers. They were therefore in constant use and had to be readily accessible. Equally, the nature of an itinerant court meant papers had to be easily transported. All of this mitigated against binding papers into volumes. However, this did mean that papers could easily be mislaid and go missing, which an effective filing system would have prevented. As a number of historians have remarked, the present organisation of the state papers until at least the 1580s bears no relation to the way in which men like Cromwell or Paget would have organised their own papers.¹⁰⁴ Certainly Paget did not divide his archive into ‘Foreign’ and ‘Domestic’ categories. Instead, when letters came into the office they were sorted into subject heads, generally by country. In 1545 Paget recalled that when Sadler was secretary, ‘he had the sorting of all such *lettres* to the *kinges maiestie* ffrom the french king and such lyke’.¹⁰⁵ Similarly in the 1530s Vannes and subsequently Thomas Starkey had sorted

¹⁰¹ Stephen Alford, *The early Elizabethan polity. William Cecil and the British succession crisis, 1558-1569* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 13; Robertson, ‘Thomas Cromwell’s servants’, pp. 166-168; G.R. Elton, *Reform and renewal. Thomas Cromwell and the common weal* (Cambridge, 1973), pp. 12-14. For the offices of Walsingham and Beale, see Taviner, ‘Robert Beale’, pp. 21-24. Faunt recommended that a secretary keep a “Journall”, to record the dispatch and receipt of letters to aid the recall of correspondence, Faunt, ‘Discourse’, p. 503.

¹⁰² Paget to Petre, 23 April 1546, PRO, SP 1/217, fo. 72r.

¹⁰³ Paget to Henry VIII, 1 May 1546, PRO, SP 1/217, fos. 150r-153v; see also Paget to Petre, 23 November 1545, PRO, SP 1/211, fos. 41r-42v, where Paget refers to a letter in Wriothesley’s possession several years previously when Paget was ambassador in France.

¹⁰⁴ G.R. Elton, *England 1200-1640* (London, 1969), p. 72; Alford, *Early Elizabethan polity*, p. 12

¹⁰⁵ Paget to Petre, 27 November 1545, PRO, SP 1/211, fos. 90r-92v.

correspondence from Venice within Cromwell's office.¹⁰⁶ Cromwell's correspondence was sorted initially into the date when letters arrived in the office. Subsequently, these were sorted into boxes according to country.¹⁰⁷ Significantly, an inventory of Walsingham's papers from 1588 indicates that his system was not too different. The Elizabethan secretary sorted correspondence into subject heads according to country, which were then subdivided chronologically.¹⁰⁸

The inventory taken in 1547 of papers in the king's study confirms that Paget organised these papers along similar lines. So papers are bagged or boxed under subject heads, 'a greate bagge of lres etc touching Germany', 'a greate bagg of matier of ffrance', 'a bag of matiers of Scotland'.¹⁰⁹ Letters received seem to have been stored with the draft replies, to enable the secretariat to find easily what the response of the king or privy council had been to a letter. For example, the papers in the inventory relating to Charles V and to Gardiner's embassy there contain both in-letters and draft out-letters, or 'mynutes'.¹¹⁰ Paget's schedules of documents delivered into the treasury of receipt indicate that the papers were stored there in a similar way. The 1544 schedule indicates that the papers relating to Charles V and Scotland were kept in separate boxes with other papers of the same subject head.¹¹¹ Within the subject head they were also sorted chronologically. The secretariat also sorted papers chronologically. Paget referred the king to Harvel's letters of 'March or February'.¹¹² The endorsements on correspondence confirm this, since typically a letter into the office or a draft of a letter out of the office will bear the name of the sender, the recipient, and the date on which it was sent.

In addition to correspondence, the secretary's office also contained a host of books for personal reference. Filing and sorting was a form of recording. The need to record bills signed by the king or warrants passing the signet, in the form of bound registers like Godsalve or Sadler's, would have been evidenced in Paget's office. He would himself have kept a signet register. As well as these formal records sixteenth century secretaries also kept the equivalent of a personal organiser. In his 'Discourse', Faunt recommended that a secretary should keep a book by his bed into which he

¹⁰⁶ T.F. Mayer, *Thomas Starkey and the commonwealth. Humanist politics and religion in the reign of Henry VIII* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 204

¹⁰⁷ Robertson, 'Thomas Cromwell's servants', pp. 166-167.

¹⁰⁸ Taviner, 'Robert Beale', p. 21.

¹⁰⁹ PRO, SP 45/20, fo. 1r.

¹¹⁰ PRO, SP 45/20, fo. 1r.

¹¹¹ PRO, E 36/253, fo. 30r.

¹¹² Paget to Henry VIII, 1 May 1546, PRO, SP 1/217, fos. 150r-153v.

should jot all matters with which he had to deal. When the job was done he should cross it off the list.¹¹³ As Faunt wrote at the end of the century, it should not surprise us that a contemporary, Walsingham, kept such memorial books.¹¹⁴ However, there is evidence that Cromwell, Wriothesley and Cecil kept such memos.¹¹⁵ Such practice spanned the mid-Tudor period and the absence of any memorials in Paget's hand is probably because of the vagaries of the archive. What underscored all of these recording practices was the usual fear in a busy office that a crucial matter might be forgotten. Equally, and unsurprisingly in a precedent-based society, there was a sense in which the preservation of records from the past might provide a framework with which to tackle present issues.¹¹⁶

IV

In the previous chapter we saw how Paget's position as secretary and councillor gave him a key role as intermediary between Henry and the privy council. Part of this was because of his management of the archive and his role in bringing draft resolutions both to the council chamber and before the king. As secretary, though, Paget had a much broader responsibility as *chef de bureau* of the privy council. From the end of the fifteenth century the secretary increasingly attended meetings of the king's council and by 1526 he was firmly established as one of the king's council attendant in the Eltham Ordinances.¹¹⁷ Given the office of clerks that already surrounded him as king's secretary and his position as a junior member of the council, it was perhaps inevitable that the administrative leg-work of the privy council should devolve to the king's secretary and his staff. By the time of Paget's secretaryship he and his office were responsible for

¹¹³ Faunt, 'Discourse', p. 503.

¹¹⁴ Taviner, 'Robert Beale', pp. 122-125.

¹¹⁵ For examples of Wriothesley's memoranda see, BL Additional MS. 32646, fo. 144r-v; PRO, SP 1/165, fos. 48r-49v. For Cecil's memoranda during Edward's reign, PRO, SP 10/5, no. 24; PRO, SP 10/14, no. 53.

¹¹⁶ As Faunt put it, the keeping of a memorial book should ensure that, 'the multitude of affaires doe not cause some important matter to bee forgotten...and sometimes the reviewinge of ould remembrances howsoever blotted out though a yeare or two past may help for the obsevacion of times, persons places and other circumstances yt are wonte to give greate light to causes presently in question and handlinge', Faunt, 'Discourse', p. 503.

¹¹⁷ *HO*, p. 159.

the registers of the privy council, the flow of correspondence to and from the council (that is to say the conciliar archive) and the management of the business of the privy council itself. It is from this conciliar archive that most of our knowledge of the workings of the privy council in the 1540s can be derived. In this context the secretaries, Paget, Wriothesley and Petre and the clerks of the council, Mason, Honnyngs and Chaloner are particularly significant.

In the 1540s the privy council was meeting on an almost daily basis, often twice a day. The Eltham Ordinances had prescribed that the council should meet, 'everie day in the forenoone by ten of the clock at the furthest, and at afternoone by two of the clock'.¹¹⁸ According to Paget's own advice in 1550, the privy council should meet in the council chamber from eight in the morning until dinner and then from two until four in the afternoon.¹¹⁹ The late Henrican privy council met early in the morning. We have already seen how Cranmer was called to the council chamber at eight in the morning, and it seems that not infrequently individuals to be examined at the council board were to be there by eight. Equally, if ambassadors sought audience with the council they might ensure that they were at court early in the morning.¹²⁰ One reason why the council was meeting from early in the morning by the later 1540s rather than the more sedate ten prescribed by the Eltham Ordinances was that in the space of those twenty years the amount of business dealt with by the council had expanded. The reform of church and government of the 1530s and the diplomatic, financial and military pressures of the 1540s imposed severe demands on the administration. As Paget frankly acknowledged to Petre in November 1545, 'his [the king's] service, at this present, is gretter, then it hath bene of many yeres before, and requyrith many handes'.¹²¹ For the same reason, in the course of the 1540s, the number of clerks of the council increased from one to three. Thomas Derby in the 1530s and then Paget from 1540-1541 held the position solely.¹²² In April

¹¹⁸ *HO*, p. 160.

¹¹⁹ BL Egerton MS. 2603, fo. 33r.

¹²⁰ Van der Delft to Charles V, 12th June 1545, *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, p. 119, 'I went the following day to the council arriving early, before the whole of the members had assembled'; van der Delft to Charles V, 2 July 1545, *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, pp. 152-153, 'on the following day, accordingly, I saw the members of the council by appointment...I was with several of the members from eight o'clock in the morning until long after ten'. By the same token privy councillors might be about the king's business early in the morning, Chapuys and van der Delft to Mary of Hungary, 12 March 1545, *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, p. 57, 'after we had closed the letters written yesterday, and were about to dispatch the courier, the secretary of the council came to tell us that this morning at eight the earl of Hertford and the bishop of Winchester would come and communicate something to us'.

¹²¹ Paget to Petre, 24 November 1545, *State papers of Henry VIII*, i, p. xiii.

¹²² For Derby see, John Guy, 'The privy council: revolution or evolution?', in Coleman and Starkey (eds.), *Revolution reassessed*, pp. 72-73.

1543, as we have seen, Honnyngs and Mason were appointed jointly, and in 1545 Chaloner joined them.

These considerations meant that Paget needed to have an efficient system to deal with preparation for meetings, the processing of correspondence and the council registers. Prior to a meeting of the privy council the secretary seems to have been reliant on his own household staff. Cromwell in the 1530s used his household staff and his signet clerks in the preparation of the conciliar agenda. The instance in December 1533 for which there is most evidence indicates that two agendas were drafted by one of Cromwell's clerks, the second of which was annotated by Cromwell himself before the third and final agenda was drafted by his personal secretary, Sadler.¹²³ The practice of the secretary controlling the conciliar agenda spanned the mid-Tudor period. In the 1560s Cecil as secretary was responsible for the agenda of the privy council.¹²⁴ The evidence for Walsingham's role in this respect is particularly clear. Mark Tavinier has recently shown how Walsingham, in the manner Beale later advocated in his 'Treatise', prepared memorials with the aid of his household clerks, that is lists of matters for consideration in council meetings. Such memorials survive for 1574-1576 and 1583-1585.¹²⁵

The type of evidence which exists for Walsingham's secretaryship of memorials intended for reference and use in council meetings is thinner in the 1540s. However, we have seen how Paget brought papers to the council board for consideration on issues of policy. Equally, there are a number of summaries of correspondence, similar to those used by Cromwell and Walsingham and recommended by Beale. For example there are two pages of notes in Paget's hand, which are short summaries of letters, or 'abbreviates' as they were styled, mostly from Sadler, dealing with relations between James Hamilton, earl of Arran and Cardinal David Beaton from 1543, endorsed, 'capita out of th'erle of Arran's lettres'.¹²⁶ Equally, there are notes, again 'abbreviates', some of which are in Petre's hand, of letters to Paget and the king from Gardiner and Thirlby in November

¹²³ Elton, *Tudor revolution*, pp. 360-364. Elton also noted a similar instance in 1537 with Wriothesley acting as clerk. The December 1533 agenda has also been considered by Dr McEntegart in the context of Anglo-Schmalkaldic relations. Significantly he envisages a situation in which once conciliar deliberations had taken place Cromwell, 'probably alone but possibly in the company of other councillors', went to the king to discuss the council's conclusions, before drafting the final resolution, R. McEntegart, 'England and the League of Schmalkalden, 1531-1547. Faction foreign policy and the English reformation', unpublished London School of Economics Ph.D. (1992), pp. 62-65, esp., n. 107.

¹²⁴ Alford, *early Elizabethan polity*, pp. 13-14.

¹²⁵ Tavinier, 'Robert Beale', pp. 130-131.

1545.¹²⁷ Similarly, Mason summarised letters of 6 June 1544, presumably out of the original Italian, from the marquess del Guasto to Henry.¹²⁸ Letters from the Italian John Barnardine addressed to Paget and the king were translated and summarised in the same way in November 1546.¹²⁹ Put in the context of earlier and later secretarial practice these random survivals presumably represent the residue of what was commonplace.

Of privy council meetings themselves we are poorly served by the evidence. Having set the agenda for the meeting and brought recent correspondence, or summaries thereof, it is likely that Paget, like Cecil, spoke towards the beginning of a meeting.¹³⁰ Certainly Edward Vaughan envisaged that Paget would be responsible for the oral presentation of his letter before the council, which again suggests Paget introduced letters and items for subsequent discussion.¹³¹ This is reinforced by Paget's 1550 advice which explains that, 'all lettres shalbe received by the Secretarie and brought to the counsaill boorde at the howers of the meting'.¹³² However, the exclusion of the clerk of the privy council from the council board during meetings means that the oral aspect of debate at privy council meetings cannot be reconstructed. Sir Julius Caesar, writing in 1625, claimed that in all royal palaces there had been a room adjoining the council chamber in which the clerks worked and that this had been the practice since Henry's reign.¹³³ The evidence of the 1540s does not allow for close analysis- unsurprising given the difficulties in trying to locate the council chamber itself. The usual example given of a clerk outside a council chamber in the 1540s, or indeed throughout the Tudor period, is Paget's own letter to Wriothesley in June 1541, when Paget himself was clerk, in which he explained, 'to counsaill they went and albeit I was excluded yet they spake so lowde sum

¹²⁶ BL Additional MS. 32653, fos. 221r-222r.

¹²⁷ PRO, SP 1/210, fos. 109v-116v.

¹²⁸ PRO, SP 1/188, fo. 65r-v. Mason's Italian, acquired during travel and study there in the 1530s (see below p. 178), was used in this way on a number of occasions. Later in the same month he translated an Italian letter from Rome addressed to Vannes, PRO, SP 1/188, fos. 149r-150v, and a letter from the duke of Ferrera to Henry VIII, PRO, SP 1/188, fo. 168r. There is an interesting contrast here with later in the century. In the 1570s and 1580s the clerks of the privy council seem to have had little involvement with in-coming correspondence. Their role was principally the drafting of out-going letters, Tavinier, 'Robert Beale', pp. 130-131. Mason, by contrast, and perhaps by virtue of his position as French secretary as well as a clerk of the privy council, dealt both with in-coming correspondence and out-going privy council letters.

¹²⁹ PRO, SP 1/226, fos. 90r-92r.

¹³⁰ Alford, *early Elizabethan polity*, p. 13-14.

¹³¹ Vaughan to Paget, 26 July 1544, PRO, SP 1/190, fo. 100r.

¹³² BL Egerton MS. 2603, fo. 33r.

¹³³ BL Additional MS. 34324, fo. 239r.

of them that I myght here them not *with* standing two doores shut betwene us'.¹³⁴ However, this incident is to an extent something of a red-herring since the privy council was meeting in a judicial capacity in star chamber and one would not have expected the clerk of the privy council to have been attendant.¹³⁵ Wherever the clerk was, though, he was not in the council chamber, or if he was, the registers reveal little about what happened there.

Rather more, though, can be divined about how council letters were drafted. Between April 1543 and the end of the reign there are in SP1 in the region of 300 letters from the privy council. Most of these are drafts, though there are a few original letters, and this number includes those sent between the privy council in London and the privy council attendant at court. It is from these letters that some conclusions can be drawn about the drafting of conciliar correspondence and those responsible for it, and in particular the interaction between the secretaries, their clerks and the clerks of the privy council. Essentially, seven hands were responsible for the vast bulk of these letters. These were the three secretaries, Wriothesley, Paget and subsequently Petre, the two anonymous clerks previously identified as clerks A and B, Yetsweirt and one of the clerks of the privy council, Mason. Of the extant conciliar correspondence there does not appear to be any drafts in the hand of either Honnyngs or Chaloner. It should therefore be immediately apparent that the same individuals who drafted royal correspondence were responsible for conciliar letters.

The evidence suggests that responsibility for drafting was a flexible process-whoever was available to do the work did so and that no strict rota was observed. This was reflected in the fact that a number of hands might be present in one draft or series of drafts.¹³⁶ However, it is also apparent that when Paget was in the country he dominated the drafting process and worked particularly closely with Yetsweirt and Mason. For example in spring 1545 Paget went to the Imperial court.¹³⁷ Unsurprisingly, during this six week period the focus of drafting conciliar correspondence was

¹³⁴ Paget to Wriothesley, 27 June 1541, PRO, SP 1/166, fos. 73r-74v.

¹³⁵ See also David Starkey, 'Tudor government: the facts?', *Historical Journal*, 31 (1988), p. 924. By implication Starkey concurs with this since he explains that when the privy council met in star chamber it was effectively a '*dies non*' for the clerk.

¹³⁶ Privy council (draft) to Chamberlain, 1 April 1544, PRO, SP 1/185, fos. 70r-72v. The beginning of this is drafted by clerk B, the second half is in Petre's hand and it is corrected by Paget; privy council (draft) to privy council in Boulogne, 4 October 1544, PRO, SP 1/193, fos. 22r-23v, drafted by Petre, corrected by Paget.

¹³⁷ He left London 20-24 February and returned on 10 April.

Petre, assisted primarily by clerk B and, to a much lesser extent, Mason.¹³⁸ Once Paget returned, though, his influence predominated, working closely with Mason and Yetsweirt. This is reflected in the correspondence of the subsequent months.¹³⁹ When Paget was in the country Petre seems to have taken something of a back seat and Petre's involvement in the drafting process is only really apparent in Paget's absence. This trend is further confirmed by looking at the arrangement during the regency council from July-October 1544. Paget went with Henry to France and the correspondence from the privy council attendant on the king demonstrates the close working relationship again of Paget, Mason and Yetsweirt.¹⁴⁰ In fact, when Paget had to leave Mason for a

¹³⁸ Privy council (draft) to Shrewsbury, 22 February 1545, PRO, SP 1/198, fos. 152r-153v, Petre's hand; privy council draft to Paget, 25 February 1545, PRO, SP 1/198, fos. 170r-172v, Petre's hand; privy council (draft) to Paget and Wotton, 5 March 1545, PRO, SP 1/198, fos. 221r-232v, drafted by clerk B, corrected by Petre; privy council (draft) to Poynings, 7 March 1545, PRO, SP 1/198, fos. 243r-244v, drafted by Petre and Mason; privy council (draft) to Paget and Wotton, 8 March 1545, PRO, SP 1/198, fos. 245r-251v, drafted by clerk B, corrected by Petre; privy council (draft) to Paget and Wotton, 13 March 1545, PRO, SP 1/199, fos. 23r-24v, drafted by clerk B, corrected by Petre; privy council (draft) to Paget and Wotton, 16 March 1545, PRO, SP 1/199, fos. 29r-36v, drafted by clerk B, corrected by Petre; privy council (draft) to Poynings, 18 March 1545, PRO, SP 1/199, fos. 57r-62v, drafted by clerk B, corrected by Petre; privy council (draft) to Paget, 21 March 1545, PRO, SP 1/199, fo. 68r-v, drafted by Petre; privy council (draft) to St John, 27 March 1545, PRO, SP 1/199, fos. 97r-98v, drafted by Petre; privy council (draft) to Paget and Wotton, 30 March 1545, PRO, SP 1/199, fos. 113r-119v, drafted by clerk B, corrected by Petre; privy council (draft) to the Bastard of Gelders, 30 March 1545, PRO, SP 1/199, fos. 121r-122v, drafted by clerk B, corrected by Petre; privy council (draft) to Harvel, 30 March 1545, PRO, SP 1/199, fos. 123r-128v, drafted by clerk B, corrected by Petre; privy council (draft) to Bucler, 30 March 1545, PRO, SP 1/199, fos. 129r-135v, drafted by clerk B; privy council (draft) to Shrewsbury, [?] April 1545, PRO, SP 1/199, fos. 161r-162v, drafted by Petre; privy council (draft) to Poynings, 8 April 1545, PRO, SP 1/199, fos. 212-217v, drafted by clerk B, corrected by Petre.

¹³⁹ Privy council (draft) to Cheyne, 27 April 1545, PRO, SP 1/200, fos. 76r-77v, drafted by Paget; privy council (draft) to Shrewsbury, 28 April 1545, PRO, SP 1/200, fos. 91r-93v, drafted by Mason, corrected by Paget; privy council (draft) to Wotton and Carne, 28 April 1545, PRO, SP 1/200, fos. 94r-99v, drafted by Mason, corrected by Paget; privy council (draft) to Carne, 28 April 1545, PRO, SP 1/200, fo. 100r-v, drafted by Yetsweirt, corrected by Paget; privy council (draft) to Wotton, 4 May 1545, PRO, SP 1/200, fos. 156-162v, drafted by Yetsweirt, concluding two paragraphs and corrections by Paget; privy council (draft) to Bucler, 12 May 1545, PRO, SP 1/201, fos. 22r-24v, drafted by Yetsweirt, corrected by Paget; privy council (draft) to Poynings, 26 May 1545, PRO, SP 1/201, fos. 140r-142v, drafted by Paget; privy council (draft) to Richmond Herald, 26 May 1545, PRO, SP 1/201, fos. 143r-144v, drafted by Paget; privy council (draft) to Thirlby, 29 May 1545, PRO, SP 1/201, fos. 159r-161v, drafted by Paget; privy council (draft) to Thirlby, 2 June 1545, PRO, SP 1/201, fos. 197r-198v, drafted and corrected by Paget; privy council (draft) to Thirlby, 23 June 1545, PRO, SP 1/202, fos. 155r-160v, drafted by Yetsweirt, corrected by Paget; privy council (draft) to Thirlby, 23 June 1545, PRO, SP 1/202, fos. 162r-165v, drafted by Paget; privy council (draft) to Wotton, 2 July 1545, PRO, SP 1/203, fos. 27r-44v, drafted by Yetsweirt, corrected by Paget.

¹⁴⁰ Privy council with the king (draft) to Norfolk, 24 July 1544, PRO, SP 1/190, fos. 137r-138v, drafted by Paget; privy council with the king (draft) to Norfolk, 28 July 1544, PRO, SP 1/190, fos. 195r-197r, drafted by Paget; privy council with the king (draft) to privy council with the queen, 5 August 1544, PRO, SP 1/191, fos. 44r-45v, drafted by Paget; privy council with the king (draft) to Norfolk, 10 August 1544, PRO, SP 1/191, fos. 72r-v, drafted by Paget; privy council with the king (draft) to Norfolk, 15 August 1544, PRO, SP 1/191, fos. 98r-99v, drafted by Mason; privy council with the king to privy council with the queen, 5 September 1544, PRO, SP 1/192, fos. 18r-19v, drafted by Mason; privy council with the king

few days in early September to negotiate with the French the hard-pressed clerk of the privy council nearly crumbled under the weight of work. As he explained in a letter back to his colleague Honnyngs, 'I have no les to wright being by reason of Mr Secretaries absence more troubled then my nature can well endure'.¹⁴¹ Petre held the fort for the regency council. He drafted most of its letters and the secretarial process revolved around him.¹⁴²

Though the pattern is not rigid the extant correspondence indicates that the secretary tended to be involved in the early stage of the drafting process. Often, where we have two drafts of the same letter, or the first draft and the letter which was actually sent, the first draft tends to be in the hand of one of the secretaries and the second draft in the hand of a clerk.¹⁴³ This broadly conforms to later practice in the 1570s and 1580s, when the household clerks of the secretary drew up the draft letters and these were completed, after approval by the secretary and the privy council, by the

to privy council with the queen, 8 September 1544, PRO, SP 1/192, fos. 45r-46v, drafted by Mason; privy council with the king to privy council with the queen, 14 September 1544, PRO, SP 1/192, fo. 79r-v, drafted by Mason; privy council with the king to privy council with the queen, 19 September 1544, PRO, SP 1/192, fos. 113r-114v; privy council with the king to privy council with the queen, 22 September 1544, PRO, SP 1/192, fos. 144r-145v, drafted by Mason; privy council with the king to privy council with the queen, 23 September 1544, PRO, SP 1/192, fo. 154r-v, drafted by Paget; privy council with the king to privy council with the queen, 26 September 1544, PRO, SP 1/192, fos. 197r-198v, drafted by Mason; privy council with the king to privy council with the queen, 26 September 1544, PRO, SP 1/192, fos. 199r-200v, drafted by Paget; privy council with the king (draft) to Norfolk, 26 September 1544, PRO, SP 1/192, fos. 201r-205v, drafted by Yetsweirt, corrected and last paragraph drafted by Paget.

¹⁴¹ Mason to Honnyngs, 11 September 1544, PRO, SP 1/192, fo. 63r.

¹⁴² Privy council with the queen to Paget, 20 July 1544, PRO, SP 1/190, fos. 89r-90v, drafted by Petre; privy council with the queen to privy council with the king, 21 July 1544, PRO, SP 1/190, fos. 108r-109v, drafted by Petre; privy council with queen to privy council with the king, 25 July 1544, PRO, SP 1/190, fos. 158r-159v, drafted by Petre; privy council with the queen to privy council with the king, 1 September 1544, PRO, SP 1/191, fos. 224r-225v, drafted by Petre; privy council with the queen to privy council with the king, 5 September 1544, PRO, SP 1/192, fos. 16r-17v, drafted by Petre; privy council with the queen to privy council with the king, 6 September 1544, PRO, SP 1/192, fos. 28r-29v, drafted by Petre; privy council with the queen to privy council with the king, 7 September 1544, PRO, SP 1/192, fos. 38r-39v, drafted by Petre; privy council with the queen to privy council with the king, 9 September 1544, PRO, SP 1/192, fos. 53r-54v, drafted by Petre; privy council with the queen to privy council with the king, 15 September 1544, PRO, SP 1/192, fos. 84r-85v, drafted by Petre; privy council with the queen to privy council with the king, 16 September 1544, PRO, SP 1/192, fo. 98r, drafted by Petre; privy council with the queen to privy council with the king, 22 September 1544, PRO, SP 1/192, fo. 141r-v, drafted by Petre; privy council with the queen to privy council with the king, 22 September 1544, PRO, SP 1/192, fos. 142r-143v, drafted by Petre; privy council with the queen to privy council with the king, 24 September 1544, PRO, SP 1/192, fos. 159r-160v, drafted by Petre; privy council with the queen to privy council with the king, 28 September 1544, PRO, SP 1/193, fos. 6r-7v, drafted by Petre.

¹⁴³ There is no evidence of the kind of formularies that Beale kept later in the century with which to compose council letters, Taviner, 'Robert Beale', pp. 131-135. However, evidence from Godsolve's register, PRO, DL 42/133, fos. 3r-16v, that signet clerks kept precedents suggests that the practice was familiar to the Henrican secretariat.

clerks of the privy council.¹⁴⁴ In the 1540s though, the system was more flexible and it was not uncommon for original letters (the final draft) to be penned by one of the secretaries. The final drafts of conciliar letters bore the signatures of those privy councillors present at court or in a meeting at the council board. It was those signatures which gave authority to the correspondence. It is likely that the job of getting privy councillors to pen their signature, and the despatch of the letters, devolved to the secretary and the clerks of the privy council, as it did later in the century.¹⁴⁵

Unlike the drafting of conciliar correspondence, in which the secretary and the clerk of the privy council collaborated, keeping and making the entries in the council registers seems to have been the exclusive preserve of the privy council clerks. According to the very first entry in the series in August 1540:

there shuld be a clerk attendant upon the sayde Counsaill to writte entre and registre all such decrees determinacons *lettres* and other such thinges as he shuld be appoynted to entre in a booke, to remayne alwayes as a leger, aswell for the dischargde of the sayde counsallors touching such thinges as they shuld passe from tyme to tyme, as alsoo for a memoriall unto them of their owne procedinges.¹⁴⁶

What was the process by which these books were kept? Modern commentators who have looked at the council registers have made the distinction between 'rough' and 'fair' books.¹⁴⁷ According to Caesar the registers, 'greate faire paper bookes', were kept at Whitehall until the fire of 1619, which destroyed many, if not most of them.¹⁴⁸ However, despite the destruction of the 'fair books' wrought in 1619, with a few exceptions, council registers throughout the 1540-1603 period are extant. This is because in addition to the fair copies, rough working books were also kept. In theory the difference between the 'rough' and the 'fair' books is straightforward. The fair books can be distinguished by a number of means.¹⁴⁹ Firstly, the fair registers were pre-bound books, of a single paper-stock, into which were copied, at a later date, the entries from the rough books. Further,

¹⁴⁴ Taviner, 'Robert Beale', p. 129.

¹⁴⁵ By the 1570s and 1580s this was one of the key roles of the clerk of the privy council, Taviner, 'Robert Beale', p. 129.

¹⁴⁶ *PPC*, vii, p. 4. Caesar's comments in 1625 demonstrate that the purpose of the registers remained essentially the same in the intervening 80 years, BL Additional MS. 34324, fo. 239r.

¹⁴⁷ E.R. Adair, 'The privy council registers', *English Historical Review*, 30 (1915), pp. 698-704; E.R. Adair, 'The rough copies of the privy council registers', *English Historical Review*, 36 (1923), pp. 411-422; Taviner, 'Robert Beale', pp. 136-140.

¹⁴⁸ BL Additional MS. 34324, fo. 239r.

¹⁴⁹ This is discussed in greater detail in Taviner, 'Robert Beale', pp. 137-138.

because the entries were made retrospectively, they are regular, often in the hand of a single clerk, and, importantly, the signatures of the councillors are copies. Adair argued that only four extant registers conformed to this model.¹⁵⁰ Presumably these were the only four to be rescued from the fire in 1619. In contrast, the model for 'rough' registers is very different. These comprise sheets of paper used by the clerk who happened to be attendant on the council at that particular meeting or for a particular period. These were then subsequently bound together to form a 'rough' register. The qualities of a pre-bound book (a single hand and paper stock) are therefore notably absent.

The registers between 1540-1547 conform to neither model. Instead, all three registers might reasonably be termed 'working fair registers'.¹⁵¹ The first register covers the period 10 August 1540 to 7 October 1541.¹⁵² Analysis of the paper-stock indicates that one type is used throughout, with a single watermark and no insertions from another paper-stock, suggesting that this was a pre-bound book into which entries were made.¹⁵³ Throughout most of this period Paget was clerk, and unsurprisingly his hand predominates. The initial entries are carefully penned in a secretary hand (fos. 1-24). Thereafter a combination of Paget's distinctive rough hand and the hands of various clerks predominate.¹⁵⁴ This suggests that, when clerk of the privy council, Paget along with his own clerks drafted the entries into the register contemporaneously with the council meetings. Equally, although Paget's hand is the most frequent, the incidence of other hands indicates that Paget delegated and frequently employed his clerks.

The second register indicates that Mason operated in a rather different way.¹⁵⁵ Again there is only one paper-stock, suggesting this was a pre-bound volume, but Mason's hand dominates to a far greater extent than Paget's does in the previous volume. From the first entry in the second register in his hand on 8 October 1541 until the last entry on 22 July 1543, there are very few other hands present. Indeed, between 8 October 1541 (fo. 266) and 1 June 1542 (fo. 344) no other hand is

¹⁵⁰ Adair, 'The rough copies', p. 415; these are now PRO, PC 2/4 (19 April 1550-15 June 1553), PRO, PC 2/7 (22 August 1553-30 December 1557), PRO, PC 2/10 (24 May 1570-March 1576), PRO, PC 2/11 (15 April 1576-4 August 1577).

¹⁵¹ PRO, PC 2/1, covers the period 10 August 1540-22 July 1543. However, this volume is in fact two separate books later rebound together. The register(s) between 23 July 1543-9 May 1545 is missing. BL Additional MS. 5476, covers 10 May 1545-26 January 1547.

¹⁵² PRO, PC 2/1, fos. 1-265 (foliation in ink at the top of each page).

¹⁵³ The closest match is Briquet 9667 (Arras 1539/Paris 1541).

¹⁵⁴ This is until the last entries, PRO, PC 2/1, fos. 257-265 (28 September-7 October 1541), when Mason took over from Paget when the latter left for France.

¹⁵⁵ PRO, PC 2/1, fos. 266-530.

present.¹⁵⁶ As with Paget's register the entries were probably made at the same time as the meetings, but Mason placed virtually no reliance on his own clerks. The register was very much his responsibility and bears his mark. There was certainly no concept of the rota system employed later in the century.¹⁵⁷ Equally, Honnyngs, the other clerk of the council, is as conspicuously absent in the register as he is in the process of drafting conciliar correspondence.

In terms of its construction the final register exhibits the same qualities as the first two registers. A single watermark is present throughout and there are no insertions from another paper source.¹⁵⁸ Again this is a pre-bound volume into which entries were penned, but the register reveals that the recording process continued to evolve. Between May and November 1545 Mason's is still the predominant hand, though in comparison to the previous register he seems to have made greater use of clerks by 1545.¹⁵⁹ For example, if one looks at the period 10 May-28 August, between 10 May (fo. 3r)-26th May (fo. 12r), Mason's hand predominates, with only a few additional entries to Mason's minutes in another hand (fo. 3v, fo. 4r-v, fo. 5v, fo. 10r-v, fo. 11r-v.), which suggests that here he was working with a clerk. Between 27 May and 3 June (fos. 13r-19r) another hand is present. On 3 June Mason's hand returns and predominates until 26 June (fos. 19v-35v), interspersed with additions in another hand (fo. 20r, fo. 21r, fo. 22r, fo. 23r-v, fo. 24r-v, fo. 35r). Between 28 June and 19 July (fos. 36r-42r) another hand predominates, though Mason's hand does appear on the meeting for 2 July (fo. 38r), and 13 July (fo. 41r).¹⁶⁰ Between 19 July and 28 July (fos. 42r-50r), when the court was at Portsmouth, Mason's hand is present on entries for most days with another hand. Between 29 July and 21 August (fos. 50v-58r) Mason's is the sole hand except for the entry for 18 August (fos. 57v-58r). There is no apparent regular pattern to these entries, and no obvious rota system. What is clear is that Mason was still the clerk responsible for the register, but he delegated more work to his clerks. Significantly, after 9 November 1545, Mason's hand is entirely absent from the register. A week later, though, on 16 November 1545, the grant

¹⁵⁶ For the rest of the register the only entries not in Mason's hand are found on PRO, PC 2/1, fos. 344-346, 384-386, 409-410, 447-448, 460-461, 473, 474, 526.

¹⁵⁷ Taviner, 'Robert Beale', pp. 139-143.

¹⁵⁸ BL Additional MS. 5476. 'P' watermark (similar to Briquet 8653, Rotterdam 1532, it is therefore a close match to the paper used in PRO, DL 42/133, fos. 1-245, Godsalue's register). This watermark is present throughout, including that portion of the volume used as the Henrican register (10 May 1545-26 January 1547), fos. 1r-320v., and the section at the end used as a register of Edwardian conciliar letters, fos. 321r-367v.

¹⁵⁹ BL Additional MS. 5476, fos. 3r-85v.

¹⁶⁰ During this period, though, meetings are only recorded for 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9 (two meetings), 13 July. It marks the period when the privy council went with Henry to Portsmouth.

making Chaloner a clerk of the council was delivered into chancery.¹⁶¹ The chronology suggests that some kind of reorganisation took place amongst the three clerks and that Mason's custody of the registers devolved to another clerk, possibly Chaloner. The palaeographical evidence from the register is ambiguous, since the entries covering the last 14 months are essentially a confusing mish-mash of various hands in which it is difficult to discern any real pattern.

The drafting of conciliar letters and the keeping of registers were not the only roles that devolved to the clerks of the council. More generally a variety of tasks might be given to the clerks to enable the privy council to expedite its business. At a most basic level the clerk might be used as a messenger to convey news or instructions from the council board to interested parties, like the lord chancellor or a foreign ambassador.¹⁶² This role as a conduit seems to have been particularly common in financial matters. We have seen how clerks of the signet were occasionally used to convey monies from a financial department to the intended recipient. This role often fell to the clerks of the council. In April 1543 a council warrant was sent to the treasurer of augmentations, Sir Edward North, to deliver to Honnyngs £100, 'to be employed as shall be to him appoynted by thre of the Privye Cownsell by theyre warrant for provision off the warres'.¹⁶³ Most frequently, though, this was Chaloner's job. Indeed, as early as May 1545, more than six months before he was officially appointed a clerk of the privy council, Chaloner was delivering money from Wymond Carew, treasurer of first fruits and tenths to mercenaries sent to the North.¹⁶⁴ Until the end of the reign Chaloner was an important conduit between the privy council and the financial departments.¹⁶⁵

Equally, in the context of the council's function as a judicial body, a board of arbitration, the clerk of the privy council had a role to play. On some issues of dispute the council would remit the whole matter to the clerk and wait on his investigation before reaching a decision. In December 1545 Mason, along with Dr John Oliver, was instructed to examine a dispute between a certain Emerson and a group of French merchants and report his findings to the council.¹⁶⁶ In the same month Chaloner reported to the council on the issues at dispute between a Mr Vaughan and James

¹⁶¹ PRO, SP 4/1, fo. 67; C82/845, 16 November 1545.

¹⁶² APC, i, pp. 86, 275, 310; CSP *Spanish 1543*, p. 445, CSP *Spanish 1545-1546*, p. 500.

¹⁶³ APC, i, p. 123.

¹⁶⁴ APC, i, p. 166

¹⁶⁵ APC, i, pp. 172, 184, 192, 335, 356, 367, 379, 387, 476, 542, 565.

¹⁶⁶ APC, i, p. 292.

Bulstred.¹⁶⁷ This might lead to clerks examining suspected felons or holding them in custody for the council. At the end of December 1545, a Spaniard suspected of bringing counterfeit letters, Don Petro de Pacheco, was committed to be held at Mason's house for a week while the council deliberated on the case.¹⁶⁸

Thus the clerk of the council was a facilitator. His role was not narrowly defined, but rather he undertook various tasks, which enabled privy councillors to administer their duties efficiently. He acted as a focus for the activity of individual councillors and was often the interface between the privy council as a corporate body and the wider world beyond in the form of ambassadors, financial departments and individuals who had fallen foul of the council. Nevertheless two key areas, the keeping of the register and the drafting of conciliar correspondence, figure as the predominant areas of responsibility.

What is particularly striking about this analysis of the secretariat is the degree to which the system relied on Paget himself. In the drafting of royal and conciliar correspondence and in the expedition of conciliar business Paget's role was central. In this context the need for two secretaries by the 1540s, the one to act as a substitute in the absence of the other, becomes very apparent. This serves to underscore the extreme demands placed upon secretaries and reiterates Vaughan's comments about the pressures of the job. The division of labour within the office is also suggestive. A small circle around Paget, notably Petre, Yetsweirt and Mason, dealt with the business of drafting correspondence, which necessarily revealed to them the secret and sensitive process of policy-making. In contrast, important but more mundane and routine work seems to have devolved to less intimate colleagues, like Honnyngs and Godsolve. More broadly, it becomes clear that the 1540s was a formative period in the evolution of the royal secretariat. Its dual focus on the person of the king and the institution of the privy council was consolidated. At the same time, although the secretariat of the 1540s was a smaller and perhaps more flexible office, the continuities between it and the organisations over which the great Elizabethan secretaries like Walsingham and Cecil presided are inescapable.

¹⁶⁷ *APC*, i, p. 281. For other similar and related instances see, *APC*, i, pp. 46, 48, 81, 86, 137-138, 148.

¹⁶⁸ *APC*, i, p. 297.

5. Policy and diplomacy 1543-1547

The last few years of Henry VIII's reign were overshadowed by the concerns of war and diplomacy. As the international situation became progressively more unstable and Europe descended into a period of protracted religious conflict, Henry had, once again, to balance his desire for prestige with security for his realm in an increasingly hostile environment. To this task Paget devoted much of his energy and, particularly after the collapse of Gardiner's Imperial policy in September 1544, he emerged as Henry's key diplomatic expert. Both when he was at home, about the king, and on his numerous embassies during 1544-1546, Paget was deeply involved in all diplomatic manoeuvres. However, whilst Paget's importance in this context is not in doubt, there is no consensus on what the secretary's role was in the formulation of policy or to what end he put his influence. S.R. Gammon argued that, whilst ultimately the willing tool of the king, Paget's preference was for an Imperial alliance.¹ In contrast Dr Redworth has suggested that in fact Paget looked to France.² Professor Potter, in his analysis of the negotiations leading to the treaty of Camp (June 1546), makes Paget the champion of peace.³ On the face of it therefore, conflict and confusion abound. In part, this stems from the difficulty of distinguishing Paget's true intentions from those of the king, and of course the nature of diplomacy, in which double-dealing and obfuscation were all part of the game. Thus the nature of the sources themselves provides many pitfalls.

What this chapter attempts to do is to look afresh at Paget's diplomatic activity. It tries to take full account of the circumstances and constraints within which he was forced to operate and in particular it seeks to take a broad view, trying to discern if there were any underlying ideas or preoccupations that guided his attitude to diplomatic questions. It begins by considering an important analysis or 'consultacon' drafted by Paget in August 1546. This document, which hitherto seems largely to have been overlooked, reveals some of Paget's fundamental concerns about England's position in Europe at the end of the reign. The focus then shifts to explain the way in which a broad consensus seems to have emerged within the privy council between 1544-1546, behind the idea that continued conflict with the French was potentially ruinous for the

¹ S.R. Gammon, *Statesman and schemer. William, first Lord Paget* (Newton Abbot, 1973), p. 53

² G. Redworth, *In defence of the church catholic. The life of Stephen Gardiner* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 220-222.

³ D.L. Potter, 'Diplomacy in the mid-sixteenth century: England and France 1536-1550', unpublished University of Cambridge Ph.D. (1973), pp. 136, 139.

realm, and that continued occupation of Boulogne in particular, could lead to financial disaster. Having established this context the rest of the chapter turns specifically to three pivotal episodes of diplomatic activity in which Paget was involved between the peace of Crepy in 1544 and Henry's death in 1547. Whilst the focus is on diplomatic affairs, what follows should also serve to highlight issues already discussed in terms of Paget's relationship with the king and the privy council and more broadly the process of counsel and policy-formation.

I

In August 1546 Paget drew up a 'consultacon' which 'proceedeth of a care for the honor and suertie of the *kinges maiestie* and his Realme'.⁴ Before the realm stood two great dangers, that of Francis I and the problem of Boulogne and the combined threat of the pope, Paul III, in league with Charles V. To counter this Paget advised that 'it is necessarie to make us stronge both at home and abroad'.⁵ At home strength would follow from 'an establishment of an unanimitie among our selves', financial retrenchment, and an inexpensive solution to the Scottish problem. Abroad, England needed 'frendes'.⁶

Diplomacy then became the focus of Paget's advice. The obvious allies were either Francis or Charles, and yet the problems of Boulogne and the papacy respectively remained insurmountable. Moreover, neither monarch could be relied upon.⁷ What other friends could be found? Paget hit on two, the Venetians and the Schmalkaldic League. Alliance with the Venetians Paget recommended unreservedly. They were militarily and financially strong, opposed 'exceedingly thempereurs desire of a monarchie', and seemed likely to respond favourably to English overtures. Thus, 'yt wold do no hurt to our purpose if the mater might be wiselie advaunced'.⁸ The Schmalkaldic League, though, required a more considered analysis. By August 1546 there were strong arguments against such an alliance. Already at war with Charles, this would draw England into a costly conflict, thus seriously damaging any attempt at financial recovery. Even worse, though, it seemed to invite a united front of Francis, Charles

⁴ Appendix 3, p. 304.

⁵ Appendix 3, p. 304.

⁶ Appendix 3, p. 304.

⁷ Appendix 3, p. 304.

⁸ Appendix 3, p. 305.

and Pope Paul III to turn on England. Yet standing aside presented other dangers. Francis I might assert his hegemony over the protestants in Germany, join with Suleiman the Magnificent, defeat Charles and England would be left exposed. Equally, if Charles's war against the League was successful he would be able to turn first to the long-standing obsession, Milan, and then to England.⁹ In the Europe of August 1546 there were two nightmare scenarios that could arise from the emerging confessional war. Either Charles and Francis might unite to become England's enemy, or one could inflict such a defeat on the other that either monarch might enjoy European hegemony. Sooner or later such a power would inevitably turn its hostility to England.

Paget's solution to this situation was two-fold. The only real answer was to bring Charles and the German protestants to an agreement, 'and this done shulde be a great staie to Christendome, and beinge done by us shulde be a great suertie to or selves'.¹⁰ If this failed, 'then remaine we still in our former feare'. The last resort would be to batten-down the hatches, 'worke indelaydely our strength at home', and try to find allies where possible.¹¹ The Venetians would be approached and also the protestants, though Paget advised that in considering the League it was material to reflect on what military assistance it might actually furnish.¹²

Paget's 1546 consultation is a remarkable document. It is a unique record of Henry's chief diplomatic expert thinking through the international situation in a measured and detached way, and demonstrates his grasp of England's position in the European context. It was an understanding characterised by anxiety. Paget was well aware of England's fundamental weakness. Part of this was due to the size of the kingdom and its relative financial disadvantage. In the recent past Wolsey had had the dilemma of trying to deliver a seat at the top-table of European diplomacy for his demanding king, with resources greatly inferior to both Charles and Francis. However, since the break from Rome there was no longer the possibility, should Henry have chosen it, of opting out of European affairs. In a Europe dividing along confessional lines, England was a target. This fact had underpinned much of Cromwell's policy. It had forced him to look to new allies amongst the protestant princes. It also explains his massive programme of military fortifications in the late 1530s and the accumulation of a war-chest out of the dissolution of the monasteries. Paget of course had been

⁹ Appendix 3, p. 305.

¹⁰ Appendix 3, p. 306.

¹¹ Appendix 3, p. 306.

intimately involved in Cromwell's diplomacy and the consultation illustrates his appreciation of England's vulnerability. Some respite had been achieved in the early 1540s and the Imperial alliance briefly seemed to guarantee England's security. It was, though, not a long-term solution, as the treaty of Crepy (September 1544) had made abundantly clear.

Paget was well aware that a Europe descending into protracted religious conflict was England's worst nightmare. To that one might add his deep suspicion of both Francis and Charles. By 1546 Paget had bitter experience of the dissembling nature of both kings, and he argued that 'little faith to be geven to any of their promises (when the breche of the same may serve their purpose) as we have cause to be at the point of despaire to finde any frendship in either of them longer then they maye not chose'.¹³ This duplicity would only be exacerbated by religious conflict, and Paget anyway suspected that Charles was bent on establishing a European 'monarchie'.¹⁴ As for Francis, only two months after the treaty of Camp (June 1546), which Paget had himself negotiated and which had yet to be formally ratified, Paget recognised it for what it was; a temporary expedient determined by the financial necessity of both kings.¹⁵ Boulogne was still unfinished business and remained so until 1550.

In the long run, therefore, England's 'feare' could only be assuaged by one of two solutions. One was articulated in the consultation, the reconciliation between Charles and the League. The other, not mentioned in the consultation, but being actively pursued in August 1546, was some form of reconciliation between Henry and the pope. Nevertheless, Paget still spoke the language of reform and articulated the fundamental antipathy of the Henrican establishment to the papacy. Musing on the prospect of a breach between Charles and the pope, it would only come about 'by reformacon of his [Charles V's] conscience to be moved therto by goddes word'.¹⁶ 'The Bysshop of Rome', Paget argued, remained 'ardently inflamed to recover agayne his usurped power and tyranny over this realme'.¹⁷

The 1546 consultation does not provide a key to unlock all of Paget's diplomatic secrets, but it does offer a useful framework in which to interpret his attitude to the international situation,

¹² Appendix 3, p. 306.

¹³ Appendix 3, p. 304.

¹⁴ Appendix 3, p. 305.

¹⁵ Appendix 3, p. 304.

¹⁶ Appendix 3, p. 304.

¹⁷ Appendix 3, p. 304.

not just in 1546, but in the last years of the reign generally.¹⁸ The kingdom was fundamentally weak, not least financially. This necessitated peace in the short term. In the long term, the untrustworthy nature of Charles and Francis and England's vulnerable position in a Europe divided on confessional grounds meant that a broader European peace could only be in England's interest. Nevertheless, as a true Henrican, and one whose career and personal wealth had been based on the break from Rome, Paget's enduring hostility to the papacy remained. This antipathy was also founded on a real, if moderate, commitment to some form of evangelical reform.

II

Paget's sense of England's vulnerability was, though, not unique. In particular, his appreciation of the need for peace was shared by Stephen Gardiner, revealed in his letters to Paget in the winter of 1545-1546.¹⁹ Writing from his embassy to the Imperial court to secure peace, Gardiner's letters provide a window into his view of the diplomatic situation, no less than Paget's consultation, and like Paget's consultation they reflect considerable anxiety about

¹⁸ Equally, many of these themes are present in his critiques directed to Somerset during the protectorate.

¹⁹ It has been argued, in two articles by Ben Lowe, that by the 1540s a language of peace had emerged which informed and in part conditioned the responses of mid-Tudor governors to the conflicts of that decade, Ben Lowe, 'War and the commonwealth in mid-Tudor England', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 21 (1990), pp. 171-191; Ben Lowe, 'Peace discourse and mid-Tudor foreign policy', in P.A. Fideler and T.F. Mayer (eds.), *Political thought and the Tudor commonwealth* (London, 1992), pp. 108-139. According to Lowe, the French wars of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and the internal breakdown occasioned by Henry VI's reign saw the emergence of a new political vocabulary that expounded the virtues of peace. This theme was then developed by early sixteenth century humanists, both by continental scholars whose influence in England was profound, like Desiderus Erasmus and Juan Luis Vives, and by Englishmen like John Colet, Thomas More and Richard Pace. The writings and orations of these humanists certainly testify to their concern for peace and Pace's oration at the treaty of Universal Peace in 1518 provides a neat convergence of ideology and policy. These sentiments were enduring. They coloured the duke of Somerset's appeals to the Scots in 1548 as well as the writings of prominent Edwardians like John Hales and William Thomas. Lowe has sought to fit Paget and Gardiner, on the basis of their 1545 correspondence, into this 'humanist' scheme. The problem with this, particularly in Paget's case, is that the evidence for his advocacy of peace is based not on humanist writings, but on letters which are concerned with political realities. This is not to say that Paget's advocacy of peace did not owe something to his 'humanist' credentials, but that on the basis of the extant evidence it seems impossible to demonstrate convincingly. For this reason the following discussion focuses on peace as a pragmatic response to diplomatic and domestic necessity, which is what the correspondence reveals.

England's position. Gardiner's longest disquisition was written to Paget on 13 November.²⁰ By his own admission Gardiner wrote it when he was 'al Malencoly and had no remedy but mak a publication in a *lettre*', and for this reason he told Paget to throw it in the fire when he had read it.²¹ Yet it is of interest precisely because it articulates Gardiner's worst fears. 'I am very moche troubled *with* the state of our affayres', he begins,

I consider that we be in warre *with* fraunce and Scotland We have an enemyte *with* the bishop of Rome We have no friendship assured here We have receyved such displeasour of the Lansgrave chief captayne of the protestantes that he hath cause to think we be angrye *with* hym Our warre is noysom to the welth of our owne Realme and it *is* so noysom to *al* marchauntes that must trafique by us and passe the narowe sees as they crye out here wonderfully her*with* we see at hom a gret apparaunce of lak of such things as the continuance of warre necessarily requireth²²

Thus diplomatic isolation and financial necessity, compounded by the damage to trade, cried out for peace. Yet, 'whenne to put awaye this warre we shewe ourself content to tak a peace we maye have it but soo miserable to saye truth as the french men offre it that therby the kinges *maiesties* noble courage shuld be soo touched as we ought to feare the daunguer of his person'.²³ Recalling their performance of *Miles Gloriosus*, this was a dilemma that even the cunning Paestrio would find difficult to resolve.²⁴ A dishonourable peace which led to a decline in the physical and mental health of the king, thus ushering-in Edward's minority, 'shuld be more ruine to the Realme thenne any warre could engendre'.²⁵ To the prospect of an honourable peace, held out by the mediation of the Emperor, Gardiner opined, 'I think it but a vayne hope that themperor wyl eclarisye and accomplish the treatie as we wold have it'.²⁶ Indeed, Gardiner feared that Francis and Charles might reach agreement, which would further undermine England's position. Predictably Gardiner criticised contacts with the protestants on a variety of grounds and his traditional antipathy towards the French was given full vent.²⁷ Thus peace and

²⁰ Gardiner to Paget, 13 November 1545, PRO, SP 1/210, fos. 128r-131v.

²¹ Gardiner to Paget, 14 November 1545, PRO, SP 1/210, fo. 140r.

²² Gardiner to Paget, 13 November 1545, PRO, SP 1/210, fo. 128r.

²³ Gardiner to Paget, 13 November 1545, PRO, SP 1/210, fo. 128r-v. Gardiner added that any peace reached with the French which required payment by them might simply be ignored by them, evidenced by their actions in the recent past, or indeed rendered void by a future general council of the church.

²⁴ Gardiner to Paget, 13 November 1545, PRO, SP 1/210, fos. 128v-129r.

²⁵ Gardiner to Paget, 13 November 1545, PRO, SP 1/210, fo. 129r.

²⁶ Gardiner to Paget, 13 November 1545, PRO, SP 1/210, fo. 129v.

²⁷ Gardiner to Paget, 13 November 1545, PRO, SP 1/210, fos. 129v-130r. Of Francis I, Gardiner observed, 'howe hath *he* stirred the worlde for myllayn and let us certaynly lok that he wyl move against us as moch as may be not *with* directe force and yet bayard said oones that the french king might tomble the yerth over Bolen'.

war threatened the fabric of the realm in different ways, yet these were the only two options. Regrettably, ‘there is noo thirde waye ye saye truth and the other two wayes wherof oon must nedes ^be^ soo terrible to advise in as I think no man dare speke on this or that side if he have noo better stomake thenne I have’. ‘And thus be thinges entangled thus we be in a labyrinth Every thing that wer good to be doon hath an overthwaite matier annexed unto it’.²⁸ In his melancholy mood Gardiner could find no solution to the desperate diplomatic situation, and trusted to the wisdom of the king.

In the course of his embassy Gardiner vacillated over the basic problem outlined in his letter, that is how to make peace on honourable terms, the key to which was of course the fate of Boulogne. Only a week before he had written to Paget that Henry could leave Boulogne with honour and in so doing could secure peace.²⁹ Later in the embassy he argued more vehemently that Boulogne should be surrendered in the interests of peace, even if it was at the cost of some honour. However, what is striking is the common ground that Paget and Gardiner shared in their analysis of the problems facing the realm and in their solutions.³⁰ Anxiety and ‘feare’ for the condition of the realm characterises both analyses, as do suspicion of the motives of both Charles and Francis. It is significant that whatever Gardiner’s predilection for an Imperial alliance, which has traditionally been taken as his principal diplomatic concern, he still placed little faith in the Imperial party in times of difficulty. In fact, both Paget and Gardiner shared a fear of diplomatic isolation. At the same time, they recognised the need for unity at home. This was expressed by Paget in his consultation.³¹ Gardiner echoed this in a letter to him at the beginning of 1546. Paget had sent to Gardiner an account of Henry’s speech to parliament at the end of 1545, to which Gardiner replied:

I thank youe hartely for yor newes and specially of the kinges *Maiesties* oration to the comens which must nedes be pleasaunt to evre honest harte And if the peace and unite may be made at hom as the kinges *Maiestie* exhorted al other outward peaces may be the lesse to be cared for³²

Equally, the disorder caused by general European wars, and particularly religious conflicts, is another issue upon which both were agreed. At the end of November Gardiner recounted to Paget a conversation he had had with the duke of Arschot, in which the duke had, ‘told me of

²⁸ Gardiner to Paget, 13 November 1545, PRO, SP 1/210, fo. 131r.

²⁹ Gardiner to Paget, 7 November 1545, PRO, SP 1/210, fos. 51r- 52v.

³⁰ Potter, equally, makes the point that ‘Paget’s strategic analysis is very close to Gardiner’s’, Potter, ‘Diplomacy in the mid-sixteenth century’, pp. 138-139, n. 3.

³¹ Appendix 3, p. 304.

³² Gardiner to Paget, 2 January 1546, PRO, SP 1/213, fo. 16r-v.

the losenes of the worlde by thes warres adding that if the princes of the worlde doo not shortly extincte warre and begynne to lyve in ther reputacon *without* necessite of the *service* of the lewde lower sorte by waye of necessite it is to be feared lest the lower parte by Insolencie shal attempt grette things'.³³ This was precisely the language Paget was to use in his most vehement critique of Somerset's protectorate. Weakness of the governing class combined with 'insolence' of the 'lower sort', particularly if spurred by religious dissension led straight to disorder and the collapse of 'all just society'.³⁴ This was also Henry's language to the House of Commons in 1545. Gardiner and Paget were agreed that peace and unity at home and abroad were crucial for the preservation of the realm.

A key factor, which underpinned their thoughts, was their intimate awareness of the kingdom's increasing financial problems, particularly by the end of 1545. The need for financial retrenchment was evident in Paget's consultation.³⁵ It is a recurrent theme in Gardiner's letters, expressed most vividly in a Cambridge reminiscence to Paget, which related directly to the expense of Boulogne. Gardiner recalled, 'there was a felowe in Cambridge wel lerned that for his pleasour maynteyned in *communication* this paradoxe that encrease of worldly thinges mak men poore and not riche bicause euerly worldly thing hath a nede annexed unto it'.³⁶ Indeed finance preoccupied the Trinity Hall triumvirate of Paget, Gardiner and Wriothesley. By the end of Henry's reign the recent wars against France and Scotland had cost over £2 million.³⁷ It was not until Edward's reign that effective fiscal retrenchment could begin and a full financial account of the wars was calculated.³⁸ As the man responsible for administering the provisions for the French and Scottish wars Gardiner was uncomfortably aware of the expense that these enterprises engendered. Throughout the war years Paget, along with Wriothesley, was at the heart of financial affairs. At the beginning of 1544 they had surveyed the financial situation and concluded that the French campaign would cost £250,000, leaving a shortfall of £116,000, which Wriothesley suggested could be met by raising revenue through a variety of

³³ Gardiner to Paget, 26 November 1545, PRO, SP 1/211, fo. 69r.

³⁴ John Guy, *Tudor England* (Oxford, 1988), p. 210.

³⁵ Appendix 3, p. 304, 'and by gathering riches as muche as may be'.

³⁶ Gardiner to Paget, 20 November 1545, PRO, SP 1/210, fo. 200r-v.

³⁷ F.C. Dietz, *English Government Finance, 1485-1558* (Illinois, 1920), p. 147.

³⁸ This was summarised in 1552, PRO, SP 10/15, no. 11; Guy, *Tudor England*, pp. 216-217; *The Report of the Royal Commission of 1552*, ed. W.C. Richardson (Morgantown, W. Va., 1974), *passim*, esp. pp. xi-xxxvii.

extraordinary expedients.³⁹ In fact the 1544 campaign cost closer to £650,000 with the additional expense from September 1544 of maintaining Boulogne.⁴⁰

From this point Paget and Wriothesley were engaged in a constant financial struggle which involved regular projections of expenditure and the ensuing survey of potential sources of revenue. In November 1544, for example, Paget drafted a schedule of predicted expenditure from December to May that demonstrates his grasp of the situation.⁴¹ He calculated that the monthly costs of Boulogne, Calais, the Scottish borders and 'see matiers' would amount to £15,000, a total of £90,000 over the period to May. To this had to be added the cost of munitions, put at £10,000 and £4,000 for Ireland, which left a total expenditure of £104,000. When the income from the subsidy, £100,000, offset by £40,000 of debt, was added the total revenue that needed to be found was £64,000.⁴² The rest of Paget's 'discourse' was determined by this financial imperative. He argued that the parliament due to meet in February 1545 would not provide the necessary revenue (in the form of a grant) in time and thus he recommended the extra-parliamentary expedient, a benevolence, be collected.⁴³ This was in fact the policy implemented in January 1545. However, in the course of 1545 Paget's predictions were shown to be flawed. Boulogne cost more than double his monthly estimate and the cost of Hertford's invasion of Scotland in September 1545 combined with the defence measures necessitated by the French invasion meant that, as Wriothesley explained to Petre at the beginning of September 1545, the treasurers had disbursed 'sithens Michelmas last til this day above fyve hundreth and thre score thousande pound'.⁴⁴

By the autumn of 1545 the financial strain was particularly acute and the pressures are vividly reflected in Wriothesley's letters, most of which were sent to Paget. This correspondence exists because for much of the late summer and autumn, whilst Paget and the court moved between Woking, Oatlands, Chobham and Windsor, Wriothesley was in London, generally at his house in Holborn, Ely Place, from where he was co-ordinating financial administration.⁴⁵ From the

³⁹ Dietz, *Finance*, pp. 152-153. These were sale of land, sale of monastic lead, pledge of lead for foreign loans, levies on merchants, collection of debts and revenues from the mint.

⁴⁰ Dietz, *Finance*, p. 155.

⁴¹ Hatfield, Cecil MS. 36, no. 21.

⁴² Hatfield, Cecil MS. 36, no. 21; Dietz, *Finance*, p. 155.

⁴³ Hatfield, Cecil MS. 36, no. 21. Paget argued that the benevolence had the additional benefit of providing £50,000 for the period from June to November 1545; Dietz, *Finance*, pp. 155-156; P. Williams, *The Tudor regime* (Oxford, 1979), p. 65.

⁴⁴ Wriothesley to Petre, 8 September 1545, PRO, SP 1/207, fo. 107r; Dietz, *Finance*, p. 156.

⁴⁵ Between 22 August, when Wriothesley was at court at Woking, and 21 November, when the court returned to Whitehall, Wriothesley was at Ely Place apart from two brief visits to court at Windsor (17-20 September) and Oatlands (15-17 November). At Ely Place and Lincoln Place he and his

capital Wriothesley sent to the court details of income and expenditure on an almost weekly basis. Generally these were directed to Paget, who thus became the focus of all financial information which came to the court. Wriothesley understood that Paget would filter this information to the king and privy council, though occasionally the letters were addressed directly to the king, privy council or Petre. On 25 August Wriothesley promised an estimate of income and expenditure since early July through to 1 November.⁴⁶ The same day he promised Paget a statement of all expenditure in Calais, Guisnes and Boulogne since September 1544, which he sent on 27 August.⁴⁷ On 26 August Wriothesley sent another declaration of receipts and payments.⁴⁸ On 2 September he sent Sir Thomas Palmer's clerk to court to declare the account of Guisnes.⁴⁹ Three days later Wriothesley explained that he had required all the treasurers to draft accounts of total expenditure since the king returned from Boulogne, details of which he sent on 8 September.⁵⁰ Wriothesley was at court 17-19 September and although there is no indication of discussions over finances in the privy council register there can be little doubt that he brought with him more accounts to be fretted over.⁵¹ Back in the capital Wriothesley was soon sending further accounts on 27 September, 5 November and 11 November.⁵²

The frequency and content of Wriothesley's updates reveal that by autumn 1545 royal finances were a hand-to-mouth affair. On 25 August Wriothesley wrote that having 'swept the house here clene' there could be no more expenditure for the next 10 or 12 days.⁵³ Four days later he wrote to Petre explaining the backlog of payments due to be made for Boulogne.⁵⁴ On 12 September he was able to predict that the army in Scotland could be funded until 1 October,

'council', which seems to have consisted primarily of Sir John Baker (chancellor of exchequer), Sir Robert Southwell (master of the rolls), Sir Edward North (chancellor of augmentations) and Sir Thomas Moyle (one of the three general surveyors) co-ordinated the activities of the financial agencies based in the capital. They provided the link between these agencies and the court.

⁴⁶ Wriothesley to Henry VIII, 25 August 1545, PRO, SP 1/206, fo. 222v; Wriothesley to Paget, 25 August 1545, PRO, SP 1/206, fo. 224r.

⁴⁷ Wriothesley to Paget, 25 August 1545, PRO, SP 1/206, fo. 226r; Wriothesley to Paget, 27 August 1545, PRO, SP 1/207, fos. 14r-15r.

⁴⁸ Wriothesley to Paget and Petre, 26 August 1545, PRO, SP 1/206, fo. 243r.

⁴⁹ Wriothesley to Paget, 2 September 1545, PRO, SP 1/207, fo. 66r. Sir Thomas Palmer was the treasurer of Guisnes.

⁵⁰ Wriothesley to Paget and Petre, 5 September 1545, PRO, SP 1/207, fo. 95r; Wriothesley to Petre, 8 September 1545, PRO, SP 1/207, fo. 107r.

⁵¹ *APC*, i, pp. 245-247.

⁵² Wriothesley to Paget, 27 September 1545, PRO, SP 1/208, fo. 78r; Wriothesley to Paget, [5 November] 1545, PRO, SP 1/210, fo. 14r; Wriothesley to Paget, 11 November 1545, PRO, SP 1/210 fos. 72r-73r.

⁵³ Wriothesley to Paget, 25 August 1545, PRO, SP 1/206, fo. 224r.

⁵⁴ Wriothesley to Petre, 29 August 1545, PRO, SP 1/207, fo. 30r-v.

but only provided that expenditure there had not exceeded expectations too dramatically.⁵⁵ Wriothlesley regularly sent to court accounts of the money that would be expended within a few days or by the end of the week.⁵⁶ This was crisis management and unsurprisingly Wriothlesley's anxiety surfaces in correspondence. On 25 August he chastised Paget, 'if you had been as good husband in saving and skant layeng out of the money as they here have honestly travailed in the getting in of it there wold have been a greater remayn then I fynde here'.⁵⁷ A week later he wrote desperately of the need to call a parliament since 'I see not howe we shal lyve *without* some *present helpe*'.⁵⁸ By the end of September he wrote, 'God helpe us for mine owne *parte* it makethe me wery of my lief'.⁵⁹ In the first two weeks of November Wriothlesley explained to Paget he was at his wits' end and prayed, 'I wold you felt a pece [of the] care and I wene you wold not write soo [often as] you do knowing the state of thinges aswel [as I] by the declarations of the treasourours you [bid me] runne as thoughe I could make money [I would] I had that gift but for oon yere for [his] *Maiesties* sake'.⁶⁰ Paget himself was clearly under intense pressure as well. It was on 8 November that Wriothlesley wrote to him in response to the secretary's letter which, according to Wriothlesley, was so vehement that it would bred a thousand bees in a man's head.⁶¹ That letter was at least in part stimulated by a conversation between Wriothlesley and Paget at Windsor over financial affairs. Wriothlesley explained that what he said was 'partely spoken to relieve your *spirites*, whiche semed to be moche troubled with that *matier*'.⁶² Wriothlesley was at his wits' end and Paget was much troubled. They were not, though, laid quite so low as the treasurer of the chamber, Sir Brian Tuke. At the end of September he fled London because his department had no money left and within a month he was dead.⁶³ At the beginning of November Wriothlesley wrote that the new treasurer, Sir Anthony Rowse, would not find a groat left.⁶⁴

The problem was not a lack of planning or conciliar discussion. Wriothlesley makes it clear that the privy council frequently met to consider carefully the state of royal finances. He alludes to

⁵⁵ Wriothlesley to privy council, 12 September 1545, PRO, SP 1/207, fo. 158r.

⁵⁶ Wriothlesley to Paget, [22 September] 1545, PRO, SP 1/208, fo. 47r; Wriothlesley to Paget, 5 November 1545, PRO, SP 1/210, fos. 14r-15r.

⁵⁷ Wriothlesley to Paget, 25 August 1545, PRO, SP 1/206, fo. 224r.

⁵⁸ Wriothlesley to Paget, 2 September 1545, PRO, SP 1/207, fo. 66v.

⁵⁹ Wriothlesley to Paget, 27 September 1545, PRO, SP 1/208, fo. 78r.

⁶⁰ Wriothlesley to Paget, 11 November 1545, PRO, SP 1/210, fo. 72v; Wriothlesley to Paget, 8 November 1545, PRO, SP 1/210, fo. 43r.

⁶¹ For the text see above, p. 33.

⁶² Wriothlesley to Paget, 8 November 1545, PRO, SP 1/210, fo. 55r.

⁶³ Wriothlesley to Paget, 27 September 1545, PRO, SP 1/208, fo. 78r. Tuke died on 26 October.

⁶⁴ Wriothlesley to Paget, [5 November] 1545, PRO, SP 1/210, fo. 14r.

discussions at Greenwich in the summer of 1545 about the expenses for Boulogne.⁶⁵ When he went down to Portsmouth in July with details of the financial situation in London, all the councillors present were aware of the growing crisis. As he explained in a letter to the privy council, 'I have doon nothing in these money matiers alone you were all privy to the state of them bothe before and after the kinges *majestie* cam to portsmouth'.⁶⁶ The problem was that for all the discussion, as Paget's projections for December 1544-May 1545 had exemplified, the estimated expenditure was always hopelessly optimistic and was soon outstripped by the real needs. To use the metaphor frequently employed by Wriothesley, money matters could not be 'squared'. The reasons for the pressure, felt most acutely by Paget and Wriothesley, was that Paget at court constantly had to fulfil Henry's needs and he, along with the privy council, in turn required that Wriothesley find the money which simply did not exist, hence all the financial expedients. The key to it all was peace and the key to peace was Boulogne.

The privy council was well aware of this and collectively urged the king to surrender Boulogne. Over Boulogne the supposed factional divide of Henry's last years vanishes. In fact the duke of Norfolk, Paget, Gardiner, Wriothesley and, if one can believe Hussey, all the privy council urged surrender and their hostility became focused on Surrey, who wrote to Henry and fired his martial spirit, much to the council's chagrin. In September 1545 Norfolk, writing from court, warned his son, 'have yourself in await that ye animate not the King too much for the keeping of Boleyne for who so doth at length shall get small thank'. Significantly, Norfolk explained that 'Mr Paget desired me to write to you in nowise to animate the King to keep Boleyne. Upon what ground he spake it I know not, but I fear ye wrote something too much therein to somebody'.⁶⁷ If this was a gentle warning for Surrey from the king's secretary and his father, what Hussey reported to him on 6 November should have set alarm bells ringing for the earl. Hussey explained that the privy council, to a man, with Paget and Norfolk to the fore, was counselling Henry to surrender Boulogne, 'as to Boleyne every Councillor saith Away with it and the King and your lordship saith We will keep it and at the writing of this letter as I have perfect intelligence there is not remaining in the Council that dare move the rendry thereof my lord being absent who will bark in it to his dying day'.⁶⁸ The privy council was particularly

⁶⁵ Wriothesley to Petre, 29 August 1545, PRO, SP 1/207, fo. 30r. The privy council was at Greenwich from 24 May-4 July. The discussion involved consideration of costs to be borne in June, thus the meeting can be dated to the last week in May. On 30 May there was an important meeting relating to the defence of the realm on both sides of the channel. *APC*, i, pp. 174-175.

⁶⁶ Wriothesley to privy council, 14 September 1545, PRO, SP 1/207, fo. 174v.

⁶⁷ Norfolk to Surrey, 27 September 1545, PRO, SP 1/208, fo. 79r;

⁶⁸ Hussey to Surrey, 6 November 1545, PRO, SP 1/210, fos. 30r-31v. He continued explaining, 'the council had much ado to stay the king from sending over 1,500 pioneers and 3,000 men of war for

irritated by Surrey's letters to the king encouraging him to pour more resources into its defence. As Hussey counselled,

I see my lord's Grace [Norfolk] somewhat offended in seeing your private letters to the kings *maiestie* of such vehemency as touching the animating of the kings *maiestie* for the keeping of Bowleyne and in especial considering his divers letters addressed to your lordship to the which as he thinketh ye have given simple credence for what his grace and the rest of the Council worketh in for the rendry of Bowleyne and the concluding of a peace in vi days ye with your letters set back in six hours such importance be your letters in the kings opinion at this time⁶⁹

Here the interconnected issues of peace, Boulogne and finance in the collective mind of the privy council are clearly expressed. Hussey tellingly added that, 'my lord concludeth ye may by your practices sustain the same Bowlene for ii or iii months yet he thinketh it impossible that it may continue vi months forasmuch as he certainly knoweth the realm of England not possible to bear the charges of the same'.⁷⁰ Furthermore, Norfolk, like Paget, Gardiner and Wriothesley, realised that the financial strain of the war threatened ruin of the realm, since Hussey ominously reported to Surrey a comment of the duke, 'that he had rather bury you and the rest of his children before he should give his consent to the ruin of this realm'.⁷¹

Anxiety over England's diplomatic position and the concomitant desire for a cessation of hostilities was, therefore, a source of considerable unity amongst privy councillors after the peace of Crepy. Many of these fears were underpinned by concerns about England's financial position. For Dr Redworth the months immediately after the collapse of the Imperial alliance saw a reactivation of faction that had been absent since the end of 1543 in the interests of the war effort. Henry had not permitted faction to disrupt the campaign. Now though, faction resurfaced, with Henry's ministers dividing according to diplomatic preference.⁷² To the extent that Gardiner and Paget had different preferences for future alliance, this interpretation holds. However, there are several very important caveats that mitigate strongly against too factional a reading of the situation. Firstly, it again becomes clear that conservatives at Henry's court did not divide neatly along the lines of diplomatic allegiance. The other powerful conservative at

your lately devised fortress'. Paget's continued lobbying for the surrender of Boulogne is indicated where Hussey says, 'my lord [Norfolk] would have you remember the postscript of Mr Secretary's late letter to you'.

⁶⁹ Hussey to Surrey, 6 November 1545, PRO, SP 1/210, fo. 30r.

⁷⁰ Hussey to Surrey, 6 November 1545, PRO, SP 1/210, fo. 30r. Crucially, Hussey then goes on to elaborate his understanding of the financial problems, noting, 'the king is indebted above 400,000 mks. Subsidy and other practices at this Parliament will not raise £200,000'.

⁷¹ Hussey to Surrey, 6 November 1545, PRO, SP 1/210, fo. 30v.

⁷² Redworth, *In defence*, pp. 217-218.

court, Norfolk, had favoured a French rather than Imperial alliance since at least the early 1540s and this again became clear at the 19 October negotiations, when he was specifically approached by the French as one who might enable Anglo-French peace.⁷³ Secondly, the one positive that Gardiner drew from the ill-fated embassy to Charles at the end of the year was the salvaging of his relationship with Hertford.⁷⁴ It is a strange factionalism in which the leaders of the two parties find themselves in friendship. Finally, and this recurs over the next two years, and indeed beyond, the effect of facing the combined threat of catholic France, the Empire and the pope, was to unify the English court.

This is not to say that there were not differences, yet what does emerge is a remarkable degree of unity amongst the privy council behind the idea that a continuation of the French war, and in particular the great obstacle to concluding that peace, the occupation of Boulogne, could not be afforded since it would ruin the country. Thus peace with France had to be achieved. Despite Redworth's argument that diplomacy was divisive, reflecting factional tensions, particularly between Paget and Gardiner, in fact the two men both agreed on the need to end the conflict. Where they disagreed, as we shall discover, was on the means to achieving that end. Furthermore, on this policy of peace, further inconsistencies emerge if one adopts too factional an interpretation. It led to considerable tension between Norfolk and Surrey. Equally, Hertford's campaign into Scotland in September 1545 may have lacked Paget's wholehearted support. Certainly Wriothesley took a dim view writing to Petre that, 'I am sorry that my lord of hertford invadeth It is more charge then nedethe, with great adventure'.⁷⁵ It is likely that Paget would have echoed these sentiments. The dilemma that faced Paget, and indeed Gardiner, in all diplomacy after Crepy was the need to secure a peace that was honourable. As Gardiner had articulated, there could not be a dishonourable peace: it might threaten Henry's health, as the bishop feared, and both Paget and he knew that anyone who negotiated such a peace would be disowned by the king and thrown to the wolves. The consequences for Wolsey and Cromwell for failed diplomacy were fresh in their minds. This was the context in which Paget operated in the last years of Henry's reign and it is to this diplomacy that we must now turn.

⁷³ This point is made by Dr Redworth, *In defence*, pp. 108-109, esp. n. 11.

⁷⁴ Redworth, *In defence*, p. 220.

⁷⁵ Wriothesley to Petre, 29 August 1545, PRO, SP 1/207, fo. 30v.

III

The purpose of the rest of this chapter is to outline the way in which Paget tried to secure peace and security for the realm in the last years of the reign, and the difficulties he faced in so doing. In particular it focuses on three diplomatic episodes: the negotiations with the French through the mediation of representatives of the Schmalkaldic League in the winter of 1545-1546, the negotiations which led to the treaty of Camp, in the spring and summer of 1546, and the embassy of the papal representative Gurone Bertano to England in the late summer of 1546.⁷⁶

In the course of the 1544 campaign the Anglo-Imperial alliance became increasingly fragile and on the same day that Henry finally captured Boulogne, 18 September, Francis I and Charles agreed the peace of Crepy. The collapse of the imperial alliance, which had been forged back in February 1543, meant that Henry faced the great peril of a united catholic front against him. Subsequent attempts to save the situation with Anglo-French negotiations in October 1544 and the embassy of Gardiner and Hertford to Brussels in that same autumn were unsuccessful. Paget, therefore, emerged as Henry's most influential diplomatic counsellor. Unlike Gardiner, who was hostile both to links with the French and particularly the Schmalkaldic League, Paget's response to England's isolation was less dogmatic. He drew on the two central themes of his earlier diplomatic career by reopening contacts with the German protestants, in which he had had a heavy involvement in the 1530s, and by developing links with the reforming party at the French court, which had been the primary purpose of his 1541-1543 embassy.⁷⁷ By the latter half of 1544, the international situation for the protestants of the Schmalkaldic League was even more unfavourable than Henry's position. The treaties of Crepy and Meudon raised the prospect of a catholic crusade against them. Charles, after years of dealing with Suleiman, was once again beginning to turn his sights to the internal infidels. Equally, from Paget's perspective, an alliance with a reform party in France, perhaps with the German protestants, offered the prospect of a reformist *bloc* within Europe which would guarantee English security,

⁷⁶ The authoritative account of the German mediation and the treaty of Camp is Potter, 'Diplomacy in the mid-sixteenth century', pp. 116-163. The focus here is specifically on Paget and the English perspective on those negotiations. For the broader narrative see Professor Potter's work. Since the Papal mediation has received less scrutiny by historians the narrative of this episode is given more attention.

⁷⁷ For Paget's involvement in German diplomacy under Cromwell see Gammon, *Statesman and schemer*, pp. 23-29, and R. McEntegart, 'England and the League of Schmalkalden 1531-1547. Faction, foreign policy and the English reformation', unpublished London School of Economics Ph.D. (1992), pp. 18-77. For Paget's 1541-1543 embassy see, Gammon, *Statesman and schemer*, pp. 35-54. See also Redworth, *In defence*, pp. 220-221.

protect English finances, provide a strong lever with which to persuade Charles to reach agreement with his protestant subjects, and indeed provide a strong incentive to the German protestants to look to reach a compromise. It might even deliver European peace and avert confessional wars.

In the year following the treaty of Crepy, Paget was employed extensively by Henry in diplomatic affairs. From September 1544 it was Paget who took the lead in trying to re-establish links and build a military alliance with the Schmalkaldic League.⁷⁸ Equally it was Paget who went to the Imperial court in February 1545 to try to patch-up relations with Charles, at a time when it was feared the Emperor might go to war with England.⁷⁹ Throughout this period Paget continued to maintain the links he had made in 1541-1543 with reformers at the French court, in particular the king's mistress, Madame d'Etampes, the king's sister, her *protege* Nicholas de Bossut, sieur de Longuevale, Marguerite of Navarre and Cardinal Jean du Bellay.⁸⁰ However, by the spring of 1545, an Anglo-French *rapprochement* faltered over the intractable problem of Boulogne.⁸¹ An Anglo-League alliance failed, largely because of the duke of Saxony's suspicions of Henry.⁸² Thus war between Henry and Francis revived.

Throughout the second half of 1545 there were continued links between the English and French courts which culminated in the conference at Calais from November 1545 until early January 1546 between England and France, with Paget heading the English delegation, in which representatives from the Schmalkaldic League acted as mediators. Running concurrently were parallel negotiations between England and France sponsored by Charles to which Henry sent Gardiner as his principal diplomat.⁸³ The diplomatic activity in the last months of 1545 is extremely complex. Thus trying to divine the true intentions of Henry, Paget and Gardiner has been a source of some controversy. Gammon argued that Paget and Henry were working closely: they were 'the only people who held all the threads in this intricate web', playing-off both Charles and the protestants in an effort 'to bind the emperor to a closer alliance'.⁸⁴ Gardiner, in his view, was still out in the cold, 'to be kept in ignorance of all but the bare

⁷⁸ McEntegart, 'England and the League of Schmalkalden', pp. 424-464.

⁷⁹ Gammon, *Statesman and schemer*, pp. 94-97.

⁸⁰ Redworth, *In defence*, pp. 222-223; D.L. Potter, 'Foreign policy in the age of the reformation: French involvement in the Schmalkaldic War, 1544-1547', *Historical Journal*, 20 (1977), pp. 527-531.

⁸¹ Potter, 'Diplomacy in the mid-sixteenth century', p. 82

⁸² McEntegart, 'England and the League of Schmalkalden', pp. 446-447.

⁸³ For Gardiner's embassy see, Redworth, *In defence*, pp. 223-226.

⁸⁴ Gammon, *Statesman and schemer*, p. 102.

outline of negotiations'.⁸⁵ Potter also takes the view that Paget and Henry were working hand-in-glove, arguing, 'it may well be that Gardiner was kept in the dark about the Calais negotiations'.⁸⁶ However, for Potter, in contrast to Gammon, Paget's attempts to secure a peace with France through protestant mediation were sincere and foundered partly because of his mismanagement.⁸⁷ Most recently Redworth has taken the view that Henry regarded both sets of negotiations as a means to exert the greatest possible pressure on Francis. Neither was given precedence. Instead Henry himself formulated English policy and stood above both his courtiers, acting as chief puppeteer.⁸⁸ Several important questions are therefore at issue. What exactly was the relationship between Paget and Henry in terms of policy formation in these months? Was Paget sincere in his desire to secure a peace through protestant mediation? If so, why was he unable to secure peace that winter?

By the summer of 1545, there were compelling reasons for the League, Francis and Henry to enter negotiations. The interest of the League was obvious given the continued threat posed by Charles.⁸⁹ Equally, the role of arbiters between two princes like Henry and Francis offered them recognition and status. For Francis the prospect of Henry emerging as the key ally of the League was to be avoided. In that sense, 'the French were therefore forced to accept protestant mediation'.⁹⁰ Equally, the reform party at the French court was keen to pursue further links with the League. In particular du Bellay's connections with key diplomats from the League like Johann Sturm, Ulrich Chelius and Johann Sleidan, went back to student days in Paris in the 1520s.⁹¹ After September 1545, with the death of Orleans, d'Etampes had even more reason to promote links with the League.⁹² For Henry, as for Francis, financial pressure was considerable. Most pressing, though, was the real crisis that faced the country in the summer of 1545: the threat of a full-scale invasion. This indeterminate situation could not last indefinitely.

The initiative began in earnest in the second week of July 1545, the key men being Sturm and Mont.⁹³ Sturm's links with the French court enabled him to approach du Bellay and Mont was

⁸⁵ Gammon, *Statesman and schemer*, p. 102.

⁸⁶ Potter, 'Diplomacy in the mid-sixteenth century', p. 120.

⁸⁷ Potter, 'Diplomacy in the mid-sixteenth century', p. 134.

⁸⁸ Redworth, *In defence*, pp. 223-224.

⁸⁹ McEntegart, 'England and the League of Schmalkalden', p. 451; Potter, 'Foreign policy in the age of the reformation', p. 533.

⁹⁰ Potter, 'Foreign policy in the age of the reformation', p. 533.

⁹¹ Potter, 'Foreign policy in the age of the reformation', p. 527.

⁹² Potter, 'Foreign policy in the age of the reformation', p. 530.

⁹³ For the background to these talks see, McEntegart, 'England and the League of Schmalkalden', pp. 450-453; Potter, 'Diplomacy in the mid-sixteenth century', pp. 117-118; Potter, 'Foreign policy in the age of the reformation', p. 533.

able to fulfil a parallel role with the English court, corresponding with Paget. In the course of August the representatives of the League at the diet of Worms met to discuss who to send on the embassy and the proposals that they would pursue.⁹⁴ Thus by the end of August five ambassadors from the Schmalkaldic League, Ludwig von Baumbach, Cristoff von Venningen, Hans Bruno von Niedpruck, Sturm and Sleidan went to the French and English courts to negotiate peace.⁹⁵ After gathering in Strasbourg at the end of August they travelled into France and on 13 September 1545, all five ambassadors had an audience with Francis. The same day Baumbach and Sleidan went to Henry.⁹⁶

In the two months between the arrival of Baumbach and Sleidan at the English court in the middle of September and Paget's arrival at Calais on 20 November, Paget's role in establishing the peace talks was fundamental. The two Germans had a series of audiences with Henry, between 20 September and their departure on 12 October.⁹⁷ Despite some concerns at the end of September and the beginning of October that Francis was going cool on the idea of negotiations, when the protestant ambassadors left Windsor on 12 October, they did so to prepare the ground for these talks, confident that Henry had determined to send his ambassadors to treat with the French.⁹⁸ In the subsequent weeks a series of letters was exchanged between Henry and Paget on the one hand and Baumbach and Sleidan on the other. From Paget's involvement first during the visit of Baumbach and Sleidan to the court and the subsequent correspondence after they had left, one can gain some idea of the secretary's commitment to the process. In the first place it is clear that, when in England, the two envoys regarded Paget as their conduit to the king. This in itself is not conclusive: as secretary it was Paget's job to act as a go-between. However, both looked to him as one who could not only influence the king, but who would earnestly pursue the protestant mediation. The fact that Paget drafted many letters to Baumbach and Sleidan was equally a function of his role as

⁹⁴ Potter, 'Diplomacy in the mid-sixteenth century', pp. 119-120; McEntegart, 'England and the League of Schmalkalden', pp. 458-459.

⁹⁵ Potter, 'Diplomacy in the mid-sixteenth century', pp. 119-120.

⁹⁶ Sturm to Mont, 28 August 1545, PRO, SP 1/207 fo. 29r (enclosed Mont's letter to Paget, 15 September 1545, PRO, SP 1/207 fo. 207r-v); Potter, 'Diplomacy in the mid-sixteenth century', pp. 121-22

⁹⁷ Van der Delft to Charles V, 21 September 1545, *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, pp. 249-250; McEntegart, 'England and the League of Schmalkalden', pp. 459-460.

⁹⁸ Baumbach and Sleidan to Henry VIII, 24 October 1545, PRO, SP 1/209, fos. 110r-111v. Potter suggests that also on 9 October Paget, Tunstall and Tregonwell were appointed to act as ambassadors and this was apparent to Baumbach and Sleidan. However, when Sleidan wrote to Paget on 25 October he expresses the hope that Paget will be on the embassy, but there is no certainty of this, PRO, SP 1/209, fos. 114r-115v. Also Paget's letter to Gardiner on 2 November indicates that the ambassadors were not yet confirmed, Paget to Gardiner, 2 November 1545, BL Additional MS.

secretary. However, the correspondence between Paget and Sleidan in October and November contains warmth, suggesting that a friendship had grown between the two during Sleidan's visit to the court.⁹⁹ The evidence indicates that from the outset Paget's commitment to protestant mediation was whole-hearted.

As Potter has observed, the protestant mediation consisted of two separate series of negotiations. The formal talks took place at Ardres and the English delegation comprised Paget, his fellow privy councillor Tunstall and John Tregonwell, one of the masters of chancery. These talks met with little success. However, it was the concurrent process of secret talks which offered the real prospect of peace and which are therefore the focus of discussion here. What they reveal is the vacillating position of the French court and Paget's difficulty in reconciling this and securing an honourable peace. Between 20-23 November, he became involved in these secret talks, which were built on his links to the reform party at the French court. By 20 November Longuevale's agent, the seigneur de la Planche, arrived at Ardres with a secret commission from Longuevale and d'Etampes, the most important elements of which being a proposal to include Henry in an alliance between Francis and the League, sequestration of Boulogne, and the marriage of Mary queen of Scots to Prince Edward. On 21 November another French agent, Fraisse, arrived with a letter from du Bellay encouraging Sturm and Sleidan in their mediation. The same day Paget had his first meeting with Sturm and Bruno, describing the latter as the wittiest German with whom he had ever spoken. The crucial meetings, though, were those on the 22 and 23 November. On the 22 November Sturm and Bruno spoke privately with Paget and hinted at the prospect of a secret agenda which came direct from Longuevale and d'Etampes, and at the same time gave to Paget letters which La Planche had brought from Longuevale.¹⁰⁰ At talks the following day Sturm revealed fully the

25114, fos. 337r-339v (pencil top right); Potter, 'Diplomacy in the mid-sixteenth century', p.125; McEntegart, 'England and the League of Schmalkalden', pp. 459-460.

⁹⁹ Potter's comment that a letter from Sleidan to Paget on 24 October, when momentarily the talks again seemed in jeopardy, contained some 'bitter words' for the secretary is difficult to reconcile with the text, Potter, 'Diplomacy in the mid-sixteenth century', p. 125. Sleidan expresses frustration at the prospect of the collapse of negotiations, but closes his letter with an affirmation of their friendship, PRO, SP 1/209 fo. 114v. Sleidan's enduring regard for Paget is expressed in his dedication to Paget of his, *Summa doctrinae Platonibus de republica et legibus* (Strasburg, 1548). I am grateful to Alex Kess, who is presently researching Sleidan's work, for this reference.

¹⁰⁰ Paget to Henry VIII, 23 November 1545, PRO, SP 1/211 fo. 34r-35r; Potter, 'Diplomacy in the mid-sixteenth century', p. 127. Paget's letter to Henry makes it clear that Paget had opened links with Longuevale back in the late summer when Henry was at Portsmouth. Longuevale was now taking the opportunity to reply to Paget. The German commissioners explained to Paget, 'Monsr de Longuevale hath sent a speciall man unto you, Laplanche, with this letter, with the sayd Laplanche prayed us to delivre unto you'. As Paget explained to Henry, 'this letter Longuevale taketh occasion to write upon one sent from me to him Your Majestie being at Portsmouth upon the depeche of Bartolmew Campaign by Your Majesties commaundement'.

secret commission, and the fact that this was straight from the reform party. It was intended to be kept from the 'papists' at Francis' court, who, as Sturm explained to Paget,

labour to set thAdmirall [Claude d'Annebaut] besides the cushyn, and desyre (And though I make thoverture to you as of myself to see what you will saye to it yet the trueth is that Madame dEstampes, Monsr le Doulphin, and Monsr Longuevale specially Madame dEstampes) thonour of the making of this peax have willed me to open the same¹⁰¹

In his letter back to Henry, Paget was at pains to report his measured response, but he nevertheless backed this secret overture, 'howbeit as far as I perceyve if any thing cum to passe it is like to be by this Sturmius private practises who is in good credit with the French King and others about him such as be not the gret favourers of the bishop of Rome wherof both thadmirall Bayard and Turnon ar chief capitains'.¹⁰² Thus Paget's commitment to the protestant mediation again revealed itself.

In the last week of November it initially appeared as though an agreement would be reached on the terms proposed in the secret overtures. However, not for the last time, the Imperial party, particularly Tournon, persuaded Francis that the terms were unacceptable. This major setback resulted in great efforts, particularly by Sturm, to formulate new terms that would be acceptable to both sides. On 5 December Sturm and Fraisse arrived at the French court from Calais with a new set of proposals. On 7 December, in talks with Francis himself, the French king consented to a peace which allowed Henry to keep Boulogne and accepted marriage between Mary queen of Scots and prince Edward. In addition, Francis agreed not to join with the pope or Charles in a league against the protestants. This represented yet another shift by Francis towards those on the reforming wing of his court: these were to be the best terms he would offer the English.¹⁰³

His response to Sturm and the more measured but still positive report to Henry indicate that Paget was eager to pursue the initial terms of the secret negotiations. The reason these collapsed was because of the shift by Francis, but what of the revised proposals which emerged in early December and which by 9 December Francis had endorsed? Paget received these on 14 December and Potter has argued that Paget's ultimate rejection of them was a mistake. Indeed,

¹⁰¹ Paget to Henry VIII, 23 November 1545, PRO, SP 1/211 fo. 37r-v.

¹⁰² Paget to Henry VIII, 23 November 1545, PRO, SP 1/211 fo. 39v; Potter, 'Diplomacy in the mid-sixteenth century', p. 128.

¹⁰³ Potter, 'Diplomacy in the mid-sixteenth century', pp. 130-132.

he has suggested that responsibility for the collapse of the Calais negotiations must partly lie with 'Paget's mismanagement'.¹⁰⁴ In Henry's letter to Paget on 4 December, Paget was permitted to descend to a position where Henry would remit all pension arrears if Francis were prepared to concede Boulogne, Ardes and the counties of Boulonnois and Guisnes.¹⁰⁵ However, as Potter has observed, Paget seems to have been reluctant to descend even to this. In his letter to Henry on 15 December Paget explained to Henry that if a peace on such terms were secured, 'it wer a happy bargayn for the French king'.¹⁰⁶ Thus, according to Potter, 'Paget's unwillingness to descend to his lowest terms destroyed any chance of success'.¹⁰⁷ This might indicate a lack of commitment to the process. However, Paget's failure to secure peace in this crucial fortnight of negotiations illustrates not his lack of desire for peace but rather the difficulties of his position. Uncertainties about the regular shifts at the French court were clearly a considerable problem. To this one must add the complication of concurrent negotiations being pursued by Gardiner with Imperial mediation. This is perhaps the crucial point and helps to explain why Paget did not resort to the minimal terms of his instructions. The answer turns on the issue of an honourable peace. It is not that Paget did not desperately want the protestant mediation to succeed, but that the fear existed that he would not be thanked by Henry for such a peace, particularly if it were to subsequently emerge that better terms had been negotiated by Gardiner. This brief window soon disappeared with Francis' hardening attitude by 20 December, after which talks broke down. By 6 January 1546 Paget had returned and England was still at war with France.

IV

The diplomacy of the first six months of 1546 perhaps displays more than ever Paget's influence over the course of English policy and his advocacy of peace. The protracted negotiations that led to the treaty of Camp in 1546 began at the end of April and were concluded on 7 June. Henry's commissioners were Paget, John Dudley, Lord Lisle and Dr Nicholas Wotton. Admiral Claude d'Annebaut, his secretary, Guillaume Bochetel and Pierre Remon, president of the parliament of Rouen, represented Francis. From Paget's departure

¹⁰⁴ Potter, 'Diplomacy in the mid-sixteenth century', pp. 133-134.

¹⁰⁵ Henry VIII to Paget, 4 December 1545, PRO, SP 1/211 fos. 153r-154r.

¹⁰⁶ Paget to Henry VIII, 15 December 1545, PRO, SP 1/212 fo. 33r

from court on 17 April to the signing of the treaty on 7 June there exist in the region of 90 letters between the English court and the commissioners which detail minutely the evolution of English policy during the negotiations and shed particular light on Paget's influence on and his attitude towards that policy. What emerges is Paget's continued advocacy of peace as essential to the realm, and conciliar support for this position. In contrast, Henry remained more bellicose and was, above all, reluctant to part with Boulogne. Throughout the period it becomes clear that Paget was acutely aware that his divergence from Henry put him in a potentially vulnerable position. Equally, the negotiations reveal Henry's active and daily control over this diplomacy. Finally, and importantly, it emerges, certainly in the minds of the English, that Camp was only ever going to be a stopgap. It was never seen as a final solution to Anglo-French relations and the problem of Boulogne.¹⁰⁸

Many of these themes are present before the first meeting on 6th May, during which time Paget was trying to get consent from Henry to alter his instructions.¹⁰⁹ As Paget well knew, the instructions which he took with him to Calais were unlikely to provide the basis for any meaningful discussion with the French, particularly the English demands with regard to Boulogne, the financial sections and the requirement that the Scots should deliver Mary to be married to Edward.¹¹⁰ This was confirmed during Paget's first meeting with d'Annebaut's agent, Jean de Monluc, on 24 April. Reporting this meeting to Henry, Paget explained that he thought the French would consent to payment of the pension and would also pay the pension arrears and compensation for war costs, but that any payment would be far less than the 3 million crowns that Paget, according to his instructions, was to demand.¹¹¹ In his letter to Petre the same day Paget was more explicit about the need to secure new instructions.¹¹² Before Paget got any reply to these letters, he wrote another letter to Petre, on 28 April, which reveals much about his agenda during the negotiations:

for the present remedy a peax will do well, whiche we will bring from hens, if you send it furst from thens...If we have a peax now we shalbe the abler herafter if nede be to

¹⁰⁷ Potter, 'Diplomacy in the mid-sixteenth century', p. 133.

¹⁰⁸ Again, the focus here is on Paget and the English perspective.

¹⁰⁹ Potter, 'Diplomacy in the mid-sixteenth century', pp. 143-147.

¹¹⁰ The draft instructions for Paget and Lisle, PRO, SP 1/217, fos. 16r-19v. The endorsement dates them as 17 April. They are drafted in Yetsweirt's hand and corrected by Paget.

¹¹¹ Paget to Henry VIII, 24 April 1546, PRO, SP 1/217, fos. 83r-85r.

¹¹² Paget to Petre, 24 April 1546, PRO, SP 1/217, fo. 87r, 'I pray you help us to a certaine answer for our procedinges that is to say whether we shall followe our instructions and practise in the thing by tymes or whether if we see the admyrall wyll cum to resolut poyntes and tary no practises the kinges matie will appoint anny other manner for our procedinges then is allredie prescribed not to be usyd but at thextremite of breking of'.

make warre And if you say that the enemye is now farr behynd the hand it is trew and we be nothing aforhand And if you say that he shall by a peax wax stronger and richer I cannot agre to that but I am sure we shall wax stronger and richer and I beleve he shalbe weker for that I suppose he will strait match hym self with a fresh enemye¹¹³

Paget thus insisted that on this occasion peace must be secured, but this required instructions from court which gave him room to negotiate. Peace would enable England to become richer and more powerful in relation to France and, in all likelihood, any agreement made would soon have a different complexion because France would doubtless soon be at war with Charles.

The previous day Henry had sent the first of nine letters to his commissioners, which was essentially a response to Paget's request for a fallback position. To an extent Henry was ready to accommodate this, demonstrating that he was willing to negotiate over Boulogne, provided the French paid appropriate compensation. In particular, mindful of Paget's comments over costs and expenses, he was ready to reduce his demands from 3 million to 2 million. However, he was insistent that a hard bargain should be made.¹¹⁴ There is a sense in which Henry was concerned that his commissioners, and Paget in particular, were too keen on peace and would not negotiate hard enough. Paget seems to have been aware of this, since in his next letters to court he was keen to clarify his instructions. He clearly did not wish to be left exposed to the possibility of royal disapproval if peace were made which Henry subsequently found not to his liking and wanted to make sure he had full and explicit authority for any positions submitted to the French. This can be seen in his letter to Henry on 1 May.¹¹⁵ However, it is particularly explicit in his letter to Petre on the same day. In it he explained that he was enclosing a schedule of what he now understood to be the bottom-line negotiating position.¹¹⁶ He asked that Petre get either Henry or the privy council to assent expressly to these terms, and to the issues Paget raised in his letter to the king, and to send to him a letter to that effect. Further, Paget asked that Petre should ensure that in future any points of negotiation should be dealt with article by article, with the king's resolution on each point, rather than a general response. The

¹¹³ Paget to Petre, 28 April 1546, PRO, SP 1/217, fo. 121v. A week later Paget made the same point to Petre about the primacy of peace, commenting, in a discussion of German mercenaries, 'but for these matters and of many other things as you know the best the godliest the profitablist the most honourable and most necessary is a peax', Paget to Petre, 4 May 1546, PRO, SP 1/217, fo. 177r.

¹¹⁴ Henry VIII to Hertford, Lisle Paget and Wotton, 27 April 1546, PRO, SP 1/217, fo. 113r, 'In the setting furth of *which* things and beating in to their heddes what advauntages we have presently over them^And thatt we have greater advauntages more than they do know^how expedient & necessary the conclusion of this peax and amitie shall be for them we require you to employ all your good dexterities^traveling also to beatt owt as nyer as ye may to whatt poyntes they wyll fynally grow'.

¹¹⁵ Paget to Henry VIII, 1 May 1545, PRO, SP 1/217, fos. 50v-51v.

¹¹⁶ Paget to Petre, 1 May 1546, PRO, SP 1/217, fo. 153r-v. The schedule is PRO, SP 1/217, fo. 155r-v, the endorsement is dated 1 May.

purpose of this was clear. It was to ensure that Paget negotiated closely to Henry's instructions. As Paget put it, 'this waye shall his *maiestie* be sure to be trewly served and according to his mynd wheras els by galites [?] or confusion of a long discourse we may either not conceyve or mistake his *maiesties* resolucon'.¹¹⁷ It also covered Paget's back, so that later he should not be held responsible if Henry tried to distance himself from the agreement. The following day the privy council wrote to Paget on behalf of the king explaining that Henry consented to the position he had outlined.¹¹⁸

In the knowledge of clear instructions for a fallback position, Paget was able to attend the first meeting of the negotiations in a tent between Ardres and Guisnes on 6 May, at which all the commissioners, French and English were in attendance. This first round of talks did not go well and Paget left pessimistic and downbeat.¹¹⁹ On the same day as the meeting, though, Petre wrote a letter to him, which does not seem to have survived, but to which Paget replied on 8 May. Paget's letter is crucial since it is his clearest and most strident advocacy of peace. It articulates most clearly the tension between Paget and Henry over the policy of peace and puts the conciliar advocacy of peace into a clearer context. Paget began by making it clear that Petre's letter of 6 May was a rap over the knuckles from Henry, 'I perceyve you have receyved my sundry *lettres* and shewed the same to the *kinges maiestie* And do gather by that is^put^out and in yor sayd *lettre* the *kinges maiestie* shuld not take althing the best myn so often mencionyng of peax in my *lettre* willing you to write to me specially to have respect to or treaty'.¹²⁰ Then, after protestations of his loyalty and desire only to serve Henry, his 'benign and gentle *master*', Paget launched into a strong defence of his position. 'Asfor peace', he explained, 'when I remembre that god is thauthor of it ye peax it self and that christ praised alwayes peacible *men* all the tyme of his beyng among men visibly and at his departing from them recomended most specially peax I cannot but praise peax desyre peax and to helpe to my power thavauncement of peax'.¹²¹ So great was his desire for peace that 'so as we had peax to the *kinges maiesties* satisfaction I woold gladly be sacrificed for it if my deth myght helpe forward the matter'.¹²² At the same time, though, Paget pleaded with Henry, 'on my knees to think that I will have asmoche respect to the treaty and have had...as becummyth a good servaunt and a faythfull to have for thavauncyng of his maisters desyre'.¹²³ To the French, he

¹¹⁷ Paget to Petre, 1 May 1546, PRO, SP 1/217, fo. 153r.

¹¹⁸ Privy council to Paget, 2 May 1546, PRO, SP 1/217, fo. 166r-v.

¹¹⁹ Potter, 'Diplomacy in the mid-sixteenth century', pp. 147-148.

¹²⁰ Paget to Petre, 8 May 1546, PRO, SP 1/218, fo. 15r.

¹²¹ Paget to Petre, 8 May 1546, PRO, SP 1/218, fo. 15r

¹²² Paget to Petre, 8 May 1546, PRO, SP 1/218, fo. 15v.

¹²³ Paget to Petre, 8 May 1546, PRO, SP 1/218, fo. 15v.

insisted, they had shown little desire for the peace and had sought to drive the hard bargain that Henry demanded. Here in few brief lines is encapsulated Paget's dilemma over the previous two years of trying to deliver an honourable peace, acceptable to Henry and one so necessary to an increasingly stricken realm.

The letter also makes a crucial reference to the view of the privy council.¹²⁴ Potter has argued that 'the talks were Paget's last attempt to achieve the necessary peace in the face of hostility from the king and members of the council'.¹²⁵ One might question the extent to which the rest of the privy council opposed Paget. As Potter has observed, it was in the following year that Paget explained to the French ambassador, Odet de Selve, that he had 'pushed for peace in the teeth of opposition from the rest of the council'.¹²⁶ Yet this comment is difficult to square with the concerns articulated by Gardiner, Norfolk, Wriothesley, and, according to Hussey, the rest of the privy council at the end of 1545. It is more likely that Paget was the only member of the privy council with sufficient intimacy with Henry to articulate the need for peace and that during his time back at court from January to April 1546 he was able to voice this opinion. It is worth recalling Hussey's comment from November that although all privy councillors sought peace they feared Henry's ire should they broach the subject. In his letter to Petre on 8 May Paget explained, 'I see and so doth all his maiesties counsail as both I and you have herd them say when they ar togidres the contynuanche of the warre for the charge therof so incertain the wayes and meanes for the relief therof so strait and at such an ebbe and thende in this cace of warre so daungerous as my hart bledith in my body when I think of it'.¹²⁷ This strongly suggests that Paget was being less than honest to de Selve in 1547. Paget seems rather to have led a concerted attempt by the privy council to persuade Henry to be more amenable to peace. In fact Paget's letter was itself a piece of counsel to that effect since he instructed Petre to read it out to the king.¹²⁸

¹²⁴ Gammon, *Statesman and schemer*, pp. 103-107; Potter, 'Diplomacy in the mid-sixteenth century', pp. 136-161.

¹²⁵ Potter, 'Diplomacy in the mid-sixteenth century', p. 136.

¹²⁶ Potter, 'Diplomacy in the mid-sixteenth century', p. 139; de Selve to Montmorency, 29 August 1547, Corr. Pol. 7, fo. 31r (ink, top right corner).

¹²⁷ Paget to Petre, 8 May 1546, PRO, SP 1/218, fo. 15r-v. This crucial passage was omitted from the calendared version in *Letters and papers*, though it is transcribed in *State papers of Henry VIII*, xi, p. 139.

¹²⁸ Paget to Petre, 8 May 1546, PRO, SP 1/218, fo. 16r, 'I require you to rede this to his maiestie and els to kepe it to your self'. He was, though, concerned that his frank opinions might not go down well with the king, since later on 8 May Paget wrote another letter to Petre wanting to know whether his letter was taken well or badly by the king, Paget to Petre, 8 May 1546, PRO, SP 1/218, fo. 17r.

With the breakdown of negotiations on 6 May, Paget had reported back to Henry and on 9 May he replied with instructions which they were to use at their meetings with the French on the 14 and 15 May. These instructions provided a realistic basis on which peace could be negotiated, though at the same time they displayed Henry's continued preoccupation with Boulogne. In particular, they removed the principal barrier to agreement on 6 May, since Henry reduced his financial demands to 2 million crowns.¹²⁹ Whilst these instructions were an improvement, Paget's attitude was ambiguous. On 13 May he wrote optimistically to Petre about these new instructions, explaining, 'if reason may rule *with* the ffrenchmen I woold hope to mak a perpetuall peax for surely this overture of the *kinges maiestie* last setting furth is godly honorable large for the ffrenchmens honor & profit and a meanes to take all querels away'.¹³⁰ However, three days before, when writing privately to Lisle, he was rather more downbeat, suggesting that the new instructions did not go far enough, 'as toching the contents of *our* comyn *lettres* from the *kinges maiestie* the same have ii or iii other overtures of new which I doubt how the same wilbe lyked'.¹³¹ Nevertheless, the meetings that took place on 14 and 15 May were a success and brought both sides very close to peace.¹³² The French provided a schedule of terms that in many important respects accorded with the clauses in the treaty when it was eventually signed on 7 June. On the key issues of Boulogne, the pension, the debts, pension arrears and expenses, on the additional claim of 512,000 crowns according to the 1529

¹²⁹ Henry VIII to Lisle, Paget and Wotton, 9 May 1546, PRO, SP 1/218, fos. 18r-25r. Henry argued that if the French would give only 200,000 crowns for Boulogne he would forego considerably more to retain it. As a first position Henry, in order to retain Boulogne, would remit all pension arrears, debts owing and the charges for the war which he claimed from France. As a next stage, his commissioners were to remit the pension as well. If the French still refused then Henry would insist on retaining Boulogne until all pension arrears, debts and compensation was paid to the sum of two million. Henry also expressed considerable dissatisfaction with the terms under which the French proposed to comprehend the Scots in the treaty. See also Potter, 'Diplomacy in the mid-sixteenth century', p. 151. As Potter says, 'it will be realised therefore that the real problem which arose at the first meeting had been dealt with by reducing the figure demanded to two millions'. This is true, but it is not clear why on 6th Paget, Lisle and Wotton refused to go below 3 million, since they had had authority from Henry on 27 April to descend to 2 million, Henry VIII to Hertford, Lisle Paget and Wotton, 27 April 1546, PRO, SP 1/217, fo. 112v.

¹³⁰ Paget to Petre, 13 May 1546, PRO, SP 1/218, fo. 100r; Potter, 'Diplomacy in the mid-sixteenth century', p. 151.

¹³¹ Paget to Lisle, 10 May 1546, PRO, SP 1/218, fo. 36r. Paget seems to have received Henry's letter of 9 May the next day (Paget to Petre, 10 May 1546, PRO, SP 1/218, fo. 37r). This equivocal response might partly be explained by mood swings, brought on by pressure and ill health. On 15 May Lisle wrote to Petre fearing the secretary's imminent death, 'Sr willm pagett being nat very well goethe this daye to Callys to repose his self & either to be lett blodd or to pouрге fering a ffefer & lest he kepe him self very well I assure you I fere he wilhave yt I praye god kepe him frome yt', Lisle to Petre, 15 May 1546, PRO, SP 1/218, fo. 145v.

¹³² Potter, 'Diplomacy in the mid-sixteenth century', pp. 151-152.

treaty and on the inclusion of Charles in the treaty, the French propositions on 15 May are mirrored in the final agreement.¹³³

Both Paget and Lisle recommended the terms to Henry, but their advocacy was couched in language that reflected the expedient nature of the negotiations. As we have seen, even as the elaborate celebrations to mark the formal ratification of the treaty were being played out in August, Paget was counselling that Camp was a short term solution to the deeper problem of Boulogne and Anglo-French relations. In his letter to Petre on 15 May, Paget wrote that before 1554, when Boulogne was due to be returned to the French, any number of contingencies might emerge which might allow Henry to retain his coveted possession, 'and so ere the tyme of payment cum eyther we shall make sum new bargayn to kepe Bulloyn stil or the French king shall dye and then his sonne nedes not by his othe or honour desyre so moch the recovery of it or sum other thing will chaunce in the meane tyme that we shall kepe Bulloyn still'.¹³⁴ Lisle wrote to Petre in a similar vein.¹³⁵ Of course these comments were designed to appeal to Henry and persuade him to come to peace on those terms.¹³⁶ But they also serve to reinforce the expedient nature of Camp. For Paget peace at Camp was crucial not as a long-term solution but as a vital breathing space.¹³⁷ Paget's letter to Petre also serves to reinforce his desire that he did not deviate from Henry's express instructions, insisting to Petre that Henry's response to the French schedule be spelled out unambiguously, article by article.¹³⁸

On 17 May Henry replied to the newly negotiated terms favourably, and in retrospect one can see that by this stage the agreement was essentially forged. However, disagreements, most notably over the boundaries between English and French possessions in the Boulonnois, meant

¹³³ The six French proposals are, PRO, SP 1/218, fo. 151r-v.

¹³⁴ Paget to Petre, 15 May 1546, PRO, SP 1/218, fo. 149v.

¹³⁵ Lisle to Petre, 15 May 1546, PRO, SP1/218, fo. 145r-v; Lisle to Petre, 15 May 1546, PRO, SP 1/218, fo. 147r.

¹³⁶ Potter, 'Diplomacy in the mid-sixteenth century', pp. 152-153; Gammon, *Statesman and schemer*, pp. 105-106.

¹³⁷ It is a recurrent theme, and one advocated by Paget and Lisle. See Paget to Petre, 28 April 1546, PRO, SP 1/217, fos. 121r-122v; Lisle to Petre, 7 May 1546, PRO, SP 1/218, fo. 4r; Paget to Petre, 18 May 1546, PRO, SP 1/218, fo. 171r. Lisle's advocacy of the peace leads one to question Potter's view that, 'probably Lisle was none too anxious to be associated with it [the peace]', Potter, 'Diplomacy in the mid-sixteenth century', p. 148. Despite his frequent departures from the negotiations to deal with naval matters and skirmishes with the French in the channel, which on occasion irritated Paget, Lisle, like Paget, seems to have been aware of the necessity of a break in the conflict. See also his letter to Henry, Lisle to Henry VIII, 24 May 1546, PRO, SP 1/219, fo. 64r. Paget, initially at least, suspected the French were desperate to conclude a temporary peace, followed by a more permanent settlement, Paget to Henry, 24 April 1546, PRO, SP 1/217, fo. 84v.

¹³⁸ Paget to Petre, 15 May 1546, PRO, SP 1/218, fo. 149v, 'it wer well done your instructons to be sett furth *articulatum* and in many articles'.

that at any point in the next two and a half weeks negotiations could have broken down. The boundary dispute was further compounded by the apparent brinkmanship on the part of Francis and Henry to squeeze out what they could before the treaty was concluded. The French introduced the idea that French subjects should be allowed to resettle in the English occupied area and Henry tried to introduce a clause which would enable him to continue to fortify his possessions, whilst the French should not.¹³⁹ In the end neither gambit succeeded but they did contribute to a fraught final period of negotiations, reflected in Paget's correspondence. His health continued to suffer under the cares of the negotiations, and what he regarded as the duplicity of the French in the final phase of talks led him to some wild assertions and extreme hostility towards them.¹⁴⁰ On 27 May he even threatened to enlist Hertford's support to seize d'Annebaut should the talks collapse.¹⁴¹ However, despite these interludes, his advocacy of peace resurfaced at crucial moments. When the clause proposed by the French to allow French subjects to resettle in Henry's possessions looked as though it could precipitate a breakdown in negotiations Paget counselled that it might not be so serious, implying that it should be accepted rather than allow the talks to collapse.¹⁴² Most significantly, though, just three days before Henry's final acceptance of peace terms, and immediately prior to the last series of meetings, Paget wrote to Petre once more urging the necessity of peace. Couched in the language of financial necessity and including an ironic reference to previous criticisms, he clearly sought to focus minds at home, 'and asfor yor enemyes but that I am noted to moch gyven to peax els I could say that he hath now very lately borrowed at Lyons 400,000 crownes & may have as many mo when he list'.¹⁴³

V

¹³⁹ For the French proposal see, Lisle, Paget and Wotton to Henry VIII, 29 May 1546, PRO, SP1/219, fo. 112r, and the French proposals enclosed, especially article 15, PRO, SP 1/219, fos. 116r-120v, also Lisle to Henry VIII, 29 May 1546, PRO, SP 1/219, fo. 121r-v. For Henry's proposal see, Henry VIII to Lisle, Paget and Wotton, 26 May 1546, PRO, SP 1/219, fos. 80r-81v.

¹⁴⁰ Paget to Petre, 18 May 1546, PRO, SP 1/218, fos. 170r-171v; Paget to Petre, 18 May 1546, PRO, SP 1/218, fos. 172r-173v; Paget to Petre, 29 May 1546, PRO, SP 1/219, fos. 125r-126v.

¹⁴¹ Paget to Petre, 27 May 1546, PRO, SP 1/219, fo. 110r-v.

¹⁴² Paget to Petre, 29 May 1546, PRO, SP 1/219, fo. 125v, it should be considered, 'whyther there be in dede such dawnger in the matter as at the first apparaunce there semith to be'.

¹⁴³ Paget to Petre, 3 June 1546, PRO, SP 1/220, fo. 2r-v.

Peace with France did not allow for any respite in English diplomatic activity. In fact the negotiations during the months following the treaty of Camp have, with good reason, been regarded as amongst the most inscrutable of the whole reign because Henry seemed to be pursuing two contradictory policies. On the one hand, there were discussions through August and September with the papal envoy, Gurone Bertano, which offered the possibility of reconciliation between Henry and the pope. On the other, came renewed overtures between England and the Schmalkaldic League evidenced by the arrival and warm reception of Schmalkaldic delegates at the end of August. August 1546 was therefore, as MacCulloch has argued, 'a crucial moment for the future of the reformation in England', and in all likelihood, 'the secret dynamic of it is locked for ever in king Henry's mind'.¹⁴⁴ However, Paget's consultation from that crucial month does provide some clues indicating what diplomatic options were debated and the counsel that he, at least, offered the king.

Between the conclusion of the treaty of Camp and August 1546, the international situation had changed radically, since Charles had finally declared war on the Schmalkaldic League at Regensburg in July, thus pushing Europe closer to confessional war. The question, of course, was which way would Henry go? For the first time since the diet of Regensburg in 1541 it seems Henry seriously, if briefly, considered *rapprochement* with the pope, through the mediation of Bertano.¹⁴⁵ The origins of the Bertano mission sprang from the peace with France.¹⁴⁶ Within a month of the treaty of Camp the Imperial ambassador in France, Jean de St Mauris, had got wind that the pope was encouraging Francis to mediate between the holy see and Henry, understanding that if Henry were to recognise the pope the latter would resolve all other matters to Henry's liking.¹⁴⁷ However, according to St Mauris, these initial overtures from Rome fell on stony ground. Sometime in the middle of June Francis had been in contact with Henry, asking that the Papal envoy, Bertano, be allowed to accompany his own ambassador, de Selve, to England, which Henry refused.¹⁴⁸ St Mauris, therefore, believed that the next papal initiative would be made through the Italian, Francisco Bernardo, who had made a positive impression on Paget during the Camp negotiations.

¹⁴⁴ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer. A life* (London, 1996), p. 356.

¹⁴⁵ Henry, like Paget, regarded the Pope and Charles V as one. Certainly this was the view he expressed to de Selve at his first audience, de Selve to Francis I, 4 July 1546, Corr. Pol. 6, fo. 4r.

¹⁴⁶ For details about Bertano and his later attempts to achieve reconciliation between England and the papacy see, K. Bartlett, 'Papal policy and the English crown, 1563-1565: the Bertano correspondence', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 23 (1992), pp. 643-659.

¹⁴⁷ St Mauris to Cobos, 4 July 1546, *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, p. 422.

In fact, with the assistance of Francis and d'Annebault, Bertano persisted.¹⁴⁹ What seems to have happened is that in the first two weeks in July Bertano submitted to Francis a number of memorials-overtures to be addressed to Henry-some of which the French king selected and sent into England. In the middle of July Bertano was waiting for the English response. This came only a few days later, and must have been favourable, since on 24 July Francis wrote to Henry with letters of introduction for Bertano and on Friday 30 July Bertano arrived at de Selve's residence in London.¹⁵⁰ Bertano's first meeting with Paget occurred two days later on the Sunday and involved lengthy questioning, after which the secretary said he would call for him the following day for an audience with Henry.¹⁵¹ In fact on the Monday, Paget talked again with Bertano and it was not until the Tuesday that he had an audience with Henry.¹⁵² Between this audience on 3 August and the end of September the mediation is obscure. Henry certainly replied to the papal overture, and the immediate cause of the collapse of negotiations and Bertano's dismissal from England was because Rome took so long to respond to the king.¹⁵³ As a result, Bertano claimed, Henry felt mocked, and anyway, Bertano's continued presence in England was beginning to become known and rumours were spreading.¹⁵⁴ By early October Bertano had gone.¹⁵⁵

The state of the evidence is such that any conclusions about Bertano's mission must be tentative, but the fragments that do exist suggest that Henry took it seriously. Bertano's presence in England, his discussions with Paget and his audience with the king all suggest that

¹⁴⁸ De Selve's instructions are dated 22 June, *Letters and papers*, XXI, i, 1116. He seems to have arrived in England on 3 July, Corr. Pol. 6, fo. 3r.

¹⁴⁹ Bertano to Cardinal Santa Fiore, 18 July 1546, *Letters and papers*, XXI, i, 1309. Bertano refers to a letter he wrote to Cardinal Farnese which explained in greater detail his communication with d'Annebault and his method of approaching the English.

¹⁵⁰ Francis I to Henry VIII, 24 July 1546, PRO, SP 1/222, fo. 114r. Bertano is not named in this but it must be him, since the chronology fits. Within a few days he was in England and we know he was waiting for an English response at this time. There is, though, no reference by de Selve in the extant letters to the conversation(s) which must have taken place between himself and Henry, de Selve to Francis I, 2 August 1546, Corr. Pol. 6, fo. 18r-v.

¹⁵¹ De Selve to Francis I, 2 August 1546, Corr. Pol. 6, fo. 18r-v.

¹⁵² De Selve to Francis I, 4 August 1546, Corr. Pol. 6, fo. 20r-v.

¹⁵³ On 27 September the privy council in London (at this point effectively Wriothesley and St John) wrote that they had received letters from Paget at court instructing them that Bertano should be dismissed. The problem was that they had not seen Bertano since Henry left London (beginning of September) so they needed to know from Paget where Bertano was, privy council in London to Paget, 27 September 1546, PRO, SP 1/225, fos. 63r-64v. On 30 September Wriothesley and St John went to Bertano personally to inform him of the decision, de Selve to Francis I, 30 September 1546, Corr. Pol. 6, fo. 39v; Bertano to Dandino, 30 September 1546, *Letters and papers*, XXI, ii, 194; privy council in London to Paget, 1 October 1546, SP1/225, fo. 116r-117v.

¹⁵⁴ Bertano to Dandino, 30 September 1546, *Letters and papers*, XXI, ii, 194.

this was not simply an English 'practise'. After his first meeting with Paget, Bertano was certainly positive about the prospects for success.¹⁵⁶ Perhaps most significant is that Bertano himself explained that Henry's response to the papal overtures was serious and wise.¹⁵⁷ Interestingly, Bertano placed all the blame for the breakdown of talks not on Henry or Paget but on the foot-dragging in Rome.¹⁵⁸ Equally, Paget's involvement in this diplomacy reinforces the idea that Papal *rapprochement* was being seriously considered. Both meetings between Paget and Bertano were lengthy and clearly involved the discussion of contentious issues.¹⁵⁹ Thus the Bertano embassy represented a serious but very brief flirtation with the papacy on the part of both Henry and Paget.

How should one interpret Paget's actions? It is the extent of his involvement that leads MacCulloch to call Paget 'that unfathomable politician'.¹⁶⁰ However, Paget's 1546 consultation does shed some light on this shadowy business. It is probable that in August 1546 Paget was advocating three different courses of action. The first of these was to negotiate with Bertano. In his consultation Paget does not expressly advance negotiations with the papacy. This is not surprising. We do not know exactly when the consultation was written and it might have been devised after the talks with Bertano had effectively fallen through. Equally, to advocate too clearly a pro-papal policy in the fraught last few months of Henry's reign would have been politically imprudent. However, the depth of Paget's involvement with Bertano indicates that this policy was certainly one he sought to pursue. In the consultation, though, Paget clearly expresses preference for two other courses of action: Schmalkaldic alliance or an attempt to mediate between Charles and the League. The latter position, like the papal negotiations, offered the prospect of re-establishing a middle ground and preventing confessional wars, though it seems never to have been actively solicited. If one sees English security and the search for religious unity in Europe as Paget's principal concern, both policies make sense. *Rapprochement* obviously served the interests of security as it removed the continuing fear of united confessional alliance against England.¹⁶¹ Further, one of the few

¹⁵⁵ Paget sent Bertano's passport to the councillors in London on 3 October, privy council with the king to privy council in London, 3 October 1546, PRO, SP 1/225, fo. 127r, this is also registered amongst the dry stamp documents, preferred by Paget, PRO, SP 4/1, fo. 103.

¹⁵⁶ De Selve to Francis I, 2 August 1546, Corr. Pol. 6, fo. 18v.

¹⁵⁷ Bertano to Dandino, 30 September 1546, *Letters and papers*, XXI, ii, 194.

¹⁵⁸ Bertano to Dandino, 30 September 1546, *Letters and papers*, XXI, ii, 194.

¹⁵⁹ De Selve to Francis I, 2 August 1546, Corr. Pol. 6, fo. 18r-v; de Selve to Francis I, 4 August 1546, Corr. Pol. 6, fo. 20r-v.

¹⁶⁰ MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 356.

¹⁶¹ MacCulloch argues that Henry's 'habitual nightmare of isolation and encirclement by hostile powers in alliance with the papacy was banished' with the French peace in June, MacCulloch,

issues to emerge from the murk of Bertano's embassy is that English involvement in another general council to resolve religious differences was an important part of the discussions. That is, it offered the prospect of re-establishing a middle ground that, after July, was rapidly disappearing and which Paget would have welcomed.

Of course the failure of Bertano's embassy is all too easy to explain. The straightforward issue of slow papal response to Henry's reply was merely a symptom of the intense suspicion that existed between England and Rome. This was reflected in Paget's own comments about the papacy in his consultation and indeed in his comments to Bertano. Then there was the enormous problem of the royal supremacy. MacCulloch is surely right to say that, 'it is difficult to believe that Henry would ever seriously have contemplated surrendering the Supremacy'.¹⁶² To this one should add the domestic situation. The Bertano issue was live at the beginning of August, but by the end of the month German mediation had won out. It was at precisely this time that more evangelical figures like Hertford and Lisle returned to court and the tide began to turn against more conservative elements there. An alliance with the League was the third option that Paget counselled, and it was probably the one he favoured least. It amounted to an acceptance that conflict was inevitable and that England had to take sides in a divided Europe, with all the hazards that this placed before the realm. Indeed these were precisely the caveats that Paget outlined when he proposed the Schmalkaldic alliance in his 1546 consultation.

The 1540s mark a key stage in the development of English diplomacy. In the early decades of Henry's reign, before the break from Rome, traditional dynastic rivalry determined relations between powers. The diplomacy of Elizabeth's reign came to be increasingly dominated by the fear of foreign invasion and the anxiety caused by England's relative weakness in comparison with France and Spain, with whom she was in a state of natural conflict because of the Elizabethan religious settlement. In the 1540s, and particularly after 1544, English governors were grappling with a changing European landscape. There was the very real threat of invasion, reflected in the 1545 enterprise by France (a more powerful force than the more celebrated Armada of 1588) but at the same time Henry's desire for prestige through foreign conquest had to be assuaged. Paget, for whom peace and security were the dominant concerns,

Cranmer, p. 356. The evidence presented here, though, suggests both Henry and Paget thought the threat was alive and well.

was foremost in trying to reconcile the conflicting tensions of this new situation. Significantly these problems lasted into the next reign. Paget's most stinging critiques of Somerset's protectorate were occasioned by exactly the same fears that led him to seek peace at the end of Henry's reign: foreign war, diplomatic isolation, and impending financial catastrophe.¹⁶³ Equally, to push things forward still further, one can perhaps see in the 1540s an interesting prelude to the 1560s, with a united privy council, with the secretary as the focal point, attempting to act collectively and shape policy in the face of a reluctant monarch.

¹⁶² Diarmaid MacCulloch, 'Henry VIII and the reform of the church', in his *The reign of Henry VIII. Politics, policy and piety* (London, 1995), p. 180.

¹⁶³ See for example, B.L. Beer and S.M. Jack (eds.), *The letters of William, Lord Paget of Beaudesert, 1547-1563, Camden Miscellany*, 25 (Camden Society, 4th ser., 13; London, 1974), pp. 22-25, 29-32, 54, 76-78.

6. Paget and his 'circle' 1543-1547

How does one interpret William Paget's experience of and influence over the politics of the last years of Henry VIII's reign? Dr Steven Gunn has suggested that one way of approaching this type of question is by locating the individual within different types of political structure.¹ He identifies four such structures; a small intimate group perhaps based around kinship or royal service, the looser, predominantly local structure of affinities and clienteles, another court-based 'political unit' where courtiers and/or councillors co-operate but without such strong ties as the first, intimate group and finally a fourth, still looser affiliation which one might call a 'faction'. Further, and importantly, Gunn argues that in order fully to locate the individual within the political system, a host of other variables that might reinforce or cut across such personal networks must be added to the equation. Such factors might include educational background, professional identity, generation, and of course religion so that by directing light at the individual from different perspectives the whole is better illuminated. This agenda is in fact very much in tune with what John Guy has called 'new Tudor political history', with an emphasis on looking at the relationship between, 'people, institutions and ideas' and the overlap between the 'public' and the 'private', the 'formal' and the 'informal'.²

It is a useful model with which to approach Paget's political experience between 1543-1547, though some evidential problems occur at the outset. The absence of private papers creates some difficulties. In fact, such is the evidence, that any useful picture of Paget's connections of kinship, clientage and his household more generally would require an analysis across the whole of his career, and that is beyond the scope of the present study. Nevertheless, there is certainly sufficient evidence, particularly in the state papers and also in literary sources, to construct networks, connections and friendships which are both valuable in themselves and which also provide some clues to Paget's attitudes, opinions and 'mental world'. To return to Gunn's categories, the 'factional' nature of politics at the end of the reign, which revolves predominantly around key privy councillors and the controversy surrounding Henry's will, is considered in chapter seven. This chapter, though, seeks to delve below this better known sphere of political activity and tries to

¹ Steven Gunn, 'The structures of politics in early Tudor England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, sixth series, 5 (1995), pp. 59-90.

explore Paget's connections with individuals, many of whom are not generally regarded as being amongst the first-rank of political creatures. Firstly, this will involve an analysis of perhaps the closest identifiable group to Paget, those to whom he was bound by royal service, his secretariat; subsequently the focus will be on other relationships both at court and then within the household of the young prince Edward.

Lurking in the background to this and the subsequent chapter is the question of religion. Given the excesses of Edward's reign with its lurch to protestantism followed by the Marian reaction it is perhaps unsurprising that historians have found it difficult not to see political alignments in purely religious terms. This, along with the nature of influential sources like John Foxe's *Actes and monuments* and John Ponet's *Short treatise of politike power*, has made it easy to read the history backwards. That is, it is tempting to infer that opinions, religious positions and political alliances which later emerged, were present at the end of Henry's reign, when the evidence is inconclusive or often entirely absent. It may be that what follows here continues to struggle with precisely those problems. Nevertheless, what this and the subsequent chapter attempt to do is consider the range of factors which might help to establish political alignments, of which religion, though important, was only one. Equally, and this is of central importance, religious opinion itself was still extremely fluid and in a state of flux in the last years of Henry's reign. The terms 'protestant' and 'catholic' are an anachronism until the council of Trent and whilst one might use the labels 'reformer', 'evangelical' and 'conservative', many thinking subjects adopted a personal religious position which incorporated elements of the old and new, much like Henry himself. Equally, it is extremely difficult to know with any precision what religious position individuals adopted because, after the Act of Six Articles (1539), the most draconian punishments awaited the unorthodox. It was better to simply conform and keep one's own counsel.

² John Guy, 'General introduction', in his *The Tudor monarchy* (London, 1997), pp. 1-10; see also, Stephen Alford, 'Politics and political history in the Tudor century', *Historical Journal*, 42 (1999), pp. 535-548.

I

In his preface to *The scholemaster*, Roger Ascham recounts a dinner time gathering in William Cecil's chamber at Windsor in the winter of 1563. With the plague ravaging London and the cares of the realm weighing on his shoulders, Ascham explains that in the convivial environment of his chamber, Cecil was able to put such concerns to one side, 'and findeth euer fitte occasion to taulke pleasantlie of other matters, but most gladlie of some matter of learning'.³ In the secretary's chamber on that occasion in December 1563 were the privy councillors William Petre, John Mason, Nicholas Wotton, Richard Sackville, Walter Mildmay, Walter Haddon and three holding important secretarial positions, Bernard Hampton, clerk of the privy council, Nicasius Yetsweirt, clerk of the signet and Ascham himself, at the time the Latin secretary. However, in the informal environment of Cecil's chamber administrative labels were redundant. Rather this was a gathering of educated, 'wise and good men together', who enjoyed best intellectual debate. Fittingly, the conversation on that particular occasion provided Ascham with the inspiration to write *The scholemaster*, the classic educational text of the English renaissance.

By December 1563 Paget had been dead for six months, but the dinner time gathering in Cecil's chamber would have been familiar to him from his own time as secretary twenty years before. From his chamber all the members of his secretariat operated and, though engaged at all hours by the demands of state affairs, Paget's staff, no less than Cecil's, were men of intellect and learning, multi-faceted individuals, who, almost without exception, were infused with the educational values of the new learning. In 1546 Paget himself wrote to Petre reflecting on how much he had learnt in the previous sixteen years simply by being in this environment, 'albeit I know I am not the wisest man yet for that knoweledge I have gotten by so often heryng so wise a master as myn is and having had the frequent conversacon of so wise a cumpany as I have haunted now well nere vi yeres besides myn exercise x yeres togidres ^before that^ in his maiesties service'.⁴ Any analysis of Paget's own perspective on politics, religion, indeed the values that informed his own actions in the 1540s, might therefore usefully begin in the context of his own working environment: the secretariat.

³ Roger Ascham, *The scholemaster or plaine and perfite way of teachyng children, the Latin tong* (London, 1570; STC 832), sigs. B1r-B2r; Stephen Alford, *Kingship and politics in the reign of Edward VI* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 197.

⁴ Paget to Petre, 8 May 1546, PRO, SP1/218, fo. 15r.

Perhaps the closest to Paget within the secretariat was Yetsweirt. Yetsweirt was typical of the many second-rank figures on the fringes of influence that spanned the middle years of the Tudor century. Often these individuals owed their place at court to positions within the secretariat, their role as personal servants to more prominent figures, their usefulness as agents, couriers and informers abroad or, most often, a combination of these roles. Importantly, men like Yetsweirt naturally rubbed shoulders on a daily basis with the more powerful. As we have seen even in the 1560s Yetsweirt was still mixing with the likes of Cecil, and formed the backdrop to the broader polity. Yetsweirt was a familiar figure at court until well into Elizabeth's reign, remaining her French secretary until his death. The continuity provided by Yetsweirt and his ilk was important since it provided an undercurrent of stability throughout, on the face of it, turbulent mid-century years, and through such individuals the norms of behaviour, secretarial practice and certain assumptions about the way the polity should function were handed down.

Yetsweirt very much performed the role of Paget's personal secretary, his 'inward' man to whom, as we have seen, was entrusted the most sensitive of tasks. Yetsweirt himself was of Flemish origin and was probably in Antwerp in the 1530s because of his connection with the Marian martyr John Rogers.⁵ By 1550, when Rogers was granted the living of St Sepulchre's, Holborn, he and Yetsweirt were old friends. Rogers had travelled to Antwerp in 1534 to become chaplain of the Merchant Adventurers, where he subsequently adopted a reforming religious position, and the assumption must be that the connection between the two dates from that period. We also know that Yetsweirt was well-educated with a particular facility for languages. In 1540 was granted letters of denization and at some point in the early 1540s entered Paget's service. Beyond this the evidence is patchy, but already certain characteristics which recur amongst Paget's circle are present in Yetsweirt's story: a cosmopolitan perspective and a well-travelled past, a connection with religious reform, links with the merchant community, and a highly-developed education.

After Yetsweirt, the most intimate with Paget within the secretariat was probably John Mason, one of the clerks of the privy council. In this respect at least, Ponet was probably near the mark when he wrote in 1556 that, 'Paget and Mason albeit they haue not one father and mother yet be they sworn brethren: and albeit they be of sondry universities, yet be they bothe of one studie. and what

so euer Mason worketh, Paget vttreth: that thone inuenteth, the other practiceth'.⁶ Paget's intimacy with Mason presages Cecil's close relationship with Hampton in the 1560s.⁷ Like so many mid-Tudor governors whose origins were both humble and obscure, Mason's progress to university was the defining moment. In Mason's case it was the short distance from his home in Abingdon to All Souls, Oxford, from where he graduated in July 1521 with a BA and where, shortly afterwards, he became a Fellow. At this point, if not before, he would have made perhaps the first of many important contacts with Petre, who also acquired a fellowship at All Souls at the same time. By the first two decades of the sixteenth century, it was at Oxford, rather than Cambridge, that the first inroads were made by the new learning in England, largely under Cardinal Morton's patronage.⁸ Thomas Lupset and Thomas Starkey were part of this humanist strain at Oxford, and both were Mason's contemporaries, raising the possibility that Mason's later connections with Starkey date from their time at Oxford.⁹ Certainly the new curriculum at Oxford, with its shift towards the *studia humanitatis*, with its emphasis on the rhetorical arts was no more lost on Mason than it was on Paget, since when Henry came to visit All Souls in 1529 Mason delivered the oration of welcome.¹⁰ Possibly through Sir Thomas More, Mason climbed the next rung on the ladder to high office through experience abroad.¹¹ By the end of 1529 he was king's scholar at Paris, and for nearly ten years remained on the continent acquiring the education and experience typical of mid-Tudor secretarial figures. Until 1532 he remained in Paris but thereafter travelled in Spain and Italy. A letter to Thomas Starkey at the end of 1535 from Naples indicates the considerable extent of his knowledge of Italy.¹² In April the following year he was reporting back to Henry of events in Venice.¹³ Between 1537-1541 he was in the service of Sir Thomas Wyatt, acting as his secretary,

⁵ For details on Yetsweirt see the short biography, C.A. Bradford, *Nicasius Yetsweirt. Secretary for the French tongue* (London, 1934), pp. 1-12.

⁶ John Ponet, *A shorte treatise of politike power, and of true Obedience which subjectes owe to kynges and other ciuile Governours, with an Exhortation to all true naturall Englishe men* (Strasburg, 1556; STC 20178), sig. I6v.

⁷ Stephen Alford, *The early Elizabethan polity. William Cecil and the British succession crisis, 1558-1569* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 11, 32, 57.

⁸ John Guy, *Thomas More* (London, 2000), p. 24.

⁹ T.F. Mayer, *Thomas Starkey and the commonwealth. Humanist politics and religion in the reign of Henry VIII* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 25-31. Starkey and Lupset were, though, students at Magdalen College, Oxford.

¹⁰ D.G.E. Hurd, *Sir John Mason, 1503-1566* (Abingdon, 1975), p. 3.

¹¹ J.K. McConica, *English humanists and reformation politics under Henry VIII and Edward VI* (Oxford, 1968 edn.), pp. 110-111.

¹² Mason to Starkey, 16 December 1535, BL Cotton MS. Vittellius B. xiv, fos. 145r-148v (pencil top right).

¹³ Extract of letter in Mason's hand endorsed, 'news from Venice', BL Cotton MS. Nero B. vi, fos. 130r-131v (pencil top right).

where his continental experience was put to use in Wyatt's embassies to Spain, Italy, France and the Low Countries in 1537-1540. By 1541 this grooming for royal service had run its course and when Paget went to France as Henry VIII's ambassador, Mason replaced him as acting clerk of the privy council. Shortly afterwards he became Henry's French secretary, and on Paget's return to England in April 1543, his clerkship of the privy council became a permanent appointment.

By education and training, therefore, Mason was steeped in the humanist intellectual currents of the renaissance. His religious perspective, though, was more equivocal. Mason himself advised caution in offering one's opinion in such matters and this has created difficulties for historians trying to gauge his religious position.¹⁴ In 1625 Sir Julius Caesar listed Mason as one of a group of 'Romanists, of *Queen Maries* religion', who were appointed privy councillors at Elizabeth's accession, an interpretation based largely on Mason's position as a privy councillor under Mary.¹⁵ Equally, Ponet accused Mason, along with Paget, of being instrumental in the arrest of Sir John Cheke in 1556, an act that had clear religious overtones since it led to the latter's apostasy.¹⁶ Much earlier, in 1538 during the embassy to Charles V, Bonner had accused Mason of being 'as glorious and as malicious a harlot as any that I know, and withal so great a papist where he dare utter it'.¹⁷ However, Ponet's analysis of the events surrounding Cheke's arrest do not entirely bear scrutiny and Bonner's criticisms were probably symptomatic of his wider gripes against this particular embassy. His accusation of popery was a standard expression of hostility and need not be taken necessarily as a serious comment on Mason's religious stance.

In fact, what evidence we have for the 1540s suggests Mason's sympathy for a middle course, but with a moderate preference for some form of religious reform. This view largely rests on the evidence provided by Mason's embassy to the elector duke Frederick, count Palatine, between April and autumn 1546. The choice of Mason to engage in diplomacy with the German protestants in itself is significant, and when the Imperial ambassadors in England got wind of this, their qualified recommendation of Mason suggests some alarm bells were ringing. As they explained to

¹⁴ Bindoff, ii, pp. 583-584.

¹⁵ BL Lansdowne MS. 124, fo. 238r. The problems with Caesar's analysis are made manifest, given that he includes in the same list, amongst others, Petre, Wotton and Sackville.

¹⁶ Ponet, *A short treatise*, sigs. I6v-I7r. Paget's involvement in Cheke's arrest deserves further consideration. It is beyond the scope of the present study but the problems with Ponet's account have often been observed. See, for example, S.R. Gammon, *Statesman and schemer. William, first Lord Paget* (Newton Abbot, 1973), pp. 234-235.

¹⁷ Bonner to [Cromwell], 2 September 1538, *Letters and papers*, XIII, ii, 270.

Mary of Hungary, 'he has hitherto been considered a worthy man, and, so far as can be judged by outward appearance, has a hatred of innovations'.¹⁸ In fact, Mason's response to the 'innovations' he witnessed in Germany was marked by a complete absence of hatred. In an account of the mass as practised in Heidelberg in May 1546, related to Paget, Mason offers a dispassionate commentary, free from obvious prejudice, observing both the similarities and the differences from those practised in England, simply concluding, 'and so is mass done'.¹⁹ Equally, his response to the eventual peace concluded with France in June 1546 is revealing. Writing to Paget he explained that a courier had informed him, 'much to my comfort that the peax is concluded oure lorde be thanked wherein I do besyde the comun welthes cause muche reioyce on your behalf who semeth to be borne for the goodd of the worlde'.²⁰ As well as the evident warmth towards Paget, his relief that the 'comun welthe' had been spared further war is significant. His hostility to the prospect of prolonged conflict is expressed later in the same letter, 'and this affayre so necessary for us and for the rest of the worlde as never was their a thing more nedefull to be compowded'.²¹ A similar sentiment can be discerned a week later when it became increasingly clear to Mason that conflict between Charles V and the German protestants was likely. He wrote to Paget that, 'we shall shortelye knowe the quarell that thEmperour woll have against thes men...but if they hadd not this obstinately refused to coome to Him upon his often calling, I thinke assuredlye He wolde not so sone ben moved against them in respect onely of Him; and so thinke allso a great manye sobre men of their owne sorte'.²² The last phrase is telling since it seems to reflect exasperation at the diplomatic position of the German protestants, which, in his view, was leading Europe headlong into conflict, rather than hostility *per se* on religious grounds.

This view is reinforced by Mason's response to his fellow-traveller on the embassy, Christopher Mont. Mont's commitment to the protestant cause and his desire to bring the reformed states of Germany and England together were the two dominant themes of his career, and he and Mason hit it off immediately.²³ In his first letter back to Henry, Mason spoke of Mont in glowing terms, 'of whome assuredlye Your Majestie hath a necessarye servaunt, a diligent and faithfull man, and one

¹⁸ Scepperus and van der Delft to Mary of Hungary, 6 April 1546, *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, p. 371.

¹⁹ Mason to Paget, 11 May 1546, PRO, SP 1/218, fos. 68r-69v.

²⁰ Mason to Paget, 17 June 1546, PRO, SP 1/220, fo. 147r.

²¹ Mason to Paget, 17 June 1546, PRO, SP 1/220, fo. 147r.

²² Mason to Paget, 25 June 1546, PRO, SP 1/220, fo. 209r.

²³ For further discussion of Mont see below, pp. 188-189.

that is here in good credite'.²⁴ This warmth was reciprocal. The following day Mont wrote to Paget extolling the pleasures of Mason's company.²⁵ By the time Mason had returned Mont asked to be remembered to him, along with Walter Bucler, the queen's secretary, and Petre, in a letter to Paget in early November 1546.²⁶ The extent of relations between Mont and Mason is revealed in a letter from later in the month, in which Mont thanked Mason both for the books and letters he had recently sent. Mont explains that he would have reciprocated by sending paper, but with the onset of war such arts of peace had been interrupted.²⁷ Furthermore, Mont asked Mason's help in securing his diets which, as ever, were long overdue.

The correspondence surrounding Mason in the later half of 1546, and particularly his relations with Mont, seem to suggest that Mason was a man who had a preference for peace and compromise both at home and abroad, whose interests in scholarly pursuits, suggested by the gift of books to Mont, remained undimmed and whose religious preference was typical of the moderate reformed humanist position, neither conservative nor evangelical. Certainly any view that he was conservative in religion might be further mitigated by other connections with Thomas Chamberlain, Stephen Vaughan and John Cheke. The former two were both prominent members of the English merchant community in Antwerp, and both were well known for their sympathy towards protestantism.²⁸ Mason's contacts with Chamberlain seem to have run fairly deep. In July 1545 Chamberlain wrote to Paget, referring to Mason in familiar terms, and in both 1545 and 1546 Chamberlain used Mason as the conduit to Paget.²⁹ There is no correspondence in the 1540s to link Mason directly to Vaughan, but some close connection must be presumed by Vaughan's gift of a ring valued at 54s 4d bequeathed to Mason in his will of 1549.³⁰ Equally, Mason's connections

²⁴ Mason to Henry VIII, 11 May 1546, PRO, SP 1/218, fo. 60v

²⁵ Mont to Paget, 12 May 1546, PRO, SP 1/218, fo. 84r.

²⁶ Mont to Paget, 9 November 1546, PRO, SP 1/226, fo. 88v.

²⁷ Mont to Mason, 24 November, 1546, PRO, SP 1/226, fo. 150r.

²⁸ Vaughan and Chamberlain were close to Paget. For more on both see below, pp. 187-188, 190.

²⁹ Chamberlain to Paget, 17 July 1545, PRO, SP 1/204, fo. 46v, 'Ther is a frend of myne called Richard pate gentilman of lyncolnes Inne to whome if it please you cause mr mason to call unto you who knoweth him'; Chamberlain to Paget, 22 October 1545, PRO, SP 1/ 209, fo. 102r-v; Chamberlain to Paget, 31 December 1545, PRO, SP 1/212, fo. 162r, in which Chamberlain explains he has sent his new yearr gift for the king to Mason; Chamberlain to Paget, 1 January 1546, PRO, SP 1/213, fos. 2r-3v; Chamberlain to Paget, 24 October 1546, PRO, SP 1/225, fo. 234v, in which the letter is also addressed to Mason's house in St Paul's.

³⁰ Bindoff, ii, p. 584.

with Cheke (his stepdaughter married Cheke and Mason was appointed overseer of Cheke's will) should further inform our view of Mason's religious and intellectual priorities.³¹

The religion of one of Mason's colleagues as clerk of the privy council, and apparently an enduring friend, Thomas Chaloner, was less equivocal.³² Unlike Mason, Chaloner's subsequent reputation has rested more on his scholarly and literary legacy, talents first recognised during his time at Cambridge in the 1530s. It was at Cambridge that Chaloner's linguistic ability, particularly in Latin and probably Greek, was nurtured. By 1549, when he translated Erasmus's *In praise of folie*, from Latin into English, he had also mastered Italian, using Pellegrini's Italian text as an aid to his own work.³³ Whilst at Cambridge Chaloner probably came into contact with Cheke, and possibly Cecil, who was to be one of his closest friends. Whether he also came across Paget through this Cambridge connection is not certain, but it is likely that Paget and Chaloner knew one another by the late 1530s, since in 1538 'Thos. Chaloner' appears in a list drawn up for Cromwell, of 'gentlemen most mete to be daily waiters upon my said lord and allowed in his house'.³⁴ They were moving in similar circles. By 1540 Chaloner had acquired a useful patron in the form of Sir Henry Knyvet and acted as his secretary at the diet of Ratisbon.³⁵ This was significant, both because it provided Chaloner with the important apprenticeship of service abroad and because Knyvet was known for his sympathy to religious reform.³⁶

Chaloner returned to England, probably by early 1542, and in the next couple of years produced his first literary works. His *Of the office of servauntes* was published by Thomas Berthelet, and dedicated to his patron, 'his right wourshipful maister sir henry knyvet knight oone of the gentilmen

³¹ Bindoff, ii, p. 584.

³² For general biographical details see *DNB*; Bindoff, i, pp. 611-612; Sir Thomas Chaloner, 'The praise of folie', ed. C.H. Miller, *Early English Text Society*, 257 (Oxford, 1965), pp. xxix-xlv; Mason was one of seven of Chaloner's 'closest friends', which also included Cecil and Petre, to whom Chaloner deeded all his property three days before his death on 14 October 1565, Chaloner, 'Praise of folie', pp. xliii-xliv. Equally, Mason was one of a number of individuals singled out by Chaloner for praise in Chaloner's posthumously published, *De republica anglorum instauranda decem* (London, 1579; STC 4938), pp. 361.

³³ Chaloner, 'Praise of folie', pp. xxvii-xxix.

³⁴ M.L. Robertson, 'Thomas Cromwell's servants. The ministerial household in early Tudor government and society', unpublished UCLA Ph.D. (1975), p. 462.

³⁵ Chaloner, 'Praise of folie', p. xxxi.

³⁶ G. Redworth, *In defence of the church catholic. The life of Stephen Gardiner* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 137-138.

of the kinges maiesties privie chambre'.³⁷ Particularly significant, though, was his publication in March the following year of *An homilie of saint John Chrysostome*.³⁸ In the first place there is the continued connection to Cheke, who had himself recently translated the Greek into Latin and who was becoming an important figure at court. Chaloner's epitaph of Cheke suggests that relations between the two remained close until the latter's death.³⁹ Equally revealing, though, is the dedication, 'to the right worshypfull maister Antony Denny, one of the chief gentlemen of the kynges pryvey chambre', to whom he offers the work in these, conventionally self-deprecating terms: 'a smale gifte agreth with my smal habilitie but not with the greate nesse of your desertes'. Later Chaloner talks of Denny's 'singuler goodnes', and ends 'fare ye no wourse, then your vertue requireth, the favour of men wisheth, and your own dexterite promiseth Your most bounden Tho.Chaloner'.⁴⁰ It suggests Chaloner knew Denny, though perhaps not well, and either was or aspired to be part of his circle.⁴¹ Denny of course has been seen as one of the leading advocates of religious reform at court. But the text itself was important. Chrysostom's works were particularly well-known to humanists and reformers by the end of Henry's reign and seem to have helped shape the theology of prominent individuals at court, including Katherine Parr.⁴²

These works clearly did Chaloner's prospects of advancement at court no harm since, after being appointed a teller of the exchequer in 1544, he joined Paget's secretariat, being made the third clerk of the privy council in November 1545.⁴³ Paget himself was responsible for preferring this suit. Henceforth Chaloner's relationship with Paget must have been close, given the epitaph he wrote on Paget's death.⁴⁴ If his friendship with Paget was lasting, so too was his commitment to reform, and

³⁷ Thomas Chaloner, *Of the office of seruauntes, a boke made in latine by one Gylbertus Cognatus and newly Englyshed* (London, 1543; STC 5879), sig. A2r.

³⁸ Thomas Chaloner, *An homilie of saint John Chrysostome upon that saying of St Paul, Brethern, I wold haue you you ignorant, what is becom of those that slepe, to the end ye lament not...with also a discourse upon Job, and Abraham, newly made out of Greke into Latin by maister Cheke, and englished by Tho. Chaloner* (London, 1544; STC 14637).

³⁹ Chaloner, *De republica anglorum*, p. 352.

⁴⁰ Chaloner, *An homilie of saint John Chrysostome*, sig. A1v

⁴¹ Significantly, both Denny and Knyvet were members of the privy chamber.

⁴² P.C. Swensen, 'Noble hunters of the Romish fox: religious reform at the Tudor court, 1543-1564', unpublished UC Berkley Ph.D. (1981), pp. 12-96; McConica, *English humanists and reformation politics*, pp. 204-205.

⁴³ PRO, SP4/1, fo. 67, 'Thomas Chalener to be oon of the clerkes of yor maities privei counsaill and have the wages of x li be yere. preferred by mr Secretarie pagett'; PRO, C 82/845, 16 November 1545. It is, though, likely that he had been working in this capacity as early as the previous May, APC, i, p. 165; Chaloner, 'Praise of folie', p. xxxiii.

⁴⁴ Chaloner, *De republica anglorum*, pp. 354-356.

subsequently protestantism, which in part, along with his considerable talents, explains his continued favour under Edward.⁴⁵ But, like Mason, he was moderate. He did not leave the country during Mary's reign and, though not prominent, remained in public office.⁴⁶ Equally, towards the end of his career when ambassador in Spain his protestantism did not prevent him from being on 'good terms' with catholic exiles.⁴⁷ Indeed in a letter to Mason on the issue of his religious position in Spain he explained that, 'I would conform myself to all tolerable things, reserving my opinion to myself'.⁴⁸

In January 1544 William Petre joined Paget as one of the king's secretaries and for the remainder of the reign at least, theirs was a close relationship. Of a similar age and background to Paget, Petre, like Mason, became a Fellow of All Souls, Oxford, and after a successful early career there was, by 1530, one of the those used to secure favourable opinions from the European universities for Henry's divorce.⁴⁹ In January 1536 he became deputy to Cromwell in ecclesiastical matters and was active in pursuing the dissolution of the monasteries. Thus by the 1540s Petre had trodden that path familiar to his generation, through early academic success, entry to the king's service through the divorce campaign, experience overseas, and continued preferment through Cromwell and the dissolution. It is unclear when the two first came into contact, but by the 1540s both Paget and Petre were close and were men on the make. As Paget developed his property at West Drayton so Petre began to extend and develop his estates at Ingatestone, Essex. Meanwhile in London, the two secretaries were frequent dinner guests in each other's houses, Paget hosting a celebratory dinner on the day of Petre's appointment as king's secretary.⁵⁰

The nature of their relationship is best reflected, though, in the correspondence they exchanged when one or the other was abroad. On numerous occasions, Paget looked to Petre to present his letters to the king in a favourable light and to inform him of Henry's response. On personal matters Paget sought Petre's aid. In November 1545 when Paget's lodgings at Whitehall were being reallocated he sought Petre's assistance to secure more spacious accommodation.⁵¹ Earlier in the

⁴⁵ Bindoff, i, p. 611.

⁴⁶ Bindoff, i, p. 611.

⁴⁷ Bindoff, i, p. 612.

⁴⁸ Chaloner, 'Praise of folie', p. xxxix.

⁴⁹ Bindoff, iii, pp. 92-96; F.G. Emmison, *Tudor secretary. Sir William Petre at court and home* (London, 1961), pp. 1-47.

⁵⁰ Emmison, *Tudor secretary*, p. 52.

⁵¹ Paget to Petre, 24 November 1545, PRO, SP 1/211, fos. 55r-56r.

same year, when Paget feared his wife had died it was again to Petre that Paget wrote to help order his household while he remained at the Imperial court on the king's business.⁵² This was, though, a reciprocal arrangement. When Petre was at the diet of Bourbourg in the spring of 1545 Paget reassured Petre that his dealings were well taken by Henry and he counselled his more inexperienced colleague on the way to negotiate with the sly old fox, Eustace Chapuys.⁵³

Whilst the evidence for Paget's connections to Yetsweirt, Mason, Chaloner and Petre is comparatively extensive, the same cannot be said for other members of the secretariat, particularly the clerks of the signet. By January 1544, the clerks of the signet were John Godsalve, Richard Taverner, Thomas Knight and William Honnyngs. All had been appointed before April 1543 when Paget became secretary and all except Honnyngs were Cromwellian creations. Knight and Godsalve seem to have been more closely connected to Wriothesley, although Godsalve continued to fulfil an important administrative role within the secretariat well into Edward's reign.⁵⁴ Knight left the secretariat in 1545 and although Honnyngs remained a clerk of the signet until his death in 1569, no special relationship with Paget emerges from the evidence.

Taverner was a different case, not because of any direct evidence that links him to Paget but because of a host of circumstantial details. Born in 1505 or 1506, he was the same age as Paget and they were contemporaries at Cambridge, Taverner attending Corpus Christi College in the early 1520s.⁵⁵ In the course of the 1520s and 1530s, he became a noted evangelical humanist. At Cambridge, he picked up the movement of reform and, having switched to Cardinal College, Oxford, by 1527, was forced to flee abroad in the wake of the investigations for heresy at the college in 1528.⁵⁶ As the 1520s turned into the 1530s, Taverner was back in Cambridge at Gonville Hall, a hotbed of reform, and possibly lecturing in Greek.⁵⁷ By the early 1530s he had

⁵² Paget to Petre, 3 April 1545, PRO, SP 1/199, fo. 176r.

⁵³ Paget to Petre, 16 June 1545, PRO, SP 1/202, fos. 82r-83v.

⁵⁴ See above, pp. 123-124.

⁵⁵ For biographical details, Bindoff, iii, pp. 424-425; Robertson, 'Cromwell's servants', pp. 570-571. For Taverner's work as an evangelical publicist, J.K. Yost, 'German protestant humanism and the early English reformation: Richard Taverner and official translation', *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et renaissance*, 32 (1970), pp. 613-625; J.K. Yost, 'Taverner's use of Erasmus and the protestantization of English humanism', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 23 (1970), pp. 266-276. Unlike Knight, Godsalve or Honnyngs Taverner received a university education.

⁵⁶ G.R. Elton, *Reform and reformation. England 1509-1558* (London, 1977), p. 96.

⁵⁷ On Gonville Hall, see Maria Dowling, *Humanism in the age of Henry VIII* (London, 1986), pp. 3, 57, 92-94.

attached himself to Cromwell, becoming one of his publicists, to advance the cause of reformed religion. In 1536 he translated the Lutheran *Confession of Augsburg* into English. By 1537, Cromwell's patronage had secured him a position in the king's service as a clerk of the signet. Cambridge and then service under Cromwell are the environments which connect Paget and Taverner. With Cromwell's fall in 1540, Taverner was forced to tone-down his advocacy of reform and his output in the 1540s was considerably reduced. Nevertheless, as Professor MacCulloch has revealed, an interesting connection in the 1540s exists between Taverner and Thomas Cranmer in the form of the King's Primer of 1545.⁵⁸ Though Cranmer was closely associated with its production, much of it may derive from Taverner. It was precisely during this period that Paget's relationship with Cranmer was also thriving. Despite the absence of direct evidence of the connections between Paget and Taverner, the link of age, evangelical humanism, Cambridge, Cromwell, the secretariat and Cranmer is suggestive.⁵⁹

Like Taverner, Gregory Raylton's connection to Paget is elusive but here was another member of the secretariat with a clear commitment to religious reform.⁶⁰ Raylton was Ralph Sadler's private secretary, and although Yetsweirt filled his boots as clerk of the signet in May 1545, when Sadler returned to Windsor at the end of October 1545, Raylton at that point probably took up his role as clerk. He retained the clerkship until 1554 when he fled the country, probably on religious grounds.⁶¹ He remained close to Sadler, and like his patron, was known as a reformer: indeed Slavin calls him a 'very stern and forbidding Calvinist'.⁶² Significantly, at precisely the time when Raylton had returned to London, at the end of 1545, Roger Ascham wrote to Raylton from Cambridge. The letter indicates considerable closeness between the two men, Ascham explaining that 'of my many friends I have not one among the number at court to whom I should write with greater devotion or juster cause than you'.⁶³

⁵⁸ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer. A life* (London, 1996), pp. 334-336.

⁵⁹ It is perhaps also significant that two of the king's physicians, William Butts and Thomas Wendy, both also close to Paget, shared the connection to Gonville Hall with Taverner.

⁶⁰ For Raylton see, A.J. Slavin, *Politics and profit. A study of Sir Ralph Sadler, 1507-1547* (Cambridge, 1966), pp. 64- 65; C.H. Garrett, *The Marian exiles* (Cambridge, 1938), pp. 265- 266.

⁶¹ C.S. Knighton (ed.), *State papers of Mary I. Calendar of state papers domestic series of the reign of Mary I 1553-1558* (London, 1998), 148.

⁶² Slavin, *Politics and profit*, p. 137

⁶³ Ascham to Raylton, 1545, M.A. Hatch, 'The Ascham letters: an annotated translation of the Latin correspondence contained in the Giles edition of Ascham's works', unpublished university of Cornell Ph.D. (1948), pp. 159-161. The letter must date from the last two months in 1545 since it is only then that Raylton returned to court. Hatch suggests that the letter relates to Ascham's annuity secured from Henry after the completion of *Toxophilus*, though this is generally ascribed to Paget.

To a degree, the agents Paget used across Europe were an extension of his secretariat. In fact roles could interchange. Mont, for example, had operated from Cromwell's secretariat in the 1530s and individuals within the office, as we have seen in Mason's case, might equally be employed as agents when necessary.⁶⁴ They helped inform Paget's view of the world and he was on close terms with several. Certainly Marten Corenbeckius, Suffolk's physician, and another close acquaintance of Paget's, made the link in March 1545 when he asked Paget to send his 'commendations to Mr. Vachan [Stephen Vaughan], Tsamberlein [Thomas Chamberlain], Damasellus [William Damesell], Nicasius [Yetsweirt] and all the rest'.⁶⁵

Paget's links to Vaughan were particularly strong and enduring.⁶⁶ A Londoner like Paget, and of the same generation, Vaughan's *milieu* was the merchant community: he had been governor of the English merchants in Antwerp.⁶⁷ He was one of Cromwell's close associates and was well-known for his support of religious reform, smuggling Lutheran literature from the continent into England. Indeed, Elton suggested that Vaughan might have introduced Cromwell to Lutheranism.⁶⁸ In the early 1530s he was hauled before More and John Stokesley's investigations into heresy in London.⁶⁹ Though his links to Paget probably went back to the 1520s, if not before, by the second

⁶⁴ Robertson, 'Cromwell's servants', pp. 184-185.

⁶⁵ Corenbeckius to Paget, 5 March 1545, PRO, SP 1/198 fo. 234v. William Damesell was used as an agent in the Low Countries, generally based in Antwerp. Paget's good relations with Corenbeckius are also indicated in a letter from the latter to Paget, Corenbeckius to Paget, 1 May 1545, PRO, SP 1/200, fos. 136r-137v. Paget seems to have been on friendly terms with a number of physicians: as well as Corenbeckius there was Thomas Wendy and William Butts. Paget's relationship with Corenbeckius adds a gloss to his friendship with Suffolk. His interest in medicine is expressed in Richard Cox's comment in October 1546, 'I thanke you very hartly for your good cowsell towching my bodyly health, ye ar becum a very good phisition', Cox to Paget, 18 October 1546, PRO, SP 1/225, fo. 202r. Interestingly, it was Vaughan who had recommended Corenbeckius to the privy council only two weeks before, Vaughan to privy council, 23 February 1545, PRO, SP 1/198, fos. 157r-158v.

⁶⁶ For Vaughan generally see, W.C. Richardson, *Stephen Vaughan, financial agent of Henry VIII: a study of financial relations with the Low Countries* (Baton Rouge, La., 1953); G.R. Elton, *Reform and renewal. Thomas Cromwell and the common weal* (Cambridge, 1973), pp. 38-46; Robertson, 'Cromwell's servants', for his diplomatic activity, pp. 242-243, 245-248 and more generally, pp. 578-579; Bindoff, iii, pp. 519-520; and particularly his religion, S. Brigden, *London and the reformation* (Oxford, 1994 edn.), pp. 71, 118, 196-197, 220, 346, 376, 418.

⁶⁷ Though his date of birth is unknown, pre-1502, he was probably of Paget's generation, and Bindoff, iii, p. 519, conjectures on the possibility of his education at St Paul's. In any event there must be a strong possibility that Vaughan's connection to Paget goes back to the earlier parts of their lives. Certainly, by the latter part of the 1520s they would have known each other through Wolsey's household, since the patrons of both men, Gardiner and Cromwell operated from Wolsey's household.

⁶⁸ Elton, *Reform and renewal*, p.38.

⁶⁹ Brigden, *London and the reformation*, p. 197.

half of the 1530s they shared the same patron, Cromwell. Vaughan, along with Paget, was one of the agents Cromwell used in his diplomacy with the protestant princes in 1534.⁷⁰ Although, as we have seen, Vaughan was used in an official capacity as a financial agent in Antwerp, the informal relations between the two men and their longstanding friendship is reflected in the evidence from the 1540s. Vaughan used his connections with the merchant community to buy Paget regularly a variety of goods, particularly in Antwerp. Importantly, though, beyond his financial responsibilities, Vaughan provided Paget with intelligence from the Low Countries and offered advice and his opinions, which helped influence Paget's view of the world beyond the court. Before Francois van der Delft was sent to England as the Imperial ambassador at the end of 1544, Vaughan was able to offer his opinion of the man to Paget.⁷¹ Nearly three weeks before Charles V went behind Henry's back and made the peace of Crepy, Vaughan advised Paget, 'trust therefore the counsail of no imperialls in the campe'.⁷² Equally, when Vaughan required help or advice, Paget was his first port of call. This was particularly the case after the death of his wife in 1544, when he enlisted Paget's help to protect his children and counsel him on choosing another wife.⁷³ Indeed, he explained to the secretary that he trusted no one in the world so much as Paget and another Cromwellian old-boy, Thomas Wriothesley.⁷⁴ Particularly interesting was Vaughan's plea to Paget to help extricate his children's tutor, Stephen Cobb, from religious examination at the hands of Edmund Bonner, then bishop of London, since Cobb had a controversial reputation as a reformer.⁷⁵

A familiar figure to both Paget and Vaughan was Mont; like Vaughan he was well known for his advocacy of reform.⁷⁶ He was another of Cromwell's former clients and one who had been used in the German diplomacy in 1534. From the early 1530s until his death in 1572, he sought to bring

⁷⁰ R. McEntegart, 'England and the League of Schmalkalden, 1531-1547. Faction, foreign policy and the English reformation', unpublished London School of Economics Ph.D. (1992), pp. 57-58.

⁷¹ Vaughan to Paget, 7 December 1544, PRO, SP 1/195, fos. 195r-196v.

⁷² Vaughan to Paget, 31 August 1544, PRO, SP 1/191, fo. 194r.

⁷³ In the end Vaughan married the widow of the evangelical author of *The Complaint of Roderick Mors*, Henry Brinklow, Brigden, *London and the reformation*, p. 418.

⁷⁴ Vaughan to Paget, 9 December 1544, PRO, SP 1/195, fo. 209v

⁷⁵ Vaughan to Paget, 20 September 1545, PRO, SP 1/208, fos. 39v-40r. Cobb was one of those reformers caught up in the religious reaction in London at Easter 1543. In 1544 he seems to have been saved from Bonner by the intervention of Katherine Parr. Cobb was again in hot water with the bishop in September 1545 and in July 1546 during another conservative reaction, Vaughan had to release him from his household for fear of being too deeply implicated with Cobb's views, Brigden, *London and the reformation*, pp. 346, 359, 376, n. 273.

England closer to reformed continental states.⁷⁷ We have seen the important role he played in reviving this diplomacy in the autumn of 1544, but even before then Vaughan was urging Paget that Mont should be more actively engaged in royal service.⁷⁸ Considerable correspondence passed between Mont and Paget during the Schmalkaldic diplomacy (1544-1545) and like Vaughan, he was influential in providing Paget with intelligence of the wider situation in Europe, in his case particularly concerning Germany. He wrote frequently to Paget about the Imperial diets. However, one of his more interesting letters, from 1544, related to the establishment of the new school at Strasbourg, the town where he based himself, and a centre of reform. Mont was himself something of a scholar; he spent the years after Cromwell's fall keeping his head down and undertaking a doctorate at the University of Speyer.⁷⁹ He wrote to Paget approvingly, both of the scholarly company he enjoyed in Strasbourg and of the grounding for pupils in both Latin and Greek provided by, amongst others, Johann Sturm.⁸⁰ It suggests shared educational preoccupations cemented their friendship.

Beyond Paget, Mont was very much plugged in to the secretariat, and indeed more generally, to important evangelicals at court. We have seen his friendship with Mason, but he also regarded Godsalve as a patron.⁸¹ As with Vaughan, his old Cromwellian connection with Wriothesley was enduring and he also enjoyed strong links with Petre.⁸² Particularly significant was his friendship

⁷⁶ For Mont generally, *DNB*; E. Hildebrandt, 'Christopher Mont, Anglo-German diplomat', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 15 (1984), pp. 281-292; Robertson, 'Cromwell's servants', pp. 248-252, 528-529

⁷⁷ For the Henrican diplomacy see above, pp. 156-157 and McEntegart, 'England and the League of Schmalkalden', *passim*; for the Elizabethan diplomacy see, E.I. Kouri, 'Elizabethan England and Europe: forty unprinted letters from Elizabeth I to protestant powers', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, Special Supplement*, 12 (1982), pp. 24-25; E.I. Kouri, *England and the attempts to form a protestant alliance in the late 1560s: a case study in European diplomacy* (Helsinki, 1981), pp. 25-26.

⁷⁸ Vaughan to Paget, [2] May 1544, PRO, SP 1/187, fo. 82v, 'I wolde wish that ye had Christopher Mownt in tharmy for thynterpretacon of thalmayn tongue the man is both honest and trustie and so have I ever found hym'. Vaughan and Mont obviously maintained contact over the years. In December 1544 Vaughan was writing letters to Mont, Vaughan to Paget, 7 December 1544, PRO, SP 1/195, fo. 195r-v.

⁷⁹ McEntegart, 'England and the League of Schmalkalden', p. 424.

⁸⁰ Mont to Paget, 12 August 1544, PRO, SP 1/191, fo. 93r.

⁸¹ Mont to Mason, 24 November 1546, PRO, SP 1/226, fo. 148r.

⁸² Mont wrote regularly to Wriothesley and refers frequently to Petre in correspondence.

with William Butts and Anthony Denny.⁸³ He was also on good terms with Katherine Parr's secretary, Walter Bucler.⁸⁴ Later Mont was to be highly-regarded by Ascham.⁸⁵

Familiar both to Mont but particularly to Vaughan was Thomas Chamberlain. Like Vaughan, he was both evangelical by inclination and closely associated with the merchant community.⁸⁶ By 1542 he had become a groom of the chamber, thus inhabiting Paget's world at court, but thereafter he spent much of his life abroad. Used by Paget as an agent in the Low Countries in the spring of 1544, in which capacity he worked with Vaughan, by October of that year he had become governor of the Merchant Adventurers at Antwerp. In the course of 1544-1546, the correspondence between Paget and Chamberlain was extensive: it contains much vivid detail about their relationship. Chamberlain clearly regarded Paget as a key patron. For Paget, he was a useful client able to use his mercantile connections to scour the Low Countries for goods. In November 1544 Chamberlain was seeking out some fine crimson velvet for Paget and in April the following year he was sending horses back to his patron, adding that, 'I do still pursue to unhorse one of these spanish prelates from some fair mule for you'.⁸⁷ In the winter of 1545-1546, as work on Paget's house at West Drayton developed, Chamberlain sent back all manner of household goods and furniture to the secretary. Again, though, his religion is of interest. During Edward's reign his household in Brussels celebrated protestant services which, by January 1551, had got him into trouble with Imperial authorities and was forbidden.⁸⁸

As with Vaughan, Richard Layton's connections with Paget went back to the 1520s.⁸⁹ He was in Cromwell's service in Wolsey's household, but as a graduate and with a doctorate from Cambridge in the earlier 1520s, the possibility exists that the connection began there. In the 1530s Layton was one of Cromwell's more zealous agents in the process of the dissolution of the monasteries and by

⁸³ For his connection to Butts see below, p. 192. In his letter to Bucler in November 1546 he sends his regards to Denny, Mont to Bucler, 24 November 1546, PRO, SP 1/226, fo. 52v.

⁸⁴ Whether this pre-dated their joint mission in 1545 is uncertain. Afterwards their friendship is reflected in a familiar letter, touching on religious themes in November 1546, Mont to Bucler, 24 November 1546, PRO, SP 1/226, fos. 52r-53v.

⁸⁵ Ascham referred to Mont as, 'both a learned and wise man', Roger Ascham, *A report and discourse of the affairs of Germany* (London, 1570; STC, 830), sig. E2v.

⁸⁶ P.W. Hasler (ed.), *The history of parliament. The House of Commons, 1558-1603* (iii vols.; London, 1981), i, pp. 589-590.

⁸⁷ Chamberlain to Paget, 19 November 1544, PRO, SP 1/195, fo. 144r; Chamberlain to Paget, 20 April 1545, PRO, SP 1/200, fos. 35r-38v.

⁸⁸ Hasler, i, p. 590.

⁸⁹ *DNB*.

the 1540s was clearly close to Paget. He was to have replaced Paget as ambassador in France but ended up at the Imperial court at Brussels in December 1543. From this brief period until his death in June 1544 there is a series of letters between the two. Though much of the correspondence relates to Layton's embassy, there are revealing personal incidental references. In particular his letter in February indicates that Paget's second son, Thomas, was born in his house.⁹⁰

II

Paget enjoyed close relations not only within his secretariat, but also with men of influence at court. Two in particular, stand out: Anthony Denny and William Butts who, like Paget, enjoyed a special intimacy with the king in his twilight years. Butts was the king's physician and, given the state of Henry's health, was in constant attendance. Born in Norfolk, where his estates were later concentrated, he was educated at Gonville Hall, Cambridge, in the first two decades of the century and remained in Cambridge until the later 1520s when he went to court as a royal physician.⁹¹ For the next twenty years until his death in November 1545, he was an influential presence about the king, promoting humanist scholars, generally Cambridge men, and evangelical reform. As early as 1530, Butts took Hugh Latimer under his wing and seems to have been influential in securing Latimer's elevation to the bishopric of Worcester in 1535.⁹² Two reformers from his old college, Gonville, equally prospered from Butts' support: Nicholas Shaxton and John Skip, who became bishops of Salisbury and Hereford respectively.⁹³ Indeed Dr Dowling has suggested that the predominance of Gonville men of an evangelical position who enjoyed preferment in the 1530s was due to Butts' influence.⁹⁴ Scholars, too, sought his support. It was from Gonville Hall that Taverner came to court in the early 1530s. However, it was Cheke and Thomas Smith, whom Butts introduced to the king in 1534, who were his most notable *proteges*.⁹⁵ Another client, the French evangelical Nicholas Bourbon de Vandoeuvre, who also had links to Cranmer, Cromwell and

⁹⁰ Layton to Paget, 12 February 1544, PRO, SP 1/183, fo. 102r.

⁹¹ For general biographical information see, *DNB* and C.H. Cooper and T. Cooper, *Athenae Cantabrigienses* (iii vols.; Cambridge, 1858-1913).

⁹² Dowling, *Humanism*, pp. 4, 57.

⁹³ Dowling, *Humanism*, p. 57.

⁹⁴ Dowling, *Humanism*, p. 92.

⁹⁵ Dowling, *Humanism*, p. 155.

Latimer in the 1530s, referred to Butts as ‘Macaenas’ and ‘father’.⁹⁶ This is unsurprising given that Bourbon was brought from imprisonment in France at Butts’ instigation and lodged at his London residence.⁹⁷

In the 1540s, Butts remained a key evangelical influence, as both Hooper and subsequently Foxe realised.⁹⁸ Indeed it was Butts’ crucial intervention during the Prebendaries Plot in 1543 which saved Cranmer.⁹⁹ Though Butts was of an older generation than Paget, it is likely the two would have known each other for many years by the 1540s. Both were in Cambridge in the early 1520s, both were at court by the last years of that decade and remained there throughout the 1530s. However, the only direct connection between the two rests on a single but significant reference in a letter from Paget to Mont, a couple of months after the doctor’s death in February 1546, in which he explained, ‘the kinges maiestie the quenes grace and my lord prince with all the rest of your frendes and acquaintance be thankes be to god in good health and prosperitie except mr Butt who after a long and grevous sikenes of a dooble fevre quartane is departed in an honest and godly sorte to god where I trust he resteth in peax’.¹⁰⁰ The warmth with which Paget refers to Butt suggests friendship, and equally important is the use of the word ‘godly’, that favourite self-identification of evangelicals. Further, Butts’ friendship with Mont, whilst perhaps not surprising, is particularly significant, linking him to the policy of alliance with the German protestant princes. This is a view further reinforced by a letter sent to Butts by Franciscus Bugartus, then in Frankfurt, in ignorance of the formers death, in February 1546.¹⁰¹ This letter demonstrates that Butts was in regular contact with Mont about the situation in Germany. But more than this it reveals Butts’ broader commitment to the furthering of the ‘gospel’ throughout Europe and his connections to European reformers, with whom he shared hostility to the Council of Trent. Finally, and significantly,

⁹⁶ Dowling, *Humanism*, p. 146.

⁹⁷ MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 136. Also on Bourbon see, Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Tudor church militant. Edward VI and the protestant reformation* (London, 1999), p. 52.

⁹⁸ Hooper to Bullinger, 27 January 1546, *Letters and papers*, XXI, i, 131. When Hooper explained that the, ‘chief supporters of the Gospel are dying every hour’, he listed Butts as one of their number, John Foxe, *The acts and monuments of John Foxe and a life of the martyrologist, and a vindication of the work*, ed. G. Townsend (viii vols.; London, 1843-1849), v, p. 605. Dowling, *Humanism*, p. 62.

⁹⁹ Dowling, *Humanism*, p. 64.

¹⁰⁰ Paget to Mont, 25 February 1546, PRO, SP 1/214, fo. 156r. Paget, who had been in Calais during Butts’ sickness, had been kept informed of the doctor’s health by Petre, Petre to Paget, 17 December 1545, PRO, SP 1/212, fos. 45r-48v.

¹⁰¹ Burgatus to Butts, 7 February 1546, PRO, SP 1/214, fos. 11r-12r. It is also worth reflecting on how this correspondence ended up in the archive. Was Paget’s relationship with Butts such that he received letters directed to Butts at court after the latter’s death? The letter bears a secretarial endorsement.

Bugartus writes of the hopes raised in Germany by Henry's speech to parliament at the end of 1545.¹⁰²

Butts was therefore an evangelical voice, close to the king, with a clear sense of the European dimension to reform, with whom Paget was closely acquainted. Familiar to both was Anthony Denny. Born into a gentry family at Cheshunt in Hertfordshire in 1501, Denny first studied under William Lily at St Paul's School before progressing to St John's College, Cambridge.¹⁰³ By the late 1520s Denny was part of Sir Francis Bryan's household, another with Hertfordshire connections, but who, more importantly, was a member of the king's privy chamber. It was this that gave Denny his *entree* to court and secured his position as a gentleman of the privy chamber by 1538.¹⁰⁴ From the late 1530s, and particularly after he became one of the two chief gentlemen of the privy chamber by 1544, Denny was a constant presence around Henry and, like Paget, had the skills of a courtier to translate that proximity into influence. It was also, as Starkey has argued, a question of timing. Denny's 'fondness for learning which verged on the bookish', coincided with Henry's retreat deeper into his privy lodgings and his increasing preoccupation with the world of the mind rather than that of the body.¹⁰⁵

In 1547 Denny famously articulated his own intimacy and influence with the king, explaining that often when Paget left after an audience with Henry, 'his Majestie, God hath his soul, wold alwayes when Mr. Secretary was gone tell us [Denny and Herbert] what had passed betwene them'.¹⁰⁶ This was not lost on contemporaries. As Sir Thomas Cheyney was advised, Denny was 'a man near about the King and one not unmeet to be trifled or mocked with'.¹⁰⁷ Equally, Cheke, in his *Carmen*

¹⁰² SP1/214 fo. 13r. This note was enclosed in the letter.

¹⁰³ Denny's education and emergence at court are variously treated by, Bindoff, ii, pp. 27-28; Narasingha P. Sil, 'King's men, queen's men, statesmen: a study of the careers of Sir Anthony Denny, Sir William Herbert, and Sir John Gate, gentlemen of the privy chamber', unpublished University of Oregon Ph.D. (1978), pp. 17-27; David Starkey, *The reign of Henry VIII: personalities and politics* (London, 1985), p. 133.

¹⁰⁴ Sil, 'King's men', pp. 26-34.

¹⁰⁵ Starkey, *Henry VIII*, pp. 133-134.

¹⁰⁶ *APC*, ii, pp. 19-20.

¹⁰⁷ [...] to Mr Cheyney, no date, PRO, SP1/245, fo. 160r; Sil, 'King's men', pp. 37-38; David Starkey, 'Intimacy and innovation: the rise of the privy chamber 1485-1547', in his, *The English court: from the wars of the roses to the civil war* (London, 1987), p. 71.

Heroicum recognised that the chief gentleman was amongst Henry's closest *confidant s.*¹⁰⁸ Most poignantly perhaps is Foxe's story that when close to death it was Denny who summoned the courage to tell the king that the end was near.¹⁰⁹ Further, the impression sometimes conveyed of Denny being a genial scholarly type, a 'velvet glove' indeed, should be dispelled.¹¹⁰ Cheney's counsellor who advised that Denny was not a man to be meddled with spoke wisely. A man who survived at the heart of Henry's court through the last decade of the reign with such success needed to play the game of politics with great skill. Denny himself is supposed to have provided the aspiring courtier, Ascham, with these words about the realities of court, which, if we can believe them, show the chief gentleman to have been acutely aware of the perils of the court: 'the Corte, Mr. Ascam, is a place so slipperie, that dewtie never so well done, is not a staffe stiff enough to standby alwise very surelie: where ye shall many times repe most unkyndnesse where ye have sown greatest pleasures, and those also readye to do you moch hurt, to whom you never intended to think any harme'.¹¹¹

Denny's influence, like Butts', seems to have been directed to the cause of evangelical reform and scholarship. What was Denny's religion? At any sophisticated level the simple answer is we do not know. Certainly he didn't write down his ideas, which explains why there is some disagreement about his religion. Whilst acknowledging Denny's sympathy to the cause of reform, Dr Sil is cautious about Denny's religion; 'he indeed belonged to the new faith, but he was a moderate protestant: neither zealous nor extremist', indeed, 'we must not overstate the implications of Denny's connection and sympathy with the reformers', although, 'very possibly, Denny was one of those who influenced Henry's reformation'.¹¹² Other historians like Starkey and Dowling have seen a stronger evangelical commitment in Denny.¹¹³ Whilst Sil is probably right to suggest that Denny's commitment to his king was a dominant consideration, it is undeniable that Denny was seen by contemporaries and the subsequent generation as a key promoter of evangelical reform and

¹⁰⁸ J. Strype, *The life of the learned Sir John Cheke, kt. First instructor, afterwards secretary of state, to King Edward VI* (Oxford, 1821), p. 168; Sil, 'King's men', p. 65, n. 139.

¹⁰⁹ Foxe, *Acts and monuments*, v, p. 689

¹¹⁰ This impression probably stems from the adulatory comments of 'gentle' Mr. Denny from numerous scholars. It is perpetuated by Starkey, *Henry VIII*, pp. 134-136, and reinforced by Denny's portrait.

¹¹¹ Sil, 'King's men', p. 18. Ascham was referring to a conversation with Denny in 1548.

¹¹² Sil, 'King's men', pp. 21, 23, 24.

¹¹³ Starkey, *Henry VIII*, p. 133; Dowling, *Humanism*, pp. 61- 62.

its supporters at the end of the reign. Interestingly, like Butts, Denny was on good terms with Mont.¹¹⁴

As with Butts, Denny's association with Paget is discernible, only the evidence is more extensive: indeed from childhood they trod very similar paths. Denny was four or five years older than Paget, so it is perhaps unlikely that they had any contact at St Paul's. However, at Cambridge they may well have known each other as old boys from the same school, and Trinity Hall was only a short distance from St John's. By the early 1530s both Paget and Denny were on the continent, Denny within Bryan's household and Paget working as Henry's agent. From the middle of the 1530s both were at court. However, it is not until the 1540s that there is evidence of a clear association. In January 1543, when still ambassador in France, Paget made contact with an agent sent by Henry Knyvet and Denny and in the following year, Paget gave his famous advice to Hertford that he should cultivate his relationship with Denny.¹¹⁵ Two months later, Paget, writing from Charles V's court, asked Petre to pursue a suit on behalf of Nicholas Wotton, which, if necessary, he should refer to Wriothesley or Denny, 'to whom', Paget added, 'I pray youe to make my most hartly commendacions'.¹¹⁶ Towards the end of the year Paget again wrote to Petre, this time from Calais, requesting, 'to comend me most hartely to good Mr Deny and Mr Carden [Thomas Carwarden] *with* thankes for theyr gentle and frendly remembrance of me now in absence which contravalith [?] a dooble good towrne in presence I will never forget it if my word or dede may ever stand them in any stede'.¹¹⁷ One good turn deserves another, and although what prompted this outpouring from Paget is obscure, his closeness and indebtedness to Denny and indeed Carwarden is evident. A year later Paget was again abroad, asking favours of Denny and Carwarden through Petre. This time it was over the thorny, and for Paget the crucial issue of his lodging at court.¹¹⁸ It is revealing that on these occasions Paget also sought the support of Carwarden, another gentleman of the privy chamber, who by the 1540s was, according to Dr Brigden, 'a zealous protestant'.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁴ Mont to Bucler, 24 November 1546, PRO, SP 1/226, fos. 152r-153v.

¹¹⁵ Paget to Henry VIII, 23 January 1543, PRO, SP 1/175, fos. 83r-84v; Paget to Hertford, [5] April 1544, Hatfield, Cecil MS. 231, no. 7.

¹¹⁶ Paget to Petre, 3 June 1544, PRO, SP 1/188, fo. 48r.

¹¹⁷ Paget to Petre, 1 November 1544, PRO, SP 1/194, fo. 201r.

¹¹⁸ Paget to Petre, 24 November 1545, PRO, SP 1/211, fos. 55r-56v.

¹¹⁹ Brigden, *London and the reformation*, p. 326.

These chance references survive only because Paget was away from court. What they reveal is Paget's closeness to Denny. When Paget himself was absent from court he relied on Denny to act as conduit to the king. What we cannot reconstruct is their day-to-day relationship at court but they are likely to have worked hand-in-glove. They, along with Butts, were, after all, amongst the very few people who enjoyed regular and almost unlimited access to the king. In fact between them, they may have controlled access. We know that ambassadors looked to Paget when they sought an audience with Henry. Beale's advice in 1592 that the secretary check with those of the privy chamber before an audience with the monarch perhaps indicates that Paget's role was formal, whilst Denny's was informal. Undoubtedly Paget and Denny would have seen each other daily, passing along the privy gallery. On at least one occasion letters sent to Denny were sent to Paget to deliver personally to the chief gentleman, the implication being regular contact between the two.¹²⁰ Perhaps what finally seals this relationship is the testimony from both Paget and Denny shortly after Henry's death in relation to the 'unfulfilled gifts clause' in the late king's will. Paget there explained that 'moved of honestie for that Mr. Deny had divers tymes ben a suter for me and I never for him', he persuaded the king to give Denny the duke of Norfolk's old manor of Bungay. Equally, it was Denny and Herbert who prompted Henry to include Paget amongst the beneficiaries, Denny himself claiming to have written the entry before passing the paper to the king.¹²¹

Butts and Denny were reknowned as patrons of learning and reform. So too was Thomas Wendy, another of Henry's physicians and thus a *habitué* of the privy chamber. Another product of Gonville Hall and highly-regarded by Ascham, Wendy's connection to Paget is revealed by one single but telling incidental reference in 1545 at the time when Paget feared his wife was dead.¹²² If his wife was indeed dead, Paget asked Petre to 'advise master wendy about my thinges'.¹²³ That Paget should seek Wendy's assistance in sorting his household affairs on the death of his wife certainly suggests a particular intimacy.

¹²⁰ Wriothesley to Paget, 11 November 1545, PRO, SP 1/210, fo. 73r, 'I pray you let the paquet sent herwith be delivered to mr denny It toucheth the shireffs for wales'.

¹²¹ *APC*, ii, pp. 17, 20.

¹²² In March 1547 Ascham wrote to Wendy on behalf of Cambridge University in the hope he would be a useful patron at court and a successor to Dr Butts in this regard. Ascham to Wendy, March 1547, Hatch, 'The Ascham letters', pp. 202-203; Dowling, *Humanism*, p. 68.

¹²³ Paget to Petre, 3 April 1545, PRO, SP 1/199, fo. 176r.

III

The basis on which these relationships with Butts, Denny, Carwarden and Wendy was founded cannot be asserted with certainty, but it is likely to have been a combination of personal friendship, nurtured perhaps in some cases since Cambridge days, shared intellectual interests and commitment to some form of evangelical reform. This triumvirate of bonds, which connected Denny, Butts and Paget extended into the household of Prince Edward particularly his schoolroom and his three principal tutors, successively Richard Cox, Cheke and Ascham.

Edward's early life was first organised around a household dominated by Lady Bryan, but, perhaps in 1543, certainly before summer 1544, Edward acquired his first tutor, Richard Cox.¹²⁴ However, in July 1544, shortly before his father left for France, Edward's household was reconstructed.¹²⁵ Cox became his almoner and, though he remained a strong influence, the dominant figure over Edward's education, Cheke, was appointed his tutor.¹²⁶ Edward's first mentor, Cox, born in 1499, had progressed from Eton to King's College, Cambridge, from where he received a BA in 1524.¹²⁷ From Cambridge, like Taverner, he moved to Wolsey's foundation at Oxford, Cardinal's College, graduating MA in 1526. For much of the 1530s he was Head Master at Eton, and at the same time acquired powerful patrons, being chaplain first to bishop Goodrich of Ely, then to Cranmer and then to Henry himself. With the reorganisation of Edward's household in 1544, he became almoner to the prince. However, he did not spend all his time at the prince's household: he was involved in the examination of Anne Askew in 1546 and in November 1546 became the first dean of Christ Church, Oxford. Edward's affectionate letters to Cox testify to the almoner's frequent absence from the prince's household.¹²⁸

¹²⁴ W.K. Jordan, *Edward VI: the young king. The protectorate of the duke of Somerset* (London, 1968), pp. 38-39.

¹²⁵ The details of which are outlined in a conciliar memorandum, PRO, SP 1/189, fos. 227r-230v.

¹²⁶ Cheke appears to have known he was to become tutor as early as 10 June, P.S. Needham, 'Sir John Cheke at Cambridge and court', unpublished University of Harvard Ph.D. (1971), p. 166.

¹²⁷ *Athenae Cantabrigienses*; Needham, 'Cheke', pp. 172-173.

¹²⁸ Needham, 'Cheke', p.173.

Investigating Cox's religion illustrates the problems in viewing the 1540s with hindsight. Under Edward he continued to prosper, becoming a privy councillor and chancellor of Oxford University early in the reign. He then suffered the classic reversal of fortune under Mary and after initial imprisonment fled to Strasbourg. On Mary's death he was one of the first wave of exiles to return to England and soon established himself as part of the protestant establishment under Elizabeth, becoming bishop of Ely in June 1559. It would thus be tempting to read back Cox's evangelical, even protestant, position to at least the 1540s. Needham indeed suggests that as early as the 1520s Cox was probably, 'a confirmed protestant'.¹²⁹ Smith, though, argues against such an interpretation, 'far from being a religious radical during Henry's final years, the king's chaplain and former master of Eton was regarded as a moderate man in religion'.¹³⁰

The reason for these divergent views is again the problem of evidence. At the most basic level we do not know what Cox's religious views were in the last years of Henry's reign. Whilst he wrote prolifically in the 1560s and 1570s there is only one clear statement from the 1540s, and that from 1549. Thus one is forced to rely on inference and connections. It is certainly possible to construct a Cox in the 1540s who was moderate. As Smith argues, Cox was one of two 'indifferent hearers' in the disputation between Gardiner and Barnes in 1540, and was one of the theologians who helped to mould Henry's most conservative statement of religion, the 1543 *King's Book*.¹³¹ He can even be framed as persecutor of heretics, because of his involvement in the examination of Dr Crome and Anne Askew in 1546.¹³² This reading of Cox suggests that his chief influence over Edward was his loyalty to the crown and his credentials as a humanist scholar.¹³³ Yet Cox the evangelical can be discerned from as early as the 1520s. Like Taverner he was implicated in the heresy scandal at Cardinal College, Oxford, in 1528 and his patrons in the 1530s, first bishop Goodrich, Ann Boleyn's client, and then Cranmer associate him firmly with evangelicals. Importantly, Cox was to be Cranmer's key contact with the young prince's household. Equally, his appointment as dean of Christ Church, Oxford can be read as highly significant, as this foundation symbolised the victory of Cranmer over the Oxford conservatives who had been implicated in the attacks on the

¹²⁹ Needham, 'Cheke', p.173.

¹³⁰ L.B. Smith, 'Henry VIII and the protestant triumph', *American Historical Review*, 71 (1966), p. 1247. Equally, Smith argues, 'if Cox was a reformer when he was made almoner to the Prince in 1544, he certainly kept his heresy to himself'.

¹³¹ Smith, 'Henry VIII and the protestant triumph', p. 1247.

¹³² Smith, 'Henry VIII and the protestant triumph', p. 1247.

¹³³ Smith, 'Henry VIII and the protestant triumph', p. 1246.

archbishop in 1543.¹³⁴ Further, Cox the persecutor of heretics can be moderated. Both Askew and Crome's extreme position on the Eucharist put them beyond the pale for many evangelicals and under such circumstances it was only prudent for reformers of more moderate views to distance themselves. Indeed given Henry's generally consistent hostility to any deviation from a traditional view of the Eucharist, it would only be prudent for moderate evangelicals to protest too much against radicals.¹³⁵

Similar disagreement over religious position can be discerned with regard to Cheke. Of a younger generation than Cox, born in 1514, Cheke entered St John's College, Cambridge, as a scholar in 1526.¹³⁶ His subsequent academic reputation rests partly on his association with figures like his pupils, Cecil, whose brother-in-law he became in the early 1540s, Ascham and William Bill and his friend and scholar Smith, but predominantly on his status as the leading humanist of the age and on his nurturing of Greek at Cambridge. Indeed it was his reputation as a Grecian that first brought him to the attention of Henry in 1534, who accordingly granted him an exhibition to promote his Greek studies. In 1540 he became the first Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge. As tutor to Edward from 1544 he enjoyed increasing influence, particularly after 1547, becoming a privy councillor and one of the principal secretaries. Like Cox he suffered a severe reversal of fortune with Mary's accession and fled to Strasbourg as an exile. His subsequent capture in 1556 seems to have led directly to his death the following year.

Cheke's life mirrors Cox's in a number of ways, though without Cox's happy Elizabethan ending, and the questions which emerge about Cheke's religion in the 1540s echo those which surround Cox. Smith has argued that before 1547, Cheke can no more be regarded as a strong evangelical voice than Cox, and that Cheke's appointment was down to his reputation as a humanist and teacher: 'he was appointed by the king not because he was a "known reformer" but because he was a fine scholar in the tradition of John Colet'.¹³⁷ In contrast Cheke's principal biographer, Needham, has suggested that Cheke's views were 'firmly protestant' by the early 1540s and that these might

¹³⁴ MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, pp. 336-337.

¹³⁵ MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 354; Maria Dowling, 'The gospel and the court: reformation under Henry VIII', Peter Lake and Maria Dowling (eds.), *Protestantism and the national church in sixteenth century England* (London, 1987), p. 47.

¹³⁶ *DNB*; *Athenae Cantabrigienses*.

¹³⁷ Smith, 'Henry VIII and the protestant triumph', p. 1247.

be traced back as far as Cambridge in the 1520s.¹³⁸ Both Needham and more recently McDiarmid have based this interpretation around a series of letters Cheke sent to his mother in the early 1540s, many of which relate to the illness and death of Agnes, his sister and Cecil's wife.¹³⁹ Indeed, McDiarmid has argued that there can be 'little doubt that Cheke's personal outlook was protestant well before the accession of Edward'.¹⁴⁰ More than this, though, unlike Cox, Cheke did produce some writing in the early 1540s which provides confirmation of an evangelical commitment, and a desire to put this into a more public environment. The translations of St John Chrysostom were part of a series of works given to Henry as a new year's gift by Cheke in the early 1540s. Perhaps the most significant writing in terms of Cheke's religion, though, was his preface to *De Superstitione*, presented to Henry in either 1545 or 1546, in which McDiarmid has identified a significant, though necessarily veiled, 'protestant' strain.

Although his influence over royal education was principally directed at Elizabeth rather than Edward, Ascham was another of the celebrated generation that passed through St John's in the 1530s with close links to Prince Edward's household.¹⁴¹ Having progressed first through Sir Anthony Wingfield's household to Cambridge, Ascham was reader in Greek at St John's by 1538. At the beginning of the 1540s, he acquired a patron in the form of Robert Holgate, Archbishop of York and had become embroiled in the famous dispute at Cambridge over the pronunciation of Greek, taking Cheke's side against the chancellor of the university, Stephen Gardiner. However, in September 1544, Holgate died and Ascham now sought preferment at court, which he hoped to achieve partly through his work *Toxophilus*. Meeting with mixed fortunes in his search for a position at court, Ascham remained at Cambridge until 1548 when he succeeded his former pupil, William Grindal, on the latter's premature death, as Elizabeth's tutor. Subsequently, he was appointed Latin secretary to Edward VI, and, like his St John's contemporaries Cecil and Chaloner, he felt no need to leave the country during Mary's reign, serving her as Latin secretary and remaining in the position under Elizabeth until his death in 1568. Indeed, like Cox and Cheke, despite Ascham's later reputation as one of the 'protestant' influences about Elizabeth, it is significant that he displayed what MacCulloch has described as a 'canny ecumenism' for much of

¹³⁸ Needham, 'Cheke', pp. 292-296.

¹³⁹ J.F. McDiarmid, 'John Cheke's preface to *De Superstitione*', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 48 (1997), pp. 100-120.

¹⁴⁰ McDiarmid, 'Cheke's preface', p. 109-110.

¹⁴¹ For Ascham's early life see, L.V. Ryan, *Roger Ascham* (Stanford, 1963), pp. 8-48; also *DNB* and *Athenae Cantabrigienses*.

his career.¹⁴² His first patron Holgate was not regarded as an advocate of reform and in 1544-1545 he sought the assistance of both Stephen Gardiner, with whom he remained close, and the duke of Norfolk.

The most basic connection between Denny, Butts and Paget and the young prince's tutors was that Edward's household spent much time at Denny's house at Chesthunt, Hertfordshire. Denny's wife, Lady Joan Denny, was sister to Elizabeth's confidant, Kate Astley. The Cambridge connection was central to this, particularly the St John's links of Denny, Cheke and Ascham.¹⁴³ We have already seen Denny giving advice to Ascham about the perils of the court in Edward's reign, but the connection was there in Henry's time. In 1545 Ascham wrote to Denny, explaining that it was first through Cheke that he had been made aware of Denny's reputation as a patron of scholars and that when he had presented his own work, *Toxophilus* to Henry in the gallery at Greenwich in 1545, Denny had been a benevolent onlooker.¹⁴⁴ Equally, it was at this time that Ascham began to be involved in the education of Princess Elizabeth, recounting in *The scholemaster* that this was when Elizabeth was 'lying at worthie Syr Ant. Denys in Cheston [Cheshunt]'.¹⁴⁵ Cheke was certainly close to Denny, as Ascham's letter suggests, and as we have seen, wrote movingly about him on his death. Cox's relationship to Denny is less clear but they were of the same generation, being born only a year apart and though at different colleges the close proximity between St John's and King's might suggest that they knew each other then. Certainly by 1544, Cox, writing to Paget at court, was asking Paget to give Denny his regards.¹⁴⁶ Equally, Butts' connection was significant, particularly to Cheke. This relationship went back to Cambridge in the 1520s and it was through Butts that Cheke gained his *entree* to court. The high regard Cheke had for Butts is reflected in the epitaph he wrote for him.¹⁴⁷

These connections have naturally led to the supposition that Denny and Butts were instrumental in the appointment of Cox, Cheke and Ascham as tutors to Edward, though Dowling has suggested

¹⁴² MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 326.

¹⁴³ Dr Sil has argued that Cheke, Ascham and Cox were close associates, Sil, 'King's men', p. 24; see also Dowling, *Humanism*, p. 212.

¹⁴⁴ Ascham to Denny, 1545, Hatch, 'Ascham letters', pp. 144-147.

¹⁴⁵ Ascham, *The scholemaster*, sig. K4r.

¹⁴⁶ Cox to Paget, 10 December 1544, PRO, SP 1/195, fo. 214r.

¹⁴⁷ Dowling, *Humanism*, p. 65; McDiarmid, 'Cheke's preface', p. 119.

that, certainly in the case of Cox, Cranmer was influential.¹⁴⁸ Given the network of relationships between all parties, it may well be that Denny, Butts and Cranmer were influential. What has not really been fully considered is Paget's connections to Edward's household and to his tutors. At the outset, it is worth noting that the extant document which established Edward's household in July 1544, and which confirms Cheke as Edward's new tutor and Cox as almoner, is drafted by one of Paget's clerks, 'clerk A', and that the corrections relating to Cox and Cheke are in Paget's hand.¹⁴⁹ Paget certainly seems to have taken considerable interest in the young prince, and his household until the king's death, which is further confirmed by one tantalisingly obscure comment from Cox to Paget in October 1546 when he advises, 'ye shall do very well if ye travail like as I understande ye have begun for the honourable stay and establishment of the Princes Grace house'.¹⁵⁰ In April 1546, Edward wrote to Cox at court asking him to thank Paget for his gift of a sandbox.¹⁵¹

Paget's connections with Ascham, Cheke and particularly Cox are revealing. As we have seen, by the mid-1540s, Ascham was developing his links with prominent figures at court. Cheke he knew from Cambridge, but he was also seeking the patronage of Denny and by his own admission his closest contact at court, Raylton, was connected to Paget's secretariat. In this bid for recognition, Ascham also approached Paget. The fruits of this approach are clear in the preface to his *Toxophilus* where Ascham explains that the success of the treatise was due to 'the furderance and setting forthe of the right worshipfull and mi singular good master Sir William Pagette Knight, moost worthie Secretarie to your highnes, and most open and redie succoure to al poore honest learned mens sutes'.¹⁵² Paget secured for Ascham a pension of ten pounds for *Toxophilus*. Early in the previous year, though, Ascham had written to Paget both to further his treatise and, unsuccessfully, to seek his patronage for the position of professor of Greek at Cambridge.¹⁵³ After Paget returned from France in June 1546, Ascham, by now Orator of Cambridge University, wrote

¹⁴⁸ MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 326, 'it was probably Butts and Denny, rather than Cranmer, who were responsible for the suggestions which led to the successive entries of the trio to royal service'. Dowling and *Athenae Cantabrigienses* suggest that in Cox's case it was Cranmer. It was probably the influence of all three plus Paget.

¹⁴⁹ PRO, SP 1/189, fo. 227r.

¹⁵⁰ Cox to Paget, 12 October 1546, PRO, SP 1/225, fo. 185r.

¹⁵¹ Prince Edward to Cox, 9 April 1546, BL Harley MS. 5087, fo. 2r (pencil top right).

¹⁵² Roger Ascham, *Toxophilus, the schole of shoting conteyned in two bookes* (London, 1545; STC, 837), sigs. A2v-A3r.

¹⁵³ Ascham to Paget, May [?] 1544, Hatch, 'Ascham letters', pp. 91-96.

to Paget again and although clearly the two had not been in contact for some time, for which Ascham apologises, the relationship of patron and client seems to have existed.¹⁵⁴

Significantly, in the letter to Paget in 1544, Ascham refers Paget to Cheke as one who could vouch for his character and scholarship. Cheke was clearly known to Paget though evidence for their relationship at this point is extremely thin. Rather one must infer their connection through their networks of relationships. Denny and Butts clearly provide a link, as does Cox, who was close to both Paget and Cheke.¹⁵⁵ Chaloner, Paget's friend and close associate of Cecil, and old boy of St John's, may have been taught by Cheke in the 1530s. John Leland, Paget's old school friend, who in the mid-1540s was writing admiringly of the secretary, later wrote similar *encomia* of Cheke also.

The evidence of Paget's friendship with Cox is far more substantial. The two had been close since at least the 1530s, since Cox was godfather to Paget's eldest son, Henry, who was born around 1537. Our window into their relationship by the 1540s is provided by four letters from Cox to Paget running from the end of 1544 to 1546, which are revealing about both men.¹⁵⁶ They obviously maintained a considerable correspondence, of which only a fraction has survived, Cox explaining to Paget that 'ye must understand it delighteth me as much to babble with you as to talke sadly with many others'.¹⁵⁷ Paget, for his part, provided Cox with medical advice.¹⁵⁸ For Paget, though, Cox provided the crucial contact from within the future king's household. Paget wanted to know what was going on, including the *minutiae* of the prince's education.¹⁵⁹ As well as being politically prudent, it might have reflected Paget's interest in the possibility of his son, Henry, being educated within the prince's household. Henry and Prince Edward were the same age

¹⁵⁴ Ascham to Paget, June [?] 1546, Hatch, 'Ascham letters', pp. 189- 192.

¹⁵⁵ For an indication of relations between Cox and Cheke, see Needham, 'Cheke', p. 297.

¹⁵⁶ Cox to Paget, 10 December 1544, PRO, SP 1/195, fos. 213r-214r; Cox to Paget, 12 October 1546, PRO, SP 1/225, fo. 185r; Cox to Paget, 18 October 1546, PRO, SP 1/225, fos. 202r-203r; Cox to Paget, 29 October 1546, PRO, SP 1/226, fo. 16r-v. Though it is clear that Paget was a regular correspondent to Cox, none of these letters has survived.

¹⁵⁷ Cox to Paget, 12 October 1546, PRO, SP 1/225, fo. 185r.

¹⁵⁸ Cox to Paget, 18 October 1546, PRO, SP 1/225, fo. 202r.

¹⁵⁹ Cox to Paget, 10 December 1544, PRO, SP 1/195, fos. 213r-214r, 'Syr as concerning my lorde and dere scholar it is kyndly done of you to desyre so gently to here from hym and of hym *proceeding* in hys valiant conquests', and later, 'thus in parte I have satisfied your desyre *concerning* my lorde and dere scholar'.

and on at least one occasion Cox mooted this idea to Paget, though it does not appear to have been implemented.¹⁶⁰

The letters, though, reflect broader humanist concerns. Two letters in October 1546 in particular display Cox's desire that the money raised from the dissolution of the chantries should be used to help further and establish a 'godly' realm. He urged Paget, 'among all your affaires for the Kinges *Maiestie* and the Realm forget not ne cease not to further those that be most necessary, godly and honourable'. Cox's concern was that the ravening 'wolves', who sought to exploit the new opportunities provided by the dissolution, would prevent real reform and he warned that if so, 'posterity will wonder at us. The realm will come into foul ignorance and Barbarouness when the Reward of learning is gone'. Paget's own ambivalent position in this was not lost on Cox. He was aware that Paget himself was trying to exploit the situation and that he had been granted lands from the dissolution. Nevertheless, Cox urged Paget that the king and those around him (including Paget) should stand against the wolves 'lyke an hardy and godly lyon'.¹⁶¹ Cox clearly felt that despite Paget's own taint, the secretary was still a man about the king who could help ensure 'godly' reform, and he confided that 'I wryte these things *without* respecte to you bycause I take you as me self'.¹⁶² Similar reforming sentiments are present in Cox's letter at the end of October 1546, in which he remonstrates with Paget over the recent proclamation relating to the burning of books. According to Cox this was being widely misinterpreted and being used by some to destroy 'good' books and an excuse to 'teache thold latyne *with* tholde ignorance'.¹⁶³ Cox feared that it would mean that many 'might remayne still in their old ignorancy and supstitiose foly'.¹⁶⁴ Throughout the letters, Cox's commitment to reform of the common weal, to banishing idolatory, ignorance and superstition, all humanist themes, is evident. Equally, he emphasises the primacy of the bible.¹⁶⁵ In all of this he sees Paget as a fellow-traveller, and indeed one so positioned to influence events in a 'godly' manner.

¹⁶⁰ Cox to Paget, 10 December 1544, PRO, SP 1/195, fos. 213r-214r.

¹⁶¹ Cox to Paget, 18 October 1546, PRO, SP 1/225, fo. 202r.

¹⁶² Cox to Paget, 18 October 1546, PRO, SP 1/225, fo. 203r.

¹⁶³ Cox to Paget, 29 October 1546, PRO, SP 1/226, fo. 16r

¹⁶⁴ Cox to Paget, 29 October 1546, PRO, SP 1/226, fo. 16r.

¹⁶⁵ Cox to Paget, 29 October 1546, PRO, SP 1/226, fo. 16r. Significantly he writes, 'God of all *comforte* grant all such as mynde devoutly and godly *cume* to have *comfort* of hys blessed worde. And for all your busynes blesse yor self *with* it ons a day'.

For Cox, the other man of influence around Henry and another close connection was Cranmer. Indeed Cox might be seen as one of the archbishop's *protéges* and he benefited considerably from his patronage. The network between Cox, Cranmer and Paget is a significant one since Paget and Cranmer were themselves close.¹⁶⁶ By the 1540s, the two may have known each other for over twenty years. The Cambridge connection is present, Cranmer being a fellow at Jesus College, though it must be admitted, the archbishop was much older than Paget and Jesus' geographical position on the periphery of most Cambridge colleges augurs against such an early affinity. Evidence from the 1530s is more conclusive. In the summer of 1532, when Cranmer was ambassador at the Imperial court at Regensburg and Paget was sent to negotiate with the German princes, his first stop was to Cranmer to deliver letters.¹⁶⁷ More revealing, though, is that in the aftermath of the passage of the Six Articles, which so damaged the evangelical cause, Cranmer used Paget to communicate with Alexander Alesius, the Scottish-born reformer, to warn him to flee before being forced to subscribe to the Articles.¹⁶⁸

The connection continued into the 1540s. Amongst the Paget family archive exists a scrap of badly damaged paper, on which is written a memorandum by Paget's second son, Thomas, which reads: 'I Thomas Pdaget was borne the yeare of our lord 1543 the 9 of Ja. betwene 3 & 4 of the clocke in the morning uppon wenisday [...] havinge to his godfathers the reverend father in god Thoms Cranmer byshopp of cant. the lord wrothesley the lady margarete contesse of derby'¹⁶⁹ Further confirmation of this birth can be found a month later from Layton, who wrote to Paget congratulating him in the following terms, 'I am glad of your wife's good fortune in my house, and of your young champion'.¹⁷⁰ This indication of a close relationship between Paget and Cranmer adds a further gloss to a political alliance which was having an impact on the course of religious reform as early as 1544. In May of that year, the litany became the first service in the vernacular to be officially sanctioned. According to the Spanish Chronicle, the prime mover behind this reform was Paget, working closely with Cranmer. Indeed, the Chronicle suggests that Paget first sought

¹⁶⁶ Much of this has been worked out by Professor MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, pp. 251, 275-276, 329-330, 337, 351-352.

¹⁶⁷ McEntegart, 'England and the League of Schmalkalden', p. 49.

¹⁶⁸ MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 251. Alesius was himself connected to Cambridge, having lectured there in the mid-1530s. G. Wiedermann, 'Alexander Alesius' Lectures on the Psalms at Cambridge, 1536', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 37 (1986), pp. 15-41.

¹⁶⁹ Staffs RO D(W)1734/2/5/1K. The memorandum gives the regnal year, Thomas was born on 9 January 1544 according to the calendar year, see the date of Layton's letter below.

Henry's support to remove statues from all churches, but, with Henry rejecting this, Paget, worked through Cranmer, to secure the less radical and to Henry more acceptable compromise of English services.¹⁷¹ It is perhaps significant that this litany borrowed partly from the works of St John Chrysostom, which had been translated from the Greek into Latin by Cheke: only two months before, in March 1544, Thomas Chaloner, Paget's close associate within the secretariat, had published his translation into English. Later in the year, this reform of the litany, with further translations into English, was continued by Cranmer. In a letter to Henry in October 1544, Cranmer explains that he had received permission from the king to undertake these translations via Paget which, as MacCulloch suggests, may well be a 'telling detail'.¹⁷² Then, in January 1546, again with Paget's assistance, Cranmer secured Henry's permission to abolish certain ceremonies including the ringing of bells on All Hallows evening, the covering of images during Lent and the ritual creeping to the cross at Easter.¹⁷³ Interestingly, all of these measures chime with Cox's letters to Paget bemoaning superstition and idolatry.

What emerges from this survey of Paget's connections and relationships is a series of recurrent themes and influences. Many of Paget's associates shared a similar education: many were contemporaries at Cambridge. Often old bonds of service under Cromwell emerge as do links with the merchant community, including the Merchant Adventurers at Antwerp. Nearly thirty years ago, Professor Elton made the connection between Paget and the proponents of reform in the 1540s.¹⁷⁴ Scholars like Taverner, Chaloner, Cheke, Ascham, Cranmer, Cox and Alesius were certainly amongst the leading humanists of their age. Equally, Denny, Butts, Mason and perhaps Yetsweirt were humanists by education and training. Can one then infer that by the 1540s, Paget was on the evangelical wing at court—a humanist, committed to reform of religion and, by implication reform of the commonwealth? Clearly it is not that simple. Whilst education and religion do provide an important link between many of Paget's associates, it has to be remembered that by the 1540s, a humanist education was common to many within the political community and humanism did not

¹⁷⁰ Layton to Paget, 12 February 1544, PRO, SP 1/183, fo. 102r. The implication appears to be that Thomas was born at Layton's London house, though the reference is ambiguous.

¹⁷¹ *Chronicle of king Henry VIII of England*, tr. and ed. M.S. Hume (London, 1889), pp. 106-107; MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 329.

¹⁷² Cranmer to Henry, 7 October 1544, PRO, SP 1/208, fos. 169r-170v; MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 330.

¹⁷³ Henry VIII to Cranmer, January 1546, PRO, SP 1/213, fos. 146r-147v; MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, pp. 351-352.

¹⁷⁴ G.R. Elton, *Reform and reformation. England 1509-1558* (London, 1977), pp. 317-327, esp. p. 325.

provide a high-road to religious reform.¹⁷⁵ Equally, to return to the points made at the beginning of the chapter, one cannot assume a neat cleavage of opinion between ‘evangelicals’ and ‘conservatives’. There were many shades of grey in between. Paget certainly inhabited the greyer areas, which is why it has always been difficult to pin down a discernible political creed. Nevertheless, this chapter does perhaps indicate the direction Paget was heading in the middle of the 1540s: a proponent of moderate reform might be a fair characterisation. Equally, Paget emerges with rather more depth and colour than the traditional characterisation of, ‘the true bureaucrat in office to whom the work always came first’.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁵ R. Rex, ‘The role of English humanists in the reformation up to 1559’, in N.S. Amos, A. Pettegree, and H. van Nierop (eds.), *The education of a Christian society: humanism and the reformation in Britain and the Netherlands* (Aldershot, 1999), pp. 19-40.

¹⁷⁶ Elton, *Reform and reformation*, p. 325.

7. Paget and conciliar politics 1543-1547

Interpretations of Paget's role in the politics of the last years of Henry's reign have seen him as a key member of Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford's reform party and crucial to the success of establishing the protectorate. At the same time, whilst outwardly maintaining good relations with a 'conservative' party, effectively headed by Stephen Gardiner, Paget is taken to have secretly conspired to secure their demise, and in particular used his influence about the king to secure the exclusion of Gardiner from the minority council and the downfall of the Howards.¹ Such accounts are overtly factional and conspiratorial in nature, portraying clearly defined groups in competition. Dr Redworth, for example, has talked in terms of 'the rigidity of the political battle lines in Henry's last years'.² Religion is seen as the key determinant in this political alignment. This is the result, in part, of the nature of the evidence used to construct such accounts, near contemporaries writing after the event, whose agenda was religious. For example, David Starkey's account of factional politics is, by his own admission, heavily influenced by John Foxe and his characterisation of Paget as a *politique* whose only guiding principle was expediency is taken straight from John Ponet.³ All historians acknowledge the problems of the sources: Foxe for example was writing from the very different perspective, politically and religiously, of the 1560s, but modern accounts of the last years tend, still, to read back from the perspective of 1547 or later to interpret the politics of 1543-1547. A classic statement of this type comes from Professor Slavin, who set himself the question, 'what was the antecedent connection between Sadler, Paget, Dudley and Seymour?'⁴ It is the purpose of this chapter to reappraise this model of politics in general and Paget's position in this structure in particular, both by examining Paget's relationships with the key players in the politics of 1543-1547 and by taking full account of recent research on Edward VI's reign, which suggests that consensus rather than conflict was the real context in which the duke of Somerset's protectorate was established.

¹ John Guy, *Tudor England* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 196-199; A.J. Slavin, *Politics and profit. A study of Sir Ralph Sadler, 1507-1547* (Cambridge, 1966), pp. 132-157; S.R. Gammon, *Statesman and schemer. William first Lord Paget* (Newton Abbot, 1973), pp. 115-129; David Starkey, *The reign of Henry VIII: personalities and politics* (London, 1985), pp. 147-167, esp. p. 154; G. Redworth, *In defence of the church catholic. The life of Stephen Gardiner* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 203-207, 220-230, 231-247.

² Redworth, *In defence*, p. 206.

³ Starkey, *Henry VIII*, pp. 154, 169.

⁴ Slavin, *Politics and profit*, p. 152. Professor Slavin subsequently acknowledged that in this study, 'too much is made there of self-conscious factionalism', A. J. Slavin, 'The fall of lord chancellor Wriothlesley: a study in the politics of conspiracy', *Albion*, 7 (1975), p. 266, n. 4.

I

Paget was undoubtedly on good terms with Hertford, John Dudley, Viscount Lisle and Ralph Sadler, three men traditionally seen as the most prominent in the reformist group. His connections with Hertford probably went back to the 1530s since Paget was Jane Seymour's secretary from 1536, but one can only speculate at the nature of any relationship.⁵ Paget does not appear on any of Hertford's household or kitchen accounts during the late 1530s and early 1540s: one might surmise that had Paget and Hertford been close at this point he would have done.⁶ The earliest direct evidence of contact comes from a letter from Hertford to Paget in August 1543.⁷ Writing from his house at Sheen, the purpose of Hertford's letter is to ask Paget to act as intermediary in presenting letters to the king. This may suggest some familiarity, but not in itself particular closeness, since this was routinely Paget's role. However, rather more intimacy might be suggested in Hertford's request that Paget might make him a 'participant' in letters from his brother, Thomas, Lord Seymour of Sudeley, to the king. If anything, the evidence for Paget's relationship with Lisle is even sparser. The earliest extant letter between the two dates from November 1543.⁸ It requires Paget to convey information on routine naval matters to the king. The only possibly significant personal detail is Lisle's comment telling Paget that he hoped 'with the leave of god to be in the court uppon Saturday next'.⁹

However, according to Redworth, it was in the summer and autumn of 1543 that the 'reformist axis' of Hertford, Lisle and Paget first came into existence. It emerged out of investigations into the activities of Gardiner and subsequently those of his nephew and secretary Germaine Gardiner.¹⁰ The investigation into Gardiner sprang from the bishop's confidence in his position. By July 1543, Gardiner seemed to be at the height of his power. His attack on Thomas

⁵ Gammon, *Statesman and schemer*, p. 30.

⁶ Longleat, Seymour MSS, 13-20.

⁷ Hertford to Paget, 15 August 1543, PRO, SP 1/181, fo. 44r.

⁸ Lisle to Paget, 7 November 1543, PRO, SP 1/182, fos. 81r-82v.

⁹ Lisle to Paget, 7 November 1543, PRO, SP 1/182, fo. 82r

¹⁰ Redworth, *In defence*, pp. 202-206. As Dr Redworth explains, this pre-dates any previous evidence for such an alliance, p. 204, n. 66

Cranmer, the so-called 'Prebendaries Plot', had not yet run its course and his presiding over Henry's marriage to Katherine Parr seemed to confirm his position. In this atmosphere, Gardiner seems to have orchestrated an attack against the evangelicals at court, including gentlemen of the privy chamber like Anthony Denny and Thomas Carwarden. This strike failed, but in the aftermath Gardiner himself came under an investigation led by Paget, Hertford and Lisle.

That a number of Henry's closest friends came under investigation is beyond doubt, reflected in the pardon granted on 31 August.¹¹ The evidence for the collaboration of Paget, Hertford and Lisle rests with Lisle's own testimony at Gardiner's trial in 1550 and a poem by Thomas Palmer, probably written in 1548.¹² Despite the absence of any contemporary evidence, the corroboration of the 1548 and 1550 sources does suggest that on this occasion the three were called upon to investigate Gardiner's activities. Whether they were also responsible for the arrest and execution of Germaine Gardiner later in the winter of 1543-1544 is open to rather more doubt. In fact, there is no evidence that this was the case: it is supposition and relies on the view that politics in the last years was fundamentally conspiratorial. The greatest objection, though, is to Redworth's argument that these events at the end of 1543 cemented a reforming faction ranged against a conservative one, which was subsequently enduring. The evidence of the next few years does not support such a thesis.

It is undoubtedly the case, though, that Paget and Hertford were friends, and there is much correspondence to support this.¹³ There are essentially three periods between 1544 and the end of the reign where Paget and Hertford exchanged considerable correspondence: in the spring of 1544, the summer and autumn of 1545 and in the spring and summer of 1546. The reasons for this are straightforward. In 1544 Hertford left to lead the campaign against the Scots at the end of February, returning to London at the end of June.¹⁴ Much of this correspondence deals with the kind of routine administrative issues one would expect between the king's secretary and his

¹¹ PRO, C 82/813, 31 August 1543.

¹² John Foxe, *The acts and monuments of John Foxe and a life of the martyrologist, with a vindication of the work*, ed. G. Townsend (viii vols.; London, 1843-1849), vi, p. 179. For the poem see, P. Janelle, 'An unpublished poem on bishop Stephen Gardiner', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 6 (1929), pp. 12-25, 89-96, 167-174.

¹³ My analysis of Paget's friendship with Hertford is similar to Professor Slavin's and draws on many of the same materials. Where we differ is on its significance, Slavin arguing that the friendship in fact constituted part of a 'protestant' alliance, targeting Gardiner from as early as 1544. Slavin, *Politics and profit*, pp. 152-55.

¹⁴ He was in London at the beginning of the year, Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, *Report on the manuscripts of the most honourable marquess of Bath, preserved at Longleat*, eds. M. Blatcher *et al* (v vols; London, 1904-1980), iv, p. 89.

lieutenant in the North. However, at the same time, as we have seen, Paget was actively pursuing a number of issues of patronage of a more personal nature for Hertford.¹⁵ During this period, John Berwick was moved to write both to Hertford and to John Thynne of Paget's goodwill towards the earl.¹⁶ Two letters during this period have been taken to be particularly significant. On 27 March Paget wrote, 'the kinges maiestie is now well agayn thankes be to god who hath ii or thre dayes hath bene a litle troubled *with* a humour descending to his leg'.¹⁷ A week later he advised Hertford to, 'salute now and then with a word or two in a letter my lord of Suffolk my lord Wriothesley and such others as you shall think good forgetting not Mr. Denny'.¹⁸ The latter comment has led Starkey to argue that as a result 'an alliance was quickly cemented' between Hertford and Denny, which was to have profound ramifications in 1546.¹⁹ Taken together and out of context they might be construed as conspiratorial: as the forging of alliances in the light of the king's declining health. However, in context these comments are less loaded. In the spring of 1544, the king's health was a bigger issue than usual because of the impending French campaign. The privy council as a whole tried to dissuade the king from leading his army in person and news of the king's health was precisely the type of information that a friend within the privy council would pass on. Equally, in the spring of 1544 Hertford was trying to secure licenses and land. In order to secure this patronage, enlisting the support of prominent figures, particularly two such important cogs in the patronage process as Denny and Wriothesley, made absolute sense.²⁰ These comments do not necessarily represent the visible tips of deeper machinations, but rather the comments and advice of a friend on current issues.

In the following year, 1545, during Hertford's extended period in the North, Paget continued to act as his conduit to the king, attempting to smooth the way for Hertford's acquisition of estates in Wiltshire and Devon.²¹ In June 1545 Hertford reciprocated. He was travelling between Newcastle and Darlington when he received a letter from Paget and another from

¹⁵ See above, pp. 56-57.

¹⁶ Berwick to Hertford, 9 March 1544, *Report on manuscripts of...marquess of Bath*, ed. Blatcher, p. 92, 'I take Mr. Secretary to be your good friend'; Berwick to Thynne, 31 March 1544, *Report on manuscripts of...marquess of Bath*, ed. Blatcher, p. 118, 'Mr. Secretary is his lordship's friend and uses me very gently'.

¹⁷ Paget to Hertford, 27 March 1544, Hatfield, Cecil MS. 231, no. 73.

¹⁸ Paget to Hertford, [5] April 1544, Hatfield, Cecil MS. 231, no. 72.

¹⁹ Starkey, *Henry VIII*, p. 154. Starkey misdates the letter to 1545. As for the evidence of this 'alliance' over the next two and a half years, Starkey comments, 'it appears only fitfully in correspondence: after all its deliberations were probably better not written down'.

²⁰ The reference to Wriothesley is particularly significant given Redworth's argument that by this date he and Paget had parted company politically.

Paget to his chaplain at his house at Kepier, just outside Durham. Paget had acquired this property only a few months before in February and had not yet visited it. Consequently, Hertford 'toke uppon me the part of a *surveyor* for the viewe of *your* house', and related his opinion of Paget's new acquisition.²²

During this period, some indication of the basis of their friendship is revealed in a letter from Hertford to Paget. Though Paget's letter does not survive, Hertford's reply makes it clear that the secretary had written to him asking his opinion on a new financial expedient. It is significant in itself that Paget would consult Hertford on such policy matters. The proposal, implicit in Hertford's reply is, though, particularly interesting:

understanding that he intend ther to borow sum of plate in all the chirches wherein you desiar me to know myne opinion secratly I think it ys the most redi and present Relyfe that canne now be had for the kynges *maiestie* and not only lest chargabull to his highnes subiectes but all so in mine opinion a thing which all mene woulbe or att the lest owght to be best contentyd *with* for godes saruis which consistyth not in juells plat or ornementes of gould or syluar can not therbi bi eny thing diminished and those thinges betar imployde for the well and defens of the Reaulme which being well pswadid to the pepull shall satysfi them²³

It suggests common ground and a shared sense of priorities in matters of religion. This friendship was reinforced by a degree of jocularity, reflected in the following comments to Paget from Hertford,

I perseyve ye did find faute *with* me for that that I have wreghtun ii tymes and send never a letar to mi wife as thow you wouldbe notyd a good husband and that no sich faught could be found in you I would advise you to leve of sich quarelles or elles I will telle mi ladi sich talles of you as you will repent the begennyng to home I pray you I may be commendid *with* all mihart²⁴

²¹ Hertford to Paget, 6 July 1545, PRO, SP 1/203, fos. 98r-99v; Hertford to Paget, 19 July 1545, PRO, SP 1/204, fos. 55r-56v; Hertford to Paget, 29 July 1545, PRO, SP 1/204, fo. 168r-v.

²² Hertford to Paget, 14 June 1545, PRO, SP 1/202, fo. 52r. In Hertford's opinion the house was not 'greatly to be esteemed', but the situation and 'commodities' attached to the property were redeeming features.

²³ Hertford to Paget, 9 July 1545, PRO, SP 49/8, fo. 86r (pencil bottom right).

²⁴ Hertford to Paget, 14 June 1545, PRO, SP 1/202, fo. 52r.

The following year, when Hertford was away from court, they kept in touch both by corresponding and, when both were in France, by Paget sending Nicasius Yetsweirt with news to Hertford.²⁵

Equally, as Professor Loades has explained, the relationship between Paget and Lisle was a close one.²⁶ Sworn as privy councillors on the same day in 1543, by the September of 1544 Lisle seems to have viewed Paget as a conduit to royal patronage, reflected in a schedule or 'wish-list' of offices and lands drawn up in Lisle's hand.²⁷ A year later, Lisle was again looking to Paget to exercise his influence about the king to secure high office for him, possibly the position of lord great master of the household following Suffolk's death.²⁸ Equally, he prevailed on Paget to help him secure some former monastic property at a bargain price, which was finally secured the following April.²⁹ During the same month, September 1545, Paget himself purchased some property in Kayo, Surrey, from Dudley.³⁰

Paget's relations with Ralph Sadler went back many years, probably as far as the late 1520s through Sadler's position in Cromwell's household.³¹ During the 1530s, both worked for Cromwell and were near neighbours, in Middlesex, Sadler living on his estates in Hackney.³² In the early 1540s, with Sadler as king's secretary, theirs was a close working relationship within the royal secretariat. Very little personal correspondence exists between the two during Sadler's period in the north 1543-1545, but the surviving letters do suggest continued friendship.³³ We have seen how Sadler sought Paget's help to retain the services of his private secretary, Gregory Raylton, and at the beginning of 1545, Paget equally looked to Sadler for assistance in a land transaction.³⁴ Cuthbert Tunstall, the bishop of Durham, was proving objectionable over the purchase of land at Kepier, which we have seen Paget later successfully secured. Paget looked to Sadler, who was with Tunstall at the time, to smooth things over with the bishop. Perhaps most significant, though, was Hertford's comment to Paget a few months

²⁵ There are in the region of 30 letters between the two during Hertford's period in France between the end of March and the end of July. For the use of Yetsweirt see, Hertford to Henry VIII, 24 May 1546, PRO, SP 1/219, fos. 73r-74v.

²⁶ David Loades, *John Dudley, duke of Northumberland 1504-1553* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 65, 72-76.

²⁷ PRO, SP 1/193, fos. 15r-16v; Loades, *Dudley*, p. 65.

²⁸ Lisle to Paget, 17 September 1545, PRO, SP 1/208, fos. 2r-3v; Loades, *Dudley*, pp. 72-73.

²⁹ Lisle to Paget, 19 September 1545, PRO, SP 1/208, fos. 33r-35v; Loades, *Dudley*, p. 74.

³⁰ Loades, *Dudley*, p. 74.

³¹ Professor Slavin took a similar view on the friendship between Paget and Sadler, Slavin, *Politics and profit*, pp. 38, 153-154.

³² M.L. Robertson, 'Thomas Cromwell's servants. The ministerial household in early Tudor government and society', unpublished UCLA Ph.D. (1975), p. 553.

³³ Paget to Hertford, 27 March 1544, Hatfield, Cecil MS. 231, no. 73.

later where he explained, 'I have done your errand to Master Sadler whoe I perseyve remainith in this and in all thinges ours aftur the olde manar'.³⁵

Clearly Paget was on good terms with Hertford, Lisle and Sadler, but there is no hard evidence of a conspiracy being hatched in the years before 1546. Equally, it is difficult to discern real conflict between Paget and the supposed 'conservatives' during the same period. In this respect, the relationship between Paget, Wriothesley and Gardiner requires particular attention. By the end of Henry VIII's reign, Paget, Gardiner and Wriothesley had known each other for over 20 years. Indeed, Paget's and Wriothesley's lives mirrored each other to a remarkable extent. Both Londoners of humble origin and born within a year of each other, they went to school together at St Paul's. From there they went up to Trinity Hall, Cambridge, both studying civil law under Stephen Gardiner in the early 1520s and living in his household. When, in the mid-1520s, Gardiner became a client and member of Wolsey's household, Paget and Wriothesley followed, and at the same time first came into contact with another of Wolsey's rising stars, Thomas Cromwell. During the late 1520s and early 1530s Wriothesley and Paget continued to follow a similar path up the greasy pole to influence and high office and for both this involved distancing themselves from Gardiner and becoming more closely attached to Cromwell. In fact Robertson argues that Wriothesley was working under Cromwell's direction as early as 1524, but when both Paget and Wriothesley were made clerks of the signet in 1530 both still regarded Gardiner as their principal patron. In the next few years, Paget and Wriothesley transferred allegiance to Cromwell. By the end of 1532, Wriothesley seems to have been very much Cromwell's servant. Paget's own journey to Cromwell is illuminated in his letter to his patron of 22 February 1534. The letter demonstrates that by this date Paget was very much one of Cromwell's men and alludes to the course of his career before his adoption by Cromwell. For these reasons it is worth quoting extensively:

Right worshipfull and my singular good maister albeit I haue here no newes worthy to be signified other to the kinges highnesor to *your* maistership yet I haue thought it my most bounden duetye to write unto youe as well for that at my departure youe *commaunded* me in any wise so to doo as also most humbly to thanke *your* maistership for the gentle and loving kindnes which ones beyng somdele kindled in youe towardes me and after by my negligence well nere extinguished *your* maistership of late and in *manner* of *your* owne gentle instigation *and* humanyte did revyue and quicken again reducyng me in to his *favour* and grace whose lest displeasure towardes me grevith me more then the most cruell dethe I good faith I speke *with* out dissimulation I esteme my

³⁴ Paget to Sadler, 2 February 1545, PRO, SP 1/197, fos. 228r-229v.

³⁵ Hertford to Paget, 9 July 1545, PRO, SP 49/8 fo. 86r-v (pencil bottom right). See also Sadler's warm letter, Sadler to Paget, 3 October 1546, PRO, SP 1/225, fos. 129r-130v.

self more bownden to *your* maistership then to all other the kinges highnes only excepted ffor whereas in dede other men had sumwhat hertofo auanted and set me forwarde and yet afterwarde beyng in the kinges displeasure the rest of my frendes not able to set me afote ye haue frendly and naturally regendred me...for the which I protest before god ye haue and shall haue my hart prayer and service next to the kinges highnes a boue all men most humbly thanking *your* maistership and euen so beseching the same to contynewe *with* encrease *your* favour and benevolence towarde me³⁶

The letter suggests that Paget's adoption by Cromwell was fairly recent and that prior to this he had spent some time in the political wilderness, having fallen out of the king's favour. Paget recognises the debt he owes to others who had 'sumwhat hertofo auanted and set me forward'. Presumably this is principally a reference to Gardiner, his former patron, but despite the best efforts of his friends, it was not until Cromwell came to his aid that he was restored to his former position. There must be a strong presumption that both Paget and Wriothsley's breach with Gardiner between 1531 and 1533 was connected to Gardiner's political difficulties during these years, particularly his hostile response to the *Supplication against the Ordinaries* in the spring of 1532. However, there is little indication of the extent of the breach between Gardiner and his two *proteges*, nor the degree, if any, of acrimony. Such evidence as exists emerges in the relationship between Wriothsley and Gardiner. By the 1530s, they were related by marriage, since Wriothsley was married to the half sister of Gardiner's nephew, Germaine Gardiner.³⁷ However, relations seem to have been courteous though cool by the late 1530s, and Wriothsley might even have been used by Cromwell in 1538 to provide damaging intelligence about Gardiner.³⁸

What we do know is that until their master's fall in 1540, both Wriothsley and Paget remained Cromwell's servants. At the end of 1537, Paget was entrusted with the survey of the monastery at Titchfield where Wriothsley was soon to establish his estates.³⁹ It may be that some degree of intimacy and trust can be read into this. In the early 1540s, Paget and Wriothsley remained close. As clerk of the privy council and king's secretary respectively they worked together closely and when Wriothsley was away from court, Paget kept him informed of events.⁴⁰ Equally, Wriothsley's seems to have kept a benevolent eye on Paget when he was ambassador in France. It may be that Paget in part owed the position to Wriothsley and certainly Paget's

³⁶ Paget to Cromwell, 22 February 1534, PRO, SP 1/82, fo. 201r

³⁷ Redworth, *In defence*, p. 82 and n. 44.

³⁸ Redworth, *In defence*, pp. 81-85.

³⁹ Paget to Wriothsley, 20 December 1537, PRO, SP 7, no. 13; Crayford and Lathum to Wriothsley, 22 December 1537, PRO, SP 1/127, fos. 109r-110v.

⁴⁰ Paget to Wriothsley, 27 June 1541, PRO, SP 1/166, fos. 73r-74v.

stock with the king rose during his time abroad, doubtless in part thanks to Wriothesley smoothing the way for his friend.

However, by the early years of Edward's reign, a clear breach had emerged between Paget and both of his old associates. For Wriothesley, this was reflected in his hostility to Somerset's protectorate and subsequent fall in March 1547. At his trial in 1550, Gardiner poured vitriol on Paget, accusing his former *protege* of ungratefulness and of lying under oath.⁴¹ This schism between Paget on the one hand and Wriothesley and Gardiner on the other has been traced by Redworth back to events surrounding the Prebendaries Plot in 1543. According to Redworth, in the winter of 1542-1543, Gardiner began to lavish extensive patronage on Wriothesley.⁴² By the early 1540s, Wriothesley had planted himself in Hampshire, his estates centring on Titchfield, and as bishop of Winchester, Gardiner enjoyed a considerable reservoir of patronage in the county. The grants made by Gardiner were, at least in part, designed to secure Wriothesley's support for his attack on Cranmer in 1543. 1543 was the crucial year. From this point onwards, the 'alliance of Seymour, Dudley and Paget was ranged in opposition against a Catholic front of Gardiner, Wriothesley and their friends'.⁴³ Thereafter relations deteriorated further. In the course of the autumn of 1544, Paget is held to have mounted a 'whispering campaign' against Gardiner.⁴⁴ This stemmed both from opposition to Gardiner's promotion of the Imperial alliance and jealousy in response to Wriothesley's elevation as Lord Chancellor in April 1544, which Gardiner is held to have actively and successfully solicited. The real indication of the contempt in which Paget held Gardiner, though, is to be found in the correspondence between the two men in the autumn of 1545. According to Dr Redworth, by this stage, Paget found the bishop irksome and the friendship which Gardiner proffered in his letters to Paget at this time was entirely unreciprocated. Indeed, 'Winchester was naive enough to believe that, despite Paget's flirtation with Cromwell, the avuncular friendship which had grown up in Cambridge days still existed'.⁴⁵

These arguments are clearly important, since, if sustained, they would support the view that the period 1543-1547 was dominated by two clearly defined alignments in factional conflict. However, in the first place, it is difficult to discern any sustained hostility between Paget and Wriothesley. As we have seen, the evidence of the early 1540s indicates that they were still

⁴¹ Foxe, *Acts and monuments*, vi, pp. 259-260.

⁴² Redworth, *In defence*, pp. 179-180.

⁴³ Redworth, *In defence*, p. 206.

⁴⁴ Redworth, *In defence*, pp. 221-222.

⁴⁵ Redworth, *In defence*, p. 228.

close. At the beginning of 1544, soon after the two are said to have parted ways, Paget made Wriothesley godfather to his young son, Thomas.⁴⁶ Early in 1545, Paget, replying to a letter from Petre in which Petre had explained the sickness of Suffolk and Wriothesley, wrote, 'I assure youe his *maiestie* hath two notable good *seruantes* of them men of witt of a marvelous indifferencye and honestie as youe partly knowe and I knowe more'.⁴⁷ The extensive correspondence between them in the late summer and autumn of 1545 suggests continuing friendship cemented by a close working relationship. Undoubtedly there were stresses occasioned by the desperate nature of royal finances which they were called upon to manage, but Wriothesley's response to a stinging letter from Paget in November 1545 is revealing.⁴⁸ Paget, under great pressure, had clearly vented his frustration on Wriothesley, but Wriothesley, rather than taking it to heart, replied by gently poking fun at Paget, telling him not to take things so seriously. Indeed Wriothesley writes in terms of intimate friendship explaining that, 'when I write to youe me think I write even to meself and that maketh me sumtyme to forget meself if you woll so take it when I write frankely and freendely and call it stomake which is as faynt in me as in any man'. For Wriothesley, writing to Paget was almost like writing to himself. Wriothesley continues, 'I would my Lady sawe your letter and whereuppon it is grounded. I dare saye though my gentle nature cannot chide she wold say sumwhat for me whom you shall never fynde but a perfite freende havinge a perfite and most assured trust that I have the like of you and shal soo fynde in worde and dede as I am and ever wolbe to youe accordingly'. Wriothesley does talk of Paget's jealousy, but nevertheless taken as a whole, the letter strongly suggests continuing friendship. At the very least the hostility of factional conflict is not present.

The true nature of Paget's relationship with Gardiner by the end of 1545 is perhaps more difficult to interpret, but again the appearance is not that of inveterate enemies. The evidence of Paget's 'whispering campaign' in 1544 rests on two letters. The first, to Petre in November 1544, expresses the fear that Gardiner and Nicholas Wotton would fall out in the course of the embassy to Charles V.⁴⁹ Paget explains that Wotton might speak his mind too bluntly about the Imperial court and Gardiner 'when he seeth time can lay on load to nip a man which fashion I like not and think it devilish'. Less than two weeks later, in another letter to Petre, Paget wrote of Gardiner in prickly terms and ended 'howbeit he is to be borne with though he do a little disgrace the secretaries because he hath so much advanced the place of the secretaries in

⁴⁶ Staffs RO D(W) 1734/2/5/1K.

⁴⁷ Paget to Petre, 25 March 1545, PRO, SP 1/199, fo. 90r.

⁴⁸ Wriothesley to Paget, 8 November 1545, PRO, SP 1/210, fos. 55r-v.

England, *scilicet*'.⁵⁰ A year later, Paget's hostility to Gardiner is inferred by the fact that the correspondence is so one sided: at one point Gardiner had written 11 letters yet received only one from Paget.⁵¹

A reading of this evidence might suggest Paget's hostility. However, it is not clear-cut. Certainly Paget's letters to Petre in 1544 suggest some lack of sympathy on the part of Paget towards Gardiner, though whether the second letter contains a reference to Wriothesley's position as lord chancellor is arguable. The one-sided correspondence of 1545 may indicate Paget found Gardiner tiresome, but it may equally be a reflection of Paget's unforgiving workload. Gardiner was by no means the only one who felt neglected by Paget. However, the biggest problem with viewing Paget as unbendingly hostile towards Gardiner by November 1545 is that it relies on the bishop being impossibly naive and the secretary being implausibly cunning. A comparison of their itineraries reveals that from the middle of May 1545, if not before, until Gardiner's mission to Charles V in November, both men travelled with the court, including the journey to Portsmouth and back.⁵² They saw each other daily and in fact they worked extremely closely together throughout the late summer and early autumn. On several occasions during this period they acted as intermediaries between Francois van der Delft and the king and on one occasion went together to the Imperial ambassador to complain about the seizure of English money in the Low Countries.⁵³ In August, on the way back from Portsmouth, they even sought a few hours of leisure together, along with the Imperial ambassador, to visit Sir Anthony Browne's house, Cowdray Park, near Petworth.⁵⁴ On the basis of such close and regular contact, it is difficult to believe that a man such as Gardiner could not have detected real hostility from Paget, if such existed, or that Paget could so well have concealed such bile. When Gardiner left for the Imperial court, it was to Paget that Gardiner wrote to say his farewells to the Queen.⁵⁵ Further, Gardiner's evident warmth to Paget in the 1545 correspondence begs difficult questions about the 1543 breach and Paget's involvement in the execution of Germaine Gardiner. Is it plausible that two years after Paget is supposed to have conspired with Hertford and Lisle to bring about Gardiner's fall, and within

⁴⁹ Paget to Petre, 1 November 1544, PRO, SP 1/194, fos. 200r-201v.

⁵⁰ Paget to Petre, 11 November 1544, PRO, SP 1/195, fo. 68r-v.

⁵¹ Redworth, *In defence*, p. 227.

⁵² *APC*, i, pp. 158-254.

⁵³ Scepperus and van der Delft to Mary of Hungary, 21 August 1545, *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, p. 235; van der Delft to Mary of Hungary, 18 September 1545, *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, p. 248; van der Delft to Charles V, 21 September 1545, *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, p. 250; van der Delft to Charles V, 23 September 1545, *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, p. 252; van der Delft to Charles V, 14 October 1545, *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, p. 265.

⁵⁴ Van der Delft to Mary of Hungary, 10 August 1545, *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, p. 230.

20 months of Germaine Gardiner's execution, in which Paget is equally held to have had a heavy involvement, Gardiner is able to write to Paget with almost paternal affection?⁵⁶

The relationship between Paget, Wriothesley and Gardiner is ambiguous. So too is that between what has been seen as a 'conservative' grouping of Gardiner, Henry Howard, earl of Surrey and his father Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk. The French war led to tensions between all three. Norfolk, an advocate of the French alliance, not only disagreed with Gardiner's pro-Imperial policy, but in spring and summer 1544, he was also a persistent critic of Gardiner's role in furnishing supplies for the armies in France.⁵⁷ Equally, as we have seen, Surrey's bellicose spirit over policy to Boulogne led to a severe reprimand from his father.⁵⁸ Even in terms of religion uniformity is absent. At the same time that Gardiner was trying to bring down Cranmer in 1543 Surrey was flirting with religious reform.⁵⁹

What all this adds up to is a far more fluid and less rigid political landscape in the last few years of the reign. Certainly disputes emerged between individuals and groups. Henry's precarious health meant that the prospect of minority rule was never far from the minds of his servants. It was precisely this concern that Gardiner fretted over to Paget back in 1545. This uncomfortable thought combined with the military and diplomatic crises the realm faced in the 1540s was bound to raise the political temperature. But such tensions were neither hard and fast 'factions', nor were they primarily defined by religion. Attitudes to the war and diplomacy cut across religious alignment. Equally, the war itself and the need to defend the realm and function effectively as servants of the king provided unity and consensus. In writing of the 1544 campaign Redworth has observed that, 'the personal and ideological divisions, which had been so evident the year before, had become blurred. For the duration of hostilities, no plots, real or imaginary, perceived or unintended, were allowed to disrupt the relatively harmonious

⁵⁵ Gardiner to Paget, 18 October 1545, PRO, SP 1/ 209, fos. 56r-57v.

⁵⁶ Redworth himself recognises and struggles to overcome some of these difficulties, explaining, 'the inescapable conclusion is that Wily Winchester had either never known about or-even more remarkable-completely disregarded Paget's participation in the enquiry into the indictment of Henry's friends and servants in the Privy Chamber', Redworth, *In defence*, pp. 228-229.

⁵⁷ Redworth, *In defence*, pp. 209-210.

⁵⁸ See above, pp. 152-153.

⁵⁹ S. Brigden, *London and the reformation* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 340-342, and on Surrey's religion generally, S. Brigden, 'Henry Howard, earl of Surrey and the "conjured league"', *Historical Journal*, 37 (1994), pp. 512-520. For the diversity of religious opinion within the Howard family see Alan Bryson, "'The special men in every shere". The Edwardian regime, 1547-1553', unpublished University of St Andrews Ph.D. (2001), p. 27

working of Henry's court'.⁶⁰ Such consensus was maintained by the privy council over the most pressing question of policy, Boulogne, for the next two years.⁶¹

II

It is, though, in a context of conflict that historians have sought to interpret the events of the last year of Henry's reign. At one black and conspiratorial extreme, Paget is the master of dark arts, 'the magician that conjured the wind'.⁶² After the successes of the conservative faction in the spring and early summer of 1546, Paget is held to have engineered the fall firstly of Gardiner and then the Howards. With these victories secured, his influence around the king and his alliance with Denny enabled him to tamper with Henry's will to secure victory for Hertford's faction in the battle to dominate the minority of the young Edward VI. At the same time, proximity to the king enabled him to manipulate the so-called 'unfulfilled gifts clause' to buy support from the political elite for a regime which he hoped to control behind the front of Hertford. In two stages, the first meeting of the minority council on 31 January, which established Hertford as protector and the constitutional coup in March 1547, Paget strengthened Hertford's position. But, much to his frustration, reflected in his famous 'critiques' of the protectorate, Paget found the now duke of Somerset content to rule himself, and rely rarely on the counsel Paget so readily and expertly offered.

Almost every point of this story is contentious. Because the evidence is often ambiguous or inconclusive, and because the events and their outcomes were of such profound importance, it has been subject to considerable scrutiny. One fixed point, though, on the shifting sands of historical interpretation, has been a general acceptance that Paget's role in the closing months of the reign and beyond was pivotal.

⁶⁰ Redworth, *In defence*, p. 211.

⁶¹ See above, pp. 151-153.

⁶² Starkey, *Henry VIII*, p. 154.

Professor MacCulloch has demonstrated that at the beginning of 1546, the close relationship between Paget and Cranmer was at work in trying to persuade the king to purge the church of some distinctly 'catholic' rituals.⁶³ At the same time, for Paget, the first months of 1546 were dominated by negotiations surrounding a French peace. However, two weeks before Paget left for France to negotiate the treaty of Camp, on 3 April 1546, the radical preacher Dr Crome renewed his attack on religious orthodoxy, most contentiously denying transubstantiation.⁶⁴ This sparked the beginning of a period of confessional conflict, which has been seen as the high-water mark of conservative success, with the burning of Anne Askew and perhaps even attempts to bring down Katherine Parr and her evangelical circle.⁶⁵ For much of the period between Crome's sermon on 3 April and his recantation on 27 June, Paget was in France and we can only guess at how he viewed these events. Intriguingly, though, we do know that he was kept informed of the privy council's examinations of Dr Crome by a familiar at court. During the second week in May, Crome was examined by the privy council at Greenwich, the king being at Whitehall. On 13 May, a series of letters was exchanged between Petre, who was with the king, and the rest of the council at Greenwich, the purpose of which was to keep the king informed of Crome's confessions. Indeed Henry himself checked these confessions. Paget was in France, but amongst his family papers is a document titled 'The iiii Articles subscribed by Mr Crome xiii Maij 1546'. Then follows Crome's confession, *in extensio*, followed by, 'Sir thes articles were by Mr Come subscribed and thereupon sent to the kinges Maiestie to viewto thende apou his hieghnes liking they might be published But in the meane tyme being here at grenewiche I was fayne to send them *with my lettres* unto yor Mastership nat knowing when I shuld els have comodite thereunto'.⁶⁶ Why did Paget ensure he was kept informed of Crome's confession? Was it simply a question of his desire to be kept abreast of events, or was there a deeper concern about what was going on in his absence and where Crome's confessions might lead?

One can only speculate. However, rather more is known about Paget's involvement in a more celebrated investigation, that of Anne Askew, the Lincolnshire gentlewoman burnt on 16 July

⁶³ PRO, SP 1/213, fos. 124r-125v, 144r-v, 146r-149v; Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer. A life*. (London, 1996), pp. 351-352.

⁶⁴ Brigden, *London and the reformation*, pp. 363-370.

⁶⁵ The plot by Gardiner and Wriothesley to bring down Katherine Parr is not considered here. It is only found in Foxe. There is no indication of any involvement by Paget, nor is the chronology at all clear. Dr Redworth has persuasively argued that it was almost entirely a product of Foxe's imagination, Redworth, *In defence*, pp. 231-235.

⁶⁶ Staffs RO D603/K/1/1/21.

for heresy.⁶⁷ First examined by Bonner in March 1546, she was hauled before the privy council and questioned by Paget, Wriothesley and Gardiner in the middle of June. Paget examined her on her views regarding the mass and her denial of transubstantiation. According to Askew, ‘he [Paget] asked me how I coulde auoyde the verye wordes of Christ, Take, eate, Thys my bodye whych shall be broken for yow’.⁶⁸ Of course, taken at face value Paget’s active involvement in this process could reveal him to be a ‘conservative’. Certainly in the next reign, efforts were made to conceal Paget’s involvement in Askew’s persecution, since in some editions of John Bale’s *Examinacyons of Anne Askewe* the pages covering his involvement were stuck together.⁶⁹ However, Paget’s role must be put into context. The most important charge against Askew was sacramentarianism, that heresy to which Henry himself so objected. In England in 1546 this was an extreme position. It is not at all clear whether Cranmer had travelled that far by 1546 and it was certainly not a view with which moderate reformers could afford to associate themselves.⁷⁰ Indeed trouble-makers like Crome and Askew might be viewed by moderate evangelicals as jeopardizing the future of religious reform by their actions. When Crome was arrested in 1546, it was Richard Cox and Simon Heynes, not known for their ‘conservative’ sympathies, ‘who publicly took him to task during his examination’.⁷¹ After Paget had finished with Askew, he persuaded her to ‘commen with some wyser man’, one of whom happened to be Cox.⁷² In fact Paget’s involvement in Askew’s case may reveal him to be politically astute and certainly does not preclude his sympathy for reform.

One other key moment during this period came on 25 July, when Henry Fitzalan, earl of Arundel, one of the most powerful nobles in England, became lord chamberlain and a member of the privy council.⁷³ This has generally been seen as a coup by the Hertford-Lisle party, since here was a powerful figure but one who was thought to hold ‘conservative’ religious views. Paget’s role in this process is recorded in the council register, ‘this daye was therle of Arundell, having furste been with the Kinges Majeste, brought into the the Counseill Chambre with a

⁶⁷ Brigden, *London and the reformation*, pp. 370-377.

⁶⁸ John Bale, *The lattre examinacyon of Anne Askewe, latelye martyred in Smythfelde* (Marpurg, 1547; STC 848), sig. C4v.

⁶⁹ Brigden, *London and the reformation*, p. 376, n. 271. Bale’s was the authoritative account from which Foxe drew his narrative. Interestingly Foxe omitted Paget’s examinations from his account, Brigden, *London and the reformation*, p. 373.

⁷⁰ Maria Dowling, ‘The gospel and the court: reformation under Henry VIII’, Peter Lake and Maria Dowling (eds.), *Protestantism and the national church in sixteenth century England* (London, 1987), pp. 46-48; MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, pp. 354-355.

⁷¹ Dowling, ‘The gospel and the court’, p. 47.

⁷² Bale, *Examinacyon of Anne Askewe*, sigs. C6v-C7v.

⁷³ *APC*, i, p. 495; John Guy, *Tudor England* (Oxford, 1988), p. 198; Bryson, ‘The speciall men in every shere’, p. 27.

white staffe in his hande by Mr. Secretary Paget'. Aside from its significance demonstrating Paget as conduit between the king and the council chamber, the episode can be interpreted in a number of ways. It may well demonstrate again the problems of using religion to determine political alignments. It can be seen as Paget using his influence about the king to capture Arundel for Hertford's faction. It might be Paget simply fulfilling the instructions of the king. Finally, it could be seen as Paget trying to secure a broad base of support in the privy council.

The promotion of Arundel during this period (July and August 1546) coincided with a series of apparently momentous events. The return to court of Hertford and Lisle, as well as Paget, is the time from which van der Delft retrospectively dated the end of the persecutions against evangelicals.⁷⁴ We have seen how late summer saw the discussions with Gurone Bertano, their failure and the positive response to the envoys from the Schmalkaldic League. At the same time, at the end of August, the last great display of the Henrican court for the reception of Claude d'Annebault, Admiral of France, sent to conclude the treaty of Camp, witnessed, according to Foxe, Henry's extraordinary remarks about abolishing the mass in England.⁷⁵ Then at the end of September, according to de Selve, Lisle struck Stephen Gardiner at the council board.⁷⁶

After his return to court by 14 June and the examination of Askew, Paget remained at court, preoccupied with diplomacy. Interestingly on 16 August, van der Delft explained to the Emperor that the leaders of Henry's council were Wriothesley, Gardiner and Paget.⁷⁷ Three days later d'Annebault was met at Greenwich, Paget being amongst those courtiers who received him, and for over a week Paget was prominent in the celebrations at Hampton Court to celebrate the peace.⁷⁸ The day after d'Annebault departed, on 30 August, Henry himself left Hampton Court and stayed away from the capital until 22 December, except for a brief return to Whitehall in the second week of November.⁷⁹ During September and October, Henry took with him a small number of councillors. The privy council register, which went with the court until November, indicates that the intermittent meetings were rarely attended by more than five

⁷⁴ Van der Delft to Charles V, 24 December 1546, *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, pp. 533-534; Lisle was at court at Greenwich by 14 June, Hertford, rather later, at Whitehall by 31 July, *APC*, i, pp. 453, 501.

⁷⁵ Foxe, *Acts and monuments*, v, pp. 563-564. For this see MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 357.

⁷⁶ De Selve to Admiral, 4 November 1546, *Corr. Pol.*, 6, fos. 55r-56v.

⁷⁷ Van der Delft to Charles V, 16 August 1546, *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, p. 450.

⁷⁸ BL Cotton MS. Vespasian C. xiv, fos. 80r-88v (pencil top right); S.E. James, *Kateryn Parr. The making of a queen* (Aldershot, 1999), pp. 281-285.

⁷⁹ See Appendix 2, pp. 299-302. On 10 November de Selve reported that the king had returned to London but was going back to Oatlands immediately, de Selve to du Bies, 10 November 1546, *Corr.*

or six, the nucleus of which were Russell, Hertford, Arundel, Parr, Browne and Paget.⁸⁰ Meanwhile a privy council in London composed essentially of Wriothesley, Gardiner and Paulet dealt with routine affairs and received ambassadors.⁸¹ Significantly, throughout this period Henry was surrounded by intimates. The court was considerably reduced since he travelled to some of his smaller palaces: indeed at Chobham, tents had to be constructed to accommodate some of the court and even ambassadors remained in London.⁸² At the end of September, Henry was so ill it was thought he would die and subsequently, certainly at the beginning of November at Windsor, seems to have been restricted to using his chair to get about. Not only was Paget in constant attendance but he seems very much to have bridged the gulf between the sick king and the outside world.⁸³

After the middle of November, the privy council register remained in London, with infrequent meetings at either 'Westminster' or Wriothesley's house at Ely Place in Holborn, with one isolated meeting at Oatlands on 1 December.⁸⁴ The king spent most of the time at Oatlands or Nonsuch and again was surrounded by only a few confidants, but the evidence for those at court is extremely thin.⁸⁵ Paget seems to have travelled between London and the court. He was present at several council meetings in London in the second half of November and in December.⁸⁶ However, we know that he was also frequently at court and controlling access to the king because this emerges in the course of events surrounding Gardiner's fall.⁸⁷

Pol., 6, fo. 60r. During this period, 11-14 November, the council register records a series of meetings at 'Westminster', *APC*, i, pp. 547-553.

⁸⁰ *APC*, i, pp. 527-547. The exception is the meeting at Windsor on 1 November attended by 17 privy councillors. Large gatherings of councillors around the festival of All Saints seem to have been characteristic of the early Tudor court, F. Kisby, 'The early Tudor royal household chapel, 1485-1547', unpublished University of London Ph.D. (1995), pp. 320-321.

⁸¹ See the correspondence of and between the privy council in London and the privy council with the king, PRO, SP 1/224, fos. 35r-39v, 47r-50v, 63r-69v, 75r-78v, 99r-102v, 139r-141v, 148r-156v, 168r-169v, 176r-177v, 192r-195v, PRO, SP 1/225, fos. 6r-15v, 20r-23v, 53r-56v, 63r-64v, 116r-117v, 127r-128v, 235r-236v, PRO, SP 1/226, fos. 7r-8v.

⁸² Van der Delft to Mary of Hungary, 3 September 1546, *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, p. 462; James, *Kateryn Parr*, p. 284.

⁸³ Van der Delft to Mary of Hungary, 21 September 1546, *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, p. 475; Van der Delft to Charles V, 7 October 1546, *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, pp. 484-485; Van der Delft to Mary of Hungary, 7 October 1546, *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, pp. 485-488.

⁸⁴ *APC*, i, pp. 551-556.

⁸⁵ *APC*, i, p. 553 (Wriothesley, Paulet, Russell, Hertford); privy council with the king to privy council in London, 8 December 1546, PRO, SP1/227, fo. 26r-v. (Arundel, Cheney, Browne, Petre).

⁸⁶ *APC*, i, pp. 552, 553, 556.

⁸⁷ Equally, when van der Delft sought audience with Henry at the end of November it was through Paget that he communicated, van der Delft to Mary of Hungary, 29 November 1546, *CSP Spanish 1545-1546*, p. 512.

The fall of Stephen Gardiner at the beginning of December 1546 has been subject to two differing interpretations.⁸⁸ Advocates of a factional reading of politics like Starkey and Professor Ives have regarded the difference between Gardiner and Henry over a land exchange to have been the pretext rather than real cause of the bishop's demise and exclusion from the regency council. Both Starkey and Ives have argued that in fact faction holds the key to Gardiner's fall, with Paget playing a key role in turning the king against the bishop. Others, Redworth, MacCulloch and Dr Loach have seen Gardiner as the architect of his own downfall. Had he been less 'difficult' and more compliant over the particular matter of the land exchanges, as Cranmer had been in the previous year, the king would not have left him out in the cold.⁸⁹

Both views look for support from evidence in the same few letters.⁹⁰ On 2 December, Gardiner wrote two letters, one to the king and one to Paget. In his letter to the king, Gardiner maintains that 'I never said naye to any request made, wherwith to resiste Your Highnes pleasour, but only, in most humble wise, toke upon me to be a suter to Your Highnes goodnes'. A misunderstanding had arisen, 'bicause I have noo accesse to Your Majestie'. This lack of access and Gardiner's frustration at not being able to speak to the king in person is the nub of his complaint to Paget. On 4 December, Henry's crushing reply was sent to Gardiner, 'your duty had been to have done otherwise in this matter than you have: wherein, if you be yet disposed to show that conformity you write of, we see no cause why you should molest us any further therewith'. Much responsibility for his demise must rest with Gardiner himself. Cranmer had pliantly acceded to a similar request the previous year. Had Gardiner acceded to Henry's requests for land exchanges his position would not have been imperilled. Certainly it is possible that Paget, Wriothesley and Sir Edward North turned the screw and presented Gardiner's response in the blackest terms, but such evidence as exists is inconclusive. Further, Henry knew Gardiner of old and the reasons Henry expresses against Gardiner's inclusion in the regency council, if we can believe Foxe, suggest that the old king was well able to make such a decision for himself.⁹¹

⁸⁸ Starkey, *Henry VIII*, pp. 156-157; Redworth, *In defence*, pp. 239-241; MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 359; J. Loach, *Edward VI* (London, 1999), p. 24; E.W. Ives, 'Henry VIII's will: the protectorate provisions of 1546-1547', *Historical Journal*, 37 (1994), pp. 912-913; R.A. Houlbrooke, 'Henry VIII's will: a comment', *Historical Journal*, 37 (1994), p. 892.

⁸⁹ MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 359.

⁹⁰ Gardiner to Henry VIII, 2 December 1546, PRO, SP 1/226, fos. 219r-220v; Gardiner to Paget, 2 December 1546, PRO, SP 1/226, fo. 221r-v; Henry VIII to Gardiner, Foxe, *Acts and monuments*, vi, pp. 138-139

Victim of faction or self-destruction? The same contrasting interpretations which have been applied to Gardiner have also coloured attitudes to the fall of the Howards.⁹² Though he brought his father down with him, it was the actions of the earl of Surrey that brought disaster to his family.⁹³ Dr Brigden, who has analysed Surrey's fall in greatest detail, has demonstrated that Surrey was certainly condemned by his enemies. A 'conjured league' did for Surrey, often of former friends, most notably Richard Southwell, one who had grown up with the earl, who brought the charges of *lèse-majesté* to light on 2nd December. Ultimately, though, 'the earl of Surrey had destroyed himself, by his rashness and his extreme pride of blood'.⁹⁴ However, what was Paget's role? As with most of the key events in 1546, Paget is in the background and occasionally emerges from the shadows. At his trial on 13 January 1547, Surrey is supposed to have singled Paget out as one of Henry's 'new men', whom he most despised, upbraiding him, 'and thou, Catchpoll! What hast thou to do with it? Thou hadst better hold thy tongue, for the kingdom has never been well since the King put mean creatures like thee into the government'.⁹⁵ Then Paget is supposed to have entered the jury's chamber during their deliberations, shortly after which they returned a verdict of guilty against the earl.⁹⁶ Here is Paget the ambitious *politique* getting his hands dirty. In a similar vein, Dr Bridgen writes of Paget's 'defection' from Surrey in the summer of 1546, whilst still writing 'insouciant' letters to the earl.⁹⁷

However, rather than any need to defect, Surrey seems simply to have put himself beyond the pale to a point where any prudent courtier could not be seen to associate with him. Paget's differences with Surrey over Boulogne and the French war were no secret at the end of 1545 and in the course of 1546, Surrey, always a hot-head, became progressively more of a loose canon, or as Surrey himself put it to Edmund Knyvet 'my malyce clymes higher'.⁹⁸ This errant course began in January 1546, with his defeat at St Etienne and his subsequent recall and

⁹¹ Foxe, *Acts and monuments*, v, p. 691; vi, p. 163.

⁹² The fall of the Howards is variously treated in, Starkey, *Henry VIII*, pp. 157-158; Redworth, *In defence*, pp. 240-247; D.M. Head, *The ebbs and flows of fortune: the life of Thomas Howard, third duke of Norfolk* (Athens, 1995), pp. 220-227; Brigden, 'Henry Howard', pp. 507-537; MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, pp. 359-360; E.W. Ives, 'Henry VIII's will: a forensic conundrum', *Historical Journal*, 35 (1992), pp. 783-784.

⁹³ Norfolk, drawing on years of experience, was desperately trying to steer clear of the court by the end of 1546, well aware that it was not a safe place to be, Head, *Howard*, p. 222.

⁹⁴ Brigden, 'Henry Howard', p. 537.

⁹⁵ Gammon, *Statesman and schemer*, p. 127. Originally, there had been at least two great bags of papers relating to the Howards' attainder, but these are lost, creating the familiar evidential problems for this year, Brigden, 'Henry Howard', pp. 528-529.

⁹⁶ Head, *Howard*, p. 226.

⁹⁷ Brigden, 'Henry Howard', p. 526 and n. 174.

⁹⁸ Brigden, 'Henry Howard', p. 520.

demotion at the end of March.⁹⁹ On his return to court he began to quarrel, first with his erstwhile friend, George Blage, and then, more portentously, with his own father and the Seymours. The issue was over the proposed match, made in the middle of June, between Thomas Seymour and Surrey's sister, Mary, the duchess of Richmond. An excellent example of the fluidity of political alignments and how misleading factional labels can be, Norfolk and Hertford sought to cement their families to one another to ensure their political survival in the future. But Surrey instead sought to insinuate his sister into the bed of the king, in the process alienating the rising star, the earl of Hertford. The following month Surrey managed to collide with Lisle and seems to have earned a reprimand from the privy council.

As Dr Brigden has shown, by the time charges were brought against Surrey in December 1546, such was the weight of evidence against him and so imprudent had his past behaviour been, that it did not require a conspiracy to bring him down. Indeed, as Dr Houlbroke has observed, Surrey, 'cooked his own goose'.¹⁰⁰ Henry himself could see the potential threat to the stability of the realm and the dynasty if Surrey continued in a similar vein, and thus Paget's behaviour in first distancing himself and then actively prosecuting Surrey can easily be interpreted as the loyal behaviour of the king's good servant and as the actions of someone who sought stability and consensus in the future.

III

The crucial question is, did a similar desire for consensus pervade the months immediately before and after Henry's death? Did the transfer of power from Henry to Edward witness the victory of one faction over another or the smooth realignment of the majority of the political elite behind a new regime broadly seen as a legitimate successor to the dead king? Which view is taken on this question has considerable ramifications for an interpretation of Paget. The victory of a Seymour faction sees him, as he has been traditionally perceived, as the 'master of practices'. Alternatively, and this is not an interpretation which has really been explored before, he can be regarded as a prime mover in the attempt to secure a broad basis of support

⁹⁹ Brigden, 'Henry Howard', pp. 511-512.

¹⁰⁰ Houlbroke, 'Henry VIII's wills', p. 892.

for the new regime to ensure political stability, continuity and order for the realm when both a boy king and the international situation threatened good governance and security.

To answer these questions, much turns on Henry's will.¹⁰¹ Paget claimed he was privy to the construction of the will and put together the first draft. In its final form, though, the will was penned by William Honnyngs.¹⁰² The will itself begins with provisions for Henry's death and burial, then follows the order of succession and the appointment of the sixteen executors. Thereafter, the so-called 'unfulfilled gifts clause', the conciliar arrangements for Edward's minority, the 'protectorate provisions', and then an extensive series of legacies to Henry's councillors and servants are outlined. At the end, along with the signatures of the ten witnesses, is Henry's signature, which is the first point of contention. Is the signature autograph, or was the will authenticated by the use of the dry stamp? Historians have been undecided and it may be that the evidence is inconclusive. Professor Ives, who has subjected the will to rigorous examination, is in no doubt that the will was indeed stamped.¹⁰³ Of course the importance of the will being stamped is that it could lead to the abuse of the king's authority. In the days immediately before and after the king's death, the will could have been tampered with by those around the king to secure a particular successor regime. It is on this basis that David Starkey has constructed his account of Henry's last days.¹⁰⁴ The alliance of the chief gentleman of the privy chamber, Anthony Denny, the king's secretary, William Paget, and the earl of Hertford ultimately won their factional conflict with the 'conservatives' by altering the king's will, using the dry stamp. Written into the will was 'the machinery for creating a protectorate' and the unfulfilled gifts clause, which provided that any gifts promised by Henry but not carried out by the time of his death should be fulfilled by his executors.¹⁰⁵ This was therefore the means by which the new regime was able to purchase compliance from the political elite.

However, the idea that the will was altered at the end of January without the king's knowledge, or indeed after his death, has been substantially undermined by Professor Ives' close analysis of the stamping procedure and the other evidence surrounding the dating of the will.¹⁰⁶ Dr Houlbroke has also found this evidence persuasive.¹⁰⁷ Yet, Ives has observed, by demonstrating

¹⁰¹ Henry's will is PRO, E 23/4/1. The best transcription is T. Rymer and R. Sanderson (eds.), *Foedera, conventiones, litterae...* (xx vols.; London, 1727-1735), xv, pp. 110-117, which is used here.

¹⁰² Starkey, *Henry VIII*, p. 159; Bindoff, ii, p. 383.

¹⁰³ Ives, 'Forensic conundrum', p. 782.

¹⁰⁴ Starkey, *Henry VIII*, pp. 159-167.

¹⁰⁵ On this see also, Guy, *Tudor England*, pp. 198-199.

¹⁰⁶ Ives, 'Forensic conundrum', pp. 784-795.

¹⁰⁷ Houlbroke, 'Henry VIII's wills', pp. 891-892.

that the will was drafted at the end of December, and that it therefore accurately reflected the wishes of the dying king, particular ‘problems of interpretation’ are revived.¹⁰⁸ It refutes a more extreme, conspiratorial view of Henry’s last weeks and absolves Paget and indeed Denny of guilt for the grave offence of will-tampering. It also highlights the need to ‘recover a role for the king’.¹⁰⁹ As primarily the work of the king, what type of regime did Henry seek to impose on the country after his death through the instrument of his will? How did Paget and Hertford seek to implement, and to what extent did they deviate from these wishes in the days and months after Henry’s death?

The regime Henry envisaged during Edward’s minority was conciliar in nature. The will provided that Edward, ‘be ordred and ruled both in his Mariage, and also in ordering of th’Affaires of the Realm as wel outward as inward, and also in all his own private Affairs, and in giving of Offices of Charge by th’Advise and Counsaill of our right entierly beloved Counsaillours’.¹¹⁰ Sixteen councillors were named in the will: there was no provision to replace any of the sixteen named and only death released the individual from the obligation to provide Edward with counsel. This privy council was to help Edward govern until he was eighteen. The intent, therefore, was to establish a ‘hermetically sealed political system’ which would ensure unity, good governance and prevent the emergence of factional conflict.¹¹¹ Nevertheless, aware that ‘because the Variete and Nombre of Things Affayrs and Maters ar and may be such as We, not knowing the Certainty of them before, cannot conveniently prescribe a certain Order or Rule unto our forsayd Counsaillours’, Henry necessarily built into his will a degree of flexibility. He granted:

full Powre and Authorite unto our said Counsaillours that they All, or the most part of them, being assembled togidres in Counsaill, or if any of them fortune to dye the more part of them which shall be for the Tyme Lyving, being assembled in Counsaill togidres, shal and may make devise and ordeyn what things soever they or the more part of them as aforsayd shal, during the Minorite aforsayd of our sayd Sonne think meet necessary or convenient¹¹²

It was this clause which opened up the possibility of establishing a protectorate without necessarily breaking the letter of Henry’s will.

¹⁰⁸ Ives, ‘Forensic conundrum’, p. 795.

¹⁰⁹ Ives, ‘Forensic conundrum’, p. 795.

¹¹⁰ Rymer, *Foedera*, p. 115.

¹¹¹ Ives, ‘Forensic conundrum’, p. 801.

¹¹² Rymer, *Foedera*, p. 115.

Nevertheless, as Dr Houlbroke has observed, historians have been unable to agree if the events in the days and weeks following Henry's death which established Hertford's protectorate broke the terms of his will.¹¹³ It is important to remember that it was a two stage process which began with Hertford's elevation as a *primus inter pares* between 31 January and 1 February but which was then followed in March by an extension of these powers. Professor Jordan argued that this process 'violated not only the spirit but the letter of the will'.¹¹⁴ For Professor Ives, whilst the initial elevation of Hertford to a limited protectorate on 31st January/1st February 'was in specific accordance with the king's will', the subsequent 'coup' in the middle of March ran contrary to Henry's provisions.¹¹⁵ Thus, 'the ingenious constitutional provisions of Henry VIII's will lasted for fewer than eight weeks'.¹¹⁶ Dr Alford suggests that, in January, 'doing precisely what Henry's will wanted them to do-to reinforce the honour and surety of the king their sovereign lord-the executors appointed Hertford protector because of his experience in the affairs of the realm and his "proximitie of bludde" as Edward's uncle'.¹¹⁷

In the days following the king's death on 28 January, a smooth transition to a new regime was managed by Paget and Hertford.¹¹⁸ In 1549, Paget famously recounted their discussion in the long gallery outside the king's bedchamber as Henry died, 'devising with me concerning the place whiche youe now occupe'.¹¹⁹ On the king's death, Hertford went to bring the young king down to London from Hertford, whilst Paget held the fort in the capital and probably, though no evidence exists, secured the political consensus around which the protectorate was built.¹²⁰ Certainly Paget and Hertford corresponded during these few crucial days of separation, Hertford writing in his own hand to Paget on 29 January from Enfield.¹²¹ The way in which news of the king's death and the will was to be disseminated was a vital concern and they

¹¹³ Houlbroke, 'Henry VIII's wills', p. 893 and n.8. Broadly those who argue the will was broken are, W.K. Jordan, *Edward VI: the young king. The protectorate of the duke of Somerset* (London, 1968), pp. 57-58; D.E. Hoak, *The king's council in the reign of Edward VI* (Cambridge, 1976), p. 231; Slavin, 'The fall of lord chancellor Wriothesley', p. 283; Bryson, 'Edwardian regime', p. 32. Those who disagree, A.F. Pollard, *England under the Protector Somerset* (London, 1900), pp. 27-28; J.J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, p. 494; G.R. Elton, *Reform and reformation. England 1509-1558* (London, 1977), p. 333; Stephen Alford, *Kingship and politics in the reign of Edward VI* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 67-69. As we have seen, David Starkey's view is that the will was tampered with precisely to create the 'machinery for creating the protectorate', Starkey, *Henry VIII*, p. 162. Thus the will was not broken but naturally fulfilled.

¹¹⁴ Jordan, *Edward VI: the young king*, pp. 57-58.

¹¹⁵ Ives, 'Protectorate provisions', p. 901.

¹¹⁶ Ives, 'Forensic conundrum', p. 804.

¹¹⁷ Alford, *Kingship and politics*, p. 67.

¹¹⁸ See generally, Bryson, 'Edwardian regime', pp. 29-30; Alford, *Kingship and politics*, pp. 66-69.

¹¹⁹ PRO, SP 10/8, no. 4.

¹²⁰ Bryson, 'Edwardian regime', p. 30; Ives, 'Protectorate provisions', p. 991.

¹²¹ Hertford to Paget, 29 January 1547, PRO, SP 10/1, no. 1

decided that initially at least, only part of the will would be made public. It was for Paget to decide when this should be released. It was therefore an abbreviated testament that was read by Wriothesley to the House of Commons on 31 January, when the king's death was announced, three days after the event. Meanwhile Hertford secured the important backing of Sir Anthony Browne for the regime. Significantly, Browne's reason for acceding to the establishment of Hertford's protectorate was that it was 'bothe the surest kynde of government and most fyt for this common welthe'.¹²² Therefore when, on 31 January 1547, in the council chamber in the Tower, Hertford was appointed to the title of 'Protectour of all the realmes and dominions of the Kinges Majestie that nowe is, and of the Governour of his moste royal persone', this was accepted unanimously by the other executors of the will.¹²³ It was precisely this unanimity which meant that the elevation of Seymour to this limited protectorate was in accordance with the letter of Henry's will.

How had this consensus been established? Certainly there were material incentives, provided by the so-called 'unfulfilled gifts clause'. Henry's will provided for the executors to fulfil gifts promised by Henry but not made out in due form before his death.¹²⁴ Paget's testimony recorded in the privy council register after the entry for the 6th February provides for a series of grants in accordance with the provisions of this clause.¹²⁵ In his testimony, Paget explained that 'after the tyme that the late Duke of Norfolk and his sonne, the late Erle of Surrey, were apprehended', therefore at some point after the beginning of December, Henry 'devised with me a parte (as it is well knowen he used to open his plesour to me alone in many thinges) for the bestowing of the landes belonging to the said Duke and Erle, thinking it expedient that the same shuld be liberally dispersed and geven to divers noble men and others his Majesties good servauntes'.¹²⁶ Accordingly, 'when I [Paget] had said to him whome I thought mete, he willed me to make unto him a booke of suche as he did chose to advaunce'.¹²⁷ Having drawn up this 'booke' of titles and grants, Paget went about the court, informing the prospective beneficiaries, 'and founde them not well satisfied, somme labourenge to remayne in their old degrees, and thothers thinkeng the lande to litle for their mayntenance which was appoynted to

¹²² Wightman to Cecil, 10 May 1549, PRO, SP 10/7, no. 8; Alford, *Kingship and politics*, p. 67.

¹²³ *APC*, ii, pp. 4-6.

¹²⁴ Rymer, *Foedera*, pp. 114-115. This clause Houlbroke suggests might have been inserted after 30th December, Houlbroke, 'Henry VIII's wills', pp. 894-895; this is refuted by Ives, 'Protectorate provisions', pp. 902-904.

¹²⁵ *APC*, ii, pp. 15-22.

¹²⁶ *APC*, ii, pp. 15-16.

¹²⁷ *APC*, ii, p. 16.

them'.¹²⁸ Paget relayed this lack of enthusiasm to the king and sought to persuade Henry to increase the gifts he was to make.¹²⁹ According to Paget, it was only after Henry was informed of Norfolk's confession (12 January) that he decided to revise the original list of grants, 'mindful that he should place us all about his sonne as men whom he trusted and loved above all other specially'.¹³⁰ Paget therefore drew up a revised list, handed it to the king and spread this news about the court, 'and all were pleased', 'but ere this could be acheaved God toke him from us. And heruppon was it that being remembred in his deathe bed that he had promised grete things to divers men, he willed in his testament that whatsoever shuld in any wise appere to his Cownsell to have ben promised by him, the same shuld be parfourmed.'¹³¹

Such was Paget's account. It provides much information, including some idea of chronology. However, what it leaves open is the question of who really drove the revised list, which became an important plank on which the protectorate could be constructed. Was it the king or was it Paget? This has been a key area of dispute between Professor Ives and Dr Houlbroke. The matter largely turns on whether one gives broad credence to Paget's testimony in the council register or if one gives prominence to a state paper. Dr Houlbroke relies on the former, Paget's own testimony, to construct an account in which Paget effectively delivered the settlement after consistent pressure on the king. For Dr Houlbroke, Hertford and Paget had decided on forming a protectorate long before Henry's death and began to make plans for it. When Henry first decided to bestow titles and grants on favoured individuals, Paget 'bluntly told Henry that some of the endowments first proposed were too small'.¹³² Thereafter, 'the sick king was during the last month of his life subjected to ruthlessly applied and effective pressures whose success paved the way for Hertford's assumption of power'.¹³³ An analysis of the list initially drawn up by Paget and the second, final list of gifts compiled after Paget's campaign of duress, as recorded in the privy council register, thus reveals how support was indeed bought for the new regime.

Hertford himself headed the list of beneficiaries, initially securing an unspecified dukedom and lands to the value of 1,000 marks a year.¹³⁴ This was modified in the final list so that Hertford would become treasurer and earl marshal of England, the duke of Somerset, Exeter or Hertford

¹²⁸ *APC*, ii, p. 17.

¹²⁹ *APC*, ii, p. 17.

¹³⁰ *APC*, ii, p. 18.

¹³¹ *APC*, ii, pp. 18-19.

¹³² Houlbroke, 'Henry VIII's wills', p. 896

¹³³ Houlbroke, 'Henry VIII's wills', p. 896.

¹³⁴ *APC*, ii, pp. 16-17; Houlbroke, 'Henry VIII's wills', p. 896.

and be given lands to the value of £1,100.¹³⁵ Thomas Seymour also saw his lot improve from a grant of lands worth £300 p.a. to elevation to the peerage as Lord Seymour of Sudeley, the position of admiral of England and lands to the value of £500.¹³⁶ This substantial increase in the benefits to Thomas Seymour was either designed to reinforce the position of the Seymours or to win the younger brother over to the new regime.¹³⁷ The grants given to Thomas Wriothesley smack of the need to buy him for the protectorate: the lands appointed to him to support his earldom were increased from £100 to £300 p.a.¹³⁸ Dudley, Paulet and Russell were also to have been elevated to an earldom, though in the event, only Dudley was promoted, and like Wriothesley, saw his lands increase from £200 to £300 p.a. Quite why Paulet and Russell missed out is obscure, but both were to support the protectorate nevertheless.¹³⁹ Other figures of influence, including the ‘conservatives’ Sir Anthony Browne and Sir Richard Riche enjoyed inducements of lands worth £100 p.a. and 100 marks p.a. respectively, and the chief gentlemen of the privy chamber, Sir Anthony Denny and Sir William Herbert equally enjoyed substantial grants of lands.

Dr Houlbroke, though, largely discounts the evidence of a contemporary state paper, which, by contrast, Professor Ives suggests is the ‘basic evidence’, and ‘preferable to Paget’s recollections of some weeks later’.¹⁴⁰ The paper itself is of two folios, one of which is written on both sides in a neat secretary hand with amendments, crossings-out and additions in Paget’s hand. The original draft is a list of promotions to the peerage and other offices affecting 23 individuals, five of whom, Hertford, Russell, Paulet, Lisle and Wriothesley, were executors to Henry’s will and could therefore vote for a protectorate. The crux of Professor Ives’s argument is that Paget’s revised list from the state paper brought to these five individuals rather mixed blessings. Indeed, it is possible to argue that each one of those five lost out after Paget’s corrections. Whilst it is true that for Hertford the amendment opened the door for the dukedom of Somerset or Exeter, both prestigious royal dukedoms, this came at a significant cost. The door was firmly shut on his son becoming earl of Wiltshire. Russell and Paulet manifestly lost out: their prospective earldoms were cancelled. Further, although both Wriothesley and Lisle

¹³⁵ *APC*, ii, p. 18; Houlbroke, ‘Henry VIII’s wills’, p. 896.

¹³⁶ *APC*, ii, pp. 17-18.

¹³⁷ Houlbroke, ‘Henry VIII’s wills’, pp. 896-897.

¹³⁸ *APC*, ii, pp. 16-17, 18; Houlbroke, ‘Henry VIII’s wills’, p. 897.

¹³⁹ Houlbroke, ‘Henry VIII’s wills’, pp. 897-898.

¹⁴⁰ PRO, SP10/1, no. 11; Ives, ‘Protectorate provisions’, pp. 904-905. For his analysis of the state paper generally see, pp. 904-907.

retained their earldoms, the changes in their titles might have carried less prestige.¹⁴¹ In fact on this evidence, the only clear ‘success’ for Paget was the addition of Sir Anthony Browne to the list of grants. Thus it was not really Paget who was driving the pen in the state paper, but Henry. Ives concludes that, ‘the *cui bono* evidence does suggest that-with some encouragement from Paget-the king’s primary object was to make a cautious financial acknowledgement of the faction which he hoped would govern for his son’.¹⁴²

Ultimately, though, both Professor Ives and Dr Houlbroke concede that ‘the episode is opaque’¹⁴³. The evidence is such that it is impossible to be conclusive about whether it was Paget or Henry who was the architect of the grants disbursed through the unfulfilled gifts clause. The question remains open and is likely to remain so. There are, though, two important observations to be made. The first relates to the role of the privy chamber. Starkey’s argument has been that the construction of the will was determined by the inner clique within the privy chamber, most notably through Denny, Sir John Gates and their control of the dry stamp. Thus the institutional ‘rise of the privy chamber’ had a decisive political impact, making, indeed, a reformation. Both Ives and Houlbroke implicitly sideline the importance of the privy chamber by focusing instead on the central role of Paget in the construction of the will. This is further supported by the evidence adduced here in previous chapters. We have seen that when it came to securing the signature for bills, and indeed the operation of the dry stamp, Paget was at least as important as the gentlemen of the privy chamber. Equally, his role as the interface between the king and the privy council makes it even more likely that Henry would have relied on Paget to draft the will. Finally, it is significant that Honnyngs, working under Paget as a clerk of the signet and clerk of the privy council, penned the final version of the will. This evidence makes it difficult to sustain the view that the privy chamber was the focal point for the politics surrounding the will. The key individual was in fact the secretary, Paget.

Secondly, it is important to acknowledge that during this period there were several forces at work shaping the successor regime, of which the financial, though important, was only one. As Dr Houlbroke has argued, ‘individual attitudes were governed by a range of hopes, fears, scruples, loyalties, considerations of personal advantage and differing estimates of Hertford’s

¹⁴¹ Wriothesley was to become earl of Winchester rather than Chichester and Lisle earl of Coventry rather than Leicester. Ives, ‘Protectorate provisions’, p. 906, n. 26.

¹⁴² Ives, ‘Protectorate provisions’, p. 907.

¹⁴³ Ives, ‘Protectorate provisions’, p. 902.

fitness for the responsibilities envisaged'.¹⁴⁴ In addition, as Dr Alford has suggested, 'one should also add notions of political authority, and what must have been, after nearly forty years of intensely personal monarchy, an instinctive belief in the need for a man of recognized pre-eminence'.¹⁴⁵ In such a way a consensus was forged behind a new regime.

This new regime, established within days of the old king's death, did not break the letter of Henry's will and it is unlikely that it broke the spirit of the will either. If Henry's wish was to ensure consensus, eradicate conflict and secure good government during Edward's minority, then this wish seems to have been swiftly fulfilled, if admittedly not quite in the form he might have anticipated. However, within a few weeks Wriothesley, had broken with the new regime and Hertford, now the duke of Somerset, had significantly increased his powers. Do these events indicate the cracks beginning to emerge—a decisive overturning of Henry's will and the triumph of Paget and Somerset's true intentions? These are more substantial criticisms. Both Professor Ives and Dr Houlbroke regard the fall of Thomas Wriothesley at the beginning of March broadly in these terms.¹⁴⁶ Though the occasion of Wriothesley's fall was constructed on legal grounds, the real cause was his refusal to endorse an extension to Somerset's powers, an extension that was to occur between 12 and 21 March 1547. It may well be that Wriothesley was one of the more reluctant executors who endorsed Seymour's protectorate on 31 January and that he was won over by Paget's persuasion, the grants promised in the unfulfilled gifts clause and the confirmation of his position as Lord Chancellor immediately after Seymour's election on the 31 January. When Somerset looked to increase his power further, Wriothesley would not accept it. One traditional reading of this affair could be that this expressed, very early on, the kinds of stresses and strains that were to become legion in a troublesome reign in which factionalism and conflict predominated. However, both Richard Grafton and Raphael Holinshed, writing in the second half of the century, took the view that Wriothesley was really dispensed with because he threatened the conciliar system that had been established. Thus Wriothesley's fall is turned on its head and becomes not symptomatic of deeper strains, but an affirmation of a successful consensus.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁴ Houlbroke, 'Henry VIII's wills', p. 895. Also quoted by Alford, *Kingship and politics*, p. 68. Equally, as Dr Bryson has argued, men like Lisle, Paulet, Cheney, and Sir Anthony Browne, 'were increasingly entering into relationships of noble sociability and clientage', with Hertford, 'Edwardian regime', p. 29.

¹⁴⁵ Alford, *Kingship and politics*, p. 68.

¹⁴⁶ Ives, 'Forensic conundrum', pp. 803-804; Ives, 'Protectorate provisions', p. 911; Houlbroke, 'Henry VIII's wills', pp. 898-899.

¹⁴⁷ Alford, *Kingship and politics*, pp. 13-14.

Certainly it is true that Somerset's powers granted during the middle of March did mark a departure from the terms of Henry's will and it is equally true that in important ways they marked a considerable break with the spirit of that will.¹⁴⁸ In March, Somerset effectively became a regent, which Henry had not envisaged. The power Somerset was granted to appoint new privy councillors rode rough-shod over Henry's vision of his own appointees forming a fixed body of councillors to advise his son. Both Professor Ives and Dr Houlbroke take the view that this progression from limited protectorate to a regency had been envisaged all along by both Paget and Somerset. Working from the premise that Paget's chief objective at the end of Henry's reign was to maintain his influence, Ives argues that Paget always viewed January as a stepping stone to a fuller protectorate to be established some way down the road: 'to plan a protectorate with the January limitations expecting it to give him effective power would be naive, and that Paget was not'.¹⁴⁹

But was the regime established in March 1547 really such a great betrayal of Henry's wishes? Henry wanted consensus, stability and, above all, the secure succession of Edward at 18. By establishing a quasi-monarchical regime, one which these mid-Tudor governors were used to, which they probably preferred and to which, crucially, all, save Wriothesley, gave their assent, the protectorate promised to deliver Henry's wishes. Essentially, the protectorate revived the Henrican model of governance. This interpretation, of course, puts a very different spin on Paget's actions, as he becomes less the 'master of practices' but more the loyal Henrican seeking to re-instate conventional good governance. As Stephen Alford has explained, the real failure over the next two years was that Somerset was unable to fill Henry's shoes. His task was made more difficult because he lacked the residual authority of a legitimate monarch, but fundamentally he failed because he flouted the conventions and models of mid-sixteenth century kingship. It was these conventions and models, it should be added, which Paget, with increasing frustration, implored Somerset to observe in his 'critiques' of the protectorate.

The tradition of Foxe and Ponet in interpreting the 1540s and the mid-Tudor period generally has been stubbornly enduring. At times, for important episodes, they are the only source and cannot simply be ignored. However, this thesis has been rooted in the study of the state papers and this perspective, as Steven Gunn has observed, cannot help but lead to a different

¹⁴⁸ *APC*, ii, pp. 63-74. For a full analysis of this see, Bryson, 'Edwardian regime', pp. 37-38.

¹⁴⁹ Ives, 'Protectorate provisions', p. 909.

interpretation.¹⁵⁰ The state papers do present a more united privy council who shared a collegiate identity and a common aim: the pursuit of good governance on behalf of the realm and the king whose servants they were. Paget sits uncomfortably on the fault line of these conflicting visions of the late Henrican polity. Is Paget the 'master of practices', or is he the king's good servant seeking to preserve the Henrican model of governance which shaped his formative political experience? Perhaps the choice is not quite that stark, but it is worth at least beginning to take the latter view as seriously as the former.

¹⁵⁰ Steven Gunn, 'The structures of politics in early Tudor England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, sixth series, 5 (1995), pp. 59-77.

CONCLUSION

In the course of the sixteenth century the nature of Tudor monarchy, like other monarchies in Europe, changed and evolved. Two aspects of this transformation were of particular significance; the growing importance of the royal court as the dominant place where politics was played out and where great men came to exert influence; and the emergence of a privy council, based at court, members of which increasingly came to be seen as the chief counsellors of the monarch. To both of these developments Tudor historians have devoted much attention but to the interpretation of the polity of the 1540s the focus has been skewed. This is because of the lack of research into the privy council and the prominence given to the privy chamber, largely due to the work of David Starkey. By focusing on the king's secretary this thesis attempts to add to and modify our understanding of the 1540s.

In the first place, the prominence given to the privy chamber and key members of the privy chamber as a form of unofficial secretariat, advocated by Starkey, requires revision. It is certainly the case, as Starkey has demonstrated, that by the 1540s gentlemen of the privy chamber could attempt to exert influence over the king, particularly over the flow of patronage, by virtue of their close proximity. Wolsey's fatal mistake was to neglect the basic need to be close to the king. However, the idea of a linear 'rise of the privy chamber', which by the 1540s came to monopolise the flow of patronage, particularly through the instrument of the dry stamp, is difficult to sustain, as is the related idea that a new inner household secretariat emerged staffed by gentlemen of the privy chamber. This is because for most of the 1540s apart from the last 18 months of the reign the traditional function of the signet and the sign manual was maintained and Paget and his secretariat were central to this. When the dry stamp was introduced in September 1545 the chief gentlemen of the privy chamber had a significant role to play in the operation of the stamp and in the process of promoting suits, but this was not at the expense of Paget. Paget retained the considerable influence he enjoyed over the dispersal of patronage. Both before and after September 1545 Sir Anthony Denny and Paget were the two key patronage-brokers at court and it is difficult to see that the introduction of the dry stamp did much to alter this. For the historian it just becomes easier to measure this influence thanks to the existence of the lists of documents stamped.

This modified view of the process by which patronage was dispersed has an important bearing on the politics surrounding Henry's will. The will, after all, was one spectacularly large and important bestowal of patronage. Starkey's argument has been that the rise of household government, or more specifically the rise of the privy chamber, determined the nature of the will and the post-1547 regime. Thus Denny used his position controlling the dry stamp to tamper with the will securing Seymour's protectorate. By implication the secretary, the loser in this institutional battle, has to be written out of the story. The secretary has lost influence and the signet has gone out of court. Yet as Starkey acknowledges Paget was at the heart of events in December 1546 and January 1547. Something in this account does not fit. The perspective is skewed. One can only understand the politics surrounding the will if Paget is put at the centre of the story. Whether one chooses to accept the evidence of the state paper drafted and amended by Paget which outlined the titles, offices and grants to be included in the will, or Paget's own account of the process by which the will was constructed, recorded in the privy council register, either way Paget is the man walking the corridors of Whitehall settling the will. Furthermore, it was one of Paget's secretariat, William Honnyngs, who actually drafted the will.

The examination of the relationship between Henry, the privy council and Paget also modifies our perspective of the 1540s. The key determinant here is the location of the council chamber since it helps to establish the nature and function of the privy council itself, the counselling process and the role of the secretary. G.R. Elton's view that the privy council met and was based in the star chamber has been refuted by Starkey but his argument that the council chamber in the 1540s was to be found off the long gallery at Whitehall has in turn been disproved by Simon Thurley. The weight of evidence points to the presence chamber, also known as the king's dining chamber, as the most likely location for the meetings of the privy council. Therefore, whilst the privy council did ordinarily meet at court the chamber was located before the king's privy chamber and his private apartments. It is therefore likely that ordinary privy councillors did not enjoy such easy access to the king as has hitherto been assumed and certainly it contributes significantly to the increasing importance of the secretary, since it was primarily Paget who acted as the conduit between Henry and his privy council.

Thus the 1540s did not witness the usurping of the role of the secretary by the privy chamber, as Starkey has argued, but in fact this decade was the making of the Tudor secretary. This perspective

enables us to relate the 1540s more coherently to the decades before and after. At the beginning of the century the king's secretary was a significant but nevertheless second-rank figure. In the second half of the century men like William Cecil, Francis Walsingham and Robert Cecil were recognisably amongst the most powerful men at court. Much has been written about Cromwell's role in this process, but Cromwell is perhaps something of an oddity. Like Wolsey he was often not at court and he combined a variety of roles, including master of the rolls and lord privy seal, only one of which was secretary to the king. In fact, during the 'ministerial' period under Wolsey and then Cromwell there was a looser system in which the minister dominated but in which nobles like Suffolk and Norfolk could intervene, often when the minister was absent from court. In the 1540s this changed, the key development being the emergence of the privy council and the need for an interface between the king and his council. This gave the secretary his chance. Through his extensive archive one can see the way in which the position of king's secretary matured under Paget and the post-1550 world emerged. Indeed it seems clear that many of the characteristics which defined the role of secretary in the second half of the century crystallised under Paget; a close relationship with, and constant access to, the monarch; the key conduit of information between the monarch and the privy council; control of the correspondence of both the monarch and the privy council; and one of the dominant patronage-brokers at court. Above all, though there were clearly 'bureaucratic' aspects to the job, Paget was the quintessential courtier, a personal servant, even a friend to the king and as such had a duty to offer honest and wise counsel.

Because of the difficulties in interpreting the evidence and the decisive consequences of that decade the politics of the 1540s remain highly controversial. On one hand we have a picture of Henry the strong king, standing above his courtiers as puppet-master. On the other a court riven by faction, the sick king manipulated by ruthless *politiques* with an eye to the next reign. This latter view has particular problems. Rooted in the narratives of Foxe and Ponet it is tempting to accept the simple struggle between the forces of 'reform' and those of 'conservatism' as the countdown to Henry's death reaches its final phase, but on closer analysis these two rival camps turn out to be a mirage. At what point do we date the hardening of these alliances? If it is 1543, how do we explain the conflict in 1544 between Gardiner and Norfolk? If 1544, what of the improving relations between Gardiner and Hertford? If 1546, how then does one explain the attempts at a Seymour-Howard match in June 1546? This thesis has suggested that the problems of a rigidly factional interpretation become particularly acute when one tries to locate Paget in this framework. His

relationship with Gardiner does not seem to have broken down until very late in the reign and his friendship with Wriothesley appears to have been intact until the beginning of Edward's.

Equally, to find a policy which unites one faction against another for any length of time is difficult. Whilst religion might appear to offer the obvious cleavage, when one looks at the evidence of the 1540s it is actually difficult to discern the religious position of key individuals not least Paget and Wriothesley. Further, whatever differences may have existed between privy councillors over religion are likely to have been outweighed by what unified them, that is a common desire to maintain religious unity, stability and good order. When it came to foreign alliance Gardiner and Norfolk had, for many years, backed different sides, Charles V and Francis I respectively. On the key issue of the continuation of the war against France and the future of Boulogne, not only did it lead to a significant rift between Thomas and Henry Howard but the privy council, to a man, were united in wishing to be rid of Boulogne and find a swift peace with France, despite Henry's opposition. The context in which events and utterances took place and the fluidity of relationships are two related factors that have been consistently underplayed. Paget's famous letter to Hertford in April 1544, often used by advocates of faction, is a classic example of the need for context. Written nearly three years before Henry's death, to read it as two conspirators in cahoots is only really possible in the knowledge of Henry's subsequent demise. The real context is Henry's insistence on leading his army personally to France and Hertford's desire to secure patronage.

The relationship between individuals, policy and politics was a constantly changing landscape in the last few years of Henry's reign. It was not set in stone. However, if one is looking for a model to characterise politics in the last years of Henry's reign then it might be more accurate to see Henry as a very active and dominant force who was both amenable to counsel, though never manipulated, but who was quite prepared to follow his own dictates when he wished. Equally, whilst religion has often been seen as the primary context in which politics was played out, in fact, even after the treaty of Camp, the French war and the fear of England's isolation were perhaps the dominant concerns for Henry and his privy council.

Turning to the treatment of Paget in this thesis, one of the enduring roles of the secretary was diplomacy and Paget's tenure coincided with a structural shift in England's relations with the rest of Europe as the full ramifications of the break from Rome began to hit home. However, as this

was a time of transition, some of the older preoccupations, the pursuit of glory and dynastic rivalry, remained, particularly in the mind of Henry VIII. This changing scene, and conflicting priorities, led to tension between Henry and his privy council and very often between the two stood Paget. Here Paget's position was paradoxical. On the one hand, his attempts to resolve England's diplomatic problems left him, at times, in an extremely vulnerable position, a vulnerability of which he was very aware. And yet Paget's expertise, his mastery of the detail and the trust which he obviously inspired in the king, made him, in the last two or three years of the reign, Henry's closest *confidant* in all things diplomatic. In trying to reconcile the difficulties of England's new position in Europe Paget seems to have developed some clear preoccupations. He sought peace and security for the realm and this he recognised, along with good governance, could only be secured with financial stability and retrenchment. Equally, when these priorities were threatened, particularly in April and May 1546, Paget did not shirk the duty to present some unpleasant truths to Henry, though these were, of course, couched in suitably obsequious language. He was to do the same during the protectorate, though, interestingly, Henry seems to have taken more notice of Paget than Somerset ever did.

Does this thesis get any closer to working out Paget's political creed? To work this out fully requires a study of Paget's career in its entirety. This thesis provides only a snapshot, but some preliminary conclusions can be drawn from the 1540s. Paget's concern for order and good governance are familiar themes in his critiques of the protectorate, They also permeate and inform his attitude to diplomacy under Henry. Over-commitment abroad, financial ruin and the acute problems that confessional division across Europe might bring to the realm are consistent themes. Moderation was the key, as he once famously wrote to Somerset, 'extremities be never good, and for my part I have always hated them naturally'.¹ In the same letter Paget also made a telling observation about the difficulties of counsel back in Henry's reign, 'then it was dangerous to do or speak though the meaning were not evil...then the prince thought not convenient for the subject to judge or to dispute or talk of the sovereign his matters and had learned of his father to keep them in due obedience by the administration of justice under the law'.² There was some exaggeration here to make his point, but it says important things about Paget's attitude to counsel. It is difficult to

¹ Barrett L. Beer (ed.), 'A critique of the protectorate: an unpublished letter of Sir William Paget to the duke of Somerset', *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, 34 (1971), p. 280.

² Beer, 'A critique of the protectorate', p. 280.

avoid the conclusion that Paget saw counsel as fundamental to good government and the proper exercise of the authority of the monarch.

To what end was this counsel put? Elton wrote that Paget, 'probably through his life preferred the Henrician compromise which he had seen created in his formative years'.³ Much of this rings true, particularly the idea of moderation, compromise and commitment to a polity modelled on Henrician lines. And yet there is also a degree to which Paget seems to have been an advocate of reform. The letters to Hertford and the alliance with Cranmer over 'godly' reform of the church point in this direction, as does the way in which Cox saw Paget standing between Henry and the ravaging wolves of ignorance and superstition, 'like an hardy and godly lion'. It also seems to go at least some way to explaining why Paget maintained and cultivated links with both the voices sympathetic to reform at the French court and the protestants of the Schmalkaldic League.

If those are some conclusions, I have been conscious throughout this research that the 1540s and perhaps the 1550s, to some extent represent open territory. This is not to dismiss the important work which has been done hitherto but simply to reflect on the difficulties I have found researching some areas about which very little has been written. There is, for example, very little on the privy council between 1540-1547. Despite Dr Knighton's essay on Edwardian secretaries and other works that touch on individual secretaries during the period, there is little on mid-Tudor secretaries generally.⁴ Equally, to look backwards to the 1530s, though much has been written about Cromwell as secretary some of this is increasingly dated, couched as it is in the debates surrounding the 'Tudor revolution in government'. In terms of diplomacy, the works by Professor Potter and Dr McEntegart are invaluable, but aside from the more general surveys on Tudor foreign policy there is nothing on Anglo-Imperial relations in the 1540s. As for politics, though much has been written there are many interesting and important figures, sometimes not quite of first-rank prominence, about whom there is more to be said and which would add much to our knowledge of the period. Professor MacCulloch has already identified Richard Taverner as one such individual.⁵ Thomas Chaloner and particularly John Mason stand out as two others worth further consideration. More generally, Dr Gunn has written about the need to look more at the

³ G.R. Elton, *Reform and reformation, England 1509-1558*, (London, 1977), pp. 325-326.

⁴ C.S. Knighton, 'The principal secretaries in the reign of Edward VI: reflections on their office and archive', in Claire Cross, David Loades, and J.J. Scarisbrick (eds.), *Law and government under the Tudors* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 163-175.

careers of individuals across the four reigns of the 1540s and 1550s to understand better the continuities and discontinuities of the period.⁶ A particularly fruitful line of research, already underway, is to look at networks of relationships and how they changed in this crucial twenty years. An important part of any such jigsaw would be a new and more sustained analysis of how Paget's relationships changed and developed under Edward and Mary. In fact such a study would not only shed more light on two traditionally neglected reigns but also enable us to analyse more critically the judgement handed-down from Ponet of Paget as the 'master of practices'.

⁵ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer. A life* (Yale, 1996), p. 336.

⁶ Steven Gunn, 'The structures of politics in early Tudor England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series, 5 (1995), p. 62

Appendix 1

State Papers, Henry VIII: General Series (SP1)

Later/modern copies

<u>Manuscript description</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>SP 1/vol/folio</u>
Licence to Dr Gwent	18 July 1543	180 fo.75r-v.
Grant to Richard Bridges and John Knight	28 December 1543	182 fos. 168r-171v.
Treaty between Henry VIII and Charles V.	31 December 1543	182 fos. 181r-183v.
Grant to John Banister	8 February 1544	183 fo. 68r.
Notes of grants of lands and licences of alienation	1544	186 fos. 1r-190v.
Commission to Cranmer, Wriothesley, Hertford, Thirlby and Petre	11 July 1544	189 fos. 271r-v.
Re. mortgage of lands to Londoners	11 July 1544	189 fo. 277r-278v.
Re. mortgage of lands to Londoners	11 July 1544	189 fo. 279r-280v.
Henry VIII to -----	1544	190 fos. 245r-246v.
Treaty re. surrender of Boulogne	13 September 1544	192 fos. 71r-73v.
Commission to Hertford, Gardiner, Gage, Paget and Riche	9 October 1544	193 fos. 84r-85v.
Lease to Edward Watson	6 November 1544	195 fos. 4r-13v.
Hertford and Gardiner to Henry VIII	7 November 1544	195 fos. 28r-29v.
Licence to import jewels	12 January 1545	197 fo. 76r.
Re. defence of Kent	May 1545	200 fos. 193r-194v.
Privy council to Hertford	30 May 1545	201 fos. 166r-167v.
Grant to John Dudley, Lord Lisle	1 June 1545	201 fos. 180r-191v.
Thomas Cranmer to Henry VIII	7 October 1545	208 fos. 171r-172v.
French ambassador's commission	31 October 1545	209 fos. 203r-204v.
William Petre to William Paget	24 December 1545	212 fos 111r-113v.
William Clarke's will	26 May 1546	219 fos. 89r-90v.

Treaty of Camp	7 June 1546	220 fos. 42r-45v.
Crome's recantation	27 June 1546	221 fos. 7r-8v.
Commission to Odet de Selve	8 July 1546	221 fo. 150r-v.
Garter to Henry VIII	7 July 1546	223 fo. 34r-v.
Privy council to Wotton	1 September 1546	224 fos. 16r-18v.
Memorandum re. Shipping	20 September 1546	225 fo. 13r-v.
Cox to Paget	12 October 1546	225 fos. 187r-188v.
Cox to Paget	18 October 1546	225 fos. 204r-205v.
Henry VIII's will	30 December 1546	227 fos. 217r-225r.
Grant to City of London	13 January 1546	228 fos. 47r-48v.

The Johnson Papers

Despatch and receipt of Ghentish cloth	20 September 1543	181 fo. 162r-v.
John Coope to John Johnson	16 November 1543	182 fo. 103r.
G. Smyth to John Johnson	6 December 1543	182 fo. 148r-v.
Anthony Cave to John Johnson	13 December 1543	182 fo. 161r-v.
Anthony Cave to John Johnson	20 December 1543	182 fo. 164r-v.
Henry Suthwyke to John Johnson	20 December 1543	182 fo. 165r-v.
Otwell Johnson to John Johnson	28 June 1543	182 fo. 215r-v.
Anthony Cave to John Johnson [?]	19 January 1544	183 fo. 26r-v.
Anthony Whyt to John Johnson	26 January 1544	183 fo. 43r-v.
Otwell Johnson to John Johnson	27 January 1544	183 fo. 44r-v.
Anthony Whyt to John Johnson	12 February 1544	183 fo. 101r-v.
Anthony Cave to John Johnson	20 February 1544	183 fo. 123r-v.
Otwell Johnson to John Johnson	2 March 1544	183 fo. 162r-v.
Henry Suthwyke to John Johnson	7 March 1544	183 fo. 187r-v.
Henry Suthwyke to John Johnson	March 1544	183 fo. 188r-v.
Accounts of Anthony Cave to which are attached 3 letters to John Johnson	No date	185 fo. 100r-131v.
James Haddon to John Johnson	25 June 1544	189 fo. 68r-v.

Otwell Johnson to John Johnson	29 June 1544	189 fo. 132r-v.
Richard Whethill to John Johnson	24 July 1544	190 fo. 136r-v.
Otwell Johnson to John Johnson	28 July 1544	190 fo. 192r-v.
Henry Suthwik to John Johnson	28 July 1544	190 fo. 194r-v.
Henry Suthwik to John Johnson	2 August 1544	191 fo. 7r-v.
Anthony Cave to John Johnson	8 August 1544	191 fo. 58r-v.
Otwell Johnson to John Johnson	19 August 1544	191 fo. 136r-v.
Henry Suthwik to John Johnson	20 August 1544	191 fo. 139r-v.
Otwell Johnson to John Johnson	26 August 1544	191 fo. 176r-v.
Re. lands in Northants	29 September 1544	193 fo. 10r-v.
Otwell Johnson to John Johnson	6 October 1544	193 fo. 40r-v.
Anthony Cave to John Johnson	30 November 1544	195 fo. 176r-v.
Otwell Johnson to John Johnson	5 December 1544	195 fo. 194r-v.
Henry Suthwik to John Johnson	9 December 1544	195 fo. 212r-v.
Henry Suthwik to John Johnson	7 January 1544	196 fo. 91r-v.
Otwell Johnson to John Johnson	16 January 1544	196 fo. 92r-v.
Otwell Johnson to John Johnson	16 January 1544	196 fo. 93r-v.
John Coope to John Johnson	23 February 1544	196 fo. 94r-v.
John Johnson's accounts and copies of letters	1534-1538; 1544	196 fos. 97r-251v.
Robert Tempest to Otwell Johnson	30 January 1545	197 fo. 212r-v.
Anthony Cave to John Johnson	22 February 1545	198 fo. 154r.
Otwell Johnson to John Johnson	25 February 1545	198 fo. 173r-v.
Henry Suthwik to John Johnson	26 February 1545	198 fo. 181r-v.
Otwell Johnson to John Johnson	28 February 1545	198 fo. 182r-v.
Parson Saxby to John Johnson	6 March 1545	198 fos. 237r-238v.
Henry Suthwik to John Johnson	9 March 1545	199 fo. 2r-v.
Henry Suthwik to John Johnson	13 March 1545	199 fo. 25r-v.
Anthony Cave to John Johnson	16 March 1545	199 fos. 38r-39v.
William Lucy to John Johnson	16 March 1545	199 fo. 40r-v.
Anthony Cave to John Johnson	23 March 1545	199 fo. 72r-v.
Otwell Johnson to John Johnson	31 March 1545	199 fo. 143r-v.
Christopher Breten to John Johnson	11 April 1545	199 fo. 226r-v.

Guilliam van der Guchte to John Johnson	15 April 1545	200 fo. 12r-v.
Otwell Johnson to John Johnson	21 April 1545	200 fo. 43r-v.
Sabyne Johnson to John Johnson	25 April 1545	200 fo. 63r-v.
Otwell Johnson to John Johnson	26 April 1545	200 fo. 64r-v.
John Johnson to Sabyne Johnson	1 May 1545	200 fo. 126r.
Anthony Cave to John Johnson	2 May 1545	200 fo. 139r-v.
Sabyne Johnson to John Johnson	6 May 1545	200 fo. 172r-v.
Anthony Cave to John Johnson	8 May 1545	200 fo. 210r-v.
Otwell Johnson to John Johnson	11 May 1545	201 fo. 3r-v.
Sabyne Johnson to John Johnson	12 May 1545	201 fo. 26r-v.
Otwell Johnson to John Johnson	13 May 1545	201 fo. 34r-v.
Otwell Johnson to John Johnson	15 May 1545	201 fo. 58r-v.
Otwell Johnson to John Johnson	16 May 1545	201 fo. 64r-v.
Ambrose Saunders to John Johnson	16 May 1545	201 fo. 67r-v.
Anthony Cave to John Johnson	17 May 1545	201 fo. 76r-v.
Otwell Johnson to John Johnson	19 May 1545	201 fo. 89r-v.
Anthony Cave to John Johnson	19 May 1545	201 fo. 90r-v.
Sabyne Johnson to John Johnson	20 May 1545	201 fo. 94r-v.
Ambrose Saunders to John Johnson	21 May 1545	201 fo. 105r-v.
Bartholomew Hosse to John Johnson	22 May 1545	201 fo. 106r-v.
Ambrose Saunders to John Johnson	23 May 1545	201 fo. 109r-v.
Victor Meawve to John Johnson	24 May 1545	201 fo. 118r-v.
Otwell Johnson to John Johnson	27 May 1545	201 fo. 147r-v.
Sabyne Johnson to John Johnson	27 May 1545	201 fo. 148r-v.
Anthony Cave to John Johnson	29 May 1545	201 fo. 162r-v.
Ambrose Saunders to John Johnson	31 May 1545	201 fo. 173r-v.
Otwell Johnson to John Johnson	5 June 1545	201 fo. 218r-v.
Otwell Johnson to John Johnson	9 June 1545	202 fo. 18r-v.
Bertram Hagh to John Johnson	11 June 1545	202 fo. 31r-v.
Victor Meawve to John Johnson	13 June 1545	202 fo. 47r-v.
Henry Suthwik to John Johnson	13 June 1545	202 fo. 50r-v.
Otwell Johnson to John Johnson	14 June 1545	202 fo. 51r-v.

Victor Meawve to John Johnson	14 June 1545	202 fo. 63r-v.
Victor Meawve to John Johnson	15 June 1545	202 fo. 76r-v.
John Aster to John Johnson	18 June 1545	202 fo. 105r-v.
Bertram Hagh to John Johnson	25 June 1545	202 fo. 190r-v.
Otwell Johnson to John Johnson	10 July 1545	203 fo. 154r-v.
Anthony Whyt to John Johnson	4 August 1545	205 fo. 65r-v.
Anthony Cave to John Johnson	17 August 1545	206 fo. 10r-v.
Sabyne Johnson to John Johnson	10 September 1545	207 fo. 120r-v.
Sabyne Johnson to John Johnson	17 September 1545	208 fo. 1r-v.
Sabyne Johnson to John Johnson	19 September 1545	208 fo. 20r-v.
Anthony Cave to John Johnson	22 September 1545	208 fo. 48r-v.
Otwell Johnson to John Johnson	28 September 1545	208 fo. 91r-v.
John Johnson to Sabyne Johnson	15 October 1545	209 fo. 21r-v.
Sabyne Johnson to John Johnson	23 October 1545	209 fo. 109r-v.
Otwell Johnson to John Johnson	26 October 1545	209 fo. 131r-v.
John Gery to John Johnson	26 October 1545	209 fo. 132r-v.
Robert Andrew to John Johnson	29 October 1545	209 fo. 179r-v.
Richard Whethill to John Johnson	31 October 1545	209 fo. 195r-v.
Anthony Cave to John Johnson	31 October 1545	209 fo. 196r-v.
Sabyne Johnson to John Johnson	1 November 1545	209 fo. 217r-v.
Otwell Johnson to John Johnson	4 November 1545	210 fo. 1r-v.
Otwell Johnson to John Johnson	6 November 1545	210 fo. 34r-v.
Sabyne Johnson to John Johnson	7 November 1545	210 fo. 46r-v.
Otwell Johnson to John Johnson	8 November 1545	210 fo. 57r-v.
Sabyne Johnson to John Johnson	8 November 1545	210 fo. 58r-v.
Anthony Cave to John Johnson	9 November 1545	210 fo. 62r-v.
Otwell Johnson to John Johnson	10 November 1545	210 fo. 73r-v.
Otwell Johnson to John Johnson	11 November 1545	210 fo. 74r-v.
Sabyne Johnson to John Johnson	12 November 1545	210 fo. 104r-v.
Jannetien van der Goes to John Johnson	13 November 1545	210 fo. 133r-v.
Sabyne Johnson to John Johnson	14 November 1545	210 fo. 135r-v.
Otwell Johnson to John Johnson	17 November 1545	210 fo. 175r-v.

Otwell Johnson to John Johnson	18 November 1545	210 fos. 176r-177v.
Otwell Johnson to John Johnson	19 November 1545	210 fo. 178r-v.
John Johnson to Sabyne Johnson	19 November 1545	210 fo. 181r-v.
Otwell Johnson to John Johnson	22 November 1545	211 fo. 18r-v.
Adrian van der Weede to John Johnson	22 November 1545	211 fo. 24r-v.
Sabyne Johnson to John Johnson	23 November 1545	211 fos. 32v-33r.
Anthony Cave to John Johnson	24 November 1545	211 fo. 53r-v.
Ambrose Saunders to John Johnson	25 November 1545	211 fo. 59r-v.
Otwell Johnson to John Johnson	28 November 1545	211 fo. 93r-v.
Sabyne Johnson to John Johnson	28 November 1545	211 fo. 94r-v.
Adrian van der Wiede to John Johnson	4 December 1545	211 fo. 171r-v.
Robert Andrew to John Johnson	4 December 1545	211 fo. 172r-v.
Richard Lambert to John Johnson	4 December 1545	211 fo. 173r-v.
Otwell Johnson to John Johnson	5 December 1545	211 fo. 176r-v.
Anthony Cave to John Johnson	5 December 1545	211 fo. 177r-v.
Sabyne Johnson to John Johnson	5 December 1545	211 fo. 179r-v.
Otwell Johnson to John Johnson	6 December 1545	211 fo. 191r-v.
Sabyne Johnson to John Johnson	7 December 1545	211 fo. 192r-v.
Parson Saxby to John Johnson	9 February 1545	212 fo. 169r-v.
John Johnson to Sabyne Johnson	9 May 1545	212 fo. 181r-v.
John Johnson to Sabyne Johnson	7 June 1545	212 fo. 187r-v.
Humphrey Lyghtfott to John Johnson	25 July 1545	212 fo. 197r-v.
Otwell Johnson to Sabyne Johnson	28 November 1545	212 fo. 205r-v.
John Johnson letterbook	June 1545-January 1546	212 fo. 210r-238v.
Otwell Johnson to John Johnson	6 January 1546	213 fo. 31r-v.
Otwell Johnson to John Johnson	1 February 1546	213 fo. 205r-v.
Otwell Johnson to John Johnson	20 April 1546	217 fo. 43r-v.
Sabyne Johnson to John Johnson	26 April 1546	217 fo. 99r-v.
John Johnson to Mr Smyth and Robert Andrew (copies)	26 April 1546	217 fo. 100r-v.
Andrew Judde to John Johnson	30 April 1546	217 fo. 136r-v.

Christopher Breten to John Johnson	3 May 1546	217 fos. 172r-173r.
Robert Lake to John Johnson	27 June 1546	221 fo. 12r-v.
Otwell Johnson to John Johnson	5 July 1546	221 fo. 106r-v.
William Bryan to John Johnson	20 July 1546	222 fo. 56r-v.
Christopher Breten to John Johnson	3 August 1546	223 fo. 2r-v.
Bill of exchange re. Otwell Johnson	26 August 1546	223 fo. 165r-v.
Christopher Breten to John Johnson	1 September 1546	224 fo. 19r-v.
Otwell Johnson to John Johnson	24 September 1546	225 fo. 44r-v.
Anthony van Zurch to John Johnson	6 October 1546	225 fo. 149r-v.
Sabyne Johnson to John Johnson	9 October 1546	225 fo. 164r-v.
Richard Johnson to John Johnson	9 November 1546	226 fo. 81r-v.

Anthony Bouchier's Papers

Sir Richard Manners, appointed Katherine Parr's keeper of her manor at Fotheringhay	9 April 1544	185 fo. 144r.
Edward Tyndale to Bouchier	22 April 1544	187 fo. 1r-2v.
Thomas Cloterboke to Bouchier	27 April 1544	187 fo. 49r-v.
Thomas Beston, appointed receiver of the manor of Fotheringhay	20 May 1544	187 fo. 201r-v.
Re. Bouchier's accounts	29 June 1544	189 fos. 130r-131v.
Re. survey of queen's lands in manor of Exmouth	27 August 1544	191 fo. 182r.
Re. money owed to queen	August 1544	191 fos. 202r-223v.
Re. land in Cornwall	No date	193 fo. 17r-18r.
Sir Thomas Arundell to Bouchier	2 November 1544	194 fos. 202r-203v.
Wymond Carew to Bouchier	4 November 1544	194 fo. 223r-v.
Re. rents at Fotheringhay	9 November 1544	195 fo. 38r-v.
William Knyvet to Bouchier	18 November 1544	195 fo. 137r-v.
John Basset and Hugh Westwode to Bouchier	18 November 1544	195 fo. 138 r- v.

Bill of clothing delivered to Katherine Parr	29 November 1544	195 fo. 169r.
Payments made by bills signed by queen's council	1 June-30 November 1544	195 fos. 177r-183v.
Copy of agreement between William Knyvet and Bouchier to deliver to Bouchier all books and writings re. queen's possessions	9 December 1544	195 fo. 203r-v.
Giles Forster to Bouchier	15 December 1544	195 fo. 232r-v.
Re. queen's lands	19 December 1544	196 fo. 3r.
Bouchier to Forster (draft)	20 December 1544	196 fo. 10r-v.
Oath of queen's councillors	December 1544	196 fo. 40r.
Draft in Bouchier's hand	January 1545	197 fo. 223r-v.
Queen's household expenses	8 February-28 March 1545	199 fos. 102r-108v.
William Sheldon to Bouchier	1 May 1545	200 fo. 125r-v.
Re. queen's lands (Devon)	12 May 1545	201 fo. 21r.
Re. queen's lands (Fotheringhay and Northamptonshire)	10 June 1545	202 fo. 21r-v.
Re. queen's footmen	1 December 1545	211 fo. 137r-v.
William Boys to Bouchier	5 February 1546	213 fo. 225r-v.
Queen's rents from Fotheringhay	10 April 1546	216 fo. 157r-v.
Queen's bills	1545-1546	217 fo. 54r-v.
Re. queen's surveyor	4 May 1546	217 fo. 174r.

Court of Augmentation Papers

Sayvyll and Chaloner to Riche	5 June 1543	178 fo. 152r-v.
Warrant to Sir Edward North	19 June 1543	179 fo. 68r-v.
Suffolk to Riche	16 September 1543	181 fo. 141r-v.
Pope to Clerke	20 November 1543	182 fo. 115r-v.
Re. John Kyng bailey of Temple Hurst	1542-43	182 fo. 189r.
William Babthorpe to Mr Lentall, auditor of	16 January 1544	183 fo. 23r-v.

attainted lands in Yorkshire		
Messengers bill for court of augmentations	1544	187 fo. 71r.
Re. Lands in Selby, addressed, 'This certificate be delivered to the King's Majesty's honourable court of his Augmentations'	14 June 1544	188 fos. 139v-142v.
Money paid by Sir John Williams re. Boulogne	8 August 1544	191 fos. 56r-57r.
Re. conduct money from Wriothesley to Sir John Williams	23 September 1544	192 fo. 150r.
Warrant to Sir John Williams	26 September 1544	192 fos. 214r-215v.
Bourchier to Mildmay	25 October 1544	194 fos. 60r-61v.
Doyly to North	12 August 1544	196 fos. 255r-256v.
Receipt from St John to Sir John Williams	20 May 1545	201 fo. 93r.
Receipt from Nicholas Bacon to Sir John Williams	20 June 1545	202 fo. 132r.
Warrant to Sir John Williams	24 July 1545	204 fo. 112r-v.
Riche, John Baker and Robert Southwell to Williams	8 August 1545	205 fo. 135r- v.
Memorandum of grants to Suffolk from crown	No date	206 fo. 95r.
Valor of certain manors and rectories	March-December 1545	212 fos. 167r-168v.
Receipt from Sir Thomas Arundel re. Purchase of College of Slopton, Devon	12 January 1546	213 fo. 70r.
Re. John Foulberye, bailey of Holm in Spaldynmore	1545-1546	217 fo. 52r-v.
Privy council to North	26 May 1545	219 fos. 87r-88v.
Receipt from Sir George Darcy to Sir John Williams	8 June 1546	220 fo. 58r.
Wriothesley's lands to crown, subscribed by North	12 June 1546	220 fo. 84r-v.
Receipt by Wriothesley from Sir John	12 June 1546	220 fo. 85r-v.

Williams

Privy council to North	22 June 1546	220 fo. 190r-v.
Privy council to North	27 June 1546	221 fo. 9r-v.
Privy council to North	27 June 1546	221 fo. 10r.
Privy council to North	27 June 1546	221 fo. 11r.
Lisle's lands to crown, certificate by Walter Henley (attorney of augmentations)	29 June 1546	221 fo. 31r.
Re. Henry VIII's debtors	29 June 1546	221 fo. 33r-v.
Richard Brassier to [...]	No date	221 fo. 34r-v.
Re. Henry VIII's debtors	30 June 1546	221 fo. 41r-v.
Re. Henry VIII's debtors	1 July 1546	221 fo. 50r-v.
Re. Henry VIII's debtors	3 July 1546	221 fo. 90r-v.
Re. Henry VIII's debtors	6 July 1546	221 fos. 113r-114v.
Account of rewards paid on behalf of Henry VIII by Sir John Williams	8 July 1546	221 fo. 142r.
Privy council to North	8 July 1546	221 fo. 143r-v.
Re. lease of manor of Fraunton, Gloucestershire	9 July 1546	221 fo. 155r
Privy council to North	10 July 1546	221 fo. 161r-v.
Decree of court of augmentations re. lands in Sherborne, Yorkshire	10 July 1546	221 fo. 162r.
Re. Henry VIII's debtors	10 July 1546	221 fo. 171r-v.
Re. Henry VIII's debtors	10 July 1546	221 fo. 172r-v.
Certificate to Sir John Williams and Henley	12 July 1546	221 fos. 183r-184v.
Re. Henry VIII's debtors	13 July 1546	221 fos. 189r-190v.
Re. Henry VIII's debtors	1546	221 fo. 191r-192v.
Re. Henry VIII's debtors	1546	221 fo. 193r-194v.
Re. Henry VIII's debtors	1546	221 fo. 195r-v.
Re. Henry VIII's debtors	1546	221 fo. 196r.
Re. Henry VIII's debtors	1546	221 fo. 197r-v.
Re. Henry VIII's debtors	1546	221 fo. 198r-v.
Re. Henry VIII's debtors	1546	221 fo. 199r.

Privy council to North	17 July 1546	222 fo. 22r-v
Re. Henry VIII's debtors	27 July 1546	222 fo. 124r-v.
Re. Henry VIII's debtors	1 August 1546	222 fo. 160r-v.
Re. Henry VIII's debtors	1 August 1546	222 fo. 161r.
Re. Henry VIII's debtors	1 August 1546	222 fo. 162r.
Re. Henry VIII's debtors	1 August 1546	222 fo. 163r.
Re. Henry VIII's debtors	3 August 1546	223 fo. 1r.
Privy council to North	4 August 1546	223 fo. 20r-v.
Edward Fetyplace to Sir John Williams	4 August 1546	223 fo. 26r-v.
Proclamation by Jon Hanby, auditor of court of augmentations	20 August 1546	225 fos. 198r-199r.
Privy council to Sir John Williams	20 August 1546	223 fo. 130r-v.
Privy council to Sir John Williams	20 August 1546	223 fo. 131r-v.
Privy council to Sir John Williams	21 August 1546	223 fo. 136r-v.
Privy council to Sir John Williams	21 August 1546	223 fo. 137r-v.
Privy council to Sir John Williams	21 August 1546	223 fo. 138r-v.
Richard Southwell to Walter Henley and Nicholas Bacon	28 August 1546	223 fo. 178r-v.
Richard Southwell to Walter Henley and Nicholas Bacon	August 1546	223 fos. 180r-181v.
Richard Southwell to Thomas Hall, receiver of attainted possessions in Lincolnshire	10 September 1546	224 fos. 107r-108v.
Sir Edward Wotton and Sir Edward Bray to Sir John Williams	10 September 1546	224 fo. 115r-v.
Receipt by William Warner, servant to William Sanders, receiver of court of augmentations, re. lands of John Serles	28 September 1546	225 fo. 68r-v.
William Berners to Sir John Williams	October 1546	225 fo. 111r-v.
Receipt by Sir Marmaduke Constable to Sir John Williams	27 November 1546	226 fo. 182r.
Sadler to Hanby	11 December 1546	227 fo. 45r-v.
North and Mildmay to Hanby	12 December 1546	227 fo. 51r-v.

North and Mildmay to Hanby	12 December 1546	227 fo. 52r-v.
North to Hanby and others	14 December 1546	227 fo. 81r-v.
Land sales by crown, each page signed by North	June 1546-January 1547	228 fo. 57r-110v.
Council of augmentations to Hanby	26 January 1547	228 fo. 134r-v.

Sir John Gates' Papers

Richard Whalley to Gates	7 July 1543	180 fo. 42r-v.
Sir Edward North to Gates	1543 [?]	182 fo. 213r-v.
Jane Wentworth to Gates	13 January 1544	183 fo. 20r-v.
Sir Thomas Darcy to Gates	27 January 1544	197 fos. 185r-186v.
Sir Thomas Darcy to Gates	22 April 1545	212 fo. 177r-v.
Rufforth to Thomas Johnes or Geoffrey Gates	October 1545	212 fo. 201r-v.
Rufforth to Thomas Johnes or Geoffrey Gates	October 1545	212 fo. 203r-v.
Gates's saddlery bill	3 February 1546	213 fos. 208r-210v.
Gates's tailor's bill	14 March 1546	215 fo. 86r-v.

John Dudley, Lord Lisle's Papers

Henry Michell to Lisle	31 May 1543	178 fo. 125
Manxell to Lisle	9 July 1543	180 fos. 46r-47v.
Woodhouse to Lisle	28 November 1543	182 fo. 131r-v.
Poulet to Lisle	14 May 1543	182 fo. 203r-v.
Costs for ships signed by Lisle	25 April 1544	187 fos. 32v-33v.
Hertford to Lisle	9 May 1546	218 fos. 27r-28v.
Paget to Lisle	10 May 1546	218 fo. 36r-v.
Mayor of Rye to Lisle	12 May 1546	218 fo. 75r-v.
Paget to Lisle	12 May 1546	218 fos. 80r-81v.
Shadwell to Lisle	27 May 1546	219 fos. 103r-104v.

Tunstall to Lisle	10 July 1546	221 fos. 173r-174v.
Knyvet to Lisle	17 July 1546	222 fos. 31r-32v.
Admiral of France to Lisle	18 July 1546	222 fo. 38r-v.
Admiral of France to Lisle	21 July 1546	222 fo. 65r-v.
Lisle to Admiral of France (draft)	22 July 1546	222 fo. 66r.
Francis I to Lisle	24 July 1546	222 fo. 115r-v.
Admiral of France to Lisle	24 July 1546	222 fo. 116r-v.
Baron de la Garde to Lisle	31 July 1546	222 fo. 140r-v.
Lisle's hand	No date	227 fos. 229r-230v.

Norfolk's Papers

Wallop to Norfolk	7 June 1543	178 fo. 175r-v.
Wallop to Norfolk	29 June 1543	179 fo. 145r-v.
Mary of Hungary to Norfolk	7 June 1544	188 fos. 67r-68v.
Mary of Hungary to Norfolk	7 June 1544	188 fos. 69r-70v.
Mary of Hungary to Norfolk	7 June 1544	188 fos. 71r-72v.
Mary of Hungary to Norfolk	7 June 1544	188 fos. 73r-74v.
Count of Buren to Norfolk	12 June 1544	188 fo. 123r-v.
Palmer, Edward Vaughan and Thomas Chamberlain to Norfolk	12 June 1544	188 fos. 124r-125v.
Mary of Hungary to Norfolk	20 June 1544	189 fos. 4r-5v.
Mary of Hungary to Norfolk	26 June 1544	189 fos. 122r-123v.
Mary of Hungary to Norfolk	26 June 1544	189 fos. 124r-125v.
Mary of Hungary to Norfolk	7 July 1544	189 fo. 232r-v.
Norfolk to de Roeulx (draft in hand of Norfolk's clerk)	8 July 1544	189 fo. 234r-v.
Norfolk's clerk's hand re. siege of Montreuil	August 1544	191 fos. 10r-11v.
Sir John Fogges, Richard Wyndebank and Thomas Chamberlain to Norfolk	20 September 1544	192 fos. 117r-119r.
Sir John Fogges, Richard Wyndebank and	25 September 1544	192 fos. 190r-191v.

Thomas Chamberlain to Norfolk

Jacque Dittre to Norfolk	7 October 1544	193 fos. 67r-68v.
Sir Edward Bray to Norfolk	12 October 1544	193 fo. 138r-v.
Jacque Dittre to Norfolk	23 October 1544	194 fo. 55r-v.
Paget to Norfolk	24 June 1545	202 fos. 168r-169v.
Holdych to Norfolk	26 June 1545	202 fo. 191r-v.

Privy council warrants to the Exchequer

Warrant	8 January 1545	197 fo. 45r-v.
Warrant	9 January 1545	197 fo. 48r-v.
Warrant	12 January 1545	197 fo. 78r-v.
Warrant	28 January 1545	197 fo. 189r.
Warrant	29 January 1545	197 fo. 198r-v.
Warrant	29 January 1545	197 fo. 199r-v.
Warrant	1 February 1545	197 fo. 224r-v.
Warrant	1 February 1545	197 fo. 225r-v.
Warrant	7 February 1545	198 fo. 25r-v.
Warrant	14 February 1545	198 fo. 74r-v.
Warrant	18 February 1545	198 fo. 82r-v.
Warrant	18 February 1545	198 fo. 83r-v.
Warrant	18 February 1545	198 fo. 84r-v.
Warrant	18 February 1545	198 fo. 85r-v.
Warrant	18 February 1545	198 fo. 86r-v.
Warrant	19 February 1545	198 fo. 93r-v.
Warrant	20 February 1545	198 fo. 128r-v.
Warrant	20 February 1545	198 fo. 129r-v.
Warrant	25 February 1545	198 fo. 165r-v.
Warrant	25 February 1545	198 fo. 166r-v.
Warrant	25 February 1545	198 fo. 167r-v.

Warrant	25 February 1545	198 fo. 168 r-v.
Warrant	25 February 1545	198 fo. 169r-v.
Warrant	26 February 1545	198 fo. 178r-v.
Warrant	3 March 1545	198 fo. 201r-v.
Warrant	3 March 1545	198 fo. 203r-v.
Warrant	6 March 1545	198 fo. 236r-v.
Warrant	8 March 1545	199 fo. 1r-v.
Warrant	14 March 1545	199 fo. 26r-v.
Warrant	1 April 1545	199 fo. 163r-v.
Warrant	29 April 1545	200 fo. 109r-v.
Warrant	30 April 1545	200 fo. 122r-v.
Warrant	21 May 1545	201 fo. 97r-v.
Warrant	3 July 1545	203 fo. 49r-v.
Warrant	3 July 1545	203 fo. 50r-v.
Warrant	3 July 1545	203 fo. 51r-v.
Warrant	6 July 1545	203 fo. 92r-v.
Warrant	6 July 1545	203 fo. 93r-v.
Warrant	6 July 1545	203 fo. 94r-v.
Warrant	6 July 1545	203 fo. 95r-v.
Warrant	8 July 1545	203 fo. 140r-v.
Warrant	8 July 1545	203 fo. 141r-v.
Warrant	11 July 1545	203 fo. 165r-v.
Warrant	29 July 1545	204 fo. 161r.
Warrant	30 July 1545	204 fo. 169r.
Warrant	4 August 1545	205 fo. 60r-v.
Warrant	4 August 1545	205 fo. 61r-v.
Warrant	4 August 1545	205 fo. 62r-v.
Warrant	12 August 1545	205 fo. 177r-v.
Warrant	16 August 1545	206 fo. 1r-v.
Warrant	17 August 1545	206 fo. 9r.
Warrant	18 August 1545	206 fo. 17r.
Warrant	21 August 1545	206 fo. 71r-v.

Warrant	21 August 1545	206 fo. 72r-v.
Warrant	21 August 1545	206 fo. 73r-v.
Warrant	23 August 1545	206 fo. 198r.
Warrant	23 August 1545	206 fo. 199r.
Warrant	24 August 1545	206 fo. 211r-v.
Warrant	24 August 1545	206 fo. 212r-v.
Warrant	25 August 1545	206 fo. 220r.
Warrant	25 August 1545	206 fo. 221r-v.
Warrant	26 August 1545	206 fo. 238r.
Warrant	26 August 1545	206 fo. 239r.
Warrant	26 August 1545	206 fo. 240r.
Warrant	26 August 1545	206 fo. 241r.
Warrant	26 August 1545	206 fo. 242r.
Warrant	27 August 1545	207 fo. 10r.
Warrant	27 August 1545	207 fo. 11r.
Warrant	27 August 1545	207 fo. 12r.
Warrant	27 August 1545	207 fo. 13r.
Warrant	31 August 1545	207 fo. 44r.
Warrant	6 September 1545	207 fo. 104r-v.
Warrant	20 September 1545	208 fo. 36r-v.
Warrant	25 September 1545	208 fo. 65r-v.
Warrant	25 September 1545	208 fo. 66r-v.
Warrant	29 September 1545	208 fo. 98r-v.
Warrant	1 October 1545	208 fo. 128r-v.
Warrant	1 October 1545	208 fo. 129r-v.
Warrant	1 October 1545	208 fo. 130r-v.
Warrant	1 October 1545	208 fo. 131r-v.
Warrant	1 October 1545	208 fo. 132r-v.
Warrant	16 October 1545	209 fo. 35r-v.
Warrant	18 October 1545	209 fo. 55r-v.
Warrant	26 June 1545	212 fo. 190r.

Ralph Sadler's Papers

Privy council warrant to Sadler	27 February 1544	183 fos. 136r-139v.
Hertford, Tunstall and Sadler (draft) to Henry VIII	7 March 1544	183 fo. 186r-v.
Privy council warrant to Sadler	11 March 1544	183 fo. 195r-v.
Privy council warrant to Sadler	11 March 1544	183 fo. 196r-v.
Privy council warrant to Sadler	16 March 1544	183 fo. 204r-v.
Privy council warrant to Sadler	20 March 1544	184 fo. 9r-v.
Hertford, Tunstall, Llandaff and Sadler to Henry VIII (draft)	27 March 1544	184 fo. 26r-v.
Hertford to the privy council (draft)	30 March 1544	184 fos. 28r-30r.
Hertford, Tunstall, Llandaff and Sadler to Henry VIII (draft)	1 April 1544	185 fos. 73r-74v.
Hertford, Tunstall, Llandaff and Sadler to Henry VIII (draft)	2 April 1544	185 fos. 75r-76v.
Hertford, Tunstall, Llandaff and Sadler to Henry VIII (draft)	7 April 1544	185 fo. 95r-v.
Hertford, Tunstall, Llandaff and Sadler to Henry VIII (draft)	No date	185 fos. 97r-99r.
Hertford, Tunstall, Llandaff and Sadler to Henry VIII (draft)	8 April 1544	185 fo. 137r-v.
Hertford, Tunstall, Llandaff and Sadler to Henry VIII (draft)	9 April 1544	185 fos. 146r-147v.
Hertford to Henry VIII (draft)	12 April 1544	185 fos. 158r-163v.
Hertford, Tunstall, Llandaff and Sadler to Henry VIII (draft)	14 April 1544	185 fos. 189r-190v.
Hertford, Tunstall, Llandaff and Sadler to the privy council (draft)	16 April 1544	185 fos. 196r-197r.
Hertford, Tunstall, Llandaff and Sadler to Henry VIII (draft)	17 April 1544	185 fos. 206r-207v.

Hertford, Tunstall, Llandaff and Sadler to Henry VIII (draft)	18 April 1544	185 fos. 220r-225v.
Hertford's warrant to Sadler	22 April 1544	187 fo. 4r
Hertford, Tunstall, Llandaff and Sadler to Henry VIII (draft)	23 April 1544	187 fo. 16r-19v.
Sadler's account	23 April 1544	187 fo. 23r-v.
Hertford's warrant to Sadler	25 April 1544	187 fo. 34r.
Hertford's warrant to Sadler	26 April 1544	187 fo. 38r.
Hertford's warrant to Sadler	26 April 1544	187 fo. 39r.
Hertford's warrant to Sadler	26 April 1544	187 fo. 40r.
Hertford's warrant to Sadler	26 April 1544	187 fo. 41r.
Hertford's warrant to Sadler	26 April 1544	187 fo. 42r.
Hertford's warrant to Sadler	27 April 1544	187 fo. 51r-v.
Hertford's warrant to Sadler	27 April 1544	187 fo. 52r.
Hertford's warrant to Sadler	29 April 1544	187 fo. 63r.
Hertford's warrant to Sadler	19 May 1544	187 fo. 144r.
Hertford's warrant to Sadler	19 May 1544	187 fo. 145r
Hertford's warrant to Sadler	19 May 1544	187 fo. 146r.
Hertford's warrant to Sadler	19 May 1544	187 fo. 147r.
Hertford's warrant to Sadler	19 May 1544	187 fo. 148r.
Hertford's warrant to Sadler	19 May 1544	187 fo. 149r.
Hertford's warrant to Sadler	19 May 1544	187 fo. 150r.
Hertford's warrant to Sadler	19 May 1544	187 fo. 151r.
Hertford's warrant to Sadler (42 warrants in total of same date)	19 May 1544	187 fos. 151Ar-192r.
Hertford's warrant to Sadler	20 May 1544	187 fo. 202r.
Hertford's warrant to Sadler	20 May 1544	187 fo. 203r.
Hertford's warrant to Sadler	20 May 1544	187 fo. 204r.
Hertford's warrant to Sadler	20 May 1544	187 fo. 205r.
Hertford's warrant to Sadler	20 May 1544	187 fo. 206r.
Hertford's warrant to Sadler	21 May 1544	187 fo. 207r.
Hertford's warrant to Sadler	22 May 1544	187 fo. 211r.

Hertford's warrant to Sadler	22 May 1544	187 fo. 212r.
Hertford's warrant to Sadler	22 May 1544	187 fo. 213r.
Hertford's warrant to Sadler	22 May 1544	187 fo. 214r.
Hertford's warrant to Sadler	23 May 1544	187 fo. 233r.
Hertford's warrant to Sadler	24 May 1544	187 fo. 266r.
Hertford's warrant to Sadler	27 May 1544	188 fo. 14r.
Payments in Scottish expedition	April 1544	196 fos. 95r-96v.
Receipt by Uvedale from Sadler	23 January 1545	197 fo. 124r.
John Manne to Sadler	10 May 1545	200 fos. 227r- 228 v.
Thomas Gower to Tunstall and Sadler	10 May 1545	200 fos. 229r-230v.
Robert Lewen to Tunstall and Sadler	21 May 1545	201 fos. 102r-103v.
Sadler and Uvedale's accounts	1-31 May 1545	201 fo. 172r-v.

Sir William Parr's Papers

Wriothesley to Parr	29 April 1543	177 fo. 137r.
Suffolk to Parr	11 May 1543	177 fo. 189r.
Suffolk to Parr	13 May 1543	178 fo. 20r.
Suffolk to Parr	15 May 1543	178 fo. 35r-v.
Suffolk to Parr	17 May 1543	178 fo. 53r-v.
Suffolk to Parr	20 May 1543	178 fo. 58r.
Suffolk to Parr	23 May 1543	178 fo. 76r-v.
Suffolk to Parr	25 May 1543	178 fo. 93r.
Sadler to Parr	29 May 1543	178 fo. 115r-v.
Privy council to Parr	2 June 1543	178 fo. 136r-v.
Sadler to Parr	3 June 1543	178 fo. 141r.
Suffolk to Parr	4 June 1543	178 fo. 149r.
Sadler to Parr	5 June 1543	178 fo. 158r.
Sadler to Parr	7 June 1543	178 fo. 170r.
Sadler to Parr	9 June 1543	178 fo. 189r-v.
Suffolk to Parr	12 June 1543	179 fo. 23r.

Suffolk to Parr	13 June 1543	179 fo. 24r-v.
Tunstall to Parr	13 June 1543	179 fo. 25r-v.
Suffolk to Parr	13 June 1543	179 fo. 26r-v.
Lisle to Parr	20 June 1543	179 fo. 76r-v.
Tunstall to Parr	20 June 1543	179 fo. 77r-v.
Sadler to Parr	21 June 1543	179 fo. 82r-v.
Suffolk and Tunstall to Parr	22 June 1543	179 fo. 95r.
Suffolk and Tunstall to Parr	23 June 1543	179 fo. 100r.
Suffolk and Tunstall to Parr	24 June 1543	179 fo. 103r-v.
Tunstall to Parr	25 June 1543	179 fo. 111r.
Suffolk and Tunstall to Parr	26 June 1543	179 fo. 122r-v.
Suffolk and Tunstall to Parr	27 June 1543	179 fo. 124r-v.
Sadler to Parr	29 June 1543	179 fo. 144r-v.
Suffolk and Tunstall to Parr	2 July 1543	179 fo. 161r-v.
Suffolk and Tunstall to Parr	6 July 1543	179 fos. 164r-165v.
Suffolk and Tunstall to Parr	8 July 1543	180 fo. 44r.
Sadler to Parr	8 July 1543	180 fo. 45r.
Suffolk and Tunstall to Parr	15 July 1543	180 fo. 66r-v.
Wriothesley to Parr	20 July 1543	180 fo. 84r-v.
Suffolk and Tunstall to Parr	20 July 1543	180 fo. 85r.
Sadler to Parr	20 July 1543	180 fo. 86r-v.
Suffolk and Tunstall to Parr	21 July 1543	180 fo. 87r.
Sadler to Parr	22 July 1543	180 fo. 231r-v.
Sadler to Parr	23 July 1543	180 fo. 232r.
Suffolk and Tunstall to Parr	25 July 1543	180 fo. 239r.
Sadler to Parr	26 July 1543	180 fo. 240r-v.
Suffolk and Tunstall to Parr	27 July 1543	180 fos. 241r-242v.
Suffolk and Tunstall to Parr	28 July 1543	180 fo. 250r.
Suffolk and Tunstall to Parr	28 July 1543	180 fo. 251r.
Privy council to Parr	31 July 1543	180 fo. 256r.
Sadler to Parr	31 July 1543	180 fo. 257r.
Sadler to Parr	1 August 1543	181 fo. 1r-v.

Suffolk and Tunstall to Parr	2 August 1543	181 fo. 2r-v.
Sadler to Parr	3 August 1543	181 fo. 5r.
Sadler to Parr	5 August 1543	181 fo. 9r.
Sadler to Parr	6 August 1543	181 fo. 12r-v.
Privy council to Parr	10 August 1543	181 fo. 32r-v.
Suffolk to Parr	12 August 1543	181 fo. 35r.
Suffolk to Parr	31 August 1543	181 fo. 85r.
Suffolk to Parr	1 September 1543	181 fo. 86r-v.
Tunstall to Parr	2 September 1543	181 fo. 93r.
Wriothesley to Parr	3 September 1543	181 fo. 94r-v.
Tunstall to Parr	3 September 1543	181 fo. 95r.
Suffolk and Tunstall to Parr	9 September 1543	181 fo. 116r-v.
Suffolk and Tunstall to Parr	10 September 1543	181 fo. 122r.
Suffolk and Tunstall to Parr	11 September 1543	181 fo. 129r.
Suffolk to Parr	11 September 1543	181 fo. 130r.
Suffolk, Tunstall and Browne to Parr	25 September 1543	181 fo. 169r.

Suffolk's Papers

Privy council to Suffolk	3 May 1543	177 fo. 176r.
Eure to Suffolk	20 May 1543	178 fo. 56 r-v.
Uvedale's account	25 May 1543	178 fos. 94v-95r.
Uvedale's account	24 June 1543	179 fos. 104r-105r
Henry VIII to Suffolk (copy in hand of Suffolk's clerk)	22 July 1543	180 fo. 230r-v.
Uvedale's account	28 August 1543	181 fos. 75v-76r.
Re. Scottish campaign in Tunstall's hand.	September 1543	181 fos. 204r-206r.
Draft in hand of Suffolk's clerk	September 1543	181 fo. 207r-v.
Suffolk to Angus (copy in hand of Suffolk's clerk)	13 October 1543	182 fo. 16r-v.
Uvedale's account	26 October 1543	182 fo. 38v-39v.

Uvedale's account	14 November 1543	182 fo. 94r-v.
Sadler to Suffolk and Tunstall	18 November 1543	182 fo. 104r-v.
Decipher in hand of Suffolk's clerk	18 November 1543	182 fo. 106r.
Uvedale to Suffolk	21 December 1543	182 fo. 166r-v.
Copy in hand of Suffolk's clerk of distances between towns in Scotland	1543-1544	182 fos. 191r-192v.
Copy in hand of Suffolk's clerk re. defence of England against Scots	1543-1544	182 fos. 195r-196r.
Uvedale's account	18 January 1544	183 fos. 24v-25v.
Uvedale to Suffolk	29 January 1544	183 fo. 51r-v.
Uvedale's account	29 January 1544	183 fos. 53v-54v.
Herre Andereson to Suffolk	13 February 1544	183 fos. 106r-107v.
Robyson to Suffolk	14 February 1544	183 fo. 110r-v.
Ships re. Suffolk	17 February 1544	183 fo. 112r-v.
Ships of Newcastle	1544 [?]	183 fo. 114r-v.
Ships of Hull	1544 [?]	183 fo. 115r-v.
Ships of Hull	1544 [?]	183 fo. 117r-v.
Ships re. Suffolk	1544 [?]	183 fo. 119r-v.
Ships re. Suffolk	1544 [?]	183 fo. 120r-v.
Ships re. Suffolk	1544 [?]	183 fo. 121r-v.
Uvedale's account	1 March 1544	183 fo. 160r-161r.
Uvedale's account	18 March 1544	183 fo. 221v-222r.
Uvedale's account	16 April 1544	185 fo. 198v-199r.

Sir John Wallop's Papers

Jean de Sevicourt to Wallop	1 May 1543	177 fo. 173r-v.
Adrien de Croy to Wallop	24 May 1543	178 fo. 92r-v.
Adrien de Croy to Wallop	1 June 1543	178 fo. 134r-v.
Adrien de Croy to Wallop	1 June 1543	178 fo. 135r-v.
Adrien de Croy to Wallop	4 June 1543	178 fos. 150r-151v.

Jean d'Estormel to Wallop	6 June 1543	178 fo. 161r-v.
Adrien de Croy to Wallop	14 June 1543	179 fo. 35r-v.
Oudart du Bies to Lord Maltravers	15 June 1543	179 fo. 41r-v.
Oudart du Bies to Wallop	21 June 1543	179 fo. 84r-v.
Wallop to Oudart du Bies (copy in hand of Wallop's clerk)	21 June 1543	179 fo. 85r-v.
Adrien de Croy to Wallop	26 June 1543	179 fo. 123r-v.
Francis I to Oudart du Bies	27 June 1543	179 fo. 125r-v.
Oudart du Bies to Wallop	28 June 1543	179 fo. 139r-v.
Oudart du Bies to Lord Maltravers	30 June 1543	179 fo. 147r-v.
Adrien de Croy to Wallop	7 July 1543	180 fo. 43r-v.
Jean d'Estormel to Wallop	9 July 1543	180 fo. 48r-v.
Charles V to Wallop	11 September 1543	181 fo. 133r-v.
Advertisements sent from Wallop	October 1543.	181 fo. 208r-v.
Charles V to Wallop	6 October 1543	182 fo. 3r-v.
Charles V to Wallop	25 October 1543	182 fo. 37r-v.
Oudart du Bies to Wallop	6 November 1543	182 fo. 80r-v.
Adrien de Croy to Wallop	13 November 1543	182 fo. 93r-v.
Adrien de Croy to Wallop	15 November 1543	182 fo. 102r-v.
Mary of Hungary to Lord Maltravers	27 April 1544	187 fo. 53r-v.
Adrien de Croy to Wallop	2 June 1544	188 fos. 25r-26v.

Nicholas Wotton's Papers

Copies in Wotton's hand	10 May 1543	177 fo. 187r-v.
A Boes to Seymour	31 May 1543	178 fos. 126r-127v.
Castlyn to Seymour and Wotton	19 June 1543	179 fo. 70r-v.
De Schore to Seymour and Wotton	20 June 1543	179 fo. 80r.
Copy of letter to Wotton	10 September 1543	181 fos. 127r-128v.
Examination of French Herald	28 February 1544	183 fos. 140r-143v.
Examination of French Herald	28 February 1544	183 fo. 144r-v.

De Lyere to Wotton	9 April 1544	185 fo. 156r-v.
Charles V and Denmark	23 April 1544	187 fos. 242r-255v.
Charles V and Denmark	23 April 1544	187 fos. 256r-263r.
Wotton's expenses	1 May-29 June 1544	189 fo. 139r.
Treaty of Crepy	24 September 1544	192 fos. 174r-186v.
Privy council to Hertford, Gardiner and Wotton	31 October 1544	194 fos. 154r-157v.
Claye to Wotton	7 January 1545	197 fo. 43r.
Charles V and diet	30 July 1545	204 fo. 183r-184v.
Thalassius to Wotton	2 August 1545	205 fo. 35r-36v.
Arras to St Mauris	3 November 1546	226 fo. 49r-50r.
Bohemian news	November 1546	226 fo. 60r.
Thirlby to Wotton (a copy, the endorsement in Wotton's hand fo. 193 v)	November 1546	226 fo. 190r-193v.
Admiral of France to Wotton	3 December 1546	227 fo. 7r-v.
Charles V to the protestants	4 December 1546	227 fo. 8r-v.

Christopher Mont's Papers

Re. diet at Spire (copy in Mont's hand)	29 April 1544	187 fo. 66r-67v.
Re. pope and Charles V (copy in Mont's hand)	August 1544	191 fo. 165r-v.
Re. council of Trent (copy in Mont's hand)	27 March 1545	199 fo. 100r-101v.
Sturm to Mont	28 August 1545	207 fo. 29r-v.
News re. Venice (Mont's hand)	1 December 1545	211 fo. 138r-v.
Re. Francis I and the protestants	9 January 1546	213 fos. 53r-54v. ¹
Re. Francis I and the protestants (Mont's hand)	February 1546	214 fo. 10r-v.
Letter to Francis I (copy in Mont's hand)	9 February 1546	214 fos. 28r-30v.
Landgrave to Mont	11 February 1546	214 fo. 38r-v.

¹ fo. 54 v in pencil a note in later archivist's hand 'inclosed in Mont's letter to Paget 10th Feb 1546'.

Landgrave to Mont (Latin translation in Mont's hand)	11 February 1546	214 fo. 39r.
Landgrave to Mont	15 March 1546	215 fo. 97r-v.
Landgrave to Mont (enclosure)	15th March 1546	215 fo. 98r.
Landgrave to Mont (Latin translation of above in Mont's hand)	15 March 1546	215 fo. 99r.
Bruno to Mont	20 March 1546	215 fos. 138r-139v.
Landgrave to Mont	14 April 1546	217 fos. 10r-12v
Landgrave to Mont (Latin translation of above in Mont's hand)	14 April 1546	217 fo. 13r-v.
Landgrave to Mont	18 April 1546	217 fos. 34r-35v.
Landgrave to Mont (Latin translation of above in Mont's hand)	18 April 1546	217 fo. 36r.
Gundelfinger to Mont (Latin translation in Mont's hand)	5 May 1546	217 fo. 181r-v.
Gundelfinger to Mont	5 May 1546	217 fo. 183r-v.
Landgrave to Mont	14 May 1546	218 fo. 129r-132v.
Landgrave to Mont (enclosure)	14 May 1546	218 fos. 133r-136r.
Landgrave to Mont (Latin translation of above in Mont's hand)	14 May 1546	218 fo. 137r-140r.

Edmund Harvel's Papers

Captain Polino to the Governor of Terracina	27 June 1543	179 fo. 130r-v.
Harvel to Russell	12 August 1543	181 fo. 38r-v.
Giovanbatista to Harvel	19 March 1544	184 fo. 8r-v.
Charles V to Marquis of Castiglione	22 April 1544	187 fo. 13r-v.
Charles V to Marquis of Castiglione	4 June 1544	188 fo. 61r-v.
De Gonzanga to Harvel	13 May 1545	201 fos. 47r-50v.
Harvel to Russell	16 May 1545	201 fo. 71r-v.
Harvel to Russell	16 May 1545	201 fo. 73r-v.

Caracciolo to Russell	18 May 1545	201 fo. 87r-v.
Harvel to Russell	31 May 1545	201 fo. 178r-v.
Harvel to Russell	12 July 1545	203 fos. 186r-187v.

Imperial Papers

Mary of Hungary copy in hand of Chapuys' clerk	6 June 1543	178 fos. 162r-163v.
Chapuys to Russell and Browne	8 June 1543	178 fo. 177r-v.
The impost in Flanders	19 June 1543	179 fos. 71r-72v.
Copy of Mary of Hungary's letter to Chapuys	28 June 1543	179 fos. 140r-141v.
The impost in Flanders	July 1543	180 fo. 55r-56v.
Charles V to Mary of Hungary (copy)	25 August 1543	181 fo. 70r-v.
Copy of a letter to Chapuys	18 March 1544	183 fos. 223r-224v.
Mary of Hungary to Chapuys	29 March 1544	184 fo. 27r-v.
D'Annebault to Mary of Hungary (copy)	5 April 1544	185 fo. 92r-v.
Mary of Hungary to Chapuys	21 May 1544	187 fo. 210r-v.
De Courier's instructions	3 June 1544	188 fos. 51r-54v.
D'Ecke to Mary of Hungary	3 July 1544	189 fo. 185r-v.
De Souastre to Mary of Hungary (copy)	4 July 1544	189 fo. 197r-v.
Mary of Hungary to de Courier and Chapuys	28 July 1544	191 fo. 185r-v.
Boisot to the Imperial Ambassadors	27 September 1544	193 fo. 3r-v.
M of Arras to Mary of Hungary (copy)	24 December 1544	196 fos. 13r-14v.
Mary of Hungary to de Courier and Chapuys	26 December 1544	196 fo. 18r-v.
Commission to Nigri and Hermes (copy)	14 May 1546	218 fos. 127r-128v.
Zandelin to van der Delft	15 May 1546	218 fo. 155r-v.
Scepperus to van der Delft	24 May 1546	219 fo. 77r-v.

Thomas Wriothsley's Papers

Vaughan to Wriothesley, Suffolk and Browne	4 June 1544	188 fos. 57r-60v.
Vaughan to Wriothesley, Suffolk and Browne	17 June 1544	188 fos. 197r-200v.
Council draft in Wriothesley's hand	18 June 1544	188 fos. 201r-206v.
Draft French translation of Wriothesley's draft (above)	18 June 1544	188 fos. 207r-210v.
Council draft in Wriothesley's hand, fair copy	18 June 1544	188 fos. 211r-212v.
Vaughan and Dymock to Wriothesley, Suffolk and Browne	18 June 1544	188 fos. 215r-216v.
Vaughan and Lock to Wriothesley Suffolk and Browne	24 June 1544	189 fo. 62r-v.
Riche to Wriothesley	6 September 1544	192 fos. 30r-31v.
Riche to Wriothesley	30 October 1544	194 fos. 140r-141v.
Riche to Wriothesley (enclosure)	30 October 1544	194 fos. 142r-146r.
Vaughan to Wriothesley	8 December 1544	195 fos. 201r-202v.
Vaughan to Wriothesley	4 January 1545	197 fos. 7 r-8v.
Vaughan to Wriothesley	18 January 1545	197 fos. 103r-104v.
Wotton to Vaughan (enclosure in letter below)	3 February 1545	197 fo. 233r-v.
Vaughan to Wriothesley	5 February 1545	198 fos. 20r-21v.
Wotton to Wriothesley	7 February 1545	198 fo. 28r-v.
Vaughan to Wriothesley	February 1545	198 fos. 43r-44v.
Bucler to Wriothesley	12 February 1545	198 fo. 57r-v.
Wotton to Wriothesley	13 February 1545	198 fo. 64r-v.
Vaughan to Wriothesley	February 1545	198 fos. 71r-72v.
Wotton to Wriothesley	20 February 1545	198 fo. 133r-v.
Vaughan to Wriothesley	21 February 1545	198 fo. 147r-149v
Damesell to Wriothesley	19 March 1545	199 fo. 65r-66v.
Chamberlain to Wriothesley	1 April 1545	199 fo. 169r-170v.
Damesell to Wriothesley and Petre	4 April 1545	199 fo. 186r-v.
Sadler to Wriothesley	26 April 1545	200 fo. 74r-75v.
Mont to Wriothesley	6 May 1545	200 fo. 181r-182v.
Wotton to Wriothesley	25 May 1545	201 fo. 125r-126v.
Archbishop of York to Wriothesley	4 June 1545	201 fo. 208r-v.

Vaughan to Wriothesley	17 July 1545	204 fos. 48r-50v.
Wotton to Wriothesley	19 July 1545	204 fos. 65r-66v.
Vaughan to Wriothesley	20 July 1545	204 fos. 76r-77v.
Damesell to Wriothesley	22 July 1545	204 fos. 93r-94v.
Tuke to Wriothesley	25 July 1545	204 fos. 129r-130v.
Tuke to Wriothesley (enclosure)	25 July 1545	204 fo. 131r.
Vaughan to Wriothesley	28 July 1545	204 fos. 157r-158v.
Gresham to Wriothesley	29 July 1545	204 fos. 163r-164v.
Dymock to Wriothesley	7 August 1545	205 fos. 128r-129v.
Cheyney to Wriothesley	11 September 1545	207 fos. 138r-139v.
Vaughan to Wriothesley	13 September 1545	207 fos. 170r-171v.
Bucler to Wriothesley	15 September 1545	207 fos. 201r-202v.
Mont to Wriothesley	15 September 1545	207 fos. 205r-206v.
Vaughan to Wriothesley	8 October 1545	208 fos. 189r-190v.
Vaughan to Wriothesley	10 October 1545	209 fos. 5r-7v.
Dymock to Wriothesley	15 October 1545	209 fos. 32r-34v.
Vaughan to Wriothesley	22 January 1546	213 fos. 136r-137v.
Copy of Wriothesley's letter	4 October 1546	225 fo. 137r-v.
Vaughan to Wriothesley	5 November 1546	226 fo. 61r-v.

John Russell's Papers

Russell to officers of the ports (his copy)	26 July 1545	204 fo. 136r.
Mayor and burgesses of Saltash	27 July 1545	204 fos. 141r-143v.
Russell to officers of the ports (his copy)	31 July 1545	204 fos. 202r-203v.
Russell to mayor of Dartmouth (his copy)	1 August 1545	205 fo. 12r.
Re. shipping of Devon and Cornwall	2 August 1545	205 fos. 33r-34r.
Sir John Horsey to Russell	21 August 1545	206 fos. 90r-91v.
Sir John Horsey to Russell (enclosure)	21 August 1545	206 fo. 92r-v.
Sir John Horsey to Russell (enclosure)	21 August 1545	206 fo. 93r-v.
Sir John Horsey to Russell (enclosure)	21 August 1545	206 fo. 94r-v.

St John's Papers

Van der Delft to St John	12 August 1545	205 fo. 178r-v.
Van der Delft to St John	12 August 1545	205 fo. 179r.
Wynter to St John	15 August 1545	205 fos. 228r-229v.
Lisle to St John	20 August 1545	206 fos. 67r-68v.
Lisle to St John	21 August 1545	206 fo. 86r-87v.
Townsend and Holdyth to St John	17 April 1545	212 fo. 175r-v.
Pykeryng and Russell to St John	March 1546	216 fo. 62r-63v.
Pykeryng and Russell to St John	March 1546	216 fo. 64r.

Thomas Chamberlain's Papers

Comte de Buren to Chamberlain	22 May 1544	187 fo. 215r-v.
Comte de Buren to Chamberlain	25 May 1544	188 fo. 6r-v.
Chamberlain's accounts re. German mercenaries	May 1544	188 fo. 7r-v.
Lightmaker to Chamberlain and Palmer	21 June 1544	189 fo. 8r-9v.
Comte de Buren to Chamberlain	13 September 1545	207 fo. 165r-v.
Chamberlain to Comte de Buren	17 September 1545	208 fo. 9r-v.
Chamberlain to Comte de Buren (copy)	17 September 1545	208 fo. 10r-v.

Thomas Thirlby's Papers

Halle to Thirlby	12 September 1545	207 fo. 162r-v.
Chamberlain to Thirlby	17 September 1545	208 fos. 7r-8v.
Fane to Thirlby and Carne	23 September 1545	208 fos. 53r-54v.
Thirlby to Vaughan (copy)	30 September 1545	208 fo. 118r-v.

Thirlby to Fane	30 September 1545	208 fo. 119r.
Thirlby to Commissaries	4 October 1545	208 fo. 154
Fane to Thirlby	14 October 1545	209 fos. 19r-20v.

Appendix 2

The itineraries of Henry VIII, Paget and the privy council, April 1543-January 1547¹

Date	Henry VIII	Paget	Privy Council
1 April 1543	St James'	Boulogne	St James'
2	St James'	Boulogne	St James'
3	St James'	Boulogne	St James'
4	St James'		St James'
5	St James'		St James'
6	St James'		St James'
7	St James'	Boulogne	St James'
8	St James'		St James'
9	St James'		St James'
10	St James'		St James'
11	St James'		St James'
12	St James'		St James'
13	St James'		St James'
14	St James'	Boulogne	St James'
15	St James'		St James' [?]
16	St James'		
17	Whitehall		Whitehall
18	Whitehall		Whitehall
19	Whitehall		Whitehall
20	Whitehall		Whitehall
21	Whitehall		Whitehall
22	Whitehall		Whitehall
23	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC ²	Whitehall
24	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
25	Whitehall		Whitehall
26	Whitehall		Whitehall
27	Whitehall		Whitehall
28	Whitehall		Whitehall
29	Whitehall		Whitehall
30	Whitehall		Whitehall
1 May 1543	Whitehall		Whitehall
2	Whitehall		Whitehall
3	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
4	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
5	Whitehall		Whitehall
6	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
7	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
8	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
9	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall

¹ Henry's itinerary follows that in PRO, OBS 1419. The itineraries of Paget and the privy council are almost exclusively derived from correspondence calendared in *Letters and papers, CSP Spanish* or *APC*.

² /PC indicates that Paget's location has been derived from the privy council register. (PC) indicates Paget's location has been derived from his signature on privy council correspondence.

10	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
11	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
12	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
13	Hampton Court	Hampton Court/PC	Hampton Court
14	Hampton Court	Hampton Court/PC	Hampton Court
15	Hampton Court	Hampton Court/PC	Hampton Court
16	Hampton Court	Hampton Court/PC	Hampton Court
17	Hampton Court	Hampton Court/PC	Hampton Court
18	Hampton Court	Hampton Court/PC	Hampton Court
19	Hampton Court	Hampton Court/PC	Hampton Court
20	Hampton Court	Hampton Court/PC	Hampton Court
21	Hampton Court	Hampton Court/PC	Hampton Court
22	Hampton Court	Hampton Court/PC	Hampton Court
23	Hampton Court	Hampton Court/PC	Hampton Court
24	Hampton Court	Hampton Court/PC	
25	Hampton Court	Hampton Court/PC	Hampton Court
26	Hampton Court	Hampton Court/PC	Hampton Court
27	Hampton Court	Hampton Court/PC	Hampton Court
28	Hampton Court	Hampton Court/PC	Hampton Court
29	Hampton Court	Hampton Court/PC	Hampton Court
30	Hampton Court	Whitehall/PC	Hampton Court
31	Hampton Court	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
1st June 1543	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
2	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
3	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
4	Pirgo	Whitehall/PC	
5	Mr Smith's		Whitehall
6	Terling		Whitehall
7	Colchester		Whitehall
8	Harwich		Whitehall
9	Harwich		Whitehall
10	Harwich		Whitehall
11	St Osith's		Whitehall
12	St Osith's	St Osith's	Whitehall
13	Colchester		Whitehall
14	Terling		Whitehall
15	Mr Smith's	Westminster [?]	Whitehall
16	Pirgo		Whitehall
17	Pirgo		Whitehall
18	Pirgo		Whitehall
19	Greenwich		
20	Greenwich		
21	Greenwich		
22	Greenwich		
23	Greenwich		
24	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
25	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
26	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
27	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
28	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
29	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich

30	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
1 July 1543	Greenwich	Greenwich	Greenwich
2	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
3	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
4	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
5	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
6	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
7	Whitehall		
8	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
9	Hampton Court		Whitehall
10	Hampton Court		Hampton Court
11	Hampton Court	Hampton Court/PC	Hampton Court
12	Hampton Court	Hampton Court/PC	Hampton Court
13	Hampton Court		
14	Hampton Court	Hampton Court/PC	Hampton Court
15	Hampton Court	Hampton Court/PC	Hampton Court
16	Oatlands	Hampton Court/PC	Hampton Court
17	Oatlands	Oatlands/PC	Oatlands
18	Oatlands	Oatlands/PC	Oatlands
19	Oatlands	Oatlands/PC	Oatlands
20	Oatlands	Oatlands/PC	Oatlands
21	Oatlands	Oatlands/PC	Oatlands
22	Oatlands	Oatlands/PC	Oatlands
23	Woking		
24	Woking		
25	Woking		
26	Woking		
27	Woking		
28	Woking		
29	Woking		
30	Guildford		
31	Guildford	Guildford/PC	Guildford
1 August	Guildford		
2	Guildford		
3	Guildford		
4	Guildford	Guildford [?]	
5	Guildford		
6	Sunninghill		
7	Sunninghill		
8	Sunninghill		
9	Sunninghill		
10	Sunninghill	Sunninghill/PC	Sunninghill
11	Sunninghill		
12	Sunninghill		
13	Hanworth		
14	Hanworth		
15	Hanworth		
16	Hanworth		
17	More		
18	More		
19	More		

	20	More		
	21	More		
	22	More		
	23	More		
	24	More		
	25	More		
	26	More		
	27	More	Dunstable/Asheridge/P C [?]	
	28	Ashridge	Dunstable/PC	Dunstable/PC
	29	Ibid, Dunstable & Amphill		
	30	Ibid & Amphill		
	31	Amphill		
1 September 1543		Amphill		
	2	Amphill		
	3	Amphill		
	4	Amphill		
	5	Grafton		
	6	Grafton		
	7	Grafton		
	8	Grafton		
	9	Grafton		
	10	Grafton		
	11	Grafton		
	12	Buckingham		
	13	Woodstock		
	14	Woodstock		
	15	Woodstock		
	16	Woodstock		
	17	Woodstock		
	18	Woodstock		
	19	Woodstock		
	20	Woodstock		
	21	Woodstock		
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	23	Woodstock		
	24	Woodstock		
	25	Woodstock		
	26	Woodstock		
	27	Woodstock		
	28	Woodstock		
	29	Woodstock		
	30	Woodstock		
1 October 1543		Woodstock		
	2	Langley		
	3			
	4			
	5			
	6			
	7			

8	Woodstock		
9	Woodstock		
10			
11	Buckingham		
12	Grafton		
13	Grafton		
14	Grafton		
15	Grafton		
16	Grafton	Grafton	
17	Grafton		
18	Grafton		
19	Grafton	Grafton	
20	Grafton		
21			
22			
23	Amphill		
24	Amphill		
25	Amphill		
26	Amphill		
27	Amphill	Amphill/PC	Amphill
28	Amphill		
29	Amphill		
30	Amphill		
31	Amphill		
1 November 1543	Amphill		
2	Amphill	Amphill/PC	Amphill
3	Amphill		
4	Amphill		
5	Amphill		
6	Amphill		
7	Amphill		
8	Amphill		
9	Amphill		
10	Amphill		
11	Amphill		
12	Amphill	Amphill	
13	Amphill		
14	Amphill		
15	Amphill		
16	Amphill		
17	Amphill	Amphill/PC	Amphill
18	Amphill		
19	Amphill		
20	Amphill		
21	Amphill		
22	Amphill		
23	Amphill		
24	Amphill		
25	Dunstable		
26			
27			

28			
29			
30	Bisham		
1 December 1543	Bisham		
2			
3	Sunninghill		
4			
5			
6			
7			
8	Woking		
9	Woking		
10	Woking		
11	Woking		
12	Woking		
13	Woking		
14	Woking		
15	Woking		
16	Woking		
17	Woking		
18			
19			
20	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
21	Whitehall		
22			
23		Hampton Court	
24	Hampton Court		
25	Hampton Court		
26	Hampton Court		
27	Hampton Court		
28	Hampton Court		
29	Hampton Court		
30	Hampton Court		
31	Hampton Court		
1 January 1544	Hampton Court	Hampton Court	
2	Hampton Court		
3	Hampton Court		
4	Hampton Court		
5	Hampton Court		
6	Hampton Court		
7	Hampton Court		
8	Hampton Court		
9	Hampton Court		
10	Hampton Court		
11	Hampton Court		
12	Hampton Court		
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15			
16	Whitehall		
17	Whitehall		

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	29	Whitehall		
	30	Whitehall		
	31	Whitehall		
1 February	1544	Whitehall		
	2	Whitehall		
	3	Whitehall		
	4	Whitehall		
	5	Whitehall	with PC	
	6	Whitehall		
	7	Whitehall		
	8	Whitehall		
	9	Whitehall		
	10	Whitehall		
	11	Whitehall		
	12	Whitehall		
	13	Whitehall		
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	23	Whitehall		
	24	Whitehall		
	25	Whitehall		
	26	Whitehall		
	27	Whitehall		
	28	Whitehall		
	29	Whitehall		
1 March	1544	Whitehall	with PC	
	2	Whitehall	London (Whitehall [?])	
	3	Whitehall	Whitehall	
	4	Whitehall	London (Whitehall [?])	
	5	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
	6	Whitehall	London (Whitehall [?])	
	7	Whitehall		
	8	Whitehall		

9	Whitehall		
10	Whitehall		
11	Whitehall	Whitehall	
12	Whitehall		
13	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
14	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
15	Whitehall		
16	Whitehall		
17	Whitehall		
18	Whitehall		
19	Whitehall		
20	Whitehall		
21	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
22	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
23	Whitehall		
24	Whitehall		
25	Whitehall		
26	Whitehall		
27	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
28	Whitehall		
29	Whitehall		
30	Whitehall		
31	Whitehall		
1 April 1544	Whitehall		
2	Whitehall		
3	Whitehall		
4	Whitehall		
5	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
6	Whitehall		
7	Whitehall		
8	Whitehall		
9	Whitehall		
10	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
11	Whitehall		
12	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
13	Whitehall		
14	Whitehall		
15	Whitehall		
16	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
17	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	
18	Whitehall		
19	Whitehall		
20	Whitehall		
21	Whitehall		
22	Whitehall		
23	Greenwich	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
24	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
25	Greenwich		
26	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
27	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
28	Greenwich		

	29	Greenwich		
	30	Greenwich		
1 May 1544		Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
	2			
	3	Whitehall		
	4	Whitehall		
	5	Whitehall		
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	11	Whitehall		
	12	Whitehall		
	13	Whitehall		
	14	Whitehall	Whitehall	
	15	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
	16	Whitehall		
	17	Whitehall		
	18	Whitehall	Whitehall	
	19	Whitehall		
	20	Whitehall		
	21	Whitehall		
	22	Whitehall		
	23	Whitehall	Brussels	
	24	Whitehall	leaves Brussels	
	25	Whitehall		
	26	Whitehall		
	27	Whitehall		
	28	Whitehall		
	29	Whitehall		
	30	Whitehall		
	31	Whitehall		
1 June 1544		St James'		
	2	St James'	Speyer	
	3	St James'	Speyer	
	4	St James'		
	5	St James'		
	6	St James'		
	7	St James'		
	8	St James'	Antwerp	
	9	St James'	Brussels [?]	
	10	Whitehall		
	11	St James'		
	12	Whitehall	London	
	13	Whitehall	St James'	
	14	Whitehall		
	15	Whitehall	St James'	
	16	Whitehall		
	17	Whitehall	St James'	
	18	St James'		

	19	Whitehall		
	20	Whitehall		
	21	Whitehall		
	22	Whitehall		
	23	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
	24	Whitehall		
	25	Whitehall		
	26	Whitehall		
	27	Whitehall		
	28	Whitehall		
	29	Whitehall		
	30	Whitehall		
1 July 1544		Whitehall		
	2	Whitehall		
	3	Whitehall		
	4	Whitehall		
	5	Whitehall		
	6	Whitehall		
	7	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
	8	Whitehall		
	9	Whitehall		
	10	Whitehall	Exchequer/Whitehall	
	11	Whitehall		
	12	Ibid, Gravesend, Rainham	Gravesend	
	13			
	14	Dover		
	15	Calais		
	16		Calais	
	17			
	18			
	19			
	20		Calais	
	21			
	22	before Boulogne		
	23	before Boulogne		
	24	before Boulogne		
	25	before Boulogne		
	26	before Boulogne		
	27	before Boulogne		
	28	before Boulogne		
	29	before Boulogne	before Boulogne	
	30	before Boulogne		
	31	before Boulogne	before Boulogne	
1 August 1544		before Boulogne	before Boulogne	
	2	before Boulogne		
	3	before Boulogne		
	4	before Boulogne		
	5	before Boulogne	before Boulogne	
	6	before Boulogne		
	7	before Boulogne		

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	10	before Boulogne	before Boulogne
	11	before Boulogne	
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	19	before Boulogne	before Boulogne
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	27	before Boulogne	
	28	before Boulogne	
	29	before Boulogne	
	30	before Boulogne	
	31	before Boulogne	
1 September 1544		before Boulogne	
	2	before Boulogne	before Boulogne
	3	before Boulogne	
	4	before Boulogne	
	5	before Boulogne	before Boulogne
	6	before Boulogne	
	7	before Boulogne	
	8	before Boulogne	before Boulogne
	9	before Boulogne	Hardelot Castle
	10	before Boulogne	Hardelot Castle
	11	before Boulogne	Hardelot Castle
	12	before Boulogne	
	13	before Boulogne	
	14	before Boulogne	
	15	before Boulogne	
	16	Boulogne	Boulogne
	17	Boulogne	
	18	Boulogne	
	19	Boulogne	Boulogne
	20	Boulogne	
	21	Boulogne	
	22	Boulogne	
	23	Boulogne	Boulogne
	24	Boulogne	
	25	Boulogne	
	26	Boulogne	Boulogne
	27	Boulogne	Boulogne

	28	Boulogne		
	29	Boulogne	Boulogne	
	30	Dover		
1 October 1544		Dover		
	2			
	3	Leeds	Leeds/PC	Leeds
	4	Otford	Otford/PC	Otford
	5	Otford	at some point between	
	6	Otford	4-10 October Paget with	
	7	Otford	Hertford at	
			Sittingbourne	
	8	Otford		
	9	Otford		
	10	Otford	Calais	
	11			
	12			
	13	Greenwich	Calais	Calais
	14	Whitehall		
	15	Whitehall		
	16	Whitehall	Calais/PC	Calais
	17	Whitehall		
	18	Whitehall	Calais/PC	Calais
	19	Whitehall		
	20	Whitehall	Calais/PC	Calais
	21	Whitehall		
	22	Whitehall		
	23	Whitehall		
	24	Whitehall	Calais/PC	Calais
	25	Whitehall		
	26	Whitehall		
	27	Whitehall		
	28	Whitehall		
	29	Whitehall	Calais/PC	Calais
	30	Whitehall	Calais/PC	Calais
	31	Whitehall	Calais	
1 November 1544		Whitehall	Calais	
	2	Whitehall		
	3	Whitehall	Calais/PC	Calais
	4	Whitehall		
	5	Whitehall	Calais	
	6	Whitehall	Calais/PC	Calais
	7	Whitehall		
	8	Whitehall		
	9	Whitehall	Calais	
	10	Whitehall		
	11	Whitehall	Calais	
	12	Whitehall		
	13	Whitehall	Calais	
	14	Whitehall		
	15	Whitehall		
	16	Whitehall	Calais	

	17	Whitehall		
	18	Whitehall		
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	24	Whitehall	Whitehall	
	25	Whitehall		
	26	Whitehall		
	27	Whitehall		
	28	Whitehall		
	29	Whitehall		
	30	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
1 December 1544		Whitehall		
	2	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
	3	Whitehall		
	4	Whitehall		
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	21	Whitehall		
	22	Whitehall		
	23	Whitehall		
	24	Greenwich		
	25	Greenwich		
	26	Greenwich		
	27	Greenwich		
	28	Greenwich		
	29	Greenwich		
	30	Greenwich		
	31	Greenwich		
1 January 1545		Greenwich		
	2	Greenwich		
	3	Greenwich		
	4	Greenwich		
	5	Greenwich		
	6	Greenwich		

7	Greenwich		
8	Greenwich		
9	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
10	Greenwich		
11	Greenwich		
12	Greenwich	PC (where?)	
13	Greenwich		
14	Greenwich		
15	Greenwich		
16	Greenwich		
17			
18			
19			
20			
21		Whitehall	
22	Baynard's Castle	Baynard's Castle/PC	Baynard's Castle
23	Baynard's Castle	Baynard's Castle/PC	Baynard's Castle
24	Baynard's Castle		
25	Baynard's Castle		
26	Baynard's Castle		
27	Baynard's Castle	Baynard's Castle/PC	Baynard's Castle
28	Baynard's Castle	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
29	Baynard's Castle	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
30	Baynard's Castle		
31	Baynard's Castle		
1 February 1545	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
2	Whitehall	Whitehall	
3	Whitehall		
4	Whitehall	London (Whitehall [?])	
5	Whitehall		
6	Whitehall		
7	Whitehall		
8	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
9	Whitehall		
10	Whitehall		
11	Whitehall		
12	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
13	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
14	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
15	Whitehall		
16	Whitehall		
17	Whitehall		
18	Whitehall		
19	Whitehall		
20	Whitehall	Whitehall	
21	Whitehall		
22	Whitehall		
23	Whitehall		
24	Whitehall	Dover-Calais	
25	Whitehall	Osten [?]	
26	Whitehall		

	27	Whitehall	
	28	Whitehall	Brussels
1 March 1545		Whitehall	Brussels
	2	Whitehall	
	3	Whitehall	Brussels
	4	Whitehall	
	5	Whitehall	
	6	Whitehall	Brussels
	7	Whitehall	
	8	Whitehall	
	9	Whitehall	
	10	Whitehall	Brussels
	11	Whitehall	Brussels
	12	Whitehall	
	13	Whitehall	
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	15	Whitehall	
	16	Whitehall	Brussels
	17	Whitehall	
	18	Whitehall	
	19	Whitehall	
	20	Whitehall	
	21	Whitehall	Brussels
	22	Whitehall	
	23	Whitehall	
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	25	Whitehall	Brussels
	26	Whitehall	
	27	Whitehall	
	28	Whitehall	
	29	Whitehall	
	30	Whitehall	Brussels
	31	Whitehall	
1 April 1545		Whitehall	Brussels
	2	Whitehall	
	3	Whitehall	Brussels
	4	Whitehall	
	5	Whitehall	
	6	Whitehall	Brussels
	7	Whitehall	Brussels
	8	Whitehall	
	9	Whitehall	
	10	Whitehall	London
	11	Whitehall	
	12	Whitehall	
	13	Whitehall	
	14	Whitehall	
	15	Whitehall	
	16	Whitehall	
	17	Whitehall	
	18	Whitehall	

19	Whitehall		
20	Whitehall		
21	Whitehall		
22			
23	St James'		
24			
25			
26			
27	St James'	St James'/PC	St James'
28		St James'/PC	St James'
29		St James'/PC	St James'
30			
1 May 1545	St James' & Whitehall		
2	St James' & Whitehall		
3	St James' & Whitehall		
4	St James' & Whitehall		
5	St James' & Whitehall		
6	St James' & Whitehall		
7	St James' & Whitehall		
8	St James' & Whitehall		
9	St James' & Whitehall		
10	St James' & Whitehall	St James'/PC	St James'
11	St James' & Whitehall	St James'/PC	St James'
12	St James' & Whitehall	St James'/PC	St James'
13	St James' & Whitehall	'the lordes sate at the Sterre Chambre' [Paget?]	
14	St James' & Whitehall	St James'/PC	St James'
15	St James' & Whitehall	St James'/PC	St James'
16	St James' & Whitehall	St James'/PC	St James'
17	St James' & Whitehall	St James'/PC	St James'
18	St James' & Whitehall	St James'/PC	
19	St James' & Whitehall	St James'/PC	St James'
20	St James' & Whitehall	St James'/PC	St James'
21	St James' & Whitehall		Whitehall
22	St James' & Whitehall		
23	Greenwich		
24	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
25	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
26	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
27	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
28	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
29	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
30	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
31	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
1 June 1545	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
2	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
3	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
4	Greenwich		Greenwich
5	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
6	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich

7	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
8	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
9	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
10	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
11	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
12	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
13	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
14	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
15	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
16	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
17	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
18	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
19	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
20	Greenwich		
21	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC [?]	Greenwich
22	Dartford	Dartford/PC	Dartford
23	Dartford	Dartford/PC	Dartford
24	Dartford	Dartford/PC	Dartford
25	Dartford	Dartford/PC	Dartford
26	Dartford	Dartford/PC	Dartford
27	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
28	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
29	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
30	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
1 July 1545	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
2	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
3	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
4	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
5	Nonsuch	Nonsuch/PC	Nonsuch
6	Nonsuch		
7	Nonsuch	Nonsuch/PC	Nonsuch
8		Horsley/PC	Horsley
9	Horsley & Guildford	Horsley/Guildford/PC	Horsley/Guildford
10	Guildford	Guildford	
11			
12	Farnham	Farnham	
13	Farnham	Farnham/PC	Farnham
14			
15	Portsmouth	Portsmouth/PC	Portsmouth
16	Portsmouth		
17	Portsmouth	Portsmouth (PC)	Portsmouth
18	Portsmouth	Portsmouth/PC	Portsmouth
19	Portsmouth	Portsmouth/PC	Portsmouth
20	Portsmouth	Portsmouth/PC	Portsmouth
21	Portsmouth	Portsmouth/PC	Portsmouth
22	Portsmouth	Portsmouth/PC	Portsmouth
23	Portsmouth	Portsmouth/PC	Portsmouth
24	Portsmouth	Portsmouth/PC	Portsmouth
25	Portsmouth	Portsmouth/PC	Portsmouth
26	Portsmouth	Portsmouth (PC)	Portsmouth
27	Portsmouth	Portsmouth/PC	Portsmouth

	28	Portsmouth	Portsmouth/PC	Portsmouth
	29	Portsmouth	Portsmouth/PC	Portsmouth
	30		Portsmouth/PC	Portsmouth
	31	Titchfield	Titchfield/PC	Titchfield
1 August 1545		Stansted	Stansted/PC	Stansted
	2	Stansted	Stansted/PC	Stansted
	3	Cowdrey	Stansted/Cowdrey/PC	Cowdrey
	4	Cowdrey	Cowdrey	Cowdrey
	5	Cowdrey		
	6	Petworth	Petworth/PC	Petworth
	7	Petworth	Petworth/PC	Petworth
	8	Petworth	Petworth/PC	Petworth
	9	Petworth	Petworth/PC	Petworth
	10	Petworth	Petworth	
	11	Petworth	Petworth/PC	Petworth
	12	Petworth	Petworth/PC	Petworth
	13	Petworth	Petworth/PC	Petworth
	14	Petworth	Petworth/PC	Petworth
	15	Guildford	Guildford/PC	Guildford
	16	Guildford	Guildford/PC	Guildford
	17	Guildford	Guildford/PC	Guildford
	18	Guildford	Guildford/PC	Guildford
	19	Guildford	Guildford/PC	Guildford
	20	Guildford	Guildford/PC	Guildford
	21	Woking	Guildford/Woking/PC	Guildford/Woking
	22	Woking	Woking/PC	Woking
	23	Woking	Woking/PC	Woking
	24	Woking	Woking/PC	Woking
	25	Woking	Woking/PC	Woking
	26	Woking	Woking/PC	Woking
	27	Oatlands	Woking/PC	Woking
	28	Oatlands		Oatlands
	29	Oatlands		Oatlands
	30	Oatlands	Oatlands/PC	Oatlands
	31	Oatlands	Oatlands/PC	Oatlands
1 September 1545		Oatlands	Oatlands/PC	Oatlands
	2	Oatlands	Oatlands/PC	Oatlands
	3	Oatlands	Oatlands/PC	Oatlands
	4	Oatlands	Oatlands/PC	Oatlands
	5	Chobham	Chobham/PC	Chobham
	6	Chobham		Chobham
	7	Chobham		Chobham
	8	Chobham		Chobham
	9	Chobham		Chobham
	10	Chobham	Chobham/PC	Chobham
	11	Chobham	Chobham/PC	Chobham
	12			
	13	Windsor	Windsor/PC	Windsor
	14	Windsor	Windsor/PC	Windsor
	15	Windsor	Windsor/PC	Windsor
	16	Windsor	Windsor/PC	Windsor

	17	Windsor	Windsor/PC	Windsor
	18	Windsor	Windsor/PC	Windsor
	19	Windsor	Windsor/PC	Windsor
	20	Windsor	Windsor/PC	Windsor
	21	Windsor	Windsor/PC	Windsor
	22	Windsor	Windsor/PC	Windsor
	23	Windsor	Windsor/PC	Windsor
	24	Windsor	Windsor/PC	Windsor
	25	Windsor	Windsor (PC)	Windsor
	26	Windsor	Windsor/PC	Windsor
	27	Windsor	Windsor/PC	Windsor
	28	Windsor	Windsor/PC	Windsor
	29	Windsor	Windsor/PC	Windsor
	30	Windsor	Windsor/PC	Windsor
1 October 1545		Windsor	Windsor/PC	Windsor
	2	Windsor	Windsor/PC	Windsor
	3	Windsor	Windsor/PC	Windsor
	4	Windsor	Windsor/PC	Windsor
	5	Windsor		
	6	Windsor	Windsor/PC	Windsor
	7	Windsor	Windsor/PC	Windsor
	8	Windsor	Windsor/PC	Windsor
	9	Windsor	Windsor	
	10	Windsor	Windsor	
	11	Windsor	Windsor/PC	Windsor
	12	Windsor		
	13	Windsor		
	14	Windsor	Windsor/PC	Windsor
	15	Windsor	Windsor/PC	Windsor
	16	Windsor	Windsor/PC	Windsor
	17	Windsor	Windsor/PC	Windsor
	18	Windsor	Windsor/PC	Windsor
	19	Windsor	Windsor/PC	Windsor
	20	Windsor	Windsor/PC	Windsor
	21	Windsor	Benfield [?]	
	22	Windsor		
	23	Windsor		
	24	Windsor	Windsor/PC	Windsor
	25	Windsor		
	26	Windsor	Windsor/PC	Windsor
	27	Windsor		
	28	Windsor	Windsor/PC	Windsor
	29	Windsor	Windsor/PC	Windsor
	30	Windsor	no list of those present	Windsor
	31	Windsor		
1 November 1545		Windsor	Windsor/PC	Windsor
	2	Windsor	Windsor/PC	Windsor
	3	Windsor		
	4	Windsor	Windsor	
	5	Windsor		
	6	Windsor	Windsor	

7	Windsor		
8	Windsor	Windsor/PC	Windsor
9	Windsor	Windsor/PC	Windsor
10	Windsor	Windsor/PC	Windsor
11	Windsor	Oatlands/PC	Oatlands
12	Windsor	Oatlands/PC	Oatlands
13	Windsor		Oatlands
14	Windsor		Oatlands
15	Windsor	Oatlands/PC	Oatlands
16	Windsor	Oatlands/PC	Oatlands
17	Windsor	Oatlands/PC	Oatlands
18	Oatlands		Oatlands
19	Oatlands	Dover	
20	Hampton Court	Dover-Calais	
21	Whitehall	Calais	
22	Whitehall	Calais	Whitehall
23	Whitehall	Calais	Whitehall
24	Whitehall	Calais	Whitehall
25	Whitehall		Whitehall
26	Whitehall		Whitehall
27	Whitehall	Guisnes	Whitehall
28	Whitehall	Guisnes	Whitehall
29	Whitehall		Whitehall
30	Whitehall		Whitehall
1 December 1545	Whitehall		Whitehall
2	Whitehall	Calais	Whitehall
3	Whitehall	Calais	Star Chamber
4	Whitehall	Calais	Whitehall
5	Whitehall	Calais	Whitehall
6	Whitehall		Whitehall
7	Whitehall		Whitehall
8	Whitehall	Calais	Whitehall
9	Whitehall		Whitehall
10	Whitehall		Whitehall
11	Whitehall	Calais	Whitehall
12	Whitehall	Calais	Whitehall
13	Whitehall		Whitehall
14	Hackney	Calais	Whitehall
15	Hackney	Calais	
16	Hackney	Calais	
17	Hackney	Calais	
18	Hackney	Calais	
19	Hackney		
20	Whitehall	Calais	Whitehall
21	Whitehall		
22	Whitehall		Whitehall
23	Whitehall		Whitehall
24	Hampton Court		
25	Hampton Court		
26	Hampton Court	Calais	
27	Hampton Court	Calais	Hampton Court

28	Hampton Court	Calais	Hampton Court
29	Hampton Court	Calais	Hampton Court
30	Hampton Court	Calais	
31	Hampton Court		
1 January 1546	Hampton Court		Hampton Court
2	Hampton Court		Hampton Court
3	Hampton Court	Calais	Hampton Court
4	Hampton Court		
5	Hampton Court		Hampton Court
6	Hampton Court	Dover	Hampton Court
7	Hampton Court	London [?]	Hampton Court
8	Hampton Court		Hampton Court
9	Hampton Court		Hampton Court
10	Hampton Court		Hampton Court
11	Hampton Court		Hampton Court
12	Hampton Court		Hampton Court
13	Hampton Court		Hampton Court
14	Hampton Court		Hampton Court
15	Hampton Court		Hampton Court
16	Hampton Court		Hampton Court
17	Hampton Court	Hampton Court/PC	Hampton Court
18	Hampton Court	Hampton Court/PC	Hampton Court
19	Hampton Court	Hampton Court/PC	Hampton Court
20	Hampton Court	Hampton Court/PC	Hampton Court
21	Hampton Court	Hampton Court/PC	Hampton Court
22	Hampton Court	Hampton Court/PC	Hampton Court
23	Hampton Court	Hampton Court/PC	Hampton Court
24	Hampton Court	Hampton Court/PC	Hampton Court
25	Hampton Court	Hampton Court/PC	Hampton Court
26	Hampton Court	Hampton Court [?]	
27	Hampton Court	Hampton Court/PC	Hampton Court
28	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
29	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
30	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
31	Whitehall	Whitehall [?]	
1 February 1546	Greenwich	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
2	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
3	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
4	Greenwich		
5	Greenwich		
6	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
7	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
8	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
9	Greenwich		
10	Greenwich		
11	Greenwich	Greenwich	
12	Greenwich		
13	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
14	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
15	Whitehall		
16	Whitehall		

	17	Whitehall		
	18	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
	19	Whitehall		
	20	Greenwich		
	21	Greenwich	Greenwich (PC)	Greenwich
	22	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
	23	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
	24	Greenwich		
	25	Greenwich		
	26	Greenwich	Greenwich	
	27	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
	28	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
1 March 1546		Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
	2	Greenwich		
	3	Greenwich		
	4	Greenwich		
	5	Greenwich		Greenwich
	6	Greenwich		Greenwich
	7	Greenwich	Greenwich (PC)	Greenwich
	8	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
	9	Greenwich		
	10	Greenwich		
	11	Greenwich		
	12	Greenwich		
	13	Greenwich		
	14	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
	15	Greenwich		
	16	Greenwich	Greenwich	
	17	Greenwich		
	18	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
	19	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
	20	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
	21	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
	22	Greenwich		Greenwich
	23	Greenwich		
	24	Greenwich		
	25	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
	26	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
	27	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
	28	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
	29	Whitehall		
	30	Whitehall	Whitehall (PC)	Whitehall
	31	Whitehall		
1 April 1546		Whitehall		
	2	Whitehall		
	3	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
	4	Whitehall	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
	5	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
	6	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
	7	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
	8	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall

	9	Whitehall		
	10	Whitehall	Whitehall	
	11	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
	12	Whitehall	Whitehall	
	13	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
	14	Whitehall	Whitehall	Whitehall
	15	Whitehall		
	16	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
	17	Greenwich	Whitehall (PC)	Whitehall
	18	Greenwich		Greenwich
	19	Greenwich		
	20	Greenwich	Calais	
	21	Greenwich	Calais	Greenwich
	22	Greenwich		Greenwich
	23	Greenwich	Calais	
	24	Greenwich	Calais	Greenwich
	25	Greenwich	Calais	
	26	Greenwich		Greenwich
	27	Greenwich		Greenwich
	28	Greenwich	Calais	Greenwich
	29	Greenwich		Greenwich
	30	Greenwich	Calais	
1 May	1546	Greenwich	Guisnes	Greenwich
	2	Greenwich		Greenwich
	3	Greenwich		
	4	Greenwich	Guisnes	Greenwich
	5	Greenwich		Greenwich
	6	Greenwich	Guisnes	Greenwich
	7	Greenwich	Guisnes	Greenwich
	8	Greenwich	Calais	Greenwich
	9	Greenwich	Calais	Greenwich
	10	Whitehall	Calais	Greenwich
	11	Whitehall	Calais	Greenwich
	12	Whitehall	Calais	Greenwich
	13	Whitehall	Calais	Greenwich
	14	Whitehall	Guisnes	Greenwich
	15	Greenwich	Guisnes	Greenwich
	16	Greenwich		Greenwich
	17	Greenwich		Greenwich
	18	Greenwich	Calais	Greenwich
	19	Greenwich	Guisnes	Greenwich
	20	Greenwich		Greenwich
	21	Greenwich	Guisnes	Greenwich
	22	Greenwich	Guisnes	
	23	Greenwich	Guisnes	Greenwich
	24	Greenwich	Guisnes	Greenwich
	25	Greenwich		Greenwich
	26	Greenwich		Greenwich
	27	Greenwich	Guisnes/Calais [?]	Greenwich
	28	Greenwich		
	29	Greenwich	Guisnes	Greenwich

	30	Greenwich		Greenwich
	31	Greenwich		Greenwich
1 June 1546		Whitehall		Greenwich
	2	Whitehall		St James'
	3	Whitehall	Guisnes	St James'
	4	Whitehall	Guisnes	St James'
	5	Whitehall		St James'
	6	Whitehall		St James'
	7	Whitehall	Treaty of Camp	St James'
	8	Whitehall	Dover	St James'
	9	Whitehall		St James'
	10	Whitehall		
	11	Whitehall		St James'
	12	Greenwich		
	13	Greenwich		
	14	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
	15	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
	16	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
	17	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
	18	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
	19	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
	20	Greenwich		
	21	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
	22	Greenwich		
	23	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
	24	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
	25	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
	26	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
	27	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
	28	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
	29	Greenwich		
	30	Greenwich		
1 July 1546		Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
	2	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
	3	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
	4	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC	Greenwich
	5	Greenwich	Greenwich/PC [?]	Greenwich
	6	Whitehall		
	7	Whitehall	Star Chamber [?]	Star Chamber
	8	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC [?]	Whitehall
	9	Whitehall		Whitehall
	10	Whitehall		Whitehall
	11	Whitehall		Whitehall
	12	Whitehall		Whitehall
	13	Whitehall		Whitehall
	14	Whitehall		Whitehall
	15	Whitehall		Whitehall
	16	Whitehall		Whitehall
	17	Whitehall		
	18	Whitehall		Whitehall
	19	Whitehall	Whitehall	

20	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
21	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
22	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
23	Whitehall		
24	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
25	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
26	Whitehall		
27	Whitehall		
28	Whitehall		
29	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
30	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
31	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
1 August 1546	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
2	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
3	Whitehall		
4	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
5	Whitehall		
6	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
7	Whitehall		
8	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
9	Whitehall		
10	Hampton Court		
11	Hampton Court		
12	Hampton Court		Hampton Court
13	Hampton Court		Hampton Court
14	Hampton Court		Hampton Court
15	Hampton Court		Hampton Court
16	Hampton Court		Hampton Court
17	Hampton Court		Hampton Court
18	Hampton Court		Hampton Court
19	Hampton Court		
20	Hampton Court	There is a meeting of the privy council between 19-28 August at which Paget present but precise date not recorded.	
21	Hampton Court		
22	Hampton Court		
23	Hampton Court		
24	Hampton Court		
25	Hampton Court		
26	Hampton Court		
27	Hampton Court		
28	Hampton Court	Hampton Court/PC	Hampton Court/PC
29	Hampton Court	Hampton Court/PC	Hampton Court/PC
30	Hampton Court		
31	Oatlands		
1 September 1546	Oatlands		

2	Oatlands		
3	Oatlands	Oatlands/PC	Oatlands
4	Oatlands		
5	Oatlands		
6	Oatlands		
7	Woking		
8	Woking	Woking/PC	Woking
9	Woking		
10	Woking	Woking/PC	Woking
11	Guildford	Woking/PC	Woking
12	Guildford	Guildford/PC	Guildford
13	Guildford		
14	Guildford		
15	Guildford		
16	Guildford	Guildford/PC	Guildford
17	Guildford		
18	Guildford	Guildford	
19	Guildford		
20	Guildford		
21	Guildford		
22	Chobham		
23	Chobham		
24	Windsor	Chobham/PC	Chobham
25	Windsor		
26	Windsor		
27	Windsor	Windsor/PC	Windsor
28	Windsor	Windsor/PC	Windsor
29	Windsor		
30	Windsor		
1 October 1546	Windsor		
2	Windsor		
3	Windsor		
4	Windsor		
5	Windsor	Windsor/PC	Windsor
6	Windsor	Windsor/PC	Windsor
7	Windsor	Windsor/PC [?]	Windsor
8	Windsor		
9	Windsor	Windsor/PC	Windsor
10	Windsor		
11	Windsor		
12	Windsor		
13	Windsor	Windsor	
14	Windsor	Windsor/PC	Windsor
15	Windsor		
16	Windsor		
17	Windsor		
18	Windsor		
19	Windsor		
20	Cookham & Windsor		
21	Cookham & Windsor		
22	Cookham & Windsor		

	23	Cookham & Windsor		
	24	Windsor		
	25	Windsor	Windsor/PC	Windsor
	26	Windsor		
	27	Windsor	Windsor/PC	Windsor
	28	Windsor		
	29	Windsor		
	30	Windsor		
	31	Windsor		
1 November 1546		Windsor	Windsor/PC	Windsor
	2	Windsor		
	3	Windsor		
	4	Windsor		
	5	Windsor		
	6	Windsor/Oatlands		
	7	Windsor/Oatlands		
	8	Whitehall/Oatlands		
	9	Whitehall/Oatlands		
	10	Whitehall/Oatlands		
	11	Whitehall/Oatlands	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
	12	Whitehall/Oatlands	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
	13	Whitehall/Oatlands	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
	14	Whitehall/Oatlands	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
	15	Whitehall/Oatlands		
	16	Oatlands		
	17	Oatlands		
	18	Oatlands		
	19	Oatlands		
	20	Oatlands		
	21	Oatlands		
	22	Oatlands/Hanworth	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
	23	Oatlands/Hanworth		
	24	Oatlands/Stanwell	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
	25	Oatlands/Stanwell		
	26	Oatlands/Stanwell		
	27	Oatlands		
	28	Oatlands		
	29	Oatlands		
	30	Oatlands		
1 December 1546		Oatlands & Byfleet		Oatlands
	2	Oatlands & Byfleet		
	3	Oatlands & Byfleet		
	4	Oatlands		
	5	Oatlands		Whitehall
	6	Oatlands		Whitehall
	7	Oatlands		Whitehall
	8	Oatlands	Ely Place, Holborn [?]/PC	Ely Place, Holborn [?]
	9	Ibid & Esher	Ely Place, Holborn/PC	Ely Place, Holborn
	10	Ibid & Esher		

11	Ibid, Esher & Nonsuch		
12	Esher & Nonsuch		
13	Esher & Nonsuch		
14	Esher & Nonsuch		
15	Esher & Nonsuch	Ely Place, Holborn/PC	Ely Place, Holborn
16	Esher & Nonsuch		
17	Esher & Nonsuch		
18	Esher & Nonsuch		
19	Esher & Nonsuch		
20	Ibid, Wimbledon, Greenwich	Ely Place, Holborn/PC	Ely Place, Holborn
21	Wimbledon & Greenwich		
22	Whitehall & Greenwich	Ely Place, Holborn/PC	Ely Place, Holborn
23	Whitehall	Ely Place, Holborn/PC	Ely Place, Holborn
24	Whitehall	Ely Place, Holborn/PC	Ely Place, Holborn
25	Whitehall		
26	Whitehall		
27	Whitehall	Ely Place, Holborn/PC	Ely Place, Holborn
28	Whitehall		
29	Whitehall	Ely Place, Holborn/PC	Ely Place, Holborn
30	Whitehall		
31	Whitehall		
1 January 1547	Whitehall		
2	Whitehall	no attendance recorded	Ely Place, Holborn
3	Whitehall		
4	Whitehall	meeting, but attendance & place not recorded	
5	Whitehall		
6	Whitehall		
7	Whitehall		
8	Whitehall		
9	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
10	Whitehall	Meeting at Colharborow, bishop of Durham's residence. Paget present	
11	Whitehall		
12	Whitehall		
13	Whitehall		
14	Whitehall		
15	Whitehall		
16	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall

17	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
18	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
19	Whitehall		
20	Whitehall		
21	Whitehall		
22	Whitehall		
23	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
24	Whitehall		
25	Whitehall		
26	Whitehall	Whitehall/PC	Whitehall
27	Whitehall		

Appendix 3

'A Consultacon In august 1546'¹

The cause of this consultacon procedeth of a care for the honor and suertie of the *kings* *maiestie* and his Realme by the continuance and *preservacon* of his pollicie and of his victory

This care cometh upon this that we see aparently the *ffrench* kinge immesurable desirous to Redubbe his great dishonour susteyned at the *kings* handes in the last warres by the losse of Bulloigne And by the *Bysshop* of Rome *with* al his membres ardently inflamed to recover agayne his usurped power and tyranny over this realme And thempeur *with* all his power readie to serve the bysshops turne partly moved by a corrupt coscience and partly by ambicion to reigne alone besides old grudges and displeasures

ffor the defence of these two thinges that stand us so much in hand it is necessarie to make us stronge both at home and abrod At home by an establishment of an unanimtie among our selves and by gathering of riches as muche as may be conveniently and *with* doing some thinges *with* litle charge about Scotland abrod by knitting unto us of the most syncere and surest frendes we can get to joine *with* us to theeffect that we desire

ffor the working of that *which* is to be done at home we have comoditie ynoughe and shall have tyme sufficient yf it be folowed out of hande

As for frendshippe abrode if that either the *ffrench* kinge might be induced to leave Bulloigne upon some honourable condicon or thempereur to leave the Bishoppe of Rome by reformacon of his conscience to be moved therto by goddes worde and by a certayne and great honour and gayne that shulde therby growe unto him the one of these were best to serve *our* turne against the other But wese[?] either of them so assetted[?] in his opinion and by dailie experience knowe so litle faith to be geven to any of their promises (when the breche of the same may serve to their purpose) as we have cause to be at the point of despaire to finde any frendship in either of them longer then they maye not chose

¹ Northants RO, Fitzwilliam (Milton) Correspondence 21, The Paget Letter Book, fos. 21r-22r.

The ffrendship of the venetians might somewhat serve *our* turne for they be very ryche and stronge both by sea and by land and have commoditie enough to anoye either the *ffrench* kinge or thempreur if any of them wold disturbe us And if the feare of the Turke by meanes of the *franche* king let them not they are to be thought easie to be moved to entre league *with* us for they feare exceedingly the *tempereurs* desire of a monarchie And yet being wel enclyned (as it is said) to joyne in league *with* us yt wold do no hurt to our purpose if the mater might be wiselie advaunced (fo. 21r)

After the venetians there resteth onelie the league of the protestauntes wherin besides thalmains we do accompte denmarke norway and Sweden These men being now presently in the warre and we in peace if we shulde joyne *with* them it ^{^wold^} not onelie somewhat empaire *our* meane to wax riche but also of our dissembling frendes the *tempereur* & the *ffrench* king make peradventure our open enemies and bring them both *with* the bisshop of rome at ones in our neckes if not now presently yet when they have al thre joyning together subdued the protestauntes the *ffrench* king shal finde some readie way at the *tempereurs* hande (although not effectuall in thende) yet for the time by practise of mariage or otherwise pleasaunt ynough to be fedde *with* al by the *tempereur* and this consideracon may folowe upon the *tempereurs* only displeasure against us though he bein no extremitie In case we joine immediatly *with* the protestauntes

On thother side if we joine not *with* the protestauntes they [sic] may it be thought that whither the *tempereur* have the gayne or losse that the *ffrench* king will joine *with* the protestauntes fearing if the *tempereur* have the gaine the losse of Savoye & Piedmont and shal well see the *tempereurs* gaine bought *with* so great a losse as there shal remaine litle to defend him being sumwhat now refreshed The turke cominge in on thother side peradventure *with* all that he can make and by these meanes overtreading the *tempereur* and so leving us litle helpe at his hande and now at the protestauntes but rather an emenitie because we forsok them being already entred into a certayne practise *with* them he shal make him selfe a stronge enemy for us If the *tempereur* have the overthrowe then it is like he will rather joine *with* the protestauntes and stayeng the turke and having litle cause to doubt the bysshope of Rome and no cause to feare us permitting to us peaceably for the time Bulloyn etc he will convert his hole power *with* all the power of Almayne and no small help of Italie furst upon the state of Millayne and worke suerly for the *tempereur* and consequently turne upon us so as joyne we or joine we not *with* the protestauntes we see what is to be feared of the *tempereur* if he joine The worst is upon the two occasions to have them both at ones joyne together to be our enemies or the one overcoming

furst the other to be our enemie afterward *with* the power of Bothe The best waie is bothe to kepe them from agreing and from being either of them any greater If the emperor [^]ioyne not *with* thalmains he is not like to be greater If the ff kinge joyne not *with* thalmains he is not like to be greater To bringe **(fo.21v)** bothe these to passe the beste waie is to agre themperor and thalmains by al the meanes possible and this done shulde be a great staie to xpendome and being done by us shulde be a great suertie to or selves If this can not be brought to passe then remaine we still in our former feare and doubt that for both these querells for the Pope and Bulloigne or for one of them we shall have bothe these princes at the lest or the power of them bothe at ones upon us And as it shalbe necessarie out of al question for the greatest parte of or strenght to worke indelayedly our strength at home So it is to be considered whether it be better to have them both at thende upon us *with* out any frend at all or both upon us with suche frendes as we maie make nowe *with* litle charge

ffor the folowinge of the best waie the first parte is generally to open yor intent *with* meditacon to themperors ambassador and by him to learne as sone as may be thempereurs disposition to give eare to the same which also maie be done by our owne *ambassador with* emperor or to bothe if it be thought good If themperor mislike not the matter than shall it be well done upon knowledge therof to send an expresse man not unagreable to any of bothe the partes *with* suche meanes of reconciliation as may best be devised to move them to the same *with* the preservacon of their honours

In the consultacon whither it were better to joine *with* the protestantes and to have of them suche a frend as we maye rather then none at all it is to be considered *with* what power they maie at their worst serve you *with* all and what at their best both by land & by sea and how farreforth also we be entred already *with* them **(fo.22r)**

W.P.

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C 66 Chancery, Chancery division of the High Court, and central office of the Supreme Court of
Judicature, Enrolment Office, Patent Rolls.

C 82 Chancery, Warrants for the Great Seal, Series II.

DL 42 Duchy of Lancaster: Cartularies, Enrolments, Surveys and other Miscellaneous Books.

E 23 Exchequer, Treasury of Receipt, Royal Wills.

E 30 Exchequer, Treasury of Receipt, Diplomatic Documents.

E 36 Exchequer, Treasury of Receipt, Miscellaneous Books.

E 101 Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Various Accounts.

E 179 Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Lay Subsidy Rolls.

E 315 Court of Augmentations and Predecessors and Successors, Miscellaneous Books.

LC 2 Lord Chamberlain's Department, Records of Special Events.

MPI 1 Public Record Office: Maps and plans extracted to flat storage from various series of records of departments not assigned an individual map extract prefix.

OBS 1 Obsolete Lists, Indexes and Miscellaneous Summaries and Reports associated with Public Record Office Holdings.

PC 2 Privy Council: Registers.

PRO 36 Royal Commission on Public Records, 1800 to 1837.

PROB 11 Prerogative Court of Canterbury and related Probate Jurisdictions: Will Registers.

PSO 1 Privy Seal Office: Signet and other Warrants for the Privy Seal, Series I.

PSO 2 Privy Seal Office: Signet and other Warrants for the Privy Seal, Series II.

SO 3 Signet Office and Home Office: Docquet Books and Letters Recommendatory.

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SP 4 Signatures by Stamp, Henry VIII.

SP 7 Wriothesley Papers.

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