UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

FACULTY OF LAW, ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

School of humanities

The Career of Sir William Fitzwilliam, Earl of Southampton (c.1490-1542): a Thematic Study

by

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ABSTRACT

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THE CAREER OF SIR WILLIAM FITZWILLIAM, EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON (c.1490-1542): A THEMATIC STUDY

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Sir William Fitzwilliam has had little attention from historians. A senior councillor and Household officer from the mid-1520s, he served as soldier, as naval commander and Lord Admiral, as diplomat, as *de facto* Secretary for Calais and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, as regional magnate and as Henry's 'enforcer'. He was always active in several fields at once, ruling out a chronological approach, so here each is examined separately.

Vital to his career were links of kinship, land dealings and friendship with his step-brother Sir Anthony Browne, and with Sir John Gage, Sir Henry Guildford and Sir William Kingston. Less closely linked were Sir William Paulet, Lord Sandys and Sir Thomas Cheney. They had a firm grip on senior Household offices and *ex officio* seats on the Council from the early 1520s until the end of the reign. Studying them gives an insight into the way Council and Household officers operated. They were the work-horses of the Council, accounting for most attendances and dealing with the day-to-day work of government. Household members of the Privy Council in 1540 all had close ties to Henry since his early days as King, showing the fundamental conservatism and continuity of the Henrician regime.

Fitzwilliam was an able naval commander: his career as Vice-Admiral from 1513 to 1525 qualified him for his term as Lord Admiral from 1536 to 1540. His time as ambassador at the French court in 1521/2 attracted favourable notice from Wolsey and showed his suitability for higher office. Later missions failed; Henry's obsession with the Divorce gave ambassadors little scope for initiative. Fitzwilliam was responsible for the Calais Act in 1536 and played a vital role in resolving religious unrest in Calais in the later 1530s. A capable Lord Privy Seal from 1540 to his death in 1542, he failed to address serious structural faults at the Duchy and the Admiralty, probably because with several offices he was overworked - an inherent fault in the Tudor system. As regional magnate he eliminated factional strife in Surrey but failed in Yorkshire as he only visited it during the Pilgrimage of Grace. He was Henry's 'enforcer' in the fall of Anne Boleyn and Catherine Howard, the Pilgrimage of Grace and the Exeter Conspiracy.

The thesis is based on documents of the period, using *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII* and local archives as a starting point. All quotations are transcriptions of original documents.

CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

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ABBREVIATIONS

A&M	J. Foxe, *The Acts and Monuments*... ed. Pratt (1874)
ARG	*Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*
BIHR	*Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*
BL	British Library
CCR	*Calendar of Close Rolls*
CP	*Complete Peerage*
CPR	*Calendar of Patent Rolls*
DNB04	*Dictionary of National Biography, 2004 edition*
Dodds	M.H. and Ruth Dodds, *The Pilgrimage of Grace and the Exeter Conspiracy*
EHR	*English Historical Review*
ESRO	East Sussex Record Office
Hall, *Henry VIII*	E. Hall (ed. C. Whibley), *The Triumphant Reigne of Kyng Henry the VIII* (1904)
Ham. P.	*Hamilton Papers*
HJ	*The Historical Journal*
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission
HP	*History of Parliament*
IPM	*Inquisition(s) post mortem*
Jacqueton	G. Jacqueton, *La Politique extérieure de Louise de Savoie*
JEH	*Journal of Ecclesiastical History*
Kaulek	Kaulek, J. (ed), *Correspondence politique de MM de Castillon et de Marillac*
LJ	*Journal of the House of Lords*: vol. 1: 1509-1577
LL	*The Lisle Letters*
LP	*Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*
MM	*Mariners' Mirror*
NA	National Archives
NH	*Northern History*
P&P	*Past and Present*
Rymer, *Foedera*	T. Rymer, *Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae, etc.*
SCJ	*Sixteenth Century Journal*
Sp. Cal.	*Calendar of State Papers, Spanish*
SP	*State Papers, Henry VIII*
Somerville	R. Somerville, *Duchy of Lancaster* (1953)
SxAC	*Sussex Archaeological Collections*
TRHS	*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*
VCH	*Victoria County History*
Ven. Cal..	*Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*
WSRO	West Sussex Record Office
YAJ	*Yorkshire Archaeological journal*

Summary of Fitzwilliam's career

c1490	Born.
c1500	Entered royal Household as child of honour.
1512	Took part in abortive invasion of Guienne under second Marquess of Dorset.
1513	Naval service under Sir Edward Howard at Brest.
	Service on Tournai expedition.
	Appointment as Vice-Admiral.
	Marriage to Mabel Clifford.
	Appointed Esquire of the Body.
c1514	Appointment to Surrey bench.
By1515	Knighted.
Jan. 1521-Jan, 1522	Resident ambassador at the French Court.
By 1522	Member of Council.
1522	Joint Master of Ordnance at Calais.
1522-3	Commanded in naval actions against the French.
1523	Captain of Guines.
	Embassy to Margaret of Savoy in Netherlands.
1525-1537	Treasurer of the Household.
1525	Special ambassador to Louise of Savoy at Lyons.
1526	Knight of the Garter.
1528	Purchased Cowdray.
3 Nov. 1529-d.	Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.
1529	Elected Knight of the Shire for Surrey.
1532-d.	High Steward of Oxford University.
1536.	Investigated case of Anne Boleyn.
	Calais Act.
	Took part against the Pilgrimage of Grace.
1536-40	Appointed Lord Admiral
Oct. 1537	Created Earl of Southampton.
1538	Interrogated Margaret and Geoffrey Pole in connection with 'Exeter conspiracy'.
1539	Surveyed sites of proposed forts in Southampton Water.
Dec. 1539	Welcomed Anne of Cleves at Calais.
1540	Introduced Navigation Act.
	Appointed Lord Privy Seal.
1541	Investigated case of Catherine Howard.
Oct. 1542	Died on expedition against the Scots.

INTRODUCTION

1. Why Fitzwilliam?

Sir William Fitzwilliam, Earl of Southampton (c1490-1542) presents an intriguing problem. From about 1520 till his death in 1542 he was always active in Court and Council, serving as close adviser to the King, as commander on land and at sea, as diplomat and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and later as Lord Privy Seal.

Even a quick glance through the *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII* shows that Fitzwilliam was always around, always busy on a wide variety of tasks and plainly influential, especially after 1530, when he is referred to several times as one of the King's chief personal advisors, with Thomas Cromwell and the third Duke of Norfolk. Cromwell is well known: he finally achieved Henry VIII's divorce, was the author of the break with Rome and the dissolution of the monasteries, tried to rationalise the antique revenue system and finally met a grisly end on the block for reasons still not wholly clear. Students of the reign know that for over thirty years Norfolk served Henry with sycophantic devotion as general, diplomat and proconsul and had two nieces who married Henry and were beheaded.

The reasons for Fitzwilliam's eminence are not so obvious and the reasons for it have never been satisfactorily examined. The only full-scale study of his career is an unpublished thesis by D.F. Vodden.[1] His edition of Fitzwilliam's letters is prefaced by an account of his life based mainly on his correspondence and largely ignoring the information provided by observers like Chapuys, the Imperial ambassador, and the French ambassadors du Bellay, Castillon and Marillac. He does not ask fundamental questions about the part Fitzwilliam played in the politics of the time, so that one gains no notion of why he was important. Moreover, he seriously underestimates the standing of Fitzwilliam's family: the Fitzwilliams of Aldwarke had been a leading family in the West Riding since the early fifteenth century, mainly through service to the House of York, and they were allied by marriage with other important families.

1. D.F. Vodden, 'The correspondence of William Fitzwilliam, Earl of Southampton' (University of London M.Phil. thesis, 1972).

Through his mother Fitzwilliam was second cousin of Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury and was linked to the Neville Earls of Westmoreland and Lords Latimer, and through them to most of the parliamentary peerage.

An unpublished thesis by R.E.Brock[2] studies Fitzwilliam and five other early Tudor courtiers, giving useful insights, but the limited discussion of Fitzwilliam himself is not an in-depth study. The article on Fitzwilliam in the 2004 edition of the *Dictionary of National Biography* contains worrying errors.[3] This study will attempt a fuller and more rounded analysis, aiming not only to give an account of Fitzwilliam's life but to illuminate a variety of aspects of Tudor government, politics, diplomacy and warfare.

2. *The place of the biographical approach*

It is no denigration of Sir Geoffrey Elton's contribution to Tudor studies to suggest his influence has led to an emphasis on studying institutions[4] rather than those running them. Lately there has been a reaction against this. Discussing sources for analysis of the structures of politics in early Tudor England Dr Gunn writes:

> the most promising [class of evidence] is ... evidence of the personal affairs and interrelationships of the political actors. This is of particular importance in analysing a political system in which the boundaries of public and private activity were so blurred ... Biographical evidence demands careful reading, but its rewards are potentially great. At its simplest, it may provide signs of how credible the attribution of a political or religious position to an individual really is.[5]

Dr Potter argues:

> fundamental prosopographical work remains to be done on the whole range of royal servants and courtiers since it is only in the analysis of careers of such people that the workings of [the] system can be explored.[6]

2. R.E. Brock, 'The courtier in early Tudor Society', (Univ. of London Ph.D. thesis, 1964).
3. He inherited no Yorkshire lands; his brothers Richard and Edward died in infancy; the 1529 commission drew up ordinances for Guines, not Calais; he never received Boxgrove Priory.
4. Examples include: W.C. Richardson, *Tudor Chamber Administration, 1485-1547* (Baton Rouge, 1952), G.R. Elton, *The Tudor Revolution in Government* (Cambridge, 1953) (and other publications) and essays in C. Coleman and D. Starkey, (eds), *Revolution Reassessed: revisions in the History of Tudor Government and Administration* (Oxford, 1986).
5. S.J. Gunn, 'The structures of politics in Early Modern England', *TRHS,* vi (1995), p.71.
6. D. Potter, 'Sir John Gage, Tudor Courtier and Soldier' (1479-1556), *EHR* cxvii (2002), p.1110.

There are indeed notable biographies of political figures of Henry VIII's reign. But gaps remain, including Fitzwilliam. Articles like those in the *Dictionary of National Biography,* the *History of Parliament,* and www.tudorplace.com may serve as a useful starting point but give nothing like the detail required. Also, as many are compiled from secondary sources, errors are perpetuated.[7]

3. Limitations.

Giving an account of Fitzwilliam's career presents problems, mainly because of the lack of surviving data. Fitzwilliam was an excellent letter-writer, and his letters are a sound base for studying his career and personality, but they obviously present a one-sided picture. Some references to him are made by foreign ambassadors (especially Chapuys and Marillac) and by the historians Edward Hall, Polydore Vergil, Raphael Holinshed, Lord Herbert of Cherbury and other contemporary or near contemporary writers, but this is all. Any public or domestic papers he left were destroyed in the Cowdray fire in 1793.[8] No parliamentary diaries survive like those that began to emerge in Elizabeth's reign. Some personal letters of the time can be found, but their survival is largely a matter of chance. There were no newspapers. Politicians wrote no autobiographies. No correspondence survives on Fitzwilliam's extensive business interests or his personal life. Many letters in *LP* in the 1530s consist of Cromwell's files, seized on his arrest. If Cromwell had died in his bed and Fitzwilliam been executed we might have a different slant on the political history of the 1530s.[9]

The dearth of information about Fitzwilliam characterises other early sixteenth century lives in England and France. A comparison may be made with Florimond Robertet,

7. For example, the underestimation of the standing of Fitzwilliam's family and the assertion that the Anne Browne Charles Brandon married was Lucy Fitzwilliam's daughter, and that Margaret Mortimer, his next wife and Lucy's sister, was her aunt. (See p.20, n.61)
8. The library is described as being 'rich in MSS'. ('An architectural Antiquary', *The Gentleman's Magazine*, vol i (n.s.) (1834), p.33). Many of the MSS were rescued from the fire and safely stored, but they were completely neglected, fell into decay and are now lost.
9. In a rather different context, compare the view of events at the Danish court in *Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are dead* with that in *Hamlet.*

unquestionably one of the most powerful non-royal figures in France in the reigns of Louis XII and Francis I, of whom his biographers comment:

> *il faut observer que, pour une biographie de Florimond Robertet, il nous manque tout ce qu'on peut appeler les éléments normaux d'une telle entreprise. Autobiographie, éléments autobiographiques, biographies même les plus partielles, mémoires, chroniques, correspondance personelle, rien n'existe à part quelques rares témoignages attestant la grandeur du personnage et le rôle éminent qu'il a joué dans l'histoire de France. Sous ces conditions il est inevitable qu'une biographie conventionelle contenant des details intimes, des jugements sur le caractère du personnage est exclue.* [10]

Such constraints seem to make writing a biography impossible - certainly a biography as detailed as, say, Morley's life of Gladstone.[11] But there is a difference between a full biography and a biographical study. Lack of information on the subject's business interests and personal and religious life does not preclude writing about his contribution to various aspects of government and the politics of the time. Obviously there is a bare minimum below which nothing useful can be said, but there is enough information on Fitzwilliam to justify a biographical study.

Again, we often lack information on motivation. Nowadays public figures write letters and papers which end up in a public archive; they write (or have 'ghosted' for them) accounts of their careers which, self-justifying as they may be, give some idea of not only what they did but why they did it. In Fitzwilliam's case there are several points where individuals' motives were crucial but we do not know them: why Flamank reported Sir Anthony Browne senior and his wife Lucy (see pp.19-20); why Elizabeth, Countess of Worcester, denounced Anne Boleyn (pp.155-7); why Lord Delaware faced a commission of inquiry and why it found there were no grounds for proceeding against him (p.189). In all these cases we can only speculate and argue backwards that because there was a given outcome the people concerned must have had certain motives. This is precarious reasoning: human motives are rarely unmixed.

A Tudor government servant was expected to be a Pooh-Bah, serving in military, diplomatic, and administrative activities as needed. He also acted as link between

10. C. Mayer and D. Bentley-Cranch, *Florimond Robertet (?-1527), Homme d'état Francais* (1994), p.12.

11. J. Morley, *The Life of William Ewart Gladstone* (3 vols., 1903) - more than 2000 pages long.

central government[12] and his own 'country'. In addition, there is evidence that Fitzwilliam acted as the King's personal 'enforcer'. We thus find him employed in several different capacities, often concurrently. A strictly chronological approach would involve hopping from one area to another, making the narrative incomprehensible. I therefore adopt a thematic approach, as follows:

Family background. What was his family background and what interests did it serve? Why was his mother significant? What can the history of his family tell us about the Yorkist and early Tudor polity? Why was Fitzwilliam admitted to the royal court as a child of honour? What did this entail? What were the implications of Fitzwilliam's marriage to Mabel Clifford? These questions are examined in Chapter 1.

Fitzwilliam as military and naval commander. What were the implications of Fitzwilliam's being a King's Spear? What were his early military and naval activities? Why was he made Vice-Admiral in 1513? How effective a naval commander was he? Does his career tell us anything of changes in ship design, the use of artillery and the development of naval strategy and tactics? (Chapter 2).

Fitzwilliam as diplomat. What inferences can be drawn about Tudor foreign policy and diplomatic practice from Fitzwilliam's activities? How far was foreign policy decided by Henry and how much by Wolsey and, later, Cromwell? What did ambassadors do? How much scope had they for individual action? How did Fitzwilliam get on with the people he met? How successful was he? (Chapter 3)

Development as government minister Fitzwilliam's career cannot be considered in isolation. His progress must be considered with that of a group of men who were closely linked by kinship and business dealings and who arose alongside him in the

12. Strictly speaking the terms 'central government', 'local government' and 'government minister' are anachronistic. However, there was clearly a distinction between the government attending the king and the governing bodies in the shires, and men like Wolsey, Cromwell, Fitzwilliam and Audley were plainly concerned with the government and administration of England as a whole. I have used these terms as shorthand expressions to avoid clumsy circumlocutions.

Royal Household and the 'privy' council. Who were Fitzwilliam's close political associates? How were they linked? What do their careers tell us about the evolution of the Privy Council and the interaction between the King's Household and the Council? What light does Fitzwilliam's own career throw on how Tudor government servants were selected and their careers developed in the Tudor court in the early 1500s? This involves examination of his secondment to Wolsey's staff in the mid-1510s, his appointment to senior Household office, the Council and the Garter in the 1520s, his election to the Reformation Parliament and his activities as minister up to his ennoblement in 1537, which makes a convenient break. Was his career a progression or a series of haphazard events? (Chapter 4)

Fitzwilliam and Calais. Apart from a short time in the early 1520s Fitzwilliam never held an official position in Calais, but he was intermittently involved in Calais affairs until his death, particularly when the Calais Act was passed in 1536 and in the religious crisis there which came to a head in 1539/40. How far do his activities in Calais tell us about conditions in Calais and its relations with the English Government? What were the implications of the Calais Act? Is it true that

> The Calais Act must be seen as part of a programme of legislation and policies employed during the 1530s to ensure that all parts of the realm were governed according to the norms in place in south eastern England?[12]

Can Calais be compared with other English 'outliers'? How significant were Fitzwilliam's links with Lord Lisle? How far do events in Calais in the later 1530s tell us about the reasons for Cromwell's fall? (Chapter 5)

Fitzwilliam and the Duchy. What problems did the Duchy face? Did Fitzwilliam deal with them effectively? Did Cromwell's 'administrative revolution' affect the Duchy? What part did Fitzwilliam play during the dissolution of the monasteries and what were his relations with the Court of Augmentations? (Chapter 6)

Fitzwilliam as Lord Admiral. What problems did Fitzwilliam face as Admiral? How successful was he in dealing with them (particularly piracy)? Was he involved in developments in the Court of Admiralty? How did he deal with subordinates at local

12. D. Grummitt, 'Calais 1485-1547: a study in early Tudor politics and government', (University of London PhD thesis, 1997), p.65.

level? Did Cromwell's 'administrative revolution' affect the Admiralty? Did Cromwell intrude on Fitzwilliam's activities as Admiral? (Chapter 7)

Fitzwilliam as enforcer. The King clearly used Fitzwilliam as personal 'enforcer'. What part did he play in Henry's divorce, in the fall of Anne Boleyn, the Pilgrimage of Grace, the Exeter Conspiracy and Catherine Howard's fall? What does this tell us about his relations with Henry and Cromwell? (Fitzwilliam's involvement within the Household in the case of Anne Boleyn is treated in Chapter 8. His role as enforcer at large in the Pilgrimage of Grace and the Exeter Conspiracy, is examined in Chapter 9. His role in the Catherine Howard case is examined in Chapter 11).

Fitzwilliam as local magnate. Fitzwilliam was a significant landowner, by inheritance, royal grant and purchase, in Surrey, Sussex and Hampshire. He was guardian of his elder brother Thomas' children, who inherited estates in Yorkshire, where he also received important royal grants and was Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. How did he operate in these shires? With whom was he associated? What do his activities tell us about power structures in these counties? Did they approximate to a norm or did the differences outweigh the similarities? How were his activities in the shires linked to his activities at the centre? (Chapter 10)

Last years. Fitzwilliam succeeded Cromwell as Privy Seal after his execution. What role did he play in Cromwell's fall? What do his activities in the years up to his death tell us about political developments at the time? What part did he play in the Catherine Howard affair? The opportunity is taken to scrutinise the generally accepted account of Catherine Howard's fall in view of its manifest inconsistencies. What was his involvement in the Scottish expedition on which he died? (Chapter 11)

Associates. Who were Fitzwilliam's closest associates, and what part did they play in Fitzwilliam's career and on the wider political scene? How important to Fitzwilliam's career were his family connections? How important were his links with the Cliffords and more distant relatives? (Chapter 12).

Conclusions. (Chapter 13).

One warning note should be sounded. There is much we can never know about how the Tudor system operated. Interviews between the King and his ministers were face to face and unminuted. We very rarely know what was said. Nobles had the right of private interviews with the King. What was said may have been critical; again, we very rarely know what passed. Noblemen like the Marquess of Dorset and the Earl of Oxford sat on the Council but we have very little knowledge of what they actually did. They may have influenced events significantly through private conversations. We do not know and can never know.

1. ANTECEDENTS AND EARLY YEARS

The Fitzwilliams of Aldwarke

To understand Fitzwilliam the courtier-politician fully, we need to understand his background and that of his family. This is the more necessary since it is generally stated that his family, the Fitzwilliams of Aldwarke, was obscure. This is untrue.

William Fitzwilliam's exact date of birth is unknown, but he was born about 1490, the third son of Sir Thomas Fitzwilliam of Aldwarke, near Rotherham, (d.1497)[1] and Lucy Neville. The Fitzwilliams of Aldwarke were a cadet branch of the Fitzwilliams of Sprotborough, prominent in the North since the Conquest. They parted from the main line toward the end of the fourteenth century, first settling at Wadworth in the West Riding of Yorkshire. The family was closely connected to the House of York. Edmund Fitzwilliam I, third son of Sir John Fitzwilliam of Sprotborough and founder of the cadet line, became steward of the Yorkshire estates of Edmund, Duke of York in 1401 and constable of Conisborough castle in 1410, retaining both offices until he died in 1430[2], and being succeeded by his son and grandson. He was seised of seven manors in South Yorkshire: Stainton, Salt-Fleteby, Castle Drayton, Skelmanthorp, Bilham, Sandall and Wadsworth).[3] A man of substance, he was arbiter in the dispute between Sir John Markham and Ralph Makerell over the division of the valuable Cressy of Hodstock (Notts) lands in 1409.[4]

His son Edmund II (d. 1465) and grandson Sir Richard (d. Sept. 1479) served Richard, Duke of York and Edward IV, both before and after he became King. Edmund II was closely connected to Maud, widow of Richard, Earl of Cambridge (executed for his part in the Southampton plot of 1415) and mother of Richard of York. She lived

1. Sir Thomas' will was made on 27 April 1497 and probate granted on 6 June 1498. He probably died in late 1497. (*Testamenta Eboracensia vol. iii,* Surtees Society, lxv (1865), p.247n).
2. *CPR 1413-6,* p.377 Edmund I was appointed to a commission *de walliis et fossatis* in parts of south Yorkshire and north Lincolnshire two years earlier (*CPR 1413-6,* p.37).
3. *Collins's Peerage of England* (ed. E. Brydges), (1812), vol 4, pp.382ff.
4. S.J. Payling, *Political Society in Lancastrian England: the Greater Gentry of Nottinghamshire* (Oxford, 1991), p.204, quoting Nottingham University Library Clifton papers D. 674.

nearby and the Duke probably wanted someone trustworthy to look after her. He took one of Maud's gentlewomen as his second wife and acted as executor to her will in 1446. Her name and date of death appears in Sir Richard's wife Elizabeth's missal, suggesting she was regarded as a benefactor to the Fitzwilliam family.[5]

After the battle of Northampton in 1460 Edmund II seized the Lancastrian artillery from Sheffield and installed it at Conisborough Castle.[6] In November 1460 Richard of York granted for life 'to his servant Richard Fitzwilliam Esquire, for his good service to his son Edward Earl of March, a yearly rent of 20 marks': this was confirmed by Edward IV in July 1461,[7] when Edmund II was appointed constable of Tickhill Castle, administrative centre of the Honour of Tickhill in the Duchy of Lancaster. By 1465, the year of his death, he was described as 'Esquire of the King's Household'. His wife Katherine may have given personal service to the House of York. In 1464 a grant was made to Katherine Fitzwilliam 'for her good service to the King's mother, duchess of York': she was to receive a deer called 'a stagge of an herte' yearly, together with 'a tun of red wine', as a boon of King Edward IV.[8]

Sir Richard (described as 'king's servant') was appointed jointly with his father to his posts in 1465 , and occupied them solely after his death that year. His son Sir Thomas was appointed jointly with him, keeping the offices after Sir Richard's death in 1479 until his own death in 1497. Sir Richard was sheriff of Yorkshire in 1465/6[9] and of

5. Maria Teresa Fortescue, *The History of Sprotborough and its owners during eight centuries,* Doncaster MBC Archives DD CROM 9/8, pp.28, 31. Mrs Fortescue relies largely on J. Hunter, *South Yorkshire: the History and Topography of the Deanery of Doncaster in the Diocese of York* (2 vols, 1828) but also uses original material, mostly unreferenced. Her work, in typescript, dates from about 1918. Elizabeth Fitzwilliam's missal is in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.
6. P.A. Johnson, *Duke Richard of York 1411-1460* (Oxford, 1988), p.223, quoting NA, DL 29/8899/560.
7. *CPR 1461-57,* p.46.
8. *CPR* 1461-67, p.335. Edmund II's wife is the only Catherine Fitzwilliam whose dates fit. She died in 1489, probably aged about 80.
9. PRO: *Lists and indexes no ix: List of sheriffs for England and Wales.*

Lincolnshire in 1468/9.[10] In 1470 he was granted a pardon 'because he has lost a great part of the profits of his office through the insurrection of divers lieges of the king in the said county of Lincoln and has paid £80 from the issues of his bailiwick for his own proffers into the Exchequer, and because of his great expense in attending on the king's person with 100 persons, of all offences committed by him and all debts, views of accounts, fines and sums of money due to the king'.[11] This probably refers to the part Sir Richard played against the rebellion by 'Robin of Redesdale' in 1469, to which Lincolnshire sent many men, though there seems to have been little activity in the shire itself. However, he may have taken part against Lord Welles's Lincolnshire rebellion and been reimbursed from money he was holding after he had ceased to be sheriff. Accounts of what was happening then are, as Charles Ross shows, very confused. [12]

Both Edmunds and Sir Richard were commissioners of array and justices of the peace in the West Riding [13]: the Fitzwilliams were now one of its leading families[14]. Sir Richard was a King's knight by 25 January 1470[15], attached to the King by indenture of retainer - an indication of local influence and authority,[16] In 1475 the number of JPs in the West Riding was reduced from 23 to 16. The two household knights on the bench, Sir Richard and Sir John Pilkington were the only knights to keep their places.[17]

10. Sir Richard's second son, Edward, founded the Lincs. family of Fitzwilliams of Clixby. (Harleian Soc, *Lincolnshire Pedigrees,* 1902). Sir Richard probably settled his Lincs. lands on him. Sir Richard had four other sons including the ancestors of the Fitzwilliams of Claworth (Notts) and of Kingsley (Hants). (*Collins's Peerage,* iv, p.382).
11. *CPR 1467-77,* p.185.
12. C. Ross, *Edward IV* (1974), pp.119-41, 439-42.
13. *CPR 1416-22,* p.463; *1422-9,* p.573; *1441-6,* p.482; *1446-52,* p.598 *1452-61,* p.683; *1467-77,* p.185.
14. *CPR 1467-77,* pp.199, 349, 408, 577; *1477-85,* pp.112, 214, 269, 580.
15. *CPR 1467-77,* p185
16. Helen Castor, *The King, the Crown, and the Duchy of Lancaster: Public Authority and Private Power 1399-1461* (Oxford, 2000), p.8.
17. Carol Arnold, 'The Commission of the Peace for the West Riding of Yorkshire, 1437-1509' in A.J. Pollard (ed), *Property and Politics: Essays in later mediaeval English history* (Gloucester, 1984), p.125.

Sir Richard made an advantageous marriage to the heiress Elizabeth Clarell of Aldwarke, which became the family's main residence. She was closely connected to the Lords Scrope of both lines, and descended from the Comyn Earls of Buchan, the Strabolgi Earls of Atholl and the Lords Ferrers of Groby.[18] The wills (in Latin) of both Sir Richard and Elizabeth survive.[19] They show contrasting testamentary styles.

Sir Richard's will is terse, almost telegraphic. After gifts to local churchmen and ecclesiastical bodies and to his wife, he was concerned with the disposal of his bloodstock to his sons: each in order of age was to make his choice of a mare and foal. The two youngest[20] were bequeathed small estates which were to revert to the family estate on their death. The horses were disposed of before the real property - perhaps a sign that it really was a deathbed will. Provision is also made for his daughters.

The opening of Elizabeth's will displays Latinity which would grace an archbishop. We see the hand of Humphrey Fitzwilliam, one of her younger sons and so Fitzwilliam's uncle. He was executor, described as *'sacrae Theologiae professor'*.[21] (This suggests an intellectual streak in the Fitzwilliam family.) The will continues for over three pages, the principal beneficiary being her eldest grandson Thomas, who fell at Flodden. The amount of plate, costly clothing, hangings, furniture and money bequeathed shows that the old lady (she was nearly eighty) was a rich woman living in a luxurious household, attended by many servants to whom she made generous legacies. It shows the Fitz-williams of Aldwarke were a wealthy family and that in this part of Yorkshire they had a very comfortable standard of living.

18. http://www.homepages.rootsweb.com
19. *Testamenta Eboracensia*, vol. iii, Surtees Society, xlv (1865) p.246, liii (1869) p.209.
20. Sir Richard probably left his Lincolnshire lands to his second son, Edward.
21. Humphrey, Sir Richard's sixth son, took his BA in 1482-3, his BD in 1489-90 and his DD in 1501. He was ordained priest in 1486. In 1502, when Dame Elizabeth's will was made, he was Fellow of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge and Vice-Chancellor of the University; he became prebendary of York in 1501. He died the following year. (*Testamenta Eboracensia vol. iii,* p.248. J.A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigenses* (Cambridge, 1921), Pt 1, vol. II, p.146.) We do not know if he had personal links with William.

There are signs of an early link between the Fitzwilliams and the coal industry. In 1370 Sir John Fitzwilliam (Edmund I's father) granted a coalpit beneath his land at Cortworth to Thomas Tay and his partners.[22] In 1388 John Paldeyn of Rotherham granted Edmund I the mine beneath 2 acres of land in what is now Nether Haugh.[23]

William's father: Sir Thomas Fitzwilliam

Sir Thomas continued the family's service to the Yorkist kings: as 'King's servant' he became keeper of Conisborough park in 1481, serving on several county commissions. He was knighted by Richard of Gloucester on his expedition to Scotland in 1482. Under Richard III he remained constable of Tickhill, served as JP and commissioner of array in the West Riding, and was granted the manor of Kenwick in Norfolk.[24]

Despite the family's tradition of Yorkist service, there is no record of him taking part in the Battle of Bosworth, and he made a seamless transition to service to Henry VII. He retained his royal and Duchy offices, being confirmed as constable of Tickhill castle in 1487, and being appointed Steward of Doncaster.[25] In 1489 he was promoted to the *quorum* of the West Riding bench, having been appointed to the commission shortly after his father's death.[26] He was the only knight to serve on the bench both in the latter part of Richard III's reign and after Henry VII's accession.[27] He served several times as feoffee to uses for other county families and as arbitrator in disputes within the county - further evidence of a responsible position.[28]

Between 1484 and 1487 he married Lucy Neville, daughter and co-heiress of John

22. T.W. Hall, *A Descriptive catalogue of Sheffield Manorial Records from the 8th year of Richard II to the Restoration* (Sheffield, 1926), vol. ii, p.203.
23. Hall, *Sheffield Manorial Records,* vol. ii, p.205.
24. *CPR 1476-85,* p.487. Kenwick was part of the Montague inheritance and was later passed back to the Montague heiresses.
25. *CPR 1485-94*, p.238.
26. Arnold, 'Commission of the Peace', p.130.
27. Arnold, 'Commission of the Peace', p.125.
28. *CCR Hen VII* vol. I, 63, 85, 228. See also T. Stapleton (ed), *The Plumpton Correspondence* (revised edition, Gloucester 1990), pp.lxxi, lxxxi.

Neville, Marquis of Montague and niece of Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick (both d. 1471). Either Richard III or Henry VII may have arranged the marriage: Richard is perhaps more likely.[29] Lucy's Neville connections included the Earl of Westmoreland and Lords Latimer and Abergavenny and, more distantly, the Lords Scrope, the Earl of Arundel, the Earl of Derby and the Marquess of Berkeley. Her marrying Sir Thomas shows his high status: medieval society frowned on the disparagement of heiresses.

In 1487 both Lords Scrope took part in the Lambert Simnel rebellion, unsuccessfully attacking York. After Simnel's defeat at Stoke, Thomas, Lord Scrope of Masham was bound in the sum of £3000 not to leave Wallingford castle or any other place assigned to him without the King's permission. He had to provide mainpernors[30] for £2000 each: Sir James Strangeways (his brother-in-law); Sir Thomas Fitzwilliam and Sir John Huddleston. (Bailors are chosen by the accused, mainpernors by the prosecution: being required to be a mainpernor carried some implication of being an accessory.) The link between Scrope, Fitzwilliam and Huddleston is of interest: Lord Scrope of Masham was married to Elizabeth Neville, second daughter of Montague; Sir Thomas Fitzwilliam married Lucy Neville, fourth daughter of Montague; Sir John Huddleston's third son, Sir William, married Isabel Neville, fifth daughter of Montague.[31] (Also, his eldest son Richard was married to Margaret Neville, bastard daughter of Montague's brother Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick).[32] That Scrope and two of his mainpernors were linked by marriage to Montague is hardly coincidence. Fitzwilliam is not known to have taken part in the Simnel rebellion (the Huddlestons did not[33]), but the Neville women may have been suspect on grounds now unknown. Both Scropes were

29. M.A. Hicks, *Richard III and his Rivals: Magnates and their Motives in the Wars of the Roses* (1991), p.273n.
30. For mainprise and mainpernors see *Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England. Book the Third, Chapter the Eighth.*
31. http://www.richard111.com./house_of_york.htm
32. A.J. Pollard, *North-eastern England during the Wars of the Roses: Society, War and Politics 1450-1500* (Oxford, 1990), p.130.
33. C. Richmond, '1485 and all that, or what was going on at the Battle of Bosworth?' in P.W. Hammond (ed), *Richard III: Loyalty, Lordship and Law* (1986) p.179.

pardoned by 1489 and their bonds (and their mainpernors') discharged.

On 31 October 1494 Sir Thomas attended Henry VII's second son Henry's installation as Duke of York[34] - a glittering occasion attended by all members of the political establishment. Presumably any suspicions about his loyalty were now removed.

Besides his Duchy offices Thomas was seised at his death in 1497/8 of substantial property, mostly round Doncaster and Rotherham. It ultimately passed to his grandson William, son of his eldest son Thomas, its extent being shown in the following table:

Table 1A: Lands held by William Fitzwilliam on his death in 1515. [35]

Yorkshire, West Riding	Aldwarke
	Aldwick on Dearne
	Birtby
	Fairburn
	Haldenby
	Hesley Hall
	Holynhall
	Hoyland Swaine
	Lounby
	Micklefield
	Milford
	Peniston
	Shelman Thorpe (Skelmanthorpe)
	Steeton
	Thorpe Hesley
Yorkshire, East Riding	Dalton
	Newton on Derwent
Nottinghamshire	Kellom
Lincolnshire	Ulceby
Hertfordshire	De la Haye

34. J. Gairdner (ed), *Letters and Papers illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII* (1861), pp.388-404.

35. Hunter, *South Yorkshire,* vol ii, p.55. Hunter should be used with caution. Though his work contains a wealth of information, his references are usually insufficient and his statements are sometimes at variance with other sources. I have been unable to identify Holynhall, Lounby and Birtby in Yorkshire, nor De la Haye in Hertfordshire.

Sir Thomas also leased property. In 1483 he is listed in the Doncaster records as holding the rentals of Balby, Exthorpe and Warmsworth with [outlying] members at a yearly rental of £8 10s.[36] He may have maintained the family's connections with the early coal mining industry: of his manors there are records of early coal extraction at Aldwicke on Deane, Aldwark, Fairburn, Haldenby, Hoyland Swaine, Micklefield, Peniston, Thorpe Hesley and Warmsworth.[37]

Fitzwilliam's family had established relations with prominent West Riding families in previous generations. His paternal grandmother was the daughter of Thomas Clarell of Aldwarke, who had married Elizabeth Scrope. By three of his aunts Fitzwilliam was also connected to the Wakerleys, the Reresbys and the Wentworths.[38] Through his mother he had links not only with the Neville family but also with the Parr family, which was powerful in Westmoreland and northwest Yorkshire.[39]

William's mother: Lucy Neville

Lucy and her four sisters were co-heiresses of John Neville, Marquess Montague, brother of the Earl of Warwick.[40] Montague fell at the Battle of Barnet. His son George was treated as if Montague had been attainted.[41] He died in 1483: no inquisition *post mortem (IPM)* was held on his lands. A series of *IPMs* were held in 1486: *IPMs* taken on the death of Isabel, Marchioness Montague and her sister Joan were reviewed at the same time. The results are shown in the following table:

36. A. Brent, (ed), *Doncaster Borough Courtier* (Doncaster, 1994), vol. I p43.
37. J. Benson, and R.G. Neville, *Studies in the Yorkshire Coal Industry* (Manchester, 1976), pp.10, 81; Somerville, p.309 n.7.
38. Harleian Soc., *Visitation of Yorkshire in the years 1563 and 1564* (1881), p.128
39. Catherine Parr's grandfather, Sir William Parr, married Elizabeth Fitzhugh, whose mother was Alice Neville, sister of the Earl of Warwick and Lucy Neville's aunt. (A. Martiensson, *Queen Katherine Parr,* (Pb. ed., 1975), p.25)
40. For John Neville and his son George, Duke of Bedford see Ross, C., *Edward IV, (*1974), c.7; Hicks, M.A., 'What might have been: George Neville, Duke of Bedford 1465-83: His Identity and Significance', *in Richard III and his Rivals*, pp.291ff.
41. *CPR 1467-77* p.486.

Table 1B: The Neville Inheritance [42]

IPM NO.	COUNTY	MANOR	HELD OF	VALUE	SHIRE TOTAL
161	Northumberland	Seton de la Vale	Prior of Tynemouth	£20	
		Bedelsden			
		Horsley			
		Halowel & Hertley	King	£2	
		Neweson & Belewell	J. Heron	£10	£32
210	Norfolk	Ingoldsthorpe in St Mary			
		Reynham	King	£5 18s 4d	
		Ingaldesthorp	Duchy of Lancaster	£7 5s 8d	
		Belacyes	Prior of Lewes	£9 17s 8d	
		Wymbottysham	Earl of Arundel	£10	
		Kenwick	Prior of Lewes	£30	£63 1s 8d
212	Middlesex	Annuity of 500 marks	King	£333 6s 8d	£333 6s 8d
213	Gloucestershire	Bradeston			
		Stinchcombe			
		Melksham			
		Pyers Court			
		Rougherdecote	Wiiliam, Lord Berkeley	£22	£22
215	Nottinghamshire	Watton	King	£13 13s 4d	
217	Hampshire	Eversley	Abbot of Westminster	£6 6s 8d	
		Estney and Efford	King	£13 13s 4d	£20
219	Hertfordshire	Shenley	Queen	£6 6s 8d	£6 6s 8d
220	Yorkshire	Barnhill	Rogrer Lutton	£2	
		Cudworth	Thomas Fitzwilliam	£6 6s 8d	
		Various other properties		£9 8s	£17 14s 8d
222	Yorkshire	Various properties	Robert Morley	£3	£3
241	Somerset	Knowle & Gothull	?	£6 6s 8d	£6 6s 8d
1085	Cambridgeshire	Burghall	Earl of Oxford	£13 13s	
		Sawston	King	£20	
		Durnsford	King	£16	
		Trumpington	William Vaux	£20	
		Various other properties		£16	£85 13s
1087	Essex	Over Hall by Berklow	King	£3 10s 4d	
		Little Hockley	King	£7 9s 4d	
		Alveley	King	£16	£26 19s 8d
1088	Suffolk	Leyham	Lewis Peron	£3	
1130	Surrey	Half Shalford and half			
		Park of Alfold	Duke of Buckingham	£20	£20
			GRAND TOTAL		£666 19s

Lucy's share comprised the manors of Eversley, Estney and Efford in Hampshire[43], half the manor of Shalford Bredeston and the park of Alfold in Surrey[44], the manors of Over Hall beside Berklowe, Little Hockley and Alveley in Essex and the manor of Shenley in Hertfordshire (jointly with her sister Margaret). The total value established

42 The table shows major holdings held by John Neville, Marquis Montague, Isabel his wife and her sister Joan Ingoldthorpe to which his five daughters were co-heirs. The results of the *IPMs* are in *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem 1485-1509* (3 vols, 1898-1955) vol I.

43. *VCH Hampshire,* iv, pp.32, 604; v, pp.81, 82, 116.

44. *VCH Surrey,* iii 107.

by the 1486 *IPMs* was £53 6s 4d p.a. She also held an annuity of 100 marks (£66 13s 4d) from the Crown[45], making a total of about £120 p.a.[46] Hunter[47] states the Montagu inheritance was finally partitioned in 1502, over 30 years after the Marquess's death. His list of Lucy's share differs from the above, omitting Shenley, Herts, a moiety of which was part of Lucy's portion, and including Brereway, Cambs, which was part of Elizabeth, Lady Scrope's portion.

Lucy had six children by her first marriage and five by her second. By her first she had three sons who survived infancy, Thomas and John (both killed at Flodden in 1513)[48], and William. Thomas' two daughters, who were Fitzwilliam's wards, married the two sons of Sir Godfrey Foljambe (see p.248).[49]

Lucy's daughter Margaret, married William Gascoigne (born 1504?)[50] - son of a bully who terrorised his neighbours and faced at least eight suits in Star Chamber: 'The Star Chamber evidence against Sir William Gascoigne mostly shows him in conflict with

45. The annuity of 500 marks was granted by the Crown in 1339 to Thomas de Bradeston until he or his heirs received in fee an equivalent of land or rent (*CPR 1338-40,* p.395). By a 1530 Act of Parliament (22 Hen. VIII, c21), Lucy was granted: the dissolved abbey of Bayham in the Sussex part of Lamberhurst, and its manors of Bayham and Lewis Heath (in Kent); and the dissolved priory of Calceto (Arundel), with its manors of Calceto, Selham and Bourne or Westbrook (in Westbourne). Wolsey dissolved Bayham and Calceto in 1526. (See M.J. Kitch 'The Reformation in Sussex', in M.J. Kitch (ed), *Studies in Sussex Church History* (Oxford, 1981), p.90). Lucy left them to Fitzwilliam and his brother, with remainder to the survivor.
46. *IPM* values were conservative, reflecting fixed rather than variable income. Lucy's total income may have approached £200 p.a., though it may have diminished before 1487, when the lands were administered by several different people.
47. Hunter, *South Yorkshire,* vol. ii, p55, (no reference). I cannot identify two properties in Wilts.
48. For John's death at Flodden see J. Leland, (ed. C. Toulmin Smith), *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1535-43* (5 vols, 1906-8). Parts vii-viii, p.128.) and *Collins's Peerage*, iv, p.383.
49. NA, C1/1218/11-13.
50. The Gascoignes were unusual in the West Riding as their links were with the Percies, not the Nevilles or the House of York. For parliamentary representation see J.C. Wedgwood (ed), *History of Parliament. Biographies of the Members of the Commons House 1439-1509* (1936), *s.n.* Gascoigne).

lesser men, who crossed his path at their peril'.[51] In spite (or because?) of this a Gascoigne almost always held one of the Yorkshire county seats from 1450 to 1550. Lucy may have had another daughter, Elizabeth, who married successively Sir William (or Thomas) Mauleverer and Sir Nicholas Hervey.[52]

After Sir Thomas's death Lucy married Sir Anthony Browne (d.1506). He had been made Standard Bearer of England, Esquire of the Body and Governor of Queenborough Castle in Kent after Bosworth and was knighted in 1486. He was appointed Constable of the Castle of Calais in 1503.

The Brownes were accused of disloyalty in a report to the King by John Flamank,[53] whose elder brother Thomas, a lawyer, was a leader of the Cornish rebellion in 1487 and executed after the Battle of Blackheath. He was son-in-law of Sir Richard Nanfan, a trusted Tudor servant who had served on an embassy to Spain and as Sheriff of Cornwall. When Nanfan became deputy of Calais he took Flamank with him on his staff.[54] Flamank reported on a conversation between Sir Richard Nanfan, Sir Hugh Conway, treasurer, Sir Sampson Norton, master porter. Sir Hugh said that when Henry VII lay sick at Wanstead some great personages discussed what might happen if he died. The Duke of Buckingham and Edmund de la Pole were mentioned but not the Prince of Wales. Sir Hugh mentioned this to Sir Nicholas Vaux, lieutenant of Guines and to Sir Anthony Browne, lieutenant of Calais castle: both said they had 'good holds to resort to' by which they were sure to make their peace 'howsoever the world might turn'. Nanfan and Norton wanted these matters reported to the King, but Sir Hugh

51. R.B. Smith, *Land and Politics in the England of Henry VIII: the West Riding of Yorkshire 1530-46,* (Oxford 1979), p.145.

52. *Collins's Peerage*, iv, pp.382-3.

53. J. Gairdner (ed), *Letters and Papers illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VIII* (1861), pp.231-40. For dating see S.B. Chrimes, *Henry VII* (1972), pp.308n.

54. S.T. Bindoff (ed), *HP s.n.*. John Flamank. See also A.L. Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall: Portrait of a Society* (1941), p.118. I have also consulted the Flamank family website http://www3.bc.sympatico.ca/Flamank/earlydays.htm, p.1. Identification of John Flamank with a mayor of Southampton (Chrimes, *Henry VII*, p.308n) is now thought incorrect.

refused, saying the King was not interested in unsubstantiated reports arising from envy and malice. Lucy's name then came up. She was reported as one 'who loveth not the King's grace' who might admit her kinsman Edmund de la Pole through a postern.

Vaux's mother attended Margaret of Anjou during her imprisonment in the Tower, and went with her into exile; he fought for Henry VII at Stoke. He was ennobled in 1523 after a lifetime of service to the Tudors.[55] He was unlikely to respond to Yorkist overtures. There is no evidence Sir Anthony Browne was disloyal. As we have seen, Lucy may have been suspect in the early years of Henry VII's reign. But she was not ill-treated, and if she were to resent treatment by a royal family it would be the House of York: Edward IV and Richard of Gloucester despoiled her father's estates after his death at the Battle of Barnet and effectively made her brother George a non-person.[56]

Flamank's motivation is unclear. His report may have originated with the Yorkists as disinformation designed to create distrust of the Calais establishment, but this seems unlikely. Or, as brother of a leading Cornish rebel, he may have wanted to ingratiate himself with the government. Or his motives may have been purely personal and now unknown. The government took no action.

By her second marriage Lucy had Sir Anthony Browne junior, later Henry VIII's Master of the Horse, and Elizabeth, who became Countess of Worcester on the succession of her husband Henry Somerset, second Earl of Worcester in 1526. In 1507 another daughter, Lucy junior, was adopted as her heir by her childless aunt Elizabeth, Lady Scrope of Masham, provided Lucy agreed to the match Elizabeth arranged for her, the son of Sir John Cutt, Receiver to the Duchy, Sir Thomas More's predecessor as Under-Treasurer and a hate figure to Perkin Warbeck's rebels in 1497. (Both prospective spouses were hardly more than infants). These arrangements show the sisters working together in the family interest. Also, as Professor Harris writes,

55. G. Anstruther, O.P., *Vaux of Harrowden, A Recusant Family* (Newport, 1953), pp.5-17.

56 See n.41 above.

'Since Lucy had two brothers, neither of whom were mentioned in Lady Scrope's will at all, Lady Scrope's arrangements clearly indicated her preference for promoting a female over two males who stood in the same relationship to her'.[57] By her marriage to the younger Cutt Lucy junior had one son, a third John Cutt, who became Fitzwilliam's ward after his father's death in about 1529. (He was evidently fond of the boy, who accompanied him to meet Anne of Cleves at Calais.) She then married Thomas Clifford, brother of the 1st Earl of Cumberland, and Captain of Berwick. By him she had a daughter Elizabeth. She died in 1557. [58]

Little is known of Lucy's last son Henry:[59] he was feoffee in some of Fitzwilliam's property dealings in Sussex in 1530 and 1532.[60] Neither he nor Lucy junior appear in their mother's will. Lucy was not mother of the Anne Browne who married Charles Brandon, later Duke of Suffolk.[61] Anne was Browne's daughter by his first wife Eleanor Oughtred, whom he married in 1488.

Lucy died in 1534 aged about sixty-six. Apart from her own estates she enjoyed dowers from both her husbands[62], substantial men by the standards of the time. As a *feme sole,* she was one of the wealthiest women in England after the Countess of Salisbury. She almost certainly gave financial support to her sons in their various enterprises, but this is difficult to prove conclusively.

57. Barbara J. Harris, *English Aristocratic Women 1450-1550,* (Oxford, 2002), p.191. Lucy junior had at least four brothers living in 1507. Professor Harris ignores Thomas and John Fitzwilliam, who died at Flodden in 1513; Henry was born by 1507 as his father died in 1506.
58. J.W. Clay, 'The Clifford Family', *YAJ.* xviii, (1905), p.374.
59. http://www.genroy.free/stl9.htmtl .
60. ESRO: *Archive of the Gage family of Firle,* SAS/G1/9, SAS/ G4/7/(3), SAS/G4/10, SAS/G4/11, SAS/G4/38 and SAS/G12/4. Henry is described as both 'gent.' and 'esquire'.
61. That Anne was Lucy's daughter is asserted by *CP* vol vii, p.309,W.C. Richardson, *The White Queen* (1970), pp.163-4 and Alison Plowden, *Lady Jane Grey and the house of Suffolk* (1985), pp.5-6. S.J. Gunn, *Charles Brandon,* (Oxford, 1988) p.28, and Maria Perry, *Sisters to the King* (1998), p.84 do not refer to Anne's mother, but call Margaret Mortimer her aunt.
62. In his will of 27 April 1497 Sir Thomas desired his feoffees to make his wife Lucy an estate of 40 marks (£26 13s 4d) per annum. (*Testamenta Eboracensia vol. iii,* p.247).

Fitzwilliam's early years and upbringing

Nothing is known of Fitzwilliam's upbringing up to the age of ten. His early instruction may have come from a family chaplain. Most members of the knightly class had one, and on 29 March 1510 a license was issued on behalf of the Archbishop of York providing that 'the sacrament of the Eucharist may be administered within the manor of Aldwark'.[63] This was almost certainly renewal of an existing license necessitated by the death of Sir Thomas Fitzwilliam.

Fitzwilliam inherited no estates. When his brother Thomas died the family lands went to his son William and on his death in 1518 to his two daughters. Fitzwilliam had their wardship.[64] Lucy or Sir Anthony Browne senior probably secured his entry to court as a 'child of honour' or henchman, though her Neville background makes it possible he was hostage for her good behaviour. Fitzwilliam was about a year older than Henry, (born in 1591). Other henchmen included: Charles Brandon (b 1484?) Edward Neville (b 1485?), Thomas Cheyney (b 1485?), John St John, Margaret Beaufort's great-nephew (b 1495?), Henry Courtenay, later Marquess of Exeter (b 1497?), and Henry Clifford, later Earl of Cumberland (b1493). We shall meet many of these again.

Chosen for good looks and deportment, henchmen acted as pages and rode or walked beside the King in procession. In return for these unexacting duties they were educated to fit them for posts in the royal household. 'The upbringing of the fighting man cum courtier cum ambassador of Tudor days was perhaps more vocational training than liberal education'.[65] Versatility was preferred to specific skills. Their formation was outlined in *The Black Book of the Household of Edward IV*: the Master of the Henchmen was to show them:

63. Hunter, *South Yorkshire,* vol. ii, pp.57-58.

64. NA, C66/626, (*LP,* ii 1391), (7 Jan. 1516).

65. Brock, 'The courtier in early Tudor Society', p.336. The rise of the soldier/diplomat/ administrator started under Edward IV with men like Sir John Howard, Sir John Scott, Sir William Parr, Sir Thomas Montgomery, Sir John Elrington, John Sturgeon and Sir Robert Wingfield (Ross, *Edward IV,* pp.324-6; D.A.L. Morgan, 'The house of policy: the political role of the late Plantagenet household, 1422-1585, in D. Starkey, (ed), *The English Court from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War* (1987), pp.58-62).

> the scoolez of vrbanitie and nourture of Inglond, to draw them also to justes, to lerne hem were theyre harneys; to haue all curtesy in wordes, dedes and degrees, diligently to kepe them in rules of goynges and sittinges, after they be of honour. Moreouer, to teche them sondry languages and other lernynges virtuous, to herping, to pype, singe, daunce and with other honest and temperate behaving and patience.[66]

They were to be taught [Latin] grammar by a

> Mastyr of gramer, quem necessarium est poetica atque in regulis positionis gramatice expeditum fore quibus audient animos cum diligentia instruet ac informet.[67]

The aim was not mastery of classical Latin but familiarity with the Latin of accounting and administration. Fitzwilliam was also thoroughly trained in accounting: we later find him auditing the books of the Tower wardrobe (chapter 4) and Portsmouth dockyard (see pp.92-3), entering into negotiations with senior French ministers on the very technical question of the money owed to Henry by the French crown (pp.54-5), and checking the financial provisions for Henry's proposed invasion of Normandy (p.64).

A clue to how close Fitzwilliam was to Henry at the time is given in a letter written to Henry from France in 1521. On being complimented on his knowledge of hunting, he said Henry himself had been his teacher 'as it was indeed, for since I was ten years of age I have ever been with your grace'.[68] This implies early intimacy. As the two were much of an age he may have shared Henry's education under John Skelton, John Holt and William Hone, or his French lessons under Giles Dewes. [69]

66. A.R. Myers, *The Household of Edward IV: the Black Book and the Ordinance of 1478* (Manchester, 1959), pp.126-7. *The Black Book* draws on earlier ordinances, e.g. those (now lost) of Edward III, but probably not, as it claims, those of Harthacnut, Cassivellaunus and Solomon (but for Solomon see *I Kings* 4.1-6). N. Orme, (*From Childhood to chivalry: the education of the English kings and aristocracy, 1066-1530* (1984), p.49), Ross (*Edward IV,* p.260) and S. Anglo, (*Spectacle, Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy,* (Oxford, 1969), p.104) see Burgundian influence.

67. Myers, *The Household of Edward IV,* pp.137-8.

68. NA, C66/624, (*LP,* iii (1) 1160). (SB)

69. For Skelton, Holt, Hone and Dewes see D.R. Carlton, 'Royal Tutors in the Reign of Henry VII, *SCJ,* xxii, (1991) , pp.253ff.

Fitzwilliam's marriage

1513 can be regarded as the year that Fitzwilliam's 'early years' ended. In that year he came to notice in the Brest and Tournai campaigns, was knighted and was appointed vice-admiral. (see pp.27, 32). It was also the year that he married Mabel Clifford.

Mabel was the daughter of the 10th Lord Clifford and sister of Henry Clifford, the 11th Lord and later 1st Earl of Cumberland.[70] Marriage at this level was no private matter: it was an important step in Fitzwilliam's political career. Mabel is first referred to as one of Margaret Beaufort's gentlewomen at Henry VIII's coronation.[71] After Margaret's death she became one of Catherine of Aragon's ladies, being referred to as 'one of the queen's gentlewomen' in a warrant to deliver her a crimson velvet gown in 1511.[72] 'The court was meant to serve [the Queen's ladies] both as finishing-school and marriage-market for it was hoped that they would acquire in the Queen's household polished manners of a sort that would attract eligible suitors.'[73] Like Fitzwilliam, Mabel was distantly linked to the royal family. Her mother, Anne St John, Margaret Beaufort's step-niece, was Henry VII's cousin. The marriage, which Henry attended, was in his intimate circle and on the fringe of the royal family. He probably had a hand in arranging it. It is likely that he two already knew each other, which was not always the case. They had no children.[74]

In summer 1535 Mabel was very ill. She recovered but had a relapse. Fitzwilliam wrote

70. NA, E36/215, (LP ii p1462). Henry made an offering of 6s 8d at the nuptial mass.
71. NA, LC2/1 f^os^ 81-144, *(LP* i (1) 20, pp.11,13). At Margaret Beaufort's funeral she is recorded as a knight's wife (NA, LC9/50 f^os^ 148ff, (*LP* i (1) 82, pp.38, 41)), but she is not known to have married anyone before Fitzwilliam.
72. NA, C66/621, (*LP* I (1) 2055, g131). Anne Somerset, (*Ladies in Waiting,* (pb ed., 2005), pp. 13-14) errs in saying she got this as a chamberer - a lesser post occupied by untitled ladies).
73. Anne Somerset, *Ladies in Waiting,* p.13.
74. Lady Anne Clifford, in 'A summary of the lives of the Vetereponts Cliffords etc', written in the next century, mentions two sons of Fitzwilliam who reached adulthood but died without heirs. Nobody else refers to them. She may refer to Fitzwilliam's elder brothers killed at Flodden, though the elder left an heir. See A.G. Dickens, *Clifford Letters of the Sixteenth Century* , Surtees Soc., clvii (1957), p.131.

to Cromwell: 'The physicians say her liver is corrupted, and she is in great danger. Whatever it shall please God to do with her I shall submit, and not fail to serve the King.'[75] Fitzwilliam expected to lose a wife he was clearly devoted to. However, Mabel recovered and outlived her husband, eventually dying in 1551.[76]

Summary

At the time of Bosworth the Fitzwilliams of Aldwarke were prominent in the West Riding. The family heads gained substantial rewards serving the House of York, in grants of land, and in remunerative posts on York estates and in the Duchy of Lancaster. It was the only family whose head sat on the county Bench continually from the middle of the fifteenth century. That its head was a King's knight from about 1470 is a measure of its position, unaffected by Henry VII's accession, and achieved in the difficult conditions of the fifteenth century by a succession of tough and able family heads.

The family's position was enhanced by advantageous marriages, especially those of Sir Richard to Elizabeth Clarell and of Sir Thomas to Lucy Neville. Lucy's links with the peerage, and her marriage after Sir Thomas's death to Sir Anthony Browne, a prominent courtier, gave William Fitzwilliam connections to important people. His education as child of honour was designed to fit him for later service to the King, and his personal standing was further reinforced by his marriage to Mabel Clifford.

The Fitzwilliam family were of the higher gentry. They intermarried with the nobility and even connections of the royal family: Fitzwilliam himself had royal blood and was connected through his mother and his wife with most noble magnate families extant at the beginning of Henry VIII's reign. Probably numbering three to five hundred, higher gentry families dominated county benches and provided successive kings with their household staff - a sound basis for a political career at national or regional level.

75 NA, SP1/95 f^{os} 6,7, *(LP* ix 4), (4 Aug. 1535).

76. *Machyn's Diary,* 2. She was buried at Farnham on 1 September 1550.

2. FITZWILLIAM'S EARLY MILITARY AND NAVAL CAREER

Henry's courtiers had to take up arms when called on. Here Fitzwilliam's early naval career is examined, prefaced by an outline of his military service up to the 1520s.

A. MILITARY CAREER

Fitzwilliam became a King's Spear early in Henry VIII's reign. The King's Spears were set up under Henry VII, being recruited from men of noble blood. Wolsey abolished them in 1515 as an economy measure. Each was to be fully equipped and armed, with two mounts each for himself, groom and page, and be on permanent call. They mustered quarterly, swore an oath to the King and were to be retained by nobody else without his leave. They must reveal anything hurtful to him, especially treason, and not leave Court without leave for more than four days.[1] They were the King's Household in military mode, being 'designed to provide the king with a retinue of gentlemen soldiers in peacetime, to add more lustre than the plebeian yeomen could provide, and in wartime to supply junior leaders by land and by sea'.[2] Many, including Fitzwilliam, took part in Court tournaments.[3] As he was apparently short (see pp.108, 217) he probably had little success at the lists as the prizes went to big men like Henry and Charles Brandon, but he deserves credit for trying.

Fitzwilliam took part in the second Marquess of Dorset's abortive invasion of Guienne, being appointed to go to serve the King by land with 20 men.[4] He was based at Fuentarrabia, which he evidently knew well.[5] He led a party into Spain to round up deserters, with little success.[6] He served at Tournai in 1513, leading a company of the King's

1. BL, Cotton. MS. Titus A xiii f° 186, (*LP* i (1) 675), [H. Kearsley, *His Majesty's Bodyguard of the Honourable Corps of Gentlemen-at-Arms* (1937), App I, pp.73-5]. 'Spear' or 'lance' is defined by the *OED* as 'a man-at arms with his attendant retinue'.
2. Brock, 'The courtier in early Tudor Society', p.43.
3. NA, E36/229, f^os^ 87-90, (*LP* ii p.1507), (May 1516); p.1510, (7 July 1517).
4. NA, SP1/229, f° 48, *(LP* i (1) 1176), assigned by the editors of *LP* to May 1512. For a meticulous and elegant account of the expedition see J-C. Santoyo, 'De Cronicas y tempos Britanicos: Historia de una expedicion militar inglesa en Guipuzcoa', *Boletin de Estudios Historicos sobre San Sebastian,* 8 (1974).
5. BL, Cotton MS. Calig. D. viii f° 107, (*LP* iii(2) 1662), (11 Oct. 1521).
6. NA, SP1/3, f^os^ 108-112, (*LP* i 1495), (4 Dec. 1512). Santoyo, 'De Cronicos', pp.42-3.

guard under the fourth Earl of Shrewsbury, who led the vanguard[7]. He was knighted on 25 September for valour at the siege, for what specific exploits we do not know.[8]

Captain of Guines

In May 1524 Fitzwilliam became captain of Guines and joint master of the ordnance at Calais, staying till the spring of 1525.

> 'A large number of Englishmen, including a high proportion of the political elite of southern England, served at some point in Calais. From the 1470s ... the garrison had close links to the royal household, and these links continued to insure that important members of the English political and military elite had first-hand experience of England's French possessions.'[9]

Guines was vital to the defence of Calais, but was also important as a listening post and as a channel for diplomatic feelers.

Military operations

Fitzwilliam's reports show much of his time was spent in 'courses' (skirmishes) against the French to keep them off balance and stop them building up an attack threatening Calais itself.[10] He liaised with the Burgundian commander, de Fynes, though the Flemish troops were of poor quality.[11] He led a force against 'Samer de Boys' and another against the fortress of Hardingham, abandoning it at the approach of a large French army. Neither was a major engagement, but they show Fitzwilliam leading a small land force and, according to Hall, showing enterprise.[12] A glimpse from the other side is given by Odart du Biez, commander at Boulogne. He wrote that Fitzwilliam

7. College of Arms MSS, L series, 12b f^{os} 18-24 (*LP* i 2053).
8. BL, Harl. MS 6069 f° 112 (*LP* i (2) 4468), (25 Sept. 1513).
9. D. Grummit 'One of the most principal treasours belongyng to this realme of Englande': Calais and the Crown, c1450-1558', in D. Grummit (ed), *The English Experience in France c1450-1558: War, diplomacy and cultural exchange* (Aldershot, 2002), p.50.
10. See, for example: BL Cotton. MS. Calig. B viii f° 296, (*LP* iv (1) 324, (10 May 1524); NA, SP1/31 f° 131-2, (*LP* iv (1) 418), (16 June); SP1/32, f° 29, (*LP* iv (1) 591, (29 Aug.).
11. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. D viii f° 296, (*LP* iv (1) 324), (10 May 1534).
12. Hall, *Henry VIII,* ii, pp.5-7. 'Samer de Boys' is the present village of Samer, near Boulogne. 'Hardingham' is probably Hardinghen, but may be Tardinghen (D. Potter, *Un homme de guerre au temps de la Renaissance: la vie et les lettres d'Oudart du Biez, Maréchal de France, Gouverneur de Boulogne et de Picardie (vers 1475-1553)* (Arras, 2001),p.22, n25.

attacked on 15 April at first light with 150 horse and 400 infantry and that French strength was such that the English did not dare to charge.[13] Probably Fitzwilliam was undertaking a reconnaissance in force. He may have fought a sea action, but the letter describing it is too mutilated to see details.[14] Military action was reduced from July onwards as French envoys started discussions with Wolsey.[15]

Intelligence

Fitzwilliam gained intelligence from interrogating prisoners, from spies and from paid informers in France.[16] He also reported rumours.[17] He communicated with the Governor of Picardy, the duc de Vendôme and the French commander Pontremy through Calais pursuivant and various 'trumpets'. (He had known Vendôme when he was ambassador at the French court). Vendôme was Governor of Picardy and important as the next heir to the French throne after Francis and his sons. These contacts had mixed success: all the French said had to be heavily discounted and conversation could become a slanging match.[18] The envoys also reported on what they saw in the French camp.[19] The aim was to estimate French strength in men and materiel, their disposition and movements,[20] and the arrival of important people like Richard Pole, the Yorkist pretender.[21] Fitzwilliam also sent news from farther afield.[22]

13. Potter, *Oudart du Biez*, pp.76-7, quoting AN X/1A 1528 f^{os} 437v-438v.
14. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. E iii f° 57, (*LP* iv (1) 575), (14 Aug. 1524).
15. NA, SP1/31, f° 189, (*LP* iv (1) 470), (5 July 1524)
16. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. D viii f° 300, (*LP* iv (1) 325 (11 May 1524); NA, SP1/31, f° 198-9, *LP* iv (1) 484 (9 July)).
17. NA, SP1/32 f° 135, (*LP* iv (1) 749), (19 Oct. 1524).
18. BL Cotton. MS. Calig. D viii f° 300, (*LP* iv (1) 325), (11 May 1524)
19. BL Cotton. MS. Calig. D viii f° 300, *LP* iv (1) 325 (11 May).
20. BL Cotton. MSS: Calig. D viii f° 296, (*LP* iv (1) 324), (10 May 1524); Calig. D viii f° 300, (*LP* iv (1) 325), (11 May); Calig. D viii f° 303-4, (*LP* iv (1) 335), (14 May); NA, SP1/31 f° 128, (*LP* iv (1) 414, (13 June); BL Cotton. MS. Calig. D viii f° 305, (*LP* iv (1) 415,(15 Jun); NA: SP1/31 f° 131-2, (*LP* iv (1) 418), (16 June); SP1/31, f° 198, (*LP* iv (2) 484, (9 July).
21. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. D viii f° 303-4, (*LP* iv (1) 335), (15 May); NA, SP1/31 f° 131-2, (*LP* iv (1) 418), (15 June).
22. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. D viii f° 294, (*LP* iv (1) 323), (10 May 1524; NA, SP1/32 f° 135 (*LP* iv (1) 749, (19 Oct).

There were French spies in his camp, and Fitzwilliam told Wolsey how he guarded against them by only deciding which of several plans to follow at the very last moment:

> At alle tymes I propose to goo aboutes suche feat to comen [discuss] as well with the wisest capitaynes I have, as with my spyes and guydes, of thre or foure maner of enterprises. But for to saye that they or any other man living doth knowe precisely to what entreprice I entende to goo tyll such tyme [the trumpet sounds] ... there is not. Yf they did, he wold soon repent it.'[23]

Counter-intelligence was vital. Local guides could be suborned: Fitzwilliam reported on one held for execution pending further enquiry. A woman tried to subvert a guide.

> Howbeit, by chaunce I toke her, and whenne she had confessed the same to me, I caused her to have a goostly father [make her last confession], and then to bee put in a sakke, and drynke her belye fulle of water, to gyve others ensample.[24]

Cold-blooded, but no captain then or now would waste sympathy on a spy trying to subvert his troops. Fitzwilliam evidently sentenced her under martial law. Execution by drowning may have been a local custom, but hanging women was thought indecent.[25]

Fitzwilliam's tour of duty at Guines ended in June 1525. He returned from his embassy to Brussels to hand it over to his successor, Lord Sandys. The old soldier found it in excellent order: 'Fitzwilliam is leaving the castle [of Guines] and the residue with such good arrangements for its safety that he deserves great thanks for it'.[26]

Fitzwilliam had no further military responsibilities until he was appointed captain of the new gentlemen pensioners in 1539/40, with Sir Richard Page, not known for military prowess, as his lieutenant. There was strong competition for places, which were a gilt-edged investment, but the way the pensioners were set up is obscure. Fitzwilliam can have had little time to organise or run them. They seem to have been Cromwell's initiative.[27]

23. NA, SP1/32 f° 29 (*LP* iv (1) 591), (29 Aug. 1524).
24. NA, SP1/31 f^ps^ 131-2 (*LP* iv (1) 418), (16 June 1524).
25. Diane Watt, 'Reconstructing the Word: the Political Prophecies of Elizabeth Barton (1506-1534'), *Renaissance Q.*, 1 (1997), p.159.
26. NA, SP1/31 f^ps^ 200, (*LP* iv (1) 493). Dated by the editors of *LP* to the previous year, but plainly written at the time of the handover.
27. Elton, *Tudor Revolution in Government,* pp.386-8.

Fitzwilliam's last military appointment was as Norfolk's lieutenant on the Scottish expedition of 1542. It was during this expedition that Fitzwilliam died (pp.211-2).

B. NAVAL COMMANDER

Background

Henry VIII wanted an active foreign policy, which demanded a powerful fleet. He took a personal interest in ships and guns. He determined naval policy and ensured he had the necessary men and materiel. Under him the number of ships in the Royal Navy rose from six to nearly sixty: others were hired at home or abroad. Ships were more heavily gunned, allowing the development of broadside gunnery. The traditional view is that this led to a change in tactics from 'line abreast' to 'line ahead'.[28] A revisionist view questions this change.[29] There is also a view that tactics were essentially opportunist.[30] Fitzwilliam's naval career gives no clue on naval tactics. He may have held fleet manoeuvres (he undertook sea trials), but if so their extent and purpose is unknown. The fleet dealt with pirates, 'wafted' merchant vessels, escorted armies on invasions of France, harried the French coast and protected the flank of English armies invading Scotland. It fought no battle in the open sea between 1513 and 1545.

Fitzwilliam's early commands

In 1512 the Admiral, Sir Edward Howard, indentured with the King for the service of 3000 men.[31] King's Spears on the expedition included Fitzwilliam, Sir Weston Browne, William Kingston, William Parr and Edward Nevill. Operational rules (probably drawing on an earlier Book) are found in Thomas Audley's 'A Book of Orders for

28. Elaine W. Fowler, *English Sea Power in the Early Tudor Period 1485-1558* (Ithaca NY, 1965); D. Vecchioni, *La Flotta Tudor 1485-1603: nascita della potenza marinara ingles* (Milan, 1988), p.16; D. Loades, *The Tudor Navy: An Administrative, Political and Military History* (Aldershot, 1992); A. Nelson, *The Tudor Navy: The Ships, Men and Organisation 1485-1603* (2001).
29. N.A.M. Rodger, *The Safeguard of the sea: A Naval History of Great Britain, vol. 1* (1997) cc.13-17.
30. D. Hannay, *A short history of the Royal Navy,* (London, 1898), p.44.
31. For details see Rymer, *Foedera,* xiii, 326.

the War by Se and Land'.[32] The captain, a gentleman, commanded and fought the ship; the master, a seaman, sailed it. The more a captain learned about sailing the more effective he was: Fitzwilliam clearly did learn. He may have served in the preliminary sweep of the channel, returning to join Dorset's army.[33]

In 1513 Fitzwilliam served on the *Mary Rose,* commanded by Sir Edward, with Thomas Spert, later Clerk of the King's Ships.[34] He was on Sir Edward's staff and may have served as communications officer: at one point Howard sent him to tell the captains of the 'great ships' to return to their ships and maintain the blockade of Brest.[35] Howard faced galleys and was killed trying to cut them out. In the battle Fitzwilliam was wounded by a crossbow bolt ('grievously' according to Hall). [36]

The fleet retreated to Plymouth. Sir Thomas Howard (later Earl of Surrey and third Duke of Norfolk) took command, starting by debriefing the captains They were demoralised and set against a further expedition. Sir Edward was able and brave, if not foolhardy, but had let discipline deteriorate. Victualling had broken down. Only Fitzwilliam was keen for action, but he was recalled to court. Howard wrote to Henry:

> I have sent ffytzwillym, which is right sore agaynst his mynd to have departed till he had don you some other service; and, Sir, most humbly I beseech your Grace to be gode lord unto hym. And, Sir, I am sower at all times when your grace shall commande him he shall do yow hardy servyce.[37]

Henry changed his plans and the fleet escorted his army in the invasion of France.

32. See H.W. Hodges and E.A. Hughes, *Select Naval Documents* (N.R.S, Cambridge, 1922), pp.4-7. The author is not the later Lord Chancellor but the Thomas Audley who wrote *ABC for the Wars* for Edward VI. Loades dates the 'Book of Orders' to 1530.
33. He is not listed in the charges of the English navy from 17 April to 8 July 1512. Only seven Spears are so listed. (A. Spont, *Letters and Papers relating to the War with France* (N.R.S., 1891), pp.4-13)
34. The campaign is described in Spont, *War with France,* pp.xxx-lxiv and W.L. Clowes, *The Royal Navy, a History from the earliest times to the present* (1897), pp.453-7.
35. BL, Cotton MS. Calig. D. vi, f° 108, (*LP* I (2) 2946), [Spont, *War with France,* p.146].
36. Hall, E. (ed C. Whibley),*The Triumphant Reigne of Kyng Henry the VIII* (1904). i, p.60
37. NA, SP 1/229, f^os^ 169-70, (*LP* i (2) 1870).

Vice-Admiral

Soon after the Tournai campaign Fitzwilliam was made vice admiral under Sir Thomas Howard.[38] We do not know why he was chosen. It may be because he was not a captain in the Brest campaign and so bore no responsibility for its failure.

In 1514 operations were limited to harrying the French coast round Cherbourg. Surrey asked the Council to get Henry to write to Fitzwilliam and the army captains 'for their good demeanour in every case'.[39] Peace was then made with France. Most ships were laid up in the Thames estuary; the rest stayed at Portsmouth. The fleet's role was now restricted to peacetime duties, chasing pirates.[40] There is no evidence Fitzwilliam took part personally in this, but he was always a 'hands-on' commander so he probably did.

In 1514 he visited Portsmouth to take a 'view of the state of the King's ships and other his affairs there'. He prepared estimates of wages, supplies, and repairs. He visited again in 1522, when he reckoned £2418 needed to be spent on items including the provision of chains to secure the harbour entrance.[41] The same year he wrote to Henry:

> ...And to advertise Your Grace of the sailling of the Henry Grace Dieu the same day we made sayle, she saylled as welle as any ship that was in the flete did and rather better and weathered them all sauf [except] the Mary Rose. And yf she goo by a wynde I assure Your Grace there will be hard chose between the Mary Rose and her, and next theym the Galley.[42]

Administration lacked structure. Henry decided policy. The Lord Admiral had overall responsibility, with day-to-day supervision in the hands of the two Clerks. The main administrator was William Gonson, Keeper of the Erith and Deptford storehouses. Nothing is known of his early life, but he was an experienced seaman, one of the richest London merchants, gentleman usher of the King's chamber and teller of the Exchequer. Thomas Spert was nominally above him as Clerk Controller at the

38. Loades, *Tudor Navy*, p.59. See also *LP* i, 1414.

39. BL, Cotton MS. Calig. D viii f° 250 (*LP* i (2) 3001).

40. C. L'Estrange Ewen, 'Organised Piracy round England in the Sixteenth Century', *MM* xxxv (1949), pp.30-2.

41. BL, R. MS 7F xiv f° 76 (*LP* i 2680), (28 Feb.1514.); BL R. MS 7F xiv f° 76 (*LP* iii 2073), (12 Aug. 1522).

42. NA, SP1/24, f^ss 219-220, (*LP* iii (2) 2302), (4 June 1522).

Admiralty.[43] They reported to Wolsey. Ships' guns, ammunition and other materiel were supplied by the Office of Ordnance at the Tower.[44] Victualling by local purveyors was a constant problem.[45] (No doubt there were two sides to this: John Dawtrey, customer of Southampton, wrote to Wolsey expressing doubts about his ability to supply in time the large number of ships and provisions required by the English fleet.[46] This suggests a lack of adequate forward planning.) The chaos caused by independent lines of command lasted until the Navy Board was set up in 1545.

In 1518 Fitzwilliam went with the first Earl of Worcester, the Bishop of Ely and Sir Thomas Boleyn to settle outstanding Anglo-French disputes, mainly on restitution of seizures.[47] This fell within the Lord Admiral's jurisdiction, and Fitzwilliam attended as Vice-Admiral. Restitution was assigned to Fitzwilliam and the Master of the Rolls (Tunstal) and their French counterparts - a demanding assignment.[48]

As vice-admiral Fitzwilliam was responsible for 'scouring the seas' (ensuring that the Narrow Seas were free of potentially hostile craft and pirates) when Henry and his entourage crossed to take part in the Field of Cloth of Gold in 1520.[49] He commanded the escort but was not responsible for other aspects of a major logistical exercise.

By 1522 relations with France worsened, and the Fleet returned to a war footing. Fitz-william was appointed joint master of the ordnance at Calais and governor of the fortress of Guines.[50] He was in the party welcoming Charles V for his meeting with

43. Loades, *Tudor Navy,* pp 54-5; M. Oppenheim, *The Administration of the Royal Navy* (1896), pp.81-3.
44. D. Habesch, *The Army's Navy: British Military vessels and their History since Henry VIII* (2001), p.13.
45. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. D vi f^{os} 101-3, (*LP* i (1) 1698) [Letters from the Mary Rose, 13]; NA, SP1/3 f^{os} 149-50, (*LP* i (1) 1748), NA, SP1/3 f^{o}197,(*LP* i (2) 1845); NA, SP1/229 f^{o} 157, (*LP* i 1978; (a sample only). There is a useful review of victualling problems in G. Moor-house, *Great Harry's Navy: how Henry VIII gave England Seapower* (2005), pp.188ff.
46. BL, Cotton MS. Otho E ix f^{o} 78b, (*LP* i (2) 1859)
47. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII,* p.74.
48. BL, Cotton MS. Calig. D viii f^{o} 134-5, (*LP* iii 131).
49. Russell, *Field of Cloth of Gold,* p.61.
50. NA, C76/198, (*LP* iii (2) 3027) (16 May 1522).

Henry at Canterbury when arrangements were made for joint action against France. His role is unknown, though as Councillor and Vice-Admiral, he was probably consulted. Surrey was made admiral of the combined Anglo-Imperial fleet; Fitzwilliam was Vice-Admiral.[51] His job was to prepare the ships at Portsmouth. He set to sea with 28 ships and was joined by Surrey. They harried the coast from Morlaix to Brest, raiding Brest before returning to winter at Portsmouth. It was during this campaign that Polydore Vergil referred to Fitzwilliam as *eques fortis et strenuus.* [52]

Brest was hard to reach from Portsmouth because of the prevailing south-west winds. Thames-based ships could also take a long time to reach Portsmouth for the same reason. In 1522 Fitzwilliam investigated the Camber at Rye as a suitable place to lay up the *Henry Grace a Dieu* for the winter:

> ... the forsaid daye Your Grace departed from Dover, I called to me according to your commaindement Bryggandenne [Clerk of the Ships], my fellowe Gonson and all the wysest Maisters in the flete and examyned them whider the Cambre were a mete place to leye up the Henry this winter in, in caas Your Highnesse were minded she soo shulde be or not. And they all agreed in oon saying and sayed they thoughte it not mete. Howbeit for the tryalle of the premises I sent John Browne, Maister of the Mary Roose and John Clogge. Maister of the Peter Pondegarnet [Pomegranate] thyder and they called to them oone John Fletcher and John Swanne which bee two of the wisest Maisters within the towne of Rye. And they all togeders went and sownded the said Camber and every place therin, and canne fynde noo place there mete to lay her in sauf [safety]. ... And the said Maisters conclude all togeders and say that Poortesmouthe or Dartmouthe be the metest places to lay her ... and rekenne that it is to grete a daungier to bringe her into the Thames again.[53]

Fitzwilliam worked hard to get the views of all the experts he could assemble. The proposal to lay the *Henry* up in the Camber was no doubt Henry's. Fitzwilliam could probably see perfectly well for himself the Camber was unsuitable, but to dissuade Henry he had to pile up a mass of expert opinions (anyone who has worked under an overbearing chairman prone to 'bright ideas' will appreciate his position). The episode says much about Henry and Fitzwilliam and their relationship.

51. NA, C87/517 (*LP* iii (2) 2213).SB

52. D. Hay (ed) *Polydore Vergil: Anglica Historia*, Camden Soc. Series 3, no. 74 (1950), p.296.

53. NA, SP1/24, f^{ps} 219-20, (*LP* iii (2) 2302), (4 June 1522).

He and Gonson also accompanied Surrey to view Dartmouth, closer to Brest,[54] but too remote to be a realistic alternative to Portsmouth. Plymouth was even further, and, as Surrey pointed out in 1513, southerly winds could trap ships there in harbour.[55]

Fitzwilliam also wrote to Wolsey on options for deploying ships for the autumn. He suggested one group to guard the Narrow Seas (with a Channel Guard of smaller ships in winter), one in western waters and one in the North Sea, noting which ships were suitable for each. It is unclear how far these suggestions, except for the Channel Guard, were adopted. The letter shows Fitzwilliam thought he was being superseded:

> And touching my going to Calays, the Kinges Highnes can command me to goo into no place in the worlde that I shall refuse, and in caas his pleasure bee that I shall goo thider, I then beseech Your Grace I may not only be advertised thereof, with diligence [i.e. be given adequate notice] to the entent I may sende my folkes thider and provide myself of such thinges as I have nede of. .....And if the King's pleasure is that I shall goo to Calays, that then I may know His Grace's pleasure, whider Gonson shall be [Vice]Admyrall, according to the book my lord Admyrall brought from His Grace or not.[56]

Gonson was not appointed. Fitzwilliam returned to harry the Breton coast in August.[57]

Next year (1523) Fitzwilliam had to mobilise the fleet and bring it out for further operations. He was criticised for delay. He replied in no uncertain terms to the King.

> Your highness ... may make what instructions shall [please you to me] or any man living, that can say ..., to the sea. I have not done as much to keep h... passing as possibly was to be done, having such winds as I have had, and not slouthed [been idle] one hour neither by ... of cause, let not your highness only be by h.... my head, notwithstanding I cannot make ships sail without wind, nor yet anchors to hold in the [currents?] and in case my lord Admiral can, I would be right glad to learn in that behalf; for I take God to record, my will to serve your Grace is as good as his or any other man's living.[58]

Without being disrespectful, he reacts to criticism in plain terms. That Henry did not hold this against him suggests they were as intimate as he could be with a subject. The letter shows humour - a quality Fitzwilliam displayed at other times.

54. BL, Cotton MS. Calig. D viii f° 251-1, (*LP* iii (2) 2355 (30 June 1522).

55. NA, SP1/229 f° 164, (*LP* i (2) 1870).

56. NA, SP 1/25, f° 64r-v, (*LP* iii (2) 2419) [C.S. Knighton and D. Loades, *Letters from the Mary Rose* (Stroud, 2002), pp.93-4].

57. Knighton and Loades, *Letters from the Mary Rose*, p.81.

58. BL, Cotton MS. Calig. E iii f° 55, *(LP* iii (2) 3046, (24 May 1523). The lacunae make the MS almost incomprehensible and here I use the *LP* version rather than Vodden's.

Fitzwilliam's letter shows what we often forget (and even Henry, at court, may well have forgotten): how much Tudor ships, which could not sail as close to the wind as later sailing vessels, were at the mercy of the weather. Another letter of Fitzwilliam's, written at the height of summer, describes the difficulties he met in trying to sail from the Downs to Southampton, a journey of about 100 miles:

> Onne Fryday ... last ... the wynd came to the West Southe West and blewe soo straynably that we were constrayned to ... go into the Downs where we were fayne to abyde that nighte and Saturday and Sunday al daye, forby-because the wynde abode there continually and blewe so exceeding straynably. And Mondaye the wynd came to the West and bee North and soo we made sayle purposing to have stopped at every floode and so to have plyed to Hampton [Southampton] with the tide. And when we were more ner half sees over the wynde blewe at Southe West again soo sore that we were forced to forsake the see and comme to the Downs again for harber. And sythens that day ... the wynde kepeth and hathe kept in that qwarter continually, insomuch that we cannot goo to Hampton as yet. Howbeit the next wynde that is, there shall be no slakkenesse be fownde in us in that behalf by Goddes Grace.[59]

In 1523 Fitzwilliam commanded the Channel fleet with orders to stop the Duke of Albany from going to Scotland. He encountered a Franco-Scottish flotilla of twelve vessels containing several dignitaries including the Archbishop of Glasgow, but not Albany. He captured two and chased the rest into Boulogne and Dieppe, leaving small squadrons to blockade the ports. Albany spread a rumour he would not go to Scotland, laid up his ships (or pretended to), and quartered his soldiers ashore.[60]

On 23 August Fitzwilliam attacked Tréport. About 700 Englishmen landed and faced about 7000 French. The French retreated to the walled town. The English tried to batter down the town gate, using a ship's mast as battering ram, but were forced by fire from the walls to retreat. Returning to their ships the English set fire to the suburbs and the ships in the harbour. A remnant was left on shore: Fitzwilliam turned his ship broadside to the shore and brought them back on board under his protecting gunfire.[61]

Wolsey and Henry had to consider how long the blockade to stop Albany sailing should be maintained. Keeping ships at sea was expensive and victualling them when

59. NA, SP1/24 219-20., *LP* iii (2) 2303.

60. Marie W. Stuart, *The Scot who was a Frenchman* (1940), p.159.

61. Hall, *Henry VIII,* i, p.294. Hall probably exaggerated the French strength.

they lay off the French shore was a logistical nightmare. Fitzwilliam had already had difficulties with this.[62] Wolsey and Henry anxiously considered how long the ships could be kept off Brest: they were well aware that late September was the season of equinoctial gales. Wolsey gave his advice on 20 August:

> ... as touching the ... laying up of the great shippes, I considre that, by the last newes had from my Lord of Surrey, it shulde seme that in case the Duc of Albany arrive not in Scotland by the last day of this month [August], the noble men, and other there, woll abandon hym, taking oute ther Kyng, and suyng to Your Grace for peaxe. Wherfor, albeit your armye is thought to be puissant inough without your greate shippes, yet for the more suretie, and for so grete a benefite and consequence, I thinke it expedient, that they all contynue and remayne on the see, till the latter end of this month, and eight or ten dayes lenger; for if the Duc of Albany passe not within that tyme, not onely the Scottes shall have abandonned hym, but also it shalbe to late for hym, after that, to make any invasion this yere against this your realme; the tyme for his passage, gaderynge the Counsaile of Scotland, and concluding with theym, and the raysing of his armye, preparacion of vitailes, and other requisites, well pondered and considered. [63]

On 26 August More wrote to Wolsey for the King about the ships off Brittany:

> [The King's] pleasure is ... the said two ships [from Fitzwilliam's squadron] shall in eny wise goo forth, and that they shall there continue till halfe the month of Septembre be passed; after which tyme His Grace thinketh hit good that Sir Anthony Pointtz, and his company, shold be discharged: for, after that tyme, His Grace beleveth that the Duke of Albany either shall not goo in to Scotlande, or ellis shall goo too late to do either them good, or us hurt; and, therefore, hit semeth to His Grace good, that he shold, after the myddis of next month [September] discharge hym selfe of that coste. [64]

This confirms Lord Herbert of Cherbury's account. According to him Fitzwilliam's brief was to watch all the Channel. He kept his guard on Albany, and only withdrew it at Henry's command.[65] The letters of Wolsey and More show the withdrawal of the English fleet was a carefully considered decision reached by Henry and Wolsey in concert. Ideally Albany should be stopped from going to Scotland; failing that, if he were delayed beyond mid-September he could not mount an invasion that year.

62. NA, SP1/28 f^{ps} 157-158. (LP iii (2) 3256, [ST. P. I p.122] (20 Aug. 1523).
63. NA, SP1/28 f^{ps} 157-158. (LP iii (2) 3256, [ST. P. I p.122] (20 Aug. 1523).
64. BL, Cotton. MS. Titus B i 123, (*LP* iii (2) 3270), [ST. P. I p.125 (26 Aug.)]
65. Herbert of Cherbury, Lord Edward, *The Life and Reign of King Henry the Eighth* (1672), p.138.

Fitzwilliam acted on orders; he was not deceived by Albany's wiles, as Marie Stuart and other historians of the episode imply.[66] As it was, the English fleet withdrew and Albany slipped by and reached Scotland on 24 September.[67] Henry and Wolsey were wrong about how soon the Scots could mount an invasion. By 22 October Albany's preparations for war were complete and he set out with a Scottish army for the border on an invasion which proved abortive.

As to the Tréport fight, this was not as irresponsible as is sometimes thought. It was policy to 'do some honourable feat' on the French coast, and Fitzwilliam had already tried and failed to attack Boulogne, being repelled by bad weather. Wolsey wrote:

> And right wel I do like his ordre taken for keeping of theym in, and garding of the said passages ... trusting that nowe the weder is, and woll amende, in such wise as he [Fitzwilliam], beynge now of a right great puissance, may and wol do some honorable feate on the ferre coast.[68]

The French got a sharp reminder of England's naval capacity and Fitzwilliam received a letter stating the King was 'well satisfied with his proceedings'.[69] France could not be defeated by raids on seaside towns, but this is what Henry wanted.

Fitzwilliam's involvement in naval affairs from 1525 to 1535

In 1525 the Duke of Richmond became Admiral and Norfolk and Lisle Vice-Admirals. Fitzwilliam apparently ceased to act as Vice-Admiral, though there is no evidence of his patent being withdrawn. Nevertheless over the next decade he kept an interest in naval affairs and coastal defences. In 1528 Sir Edward Guildford wrote to Wolsey about a blockhouse at Winchelsea, wishing Fitzwilliam to view it and advise the King whether it should be completed.[70] It seems he was regarded as a consultant.

In 1534 he and Norfolk gave Chapuys a demonstration of the King's ships:

> The Duke [of Norfolk] and the treasurer Fitzwilliam had been waiting for me some time, being anxious to show me two ships which were then on land, one finished and one not. In doing which the Duke several times said it was a good

66. The latest to repeat this canard is Moorhouse, *Great Harry's Navy*, p.185.
67. Loades, *Tudor Navy*, pp107-9.
68. NA, SP1/28 f^{os} 157-158. (*LP* iii (2) 3256, [ST. P. I p.122] (20 Aug. 1523).
69. BL, Cotton. MS. Titus B i 123, (*LP* iii (2) 3270), (26 Aug. 1523).
70. NA, SP1/51, f^{os} 110-11, (*LP* iv (2) 5031), (14 Dec. 1528).

> thing for a King of England to be provided with such vessels to inspire awe in those who wished to attack him, and he thought that with these two, and four or five in the river before them, they could fight the whole world.

He mentioned Charles's difficulties with Kheyr-ed-Din Barbarossa. His presence shows he was still involved in naval affairs, perhaps representing Henry personally. Chapuys did not comment on his attendance, suggesting he was not surprised to see him.[71]

He also kept up his interest in naval intelligence. He wrote to Cromwell in May 1535 from Dover:

> I this morning receyved lettre from my broder wherby I perceyve that the Kinges Highness is enformed that there bee certain rovers on the see. Ye shalle understande that I have spokenne as well with to Wingfielde of Sandewich, and another substanciall man of the said towne, as with the maire and bailiff of this towne, and also with Edward Waters, captain of the kinges ship, and with Adryanne Dogan, and another maister whiche came this day from Calais, who saye that they knowe of no suche rovers, neither in the see, not in the Narrow Sees or elsewhere. However, there was a rumour that the men of Lubeck had lately sent out warships against the Dutch..[72]

Note how Fitzwilliam checked and re-checked his information - an object lesson for later intelligence agencies.

Conclusions

Fitzwilliam was clearly a courageous and enterprising commander both by sea and by land. By the early 1520s he was much more than a gentleman engaged in fighting a ship: he had become well versed in how ships sailed and how they behaved in adverse winds and currents, enabling him to provide accurate assessments of the sailing qualities of ships under his command. Particularly noteworthy is his involvement in naval intelligence and his ability to master the nuts-and-bolts side of naval administration. His naval career in the early 1520s served as an effective apprenticeship for his later appointment as Lord Admiral.

71. *Sp. Cal.* v (1), p.374, (*LP* viii 48), (15 Jan. 1535). They met halfway between Greenwich and London, presumably at Deptford. The ships were the *Sweepstake* (300t, 84 guns), just off the stocks and the *Mary Willoughby* (140t, 23 guns), which was about to be launched. Henry had no great ships built after the *Henri Grace a Dieu* (1514).

72. NA, SP1/92, f^{ps} 208-9, *LP* viii 760.

3. FITZWILLIAM AS DIPLOMAT

Fitzwilliam was one of Henry VIII's most trusted and praised diplomats. Lay diplomats like him were formed in Henry's and Wolsey's overlapping households. This chapter aims to explain Fitzwilliam's reputation and to show how his career illustrates contemporary diplomatic practice and what Henry and his ministers were trying to do.

Early activities

In 1518 Fitzwilliam was a signatory of the Treaty of London[1] and the marriage treaty between Princess Mary and the Dauphin signed two days later[2], being in the party welcoming the French envoys.[3] The treaty was the kingpin of Wolsey's foreign policy. England could not match the military power of Francis I or Charles V, but could get a seat at the top table by acting as arbiter between them.

Fitzwilliam first went on mission later in 1518, when he accompanied Charles Somerset, 1st Earl of Worcester, Nicholas West, Bishop of Ely, and Sir Thomas Boleyn to France. Their task was to settle outstanding disputes in accordance with the Treaty of Depredations appended to the Treaty of London[4] and to arrange a meeting between Henry and Francis the following year. Worcester and West were experienced diplomats who had served Henry VII; Boleyn, active in government since 1497, had been on missions since 1512. Fitzwilliam would learn much about diplomatic procedure from them, as well as deal with restitution, the reason for his attendance (see p.33).

A. AMBASSADOR AT THE FRENCH COURT 1521-2

In February 1521 Fitzwilliam was appointed ambassador to the French Court.[5] His formal instructions were an open brief.[6] He would perform the usual jobs of a resident ambassador - passing messages between the two courts, providing information on

1. BL, Cotton. MS. Vit. B xx 92, (LP, ii(2) 4469) [Rymer, *Foedera,* xiii, pp.624-631].
2. BL, Cotton. MS. Vit. C xi 169, (LP, ii(2) 4475) [Rymer, *Foedera,* xiii, pp.632-642].
3. BL, Harl. MS 433 f° 2946, *LP* ii (2) 4409, (Sept. 1518).
4. BL, Cotton. MS. Vit. C xi 169, (LP, ii(2) 4469) [Rymer, *Foedera,* xiii, pp.640-653].
5. NA, SP1/21 f° 193, (*LP* iii (1) 1152), undated. For the background to his appointment and to the Calais conference see: Joycelyne G. Russell, *Peacemaking in the Renaissance* (1986), c.4; P Gwyn, *The King's Cardinal: the rise and fall of Thomas Wolsey* (1990), c.5.
6. NA, SP1/21 f° 193, (*LP* iii (1) 1152). He was lent £200 before travelling. (*LP* iii (2) 1541).

diplomatic, military and naval activity, acting on trade issues, and running a spy network.[7] He must report on prominent people and their views. On specific issues, he must ensure Francis' support for the Calais conference: Henry and Wolsey must be kept informed of his intentions. He must watch Franco-Scottish relations: particularly, he must ensure that the Duke of Albany did not go to Scotland. Lastly, he must deal with the question of French debts to Henry and the English crown.

Fitzwilliam wrote to Wolsey describing his first interview with Francis in February 1521. Francis listened 'marvellous amiably' to Fitzwilliam's instructions and offered reassurance over his intentions over Milan and Scotland.[8] Francis took Fitzwilliam hunting, sent him his huntsman to give him hints on French hunting etiquette, offered to send Henry some wild boar and explained how Henry should empark the thickest ground to get the best hunting.[9] He impressed Francis with his knowledge of venery: 'they well perceived that he that taught me was a master'. He said Henry himself had been his teacher 'as it was indeed, for since I was ten years of age I have ever been with your grace'.[10] Francis's hunting showed his rapid recovery from a serious injury he suffered at Epiphany in a snowball fight with courtiers:[11] this episode shows the informality of the French court compared with the English. Fitzwilliam loved hunting, but was annoyed that Francis did not discuss serious issues.[12] Probably Francis was just sizing him up, as nowadays a businessman might size up a client on the golf course: he soon started talking seriously.

> The manner of the king here to me is ever after oon [one], which is as good as can bee. And he rode not furth on hunting nor hawking save oon day, but he sent for me. And the last day he was furth, he talked with me of many things. [13]

7. See G. Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy* (pb ed., 1965), cc.11, 25.
8. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. D viii f^{os} 10-13, (*LP* iii (1) 1157)
9. NA, SP1/21, f^{o} 204, (*LP* iii (2) 1160); SP1/8 f^{os}205-6(*LP* iii (2) 1161). BL, Cotton. MSS. Calig. D viii f^{os} 16-18, (*LP* iii (2) 1176); Calig. D viii f^{o} 22-23, (*LP* iii (2) 1198); Calig. D viii f^{os} 37-38, (*LP* iii (1)1278), [Ellis, *Original Letters,* I, i, p.178.]
10. NA, SP1/21, f^{o} 24, (*LP* iii (1) 1160), (? Feb. 1521).
11. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. D viii f^{o} 18-19, (*LP* iii (1) 1183). Meyer, Dorothy M., *The Great Regent: Louise of Savoy 1476-1531* (New York, 1966),p.136.
12. NA, SP1/8, f^{os}205-6 (*LP* iii (1) 1161), (11 Feb. 1521); BL. Cotton MS. Calig. D viii 16-18 (*LP* iii (1) 1176), (22 Feb.).
13. BL. Cotton. MS. Calig. D viii f^{os} 14-15, (*LP* iii (1) 1198).

Fitzwilliam made a good start: Francis spoke to him familiarly and liked his company, as Wolsey noted.[14] He lodged him not like an ambassador but as one of his chamber.[15] Too much may have been made of Fitzwilliam's not being of the Privy Chamber like his immediate predecessors and successors (see Chapter 4), and what this meant, though it worried Fitzwilliam.[16] But 'Francis knew full well that the ambassador was not one of Henry's personal attendants and clearly did not care'.[17]

Activities related to the Calais conference

By 1520 relations between France and both England and Spain had begun to show strain because of problems arising from the Treaty of Noyon of 1516. This provided that Charles was to restore Spanish Navarre (seized by Ferdinand of Aragon) to Henri II d'Albret within six months or compensate him. For strategic reasons Charles would never return Spanish Navarre. The d'Albrets were vassals of the French King, holding several fiefs north of the Pyrenees. If they held Spanish Navarre as well a French threat would always point at the heart of Spain. Under the Treaty Charles was to marry one of Francis' infant daughters, on condition that Francis abandoned claims to Naples in return for an annual payment. The Treaty recognised French occupation of Milan, putting Charles at a strategic disadvantage: occupying Milan enabled Francis to cut the land route between Spain and the Netherlands. Charles did not comply with the provisions on Navarre and Naples, nor was he prepared to marry a French princess.

The meetings of Henry and Wolsey with Francis at the Field of Cloth of Gold (which Fitzwilliam and his wife attended)[18] and later with Charles did not tackle the fundamental issues. Fitzwilliam attended Henry at his meetings with Francis[19] and later with

14. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. D viii f° 23, (*LP* iii (1) 1191)
15. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. D viii f° 24-25, (*LP* iii (1) 1202).
16. NA, SP1/8, f^ps^ 205-6 (*LP* iii (1) 1161).
17. L. MacMahon, 'The Ambassadors of Henry VIII: the personnel of English diplomacy c.1500-c.1550. (University of Kent at Canterbury Ph.D. thesis, 1999), p.131.
18. J. Gough Nichols (ed), *The chronicle of Calais in the Reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII to the year 1540* (1846), pp.21, 23; S. Anglo, 'Le camp du Drap d'Or et les entrevues d'Henri VIII et de Charles Quint' in *Fêtes et Ceremonies au temps de Charles Quint* (Paris, 1960), pp.113-134.
19. NA, PRO 31/8/137 f^ps^ 115-7, (*LP* iii (1) 704), undated.

Charles at Gravelines.[20] He took no direct part but was possibly consulted as Vice-Admiral. At Gravelines Charles promised Henry not to make any agreement on marriage with Francis for the next two years[21]: the undertaking given at Noyon was plainly regarded as a dead letter.

By the summer of 1521 northern France was under threat of invasion, Spain had retaken Navarre, the Pope had turned imperialist and the French hold on Milan was increasingly precarious. In June Francis accepted Henry's offer of mediation (not arbitration, as Professor Knecht suggests)[22]. France and Spain sent delegations to Calais headed by Gattinara and Duprat respectively. Wolsey was mediator for Henry.

Wolsey's aims

What did Wolsey want to achieve at Calais? Dr Russell thinks he genuinely aimed at peace if the terms were right.[23] Dr Glyn thinks he originally wanted to keep options open, but that after his meeting with Charles and Margaret at Bruges he was trying to postpone imperial action against France rather than prevent it. [24] Some French historians take a different view: according to Buisson:

> *[Wolsey] arrivait à Calais tout acquis à la cause impériale. Le jeu de l'Angleterre était fait depuis le traité secret qui avait suivi le Camp du Drap d'Or.*

- a view shared by Mme Henry-Bordeaux. [25] The clue to English aims lies in Wolsey's attitude at and after the Field of Cloth of Gold, when he and Henry told Francis and Charles that under the Treaty of London England would aid either against attack by the other, but preferred to 'stay them both'.

This stance became untenable as the conference went on. Wolsey then switched to his fall-back option of support for Charles. After his journey to Bruges he was committed

20. NA, SP1/20 f[os] 120-123, (*LP* iii (1) 906.1), (10 July 1520).
21. de Florange (ed. R. Goubaux and P-A Lemoisne), *Mémoires du Maréchal de Florange, dit le jeune adventureux* (1924), vol.1, p.274, n.2.
22. R. Knecht, *Renaissance Warror and Patron: the Reign of Francis I* (1994), p.178.
23. Russell, *Peacemaking in the Renaissance*, pp.126.
24. Gwyn, *The King's Cardinal,* (1990), pp.147-52.
25. A. Buisson, A., *Le Chancelier Antoine Duprat* (1935); Paule Henry-Bordeaux, *Louise de Savoie, Régent et 'Roi' de France* (1954), p191.

to alliance with Charles but aimed to delay military action. Henry and Charles needed eighteen months to prepare for war. The French knew this, and, failing permanent peace, wanted a long truce of four to ten years. After Bruges Henry's honour still required Wolsey to go through the motions of mediation, and go through the motions was all he did. Sabotaging the talks could safely be left to Gattinara and Duprat.

The Calais conference met when there had been two alleged breaches of the peace, by Robert de la Marck and by Henri d'Albret (see below). Francis denied backing de la Marck, and claimed the Treaty of Noyon allowed him to act to secure redress if Navarre were not restored. Charles lodged a complaint with Henry against Francis as the aggressor. Francis wanted Charles to attack him so he could claim Henry's aid under the Treaty of London.

Fitzwilliam sent regular reports on the attitude of the French towards Henry and the Calais conference, on French diplomatic activity (particularly about Robert de la Marck and Navarre), on French military and naval strength and on popular morale.

French attitudes towards Henry and the Calais conference

Throughout Fitzwilliam tried to assess how sincerely the French were committed to peace and how they regarded Henry and Wolsey. Soon after his arrival, writing to Wolsey, he was optimistic about the attitude of Francis and Louise:

> The king, my Lady and the Admirall [Bonnivet] cannot geve the King and you to moche preyse ... think with their hertes as they say with their mouths ... yf I shall show Your Grace what I think in it they verily say what they thinke, for I assure ... they have a grete love to the Kinge.[26]

In April Henry told Fitzwilliam to assure Francis that Henry was not seeking to assist Charles against France.[27] He sent Sir Richard Jerningham to join Fitzwilliam in stressing this. (Jerningham was captain of Tournai in 1519 and one of the 'four sad and ancient knights put into the kynges privie chamber' at the expulsion of the minions in 1519; he preceded Fitzwilliam as ambassador to the French court).[28] They presented Henry's

26. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. D viii f^{os} 20-21, (*LP* iii (2) 1184). The MS is badly mutilated.

27. BL, Cotton MS. Calig. D viii f^{os} 170-171, (*LP* iii (1) 1257).

28. BL, Cotton MS. Calig. D viii f^{o} 6, (*LP* iii (1) 1283); BL, Cotton MS. Calig. D viii f^{os} 41-43, (*LP* iii (3) 1303); Hall, *Henry VIII*, i, p.178.

request that Francis should agree to a conference where Wolsey would mediate between Charles and himself,[29] and continued to press him.[30]

Fitzwilliam and Jerningham began to have doubts about the attitude of the French:

> Fayre wordes lakketh noon neyther of the kinges partie nor of my ladyes [nor of Admyralles]. Nevertheless they slakke no tyme that maye [serve?] the advancing of any of their causes and moche dyssymulation is amonges theym'

Louise insisted Francis' alliance with England was neither for aid nor dread but only for love. The ambassadors wrote: 'we think they both desire it as much for fear as for love, and the king should look to his own profit as they do'.[31]

In late June Fitzwilliam briefly returned to England with Francis's answer: Jerningham could have gone (he had only sprained his ankle), but Francis would not entrust his reply to anyone else.[32] It is just possible that Francis thought that Fitzwilliam was too perceptive and wanted him out of the way while he and his ministers conferred about what line to take when the Calais conference met. By July Fitzwilliam and Jerningham had come to the conclusion that the French wanted peace because Charles was proving stronger than expected. [33] Later in the summer Fitzwilliam sent several reports suggesting that the French were increasingly suspicious of Henry's intentions, in particular that Henry was about to make an alliance with the Emperor. These suspicions led Francis to treat Fitzwilliam much more coolly. In late July, Fitzwilliam in cipher gave Wolsey his opinion that

> the French have our master in doubt lest he will take part with the emperor and they provide therfor.

Francis still spoke to him very familiarly but Fitzwilliam saw more strangeness in the courtiers than before.[34]

29. BL, Cotton MS. Calig. D viii f^{os} 63-67, (*LP* iii (2) 1331).
30. BL, Cotton MS. Calig. D viii f^{os} 68-70, (*LP* iii (2) 1385).
31. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. D viii f^{os} 41-43, (*LP* iii (1) 1303).
32. NA, SP1/22 f°191 (*LP* iii (1)1337), (9 June 1521).
33. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. D viii f^{os} 68-70, (*LP* iii (2) 1385).
34. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. D viii f° 73, (*LP* iii (2) 1441)

In early August after talking with Francis, Louise and Margaret Fitzwilliam wrote:

> I perceyve well they trust the Kinges Highnes never a whit but for feare keep him up with fayre words and provide for the worst.'

Francis was not speaking to him so familiarly as he had, but Fitzwilliam still went hunting with him. Even so he did not think Francis was hostile to Henry. Francis's military ventures in recent months had not turned out as well as he had expected and peace seemed more attractive. [35]

Despite intensive security covering Wolsey's discussions with Charles and Margaret at Bruges Louise and Francis knew much of what went on from spies at the Flemish court.[36] Fitzwilliam reported the French attitude changed:

> They have torned the lese for aboutes half a yere passed, and by soch as ... wold now have peax with all ther hertes and the kyng and his moder bere a good face yet. [37]

Francis was raising loans and selling crown lands. He went to Langres, but Charles's forces were so strong 'he will not meddle with them'. Henry wanted to attack France at once, with Fitzwilliam commanding the English fleet. Wolsey wrote 'if he were recalled, there would be no ambassador at the French court, which would be thought strange'.[38] The Calais talks allowed delay while allied strength built up and the French weakened.

At the end of August Fitzwilliam could again write that

> the French king makes me for the most part right good manner but it is nothing with the heart so much as it was wont to be, as me think. The gentilmen of the court kepe me nothing as much company as they have ben wont to.' [39]

In mid-September Ardres fell. Francis blamed Henry. Fitzwilliam was boycotted, and he complained that 'Every day the marvelloust questions ... are axed of my servants by Scots and others'.

35. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. D viii f^{os} 86-87, (*LP* iii (2) 1456).
36. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. D viii f^{o} 113 (*LP* iii (2) App. 29), dated 6 Aug. 1521; *LP* iii (2) 1469, 6 Aug. 1526); Buisson, *Duprat,* pp.162-3; Barrillon, J., (ed. P de Vaissière), *Journal du secrétaire du Chancelier Duprat, 1515-1524* (2 vols, 1897-9), II, p.216.
37. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. D viii f^{o} 113 (*LP* iii (2) App. 29), dated 6 Aug.1521.
38. NA, SP1/23 f^{os} 17-21, (*LP* iii (2) 1488), (14 Aug. 1521).
39. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. D viii f^{o} 91, (*LP* iii (2) 1521)..

He told them to say they knew nothing.[40] Marguerite subjected him to a tirade, saying Henry was responsible for Ardres's fall: it was at his request Francis did not fortify it. Charles's army included English troops. Fitzwilliam replied that Henry and Wolsey were working for peace, and Henry had done more for Francis than any man living. He would fight a duel to defend his country's honour. Marguerite back-pedalled and departed. '... this was a thing devised by [Louise], for she stode so nigh she might hear every word.'[41]

Gentlemen who had given him information now 'gave him no comfort'. Though he had been in the king's presence three times in the past fortnight, Francis would not speak to him but gave him a beck ['made a mute signal' (*OED*)], but that day he and his council had made as much of Fitzwilliam as was possible. Fitzwilliam conjectured 'this was because they be right glad when they hear any comfort of peace'.[42] Throughout the summer Fitzwilliam was clearly getting very mixed signals, varying according to the success or otherwise of French arms.

Robert de la Marck and Navarre

Soon after Fitzwilliam arrived in France, well before the Calais conference, a French army under Antoine de Foix invaded Spanish Navarre and Robert de la Marck, Duke of Bouillon, invaded imperial territory in Luxembourg on the pretext that Charles, as feudal overlord, failed to support him in a local dispute.[43] Francis denied involvement, but early in his mission Fitzwilliam reported on a visit by him to Francis. He probed further, interrogating his minder. On 18 February he wrote:

> Messer Robert Delamarche is goon home, and hath grete entertainment here of the King ... And as I am informed by hym that was the dryver of his coming hider, who is oon of the gentilmen of the chamber, and is alwayes sent furth aboutes suche enterprises ..., whom I entreteigne and make hym as greate chere as I can, to get asmoche of hym as I maye. He showed me the said Messer

40. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. D viii f^os^ 96-98, (*LP* iii (2) 1569), (13 Sept. 1521) (mutilated).

41. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig E i f° 98 (*LP* iii (2) 1583) (15 Sept 1521).

42. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. D viii f° 99, (*LP* iii (2) 1602).

43. The background to this dispute is given in *Mémoires de Florange,* i, pp 277-280 and V-L Bourrilly and F. Vindry (eds), *Mémoires de Martin et Guillaume du Bellay* (1908), i, pp.107-112. De la Marck held lands of both rulers.

> Robert wold make warre upon the Emperor's landes ... because the Emperor suffred Monsieur Emere [44] to take one of his catelles. And also the brute [rumour] gooth here surely, that he will make warre, and that many venturers will go to hym of their owne mynde. Sir, of all these thinges the Frensh king showed me nothing. [45]

And, four days later:

> The same personne tolde me ... that Messer Robert wold have [8000] fotemen and [1200] horsemen and he thought 2000 of those fotemen should bee Sowechys [Swiss] and other [?] Gascoynes, and [3000] adventurers, Frenshemen. Sir, further he sayde that Florange [de la Marck's son] should have his retynue of horsemen with fifty sperys [200-250 men] and that Monsieur Lapales [La Palice] wold lend hym fyftye sperys and diverse capitaynes wold lend hym of their retinues. And also many yong gentlemen wold goo of their own adventure ... And he assured me the ... here ayded him not with a peny to this matier, which I believed never a whit, for seeing his puissance shal be of Frenshemen and that Monsieur Lapales lendes his Men of Armes, it is but a colour in my minde; though it is called Messer Robertes act, it is at the kinges charge and at his consent. [46]

This suggested Francis was deeply involved. On 14 February Francis promised de la Marck a pension of 10,000 francs p.a. and a down payment of 10,000 ecus payable within three years. In return de la Marck promised to serve Francis '*bien et loyaument envers et contre tous sans nul excepter ne reserver, encores que ce fut l'empereur*'.[47] But Francis did not promise to support de la Marck against attacks by the emperor.

In April Fitzwilliam reported the retaliation de la Marck duly provoked.[48] He later talked to Francis:

> [Francis] told me how Florange Messer Robert DelaMarches sonne was comme and desired ayede of hym, and that he had shewed him how he made warre to the Emperor against his mynde and had raised his subgiettes contrary to his commaundement ... wherewith he was not contented. Howbeit he neyther shewed me whether he wolde ayde him or not ayde him ... [49]

44. Louis Rolin, seigneur d'Aymeries.

45. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. D viii f^{os} 14-15, (*LP* iii (1) 1168).

46. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. D viii f^{os} 16-18, (*LP* iii (1) 1176).

47. *Mémoires de Florange,*, vol 1, p.280, n.2.

48. BL, Cotton. MSS: Calig. D viii f^{os} 31-32, (*LP* iii (1) 1245); Calig. D viii f^{o} 30, (*LP* iii (1) 1246).

49. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. D viii f^{os} 34-35, (*LP* iii (1) 1268). For Florange's part in the war see *Mémoires de Florange,*, vol 1, pp.280-288, 292-396, vol 2, p.xv. Florange could be shaky on names and dates: his account should be read with the notes.

Francis' involvement was limited. He sent an army to the border of Champagne under Châtillon and Alençon with orders not to intervene, and provided men and subsidies - probably less than Fitzwilliam thought. De la Marck's war went badly: Nassau took Messincourt. In June Francis offered to defend de la Marck's lands in return for territorial concessions. He refused, wishing to be independent of both sides. Fitzwilliam may have exaggerated Francis' part but it was a coup on his part to find something was up.[50]

Fitzwilliam also reported plans for the seizure of Spanish Navarre by Henri d'Albret.

> Here gooth now a common the king of Naver will set upon his reame and the Duke of Leunbrough [Brunswick-Lüneburg] will helpe hym with a grete nombre of Almaynes, that the king here will suffre as many as list of his ... to ayde him.

In May Francis told Fitzwilliam that Pamplona had been seized, in September that the Spanish had left Navarre.[51]

Military and naval matters

On 20 August, just before Wolsey left for Bruges, Charles attacked the north-eastern border of France. His army, led by Nassau, captured Mouzon and besieged Mézières. Despite heavy bombardment the garrison under Bayard held out, allowing Francis to assemble a relief force at Reims. The town was finally relieved on 23 September. At the beginning of October Francis set out to relieve Tournai, but missed the chance to defeat the enemy at Bouchain. His army then got bogged down in atrocious weather, and Tournai finally fell at the end of November.

Fitzwilliam sent regular appreciations of French military strength, particularly when he travelled across northern France with Francis on his campaign against Charles.[52] He

50. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. D viii f^{os} 18-19, (*LP* iii (1) 1183); Calig. D viii f^{os} 41-43, (*LP* iii (1) 1303); Calig. D viii f^{o} 44 (*LP* iii (1) 1304)

51. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. D viii f^{os} 92-93, (*LP* iii (2) 1562); Calig. D viii f^{o} 116 (*LP* iii (2) 1697).

52. BL, Cotton. MSS: Calig. D viii f^{os} 31-32, (*LP* iii (1) 1245); Calig. D viii f^{os} 37-38, (*LP* iii (1) 1278); ; Calig. D viii f^{os} 86-87, (*LP* iii (2) 1456); Calig. D viii f^{os} 89-90, (*LP* iii (2) 1501); Calig. D viii f^{o} 91, (*LP* iii (2) 1521); Calig. D viii f^{os} 92-93, (*LP* iii (2) 1562); Calig. D viii f^{o} 100, (*LP* iii (2) 1613); Calig. D viii f^{o} 101, (*LP* iii (2) 1631); Calig. D viii f^{os} 104-5, (*LP* iii (2) 1643); Calig. D viii f^{o} 107, (*LP* iii (2) 1662); Calig. D viii f^{o} 110, (*LP* iii (2) 1686); Calig. D viii f^{os} 80-81, (*LP* iii (2) 1697). (Dates from 22 April to 21 Oct. 1521)

showed French strength was much less than Francis claimed. He showed little insight into the French generals' qualities. Francis relied on Alençon ('distinguished but unbelievably stupid'[53]) rather than Bourbon, probably because of the crisis over Bourbon's inheritance. Fitzwilliam was with Francis at the indecisive battle of Bouchain, after which the army went into winter quarters. Tournai fell. Fitzwilliam also sent notes of what he could glean about action in Navarre,[54] and on France's eastern borders.[55] Wolsey thanked him for his 'good acquittal in that behalf'. [56]

In mid-March Fitzwilliam reported how Francis told him of the excellence of his fleet:

> He shewed me of his ships which, and [if] it bee as he sayeth, he hath a goodly flete. First, he hath a ship that shalbe redy by Midsomer that is sumwhat bigger than our ship [the *Henry Grace a Dieu*] and he hath the greate ship of Scotland and to the number of xvi sayll within his reame. The lest [least] is a ship of 400 tons, or at least above 350, and thre great galyons that I never herre of such, for they drawe so little water that he may bringe theym soo nere the shore that he maye leade out of theym without a boote [500] fotemen and [?] Horsemen, and he will have a brydge ... theym, soo as when they bee a grounde ... the bridge shal be put furth and so they shall .... I find very strange. He sayth also he will ... galyons [which] shalbe made purposely to made purposely to sayle with low dekkes, not to borde but oonly to shote ... Sir, I here not that he putteth any of these ships ... nor that he entendeth to doo any fete upon the see. Because I was Vice Admyrall he wolde falle with mee and asked me how I liked them.[57]

Francis seems to be speaking of an early landing craft, and ships built to bombard, not board, the enemy. Although the ships had not got beyond the drawing board, if that far, Francis' ideas show changing naval doctrine.[58] France may have been ahead of England here. Fitzwilliam was clearly sceptical about the landing craft but does not seem to have appreciated the implications of the development of broadside gunnery.

53. Meyer, *The Great Regent,* p.55.

54. BL, Cotton MS. Calig. D viii f^{os} 89-90 (*LP* iii (2) 1501), (7. Oct. 1521).

55. BL, Cotton. MSS. Calig. D viii f^{o} 91, (*LP* iii (2) 1521); Calig. D viii f^{os} 92-93, (*LP* iii (2) 1562); Calig. E i f^{os} 276-278, (*LP* iii (2) 1581); Calig. D viii f^{o} 100, (*LP* iii (2) 1613); Calig. D viii f^{o} 101, (*LP* iii (2) 1631); Calig. D viii f^{os} 104-5, (*LP* iii (2) 1643); Calig. D viii f^{o} 107, (*LP* iii (2) 1662); Calig. D viii f^{o} 110 (*LP* iii (2) 1686).

56. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. D viii f^{o} 133, (*LP* iii (2) 1625).

57. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. D viii f^{os} 22-23v, (*LP* iii (1) 1198). The *Michael,* built by James IV, was completed in 1511. In 1514 Albany sold it to France for about half what it cost. (N. Macdougall, *James IV* (East Linton, 1997), pp.236-7).

58. N.A.M. Rodger, 'The Development of Broadside Gunnery 1450-1650', *MM,* vol 82, no 3 (1986), pp.302-5.

French morale

Fitzwilliam's letters gave valuable information on the state of French morale. By August he thought it was desperate. Some gentlemen cursed de la Marck for starting his campaign and some cursed Louise, saying it was never well in France when ladies governed.[59] He reported how great the king's financial exactions in Burgundy were and thought much of it would revolt against the French if the Emperor came.[60] By September, Fitzwilliam wrote from Troyes:

> for and [if] they destroy the poor people as they begin to do, they can pay no tailis [taille] within these two or three years; for such poverty as is now saie [saw?] I never'.[61]

He may be showing a social conscience here, but he may also be commenting on the fiscal realities of the situation: the poor were so impoverished that there would be no tax yield for a long time.

The Calais negotiations came to a head. Wolsey sent Fitzwilliam proposals which he gave Francis in early October.[62] Fitzwilliam sent Wolsey a report of Francis' reply, adding that the French would have peace with all their hearts, and advising Wolsey that if there were any difficulties he should write to Louise and get her to persuade Francis to back down.[63] Francis initially refused to consent to the articles Nicholas West, bishop of Ely, and Charles, earl of Worcester, brought in early November. If a permanent peace was not concluded he wanted a truce for at least four or five years.[64] Duprat, from Calais, advised him to wage a 'guerre guerroyable' - a war of attrition which he thought would force Charles to sue for peace, whereas a truce 'would merely be the wet nurse of a bigger war'. [65] He was far from Louise. Only Robertet and Vendôme could advise him. The special ambassadors at first decided not to send Fitzwilliam to Louise at Compiègne, 'as he was very useful with Francis by reminding

59. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. D viii f° 113, (*LP* iii (2) app.29). The name in the badly mutilated MS is 'Robe...'. This probably means Robert de la Marck, but may refer to Robertet.
60. BL. Cotton. MS. Calig. D viii f° 115, (*LP* iii (2) 1470).
61. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. D viii f^os^ 92-93, (*LP* iii (2) 1562).
62. BL, Cotton. MS Calig. D viii f^os^ 104-5, (*LP* iii (2) 1643).
63. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. D viii f° 106, (*LP* iii (2) 1651).
64. Barrillon, *Journal,* ii, p.275.
65. Barrillon, *Journal,* ii, pp.315-6.

him of former promises'.[66] They later changed their minds and proposed he should go and ask Louise to help persuade Francis, but Francis said it would be lost labour: he wrote to her every day and knew her mind entirely.[67] Eventually Francis agreed to a short truce which Henry might prolong if necessary. Charles rejected it: though Fuentarrabia had fallen to the French, Charles was about to take the much more valuable prize of Tournai and he wanted to do so before a truce was made (it fell on 30 November). When Worcester and West arrived much of Fitzwilliam's time was spent running errands for them, illustrating the relative status of special and resident ambassadors.

3. Albany

Fitzwilliam tried to discover Francis's intentions over the duke of Albany, regent of Scotland, resident in France since 1517. Henry wished to avoid his return to Scotland where he might plot an invasion if England and France went to war. Albany was a problem when the Treaty of London was signed. Its Latin text[68] does not mention him: the French negotiators were told any agreement about him should be verbal only. Francis promised not to send Albany to Scotland or help him go, but would not stop him going of his own accord at his own risk. If war broke out between England and Scotland, Francis reserved the right to send him.[69] As the agreement was only verbal, it was unclear whether Francis agreed to stop Albany going to Scotland or just not to send him or encourage him to go. Henry thought the former, Francis the latter. The agreement was renewed at the Field of Cloth of Gold. The Scots were not consulted.

Fitzwilliam reported how Francis seemed conciliatory over the Scots, saying he had threatened Albany when he had talked of going to Scotland. He offered Henry a new truce for five or six months. Fitzwilliam thought Francis' offer should be accepted:

> ... if it bee for the King my maisters advantage ... Trewse I wols he should grant it. But yf ... advautage of the Scottes for Goddes sake man ... theym for Scottes will never do good for England ... [as] the world standeth. Please it Your Grace, nature ... me to speke somewhat rowndely against theym,

65. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. D viii f° 130, (*LP* iii (2) 1707).

66. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. D viii f^os^ 168-9, (*LP* iii (2) 1749).

68. Rymer, *Foedera*, xiii, pp.624-632.

69. Barrillon, *Journal,* ii, pp.106-7.

[because they] slewe two of my brothers.[70]

In response Henry sent long and detailed instructions on how Fitzwilliam should conduct negotiations, above all that 'there may be no appearance of a desire for Peace with Scotland but rather the opposite'.[71] Nevertheless he agreed to extend the truce.[72]

In late August Fitzwilliam worried he could find out nothing about Albany,

> I see not the Duke of Albany in the courts, and I hear nothing he is put to, which maketh me thinke they kepe hym purposely to sende into Scotland; and I enquire as I canne where he is, and what he dothe, but I can lerne nothing.[73]

In September he feared ships were being prepared for Albany.[74] On 15 September Louise denied this, saying he was in Paris. She said Francis promised to do what he could to keep him in France, doing so at great expense, but was under no obligation to detain him.[75] Fitzwilliam last saw him on 28 September.[76] On 4 October he reported Albany had left the court, but he did not know where he had gone, nor if he would return.[77] In fact Albany left about then and sailed to Scotland.[78] Fitzwilliam failed to influence French policy on Scotland, especially regarding Albany. The Scots were too useful to the French. Fitzwilliam thought Bonnivet, Francis and Louise were all lying to him - they probably were. There is no record of him actually speaking to Albany.

70. BL, Cotton MS. Calig. D viii f^{os} 22-23, (*LP* iii (1) 1206).
71. NA, SP1/21, f^{os} 247-257, (*LP* iii (1) 1212).
72. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. D viii f^{os} 170-71, (*LP* iii (1) 1257).
73. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. D viii f^{o} 91, (*LP* iii (2) 1521).
74. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. E i f^{os} 276-8, (*LP* iii (2) 1581).
75. BL, Cotton MS. Calig. D viii f^{o} 97-98, (*LP* iii (2) 1257).
76. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. D viii f^{o} 100, (*LP* iii (2) 1613), (29 Sept. 1521).
77. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. D viii f^{o} 101, (*LP* iii (2) 1631), (4 Oct. 1521).
78. NA, S/C, Hen. VIII, viii, f^{os} 49-50, [G.R. Elton, 'Anglo-French Relations in 1522: A Scottish Prisoner of War and his Interrogation', *EHR*, 77(1963), pp.310ff.]

4. Francis' debts to Henry and the English crown

Francis' debts to Henry comprised the 'pension' and debts resulting from Henry's disastrous intervention in the money markets. (Others included back payments of taxes from the citizens of Tournai to Henry outstanding in 1518 and Mary's dowry. Fitzwilliam does not seem to have been much involved with these issues at this time.[79]) The 'pension' was a payment of 50,000 gold crowns (£10,000) p.a. from the French to the English Crown first agreed at the Treaty of Picquigny (1475) and subsequently in 1492 and 1515.[80] It tended to be cut off when relations were strained, and Fitzwilliam was concerned whether the payment due in November 1521 would be paid. Robertet made continual excuses, going as far as to tell Fitzwilliam:

> And [if] there were but two goblettes in Fraunce, they shulde be solde rather than the Kinges Highness sould be misconted [discontented?] for the money. [81]

This was typical of Robertet's style: he had not the slightest intention of paying up. By the time Fitzwilliam left the instalment had still not been paid, and no more payments were made until they were reactivated by the Treaty of the More. Payment of the French 'pension' was an irritant for the rest of Henry's reign.[82]

At some unknown time in the past Henry VIII had lent £63,000 to a group of Italian merchants who in turn lent a large sum to the *Généraux des finances* and then went bankrupt. Henry tried to get the *Généraux* to pay up, and raised the matter at the Field of Cloth of Gold, the amount having risen to £78,000 including handling charges (i.e interest, though exacting interest was theoretically forbidden). More charges accrued. The *Généraux* denied all responsibility. Helped by Bartolommeo Salviati, Fitzwilliam discussed the matter with Bonnivet, Réné de Savoie, Semblançay and the *Généraux* in April 1521. Fitzwilliam found it hard going: 'They never saw men speak fairer when they want anything, nor stiffer when any one desires what they do not wish to grant'.

79. BL, Cotton. MSS. Calig. D viii f^{ps} 26-27, (*LP* iii (1) 1206), (29 March 1521); Calig. D viii f^{ps} 41-43, (*LP* iii (1) 1303), (24 May). Calig. E i f^{ps} 276-8, (*LP* iii (2) 1581), (15 Sept.).

80. Rymer, *Foedera:* xii, pp.15-21; xii, pp. 710-2; xiii, pp.413ff.

81. BL, Cotton. MSS. Calig. D viii f^{ps} 199-201, (LP iii 1946).

82. For a detailed discussion of the history of the French 'pension' up to Henry's death see D. Potter, 'Foreign Policy' in D. MacCulloch (ed), *The Reign of HenryVIII: Politics, Policy and Piety* (Basingstoke, 1995), pp. 125-128.

The negotiations failed.[83] Some aspects of the matter remain obscure: Jacqueton's summary is helpful.[84] Francis' ministers indulged in sharp practice, and ran rings round the English. The matter was finally settled at the Treaty of the More, when it was arranges that a syndicate of Italian merchants should buy the debt from Henry at a discount.[85] The debt was a very technical issue and Fitzwilliam had to deal with ministers and financiers at a high level, though he had some expert advice. It is not surprising that he failed, but that he could carry on the discussions at all shows his training and ability in financial affairs.

5. Fitzwilliam and prominent people at the French court.

The main people at court besides Francis were his mother Louise of Savoy and his sister Marguerite. Other prominent figures included Duprat, the Chancellor, Robertet, the King's secretary and Bonnivet, the Admiral. Fitzwilliam had less contact with the French generals, probably because they were away from court most of the time.

Louise of Savoy [86]

At first Fitzwilliam got on well with Louise. Later he was more wary, though their relations remained superficially good. Francis projected the image of the warrior, Louise that of the peacemaker, but they were two aspects of the same *persona*. Key men like Duprat, Robertet, Bonnivet and Réné de Savoie, (her half-brother, Grand Master and a competent general) were all closely linked to her. At Valenciennes, when Francis faced Worcester and West and was far from Louise, he floundered. Her advice was not always good: her intervention over the Bourbon lands did much to alienate the Duc de Bourbon, and she probably told Francis to take the advice of the Duc

83. NA, SP1/22 f° 176, (*LP* iii (1) 1316); BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. D viii f° 31-32, (*LP* iii (1) 1245), (22 April 1521).

84. Jacqueton, pp 35-38. See also Spont, A., *Semblançay (?-1527); la bourgeoisie financière au début du xv^e siècle* (1895), pp.169-171. Spont makes it clear that apart from all other considerations the French treasury was virtually bare. For Fitzwilliam's report on the discussions with Semblançay and the other French representatives see NA, SP1/22 f° 176, (*LP* iii (1) 1316).

85. Jacqueton , pp.138-40.

86. There is no good life of Louise in English or French. Mme Henry-Bordeaux' is preferable to Lady Meyer's.

d'Alençon, Marguerite's husband, in the 1521 campaign. At Bouchain Alençon advised caution, so Francis lost the chance to inflict a severe defeat on the imperial army.

Fitzwilliam thought the English could appeal from warlike Francis to pacific Louise:

> If there be any point Your Grace stick at, my poor opinion is Your Grace write to my Lady, for I have seen in divers things .. that when the French King would stick at some points, and speak very great words, yet my Lady would qualify the matter; and sometimes when the King is contented he will say nay, and then my Lady must require him and at her request he will be contented; for he is so obeissant to her that he will refuse nothing that she requireth him to do. [87]

This was the image Louise wanted to project. Fitzwilliam fell for it like everyone else. Fitzwilliam only saw Louise's public face. Her personality was much darker than he could imagine. The victim of sexual abuse as a child, her marriage to Charles of Angoulême was consummated when she was twelve - well outside contemporary norms: in the late middle ages fifteen was usually the earliest age for consummation.[88] Marguerite thought her mother did not love her, and Louise's attitude to her relationship with Bonnivet seems that of a procuress.[89] She was highly rapacious and vindictive, as was shown in her part in destroying Gié, Semblançay and Bourbon. She is favourably regarded now, and nothing can deprive her of credit for holding France together during Francis' captivity, but earlier historians like Michelet and Guizot, who saw her role as essentially destructive, may have had some justification..

Marguerite

Fitzwilliam's relations with Marguerite were generally good except when she subjected him to a tirade (see above). He wrote to Wolsey:

> I pray and beseech Your Grace to consider I am a young man in years and choleric of complexion, and in case a man should speak to me as she did, which so mighteli touched the King's honour and yours, I fear I should have made him such an answer that peradventure should have grone that the King's grace would not have been contented for though the French King and my Lady speak fair

87. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. D viii f° 106, (*LP* iii (2) 1651), (9 Oct. 1521).

88. Parsons, J.C. 'Mothers, Daughters, Marriage, Power: some Plantagenet Evidence, 1150-1500' in Parsons, J.C. (ed) *Medieval Queenship* (Stroud, 1994).

89. Patricia F. and R.C. Cholakian, *Marguerite de Navarre, Mother of the Renaissance* (New York, 2006), pp.11ff, pp.21-38; R. de Maulde la Clavière, *Louise de Savoie et François I^er^, Trente ans de Jeunesse* (Paris, 1895), pp.155-194, 200-214.

with their mouthes I perceive well what they think in their hearts.[90]

Dr MacMahon concludes: '... where such accusations coming from the lips of the king or one of his advisers could well have precipitated a serious diplomatic incident ... the immunity afforded Marguerite by her gender allowed her to make such remarks.'[91] Fitzwilliam thought Louise orchestrated Marguerite's part to provoke him, knowing his short temper. (But was he too playing a part to Wolsey, as Dr Prescott suggests?)[92]

Later Marguerite 'told me many of the Pope's acts, which, if true, are little to his honour'. While she may have tried to alienate Henry from the Pope Dr Vose thinks she showed 'the profound mistrust of the French royal house towards the Holy See in 1521 and the 'frustration with ecclesiastical practices' shown in her letters to Briçonnet.[93]

In interpreting Marguerite's tirade over Ardes and her telling discreditable tales about the Pope her state of mind must be taken into account. She had an ambiguous relationship with Bonnivet, for whom she seems to have had genuine feelings but who had tried to force himself on her at least twice; this affected her relations with Louise, who seems to have encouraged Bonnivet. During 1521 she was undergoing a religious crisis, shown in her adoption of Briçonnet as a spiritual guide. She may not have been fully in command of herself at the time. Fitzwilliam is unlikely to have known about Briçonnet but may have known about Bonnivet from court gossip. There is no mention of either relationship in his letters.[94]

90. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. E i f° 276-8, (*LP* iii(2) 1581), (15 Sept 1521). In the third line Vodden gives 'mistily', which makes no sense. The 's' is in fact a 'yog'.
91. MacMahon, 'Courtesy and Conflict', pp.191-2.
92. Anne Lake Prescott, 'And then she fell on a great laughter: Tudor diplomats read Marguerite de Navarre', in Mikesell and Seef (eds) *Culture and Change: Attending to early modern women* (Newark NJ, 2003), pp.49-51.
93. Heather M. Voss, 'Marguerite of Navarre: that "Right English Woman"', *SCJ.*, xvi, no 3, (1985), pp.318-9. See also Barbara Stephenson, *The Power and Patronage of Marguerite of Navarre* (Aldershot, 2004), pp.153ff.
94. For Bonnivet see Patricia F. and R.C. Cholakian, *Marguerite de Navarre*, pp.30-38; de Maulde la Clavière, *Louise de Savoie et François I^er^*, pp.200-214. For Briçonnet see P. F. and R.C. Cholakian, *Marguerite de Navarre*, pp.69ff.

Marguerite was uniquely *duc et pair* of France and *prince capétien* (note the gender). She sat on the King's Council and the *conseil sécret.*[95] No Englishwoman had this power. (Margaret Beaufort had as much under Henry VII but she was careful to act behind the scenes). Fitzwilliam saw her only as Louise's catspaw - a big mistake.

French ministers

Bonnivet[96] was appointed to deal with Fitzwilliam on day-to-day matters until he left for Navarre in July 1521. Bonnivet told him 'to report to my lady (Louise) as formerly and after her to [Robertet]'.[97] He was strongly linked to both Louise and Francis (with whom he was brought up),[98] and could be relied on to follow their line. Fitzwilliam got on well with him - they had a common interest in hawking[99] - but soon realised that often Bonnivet told him nothing relevant and sometimes lied, especially over Scotland.

Fitzwilliam's relations with *Robertet* were generally friendly, but *Duprat*, the other principal minister, bullied him. This was typical. Duprat always adopted an aggressive attitude, while Robertet was everyone's friend. They made a good team: adversaries turned with relief from Duprat to Robertet and were fleeced just as much.[100] Robertet was the hub of everything, as Nasi, the Tuscan ambassador, found ten years earlier:

> *In fatto Robertet resto il perno di questa corte; è per condurre sempre la opinione sua dove vorrà, perche, oltra alla esperienza e prudenza sua per lo essere tanto esercitato, si vede in tutto essere lo orecchio e la lingua del re ... El gran cancelliere, quantunque pretenda assai e desideri dare opinione di avere el governo, per essere uomo non atto al maneggio delli stati nè inclinato alla fatica, non si crede gli volti più riputatizione se avessi prima.* [101]

95. Stephenson, Barbara, *The Power and Patronage of Marguerite of Navarre* (Aldershot, 2004), pp.80ff. Professor Knecht (*EHR* cxix (2004), pp1402-4) thinks Dr Stephenson overstates Margaret's uniqueness. Even so, she had more power than any Englishwoman in recent times.
96. The only biography of Bonnivet makes no reference to his role at this time: F. Ambrière, *Le Favori de François Ier, Gouffier de Bonnivet, Amiral de France* (1936).
97. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. D viii f° 73, (*LP* iii (2) 1441).
98. Meyer, *The Great Regent,* p.50.
99. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. D viii f° 37-8, (*LP* iii (1) 1278), (14 May 1521).
100. For Duprat's career see Buisson, *Duprat*, (well documented but some statements are doubtful). For Robertet see Mayer and Bentley-Cranch, *Florimond Robertet.*
101. A. Desjardins, *Negotiations diplomatiques de la France avec la Toscane* (1859-860, p.515. The French translation in Mayer and Bentley-Cranch, *Florimond Robertet*, p.51 is badly mangled.

Fitzwilliam was popular with major figures like Vendôme and with the courtiers generally. This helped his information gathering, though there were sensitive periods when he was cold shouldered because of orders from above.

The end of Fitzwilliam's mission

In late September Fitzwilliam implored Wolsey that he might return home with him:

> Sir, I most humbly beseche your Grace to raymember my comeng home furst for to set order in syche gret maters as I have to do wyche toucheth both my soulle and my goudes, saycondly for syche grete charge that I am and hathe at, and thirdly because I have at this house 5 of my sarvandes seke, and so seke I cane not cary theym about with me, wyche is to me both [?] payne and charge.[102]

He had served for sixty days more than he had been paid for, then eighty days.[103] (What the reference to his soul means is not clear).

In late October he feared for his life:

> I never had a worse journey in all the warres that ever I have been in, and I assure Your Grace in no little dangier of my life, for the other day the adventurers [mercenaries] wold have taken my logging from me, yet it was ill ynough for a man to set his horses in, and for because my servante showed theym that the Kyng wolde not be contented therewith they wolde have strikkenne hym before my face. And so I was fayn to speake faire and with moche work ... kepe theym that they hurte not my sayde servaunt. Howbeit they shewed me expressly how that and [if] I fortuned to light among the adventurers of France the wolde hewe me in pieces, for they said they never loved Englishmenne nor never wolde. And they were of Monsieur Burbons bande and he wolde have had them hanged, ... but I desired hym that he wolde not do so for [if he had?] I am sure I shulde never have commen [home?]. [104]

He had almost nobody to serve him as many of his servants were ill from lying on the cold ground.[105] His clerk (on whom he depended for ciphers) was not expected to live

> and it is not possyboll for me to sarf thow kyng and yow as I have done with hout hym; for an ye wold gyf me all thow goud in thow world, I canot lerne to make thes syfers.[106]

102. NA, SP1/23, f°123, (*LP* iii 1797).

103. BL, Cotton. MSS. Calig. D viii f° 100, (*LP* iii (2) 1602); Calig. D viii f° 101 (*LP* iii (2) 1631); Calig. D viii f^ps^ 104-5 (*LP* iii (2) 1643).

104. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. D viii f° 80-81, (*LP* iii (2) 1697), (21 Oct. 1521).

105. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. D viii f° 121-2, (*LP* iii (2) 1702).

106. NA, SP1/23 f° 98, (*LP* iii (2) 1710).

Wolsey wrote to all the English diplomatic team at the French court, acknowledging Fitzwilliam's complaints and sympathising regarding:

> ... the painful passages and other ... ye daily sustayne in this tyme of hostility, by folowing the Frensh [king] from place to place, but also the lamentable spectacles that ye have seeyn there, by brenning ... depopulation of fayre countrayes ... My lords, though I have not been present with you in this your tediouse [journey], I have had as moch compassion as though I had been participant ...[107]

Perhaps sympathy is cheap, but one can hardly imagine Henry bothering to express it.

Fitzwilliam fell ill of colic and fever in late November, probably because of his trek across France in appalling weather. His letters stop on 28 November and resume on 9 January 1522.[108] By then Milan and Tournai had fallen and the Calais conference was over. 'They have stricken their sail a great deal, and I dare say would give as much as they could to be sure of the King'. Fitzwilliam wrote that Francis knew (probably by 18 January) that Charles was to receive the hand of Princess Mary, then about six. This accorded with the treaties made at Bruges in August, and at Calais in November, kept secret within a restricted circle until ratification by the Pope. Fitzwilliam advised that if Henry broke with Francis, it should be kept secret till England was so ready that the French could not harm them, 'for I assure you he putteth in readiness all his power'.[109] Fitzwilliam was relieved at the end of January. He handed over to Sir Thomas Cheyney before Francis on 26 January 1522.[110] Louise wrote to Wolsey: 'Sir William Fitzwilliam ... has behaved so well that I hope he will be rewarded'.[111] He was granted the manor of Naveley, Northamptonshire, forfeited by the Duke of Buckingham.[112]

107. BL, Cotton. MS. Vit. B xx f° 241, (*LP* iii (2) 1728). (very mutilated).
108. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. D viii f°s 199-201 (*LP* iii (2) 1946) (9 Jan. 1522). Reference to his wife and mother shows he was in regular touch with his family, but no letters survive.
109. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. D viii f°s 111-2, (*LP* iii (2) 1947).
110 BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. D viii f° 202, (*LP* iii (2) 2070), (26 Jan. 1522).
111. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. D viii f° 214, (*LP* iii (2) 2000), (29 Jan. 1522).
112. NA, C66/39, (*LP* iii (2) 2167, (10 April 1522).

Assessment

Fitzwilliam's letters are informative, concise and to the point. The surviving correspondence suggests Wolsey wrote back to him on a 'need to know' basis. As resident ambassador he was more useful if kept in ignorance.

Wolsey had a high opinion of Fitzwilliam. He assured him that Henry and he 'be very glad to understand and perceive how roundly ye do fall to the matter' - with a hint that he still had to learn: 'not doubting but within short time ye shall attain to perfect experience'.[113] That this was not routine encouragement is shown by his letter to Henry in which he was 'very glad' to see 'the towardness of this young man which in mine opinion and poor judgment falleth right well to the matter'.[114] And Henry was much pleased with Fitzwilliam's 'diligent and substantial acquitaile'.[115] A few weeks later Henry would again thank Fitzwilliam for his continued diligence.[116] His colleague Jerningham wrote in praise of him, stating that Fitzwilliam:

> hath ordred hym self soo here that he hath the frenshe kinges favour my ladyes and the admyralles and is in as good credence aswell with theym and with all the counsaill as any man of his degre that hath been here of a grete space.[117]

Fitzwilliam carried out his diplomatic tasks skilfully, proved an excellent observer, and built up a good rapport with the French royal family and important people at Francis' court. He also showed great courage crossing northern France with the French army - a journey in appalling weather that probably permanently affected his health. Dr McMahon is correct: 'His strong performance in 1521 certainly drew attention to Fitzwilliam's undoubted abilities and must have gone a long way towards convincing Henry and Wolsey of his suitability for higher office and greater responsibility'.[118]

113. NA, SP1/21 f° 214, (*LP* iii (1) 1191).
114. NA, SP1/21 f^os^ 215-6, (*LP* iii (1) 1192), (7 March 1521).
115. NA, SP1/21, f^os^ 247-257, (*LP* iii (1) 1212).
116. BL, Cotton MS. Calig. D viii f° 170, (*LP* iii (1) 1257).
117. NA, SP1/22, f°191 (*LP* iii (1) 1337).
118 L. MacMahon, 'The Ambassadors of Henry VIII', p.267.

B LATER MISSIONS

Diplomatic initiatives at Calais

In May 1524 Fitzwilliam was appointed captain of Guines. He was at once involved in feelers the French put out *via* Calais. The first was in March 1524 from du Biez, Governor of Boulogne, and the local French commander, Pont-Remy. Du Biez sent a herald to Lord Berners, Deputy of Calais, saying he wanted peace between the Kings of France and England and wanted to meet Berners to discuss matters. Berners replied that he appreciated du Biez' message but would

> 'nedyr speke nor write eney thynge ther in without exprese commandment of the King's grace my mayster'.

Du Biez asked him to tell Henry of the approach and Berners wrote to Wolsey[119], who sent a safe-conduct for Pont-Remy to come to London.[120] After some delay, probably to consult Francis and Louise, he declined it but said he still wanted to talk to Berners. Next a monk came to London on an unofficial mission from Louise to Wolsey to find his views on securing peace.[121] As he had no power to negotiate, Wolsey asked for a formal approach; he had to treat with both allies, and if the monk had nothing further to say he could return to France. He was escorted to the French frontier. Wolsey sent an account to Sampson, ambassador at Charles's court, knowing he would show it to Charles.[122] He wanted to make him think no credence was being given to the approach.

Fitzwilliam reported a conversation his messenger had with Pont-Remy:

> Trompet, dict il, tell your master an [if] he will join us with the said 10,000 men to beat these coward Flemings who run away, I shall make him a good part of the [booty].

He had written to Pont-Remy, probably about peace negotiations, and was sending the answer (now lost) to Wolsey.[123]

119. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. E iii f° 47, (*LP* iii (2) 2882 (mutilated)). The *LP* editors attribute this and the next reference to 9 March 1523, but Jacqueton convincingly dates them to 1524.
120. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. E iv f° 153, (*LP* iii (2) 2951).
121. Dr Gwyn's identifies the monk as Jean-Joachim de Passano (Gwyn, *Wolsey,* p.386). This is unwarranted: the arguments of the editors of the *State Papers* are convincing. Jean-Joachim was well-known and would have been recognised.
122. NA, SP1/31, f° 139, (*LP* iv (1) 394 - too truncated to be useful). [ST. P. vi, p.305].
123. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. D viii 300, (*LP* iv (1) 325), (11 May 1524).

Pont-Remy then made a more direct approach, through Calais pursuivant. After a long conversation between Vendôme and Pont-Remy, Calais was called aside by Pont-Remy, who said to him privately he wished a good peace could be made. Calais asked him to give him written confirmation to provide to the King. Pont-Remy said it would not be necessary, but desired him to tell it to Fitzwilliam, who knew how to deal with the matter.[124] Fitzwilliam sent this information with Calais to Wolsey immediately. As Jacqueton comments:

> *La conversation que Vendôme eut d'abord avec [Pont-Remy] montre que le duc était au courant de l'affaire et que toutes ces critiques étaient connues et approuvées en haut lieu.*[125]

Fitzwilliam praised Calais pursuivant for his conduct. One of his more attractive traits was the way he always gave credit where it was due.

Wolsey sent Fitzwilliam instructions (now lost) on how to react to further approaches: they are now lost, but Fitzwilliam mentioned them in later letters.[126] He was to tell Wolsey at once of any French approach and see contact was maintained. However, Pont-Remy left Boulogne, and Fitzwilliam did not know what was happening.

> Supposes .. either that Pont de Remye knows the French king is determined to practise by other ways, or else what he said to Calais was but for a fraske [trick], which is not likely, for there was never more povertie in France than now is ...When Calais was last at Boulogne, a gentleman came thither in poste, to whom various made reverence. A trumpet of Boulogne said he was going to Calais for a saufconduct for him; and that he was a Jennoye [Genoese], going to [Antonio Bonvisi].'[127]

The Genoese was Jean-Joachim de Passano.[128] Fitzwilliam does not give his name, but must have known who he was. Wolsey sent a safe-conduct for him immediately, but he arrived at Boulogne before it reached Calais. Berners, who knew nothing about what was going on, refused to issue him a safe-conduct on his own responsibility. When Jean-Joachim returned the following day Berners consulted Fitzwilliam, who advised him to issue a safe-conduct, which he did. Fitzwilliam was acting on standing orders

124. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. D viii 303-4; (*LP* iv (1) 335), (15 May 1524).

125. Jacqueton, p.52, n.3.

126. NA, SP1/31 f° 128, (*LP* iv (1) 414), (13 June 1524); 418, (16 June).

127. NA, SP1/31 f° 131-2 (*LP* iv (1) 418), (16 June 1524).

128. See Jacqueton, pp.53-4 for a biographical sketch of Jean-Joachim.

from Wolsey to watch approaches from the French, who probably told him of Jean-Joachim's arrival. 'Trumpets' continually crossed the lines on routine matters and Vendôme may have been told to contact Fitzwilliam in this way. Though he was nominally Berners' subordinate Fitzwilliam reported directly to Wolsey, whose orders gave Fitzwilliam discretion and great responsibility

Mission to Flanders, 1525

Francis' capture at Pavia opened the way for an English invasion of France to support Henry's claims. He was reluctant to act without support from the Netherlands. In April 1525 he sent Sir Robert Wingfield and Fitzwilliam to negotiate for contributions of men and transport[129] with the governor of the Netherlands, Margaret of Austria.[130]

Fitzwilliam already knew the Wingfield brothers, and had a high opinion of them. In 1523 he wrote to Suffolk, about to set out on his invasion of France:

> I ... understand thow Kinges Hynes is determined to lef Sir Rychard Wengfield and Sir Robard at home. Sir, at the rayverence of God, loke welle therapone and remember what ned ye shalle have of Sir Rycharde for is wyse counselle and is pene for making of yowr letter wyche ye shalle find so marvellous a lake yf ye mess hym. And likewise I remet to yowr discression what lake ye shall have of Sir Robard for dyspachyng of all hoder yowr affairs for, Syr, if you lake them ye shall wysche a M[l] tymes for theym or [before] ye cum home. [131]

After a week Margaret agreed to provide limited support. Wolsey said he 'should have wished for a better answer, but since Madame is not willing to give it we shall have patience and wait'. England, he told her envoys, still wanted to invade France but her allies had not seen fit to support her.[132] Henry was keen to invade France. Wolsey

129. BL, Cotton. MS. Galba B viii f° 153, (*LP* iv (1) 1307), (3 May 1525). BL, Cotton. MS. Galba B viii f° 140, (*LP* iv (1) 1301); *Sp. Cal.* iii (1) 39. For the background to the visit to Margaret see Gwyn, *The King's Cardinal,* c.9.

130. Margaret is an iconic figure in Belgium, with a large literature. The most accessible account is: Jane de Iongh, *Margaret of Austria, Regent of the Netherlands* (1954), to be read with the more rigorous account in Ghislaine de Boom, *Marguerite d'Autriche* (Brussels, 1946). Dr de Boom's old sparring partner Carton de Wiart, in *Marguerite d'Autriche: une Princesse Belge de la Renaissance* (1935), gives a penetrating insight into her personality.

131 (NA, SP1/32 f° 39, (*LP* iv 619)). On the 4th line 'pene' = pen, not pain, as Vodden suggests.

132. *Sp. Cal.* iii (1), p.153., (not in LP) (8 May 1525).

may have been less so.[133] If this was the case, he may have thought the success of the negotiations lay in their failure.

Fitzwilliam had to calculate the advance charges, estimated at £1000. He reckoned they were over £3000 - well above budget. He needed to 'put his house in Guines in order' and asked Wolsey for leave to return, as Wingfield and Tate could do all that was required.[134] He also wrote:

> In devising with her after the declaracion of o[ur?] charge, I declared to her the secrete charge your Grace gave me in commaundement. To the whiche she answered, saying she ... knewe welle your Grace wolde she shulde advaunce and set further the premises for ye had written unto her your secrete token. But she knewe in likewise that there bee diverse personnes whiche study for nothing so moche as to set suspection between the Emperor [and the] Kinges Highnes.[135]

We do not know what Fitzwilliam was writing about. Perhaps it was something Henry would not approve. More likely Wolsey, with Henry's knowledge, wanted Margaret to think he was going behind Henry's back - a strictly deniable approach. The one conclusion which can be drawn with certainty is that Wolsey trusted Fitzwilliam to act on his behalf in a highly confidential capacity.

The mission to Lyons, 1525

In October 1525 Fitzwilliam went to Lyons with Dr John Taylor, Archdeacon of Buckingham to take Louise's oath to ratify the Treaty of the More, concluded in August.[136] Taylor was a legal expert and noted Latin orator. 'Under the influence of humanism the opening oration by an ambassador took on great importance as an item of prestige.'[137] They were later joined by John Clerk, Bishop of Bath and Wells, lately

133. Gwyn, *The King's Cardinal,* pp.386ff.115. BL, Cotton. MS. Galba B viii f° 38, (*LP* iv (1) 1312), (5 May 1525).

134. BL, Cotton. MSS. Galba B viii f^os^ 38-9, (*LP* iv (1) 1312); Galba B viii f^os^ 175-8, (*LP* iv (1) 1307), Sir Bartholomew Tate (c1475-1533) was Vice Marshal of Calais. Not part of the original embassy, he was apparently brought by Fitzwilliam on his own responsibility. Fitzwilliam was shortly handing over his captaincy of Guines.

135. BL, Cotton. MS. Galba B v f^os^ 223-4, (*LP* iv (1) 1308), (3 May 1525).

136. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. D ix f^os^ 87-8, (*LP* iv (1) 1705).

137. D.E. Queller, *The Office of Ambassador in the Middle Ages* (Princeton NJ, 1967), p.196.

ambassador to the Pope. They were instructed: to check arrangements for taking the oaths required by the treaty; to find the state of Louise's negotiations with Charles, and to press her not to be too hasty 'as, by the King's help, he shall doubtless be recovered without prejudice to his honour or interests'; and to stop Francis marrying Eleanor of Portugal. Henry told them 'to endeavour to ascertain whether Madame Regent took this peace feignedly or cordially'.[138] He feared she might submit to Charles to recover her son. He wanted to stop Francis and Charles concluding an alliance without England. The formal points were eventually dealt with in London.[139]

They reached Lyons on 24 November. Fitzwilliam stayed until 16 January 1526, when illness forced his return. Though the ambassadors thought negotiations for Francis' release well advanced, Louise denied knowledge of what was happening. She said Francis 'would [not] deliver one foot of land in his possession, nor would grant to no other conditions than he had offered unto them afore'. She prevaricated over Francis' marriage to Eleanor, saying he would reject it.[140] The position was still uncertain on 31 December, when Fitzwilliam had leave to return, though he stayed till Marguerite returned from Spain. The ambassadors wrote on 31 December:

> Whereas we wrote unto Your Grace in our last lettres that we had spokenne with my Lady concerning the brute [rumour] whiche we herde of the conclusion that shulde bee almost passed between the Emperor and the Frensshe king. We have herde no more thereof never sythence ner also as yet there came no post owte of Spayne hider, notwithstanding there is oone loked for every how're, who oons come we trust to knowe the certaintie of everything in that behalf, not doubting but that my Lady will shewe us the same and the Secretes of alle those affayres herself for we assure Your Grace we never sawe ner herde woman speke bettre wordes ner make better countenaunce than she doothe unto use. And percaas she dysemble in the premises, she handles the same verrey craftily, as in our opinion she doothe not.[141]

She lied. She was told by her ambassadors of the negotiations and knew the terms of the treaty from the beginning of December 1525, though probably not exactly when it

138. NA, SP1/36, f° 102 (*LP* iv (1) 1704), BL. Calig. D ix f° 87-8 (*LP* iv (1) 1705 (16 Oct. 1525).

139. Jacqueton, pp.157-196 and P.J. XLI. LVI, LVII, LIX recount what happened in detail. See also Rymer, *Foedera,* xiv, 113, 129.

140. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. D ix f° 124, (*LP* iv (1) 1824), (16 Dec. 1525).

141. NA: SP1/36, f^ps^ 229-30, (*LP* iv (1) 1850, (31 Dec. 1525).

was to be signed.[142] On 19 December Robertet drew up a *procès-verbal* containing the terms of the Treaty of Madrid and instructions to Louise's ambassadors to sign it. Despite Charles closing the frontiers on 18 December a copy reached her: on 8 January 1526 Marguerite wrote to Duprat enclosing 'une missive secrète du Roi ... voici copie du projet ou traité de paix'.[143] Even if news of the signing of the treaty came after Fitzwilliam left, Louise knew its terms, and that signature was imminent.

The treaty, signed on 14 January, contained two clauses Henry and Wolsey opposed: the cession of French Burgundy and the marriage to Eleanor. Fitzwilliam, Taylor and Clerk failed in their main aim. In the event England's position was unaffected, as Francis repudiated the Treaty. Francis excluded Eleanor from politics, only using her to communicate with her sister Mary of Hungary, Regent of the Netherlands, as at the Truce of Bomy in 1537.[144] Charles and Francis never trusted each other, and alternating hot and cold war went on for decades. Peace between England and France was kept, sometimes uneasily, till 1543 and despite a scare in 1539/40 the threat of France and the Empire combining against England was removed for the rest of Henry's life. Once again Fitzwilliam gained praise from colleagues for his conduct. After his departure Taylor lamented his loss in a letter to Wolsey:

> Doubtles he ys a wyse, dyscrete and a sober man and cyrcumspect, with great dylygence in causes to hym comyted. Yf I were a yonge man, and toward the worlde to doo servyce, I wolld most[?] for muche good, but that I had com with him. He hathe the language of the frenche tongue, with thexperyence of theyre maners and acquaintance with many of the court whyche dayly did resorte to him and often tymes did advertyse him of secret newys that were in the court. [145]

142. For events before Francis' release see F. Mignet, *Rivalité de François I^er^ et de Charles-Quint* (1886), c.8, based on documents in M. Aimé Champollion-Figeac, *Captivité du Roi Francois I^er^* (1847) Francis' advance repudiation is doc. N° ccxxii.

143. Stephenson, *Power and Patronage of Marguerite of Navarre,* p119, quoting *Glanes et regains récoltés dans les archives de la maison Du Prat*, #1.

144. Eleanor's life is given a sympathetic treatment in Ghislaine de Boom, *Archiduchesse Éléonore (1498-1558), reine de France, sœur de Charles Quint* (repr. Brussels, 2003), but with few references. When in France Eleanor met the virulent hatred of the future Henri II (though he treated her better after he succeeded) and the opposition of Marguerite of Navarre and the Duchesse d'Estampes; her only ally was Montmorency, who fell in 1541.

145. BL, Cotton. MS, Caligula D ix f° 138, (*LP* iv (1) 1901 (17 Jan. 1526)

He also gained the respect of the French. Brinon reported to Louise about the conferences held between Wolsey and the French ambassadors in London:

> *La seconde conférence fut hier de relevée, après le rapport de seigneur F. Wilan, qui a esté grand et honourable, ouy.* [146]

After his mission to Louise Fitzwilliam became a pensioner of the French King. The payment of such pensions had been common practice since 1475. The pensioners had to ask Henry's permission, and he probably nominated them. Fitzwilliam received 800 *livres tournois* (c£160) at the end of 1525, 600 *l.t.* (c£120) in 1526/7 and 875 *l.t* (c£175) in 1532-4, and probably similar amounts in between. He was eighth on the list: in 1526 he got rather over a third of what was paid to Norfolk, Suffolk and Shrewsbury and rather less than Sandys and Rochford. Wolsey got five times as much as the rest put together.[147]

Mission to Poissy, 1526

At the end of 1526 Fitzwilliam went with John Clerk, resident in Paris, to Francis and Louise at Poissy: the main issue was Francis' marriage to Mary. Francis told them he did not consider himself bound by the Treaty of Madrid and would tell Charles he rejected Eleanor. Fitzwilliam said the signs were good, but had doubts:

> we thynke it harde to saye what they now thynke, and what they will doo ... for this is evident, they be more tender over ther childern, and they be all bent to the ... shortist and most easiest that may be whereunto they have two ways: the way of compulsion by force, and the waye of treatye .... Peradventure they thynke that the said Emperor having his [way?] in Italie as he is now lyke to have, wil be the more .. them heer in France in the delyverye off ther children.[148]

The mission failed, but Clerk praised Fitzwilliam for his conduct of despite an attack of colic. Clerk attributed his illness to riding post in midwinter: 'the phisycian hath showed him plainly that there is nothing more contrary unto his disease'.[149]

146. Jacqueton, P.J. LVI, (p.427).

147. C. Giry-Deloison, 'Money and Early Tudor Diplomacy. The English Pensioners of the French Kings', *Medieval History,* vol 3 (1993), pp128-146.

148. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. D ix f^{os}292, (*LP* iv (2) 2728), (25 December 1526).

149. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. D x f^{o} 319?, (*LP* iv (2) 2799), (12 Jan. 1527).

London, 1527-8

In 1527 Fitzwilliam took part in talks with the French at York Place to persuade them that Francis (or the Duke of Orleans) should marry Mary. Charles would be asked to free Francis' sons, pay his debts to Henry and amend the Treaty of Madrid. Fitzwilliam signed to a treaty to this effect on 30 April.[150] A supplement provided for England and France to provide 31,000 men in Italy to fight Charles. Plans were laid for a joint invasion of the Netherlands in 1529. Fitzwilliam's part is unknown. He did not go with Wolsey to Amiens: he was with the King, with Norfolk, Suffolk and Rochford.[151] The diplomatic situation in Europe at this time was very complex, and Wolsey kept the high-level negotiations in his own hands as far as possible[152], relegating other diplomatic personnel to the role of advisors at most. Du Bellay gives glimpses of Fitzwilliam in talks on trade and other routine matters over the next two years[153], with Sandys, Dorset, Tunstal, More and Bryan; we cannot identify any specific contribution Fitzwilliam may have made.

Mission with Suffolk, 1529

In May 1529 Fitzwilliam went with Suffolk on a mission to stop the French making peace with Charles, offering military support and money. In a week it was known the Cambrai talks leading to the 'Ladies' Peace' were imminent, so the mission was irrelevant.[154] Fitzwilliam returned with satisfactory answers to Henry's military proposals. Suffolk stayed with Francis, getting his view on how keen Wolsey was to promote Henry's divorce.[155] Suffolk reported to Henry but Fitzwilliam, as usual, to Wolsey.

150. NA, E30/1408, (*LP* iv (2) 3080, (30 April 1527).

151. NA, SP1/44, f° 3 (*LP* iv (2) 3360, (19 Aug 1527).

152. For a review of the European scene and how Wolsey tried to deal with it see Gwyn, *Wolsey,* pp.530-547.

153. V-L Bourilly and P.de Vaissière, *Ambassades en Angleterre de Jean du Bellay,* nos 76 (25 Mar 1528), 90 (13 May) and 114 (13 June).

154. BL, Cotton. MS. Galba B ix f° 162 (*LP* iv (2) 5554 (Hackett to Wolsey,). [Elizabeth F. Rogers, *Letters of Sir John Hackett 1526-1534* (Morganstown, WV, 1971) pp.254ff]; BL, Add. MSS 28,578, f° 367, (*LP* iv (3) 5704) (de Sauch to Margaret of Savoy), (22 June 1529)

155. S.J. Gunn, *Charles Brandon,* pp 107-109; Gwyn, *Wolsey,* pp 587-8.

Later activities

Fitzwilliam attended Henry's meeting with Francis in 1532[156] when it was agreed Francis should put pressure on the Pope, but what part he played is unknown. In April 1534 he and Rochford went to bolster Francis' stance against Pope and Emperor and seek his support for Henry's marriage to Anne.[157] They failed: there was no open break, but the French pensions stopped. Henry put on a good face in public, but as Chapuys observed: 'this ... makes many people suspect that the King of France begins to halt, especially as he has put off the interviews which the King was hastening for July, and some think that they will not take place'.[158] (They did not). In August he witnessed the treaty with Scotland[159], outcome of Cromwell's more conciliatory policy.[160] Fitzwilliam, deeply hostile to the Scots, was not involved in the negotiations.

On 26 May 1535 he, Norfolk and Rochford, met French commissioners at Calais. (The mission's members seem to have varied: on 12 June Norfolk, Fitzwilliam, Goodrich and Fox wrote to Henry reporting the Pope's stated grounds for making John Fisher a cardinal).[161] The English terms were: if Henry were attacked by any power Francis should come to his aid; if Henry invaded Flanders Francis should make an equal contribution; Francis would try to get papal censures against Henry revoked, make no treaty with Charles without giving Henry notice and not agree to a General Council without Henry's assent.[162] Francis' youngest son was to marry Mary or Elizabeth, with the prince raised in England. They negotiated from an impossible position. The French expected concessions, but, injured by Francis' failure to shield him from papal censure,

156. P.A. Hamy, *Entrevue de Francois Premier avec Henry VIII, á Boulogne-sur-mer en 1532* (1898), c.12 and doc. 76.
157. BL, Cotton MS. Nero B iii f° 118, (*LP* vii 470), (undated).
158. *Sp. Cal.* v (1) p.151, (*LP* vii 662). Chapuys to Charles V (14 May 1534).
159. NA, SP49 iv, f^os^ 22-31, (*LP* vii 1031).
160. C.P. Hotle, *Thorns and Thistles: Diplomacy between Henry VIII and James V 1528-1542* (Lanham NY 1996), pp 77-84.
161. BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. D xii f° 261, (not in *LP*).
162. NA, SP1/91, f^os^ 43-6, (*LP* viii 340). Articles proposed for a treaty, undated. [ST. P. vii 602].

Henry forbade Norfolk to make any. The talks failed. Henry did not appreciate the effect on Francis of the Day of Placards (18 Oct. 1534).[163] After then he was reluctant to provoke the catholics by allying with Henry even if his demands were acceptable. In the following years we get glimpses of Fitzwilliam in the letters of the French and imperial ambassadors, as in May 1540 when he assured Marillac he was of the French party, with the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk.[164] This meant little: the war scare was over, but Henry was still anxious not to face Francis and Charles in combination. In April 1542 Fitzwilliam, Gardiner and Wriothesley had talks with the French.[165] Francis proposed Mary should marry his son; Henry would not legitimate her. Henry also negotiated with Charles for a joint attack against France.[166] Only Norfolk, who worked hard to poison Franco-Imperial relations on his mission to France in 1540)[167], favoured a French alliance: he was demoted when an alliance was made with Charles.

Conclusions

Wolsey got good reports on Fitzwilliam from Jerningham as resident at the French court, from Taylor at Lyons and from Clerk at Poissy - reports by senior diplomats on a junior. (Whether seniors reported regularly to Wolsey on their juniors would bear examination.) Higher gentry like Fitzwilliam, Jerningham, Wingfield, Cheyney and Wallop made the best ambassadors. They all had distinguished military careers.[168] and ranked with French minor nobility. Fitzwilliam and Wallop succeeded best with Francis as the personal chemistry was right. Browne failed in 1538, when relations were poor.[169] Fitzwilliam succeeded because of his social skills and his mastery of French.

163. R.J. Knecht, 'Francis I, defender of the Faith?', in Ives, *et al.* (eds) *Wealth and Power in Tudor England,* (1978), pp.106ff.

164. Kaulek, p.40.

165. SP1/170, f^os^ 85-94, (*LP* xvii, 297), (5 May 1542). [ST.P. i p. 732].

166. J.J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII* (1969), p.434.

167. Potter, 'Foreign Policy', p.121; Head, D.M., *The Ebbs and Flows of Fortune: the life of Thomas Howard, Third Duke of Norfolk,* (Athens GA, 1995), pp.165-168.

168. C. Giry-Deloison, 'Le Personnel diplomatique au début du XVI^e^ siècle. L'exemple des relations franco-anglaises de l'avènement de Henry VII au camp du drap d'or', *J. des Savants,* (1987), pp.237-8. MacMahon, 'Courtesy and conflict', p.195.

169. MacMahon, 'Courtesy and conflict', p.191; NA, SP1/137, f^os^ 227-8, (*LP* xiii (2) 641).

As special ambassador Fitzwilliam had little success. At Lyons Louise lied about the conditions for Francis' release and manipulated him. His missions in 1526 and 1529 failed, as the French priority was getting Francis' sons back. In 1534 and 1535 he failed because Henry made non-negotiable demands Francis would never accept. Diplomacy involves bargaining. It fails if one party's demands are non-negotiable (as at Calais in 1535) or incompatible with the other's priorities (as at Poissy in 1526). While Wolsey always wanted as many options open as possible, and was generally supportive of his diplomats, Henry's outlook was dominated by the divorce and its consequences and all flexibility vanished. By the mid-1530s Henry gave ambassadors very little discretion, and began to script their speeches, adding alternative responses according to the answer received, as Norfolk found in 1533 and Bonner and Wyatt in 1540. When they had to deliver blatant insults, as when Wyatt had to call Charles an ingrate, it was the ambassadors who suffered. [170]

A good diplomat may do no more than ensure the door is left open. A bad one has all doors shut in his face (like Bonner at Marseilles). Fitzwilliam always ensured a door was left open, even when all Henry's demands were non-negotiable.

170. J. Powell, 'For Caesar's I am: Henrician diplomacy and representations of King and Country in Thomas Wyatt's Poetry', *SCJ,* xxxiv, no 2, (2005), pp.417ff

4. FITZWILLIAM'S EARLY CAREER IN HOUSEHOLD AND COUNCIL

This chapter looks at Fitzwilliam's close associates and the way they functioned in the Royal Household and the Council, with a brief description of these bodies as they existed and developed during Henry VIII's reign. The chapter ends by examining Fitzwilliam's progress as an individual in Household and Council.

A. FITZWILLIAM'S CLOSE ASSOCIATES.

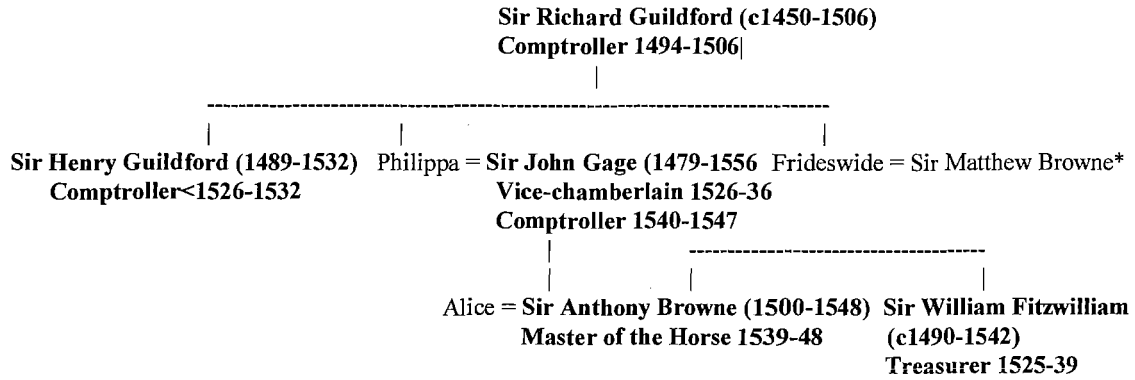
Henry's chief counsellors were Wolsey and then Cromwell. Nobles like the 2nd and 3rd Dukes of Norfolk, the 1st Duke of Suffolk and the 4th Earl of Shrewsbury also had much influence, clearly based on the mediaeval view that magnates should be the chief advisors of the King. Churchmen like Cranmer, Tunstall and Gardiner could also have critical influence at times. But there was also a crucial tier of courtier-administrators occupying senior offices in the Royal Household, who undertook much of the routine work of day-to-day government done by the 'privy' Council' and performed diplomatic roles abroad and demanding or delicate tasks at home. Among these was Fitzwilliam, often acting in association with other courtier-administrators with similar backgrounds.

Any early modern political figure relied on family connections and networking. Fitz-william inherited no lands and had no natural power base. His progress up to his ennoblement in 1537 rested on his place in the Royal Household and the Council. His links with a group including his brother Sir Anthony Browne, Sir John Gage, Sir Henry Guildford, and Sir William Kingston were vital. Related by family ties, business dealings and friendship, they played a central part in political life as Household officers and councillors from the early 1520s until the end of the reign. (They are called here the 'inner circle') Linked to them was an 'outer circle' of Sir William Paulet, Lord Sandys, Sir Thomas Cheney and Sir John Baker. The careers of these men and others associated with Fitzwilliam are summarised in Chapter 12.

That Household officers should largely share a common background was nothing new, but it is striking that many of the Household officers in the 1520s and 1530s were closely linked by family relationships and business dealings and, as references in wills and property transactions show, were clearly close personal friends. They formed a

group consisting of Fitzwilliam, his brother Sir Anthony Browne, Browne's father-in-law Sir John Gage and Gage's brother-in-law Sir Henry Guildford: their relationship is shown in Figure 4A. Sir William Kingston was closely associated with them.

Table 4A: Pedigree showing relationship of the Guildfords, Gages, Brownes and Fitzwilliam



* Sir Matthew Browne was Sir Anthony Browne's first cousin (see p.191)

Evidence of common political action by members of the inner circle dates from their common antagonism to the divorce (which Fitzwilliam and Guildford initially opposed, caused Sandys to distance himself from the court, and may have led to Gage's break-down). Later Fitzwilliam, Paulet and Kingston played leading parts in the investigation leading to Anne Boleyn's fall and execution (see pp.158-61). Members of the group were associated in bringing up bills from the Commons to the Lords in the 1539 Parliament. Browne and Kingston brought up three bills in the first two sessions, and five more in association with Cheney. Kingston brought up nine altogether - probably part of their parliamentary job as Councillors. Another instance of common action is found in the summer of 1539, when Henry was on progress. Fitzwilliam, Browne and Kingston are said to have 'put it into the King's head' that it was time to replace Cromwell by Tunstall (see p.209).

All Fitzwilliam's close associates except Paulet and Baker had early connections with the King. All except Baker held Household offices entitling them to sit on the 'privy council'. All were religious conservatives, but not papalists. Some may have had doubts during the divorce and the break with Rome but all loyally supported Henry's policy once it was decided. All but Kingston came from South-east England. All were classic Tudor soldier/diplomat/administrators except Gage, who is not known to have gone on

any foreign mission. They were tied by kinship and shared property dealings. Hardly a faction, they sometimes acted together politically. They were close to Henry and well placed to advise him and act for him. On the Council they were in a position to ensure his policies were applied. That they survived the falls of Wolsey and Cromwell shows their independence of both. Religion was clearly one issue defining the group, but religion does not seem to have determined Fitzwilliam's actions: he worked as amicably with Cromwell, Goodrich and the Parrs as with Norfolk and Gardiner. Except possibly for Page, there is no evidence of clients among Fitzwilliam's close associates. He had subordinate officials at local level (e.g. Huttoft and Mills - see pp.243-4), whom he was apt to call 'my man', but both Huttoft and Mills were also linked to Cromwell. If Fitzwilliam had clients all evidence of them vanished in the Cowdray fire.

B. HOUSEHOLD AND COUNCIL

The constitutional history of Henry VIII's reign has largely been studied in terms of the evolution of the Royal Household (especially the division between the Chamber and the Privy Chamber) and the evolution of the Royal Council into the Privy Council. Less attention has been paid to the way Household and Council interacted. Some light can be shed on this by the experience of Fitzwilliam and his close associates - a group of courtier/counsellors close to the King, holding offices (but not the great offices of State), and carrying out a range of diplomatic, administrative and military tasks.

The Royal Household

In early times the Royal Household and government were identical: the Chancellor was the King's office manager and the Treasurer looked after the chests containing the King's money. But carting the machinery of government around with a travelling king was impracticable and departments like the Chancery, Exchequer and law courts settled in Westminster. The Household became more bureaucratic: ordinances survive from later medieval times giving job descriptions of the officers and rules for procedure.[1] By Henry VIII's time the Household comprised the Chamber *(domus magnificencie),*

1. Myers *The Household of Edward IV;* D.A.L. Morgan,'The house of policy: the political role of the late Plantagenet household, 1422-1585', in Starkey (ed). *The English Court from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War* (1987).

where he lived, and the Household proper (*domus providencie),* 'below stairs'. (The Privy Chamber, an offshoot of the Chamber, is examined below.)

The chief officers of both sides had both political and domestic duties (the latter mostly carried out by deputy), and sat *ex officio* on the King's council. The Lord Steward, Treasurer and Comptroller (the 'white sticks') ran the Household: the Comptroller (salary £107.17s 6d) normally succeeded the Treasurer (salary £123.14s 8d) on the latter's death or promotion (Sir Henry Guildford was passed over in 1525 when Fitzwilliam became Treasurer - see below). The Lord Great Chamberlain[2], Lord Chamberlain and Vice-Chamberlain ran the Chamber. The Lord Steward, Lord Great Chamberlain, and Lord Chamberlain were peers, the Treasurer, Comptroller and Vice-Chamberlain commoners. By the late 1530s they sat *ex officio* on the 'Privy' Council.

The 'white sticks' supervised the Board of Greencloth or Countinghouse, the Household's management financial centre. In theory they attended daily but as they had other duties which took them away from Court, day to day work fell to the Cofferer. When the Board of Greencloth sat as a tribunal a 'white stick' had to be there, and the Eltham Ordinances drawn up by Wolsey in 1526 required them to meet annually to budget for the coming year. The Counting House dealt with the wages and costs of provisioning the Household: £25,812 in 1529/30 and £27,947 in 1531/2.[3] (For comparison, the Crown's land revenues in 1514-1515 were £25,469.[4])

Posts outside the Household but linked to it were the Master of the Horse, personally appointed by and answerable to the King (his salary and departmental expenses were paid by the Exchequer)[5] and the Captain of the Guard. (Kingston and later Sir Anthony Wingfield held the posts of both Vice-Chamberlain and Captain of the Guard. As the Vice-Chamberlain was responsible for security this was a logical combination.)

2. Until 1540, the post was largely honorific, but the holder still sat on the 'privy council'. In 1540 Cromwell assumed the post as part of an attempt to extend his power into the Household and it was subsumed into the post of Lord Great Master.
3. D. Loades, *The Tudor Court* (1986), p.76. The Treasurer of the Household's duties are specified in *The Black Book.* See Myers, *The Household of Edward IV,* pp.144-7.
4. B.P. Wolffe, *The Crown Lands 1461-1536* (1970), p.84.
5. Loades, *Tudor Court,* pp.38-9.

The Privy Chamber[6]

The Privy Chamber, originating under Henry VII, was an offshoot of the Chamber. It was set up because of the king's desire for comfort and privacy, but also because of his personal style: as Bacon noted, 'It was but the keeping of distance ... not admitting any near or full approach, either to his power or his secrets'.[7] The King could work or relax there attended by a few intimate servants. Later it gained political importance. These servants had the King's ear - a matter of concern to both Wolsey and Cromwell.

Henry VIII made great use of the Privy Chamber and its personnel. It gave him flexibility of operation and enabled him to bypass the bureaucratic procedures of existing governmental and Household institutions. We consider here the personnel of the Privy Chamber, what it and its members did, and how it developed in Fitzwilliam's lifetime.

The personnel of the Privy Chamber

The noblemen of the Privy Chamber, who at various times included the Marquesses of Dorset and Exeter, George Boleyn, Viscount Rochford and the Earl of Hertford. Their role was largely honorific. The Gentlemen and Grooms did most of the work. The staff laid down by the Eltham Ordinances of 1526 comprised six Gentlemen, two Gentlemen Ushers, four Grooms, a Barber and a Page. As with most court departments, the

6. The latest and most detailed treatment of the Privy Chamber is in D. Starkey, 'Intimacy and Innovation: the rise of the Privy Chamber, 1485-1547, in Starkey (ed), *The English Court,* pp.71-118. This and his other articles on the subject (D. Starkey, 'Representation through Intimacy', in Lewis, I. *Symbols and Sentiments: Cross-cultural Studies in Symbolism,* (1977), pp.187-224 and D. Starkey, 'Court, Council and Nobility in Tudor England' in R.G. Asch and A.M. Birke, *Princes, Patronage and the Nobility: the Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age* (Oxford, 1991), pp.187-205) should be read with caution: while much of their content is sound, close study of the evidence suggests that some of his assertions, though ingenious, are forced, exaggerated or misleading. There is also a useful sketch by M. Riordan: 'Henry VIII, privy chamber of (*act.* 1509-1547)' in *DNB04,* though his assertion that 'from 1536 to 1547 the lord high admiral was always a member of the Privy chamber' is incorrect. Fitzwilliam (admiral 1536-1540) was never a member of it. A helpful summary is also given in Loades, *The Tudor Court*, pp. 46-53.

7. F. Bacon (ed. J.R.Lumby), *History of the Reign of King Henry VII* (Cambridge, 1902), pp.214-5.

number grew. By 1530 the Privy Chamber numbered nine Gentlemen and twenty overall; by 1532 eleven and twenty-four; by 1539 sixteen and twenty-eight.[8] The working head was the Groom of the Stool, the King's most intimate body servant. Under Henry the Grooms of the Stool were: Sir William Compton (1509-26), Henry Norris (1526-36), Sir Thomas Heneage (1536-46) and Sir Anthony Denny (1546-7). All had great power and responsibility. No complete list of other Privy Chamber staff exists, but those that can be identified are shown in the Appendix.

Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, like the Household officers, came from the higher gentry, the Grooms from a rather lower stratum. As Dr Starkey points out:

> A peer, or the son of a peer (Edward Neville) or the offspring of families with a tradition of royal service (Carew, Bryan, Guildford or Carey ...) could not be made Grooms, whose duties still included, in theory, cleaning the apartment; putting up and taking down trestle tables and bearing torches.[9]

Barnham, Berkeley, Long, Walshe, Wellsbourne and probably Carwarden came from minor land-owning stock and Paston, though of an eminent family, was only a third son. Some Grooms (e.g. Henry Neville, Gates and Welbourne) later became Gentlemen. There were also some specialists, e.g. Butts (the King's doctor), Penn and Simpson (barbers), van Wilder (director of music) and Mark Smeaton (a musician). In 1532 it was laid down that the Privy Chamber staff should operate a shift system, with two halves alternating every six weeks. This practice probably dates from much earlier.

Perusal of the list of known Privy Chamber staff shows that Gentlemen and Grooms of the Privy Chamber came from a much wider area than Household officers. There was still a bias towards the Home Counties, but more distant shires were also represented, e.g. Lincolnshire (Heneage, Cecil, Tyrwhitt), Somerset (Berkeley), Cheshire (Brereton), Wiltshire, (Herbert, Knyvett and Long), and Worcestershire (Compton and Walsh).

8. Loades, *The Tudor Court*, pp. 49-51.

9. Starkey, 'Intimacy and Innovation', p.81. To those with aristocratic or higher gentry origins may be added Sir George Blagge (nephew of the second Lord Cobham) and Sir Thomas Darcy (son of a big landowner in Suffolk and Essex who was a member of Henry VII's Chamber).

The main disadvantage of a career in the Privy Chamber was that it was a dead end: 'there was no way up but out'.[10] The highest post in the Privy Chamber was Groom of the Stool: as there were only four Grooms during Henry's reign the chance of such promotion was rare. Household officers who were of the Privy Chamber sat on the Council as Household officers, not as members of the Privy Chamber. The only way to ennoblement or the high offices of State lay through the Household and Privy Council, the route followed by Fitzwilliam, Cheyney, Guildford, Russell and Browne. Nevertheless, Gentlemen and Grooms could gain great wealth. Russell started modestly, but died with vast estates in Bedfordshire and Devon. Welsbourne, Walsh and Long, from fairly humble families, died very rich.[11] They were well placed to get wardships, estates, or widows in the Crown's gift: Walsh became wealthy by marrying Compton's widow.

The role of the privy chamber

Privy Chamber staff operated within England, on diplomatic service and in military operations. The Privy Chamber also had an important role in Crown finance. Henry used them on confidential tasks and missions, enabling him to bypass his leading ministers. (He often complained he was unattended in the Privy Chamber: this was because the Gentlemen were away on his errands, not because Wolsey took them for himself.[12]) A Gentleman was sent to command Catherine of Aragon to surrender her jewels to Anne Boleyn.[13] Russell and Norris conducted Henry's private correspondence with Wolsey after his fall. The credence given by Privy Chamber status enabled Henry to send oral instructions, avoiding use of privy seal letters. Privy council staff might assume a surrogate royal authority, Wolsey said to Walshe on his arrest:

> I ame content to yeld unto you but not to my lord of Northumberlande without I se his commyssion. And you are a sufficient commyssion your self in that behalf in as myche as ye be oon of the kynges privy chamber.[14]

By Henry VI's time it was settled that the King could not command arrest outside his presence without writ or warrant (*Y.B.* Hen. VI Mich. Pl. 20). Dr Starkey writes: 'The

10. Starkey, 'Court, Council and Nobility in Tudor England' , p.201.
11. Riordan: 'Henry VIII, privy chamber of'.
12. Loades, *The Tudor Court*, p.51.
13. NA, PRO 31/18/2/1.
14. G. Cavendish (ed. R.S. Sylvester), *The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey* (1959), p.156.

only explanation for Wolsey's reaction is that he felt Walsh's presence fulfilled - albeit vicariously - the conditions ... laid down for arrest without warrant'.[15] But Pickthorne makes clear that the law forbade the use of surrogates.[16] Northumberland said from the outset that he had a commission to arrest Wolsey, though he refused to show it. Walsh confirmed this. Wolsey was prepared to take Walsh's word but not Northumberland's, referring to 'an ancient grudge, which may continue in you with like inconvenience as it hath done heretofore'.[17] (The grudge dated back at least to the time when Wolsey warned Northumberland off from courting Anne Boleyn.) Wolsey's words were a snub for Northumberland, not recognition of any power of arrest possessed by Walsh.

Privy chamber members had a local government role. Many sat on the benches in their home shires or were granted keeperships and stewardships. The latter were especially important. The salary was usually tiny, but stewardships gave the 'manrede' or right to lead the men living on the land into battle. The grant of such offices was not confined to privy chamber staff. Officers of the wider royal household, including Fitzwilliam, also collected them (he was steward of Christchurch Priory and of Oxford University), as did anyone in the King's service: Cromwell gained many monastic stewardships.

The diplomatic aspect of the Privy Chamber dates from 1518, when during the preliminaries of the Treaty of London a French embassy came to London, including Francis I's leading *gentilshommes de la chambre.* In processions and the like they had to be paired with Englishmen of similar rank. The obvious candidates were the Gentlemen of Henry's Privy Chamber, but these lacked formal rank. The problem was solved by Englishing the French title and applying it to the Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber. English resident ambassadors to the French court up to 1526 were - except only Fitzwilliam - members of the Privy Chamber. Later more traditional methods were used and the King's envoys' status was less relevant. Sending privy chamber ambassadors to the French court was a solution to a specific problem arising at a particular time.

15. Starkey, 'Representation through Intimacy', pp.200-201.

16. K.W.M. Pickthorne, *Early Tudor Government* (Cambridge, 2 vols, 1934) I, p.51, n.19.

17. Cavendish, *Wolsey,* p.155. It should be remembered that Cavendish wrote many years after the events he describes. His memory of Wolsey's exact words may be open to doubt.

The Privy Chamber's military role has been stressed by Dr Starkey. But the origins of the Royal Household as a whole lie in the war bands of early Germanic chieftains, and its military role was kept up by Henry VIII. Specialists like doctors apart, it is very hard to find a gentleman of any department of the Royal Household who did not have at least some military experience. Waging war was not limited to Privy Chamber staff.

A letter sent by Surrey to Wolsey during the Scottish campaign of 1523 runs in part:

> Moost humble beseching your Grace to helpe that some noblemen and gentilmen of the kingis house and the south parties may be sente hither though they bringe no great nombres with them.[18]

Originally Surrey had Dorset, Compton and Kingston (all Privy Chamber members) as deputies, but all left. In reply to his letter Surrey was sent Dorset, Carew and Bryan. Surrey did not specifically ask for Privy Chamber personnel, but did mention the Royal Household. Throughout the ages, soldiers in distant outposts have worried that those at the top do not really care about them. Surrey was expressing this concern, on behalf of his men and, no doubt, of himself.. He clearly thought backing from the king's Household would have a beneficial effect on morale and recruitment. Whether the presence of Dorset, an abysmally poor commander in the Guipuzcoa campaign of 1513, would have such an effect is doubtful. Whether the presence of three Privy Chamber members was symbolic in any meaningful sense of the word is also open to doubt.

A very important aspect of the Privy Chamber's work was its role in the King's financial operations. Dr Starkey has shown how under Henry VIII control of the King's Privy Purse passed from the Treasurer of the Chamber to the Groom of the Stole, the head of the Privy Chamber.[19] In 1543-44 Denny received £241,000, and Henry himself handled even greater sums. The money went into several repositories with various names collectively known as the Privy Coffers. There is no indication that

18. BL, Cott. MS Cal. B vi f° 330 ,(LP iii (2) 3405), [Ellis, *Original Letters illustrative of English History,* ser. I, (1824) i, p.223].

19. Starkey, 'Representation through Intimacy', p.200. I do not discuss the development of the Dry Stamp, as this occurred at the end of Henry's reign after Fitzwilliam's death.

Fitzwilliam was concerned at any time with the Privy Chamber's financial operations, even after 1540 when he was Lord Privy Seal.

Developments in the Privy Chamber during Fitzwilliam's lifetime

The Privy Chamber was a matter of concern to both Wolsey and Cromwell as a body of men in intimate contact with the King who had his ear. There was no telling how they would behave on patronage[20] or on the wider political scene. Wolsey tried to control the Privy Chamber by cutting back numbers and by infiltrating his own men. The ostensible reason for the 'expulsion of the minions' - that they had been led astray at the French court, were misbehaving and were having a bad influence on the King - was probably true, but Wolsey must have welcomed the opportunity to replace these clever and manipulative young men with distinguished, elderly, amenable (and dull) men of his own. But the 'minions' returned and Wolsey had to purge the department again, halving its size as part of the reforms laid down by the Eltham Ordinances of 1525/6.[21] He got rid of Compton and inserted Russell, one of his own supporters.

In contrast, Cromwell relied on packing the Privy Chamber. The opportunity came when, after Anne Boleyn's fall, Rochford, Norris and three other Privy Chamber staff were executed. Exeter, Carew and Neville followed after the Exeter Conspiracy. By 1539 about half the staff had been eliminated, being replaced by Cromwell's own men: Mewtis, Richard Cromwell, Hoby, Cawarden, Sadler and Morison. Nearly all 'Protestant' members of the Privy Chamber staff joined after 1539, when Cromwell himself became 'First Nobleman of the Privy Chamber'.

These developments in the Privy Chamber were paralleled by developments in the Household proper. Besides becoming 'First Nobleman of the Privy Chamber', Cromwell was made Great Chamberlain. This had previously been a largely honorific post, but, now given effective power, was one which would have given him full control of the Household had he not been executed three months later.[22] This was a direct

20. Starkey, 'Representation through Intimacy', p.103.

21. Starkey, 'Representation through Intimacy', p.106.

22. Starkey, 'Court, Council and Nobility in Tudor England' , pp.195-7.

incursion into the territory hitherto virtually monopolised by the Household group of Fitzwilliam and his close associates. We have no direct evidence of their reaction, but it would hardly be surprising if they felt their own positions were under threat.

Conclusions

A case has been made by Dr Starkey for the Privy Chamber's importance in government and administration, but examination of the evidence shows that up to 1540 its role was limited except in the financial sphere. Henry was not trying to run a parallel government. Members acted as his personal representatives at home and abroad; with the rest of the Household they were important in local government, providing a link between the shires and the centre; with the rest of the Household they had a vital military role. Government and administration were carried out by the (Privy) Council, where Household officers sat *ex officio.* The head of the Privy Chamber did not sit till 1547; by then the Privy Chamber's role had changed and expanded as Henry became more decrepit. A young man seeking high office or ennoblement would not get them by membership of the Privy Chamber, but stood a very good chance if he became a Household officer. On the other hand, if he wanted to head the queue for estates, wardships or wealthy widows the Privy Chamber was a very good place to be.

All this is illustrated by Fitzwilliam's career. He was never in the Privy Chamber and yet was clearly one of Henry VIII's most trusted servants, serving in domestic politics, diplomacy and war over a long period, gaining high office and an earldom. We do not know why he did not join the Privy Chamber like his brother, but he may have been dissuaded by Wolsey or even Henry because they saw his potential for high office and put him on a 'fast track' for promotion. This suggests Dr Starkey exaggerates the Privy Chamber's role, at least up to the last two or three years of Henry's reign: until then real political importance always lay with Household and Council.

The 'Privy' Council up to 1540

Much has been written about the Council before the institution of the Privy Council in 1540 but although we sometimes know who attended meetings, we know very little of its membership or how it operated. As Elton wrote:

> 'The Council, its members and its parts acted in so varied and often haphazard a manner that it is extremely dangerous to be too precise about many aspects of it ... The interrelation of the Privy Council, the Council courts of Star Chamber and Requests, and of special committees ... may defy description'.[23]

Household officers sat on the royal council and played an important political role throughout the fifteenth century.[24] This was still so at the start of Henry VIII's reign: during the winter of 1510 councillors regularly in attendance at court were the earl of Surrey, the bishops of Winchester and Durham (Foxe and Ruthal), the Lord Chamberlain, the vice-chamberlain, the Treasurer of the Household, the Comptroller of the Household and Sir Thomas Englefield (a lawyer).[25] Other magnates and officials attended less often. Many meetings of the Privy Council proper in 1540 showed the same pattern of attendance - six to eight councillors, half of them Household officers. One might expect the intervening period to show a similar pattern.

After Wolsey's fall something like the later Privy Council began to emerge. Elton has shown that in 1536 a 'privy council' existed bearing some resemblance to the Privy Council of 1540.[26] Whatever its precise form, the Household officers sat on it. If we can read back through the 1530s from the Privy Council of 1540 the Household officers of the 1530s probably acted similarly to their successors of the 1540s as the workhorses of the 'privy council' responsible for most day-to-day administrative business, but for lack of documentary evidence we cannot be sure. Fitzwilliam and the rest of the 'inner circle' all had great experience of administration and diplomacy which would qualify them for this role.

Household officers were Council members, but in the early years of Henry VIII's reign the Council was ill-defined and only with the 1526 Eltham Ordinance do we know the membership of anything like the later Privy Council. Among the members were:

23. G.R. Elton, 'Why the history of the early Tudor Council remains unwritten' *Studies* i, p.314.
24. Morgan, 'The House of Policy', pp.45ff; Ross, *Edward IV*, pp.323-6.
25. NA, SP1/1, f° 89 (*LP* i 596), (21 Oct. 1510), [ST. P i p.89]; BL Add. MS 6214 f° 4, (*LP* i (1) 602k), NA, C55/12, C82/355, (*LP* i 604, grants 18, 25, 26, 44), (various dates in Oct. 1510).
26. Elton, *Tudor Revolution in Government,* p.339

Table 4B: Household officers on Council, 1526 (Eltham Ordinances) [27]

The Lord Chamberlain	
Vice-Chamberlain	Sir Richard Wingfield
Steward of the Household	Fourth Earl of Shrewsbury
Treasurer of the Household	Sir Wm. Fitzwilliam
Comptroller of the Hsehold	Sir Henry Guildford
Captain of the Guard	Sir Wm. Kingston

The 'inner council' identified by Elton for 1536/7 included:

Table 4C: Household officers on Council, 1536/7 [28]

The Lord Great Chamberlain	15th Earl of Oxford
The Lord Chamberlain	Lord Sandys
V-Chamberlain & Capt. of Guard	Sir William Kingston
Steward of the Household	Fourth Earl of Shrewsbury
Treasurer of the Household	Sir Wm. Fitzwilliam
Comptroller of the Hsehold	Sir William Paulet

In 1540 the Privy Council at its inception included:

Table 4D: Household officers on Council, 1540 [29]

The Lord Great Chamberlain	First Earl of Sussex
The Lord Chamberlain	Lord Sandys
Vice-Chamberlain	Sir Anthony Wingfield
Great Master of the Hsehold	First Duke of Suffolk
Treasurer of the Household	Sir Thomas Cheney
Comptroller of the Hsehold	Sir William Kingston
Master of the Horse	Sir Anthony Browne

There is some evidence for membership at intermediate dates. On 20 May 1532 Audley, newly appointed Keeper of the Great Seal, was invested by the King with the Seal at East Greenwich in a ceremony which the following attended:

27. G. Elton, *The Tudor Constitution* (Cambridge, 1965) pp.93-4. On p.93, n.4. Elton identifies the Lord Chamberlain as the Earl of Oxford. The 14th and 15th Earls of Oxford were successive Lord Great Chamberlains. The post of Lord Chamberlain was held by the 1st Earl of Worcester until his death in 1526, being succeeded by Lord Sandys. The Eltham Ordinances are dated Jan. 1526. The 14th Earl of Oxford died on 15 April 1526 and the 1st Earl of Worcester on 14 July 1526. Oxford may have been omitted because of his impending death. The reference to the Lord Chamberlain is to either Worcester or Sandys.
28. Elton, *Tudor Revolution in Government,* p.339
29. Elton, *The Tudor Constitution,* p.95. The office of Steward of the Household was subsumed into that of Lord Great Master.

Table 4E: Attendance at Audley's receiving the Great Seal, 1532.[30]

Keeper of the Great Seal	Sir Thomas Audley
Treasurer of England	3rd Duke of Norfolk
	6th Earl of Northumberland
	1st Earl of Sussex
King's secretary	S. Gardiner, B. of Winchester
Treasurer of the Household	Sir William Fitzwilliam
Treasurer of the Chamber	Brian Tuke
Captain of the Guard	Sir William Kingston
Dean of the Chapel	John Sampson
Keeper of the Jewels	Thomas Cromwell

This probably took place after a 'privy council' meeting. If so, it is a 'privy council' in transition: some household officials (Tuke, Sampson and Cromwell) held offices which no longer qualified for *ex officio* seats on the Privy Council of 1540.

In May 1534 Chapuys met the Council. Those present included Fitzwilliam (Treasurer of the Household), Paulet (Comptroller) and Kingston (Captain of the Guard),[57] At the time of Anne Boleyn's fall Browne is named by de Carle as one of the *seigneurs du conseil plus étroit* (see pp.155-6). This suggests a defined 'privy council' existed.

Fitzwilliam's associates in both the 'inner' and 'outer' circles dominated the Household offices from the mid-1520s to the end of the reign, as is shown in the following table.

30. NA, C54/401, m. 24d, *(LP* v 1075, (5 June 1532)), [Rymer, *Foedera,* xiv, p.433]. Muller and Redworth suggest Gardiner's rustication after offending Henry by his response to the Supplication against the Ordinaries lasted till after the end of May. (J.A. Muller, *Stephen Gardiner and the Tudor Reaction* (1926), p.48; G. Redworth, *In Defence of the Church Catholic: the Life of Stephen Gardiner* (Oxford, 1990), p.45. A letter Gardiner sent in mid-May regrets that illness made it impossible for him to come to court in person. (Wilkins, *Concilia,* iii, 752 (*LP* v 1019)] [Muller, J.A., *Letters of Stephen Gardiner* (Cambridge, 1933), pp.48-9])]. While Gardiner's illness may have been a diplomatic one, the letter suggests his absence did not result from rustication.

31. Elton , *Tudor Revolution,* pp.336-7; Guy, 'Privy Council: Revolution or Evolution?', p.75.

Table 4F: Household Officers 1525-1546 [32]

THE CHAMBER			
Lord Great Chamberlain	14th Earl of Oxford	1513-26	
	15th Earl of Oxford	1526-1540	
	Earl of Essex (Cromwell)	1540	
	1st Earl of Sussex	1540-1542	
	1st Earl of Hertford	1543-1549	
Lord Chamberlain	1st Earl of Worcester	1509-1526	
	Lord Sandys	1526-1540	Outer circle
	VACANT	1540-1543	
	Lord St John (Paulet	1543-1546	Outer circle
Vice-Chamberlain	Sir Henry Marney	1509-1523	
	Sir William Morgan	1525?-1528	
	Sir John Gage	1528-1536	Inner circle
	Sir William Kingston	1536-1539	Inner circle
	Sir Anthony Wingfield	1539-1550	
THE HOUSEHOLD			
Lord Steward	4th Earl of Shrewsbury	1502-1538	
	1st Earl of Sussex	1538-1540	
Lord Great Master	1st Duke of Suffolk	1540-1545	
	Lord St John (Paulet)	1545-1550	Inner circle
Treasurer	Sir William Fitzwilliam	1525-1537	Inner circle
	Sir William Paulet	1537-1539	Outer circle
	Sir Thomas Cheney	1539-1558	Outer circle
Comptroller	Sir Henry Guildford	1520-1532	Inner circle
	Sir William Paulet	1532-1537	Outer circle
	Sir John Russell	1537-1539	
	Sir William Kingston	1539-1540	Inner circle
	Sir John Gage	1540-1547	Inner circle
OTHER			
Master of the Horse	Sir Henry Guildford	1519-1526	Inner circle
	Sir Nicholas Carewe	1526-1538	
	Sir Anthony Browne	1538-1548	Inner circle
Captain of the Guard	Sir William Kingston	1521-1539	Inner circle
	Sir Anthony Wingfield	1539-1550	

Household officers thus formed about a third of the 'privy' council: they had been prominent throughout the fifteenth century. What is new is that for about 20 years from 1525 non-noble household offices and the 'privy' council seats attached to them were largely monopolised by an inner group of Fitzwilliam, Browne, Gage, Guildford and Kingston and an outer group of Paulet, Cheney and Sandys. Though not a household officer, Baker was close to them. This put them in a commanding position to recommend and apply policy. Henry, of course, took the decisions.

32. Sources: Loades, *Tudor Court,* Appendix II (pp.204-7); RHS lists of office holders; *DNB04.*

Household officers and Parliament

Household officers had parliamentary duties. Elton suggests membership of Parliament generally came before membership of the Council.[33] This was only true after the 1529 Parliament. Fitzwilliam, Gage and Kingston were all senior councillors before the 1526 Eltham Ordinances, but are not known to have sat in Parliament before 1529. Browne became a Councillor in 1539, the year he entered the Commons (and was a 'privy councillor' in 1536). But two caveats must be made. Firstly, Wolsey preferred to do without Parliaments,[34] so only the Parliament of 1523 was held between 1515 and 1529. This limited the chance to get Commons experience. Also, as the 1523 Parliament's membership lists are lost, comment in the absence of other evidence is open to doubt.

Non-noble Household officers sitting on the 'privy council' acted as an interface between Council and Commons. Under Elizabeth Privy Councillors had privileged seating and status; under Henry their position was probably less formal, but the job was the same: 'they provided the parliamentary programme, which was carefully planned before each session ... if opposition was expected ... then the views of individual members would be sounded, and the necessary conditioning and guidance would be imparted through preachers and official pamphleteers'.[35] ('Tuning the pulpits' was an Elizabethan expression, but the practice existed in Henry's reign.) All this needed much hard work, as Cromwell and Fitzwilliam could both have witnessed. Dr Hoak suggests the Treasurer of the Household was the usual Leader of the House of Commons in the sixteenth century.[36] This may have been so later on, but there is no indication of Fitz-william being Leader of the House (though he was clearly one of the leaders). Cromwell did the job when he came to power.

33. Elton,'Tudor Government: the points of contact: I: Parliament', *Studies* iii, pp.18-20.
34. Dr Gwyn presents a persuasive case that the 1523 Parliament was successful and Wolsey showed skill in managing it. (*The King's Cardinal,* pp.374-7). But he is too dismissive of Polydore Vergil and Hall: there is little doubt that Wolsey antagonised the Commons, probably through inadequate preparation. He was not used to negotiating with inferiors.
35. R.K. Gilkes, *The Tudor Parliament* (1969), p.15.
36. D.E. Hoak, *The King's Council in the reign of Edward VI* (Cambridge, 1976), p193.

The Privy Council in 1540

From August 1540 we know much more about the membership of the Privy Council and the way it operated. It had a fixed membership, met on a formal basis, appointed a clerk and kept a register. On 27 October 1540, Fitzwilliam was appointed Keeper of the Privy Seal.[37] A key member of the Privy Council, he attended about two thirds of the meetings held until his death in October 1542.[38] He attended the House of Lords regularly.[39] When the King left London the Privy Council split between those attendant on the King, headed by Fitzwilliam, and those staying in London, led by Audley. Fitzwilliam's frequent attendance is seen from analysis of meetings between 8 October 1540 to 7 April 1541, when the Council met almost daily, the only breaks being when the King was travelling. Of 146 meetings over 100 were held at Windsor or Hampton Court, the rest at Ampthill, the More, and places between Greenwich and Dover, where Henry spent five days.[30] A breakdown of attendances is as follows:

Table 4G: Privy Council attendances 8 October 1540 to 7 April 1541[41]

Name	Attendances	% of meetings	% attendances
Fitzwilliam	117	80.1%	10.8%
Wingfield (A)	113	77.4%	10.5%
E. Sussex	109	74.7%	10.1%
Browne	104	71.2%	9.6%
Gage	99	67.8%	9.2%
Russell	86	58.9%	8.0%
Tunstall;	76	52.1%	7.0%
Cheyney	72	49.3%	6.7%
Audley	60	41.1%	5.6%
D. Suffolk	58	39.7%	5.4%
D. Norfolk	46	31.5%	4.3%
E. Hertford	46	31.5%	4.3%
Baker	31	21.2%	2.9%
Rich	28	19.2%	2.6%
Sandys	16	11.0%	1.5%
Cranmer	14	9.6%	1.3%
Gardiner	5	3.4%	0.5%
TOTAL	1080		

37. This is the date of his warrant of appointment (*LP* xvi 220, g38): he occupied the post at least from the beginning of the month.
38. Helen Miller, *Henry VIII and the English nobility* (Oxford, 1986), pp.116, 119.
39. *House of Lords Journals* for 1540 and 1542 sessions.
40. There is a gap between 22 November and 19 December 1540.
41. H. Nicholas, *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England (PPC)* (1837) vii.

Fitzwilliam attended most often, followed by Sir Anthony Wingfield, the 1st Earl of Sussex, Browne and Gage. Of the rest only Tunstall and Russell were at more than half the meetings and Cheney just under a half. Gardiner was mostly abroad. Sandys soon died and Cranmer rarely turned up. The 'inner circle' of Fitzwilliam, Browne and Gage (Kingston died in 1540) was in a central position, with Cheney also putting in a good attendance. Sussex and Wingfield were not close connections of Fitzwilliam but came from a similar background. They were early associates of Henry - typical soldier/ diplomat/administrators of moderate catholic views. The Privy Council was thus dominated by men who had been Henry's close companions thirty years ago, many also linked by kinship. Of younger men only Rich sat on the Council, and he was rarely there; Wriothesley, Sadler and Paget still waited in the wings.

The Privy Council in 1540 was an amalgam of Household officers and nobles, with a handful of churchmen. As Dr Starkey comments:

> Its structure of office embodied a 'noble' programme and the nobility were highly active within it. They made up half or a little more of the council and they were active within it.[42]

Norfolk, Suffolk and Hertford attended about a third of the meetings. But the attendance record of current and recent Household officers (Fitzwilliam, Sussex, Wingfield, Browne, Gage, Russell and Cheyney) was even better than that of the magnates: they all attended half or more of the Privy Council meetings and can fairly be regarded as the workhorses of the Council. (The 'noble' group and the 'Household' group overlapped: Fitzwilliam and Sussex fall into both categories). A picture emerges in which the working council responsible for day-to-day business was dominated by a group of current and recent Household officers including many of Fitzwilliam's close connections. They did the day-to-day work: Norfolk, Suffolk and Hertford attended much less often, and officials like Baker (First Fruits and Tenths) and Rich (Augmentations) relatively rarely.

Privy Council records of the time suggest most items were fairly trivial: many relate to minor public order offences which would not have taxed Justices Silence and Shallow. On 7 Sept 1540 Thomas Swynerton came before the Council for saying 'O Jesus, what

42. Starkey, 'Court and Council in Tudor England', p.199.

a world is this that so many men shall die, and all for one man's sake'. On 25 May 1540 Thomas Thwaytes, held in the Tower for lewd words, was discharged and told to use his tongue with more discretion.[43] There are dozens of such cases. Cromwell dealt with them himself or passed them to others to deal with. They were now judged by a public body keeping records which could be consulted. Communication was now by letters authorised under the Privy Seal, not Cromwell's corner-cutting private letters.

This does not mean the Privy Council did not discuss policy. Its 'Proceedings' are not minutes of discussion but a list of things to be done. The King decided policy and recommendations by the Privy Council would be communicated privately to him. For about a quarter of the meetings no business is recorded. They could have been cancelled. It seems likely that discussions on policy took place which were not recorded since recording them would breach confidentiality between Council and King.

Conclusions

Fitzwilliam's time as Councillor and Household officer came at an important stage in the evolution of the Privy Council from the King's council of early Tudor times. Both before and after the emergence of the Privy Council proper Household officers were an important element of the Council. After 1540 they did most of the day-to-day business. This was probably so at earlier times, especially during the later 1520s and 1530s.

From Fitzwilliam's appointment as Treasurer of the household in 1525 to his death in 1542 the Household officers sitting *ex officio* on the Council were dominated by members of an inner circle consisting of Fitzwilliam, Sir Anthony Browne, Sir John Gage, Sir Henry Guildford and Sir William Kingston - a group closely linked by kinship, property and business dealings and friendship.

Associated with this inner circle was an outer circle of Sir William Paulet, Sir Thomas Cheney, Lord Sandys and Sir John Baker - linked with the inner circle but rather less closely with it and with each other. Two other Household officers were also Councillors: the Earl of Sussex and Anthony Wingfield. These two do not seem to

43. *PPC,* vii, dates as given.

have been closely linked with the inner or outer circles but they came from very similar backgrounds. All the men discussed here except Baker (a lawyer) and Gage (who had no diplomatic experience) were the typical soldier/diplomat/administrators on whom the Tudors relied. All were religious conservatives but not papalists. But important though these factors were, the main reason they held office is that they were close to Henry in his days as prince and young king. Looking at the Council's membership in this way brings out the essential continuity and conservatism of the Henrician regime. Wolsey came and went; Cromwell came and went; Fitzwilliam, Browne, Gage, Guildford, Kingston and the members of the outer circle came and stayed for life.

On the Council the Household councillors had two main purposes: to carry out its day-to-day administrative functions, as we have seen, and to give advice to the King. As advice to the King was always given in private, without minutes being taken, we do not know what advice Fitzwilliam and his associates gave, but clearly their influence was at least potentially very great. The Council was never dominated by one faction or another. There were always men close to the King who were committed to his 'middle way' and who prevented extreme policies being adopted.

C. FITZWILLIAM'S DEVELOPMENT AS MINISTER UP TO 1537

Gentleman of the household

As a gentleman of the Household Fitzwilliam had to serve in military, diplomatic and administrative capacities. This chapter examines his progress in domestic politics as he became member of the Council and Treasurer of the Household, culminating in his ennoblement in 1537. The variety of the jobs he had to do at home and abroad makes any account of his domestic career fragmentary, but that was the nature of the job.

In 1509 Fitzwilliam was a gentleman usher at Henry VII's funeral[44] and was second cupbearer to the King at Henry VIII's coronation (a permanent appointment).[45] He was granted reversion of the post of esquire of the body in 1517 [46], finally receiving it with its annuity of 50 marks p.a. in 1513.[47] The same year he married Mabel Clifford, daughter of the tenth Lord Clifford and brother of the first Earl of Cumberland, one of Henry's early boon companions (see p.249). This was an important step in Fitz-william's political progress, confirming his position as a member of the King's intimate circle. He was also lent £200 by the King on the security of his mother's lands, showing the support Lucy gave him during his early career and also how Henry acted as banker to his nobles and close associates.[48]

Wolsey's household

In about 1514 Fitzwilliam entered Wolsey's household, 'noted as a training ground for agents in central and local government'.[49] Many of its members were also members of the King's Household. Wolsey's household provided those chosen for future promotion with administrative and diplomatic experience, complementing the military training provided in the King's household (see p.26).

44. NA, LC3 f^{os} 81-144, (*LP* i (1) 20), (11 May 1509).
45. BL, Cotton. MS. Tib. E viii f^{o} 100b. (*LP* i (1) 82), (24 June 1509).
46. NA, C66/612, (*LP* i (1) 682 (10)), (11 Jan. 1511). For the duties of the four Esquires of the Body see Alison Weir, *Henry VIII: King and Court* (2001), c.9.
47. NA, C66/619, (*LP* i (2) 1732 (47)), (24 Mar. 1513).
48. NA, SP1/12, f^{o} 127 (*LP* ii (1) p.1459).
49. J.A. Guy, 'Wolsey and the Tudor Polity', in S.J. Gunn and P.G. Lindley, *Cardinal Wolsey: Church, State and Art* (Cambridge, 1991), p.70.

In the next few years he received property and offices in Surrey and Yorkshire, suggesting he was being set up as a regional figure in both counties (see Chapter 10), and in 1518 was appointed to the Surrey bench. (see p.191) By the mid-1520s he had been appointed to most county benches. He is not known to have sat on any except Surrey and possibly Sussex and Hampshire. (The reason for appointing senior councillors as JPs in all shires was probably to enable them to sit on county benches without need for the cumbrous process of setting up a commission of *oyer et terminer.*)

Fitzwilliam's namesake and distant relative Sir William Fitzwilliam of Milton, Northamptonshire was treasurer of Wolsey's household.[50] It was he who probably sat in Star Chamber in 1517. Our subject was usually referred to at this time as Sir William Fitzwilliam junior. The identity of names sometimes makes it hard to distinguish between them. In September 1526 a Sir William Fitzwilliam sat on an enclosure commission in Leicestershire and Rutland.[51] Our subject had nothing to do with either shire: this probably refers to his namesake. The same year a Sir William Fitzwilliam was admitted to the freedom of London 'in whatever mystery or craft he likes, paying nothing' (he was admitted to the Merchant Taylors). Clode's exhaustive study of the Merchant Taylors[52] makes no reference to our subject, though at least three other William Fitzwilliams are to be found. Again, this may refer to Wolsey's treasurer, who had links with Sir William Fitzwilliam of Mablethorpe, prominent in Merchant Taylors' affairs around 1500.

In July 1519 Fitzwilliam was member of a commission searching for suspected persons in the area of Westminster comprising Tothill St, King St, the Sanctuary, the Palace and St Stephens. Other members were Sir Thomas Neville, Weston Browne, and Sir Andrew Windsor.[53] The same year he inspected the wardrobe in the Tower, examining

50. G. Cavendish (ed. R. Lockyer) , *Thomas Wolsey late Cardinal his Life and Death written by George Cavendish his gentleman-usher* (Folio Society ed., 1957), p.174.
51. NA, SP1/50, f^{os} 151-2, (*LP* iv (2) 4796), (30 July 1526).
52. C.M. Clode, *Memorials of the Guild of Merchant Taylors...*(1875); *The early history of the Guild of Merchant Taylors* (2 vols, 1888).
53. NA, SP1/18, f^{o} 220, (*LP* iii (1) 365), (8 July 1519).

its books with Sir Nicholas Vaux and Sir Richard Jerningham.[54] He took part in the King's land transactions. Henry constantly made deals to extend, consolidate, and improve his properties, often pressuring landowners to sell or exchange. These transactions, identified by his sign manual on the deeds, were made through trusted nominees: in 1519 Fitzwilliam was one. Henry did not confiscate properties he wanted, but vendors often complained they got a bad deal.[55] In the early 1520s Fitzwilliam was mainly engaged in diplomatic and military tasks that left him little time to be at court, but by 1525 he was appointed to the Council and was Treasurer of the Household.

Council member

By April 1522 Fitzwilliam was a member of the King's Council.[56] What this meant is hard to judge: At this time it is unlikely he sat on a body resembling in any way the later Privy Council: he probably just took the Councillor's oath. He had clearly advanced by the time of the Eltham Ordinance of 1526. This provided for twenty 'honourable, virtuous, sad, wise, expert and discreet' councillors to attend the King and perform the council's full range of advisory, administrative and judicial duties. It had little effect, but his inclusion both in the full list of twenty and the committee of ten shows that by 1526 he was one of Henry's inner ring of councillors.[57]

Treasurer of the Household

In July 1525 Fitzwilliam became Treasurer of the Household, bringing him into close contact with the King (he probably saw Henry several times a week when at court) and giving him an *ex officio* seat on the 'privy council'.[58] While the appointment lay with

54. BL Cotton. MS. Titus B i f° 180 (*LP* iii (1) 576).

55. Sybil M. Jack, 'Henry VIII's attitude towards Royal Finance: Penny wise and Pound Foolish?', in Giry-Deloison, (ed), *Francois I^er^ et Henri VIII, deux Princes de la Renaissance (1515-1547)* (Lille, 1996), p.150.

56. G.R. Elton,'Tudor Government: the points of contact: I: Parliament' *Studies* iii, (1983), p.18.

57. G.R. Elton, *The Tudor Constitution* (Cambridge,1965), pp.93-4

58. A letter dated in *LP* to 27 July 1526 (NA, SP1/39 f° 2. (*LP* iv (1) 2344)) from Fitzwilliam to Wolsey states: 'the Kinges Highnesse hathe shewed unto me that his pleasure is I shal be Treasurer of his Howse': this should be dated a year earlier, as he handed over Guines to Sandys in the summer of 1525. He is called Treasurer of the Household in his instructions of Oct. 1525 (BL Calig. D ix f° 87/8 (*LP* iv (1) 1705)) for his mission to Louise of Savoy.

the King, we do not know whether it was Henry himself or Wolsey who first suggested it. The obvious successor was Sir Henry Guildford, the Comptroller. He had been one of the 'minions' expelled in 1519, and while he had soon returned as Comptroller and Master of the Horse, Wolsey may well have felt unhappy about his appointment to the senior Household post. Wolsey would have had no qualms about Fitzwilliam, who had served him well as a member of his own household, and his association with Henry dated from well before the latter became King.

Discussions between Henry and his advisers were private. We know Fitzwilliam was in a position to give advice, and did. Very rarely do we know what advice he gave. He ceased to be Treasurer of the Household on his ennoblement in 1537.

His appointment involved him in preparing the 'giests' (itineraries) of the King's annual summer progresses. Two exist in whole or in part, for 1526 and 1528, both in Fitzwilliam's hand. He accompanied the King on progress in these years and in 1527.[59] He still had responsibility for the 'giests' as late as October 1535, when he checked Henry's amendments to the proposed itinerary.[60] That year most of the work was done by Paulet, the Controller, probably because Fitzwilliam was at Calais. In 1533 Fitzwilliam entertained the King at one of his summer progresses round southern England. Russell (later to succeed Fitzwilliam as Admiral and Lord Privy Seal) wrote to Lisle:

> And for cheer, what at my lord Marquess of Exeter's, Mr Treasurer's and at Mr Weston's, I never saw more delicate nor better cheer in my life.[61]

The progresses had a vital public relations function. A chat between Henry and a gentleman while on progress, with the gift of venison from the royal hunt, would be regarded as a great honour, as Fitzwilliam himself observed to Wolsey:

59. NA, SP1/39, f° 46 (*LP* iv(2) 2047 (2)); NA, SP1/235, f° 266 (*LP Addenda* I 589)). NA, SP1/44, f° 3, (*LP* iv (2) 3360), (19 Aug 1527). [ST. P. i. 261]. See N. Samman, 'The Progresses of Henry VIII, 1509-1529' in D. MacCulloch (ed), *The Reign of Henry VIII: Politics, Policy and Piety* (Basingstoke, 1995), pp.59ff and p.260 n.12.

60. NA, SP1/98, f° 14, (*LP* ix 619).

61. NA, SP3 vi 98, (LP vii 31), [*LL* i, 34]. (6 Aug. 1533). Sir Richard Weston was a gentleman of the privy chamber. Where Fitzwilliam entertained Henry is uncertain. (see p.214)

> I suppose verrely that there is not oone gentilman whiche hathe soo repayred unto His Grace's presence but that hathe had of his Highnesse as well a good worde of his own mouth spokenne, as venysonne of his gift, to their singlier confort and contentation.[62]

It was a remarkably inexpensive way of securing loyalty.

The Treasurer's Household duties were not only nominal. He had responsibility for personnel matters. In March 1526 Fitzwilliam wrote to Wolsey:

> The Kinges mind was Your Grace shulde speke with Massy, Sergiaunt of the Ewery and shewe him his pleasure concerning the discharging hym of his rowme and forby because Your Grace hathe not as yet spoken and agreed with hym in that behalf, Maister Comptroller and I cannot discharge hym. [63]

Massy was a Household official of only middling rank, but two senior Household officers found it impossible to get rid of him without intervention by Wolsey himself. He had job security which a modern shop steward could only dream of (the Calais Spears were junior officers it was also hard to sack). This is because offices were not just posts but property. We do not know how Massey ended up, but if he had to go we may be sure he had compensation, probably paid out of his successor's salary.

The Garter

Fitzwilliam was elected to the Garter in August 1526. Non-noble Household and Chamber officers normally received the Garter within a year or two of appointment, though delay might arise from lack of a vacancy. According to Helen Miller:

> Henry VIII did not use the order to extend his familiar circle so much as to reward those who were already part of it. The men elected in the non-noble category were, without exception, members of the royal household or close friends of the King.[64]

Prowess in the lists or in war was also normally required.[65] (This may be why Paulet, who so far as we know had no military experience, did not achieve the Garter until 1543, when he was probably well into his sixties.) Fitzwilliam and his close

62. NA, SP1/39, f° 31-2 (*LP* iv (2), 2368). (Aug. 1526).

63. NA, SP1/37, f° 258, (*LP* iv 2060).

64. Miller, *Henry VIII and the English Nobility*, p 89.

65. S.J. Gunn, 'Chivalry and the Politics of the Early Tudor Court' in S. Anglo (ed) *Chivalry in the Renaissance* (Woodbridge, 1990), p.111.

associates Guildford, Gage and Kingston qualified on all counts. In a status-conscious age the Garter gave high precedence: by an Order of 1479 Garter Knights were to precede the eldest sons of barons, and in the *Series Ordinum* of Jasper, Duke of Bedford (1487?) they were further advanced to precede the younger sons of earls.[66] On a more mundane level the Garter entitled its holder to higher diets when travelling abroad on the king's business. [67]

Fitzwilliam's wealth in 1527

The records of the subsidy assessment in 1527 enable us to gauge Fitzwilliam's wealth at the time. He was assessed at 1000 marks (£666 13s 4d) - probably a conservative measure of his income. This can be compared with £2000 for the Earl of Worcester, £1000 for the Duke of Suffolk and the Earl of Surrey and 600 marks (£400) for Lord Hastings.[68] While Fitzwilliam was not yet in the top stratum of wealth, he was plainly becoming very rich by Tudor standards. As he inherited no land, his income came from Crown grants and business activity. The former accounted for about half the 1000 marks; he had a pension of £150 p.a. from Francis (which he would be unwise to regard as permanent). His business activities included money-lending (e.g. to Maud Parr (see p.247) and the Earl of Northumberland, possibly with his mother), shipping (he owned three ships, chartered out), land speculation, and mining, but any details of these activities were lost in the Cowdray fire in the eighteenth century.

Ad hoc secretary

In the later 1520s Fitzwilliam sometimes acted as Henry's secretary. Pace and Knight, his secretaries, often went abroad on mission, and someone had to liaise with Wolsey and open the King's mail. More, Richard Sampson (originally a dependent of Wolsey, later dean of the Royal Chapel and Bishop of Chichester) and Brian Tuke (treasurer of the Chamber) also took turns: they knew about policies as they evolved, and could influence them to some extent. The work involved custody of the signet, with some influence over patronage. By the 1530s Fitzwilliam acted as secretary to the King

66. G.D. Squibb, G.D., *Precedence in England and Wales* (Oxford, 1981), p.19.

67. NA, SP1/95, f^{ps} 52-3, (*LP* ix 50), (8 Aug. 1535).

68. NA, SP1/40, f^{o} 207, (*LP* iv (2) 2972, p.1332).

several times when Cromwell was not available or Henry wanted to use someone else. He acted as secretary in the initial stages of the Pilgrimage of Grace, when Cromwell was put in the background (p.177), and in 1537, when he wrote to Cromwell about negotiations with the Schmalkaldic League.[69] Fitzwilliam's acting as secretary when the Calais commission of 1540 was set up, bypassing Cromwell, was of particular importance (see pp.120-1).

Fitzwilliam is found filling in on other occasions. In May 1528 he wrote to Wolsey that he had had to see to the writing out of a batch of important letters missive and asked the secretary (Knight) to come to court with the clerks of the signet. When he arrived at court himself he found Knight had arrived before him and that Henry, not knowing what he and his clerks were there for, had sent them back to London. It was too late to get them back and Fitzwilliam collected all the clerks he could lay hands on - clerks of the green cloth and the kitchen, and others - and set them to work writing the letters all night. [70] Elton concludes that this episode 'illustrates the incomplete organisation of the signet office and the part still played by household clerks'.[71] But the problem was not that the signet clerks were incompletely organised, it was that they had come and Henry had sent them away again. There had been a failure of communication that can happen in any large organisation, and Fitzwilliam himself may have been largely responsible. Nevertheless he showed organisational ability in mustering the household clerks and getting the work done.

Wolsey's fall

In the late 1520s Fitzwilliam was close to both Wolsey and Henry, being a main channel of communication between them. Their relations were friendly: he sent Wolsey a gift of his wife's 'housewifery', gave him good sport in Windsor Forest, and promised to cover up for Wolsey if he failed to attend to a household appointment.

On 23 February 1528 Fitzwilliam wrote to Wolsey on the King's behalf demanding that he should leave Hampton Court for four days so that Henry could receive the

69. NA, SP1/125, f^{os} 107-8, (*LP* xii (2) 814) (?2 Oct. 1537).

70. NA, SP1/48, f^{os} 49,50, (*LP* iv, 4299).

71. Elton, *Tudor Revolution in Government*, pp.57-59.

Papal legate there[72], effectively ending Wolsey's tenure. From then Henry visited it regularly, but Wolsey only three times, as a refugee. Fitzwilliam attended when the Great Seal was taken from Wolsey on 17 October 1529[73], and later, when Wolsey was summoned to 'a council of the Nobles' in Star Chamber to hear a list of charges against him, Fitzwilliam's name appears with those of the Chancellor (More), twelve peers, two judges and Sir Henry Guildford.[74] There was a strong Household element: Shrewsbury (Steward), Fitzwilliam (Treasurer) and Sir Henry Guildford (comptroller). Significantly, the last two were the only commoners except More. Till then Fitzwilliam was not involved against Wolsey. He did not kick him when he was down[75], nor did he, like Cromwell, make a show of loyalty.

It was at this time that Cromwell began to emerge as a significant political figure. As Dr Ward writes:

> Cromwell was the link between Wolsey, his adversaries and the monarch who controlled their destinies. It was this role as the channel of communication who, seemingly was trusted by all parties, that was central to the development of Cromwell's own career, and specifically his move to the king's service - the one grew into the other.[76]

Clearly this demanded a great deal of finesse. Backing Wolsey too enthusiastically would put an end to Cromwell's career if he finally fell. Running him down too much would equally put an end to it if Wolsey returned to power. Part of his strategy necessarily involved greasing the appropriate palms. On the advice of both Cromwell and Gardiner Wolsey asked the latter to:

> Move the Kynges grace for the Inlargyng of Mr Nores Fee to the sum of C li or two, for the revercion to Mr Tresorer [Fitzwilliam] of such offices as the lord Sandes had in Farnam with the further amplyacion of the fee above the ordinary to xl li by the yere. [Sir Henry Guildford and Sir John Russell were to be treated in the same way].[77]

72. NA, SP1/50, f^{ps} 123-4, (*LP* iv (2) 4766), [ST. P. i. 326].
73. NA, C54/398, m. 19, (*LP* iv (3), 6025, (25 Oct. 1529). [Rymer, *Foedera,* xiv 349].
74. Herbert of Cherbury, *The Life and Reign of King Henry VIII* (1672), p.302. (*LP* iv (3) 6075).
75. E.W. Ives, 'The Fall of Wolsey' , in Gunn and Lindley (eds), *Cardinal Wolsey,* Church, State and Art' (1991), p.311
76. Ward, P.J., 'The origins of Thomas Cromwell's public career: service under Cardinal Wolsey and Henry VIII', (unp. University of London PhD thesis, 1989), p.206.
77. BL, Cotton. MS. Ap. f^{o} 23, (*LP* iv (3) 6075), [ST. P. I, 355].

This shows that an attempt was being made to approach the King by two separate routes: the Household (Fitzwilliam and Guildford) and the Privy Chamber (Norris and Russell). We may be sure that Cromwell gave great thought to how the money might be spent most effectively.

This is the first instance where there is any recorded link between Fitzwilliam and Cromwell (though even here link may be too strong a word). Both had been members of Wolsey's household, though Cromwell appears not to have entered his association with Wolsey until 1524, being especially concerned with the dissolution of the smaller monasteries for Wolsey's foundations at Oxford and Ipswich, but not in matters of national importance.[78] By then Fitzwilliam was engaged mainly in diplomacy and his activities as vice-admiral, so their paths may not have crossed to any significant extent.

It may be noted here that the exact date of Cromwell's entry to the King's service is uncertain. He had certainly entered it by August 1530, as from August to November he is to be found organising and coordinating the series of county inquisitions *post mortem* which followed Wolsey's death. He was also involved in securing the transfer of the lands of Wolsey's colleges to the Crown.[79] Here he is seen working in a purely technical capacity on the kind of work in which he had already shown considerable expertise acting for Wolsey. Yet by 1532 he had become one of Henry's chief counsellors, if he had not yet achieved full power. While the reasons for his rapid rise are complex, the main one is probably the failure of Norfolk and Henry's other principal counsellors (including Fitzwilliam) to deal with the problem which was increasingly dominating Henry's outlook - the Divorce.

Fitzwilliam was appointed with Gardiner to ensure Wolsey's goods were not embezzled.[80] In November 1529, when More became Lord Chancellor he became

78. Ward, 'Origins of Thomas Cromwell's public career', cc.2-4.

79. Ward, 'Origins of Thomas Cromwell's public career', pp.224ff. He had also served the King earlier in organising and coordinating the series of *IPMs* on Sir William Compton's lands. But Wolsey had the wardship of Compton's young son Peter, and Dr Ward plausibly suggests that in this matter Cromwell was really working for Wolsey, not the King.

80. Rymer, *Foedera,* xiv, p.402. (*LP* iv (3) 6516), (13 July 1530

Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, a post he held till his death.[81] From 1529 to 1532, when Cromwell became prominent, he was one of an inner ring of ministers led by Norfolk whose main task was to advise the King on the divorce; others were the Duke of Suffolk, the Marquess of Exeter, the Earls of Sussex and Wiltshire (formerly Sir Thomas Boleyn), Lords Darcy, Sandys and Hussey, and Gardiner. [82]

Member of Parliament

Fitzwilliam was elected for Surrey in 1529.[83] Elton suggests that in the 1530s 'membership of the House of Commons was something that men with political ambitions could and would use as a stepping-stone in their careers'.[84] Fitzwilliam was already in the inner circle of councillors and held a senior Household position. His election brought a senior councillor into the House to influence and control it. This was probably at Henry's instigation. Shire seats were not pushovers: his election shows his high status in Surrey's political community (see chapter 10a). In the first session, when the Commons complained to the King about Fisher's charge of heresy, Fitz-william brought back the King's answer.[85] He was one of the knights and doctors in Parliament who signed the petition of July 1530 to the Pope for the divorce[86] and attended when the clergy made their submission in May 1532. In 1531 he helped the town of Southampton secure an Act (22 Hen. VIII c29) reducing its fee-farm, acting with his Household colleague Sir Henry Guildford and the Duke of Suffolk in support of John Mille, MP for the port.[87]

On 4 February 1533 Henry wished to show he was still on good terms with the Pope. The papal nuncio was persuaded to attend the installation of Humphrey Wingfield as Speaker and was then entertained at a banquet at Fitzwilliam's lodgings. This was

81. NA, DL 42/44, f° 122.
82. J.A. Guy, *The Public Career of Sir Thomas More* (Brighton, 1980), p.128; 'Privy Council: Revolution or Evolution?', in Coleman and Starkey, (eds), *Revolution Reassessed,* p.69.
83. It is possible, but unlikely, that he sat in the 1523 Parliament: membership records are lost.
84. Elton, 'Tudor Government: the points of contact: I: Parliament', *Studies,* iii, p.19.
85. *A&M,* iv, p.613.
86. NA, E30/1012a, *(LP* iv (3) 6513), (13 July 1530). [Rymer, *Foedera,* xiv p.405]
87. S.E. Lehmburg, *The Reformation Parliament* (Cambridge, 1970), pp.124-5. For Mille see pp.243-4.

only marginally parliamentary business, and shows no leanings on Fitzwilliam's part toward the Pope: it was a state occasion, hosted by Fitzwilliam at Henry's command.[88]

The Southwell case

In April 1532 Sir William Pennington, related by marriage to the Duke of Suffolk, was killed in the Westminster sanctuary by the three Southwell brothers and their followers.[89] Suffolk was reported to be on his way to remove them. Henry sent Fitzwilliam to intercept him. The brothers were pardoned at a high price after perfunctory investigation[90], probably due to Norfolk's backing and Richard Southwell's friendship with Cromwell. The murder sprang from hostility between the two retinues, perhaps sparked off by a local grudge. The Venetian ambassador suggested the real cause was that Suffolk's wife (Henry's sister Mary) had slandered Anne Boleyn. The episode shows how fragile civil peace was, even under Henry, who was reported to be highly displeased.[91] In spite of his involvement in this affair, two years later Richard Southwell was appointed Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk.[92] His speedy rehabilitation after clearly being involved in murder shows how he made use of his links with Cromwell and the third Duke of Norfolk. Despite this he later bit the hand that fed him in spectacular fashion when he played a large part in the fall of Norfolk and the execution of the Earl of Surrey. [93] Fitzwilliam was sent to deal with a situation which could have had serious consequences if it had not been handled delicately: this was a tribute to his diplomatic ability. Also, this was clearly too big a job for a gentleman of the Privy Chamber, needing a senior Household officer.

Steward of Oxford University

In 1532 Fitzwilliam succeeded More as High Steward of Oxford University.[94] Next

88. Lehmburg, *Reformation Parliament*, p.171, quoting Chapuys MS, 1533, nos. 11 and 13.
89. *Ven. Cal.*, iv, 761. (23 Ap. 1532).
90. NA, C66/82, (*LP* v 1139, g11 (1)).
91. Gunn, *Charles Brandon*, pp.123-7 and Head, *The Ebbs and Flows of Fortune*, p.110.
92. *Sheriff Roll, Nov. 1534,* (*LP* vii 98 g.13).
93. Susan Brigden, 'Henry Howard, earl of Surrey and the 'Conjured League' ', *HJ* xxxvii, (1994), p.507.
94. N. Williams, *The Cardinal and the Secretary* (1975), p.197 implies 1534 as the date; the *PH* 1532. The latter makes more sense of the letter from town and gown to Fitzwilliam in 1533.

year town and gown wrote jointly to Fitzwilliam and Cromwell, noting that:

> We have received from you instructions concerning surrenders to be made to the King of our liberties, privileges etc, and that we should soon after this feast repair to the King that he may put an end to the controversies which depend on them....[95]

Oxford was being softened up by the King to approve of his divorce, using the excuse of complications arising from the suppression of Cardinal College after Wolsey's fall. While Fitzwilliam was appointed by royal command, this was not entirely to the University's disadvantage: that they sent their letter to Fitzwilliam shows that they were able to use him, literally, as a friend at court.

Relations with Cromwell

In 1532 Cromwell 'entered the circle of advisers on policy surrounding the king [and by May] he was becoming supreme in that circle'[96]. He and Fitzwilliam seem to have been on friendly terms. In July 1533 he wrote to Cromwell:

> ... my wif hathe sent unto you at this tyme a disshe of fowle of her own fatting, which is not soo good ner soo fat as she wold it were. Nevertheles, she desireth you to accepte the same in good part. By Sondaye at nighte, I trust to sende you a piece of a Reddere; for I could have no tyme convenient to kille and sende you any herwith...

He added:

> ... yf it may please you to take the payne to bee with me in these parties for your recreacion, bifore my reatorne to the Court ... surely I wold bee righte glad thereof ... And though percaas ye cannot conveniently bee with me befor my said reatourne yet I praye you not to fail to comme after my departure, and to bring with you the Attorney of the Duchie [Wrothe] and iii. Or iiii other good fellowes, such as ye can bee contented to bee mery withal: where ye shall fynde my wif and my broder: unto whom I am assured ye shall not oonly bee righte hertely welcome, but also I trust and doubt not but that they will make you as good passe tyme in hunting as they can possibly devise.[97]

Fitzwilliam always wrote as an equal. His letters are polite, lacking the obsequiousness of most of Cromwell's correspondents. Of course they usually wrote to him from covetousness or fear. Fitzwilliam was a wealthy man and secure in his close relationship with the King. Never Cromwell's man, he was usually Cromwell's ally.

95. BL Cotton. MS Faustina C vii f° 203 (*LP* vi 20), (4 Jan. 1533).

96. Elton, *Tudor Revolution in Government,* p.96.

97. NA, SP1/77, f^ps^ 167-8, (*LP* vi 762), (3 July 1533). [Ellis, III., ii, 277]

The More episode

In July 1533 Fitzwilliam wrote to Cromwell that 'Sir Thos. More sent word to me he was very desirous to speak with me'. As Fitzwilliam was passing by More's home he called in to see what it was about. He reported that:

> ... Sir Thomas More yesterday sent unto me and shewed how that he was verrey desirous to speak with me to my house at Westminster, orells that I wold appoint sum place where he might mete and speke with me. Whereupon this daye, at my commyng hider ... I toke a boot and went up unto hym, and caused my horses to mete me onne the other side of the water. And at my cumming unto hym, he shewed me that the cause he was so desiroux to speke with me consisted in two things. The oon was, he had a suyt unto you, wherin for that he knewe that ye bee my verrey frynde, and that he trusted ye wold bee the bettre unto hym in the same for my sake, he desired me to speke or effectually to write unto you in his favor; saying that his owne mynde verily gave hym that ye wold bee good unto hym in that behalf; the effect wherof he did not openne ner declare unto me. And the other was, that a gentilman of late and sythens the gyving up of his Office of Chauncellorship hath ordred and used himself verrey evill and unsurely towards hym, and other thenne me seemeth oone gentilmanne should do to an other, as I shall show you at my next meeting.[98]

Fitzwilliam and More were both councillors but were not close friends. Fitzwilliam was no scholar and outside the humanist coterie, but they had a common friend in Tunstall, who may have put the two in touch. We may take More at his word that he chose Fitzwilliam as a close colleague of Cromwell who would pass his message without spin, as he did. What More's suit to Cromwell was is unclear (it may have concerned the Elizabeth Barton case, just coming to a head), nor who it was who had treated him very ill: he perhaps meant the Vaughan affair, when he was accused of corruption.[99] The episode is difficult to interpret, as we do not know with certainty what More's suit to Cromwell was. Fitzwilliam may have been cautious about writing to Cromwell about a contact with someone regarded with suspicion by the government. However, More's turning to him shows that he had a reputation for fairness and plain dealing.

Fitzwilliam attended neither Fisher's trial on 17 June 1535 nor More's on 1 July. He was on mission to France.

98. NA, SP1/77, f^{os} 167-8, (*LP* vi 762), (3 July 1533). [Ellis, III, ii, 277].

99. A.L.Rowse (ed), *A Man of Singular virtue, being a Life of Sir Thomas More by his son-in-law William Roper* (Folio Soc. Ed., 1980), pp.72-3.

100. NA, SP1/77, f° 229, (*LP* vi 829), (15 July 1533).

Promotion to Earldom

In October 1537 Fitzwilliam became Earl of Southampton in the honours list at Prince Edward's birth; Sir Edward Seymour was made Viscount Beauchamp at the same ceremony.[101] Most earls served as barons before advancement to the higher rank, but immediate promotion to an earldom was not unprecedented. The last earl in Hampshire was Lodewijk van Gruuthuse (Lewis of Bruges) (d.1492), made earl of Winchester by Edward IV in 1472 for his help when Edward was in exile during the Readeption.[102] Lewis never sat in the Lords after his installation and his son and grandson never visited England, but as male heirs still lived the title could be held still to exist. Henry VIII would hardly view the Gruuthuse family with favour. They entered French service after Charles the Bold's death in 1477 and John became governor of Picardy.[103] In 1517 John Roussel was granted lands in Tournai, lately forfeited by Dame de Vendosme and Seignor de Gruthuyse[104], suggesting that any link between the Gruuthuse family and England had finally been broken. Fitzwilliam's 'third penny' was a grant of £20 p.a. on the customs of Southampton. On his ennoblement he ceased to be Treasurer of the King's household, being succeeded by Paulet, the Controller. To support him, the King granted him lands valued at £264 16s 5d at a rent of £28 4s 9d, including two religious houses in Sussex, Shulbred priory and the abbey of Durford.[105]

Discussion

Fitzwilliam's career exhibits a steady upward trend, as shown by his appointment to the Council in 1522, as Treasurer of the Household in 1525, as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in 1529, as Admiral in 1536 and as Earl of Southampton in 1537. By the mid-thirties he was rich and one of the inner ring of councillors. Many members of the early Tudor establishment came from fairly humble stock, e.g. Wolsey, Cromwell and

101. An account of the ceremony is given in BL, Add. MS 46,434.

102. M. Vale, 'An Anglo-Burgundian Nobleman and Art Patron: Louis de Bruges, Lord of Gruthuyse and Earl of Winchester' in Barron and Saul (eds) *England and the Low Countries in the Late Middle Ages* (Stroud, 1995), c.5.

103. D. Potter, *War and government in the French provinces* (Cambridge,1993), p.50.

104. NA, C76/198, (*LP* ii (2) 2982).

105. *LP* xiii (2) 1008, g.19).

Audley. Fitzwilliam came from a good family. He was the King's friend from an early age, but this by itself was not enough. Henry was a good judge of men and sought competence. Before reaching the top Fitzwilliam served a rigorous apprenticeship. He was appointed vice-admiral, a role he filled with éclat (see Chapter 2). He sat on the Surrey bench (see p.191). He went on diplomatic missions. He was given tasks involving accountancy skills (pp.30-1, 56, 94-5). He was sent to browbeat Mary and Catherine into submission (p.152). The ideal Tudor government servant acted equally in war, diplomacy and administration. Fitzwilliam gained distinction in all these fields.

By the early thirties Fitzwilliam was one of Henry's chief advisers. A much mutilated letter from Fitzwilliam to an unknown correspondent of uncertain date includes:

> [Henry] can be right well contented to [send to] Calles to meet with thow admirall [of France] thow personages he most trusts tha[t is] to say, my lord of Norfolk, is premier sayerc[retary, Crom[well] ... Sir W.F., tresorer of is hous.[106]

This suggests a triumvirate of Norfolk, Cromwell and Fitzwilliam, but there is room for a fourth name. Paulet is perhaps the most likely: George Paulet's anecdote about Henry boxing Cromwell's ears (see p.237) suggests that his brother was prominent in 1534/5. Wiltshire, always prominent up to the Anne's fall, is another possibility. Suffolk is just possible: he is no longer regarded as just an athletic nincompoop, but he lacked the intellectual power of the others mentioned in this paragraph.

Henry was a demanding master. A letter from Browne to his brother states,

> Sir, the Kynges pleasur ys that you or Mr Secretary be with him tonight and not to be ffalyd; for he in tends to speke with one of you tonight.[107]

Henry was a night person, as More had already found.[108]

106 BL, Cotton. MS. Calig. E.1. f° 127 *(LP* viii 342). Undated, but could be either 1534 or 1535, 1534 being more likely: Norfolk's influence dwindled as Cromwell became more powerful.

107 NA, SP1/88, f° 62, (*LP* vii 1629). Undated, assigned by editors of *LP* to 1534.

108 Rowse (ed), *A Man of Singular virtue,* pp.34-5.

The Holbein portrait

With promotion to the office of Lord Admiral and advancement to an earldom, and with Cowdray completed after Sir David Owen's death in 1535, Fitzwilliam could reasonably think that he had finally arrived in the top rank of Henry's ministers. It was then that he commissioned Holbein to paint his portrait to hang in the great hall at Cowdray.[109]

The sketch shows Fitzwilliam with a serious, even stern, expression: clearly Holbein wanted to stress the sitter's *gravitas*. The face in the copy of the painting in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge differs from the sketch in several ways, being significantly longer, and the expression appears mournful rather than stern (how far this was due to lack of skill on the part of the copyist is hard to judge). Fitzwilliam is shown against a maritime background, making the portrait almost unique: Holbein's court subjects are usually shown against a plain background. Buck and Sander suggest the background was added by the copyist, though it is quite possible that Fitzwilliam himself asked for a background of ships.[110] The copy does provide one useful piece of information. The vantage point is unusually low for a full-length portrait. Buck and Sander suggest this gives a martial air.[111] Another, more likely, explanation is that the low vantage point makes the subject appear taller. This suggests that Fitzwilliam was short, confirming what Norfolk allegedly said in 1542 (see p.217): 'See this little villain ...' , a remark that would make no sense if Fitzwilliam had been tall and powerfully built.

109 The precise date of the portrait is unknown. As he is shown with the Admiral's staff it must be between 1536 and 1540. For full discussion of the portrait, which has not survived, and the sketch, now in the Queen's Collection, see Stephanie Buck and J. Sander, *Hans Holbein the younger, Painter at the Court of Henry VIII* (2003), pp.120-124, 173.

111. Buck and Sander, *Holbein*, p.120. Fitzwilliam was evidently fussy about the way he was painted. He had commissioned a portrait of himself while at the French court in 1521, but complained that the unknown artist 'did not do my portrait well ... he made it in haste'. (Buck and Sander, *Holbein,* p.122.) The artist was clearly not from the Clouet *atelier.*

112. Buck and Sander, *Holbein,* p.122.

5. FITZWILLIAM AND CALAIS

Fitzwilliam was appointed captain of Guines in May 1524: this was part of his military career and is examined in Chapter 2. In June 1525 he handed Guines over to Sandys, who found it in excellent order and wrote that Fitzwilliam deserved great thanks for it.[1]

A. DE FACTO SECRETARY FOR CALAIS; THE CALAIS ACT OF 1536

From 1524 to the late 1530s Fitzwilliam had some responsibility for Calais, without formal title. He visited Calais at least twice in the years up to 1535: in 1529 he was on a commission responsible for new ordinances for the town and county of Guines[2] (in some ways a precursor of the Calais Act), and in 1535 he headed the commission which carried out the work which led to the Calais Act itself. In neither case did he act by himself, but as chairman of the 1535 commission he was responsible for the Act.

His mission to France in 1534 led to friendship with Lisle, Lord Deputy at Calais, a supporter of the Royal Supremacy but a religious conservative. He praised Lisle at court.[3] Lisle got wine for him and sent him gifts of game. He sent him a live seal, perhaps thinking it apt for a seagoing man. (The embarrassed Fitzwilliam had it killed and cooked and sent to his wife).[4] Lisle could not manage his Hampshire estates at a distance, so was vulnerable to suits by courtiers, especially Seymour and Dudley. Fitzwilliam was involved because Lisle used him, literally, as a friend at court[5], as he used Cromwell and Audley. His letters to Fitzwilliam are full of pleas for help in his 'suits'. Fitzwilliam also dealt with Lisle in 1534 and 1535 on official matters including

1. NA, SP1/31 f^{os} 130-1, (*LP* iv (1) 493) - dated by the *LP* editors to 1524 but clearly written at the time of the handover.
2. NA, SP1/52, f^{os} 188-221, (*LP* iv (2) 5247) (1 Feb. 1529). The other members were Lord Sandys, John Hales (Baron of the Exchequer), Christopher Hales (Attorney-General) and William Briswode. Briswode was a Calais official. His account book of victuals for Calais survives for the year 14 Henry VIII. (NA: E101/204/4).
3. NA, SP3 iv f^{o} 81, (*LP* vii 620), [*LL* ii, 184]. Hussey to Lisle, (6 May 1534).
4. NA, SP3 iii f^{o} 67, (*LP* viii 445), [*LL* ii, 280]; PRO, SP3 v 45, (*LP* xii, 555) [*LL* iv, 1001] - samples only of a considerable correspondence.
5. M.L. Bush, 'The Lisle-Seymour Land Disputes: a study of power and influence in the 1530s' *HJ,* ix, (1966), (1966) pp.255ff; D. Loades, *John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland 1504-53* (Oxford, 1996), pp.28-9.

building works, personnel matters, a peccant customs official and pay and victualling.[6]

The Calais Act

Fitzwilliam returned to Calais in August 1535 to redress 'such things as were out of order in the town and marches'. He wrote to Cromwell that his diets were underpaid:

> [As] I am appointed to the diettes of 33s 4d it may please you to understande that in all the journeys it hath pleased the Kinges Highnesse to put me into, sythence I have beene a Knight of the Garter, I had never less than 53s 4d, lyke, as yf it please you to calle unto remembraunce, I had in my last journey before this to Calays. Whereof surely I saved not oon grote... Yf the Kinges Highnesse appointed me to the diet of 33s 4d himself I desire you ne further to mocion nor speke therein... Howbeit, in caas the writer of the said warraunt mystoke his instruction ... it may then please you to see the warraunt amended.[7]

His colleagues were John Baker, George Paulet, Anthony St Leger and Thomas Walsh. Baker was attorney general of the Duchy of Lancaster in 1535 and 1536, when he became king's Attorney General, and acted as legal representative for the Duchy in various ways till his death in 1558.[8] George Paulet was Sir William Paulet's brother. Anthony St Leger later served three terms as Lord Deputy of Ireland. Thomas Walshe was a baron of the Court of Exchequer. They were senior officials, with Fitzwilliam the driving force. The initiative was Henry's.[9]

On arrival he found builders on strike for more pay and imprisoned the ringleaders:

> At myne arrivalle to this towne, it was enformed me that certain lewd and noughtye personnes working in the Kinges Workes here, alleged and sayed that they wolde worke no longer on the workes except they might have 6d a daye and that they had named oone personne amonges theym to be a Lord. ...And this morning 30 and moo of the said unthriftye personnes assembled themselfes togeders by 6 of the clok, and he whom they named Lord with theym, and sayed that they wold not worke except they might have 6d by the daye. And that he who touched oon of theym shulde touche them alle. Whereupon I and my colleagues toke sum payne to examyne and try oute the beginners of the said matier, and found 4 personnes chief mocioners and doers thereof. Wherof, he whom they named their Lord, and another whiche bee as seditious ... we

6. NA, SP3 vii f° 51, (*LP* vii 823), [*LL* ii, 212], (11 June 1534); NA, SP1/94 f° 135, (*LP* viii 1091), [*LL* ii 424] (c20 July); NA, SP3 iii f° 67, (*LP* viii 445), [*LL* ii 280] (25 Nov.); NA, SP3 iii f° 55, (*LP* ix 535), [*LL* ii 456] (4 Oct.1535). This is a sample only.
7. NA, SP1/95 f^os^ 52-3, (*LP* ix 50), (8 Aug. 1535).
8. Somerville, pp.408, 555.
9. Muriel St Clare Byrne and Bridget Boland (ed), *Lisle Letters: An Abridgement* (1983), p.54.

> have committed into prisonne within the castell of Dover till the Kinges pleasure maye be knowen of theym. And the other two which bee also noughte but not so evelle as the other bee, forasmuch as it appeard that they were repentant for the offences they had doone we have committed theym to the Mayres prison, there to remaigne for a sevenight and then to be discharged.[10]

Fitzwilliam's account makes it looks as though the commissioners imprisoned the ringleaders by executive action, without any regard for legal niceties.

He stayed three months: 'founde this towne and marches farre oute of order, and so farre, that it wold greve and petie the hart of any good and true Englisshe men to here or see the same'. The commission examined Lisle and other officers and concluded that they could not 'at this present tyme reforme all thinges which is out of order here, for sum things there is that cannot be perfected without an acte of Parliament'. [11]

The administration was seriously underfunded. The community was divided, with bitter disputes between the mayor (elected by the Staple) and Lisle (representing the King), and between Lisle and his predecessor Sir Robert Wingfield, still a Council member. (A serious quarrel about precedence arose between them at the end of 1535)[12] From 1510 to the mid-1520s Wingfield was employed in diplomacy. His learning and linguistic ability qualified him well, but he had serious defects: extreme arrogance, duplicity to his colleagues (notably Pace), and virulent hatred of the French. He had held office in Calais since 1510, and was deputy for five years, later engaging in lengthy disputes with his successors, Berners and Lisle, mainly about his lease of former marshland outside the town which he drained and built on, weakening Calais' defences (see below). When he was mayor he quarrelled over his and the deputy's respective jurisdictions. With little to do, he probably enjoyed stirring up trouble for its own sake.

The results of this and earlier commissions of enquiry were incorporated in a bill prepared by Fitzwilliam and enacted in the last session of the Reformation Parliament (27 Hen.VIII, c63).[13] After a brief preamble outlining the King's intention to improve

10. NA, SP1/95 f^{os} 109-110, (*LP* ix 110), (17 Aug. 1535).
11. BL, Cotton. MS Calig. E ii f^{o} 313.
12. NA, SP1/99 f^{o} 197, (*LP* ix 1057), [*LL* ii 509].
13. Lehmberg, *Reformation Parliament,* p238; NA, SP3 iii 69, (*LP* ix 766): letter from Fitzwilliam to Lisle dated 4 Nov. 1535.

the administration and fortification of Calais after a period of great decay and neglect, it lists the officers of Calais and the oaths to be sworn by them (in effect job descriptions stating in great detail what they must and must not do) and tables of fees for soldiers, archers, masons and carpenters. It also covers decayed houses, wells, tolls, customs charges, and the sale of provisions. Most of this was a repetition of earlier ordinances at greater length, but there were some constitutional innovations.

A Council for Calais of office holders only was set up as the executive body in charge of government and justice in the Pale. Members were ranked in order of precedence, but this was not a precursor of the Act of Precedence of 1539: the Calais Act dealt only with linear precedence between office-holders; the latter skilfully balanced precedence based on personal rank with precedence based on official rank within the Council. Two burgesses were to attend Parliament, one chosen by the deputy and Council, the other by the mayor and burgesses. Council and 'town' were often in dispute, and the aim was to cut dissension. Representation of constituencies was often divided between competing interests, but only here was divided representation prescribed by law. All clergy were to reside in their benefices and English was to be the language of administration throughout the Pale. As the population outside the town of Calais was French or Flemish the aim was to anglicise the Pale and to discourage papalism. The courts of the liberties of Guines, Mark and Oye were to be held in the King's exchequer in Calais, not in Guines or the East Pale. This was not an attempt to abrogate Picard and Flemish customary law but to exert supervision over its use.

Why did Fitzwilliam say Calais' deficiencies could only be resolved by Act of Parliament? Most of the Act's provisions could have been dealt with by Order in Council. There are three possibilities: the Act would show clearly that Calais was part of the English realm; the constitutional innovations required an Act, even if the administrative clauses did not; or things were so bad that an Act was necessary to impress on Council and corporation that the actions proposed must be taken seriously. Judging by Fitzwilliam's letters the last reason was topmost in his mind, but the reasons are not mutually exclusive and probably all played a part.

What was Fitzwilliam's commission trying to do? Dr Grummitt suggests: 'The Calais Act must be seen as part of a programme of legislation and policies employed during the 1530s to ensure that all parts of the realm were governed according to the norms in place in south eastern England'.[14] This is untrue of the 'outliers' (Calais, the Channel Islands[15], the Isle of Man[16], Berwick[17] and from 1513 to 1518 Tournai[18]). They differed greatly from the subject nations of Wales and Ireland, being off-shore islands important for the defence of the English mainland or small fortified enclaves bordering potentially hostile nations. They differed in importance, legal systems and language.

Tournai and Man were explicitly excluded from the realm of England. Like the Channel Islands they had their own courts and their own legal systems, as did the parts of the Calais Pale outside the town and its protecting castles. All were outside the purview of the English courts. They were subject to the jurisdiction of the English Council, though its power over Man was never tested. Berwick was subject to English law administered by English courts, though its status was anomalous: it was cited with Wales in the application clause of Acts of Parliament, and was not part of the county of

14. Grummitt, D., 'Calais 1485-1547: a study in early Tudor politics and government', (University of London Ph.D. thesis, 1997), p.65.
15. See A.J. Eagleston, *The Channel Islands under Tudor Government 1485-1652* (Cambridge, 1949); G.R. Balleine, *A History of the Island of Jersey* (1950); and F.B. Tupper, *The History of Guernsey and its Bailiwick* (Guernsey, 1854).
16. See R.H. Kinvig, *The Isle of Man: a social, cultural and political history* (Liverpool, 1975). A.W. Moore, *History of the Isle of Man* (1900), book 2, c.1; B. Coward, 'A "Crisis of the Aristocracy" in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries?', The case of the Stanleys, Earls of Derby, 1504-1642', *NH,* xviii, pp.59-60.
17. See L. Gordon, *Berwick-upon-Tweed and the East March* (Chichester, 1985),c.6; A.D.K. Hawkyard, 'The Enfranchisement of constituencies 1509-1558', *Parliamentary History,* x, (1991) p.4; Claire Etty, 'A Tudor Solution to the Problem of the North: Government and the marches towards Scotland 1509-1529' *NH* (Sept. 2002), pp.211-222.
18. See C.S.L. Davies, 'Tournai and the English Crown' *HJ,* xli, (1998), pp 1-26; 'Tournai MPs at Westminster?', *Parliamentary History,* 20 (2001), pp 233-5; C.G. Cruickshank, *The English Occupation of Tournai* (Oxford, 1971).

Northumberland till 1842. Before the Calais Act, only Berwick was represented in Parliament. It was most like Calais: relations between corporation and garrison were often similarly acrimonious. One of its captains, Sir Anthony Ughtred was Fitzwilliam's step-cousin and another, Sir Thomas Clifford, his brother-in-law. We do not know if they gave him information on Berwick's constitution.

There was no 'one size fits all' policy for outliers; the government was sensitive to local circumstances and respected local legal and administrative customs. In England, besides common and statute law administered by Kings Bench and Common Pleas there was law administered by borough courts, ecclesiastical courts, Chancery and the remaining feudal courts. Use of customary law in Tournai, the Channel Islands, the Isle of Man and the rural parts about Calais was thus unexceptional. It was administered according to accepted rules and fairly predictable: the objection to Celtic law (especially land law) in Wales and Ireland was that it was thought to be subjective and unpredictable.[19] Fitzwilliam was no innovator, and the provisions of the Calais Act were fully in accord with the overall policy of respect for the legal and administrative customs of outliers.

The work of Fitzwilliam and his team had other consequences apart from the Act. The first was the decision to repair the fortifications, which were in poor condition. In 1529 the defences of Guines had been found to be so neglected that urgent repairs were needed, though they were not carried out until 1536. Similarly, little was done at Calais after the 1536 Act until a policy of fortifying all the English borders was inaugurated in 1538, when the government had good reason to fear that France and Spain would combine against England. (see below)

The second concerned Sir Robert Wingfield. In 1529 he leased a tract of marsh outside the town and drained it to settle it with his own tenants. But flooding the land formed part of the town's defences, and Wingfield's action caused much concern. In 1534 the English Council flooded the land: this made him even more intractable. In 1536 an attempt was made to resolve the problem by cancelling Wingfield's lease, and a bill to

19. For a discussion of Irish customs of inheritance see R. Dudley Edwards, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors* (1977), pp.53-5. English rules of inheritance were already finding acceptance in Wales.

this effect passed the Commons. However, a compromise was reached under which Sir Robert surrendered his lease in return for lands near Guines. This was probably engineered by Sir Robert's brothers Humphrey (elected Speaker in 1532) and Thomas (MP for Sandwich from 1534). We do not know if Fitzwilliam was involved, but he had had contact with the Wingfields in the past, notably on his mission to Margaret of Austria with Sir Richard Wingfield in 1535. (see pp.63-4) Sir Robert died on March 18 1539.[20]

The Calais Act tried to remedy serious shortcomings at Calais. Was Fitzwilliam wholly responsible, or was it a committee effort? The Act is meticulously drafted, but then as now the drafting of bills was a specialised art to be given to experts: the commission had its own legal experts in Baker and Walshe. Nowadays a Government commission of inquiry is led by a senior figure responsible for ensuring it adheres to its terms of reference and for balancing the views of the members. Obviously he must take into account the views of all the members, but equally nothing goes in that he cannot put his signature to. It is dangerous to assume that what holds good now was necessarily true in the past, but the parameters within which such commissions operate have changed little, and it is reasonable to suppose that Fitzwilliam's commission worked in this way. He was a senior and experienced councillor who was close to the King and knew his thinking, and the members knew this. Furthermore he was an experienced diplomat, and his diplomatic training would have enabled him to iron out any disagreements between the members, though there is no evidence that any serious dissension arose. The Act can safely be regarded as essentially Fitzwilliam's work.

The commissioners submitted their report to the King and council. Subsequently the council discussed and approved the ordinances they had drawn up. As Fitzwilliam had earlier suggested, it was decided that the ordinances should indeed be embodied in an Act of Parliament.[21] Cromwell seems to have had little to do with the commission of enquiry. He must have approved the Calais Act, but it showed he was not the only Council member capable of constitutional thinking.

20. Grummit, 'Calais 1485-1547', pp.16-17; NA, SP3, ii 129, (*LP* vii 1328), [*LL* ii, 274]; NA, SP1/99 f° 197. (LP ix, 1057), [*LL* ii 509]; NA, SP3 ix 15, (*LP* x 1158), [*LL* iii, 727]; J.M. Wingfield, *Some records of the Wingfield family* (1925), pp.113-31.

21. Elton, *Tudor Revolution in Government,* p.328; *LP* viii, 912; ix, 766.

In the short term the Act was successful, yet twenty years later the French took Calais. This was not because of the Act. After 1546 things became slack and the Staple's wool trade slumped: in 1550 only about 3000 sacks of wool were shipped.[22] Separation of burgesses from garrison became harder to maintain as Calais became less attractive to young men making a career. It was reported that in three wards there were no English-men except soldiers to serve as constables. 'The pluralism which resulted from commercial decline and depopulation had swept away all real distinction of military, civil and municipal service'.[23] After Henry's death the garrison was reduced and two of the four 'bulwarks' on the Pale border dismantled. Under Mary conditions became even worse. The capture of Calais by the French in 1557 was a walkover, largely because Fitzwilliam's carefully drawn up provisions were abandoned.

After the Pilgrimage of Grace Hussee wrote to Lisle that Fitzwilliam 'says he has more ado with Calais than with the whole of England'.[24] His letters to Lisle fall off after 1538, being mostly limited to personnel matters. Cromwell seems to have taken over responsibility for Calais, The most likely explanation is that Fitzwilliam found his other responsibilities took too much time, but perhaps Cromwell took over because of the developing religious crisis in Calais, not wishing a religious conservative close to Lisle to be responsible for dealing with it.

B. RELIGIOUS DISTURBANCES AT CALAIS

Fitzwilliam's interventions in Calais in the late 1530s were infrequent but crucial. The background has been examined in detail by Dr Ward.[25] Lisle was a conservative in religion but was not very bright and was weak on doctrine. He faced men he called 'sacramentaries'[26] who were often only moderate reformers. Cromwell wrote:

22. Hilda Chettle, 'Burgesses for Calais 1536-1558, *EHR* l (1935), p.493.
23. Chettle, 'Burgesses for Calais', p.495.
24. NA, SP3, v, f° 70, (*LP* xii (1) 1039), (26 April 1537).
25. P. Ward, 'The Politics of Religion: Thomas Cromwell and the Reformation in Calais, 1534-40', *J. of Religious History,* xvii, (1992), pp.152ff. A.J. Slavin , 'Cromwell, Cranmer and Lord Lisle: A Study in the politics of Reform', *Albion,* ix (1977), pp.323ff, preceded the publication of *LL* and is shown by Ward to err in some respects.
26. Strictly, sacramentarians followed Zwingli, who denied the Real Presence. Sometimes the term was applied loosely to Anabaptists (whom Zwingli bitterly opposed), and other radicals.

> It is sore to note any man for a Sacramentary onles he that shalbe thauctor of thinfamy knowe well what a sacramentary is.[27]

He no doubt recalled Henry Tourney, a member of the garrison Lisle sent to Cranmer to be examined for heresy for reading unsuitable books, which turned out to be among those approved by the King.[28] Chief of the 'sacramentaries' was Adam Damplip. Cranmer accused Lisle of not enforcing the oath against papal authority and harrying preachers of sound doctrine. Lisle thought Cranmer's commissary Butler aided the radicals. Lisle wrote repeatedly to Cromwell in letters he largely ignored[29], though in 1537 Cromwell and Butler pursued the priests Minstrelsy (executed that year) and Richardson for inflammatory catholic sermons.[30] Fitzwilliam was not involved at the time, but in 1539 Cromwell sent him Henry's instructions for Richardson's execution.[31]

Lisle still felt Cromwell failed to appreciate the position in Calais, and the Earl of Hertford's arrival in March 1539 to inspect the Calais defences finally let the cat out of the bag.[32] Lisle wrote a letter, now lost, to Hertford, Cheney, Browne and others, describing the sacramentarian threat. This resulted in a sharp letter to Lisle from Cromwell:

> ...I am aduertised that of late it hathe been signifyed ... to my Lord of Herforde, Maister Threasourer of the kinges Maiesties Houshold [Cheyney[33]], Maister broun and others, that the towne of Calys should be in som misorder by certayn Sacramentaries alleged to be in the same, I cannot a little mervail that your Lordshipp having good knowledge and experience of my good wil and contynuel desire to the repression of errors and to thestablishment of oon perfyt unitye in opinion amonges us al the kinges maiestes people and subiectes wold not vouchsauf to gyve me some knowledge if there be any such lewde persons amonges you.'[34] (Lisle had been writing to him about it for two years).

27. NA, SP1/229, f^os^ 169-70, (*LP* xiv (1) 1029), [Merriman, R.B., *Life and Letters of Thomas Cromwell* (2 vols., Oxford, 1902), ii, 312]
28. Ward, 'The Politics of Religion', p156.
29. NA, SP3 xi f° 33, (*LP* xiii(1) 998) *[LL,* v, 1160]; NA, SP1/132 f° 143, (*LP* xiii (1) 1031), [*LL* v 1166]; NA, SP3 ix f° 44, (*LP* xiii(1) 1291) *[LL,* v, 1178]; NA, SP3 xviii f° 150, (*LP* xiii(1) 1352) *[LL,* v, 1189]; NA, SP1/134 f° 176, (*LP* xiii (1) 1387), [*LL* v 1190]; NA, SP1/141 f° 246, (*LP* xiii (2) App., 30), [*LL* v 1498]; NA, SP1/141 f° 244, (*LP* xiii (2) App. 30), [*LL* v 1498A]. Three letters written by Lisle around Easter 1538 are now lost.
30. A. Kreider, *English Chantries: the Road to Dissolution* (Cambridge MA., 1979), p.142, n.79.
31. NA, SP1/155, f^os^ 162-3, (*LP* xiv (2) 726). [ST. P. viii, 218]. (Dec. 1539?).
32. NA, SP3 v 23, (*LP* xiv (1) 1030), [*LL,* v, 1428], (27 May 1539)
33. NA, SP1/44 f° 91, (*LP* xiv(1) 505), [*LL* v, 1366].
34. NA, SP3 ii f° 130, (*LP* xiii(1) 936) [*LL* v, 1403, Merriman, *Cromwell,* ii, 260].

Lisle chose his correspondents well. They were not open opponents of Cromwell like Norfolk and Gardiner, but all were close to Henry and had his ear. All were religious conservatives including (at the time) Hertford. (But as Dr Gunn writes: 'Can Lord Lisle and the Calais conservatives have known that Dr Crome and Bishop Latimer graced the Hertford household when they decided to invoke the earl's help against their local protestant rivals?'[35] Hertford may also have sheltered Damplip). That Lisle wrote to Hertford is remarkable after years of bitter property disputes. They were reconciled during Hertford's inspection of Calais in early 1539[36], and in the Parliament of April 1539 Lisle nominated Hertford as his proxy in the House of Lords.[37] A more intimate link was nearly established when the Countess of Hertford agreed to accept Lady Lisle's daughter Katherine Basset in her household. The deal fell through when Katherine, who had a mind of her own, indicated that she was happy in the Earl and Countess of Rutland's household and preferred to stay there unless (showing a beady eye for her future career) she could get a post as maid of honour to the Queen (Anne of Cleves).[38] Browne's inclusion among the addressees of Lisle's letter ensured Fitzwilliam was informed. That Henry was told what was going on cannot be doubted.

On 18 May Lisle and his Council wrote Cromwell a letter, now lost, complaining of sacramentarian activities. His reply, described by Dr Byrne as 'a masterpiece of evasion, shows his determination to play down the Calais religious troubles at all costs'.[39] The atmosphere at Calais is shown by Lisle's letter to Browne of 30 May:

> We have had here such erroneous opinions against the Sacrament, with such light communication concerning the Mass ... as I think have not been used or heard in any place .. And even now my Lord Chamberlain, Mr Wallop [lieutenant of Calais castle] and I, Mr Treasurer [Robert Fowler, actually vice-treasurer], the Knight Porter [Sir Thomas Palmer] and Mr Rokewood [bailiff of

35. Gunn , 'The structures of politics in Early Modern England', p.77.

36. Bush, 'The Lisle-Seymour Land Disputes', pp.255-74.

37. *Journals of the House of Lords, I, 1509-77* (1802), p.103.

38. SP1/51, f° 196, (*LP* xiv (1) 947), [*LL* v 1405]; SP3, i f° 85 (*LP* xiv (2) 436), [*LL v* 1574]. Byrne and Boland (ed), *Lisle Letters Abridgement,* p.329; Barbara J. Harris, 'Sisterhood, Friendship and the Power of English Aristocratic Women, 1450-1550, in J. Daybell (ed) *Women and politics in Early Modern England, 1450-1700* (Aldershot, 2004), p.25.

39. NA, SP1/151 f° 241, (*LP* xiv(1) 1029), [*LL,* v, 1429. See also comments on p.498]. But see also the comments of G.W. Bernard, *The King's Reformation: Henry VIII and the Remaking of the English Church* (2005), p.530.

> Marke and Oye; sergeant-at-arms] do go about to redress the said opinions; and herein we have against us ... other of the Council here, which do bear with the other adverse part. And also the Vinteners and Constables of this town, by the persuasion of certain subtle persons being of the said opinions and evil sort, have written against us ... I beseech you, keep this my letter close, for if it should comen to my Lord Privy Seal's knowledge or ear I were half undone.[40]

The last phrase shows both that Cromwell was now the minister responsible for Calais affairs and that Lisle feared him. Cromwell then threw in his hand: in his letters to Lisle of 1 and 8 June he wrote that he accepted Lisle's analysis of the religious situation.[41]

In December 1539 Lisle's faction accused Geoffrey Loveday, an absentee office-holder who had been examined by a panel of bishops for heresy,[42] of bribing his deputy to alter his account books and so defraud the King of about £20. His case was heard by a tribunal headed by Fitzwilliam and Lisle and consisting of members mostly conservative in religion and with an anti-Cromwell bias, including Sir Francis Bryan, Sir Henry Knyvet and Sir Thomas Seymour.[43] Thomas Broke, deputy customer and an advanced religious reformer, was also accused of taking 20d in the pound from customs receipts for his own use.[44] Despite the tribunal's apparent bias, Loveday and Broke stayed in office. The episode shows Fitzwilliam returning to a central position in Calais affairs; he was not so identified with Lisle's position as to be biased against Loveday and Broke.

Matters came to a head in February 1540, when the Duke of Norfolk passed through Calais from a diplomatic mission to Paris. He spent three days there, probably on Henry's instructions. Gruffudd wrote that Lisle complained to Norfolk that Cromwell had not punished the Lutheran heretics the Council had sent over to England in 1539 but let some return to Calais while others stayed in London. Norfolk criticised the lack of religion and sound catholicism in the Retinue (unlike Lisle, Norfolk knew something of theology) and said they included at least sixty known heretics, some Anabaptists and

40. NA, SP1/151, f° 253, (*LP* xiv(1) 1043), [*LL,* v, 1435], (30 May 1539).

41. NA, SP3, ii 125, (*LP* xiv(1) 1060)[*LL,* v, 1438, (1 June1539)].
NA, SP1/152, f° 55, [*LL* v, 1443], (8 June).

42. NA, SP1/154, f^os^ 23-4, (*LP,* xiv (2), 325), (13 Oct. 1539); BL Cleop. E v f° 358, (*LP* xiv (2) 496 (11 Nov).

43. NA, E/101 206/7. The episode is discussed in Grummitt, 'Calais 1485-1547', p.80.

44. NA, E/101.206/7-8; SP 1/157. F36. (*LP* xv, 42)

Sacramentaries. He accused Brooke (a Calais MP) of spreading Lollardry in the town and said Cromwell was guilty of fathering all this heresy. Gruffudd suggests some members of the Calais Council begged Norfolk to persuade the King to send over commissioners to deal with their religious troubles.[45] He convinced Henry that Calais was still teeming with heretics and an investigating commission was set up on 8 March.[46] Fitzwilliam had now assumed authority for Calais affairs. He wrote to Lisle on 4 March:

> ... I have moved the King's Majesty concerning such soldiers as in your letter be named, which be discharged of their rooms; whose Highness is contented to remit them, and that they shall have their rooms again, after such sort as when ye shall hear the same I doubt not but that shall be to your contentation. Ye shall shortly have a letter from his Grace touching his pleasure therein ... .[47]

Cromwell was thus cut out and the King communicated with Lisle through Fitzwilliam. Cromwell was also bypassed when the Calais commission was appointed under the sign manual, not the Privy Seal, which was under Cromwell's control. It is not known who was Henry's secretary here. Fitzwilliam's letter to Lisle of 4 March makes him a strong candidate, but Wriothesley is also possible. That Fitzwilliam was now regarded as responsible for Calais is shown by a letter from Hertford in mid-February giving intelligence of musters in Picardy he thought threatened the town. [48]

The commission, headed by the Earl of Sussex, included Paulet, Sir John Gage, Richard Corwen, Edward Leighton and John Baker. Paulet and Gage were members of the 'inner circle' of Household officers. Baker (allied to them) had been on the 1535 commission and now the King's Attorney General. Richard Corwen (a civil lawyer) was chaplain to the King and Archdeacon of Oxford and Colchester. Leighton was Clerk of the King's Closet, Dean of Stafford and Archdeacon of Salisbury.[49] All the commissioners were religious conservatives, some closely linked to Fitzwilliam. (Dr Potter suggests Cromwell recommended Gage's appointment. This was not the case:

45. *LL* vi, p.43, quoting Mostyn MS 158, f 541b and 542a.
46. *LP* xv, 435, g.30.
47. NA, SP3 ii f° 121(*LL* vi, 1661), (4 Mar. 1540).
48. HMC., *MSS of ... the Marquess of Bath,* vol iv, *Seymour Papers 1532-1686* (1968), pp.22-3.
49. *LP* xv 436, g.20

Cromwell was bypassed. His appointment was probably due to Fitzwilliam. Gage was linked by family and friendship with Calais personalities, including the Johnsons.) [50]

Gruffudd writes that Cromwell tried to stop the commission going.[51] Despite this they arrived in Calais of 16 March.[52] The Commission reported speedily on 5 April. Their conclusions fully supported Lisle:

> ...there doth plainly appear to us that there hath been, and yet is, great division among them by reason of variety in opinion in Christ's religion, sprung and grown up among them by the reading and preaching of one Adam Damplyp.

Other 'favourers of the said Damplip and Smythe' included Sir George Carewe, Lieutenant of Rysebank, William Kincardine (a Sacramentarian until the Act of Six Articles was passed; he conformed but would not denounce his associates), William Stevens, Richard Pelland and Thomas Broke.[53] Cromwell was not named but the report implicitly condemned his Calais policy. With execution in mind, Henry told Baker, Leighton and Coren to 'deeply weigh what may be done by our laws ... against [Broke]'. The commissioners were told to send the Council any other suspects.[54]

Cromwell's role in the later 1530s is critical. Clearly there were religious radicals in Calais, but this does not mean Cromwell (or Cranmer) promoted or protected them. Whether there were as many, or whether they were as radical, as Lisle alleged is less certain. Lisle wrote frequently to Cromwell about the sacramentarian threat from 1537 onwards, and Cromwell largely ignored him, perhaps because he thought Lisle did not know what he was talking about. Another reason may be that he was unable to adapt to changing religious priorities.

Henry thought Lisle supported 'the papistical faction that is maintained in that town and by you chiefly that be of his grace's council'.[55] (Cromwell soon apologised for his

50. See Potter, 'Gage', pp.1119 and 1127-8, and Winchester, *Tudor Family Portrait,* p.29.
51. *LL* vi, p.43, quoting Mostyn MS 158, f 541b and 542a.
52. *LL* vi, p.57.
53. NA, SP1/158, f° 188, (*LP* xv 460), [*LL* vi, pp.63-7].
54. NA, SP1/158, f° 212, (*LP* xv 473), [*LL* vi, 1666]. (8 April 1540).

sharpness, but insisted on the matter of his former letter, clearly sent on Henry's instructions.)[56] Until 1539 dealing with papalists had priority; sacramentarians were less of a threat. But the reversal of policy exemplified in the Act of Six Articles meant religious radicals were now the main danger. Cromwell may have failed to respond quickly enough to the change in policy, being sidelined in Calais in 1539 and 1540, with Fitzwilliam now taking over. Cromwell's failure to address Calais problems adequately was almost certainly one of the reasons for his fall, even if he was no religious radical, did not promote or encourage religious radicals and loyally promoted the royal supremacy. But his stance could be misinterpreted, and, as any market researcher knows, perceptions are at least as important as facts.

Fitzwilliam was not involved in subsequent events: the arrest of the 'Calais thirteen' and their release by Audley[57], nor with the Botolph affair[58] and the arrest of Lisle.

1540-41

After Cromwell's fall Fitzwilliam kept some responsibility for Calais. A dispute arose with the French over the boundary of the Pale in the 'Couswade', a perennial bone of contention. Fitzwilliam reported to Hertford on searches made in the Chancery, the Exchequer and the Tower to find documentary backing for English claims, going back to the first treaty governing the status of Calais between the Black Prince and the then Dauphin.[59] Three months later Wallop wrote to him and Russell about Calais business and about spies' reports on supposed French military movements near Calais.[60]

Fitzwilliam went to Calais in May 1541 when he, Russell, Surrey and Sir Thomas Seymour took two troops of horse to France. They inspected fortifications, especially those at Guines, which had decayed badly during the 1530s, despite the call of the 1529

55. BL, Cleop. E iv 55, (*LP* xii (2) 267). [Merriman, *Cromwell,* ii pp.64-5.]
56. NA, SP3 ii 123, (*LP* xii (2) 328). [*LL* iv 987; Merriman, *Cromwell,* ii pp.65-6.]
57. *A&M,* v, 35.
58. See L. B. Smith, *Treason in Tudor England: Politics and Paranoia* (1986), pp.5-11.
59. HMC, Cal. Of Cecil MSS Pt I, 70, (*LP* xvi, 517), (5 Feb. 1541).
60. NA, SP1/165, f^{os} 169-70, (*LP* xvi, 795), (4 May 1541); NA, SP1/165, f^{os} 180-5, (*LP* xvi, 808), (6 May); NA, SP1/165, f^{os} 201-3, (*LP* xvi, 833) (8 May); NA, SP1/165, f^{os} 6-7 (*LP* xvi, 861), (25 May).

and 1536 commissions for renovation. The war scare of 1538/9 led to attention to vulnerable points. Fitzwilliam and Russell met Lee, surveyor of Calais, and Rogers, master mason, and praised their efforts to Henry.[61] The work was rapidly put in hand. They also gathered intelligence in consultation with Wallop[62], and informed Henry about French military movements. They socialised with the French. Odart de Biez provided them with hunting in French territory and sent presents of venison pasties.[63]

Conclusions

After ceasing to be Captain of Guines Fitzwilliam held no official position in Calais, but he intervened in Calais affairs regularly, conducting a fairly continuous correspondence with Lisle, mostly on day-to-day issues like personnel matters and pay. He sat on the Guines commission in 1529. He headed the commission which produced the important Calais Act of 1536 and intervened at critical moments in 1539 and 1540 when religious problems came to a head: the commission appointed to deal with the problem contained members closely linked to him. These interventions were of considerable significance. We have no evidence as to what further role he played behind the scenes, but he knew more about Calais than any other member of the Council and it is reasonable to suppose that Henry turned to him for advice on Calais - advice which of course is unrecorded but which may well have conflicted with the advice Cromwell gave.

Had the Calais Act's detailed provisions been complied with, the town might not have fallen twenty years later. But like so much late medieval and early modern legislation it was an exercise in velleity. Principles were stated and an effort was made to apply them for a short time, then everything went on as before. Cromwell could make legislation work, but he showed little interest in legislating for Calais' problems.

61. NA, SP1/165 f^{os} 192-4, (*LP* xvi 813). For the decay of the walls at Guines and the role of Lee and Rogers see L.R. Shirley, *John Rogers, Tudor Military Engineer* (Oxford, 1967), pp.7-23.

62. NA, SP1/165, f^{os} 201-3, (*LP* xvi, 833) (8 May); NA, SP1/165, f^{os} 6-7 (*LP* xvi, 861), (25May).

63. NA, SP1/165 f^{o} 173 (*LP* xvi, 797), (6 May 1541); [Potter, *Oudart du Biez*, p.157].
NA, SP 1/165 f^{os} 189-90; (*LP* xvi 811, (7 May). [Potter, *Oudart du Biez*, pp.157-8].

6. FITZWILLIAM AS CHANCELLOR OF THE DUCHY OF LANCASTER

Fitzwilliam became Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster on 3 November 1529[1] when More became Lord Chancellor, and kept the post until his death in 1542. The Chancellor of the Duchy was a major officer of State, sitting *ex officio* on the King's council: Fitzwilliam was already a member as Treasurer of the King's household. As we have seen in Chapter 1, his family had connections with the Duchy.

According to Professor Guy 'A chancellor of the Duchy... assumed full responsibility for the Duchy lands and finances, to which a heavy workload as an equity judge in the Duchy court at Westminster was added'.[2] At least in theory, he personally examined witnesses and acted as president of the Duchy court, though in view of Fitzwilliam's other duties it is unlikely that he would have been able to do this more than occasionally. He attached the Duchy seal to letters patent. (This could be inconvenient. When a commission was issued for surveying Lancashire monasteries to prepare for their suppression the Duchy messenger carried it to Dover for sealing by Fitzwilliam. It took twelve days for him to get back to London: this seems excessive, but Fitzwilliam may have been at sea.[3]) He also wielded considerable ecclesiastical and secular patronage.

Revenue

The Duchy, an important source of revenue, had always stood outside the Exchequer system, developing methods of administration and accounting later used as a model for newer courts like those of Augmentations and Wards and Liveries. Its gross revenue was between £13,000 and £14,000 from 1510 to 1535[4], changing little thereafter except for the addition of about £700-800 of monastic revenues in Lancashire after the dissolution of the monasteries.[5]

1. Somerville, p.394, quoting NA, DL 42/44, f° 122.
2. J.A. Guy, *The Public Career of Sir Thomas More* (Brighton, 1980), pp.27-28.
3. Somerville, p.290, n.2
4. Somerville, pp.284-5. Somerville says this sum tended to decrease after 1530.
5. Somerville, pp.288-295. It is not always clear how much income from monastic lands was rental income and how much came from sales of lead etc, but the figure cited seems a fair average.

Stagnation was caused by the way rents were assessed and collected. Free rents were fixed, both for the annual rent and the entry fine. Rents and entry fines from customary (servile) tenures and tenancies at will had become fixed in the 15th century, though they might be reduced in a depression. In theory leasehold rents should have been the most adjustable, but 'In leases granted under the Duchy seal from early in Henry VIII's reign to the end of the century there was no general increase in Duchy rents'.[6] Rents being more easily adjustable downwards, over the long-term rental income tended to fall. If high entry fines were a major complaint in the Pilgrimage of Grace, by contrast, fines for new takings on Crown lands (including Duchy lands) rose by only 16% over the same period. The Duchy did raise some extra income from letting out intakes and land and buildings for mines and industrial uses, but the scope for doing so was limited.

Failure to increase income under Fitzwilliam, apart from new income from dissolved monasteries, does not suggest aggressive, or even competent, estate management. Land prices were rising, and even without extreme rack-renting it should have been possible to increase revenue from Duchy leases and rents. The Duchy's permanent officials' main aim was probably to avoid trouble - and possibly line their own pockets. It was not the only Crown estate where this was so: 'The Duchy [of Cornwall]'s policy regarding the setting of rents and entry fines was less grasping than that of some peers and other large private landlords who, unlike the Duchy, were often under pressure from their debts to squeeze their tenants. The existence of this benign policy is hardly surprising given that many of the Duchy officials responsible for fixing the levels of rents and entry fines were themselves tenants of the Duchy'.[7] Other Crown estates seem to have behaved similarly. Norden, under James I, commented: 'the Auditors of the Duchie of Lancaster in former times have had an aspiring powre, and what they had or did was seldom controlled'. Thorogood, writing at the same time, suggested that

6. Somerville, p.306. For the different types of rent and their implications see I.S.W. Blanchard, *The Duchy of Lancaster's estates in Derbyshire,* Derbyshire Archaeological Society Record Series, iii, (1967), pp.21-22. His classification is a simplification, but sufficient to illustrate the problems. For a full discussion of the different tenures see E. Kerridge, *Agrarian Problems in the Sixteenth Century and After* (1969), c.1.

7. J. Chynoweth, *Tudor Cornwall* (Stroud, 2002), p.131.

fines pocketed by stewards were usually about six times those accounted and paid to the Crown. Such under the counter payments may well have been made in the 1530s.[8]

Earlier, Henry wanted to maximise his landed income, but in the 1530s big windfalls from First Fruits and Tenths, Augmentations and other revenue courts may have put the Duchy low on his list of priorities. Under Fitzwilliam no major change in administrative practice was made to raise revenue from one of the Crown's main sources of income.

Dissolution of the Monasteries

The dissolution of smaller monasteries in 1535 and the establishment of the Court of Augmentations affected the Duchy along with many other institutions. On 5 July 1536 Fitzwilliam and Rich, Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations, with senior officials, met to discuss implementation of the Act establishing the Court of Augmentations (27 Hen. VIII, c.27). Section 24 of this Act assigned to the duchy instead of the Court of Augmentations all monasteries in the county palatine of Lancaster and the twenty-five of which the Dukes of Lancaster were founders[9] if the King should so decide, which he did, by warrant. It was agreed that the Duchy should confine its operations to monasteries in the county palatine only. Augmentations should dissolve all other houses; the officers of Augmentations would certify to the Duchy the value of dissolved duchy foundations and hand over all rentals, accounts and other records found. To ensure uniformity Fitzwilliam agreed that all leases must carry a repairing

8. For rents see E. Kerridge, 'The movement of rent, 1540-1560', *Ec. Hist. Rev.* 2nd series, vi (1953-4), pp.15-34. This contains series suggesting rents for new takings on large estates in Wiltshire rose by between 50% and 100% between the decades 1510-9 and 1530-9. It covers only Wiltshire, but support for these figures is given by contemporary comments quoted by Kerridge (p.16ff), particularly Hugh Latimer's, Norden's and Thorogood's. For consumer prices see E.H. Phelps Brown, and Sheila V. Hopkins, 'Wage rates and Prices: Evidence for Population Pressure in the Sixteenth Century', *Economica,* xxii (1955), p.306; 'Seven Centuries of the Prices of Consumables, compared with Builders' Wage Rates', *Economica,* xxiii, (1956). The authors estimate the cost of living rose by nearly 50% between the decades 1511-20 and 1531-40.

9. Somerville, p.287. Those concerned are listed in n.2.

clause (general practice in the Duchy anyway) and that leases already promised by the King were to be construed as comprehending only 'the demeanes that be temporall which the governours had in their own handes'. He also agreed to make the lessees of Cartmel, Cockersand and Conishead take the traditional measures to ensure the safety of those crossing Morecambe sands. Elton suggests that 'The young and barely established court [of Augmentations] ... faced and overcome the ancient duchy'. But this was hardly a victory after a fight. Duchy foundations were scattered all over the land: not only (as Elton points out) would Duchy and Augmentations officials cover the same ground, but Duchy officials might have to travel far, while Augmentations men, organised on a county basis[10], were on the spot. The agreement was a practical solution much better for both sides than any alternative.[11]

The 22-point questionnaire Duchy officials sent Augmentations does not suggest 'the [former] were not even able to do this work without the assistance of the experts'.[12] Duchy officials, experienced in estate management, could take the necessary action themselves; in doing so they acted speedily and efficiently: Dr Haigh concludes that: 'It is clear from the precise manner in which they conducted their survey that the Duchy officials were as efficient as Professor Elton and Professor Richardson found those of Augmentations to have been'.[13] They had experience of suppressing small houses before Cromwell's time.[14] But the dissolution had to be carried out uniformly. Onley, Attorney of the court of Augmentations, told them what to do about such matters as securing letters missive to the greater monasteries ordering them to take in dispossessed monks, what pensions should be paid to abbots and priors, what should be done with corrodians, almoners and discharged servants, and what monastic debts should be

10. Elton, *Tudor Revolution in Government*, p.206.
11. Somerville, pp.288-295; Elton *Tudor Revolution in Government*, pp.208-11; C. Haigh, *The Last Days of the Lancashire Monasteries and the Pilgrimage of Grace* (Manchester, 1969), c.4.
12 Elton, *Tudor Revolution in Government*, p210.
13. Haigh, *Last Days*, p.36.
14. Somerville, p.287.

paid.[15] Some purely Duchy matters were left to the Duchy to resolve: Fitzwilliam decided that Cartmel Priory church should continue as a parish church, that Holland church should stand for the time being, and that the Cartmel parishioners should have a set of copes they claimed as a gift under an old will.[16]

So far the Duchy had done fairly well, being made responsible for four smaller abbeys: Burscough, Cartmel, Conishead and Holland. Lytham and Penwortham were cells of greater monasteries. Cockerham, a cell of Leicester Abbey, had not been conventual since the beginning of the 15th century.[17]

During the Pilgrimage of Grace two smaller monasteries, Conishead and Cartmel, were restored by the commons, evidently with the cooperation or connivance of the monks. At Conishead the monks were back by 16 October, and two days later wrote appealing to William Collins, bailiff of Kendal and others for help.[18] The Conishead monks and Collins were on a list of those to be tried for their part in the rebellion but their names were crossed out.[19] We do not know the circumstances in which the monks returned to Cartmel; the prior claimed he was put back by the commons against his will and stole away to join the Earl of Derby at Preston.[20] The monks do not seem to have suffered at either house, though they were once more expelled. Whether Fitzwilliam had any part in securing this relative leniency is unknown.

After the Pilgrimage one greater monastery, Whalley, was seized by the Crown (its

15. For a detailed review of Onley's replies see Joyce Youings, *The Dissolution of the Monasteries* (1971), p.52. The date of the exchange is discussed in Haigh, *Last Days,* p.40, n.9.
16. Elton, *Tudor Revolution in Government,* p.210.
17. M.R.V. Heale, 'Dependent Priories and the Closure of Monasteries in Late Medieval England 1400-1535' *EHR,* (2004), p.17 n.56.
18. NA, SP1/118 f° 37, (LP xii (1) 849).
19. NA, E36/122 f° 49, (LP xii (1) 1088).
20. NA, SP1/110, f° 89, (*LP* xi 947).

abbot was hanged for treason); Furness surrendered to the Earl of Sussex..[21] Both went, as estates forfeited for treason, to the Court of General Surveyors. Hornby and Cockersand, which surrendered in 1538 and 1539 respectively, went to Augmentations. All these were surrendered to the King as King, not to the King as Duke of Lancaster. The loss of these monasteries was a serious blow to the Duchy.

In 1540 Furness was returned to the Duchy. Somerville suggests its return was probably the result of pressure from Duchy officials, who were concerned about the decline in Duchy revenues. The arrangement may have been a compromise, but the reason may be that Sussex was held to have exceeded his authority in receiving the surrender of Furness for the King as King rather than as Duke of Lancaster. (Whalley was different: the abbey was seized because of the abbot's treason; adequate precedent had been set in the cases of the monasteries of Kirkstead and Barlings, whose heads were attainted for their part in the Lincolnshire rising.) Fitzwilliam's part is unknown. A statute of 1540 (32 Hen. VIII, c.20) established the Duchy's title to Furness, Cartmel, Conishead, Burscough and Holland. No further change was made.[22]

The agreement by which Augmentations officers were to certify to the Duchy the value of dissolved Duchy foundations and hand over rentals, accounts and other records found was not implemented.[23] Augmentations officers refused to pay fines for suit at the Bolingbroke honour courts in Lincolnshire and rents formerly paid by the suppressed monasteries, nor did they let tenants or farmers of former monastic property sue in Duchy courts. Payment was stopped of fee farm rents once paid by Byland and St Mary's abbey, York. All this led to loss of Duchy revenue.

This was not just inter-departmental squabbling. As Dr Youings writes: 'In the context of the royal finances as a whole the prestige of any one of these [agencies] depended

21. R.W. Hoyle, *The Pilgrimage of Grace and the politics of the 1530s* (Oxford, 2001), pp.401-2; M.L. Bush and D. Bownes, *The Defeat of the Pilgrimage of Grace* (Hull, 1999), p.380; Bernard, *The King's Reformation,* pp.433-5.
22. Somerville, p.292; Haigh, *Last Days,* p.46 n.1.
23. Somerville, p.289. W.C. Richardson, *History of the Court of Augmentations* (Baton Rouge, 1961), p.476 and n.3.

on how much revenue was at any time allocated to it [i.e. the departmental pecking order depended on how much each department was scheduled to raise]. There were those in government circles who were not averse to empire building on behalf of the duchy of Lancaster chamber in connection with the monastic lands'.[24] She offers no evidence for this: it is unlikely that anyone outside the Duchy would be concerned except Cromwell and his followers, who would surely not favour Duchy empire building.

Thus, during the latter years of Fitzwilliam's tenure the Duchy lost out to Augmentations. How far he was responsible is hard to say. Again, the comparison to a part-time chairman is hard to avoid. Rich was tough, aggressive and unscrupulous. He may just have been too much for Fitzwilliam, and certainly had Cromwell's ear.

After Fitzwilliam's demise the government realised the Duchy was bleeding to death and acted. The 'Act for annexing lands to the Duchy of Lancaster' of 1545 (37 Hen. VIII c16) stated 'the possessions and yerely revenues thereof have been of late greatlie diminished...', attributing this to 'sundrie giftes, grauntes and sales; and 'sundrie exchanges'. But though Henry made grants of some Duchy properties, he was notoriously tight-fisted in making gifts, grants and exchanges. The Duchy lost revenue through poor estate management, appropriation by Augmentations of houses which should have gone to the Duchy and failure by Augmentations to pay the Duchy revenues to which it was entitled. Fitzwilliam failed in all these matters.

Judicial activity

> More's duties involved him personally in matters of account and arrearage, land management, mineral rights, and wardship, matters of legal title and the problems of local franchises, inquests of office, and inquisitions *post mortem;* and liaison with the separate Chancery at Lancaster, the judges there and the sheriff of Lancashire. As an equity judge in the Duchy Chamber, More dealt with municipal disputes, encroachments on royal property, arguments between lords and tenants, and commons cases. He tried unquiet titles, riots, routs, unlawful assemblies and forcible entries, corrupt juries, official malfeasance, hunting offences, counterfeiting, trespass, tithes disputes, tortuous enclosure, illegal distrait and even testamentary cases on occasion.[25]

24. Youings, *Dissolution,* p.94

25. Guy, *Public Career of Sir Thomas More*, p.28.

This could involve examination of witnesses, though surviving records show that in most cases this was delegated to commissions to gather evidence on the spot. Cases could go on for years, even decades. One between successive abbots of Leicester and tenants of Over Haddon in Derbyshire over common rights in Lathkill Dale began in about 1506 and was still before the Duchy Council in 1534. We do not know the outcome.[26]

Legal training was not called for: More was the exception, not the rule. Sir Henry Marney (Chancellor 1509-1523), Sir Richard Wingfield (1523-5) and Sir John Gage (1542-7) had military or administrative, not legal, backgrounds, suggesting the Chancellorship was seen as an administrative rather than a legal post. In Wingfield's case even this was doubtful: he was abroad on diplomatic business almost all the time between early in 1523, when he was appointed, and his death in July 1525:[27] during his period of office the Duchy must have been run entirely by its senior officials. Legal expertise was supplied by the Attorney General of the Duchy, and when the Chancellor sat judicially he was reinforced by one or more common law judges or serjeants appointed *pro tem,* as in the case of James Anderton *versus* Peter Anderton *re* title to messuages, lands &c at Chorley, Helay, Euxton &c. in Hil. 1538-9. Here Fitzwilliam sat with Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, JCP and Sir John Port. The case was remitted to the common law courts. [28] At least once the Attorney-General of the Duchy acted in a quasi-judicial capacity.[29] (Strictly speaking Wrothe, the Attorney-general of the Duchy, acted as arbitrator with the parties' consent. When Wrothe died soon after, the defendant reneged on the award.)

Annual figures for pleadings in the Duchy council from 1525/6 to 1539/40 are shown in Table 6A. [30]

26. Blanchard, *Duchy of Lancaster's estates in Derbyshire,* pp.18-9.
27. Wingfield, *Some records of the Wingfield family,* pp.192-215.
28. H. Fishwick (ed), 'Pleadings of depositions in the Duchy Court of Lancaster, time of Henry VIII, *Lancs and Cheshire Record Society,* xxxv, p.98.
29. Fishwick (ed), 'Duchy Court of Lancaster pleadings', pp.110-1

Table 6A: Pleadings in Duchy of Lancaster 1525/6 to 1539/40, broken down by year and type of case. [30]

Year	Title	Commons	Tenants	Violence	Tolls	Back taxes	Deer	Debt	Misc.	TOTAL
1525/6	16	2	2	0	1	0	3	0	2	26
1526/7	21	5	1	3	2	0	1	0	4	37
1527/8	25	5	1	3	3	0	1	1	8	47
1528/9	32	14	3	3	3	3	0	0	14	72
1529/30	17	5	1	2	2	0	1	1	14	43
1530/1	24	3	1	1	3	1	1	1	10	45
1531/2	29	4	2	1	3	3	0	3	10	55
1532/3	24	3	2	3	1	3	2	2	11	51
1533/4	26	7	5	0	0	4	0	0	7	49
1534/5	19	6	2	3	3	0	1	0	8	42
1535/6	23	3	3	2	1	1	1	2	9	45
1536/7	33	2	1	1	0	3	3	2	11	56
1537/8	20	1	4	4	1	2	2	1	9	44
1538/9	24	3	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	36
1539/40	16	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	4	24
TOTAL	349	64	29	27	25	21	19	15	123	672
	51.9%	9.5%	4.3%	4.0%	3.7%	3.1%	2.8%	2.2%	18.3%	

NOTES

1. *Title* includes all cases of disputed title and those of forcible entry.
2. *Commons* includes all cases relating to common, grazing, warren and fishing rights.
3. *Violence* includes all cases of assault, robbery, threatening behaviour and murder. There were two of the last, both appeals of murder by private individuals.
4. *Tolls* includes all cases of disputed tolls, levies and customs.
5. *Back taxes* includes all cases of back taxes and amercements.
6. *Deer* includes all cases of illegal hunting and killing of deer.
7. *Miscellaneous* includes cases of disputes over alienated tithes (6), neglected suit at mills (7), disputed profits of office between Duchy officials (5), destruction of property and waste (12), debt (13), illegal detention of chattels of felons (14), arrears of rents (9), breaches of Duchy liberties (6) and disputed elections (5). The remaining 46 were too miscellaneous for classification.

30. Harper, R.J., Caley, J., and Minchin, W., (eds), *Ducatus Lancastriae: Record Commission publications no 12, Parts 2 and 3,* (1823-24).

Analysis shows no decline in business when Fitzwilliam took over from More and no significant difference in the balance of cases. Over half concerned disputed title: this figure was fairly constant. Table 6B shows most cases were brought by private individuals. The number of cases where the Duchy prosecuted for arrears of rent, dilapidations etc. was minimal, suggesting such disputes were usually settled locally.

Table 6B: Pleadings in Duchy of Lancaster 1525/6 to 1539/40, broken down by type of Plaintiff.

Type of plaintiff	No. of cases	Percentage
Private individuals	538	80.1
Duchy	39	5.8
King	71	10.6
Corporate bodies	7	1
Ecclesiastics	17	2.5
TOTAL	672	100

The king or his farmers accounted for all cases for suit of mill, and the King for all four cases on mineral rights and over half the cases for illegal hunting and killing of deer. All cases on disputed elections were brought by town councils. The only category where the Duchy had a monopoly was for breach of Duchy liberties. These categories are too small to permit identification of significant trends.

More was an active Chancellor of the Duchy. A brilliant lawyer, there are many instances showing his conscientiousness.[31] He was a hard act to follow. Fitzwilliam was no lawyer and however conscientious he was he had onerous duties as admiral and *de facto* secretary for Calais, besides going on missions to France, taking part against the Pilgrimage of Grace and playing a leading role in the suppression of the Exeter Conspiracy. The indications are that he delegated much more of his work than More.

Patronage

The Duchy was one of the few departments where Cromwell's various offices gave him no direct control.[32] He held the largely honorific posts of Constable of Hertford Castle (jointly with Richard Cromwell) and Steward of the Savoy Manor,[33] but these were not positions from which he could mount a takeover of the Duchy. He intruded few dependants into major Duchy offices, though two are of interest. Robert Wrothe,

31. Guy, *Public Career of Sir Thomas More*, pp.28-9.
32. Elton, *Tudor Revolution in Government*, p.282.
33. Somerville, pp.604, 614.

Attorney General for the Duchy from 1531 till his death in 1535, is listed by Somerville as his friend, and we have seen that in 1533 Fitzwilliam invited Cromwell to bring Wrothe with him on a hunting party.[34] Richard Rich was Deputy Chief Steward of the South Parts from 1532 to 1536.[35] While this post was not high in the Duchy hierarchy and he was attorney general for Wales and Chester and solicitor general at the same time, he could gain inside information on the workings of the Duchy of great use to him at Augmentations. Others of Cromwell's dependents gained little or nothing. As Cromwell and his men generally gathered any offices going, Fitzwilliam may have avoided appointing them.

Of Fitzwilliam's family his brother Sir Anthony Browne held the posts of: Constable of Pevensey Castle, steward of Eagle Honour, Pevensey lordship and lands in Sussex. (1543) and master forester in Ashdown forest (1542). His brother-in-law the 1st Earl of Cumberland was Constable of Knaresborough Castle (1533). Another brother-in-law, Sir Thomas Clifford, was Master Forester of Bowland Forest and Steward of Bowland in reversion after Richard Tempest (d1538), and Receiver of Dunstanburgh (1537). His nieces' father-in-law Sir Godfrey Foljambe senior was receiver and feodary of Tickhill (1499); escheator for Notts and Derbys 1510-11 and Bailiff of Wirksworth (some time between 1524 and 1540). Sir Godfrey Foljambe jr, husband of Fitzwilliam's niece Margaret, became Receiver of Tickhill (1541) on his father's death. Fitzwilliam's brother-in-law the 2nd Earl of Worcester was Steward of Monmouth (1510), Master Sergeant of Monmouth (1524), and held grants and leases in Monmouth and Kidwelly. His cousin Robert Heneage was joint auditor for the south parts of the Duchy (1526),later sole auditor (1535). Of other close connections Sir William Kingston was Steward in Gloucestershire (1521) and Chief Steward, South Parts of the Duchy and Wales (1526). William Gonson was Receiver of Norfolk, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire (1537). Sir Thomas Cheney was Steward in Essex (1528).[36]

Fitzwilliam did not appoint them all himself, but here was a body of men with whom he

34. Somerville, p.408.
35. Somerville, p.432.
36. Somerville, pp.388ff.

had close connections, while Cromwell's influence was very much less. On the other hand, the Duchy was probably low on Cromwell's list of priorities. Elton suggests that '...neither the exchequer or the duchy of Lancaster attracted for the time being the attention of the reformer. Being already bureaucratic offices of state, they did not come within the scope of changes designed to create such departments by their side.' He further suggests that the decline in warrants issued '*per consilium ducatus*' and the increase in privy seals and signed petitions (probably going via the privy seal office) enabled him to use his control of signet and privy seal to exercise some indirect control over Duchy activities. But Cromwell's reform was, as Elton himself admits, a return to correct procedure which Wolsey had allowed to lapse.[37]

Henry's interest in Duchy appointments was shown in January 1533, when Fitzwilliam wrote to Stokesley, Bishop of London, that as the abbot of Walden (Essex) was resigning on grounds of age, the King, as Duke of Lancaster, proposed to prefer a person of learning, virtue and wisdom as abbot.[38] Henry's nominee, Barrington, may have been learned but was neither wise nor virtuous and was later proved to be married.[39] Audley got the abbacy for his friend William More.[40]

Remuneration

The Chancellor's salary was fairly modest, being only 100 marks (£66 13s 4d) plus £28 board wages p.a. In addition he received his share of sealing fees: Dr Guy reckons these are unlikely to have exceeded £80 p.a. and may have been less.[41] However, he had some perquisites. The Chancellor of the Duchy was entitled to requisition deer from Duchy parks for his own use.[42]

37. Elton, *Tudor Revolution in Government*, pp.169, 282, 289.
38. NA, SP1/74, f^{os} 45-6, (*LP* vi 48), (17 Jan. 1533).
39. According to C. Wriothesley, (*A Chronicle of England,* C.S N.S. x, i (1875), p.85), Barrington had been married to a Minorite nun for some sixteen years.
40. J.E. Oxley, *The Reformation in Essex* (Manchester, 1965), pp.100, 133.
41. Guy, *Public Career of Sir Thomas More*, pp.28-9.
42. HMC, *A calendar of the Shrewsbury and Talbot papers in the Lambeth Palace Library and the College of Arms* (1971), items P69 and P75.

Conclusions

Fitzwilliam was a part-time, generally absentee, Chancellor. He failed to address the underlying causes of long-term decline in Duchy revenues in current, let alone real, terms. Bray's reforms at the end of the fifteenth century had run down and a thorough administrative overhaul was needed. Fitzwilliam was no innovator: the best that can be said is that under him the Duchy mechanism ran smoothly along accustomed lines. He failed to resist Augmentations when Rich and his staff failed to implement the 1536 agreement, though Rich, backed by Cromwell, may simply have been too much for him. Again, in the early thirties Pontefract Castle, essential as a strong point in the North and as a rear base in the event of a Scottish invasion, was allowed to run down in the years before the Pilgrimage of Grace, with serious results. (see pp.173-4) This suggests slackness. On the whole Fitzwilliam was not an effective Chancellor of the Duchy.

7. FITZWILLIAM AS LORD ADMIRAL

Fitzwilliam became Lord Admiral in August 1536[1] after a period of eleven years when Henry's illegitimate son the Duke of Richmond had held the office. The office was lucrative in wartime, as besides his £500 p.a. salary and his share of fees paid to the Admiralty Court the Admiral received 20% of prize money and a share in all ships and goods of the enemy coming into any haven by stress of weather, mistake or ignorance of the war. In peace prize money from captured pirates was significant, and the Admiral had many other perquisites, including flotsam, jetsam, various forms of marine life, and salvage[2], though local officers got their shares.

Fitzwilliam was little involved in day-to-day administration, still mainly in the hands of Gonson. He dealt mainly with fighting piracy and providing escorts to 'waft' fleets to continental ports. In the war scare of 1539 he wrote to Cromwell about hiring Florentine and Venetian ships. He maintained his interest in naval intelligence. Burnaby, one of Cromwell's agents in France, told William Cecil years later how he had met Cromwell and Fitzwilliam. While trading in Normandy he concluded that, by taking Le Havre, England could strangle French trade and bring the country to its knees:

> I showed the same to my lord Cromwell ... and I drew a plack [plan] of it to him...My Lord Cromwell conferred the matter with me and my Lord Fitzwilliam that was then Lord Admiral, better than three or four hours, perusing the placket, and said that if he lived, and that war should happen, it should be remembered, for it was worth the hearing.[3]

On 26 April 1538, when war between England and France seemed imminent, Castillon wrote that he had gone to see three well-equipped ships near Greenwich, one of 3-400 tonnes, the others about 200 tonnes. Fitzwilliam also gave a fete for the King on the river, including mock battles.[4] We cannot identify the ships with certainty. The only ones built between 1530 and 1545 were the *Sweepstake* (1535, 300 tons), the *Mary*

1. Chapuys reported on 3 Aug. that Fitzwilliam was made Lord Admiral. (*Sp. Cal.* V (2), p.279). (*LP* xi 221)) The patent is dated 16 Aug. (*LP* xi 385, g15).
2. D. Loades, *England's Maritime Empire: Seapower, commerce and Policy 1490-1690* (2000), p.10; T.L. Mears,'The history of the Admiralty jurisdiction', in *Select essays in Anglo-American legal history* (Boston, 1908), pp.318-9.
3. Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials,* i, pp.364-5.
4. Kaulek, p.40.

Willoughby (1535, 140 tons) and the *Lion* (1536, 140 tons), and two others in 1539. The ships he saw may have been refits: in 1536 the *Mary Rose* and *Peter Pomegranate* were rebuilt, then the *Great Galley,* the *Great Harry,* and several smaller ships.[5]

Coastal defences

The Franco-Spanish treaty of 1538 aroused fears of invasion, stimulating a huge programme of coastal defence works. Henry personally approved and amended the designs. Fitzwilliam was in charge of mobilising the country in case of invasion. Arrangements were made to defend Calais and commissioners were appointed 'to search [survey] and defend different portions of the coast'. Fitzwilliam was on the commissions for Sussex and Hampshire.[6] He paid especial attention to the forts on Southampton water. He and Paulet recommended siting forts at East and West Cowes, Calshot Point and Hurst and reconstructing a fort built near the present Fort Albert by Sir James Worsley 'wich is', Fitzwilliam wrote, 'one of the worst devised things I have seen, and therefore we have thought necessary to have the same transformed'.[7]

Dr Colvin writes: 'Their recommendations for the Isle of Wight and the approaches to Southampton showed a highly developed strategic awareness of wind patterns, the navigability of channels and the ranges over which forts could cover one another'.[8] Hurst Castle was still manned in the 1939-45 war. The work shows extensive military and naval knowledge, certainly supplied by Fitzwilliam rather than Paulet or other colleagues. How far he was responsible for design is unknown. He may have made suggestions, but the designers (probably from abroad) have never been identified with certainty.[9]

5. Nelson, *The Tudor Navy,* pp.43-6; Rodger, *The Safeguard of the sea,* p.210

6. NA, SP1/143, f^{os} 188-95, (*LP* xiv (1) 398. Fitzwilliam's colleagues in Hampshire were Lord St John (Paulet) and Sir Thomas Lisle, in Sussex the Earl of Arundel, Lords Maltravers, Delaware and Dacre of the South, Sir John Gage, Sir William Goring, Sir Richard Shirley, Sir Edward Bray and (?) Bellingham.

7. BL, Cotton. MS. Otho E ix 69, (LP xiv (1 573), (20 Mar. 1537).

8. H.M. Colvin (ed), *History of the King's works,* (1963-82) iv (2), p.374. For Calshot castle see pp.527ff, East and West Cowes pp.535ff, Hurst Castle pp.537ff.

9. D. Eltis, *The Military Revolution in Sixteenth-century Europe* (1995), p.115; J. James, *Hurst Castle, an Illustrated History* (Wimborne, 1986).

Calshot and East and West Cowes were nearly complete by the end of 1540, (the lead being taken from Beaulieu Abbey, as Fitzwilliam reported[10]) but Hurst Castle was not finished till 1544 because of its isolation.[11] Fitzwilliam also looked to the defence of the Isle of Wight - a precaution justified when the French landed in 1545.[12]

That Fitzwilliam adopted a 'hands-on' attitude to his duties is illustrated by an incident which happened in Southampton Water in March 1539. In his own words:

> Upon Tiewsday, my Lord St. John [Paulet] and I went to the sea to vieu Hampton Watre, Calshotis poynt] and the Isle of Wight. And coming onward to the said Watre, we espied a Spaniard that passed before us undre all her sayles ..... and lay at an anchor before Newport Roade and a crayer making towards her. And when the crayer approached nie the Spaniard made ouzt her bote to towe the crayer in and at lengthe brought her aboard. Seeing this, we mistrusted the mater, and verily thought that odre they had stolen ouzt some grain or odre thinge to bee delivered to the Spanyard, not customed, or else brought with them some false ... .
>
> And having taken ... our platt for the towre at Calshottespoint, took our botes and made all haste we could towards the said Spanyard, utterly minded [to know?] what was donne. And when she and the crayer sawe us rowe towards them, furst the crayer made away. After the the Spaniard let slippe her anchor and came under all her sayles, and wolde needs have gone to bot the wyndes fayled her, for she had but a little freshe gaale. We rowed stil, and deviding our bootes came nerer and nerer, making continuaunce that they shuld yeld, wich they wold not, but prowdely mannid their toppe, as who say 'Come and [if] you dare'. The wich stirred my colour [choler] somewhat, so that I was to nie to torne back, albeit,that it was thought something dangerouse to go, for the Spaniard had ordinaunce, and I and my company were in three shipps boats and had but 2 or 3 handguns). But our mannes stomaques were good. At length, when we were even at hand, she strake her sayles and yelded, and we borded her, and wolled none but honest mastres and mariners to entre, to the entent no harme be doone, ne no thing taken from the Spaniardes. Wee found in her one James Privet, of Southampton, merchaunt, and 30 quarters [of wheat].

Fitzwilliam sent the ship to Newport Roads, where he examined the merchant and the Spaniards. He found the Spaniards sold a load of iron to Privet, who paid them partly in coin (200 ducats - illegal as no more than 40s in coin could be taken out of the realm) and partly in the 30 quarters of wheat, which had not passed through customs:

10. BL, Cotton MS. Titus B i f° 405, (*LP* xiv (2), 152), (12 Sept 1540). [Ellis, *Original Letters*, II, ii, p.56.].
11. J.G. Goad, *Hurst Castle* (1985), p.19.
12. BL, Cotton MS. Vesp. F xiii f° 126, (*LP* xiv (1) 564), (19 March 1539).

> I told them they had forfaicted both shippe, monay and goodes unto the King; and if we confisked the same we did them no wrong ne shewid cruelty enough, specially considering how cruelly in the last warres between them and Fraunce, and also oder tymes, their nation had treated the King's poor subgiettes ... contrary to charity and the leage between [our prince?] and theirs.

Giving them a good lecture, Fitzwilliam then let them off, confiscating most of the wheat and exacting an undertaking that the Spaniards would use the money to buy English goods before departing: he checked up later to find that they did.

> I have ventured to give the wheat (of which half is the King's and the rest ours which seized it) to the masters and mariners in our company for their pains in rowing and for their courage.

He seized a Flemish ship engaged similarly. He sent the English merchants involved to the King for examination. He concluded:

> My Lord, this chaunce is befallen afore mine owne face, which makes me deeme that there is moche suche ... and disceitefull pacqueing often practiced in the yere whereby the King suffreth great losse and His Grace is moche offended, and shal be more, if remedy bee not soone provided. [13]

He was right. Corruption in outlying ports was enormous. The Council could only make an example of merchants and customs officials when caught. The episode shows his enterprise, leadership and generosity: he ensured the men were well rewarded. It is a good example of vivid action writing. He plainly enjoyed himself hugely.

That year Fitzwilliam visited Portsmouth to check the port and ships.[14] In March James Hawkesworth reported to Lisle on a visit he paid with the Master of the Ordnance and Sir Thomas Spert to inspect materiel.[15] Letters missive were sent ordering recipients to prepare for service at sea a specified number of persons, as many as possible archers and gunners, to be ready at an hour's warning from the Admiral.[16]

Henry told Cromwell to write to Fitzwilliam 'to make haste in ... preparing the King's ships; and to stay [commandeer] two tall ships 'aragosees' [Ragusan ships] now in the

13. BL, Cotton MS. Otho E ix f° 73-79, (*LP* xiv (1) 573), (20 March 1539).
14. NA, SP1/144, f^os^ 167-8 (*LP* xiv (1) 596), (25 March 1539).
15. NA, SP1/144, f° 5, (*LP* xiv (1) 540), (17 March 1539).
16. NA, SP1/147, f^os^ 1ff, (*LP* xiv (1) 712), date uncertain. 21 copies exist , all blank except Lord Mordaunt's. We do not know how many were sent or to whom.

Thames, to serve him'[17]. A Venetian ship at Southampton was also commandeered, causing difficulty with the charterer[18], and later French ships were seized generally.[19] At the beginning of May the fleet was ordered to muster at Portsmouth.[20]

Fitzwilliam now showed his command of naval intelligence. On 5 February he wrote to Cromwell that no preparations were being made in Spain to carry out war by sea: 'he knoweth by a ship lately arrived out of Spayne'. [21] On 17 March Cromwell wrote:

> My Lord Admyrall hath advertised me by his letters ... [that] he had advertisements that in all Normandye nor in the river of Roan [Rouen] there were no shippes of war nor preparacions of any ...; there was but an idle bruit that some were to gather at Brest. He will send thither a bark privily to ascertain. Thinks it not well to be too easily suspicious.[22]

Fitzwilliam clearly gained much of his intelligence from seamen on merchant ships coming from areas of interest. Whether this was from paid agents or from interrogation of incoming seamen with relevant information is unclear - probably a bit of both.

The Court of Admiralty

The Court's main business was now commercial, as is shown in the following analysis:

17. NA, SP1/146, f^os^ 112-3, *LP* xiv (1) 529, (16 March 1539).
18. BL, Cotton MS. Titus B i f° 259, (*LP* xiv (1) 538), (17 March 1539); BL Cotton MS. Otho E ix f° 69, (*LP* xiv (1) 573, (20 March).
19. NA, SP1/146, f^os^ 268-9, (*LP* xiv (1) 700), (4 April 1539).
20. 'Records of the Corporation of London', (*LP* xiv (1) 940), (8 May 1539). [*Archaeologia,* xxxii, p.30].
21. BL, Cotton. MS. Titus B i f° 263, (*LP* xiv (1) 227), (5 Feb 1539), [Merriman, *Cromwell,* ii, p.286.]
22. BL, Cotton. MS. Titus B i f° 265, (*LP* xiv (1) 538), (17 March 1539). [Merriman, *Cromwell,* ii, 298.]

Table 7A: Court of Admiralty: Subject matter of libels in the first ten files of libels Temp. Hen. VIII [23]

Commercial *	95	37.40%
Piracy, spoil and robbery	27	10.63%
Contempt **	18	7.09%
Ownership	26	10.24%
Slander	2	0.79%
Assaults	6	2.36%
Wages	12	4.72%
Wreck	3	1.18%
Pilotage	4	1.57%
Dockage dues	5	1.97%
Conversion and other torts	36	14.17%
Derelict	1	0.39%
Offences of fishermen	5	1.97%
Prohibitions	5	1.97%
Necessaries, repairs etc	6	2.36%
Misconduct of seamen	3	1.18%
TOTAL	254	

* Freight, breach of charter-party, non-delivery, damage to cargo, misconduct and default of mercantile agents abroad, sales of ships and goods, contracts and debts arising abroad, necessaries, jettison, average, money lent upon security of ship or cargo.

** Including suing elsewhere and questions of jurisdiction

For reasons given by the author (p.lxxxiv) the number of prohibitions may be underestimated.

Commercial cases came to well over a third; if ownership and conversion are included this rises to over 60%. The Admiralty court was not the only venue for commercial issues; litigants played off one court against another, causing the 9% represented by contempt and prohibitions. The 1530s saw a considerable increase in the Court's business, reflecting the advantage it gained in 1525, when the Admiral's power to hear commercial cases was much augmented.[24] Marsden infers, 'That some important change must have taken place in the working of the Court about this period is evident from the very great increase in the business transacted during the first ten or twenty years after the commencement of the records.'[25] The initiative probably came from practitioners in the court, who gained considerably from the increase in fees generated. Nobody was yet prepared to rationalise the legal system as a whole.

23. R.G. Marsden, *Select Pleas in the Court of Admiralty vol 1,* (1894) p.lxxxiii.

24. Marsden, *Select Pleas,* p.lviii.

25. Marsden, *Select Pleas,* p.lvii.

Pirates [26]

> In northern waters ... robbery under arms was a normal aspect of sea-borne trade. All merchant ships went armed, ... prepared to gain a good cargo by paying for it or not, as opportunity might offer ... For English ships, it seems to have been almost a reflex action to attack all foreigners; in the case of the Cinque Ports, to attack other English ships as well. The English were the most notorious pirates of northern Europe. [27]

This was in peacetime. In war all enemy ships, and neutrals thought to carry enemy goods, were fair game. The end of war did not mean peace on the sea: news took time to circulate, and masters were conveniently deaf when it did reach them. Bilateral tribunals were set up after a war to resolve disputed cases: Fitzwilliam sat on one in 1518, and other tribunals sat later.

Mariners were not the only culprits. Seaboard landowners often found piracy lucrative, making good use of the numerous creeks in Devon, Cornwall and South Wales, where the problem was worst. West country pirates had enjoyed an ambivalent relationship with successive kings since the fourteenth century. Men like Harry Pay of Poole[28] and the Hawleys of Dartmouth[29] were too useful to the Crown to suffer for piracy. Even under Henry VIII Rhys ap Gruffydd was both poacher and gamekeeper.[30]

Victims' crews were often murdered, but a surviving master or owner could seek redress in the Admiralty Court or the courts of his attackers' nation. A civil action was needed as in English law piracy was not a crime until 1536. The Admiralty Court

26. A pirate is 'somebody who commits robbery on the seas'; a privateer has 'a letter of marque or other official licence commissioning him to attack and to rob enemy merchant shipping'. (G. Norris, *West Country Pirates and Privateers* (Wimborne, 1990), p.7). The distinction easily became blurred.
27. L'Estrange Ewen, 'Organised Piracy round England in the Sixteenth Century', pp.30-2.
28. Norris, *West Country Pirates,* c.4.
29. I. Friel, 'Oars , sails and Guns: the English and War at Sea, c1200-1500, in J.B. Hattendorf. and R.W. Unger (eds) *War at Sea in the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp.76-7; J.C. Appleby, 'Devon Privateering from Early Times to 1688' in M. Duffy et al. (eds), *The New Maritime History of Devon* (1992), p.91.
30. R.A. Griffiths, *Sir Rhys ap Thomas and his family: a study in the Wars of the Roses and early Tudor politics* (Cardiff 1993), pp.93-4.

administered civil (Roman) law, which only issued judgment on confession by the perpetrator or evidence from two impartial witnesses. Pirates rarely confessed, and witnesses might be all over Europe plying their trade.[31] Without redress a victim of piracy could apply to his sovereign for letters of reprisal authorising him to seize goods up to the value of his losses from his attackers' fellow-countrymen.

In dealing with piracy Fitzwilliam was aided by the admirals of the coast, reorganised in 1525. 14 vice-admirals of counties were appointed. They dealt with wreck, disputed fisheries and other local maritime business, and collected dues and perquisites granted to the Admiral by his patent. They impressed seamen, ensured prize cargos were not unloaded or bulk broken without leave, and enforced embargos.[32] Their duties included 'staying' pirates, but piracy was not tried in their courts. Appointed by the Lord Admiral, not the Crown, they were local gentry, often suspected of links with piracy themselves. 'It was extremely rare for a JP to be accused of accepting bribes or conspiring with criminals, but such charges were often made against vice-admirals, and often, it would seem, with justice'. The vice-admirals also faced competing claims from port towns and seaboard manors: 'lords who might control no more than a few hundred yards of foreshore were entitled to hold their own Admiralty Court'.[33]

In the Channel Fitzwilliam was aided by Sir John Dudley, Vice-Admiral from January 1537. He spent much of the year 'sweeping' the Channel, culminating with the capture of two alleged Breton pirates in St Mount's Bay, Cornwall.[34] The French ambassador put in an official complaint, declaring them legitimate traders driven to shelter in bad weather. Fitzwilliam confessed to Cromwell that there was no proof they were pirates

31. See the preamble to the Piracy Act (27 Hen. VIII, c.4).
32. R.G. Marsden, 'The Vice-Admirals of the Coast', *EHR* xxii (1907), pp.475-6.
33. D. Loades, *Tudor Government: structures of authority in the sixteenth century* (Oxford, 1997), pp.223-4. The Arundells held private Admiralty rights to wreck in Penwith hundred. The county had other complexities. (Chynoweth, *Tudor Cornwall*, pp.136-8.)
34. NA, SP1/124, f^{os} 90-91, (*LP* xii (2) 563), (22 Aug. 1537).

except that they resisted arrest.[35] The ships were released, though shortly afterwards Henry wrote furiously to Gardiner, his ambassador in Paris, that on their release the same ships had attacked and robbed an English trader out of Calais.

Much of Fitzwilliam's correspondence at this time concerns pirates and their capture.[36] Once pirates seized goods belonging to his brother-in-law the Earl of Cumberland. Fitzwilliam asked Lisle to do his best to capture them, begging him to keep the matter secret from all but the Council, the deputy, secretary and the water bailiff of Calais. He was so embarrassed that he wrote in his own atrocious hand. 'For lake of my clarke ye shall have myche work to understand thys letter'.[37]

We find letters from many people to Cromwell passing him information on maritime matters or asking him to deal with a problem:[38] he was now the central figure to whom everyone turned. He and Fitzwilliam gave each other information.[39] At least once we find them acting together.[40]

35. NA, SP1/124, f^{os} 212-3, (*LP* xii(2), 680), (12 Sept 1537).

36. NA, SP1/124, f^{o} 203 , (*LP* xii (2) 208) (4 July 1537);
NA, SP3, iii, f^{o} 63, *LP* xii (2) 613, (?date 1537);
NA, SP1/124, f^{os} 212-3, (*LP* xii(2), 680), (12 Sept. 1537) [ST.P. I 564.ff];
BL, Cotton. MS, Titus B i f^{o} 118, (*LP* xiii (1) 485), (11 Mar. 1538);
NA, SP1/132, f^{os} 138-41, (*LP* xiii (1) 1027) (18 May 1538).

37. NA, SP3, iii, f^{o} 69, (*LP* xii (2) 612) dated ? 1537.

38. NA, SP1/116, f^{os} 195-6, (*LP* xii (1) 575); NA, SP1/116, f^{os} 220-1, (*LP* xii (1) 597);
NA, SP1/117, f^{os} 189-90, (*LP* xii (1) 782); NA, SP1/118, f^{os} 158-61, (*LP* xii (1) 924);
NA, SP1/124, f^{o} 137, (*LP* xii (2) 606); NA, SP1/127, f^{o} 142, (*LP* xii (2) 1262);
NA, SP1/123, f^{o} 196, (*LP* xiii (1) 186); NA, SP1/135, f^{os} 252-3, (*LP* xiii (2) 218);
NA, SP1/136, f^{o} 37, (*LP* xiii (2) 256); NA, SP1/143, f^{os} 63-3, (*LP* xiv (1) 265);
NA, SP1/143, f^{os} 76-7, (*LP* xiv (1) 286); NA, SP1/151, f^{os} 186-7, (*LP* xiv (1) 928). (various dates from 1537 to 1539).

39. NA, SP1/124, f^{os} 212-3, (*LP* xii (2) 680).

40. NA, SP1/121, f^{os} 138-41, (*LP* (xiii (1) 1027), (18 May 1538), in response to a letter from the Earl of Derby.

The Piracy Act

Under the 1536 Piracy Act (27 Hen. VIII, c4) piracy cases were to be tried before royal commissioners, who were to summon grand juries and treat their indictments under common law, as if the felonies had been committed on land. Pirates faced the death penalty, without benefit of clergy. The Act was extended by another the same year (28 Hen. VIII, c15) to traitors on the seas.

We do not know who was responsible. The Act's drafting is clear and concise, suggesting Audley. One of Cromwell's remembrances about the end of January 1536 refers to 'A law to be made for the robbers on the sea and for their trials, and for the execution of such offenders as have been now in hold'[41] - one item on a long list. This does not mean either was responsible. Henry, sometimes interested in promoting commerce, is also possible. Common lawyers may have been dissatisfied with the way commissions of piracy worked.[42] Fitzwilliam was experienced in chasing pirates and had his own commercial interests. Commercial interests and the City authorities may have made representations through him to the government. Hard evidence is lacking, but it is reasonable to suppose he made some input to the Act.

Trying pirates before royal commissioners was not new, dating back at least to 1493: commissions were granted in 1501, 1502[43] and several times during Henry VIII's reign. The commissions always included civil lawyers, who did most of the work. From the early 1520s a common lawyer was included in the commission, but never in the *quorum.* The commissions sat in London, except once at Chester.[44] Prichard and Yale note that: 'The long term cause of the statute was the unsatisfactory nature of criminal trial by the civil law and the immediate cause would seem to be the emerging importance of the king's new navy and its effectiveness in capturing pirates.' [45] The commissions often sat in the Admiralty Court premises, but the two jurisdictions were distinct.

41. NA, SP1/102, f^{os} 5-9, (*LP* x, 254).
42. M.J. Prichard, and D.E.C. Yale (eds), *Hale and Fleetwood on Admiralty jurisdiction,* Selden Soc. cviii (1992),p.cxliii.
43. *CPR. Hen VII 1485-94,* 495; *1494-1509,* 290.
44. Prichard and Yale, *Hale and Fleetwood,* pp.cxl-cxlii.
45. Prichard and Yale, *Hale and Fleetwood,* p.cxliii.

The first commission was issued in February 1537 to Fitzwilliam as Lord Admiral and others including civilians (John Tregonwell, Judge of the Admiralty Court[46] and his deputy Anthony Husey), common lawyers (two serjeants and the Attorney-General and Solicitor-General) and royal officials (Sir Edmund Walsingham, Lieutenant of the Tower, and William Gonson).[47] Fitzwilliam sat at the first session on 2 May - 'the only occasion so far as is known on which a Lord Admiral attended in person'.[48]

The Navigation Act

On 28 May 1540 Fitzwilliam introduced in the Lords the Navigation Act (32 Hen. VIII, c18). It largely reiterated the provisions of previous navigation acts, notably the Acts of 1382 and 1463 to reserve English trade to English ships. It added little to previous legislation, and had little more effect.

The Rochepot affair

The so-called Rochepot affair is examined in detail by Slavin.[49] A Hanse ship, the *George,* was captured in 1537, for carrying contraband, by Beaucourt, a captain acting for the sieur de Rochepot, Montmorency's brother.[50] The *George* was captured in turn by English ships and taken to Whitby. Beaucourt claimed his prize and the Duke of Norfolk ordered her to be returned to him, but her captain successfully appealed. A commission at Westminster in February 1538 denied French claims to have the case tried in a French court, ruling that the English King had a right to protect foreigners (especially the Hanse, privileged by treaty), that the case should be tried in England, and that goods taken in war, if carried to a neutral port, reverted to the consignors. The commission's status is unclear, but it probably sat as a committee of the Council, as the members' names are in order of Council precedence (i.e. Norfolk, Suffolk, Cromwell, Fitzwilliam, Tunstal and Gardiner). Thirlby also sat on the commission: he was not a

46. J.H. Betty, 'Sir John Tregonwell of Milton Abbey', *Proc. of Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society,* 90, pp.295ff; Chynoweth, *Tudor Cornwall,* p.260.
47. Prichard and Yale, *Hale and Fleetwood,* p.cl.
48. Prichard and Yale, *Hale and Fleetwood,* p.cxlix.
49. A.J. Slavin, 'The Rochepot Affair', *SCJ,* x, 1 (1979).
50. D. Potter, 'The Constable's brother: Francois de Montmorency, sieur de Rochepot (c1496-1551)'. *Nottingham Medieval Studies* xlviii (2004), pp141ff.

Council member and his status is unclear.[51] The triers, all civil lawyers, were Drs Petre[52], Tregonwell, Bonner (who acted as spokesman) and Carne. They were Cromwell's agents in the dissolution of the monasteries, doing very well out of it, and were his men. Cromwell orchestrated the affair, with Henry's agreement. The Court of Admiralty had the power to hear the case, but Cromwell took it over. It went on for years, and Rochepot never regained ship or cargo. Slavin interprets the obstacles placed against the French claim as a stratagem by Cromwell to get the confiscated sheets of the English Bible released and, after his death, to Henry's 'strong desire' to humiliate Francis. This seems very likely.

Fitzwilliam's term of office as Lord Admiral ended in July 1540 on his appointment as Lord Privy Seal. He was succeeded by Russell, who as far as is known had no significant naval experience. Diane Willen suggests that his appointment came from his impressing the King while supervising coastal defences in the West.[53] Of the Lord Admirals in Henry's reign four (Lord Edward Howard, Norfolk, Fitzwilliam and Russell's successor Dudley) had effective naval experience, while Richmond (a minor) and Russell had none. From 1523 to the end of the reign no naval actions were fought: if war at sea had been likely Henry would probably have made sure that an experienced Lord Admiral was appointed. But an experienced Lord Admiral was needed even in peacetime to ensure that naval strength was kept up. (*Si vis pacem para bellum* is as true on the sea as on land). The fact that for significant periods there was no effective Lord Admiral suggests that Henry, despite his interest in the navy, had no idea of what a Lord Admiral in peacetime was meant to do.

Conclusions

An anonymous 17th century MS contains brief character sketches of eminent men of the reigns from Henry VII to Elizabeth. They seem to draw on oral tradition but profess to transcribe the subjects' maxims and opinions. Fitzwilliam is described thus:

51. NA, SP1/150, f^os^ 145-6, (*LP* xiv (2), 779, item 11); Slavin, *The Rochepot Affair*, p.4 n.8
52. For Petre see F.G. Emmison, *Tudor Secretary: Sir William Petre at Court and Home* (1961).
53. Diane Willen, *John Russell, First Earl of Bedford: one of the King's men* (1981), p.44.

> With 36 ships he gave law to the narrow seas: there was not a serviceable man belonging to him but he knew by name; not a week but he paid his navy; not a prize but his soldiers shared in as well as himself; it being his rule that none fought well but those that did it for a fortune.... In him prudence was even with activity, resolution with prudence, success with resolution, moderation with success, honour and favour with all.[54]

This example of *gradatio* - a classical technique of building to a climax by carrying over key words from one phrase to the next[55] - may reflect oral tradition but certainly did not come from an old tar on the Portsmouth dockside. Fitzwilliam emerges as a successful commander who cared for his men and knew how to motivate them - a good reputation to leave. He sat conscientiously as arbiter over reparations and inspected Admiralty dockyards and coastal defences. He made an honest effort to suppress piracy, in marked contrast to some of his successors like Sir Thomas Seymour and the Earl of Nottingham who 'were not above conniving at acts of piracy and pocketing what amounted to bribes'.[56]

But Fitzwilliam failed to tackle the Navy's chaotic management structure: this was not addressed till the end of the reign. Nor did he deal with the problems of the vice-admirals of the coast, competing jurisdictions and private Admiralty rights. A sound administrator, he was no innovator and lacked the vision (and probably the time) to address the difficulties presented by firmly entrenched interests which were hard to dislodge. Cromwell rationalised administration in some areas, but reform passed by the Admiralty.

54 J.D. Alsop, 'Note: Lord Admiral William Fitzwilliam', *MM,* vol 65 (1979), p.242, quoting BL, Sloane MS 1523.

55. L.V. Ryan, *Roger Ascham* (Stanford, 1963), p.67.

56. K.R. Andrews, *Trade, plunder and settlement* (Cambridge, 1984), p.28.

8. FITZWILLIAM AS 'ENFORCER' IN THE ROYAL HOUSEHOLD

A. THE KING'S DIVORCE: RELATIONS WITH CATHERINE AND MARY

From 1529 to 1532 the overriding political issue was 'the King's great matter' Fitzwilliam was one of an inner ring of councillors advising Henry and dealing with ambassadors, notably Chapuys and the papal nuncio; others in this inner ring were Norfolk, Suffolk, Wiltshire, Gardiner, Sussex, Sandys, Exeter and, by 1532, Cromwell.[1] In November 1528 Catherine told Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, that Henry was sending Fitzwilliam to Spain to demand the original of the Papal Brief of dispensation for her marriage to Henry. He had secret orders to 'get that document into his hands and, if successful, place it where it cannot be found again'. Henry changed his mind and got Catherine to demand the original[2], but the episode shows how much Henry trusted Fitzwilliam.

Mattingly suggests, without providing evidence, that Fitzwilliam supported Francis' opinion that Henry should commit bigamy and rely on getting future absolution. This was a high risk policy and, as Mattingly says, would make Henry wholly dependent on the French. Fitzwilliam's colleagues thought he was receiving French bribes[3]. (The bigamy idea was not new: it was suggested in the late 1520s by Erasmus, Luther and even Clement[4]). In April 1531 Chapuys wrote to Charles: 'Within the last few days two of the Council, the treasurer [Fitzwilliam] and controller [Sir Henry Guildford], spoke to [Henry] roundly and in very plain terms in the Queen's favour ... [they] were told they did not understand the matter or know what they were talking about'.[5] In June he wrote 'It is not two days since [Suffolk] and [Fitzwilliam] agreed that now is the time

1. J.A. Guy, 'Privy Council, Revolution or Evolution?' in Coleman and Starkey, *Revolution Reassessed*, p.69.
2. *Sp. Cal.*, iv, (2), pp.854, (23 Nov. 1528), 860 (2 Dec.). Neither is in *LP.*
3. G. Mattingly, *Catherine of Aragon* (Pb. ed., 1963), p.224.
4. E. Doernberg, *Henry VIII and Luther: an account of their personal relations* (1961), pp.73-8.
5. NA, PRO31/18, (*LP* v 216), (29 April 1531).

when all the world should strive to dismount the King from his folly'.[6] These reports cast light on how Henry's council worked. One view is that Henry was floundering on the divorce, and Norfolk and his colleagues could not advise him how to act, as Cromwell later did. An alternative view is that Henry had already decided what to do but knew that breaking with Rome and divorcing Catherine unilaterally might create grave problems. A catholic rising was not impossible, as the Pilgrimage of Grace later showed. The defence of Catherine by Fitzwilliam and Guildford shows Henry had every reason to be cautious. Fitzwilliam and Guildford might not appreciate theological niceties (hence Henry's saying 'they did not understand the matter') but they could well judge the Divorce's effect on their constituents in Surrey and Kent and the political class generally. Reinstating Catherine would not appeal to Henry, but arguments could be advanced for it in a brainstorming session where all alternatives were considered. Henry continued to cajole, pressurise and threaten the churchmen: if they supported his policy it would become harder for the lay councillors not to go along with them. Anne was unpopular. The papal official Aleander wrote:

> *Preterea che hanno intelligentia, che li principali del regno hanno preso in abomination quella Anna per gli soi modi, et che non desiderano altro, se non sua bassezza.*[7]

Once Henry decided to divorce Catherine and rusticate Mary Fitzwilliam dropped his objections and swung behind the King: he was one of those sent to persuade Catherine and Mary to submit. There is no inconsistency or hypocrisy on Fitzwilliam's part here: while Henry was undecided, any argument could be advanced, but once he made up his mind, it was Fitzwilliam's duty to follow the King's line.

6. Bernard, *The King's Reformation*, pp.172-199.

7. S. Ehses, *Römische Dokumente zur Geschichte der Ehescheidung Heinrichs VIII von England, 1517-34* (Paderborn, 1893), no 126: Aleander to Sanga, 17 April 1532. Constant quotes this letter to show that Fitzwilliam, More, Guildford and many noblemen were hostile to her, but Aleander mentions no names. Widespread sympathy for Catherine and distaste for Anne was also reported by Campeggio (Ehses, nos 103, 107) and Salviati (110), also without names. Fitzwilliam and Guildford clearly shared these sentiments (we know More's attitude) but this cannot be proved by the correspondence printed by Ehses.

In October 1531 Chapuys reported that Fitzwilliam, Lee (archbishop-elect of York), the Earl of Sussex and Sampson went to Easthampstead to exhort Catherine of Aragon not to appeal to Rome. They failed.[8] In May 1533 Chapuys protested formally to Audley, Wiltshire, Essex, Rochford, Fitzwilliam, Paulet, Cromwell, Fox, Sampson and the judges against Catherine's treatment.[9] Next month Fitzwilliam witnessed Henry's appeal to a future general council against his threatened excommunication, with Lee, Sampson and Cromwell.[10] In January 1534 Henry sent Cromwell, Fitzwilliam and Kingston to urge Mary to renounce her title. She refused.[11] He accompanied Norfolk on a similar errand to Catherine with the same result.[12] At the end of March he wrote to Cromwell that he had had Mary's servants searched, without finding anything significant[13]. The aim was probably to harass her rather than to find incriminating evidence.

At Easter 1535 Henry consulted Fitzwilliam and Norfolk (but not Cromwell) on another matter. The King told the two men that:

> The Lady Princess Dowager intendeth to kepe a Maundy. In caas she wilbe contented to kepe her Maundy in her chamber...in the name of Princess Dowager, in like maner as my Lady the Kings graunt-dame did in the name of the Countesse of Richemount and Derby, his Highnes is wel contented ... and if shewill refuce so to doo, but alledge that she woll kepe her Maunday in the name of Quene, that then they shalle shewe unto her that if she shulde attempt soo to doo that not oonly she but also [her officers] and all such pore people as shulde receyve her Maundy shulde encurre to farre in daunger of ... Lawes and of high treason ... and that they see that she shall have no Maundy otherwise than in the name of Princess Dowager.

Presumably this was too much even for Catherine, and she backed down.[14]

8. *Sp. Cal.* iv (2), p.126, (*LP* v, 478), (16 Oct 1531). Easthampstead is near Bagshot Park and Finchampstead, residences of Fitzwilliam's mother. We do not know if there was contact.
9. *Sp. Cal* iv (2), p.666, (*LP* vi 465), (10 May 1533). Chapuys asked if he should speak in Latin or French, 'They thought it would be better in Latin, as they did not all understand French'. This implies that all, including Fitzwilliam, understood Latin.
10. NA, E30/1026, 1027, (*LP* vi 721), (29 June 1533). [Rymer, *Foedera,* xiv, p.476.]
11. *Sp. Cal.,* v (1) p.11ff, (*LP* vii 83). Chapuys to Charles V, (17 Jan. 1534).
12. NA, SP3, vii, f° 15 (*LP* vii 324), (14 Mar 1534).
13. BL, Cotton. MS Otho C. x f° 258 (*LP* vii 385, (28 March 1534).
14. BL, Cotton. MS Otho C x f° 178b, (*LP* viii 435), (23 or 24 March 1535). [Ellis, *Or. Letters*, 1st ser. ii, 27] The meeting took place at Richmond. Cromwell may have been in London.
15. NA, SP3, vi, f° 20, (*LP* x 336), Kingston to Lisle, (21 Feb. 1536); NA, SP3, viii, f° 110, (*LP* x 337), Warley to Lisle, (21 Feb).

Early in 1536 Fitzwilliam had a severe attack of the stone[15], but by mid-April his views were being probed by the French ambassador, the Bishop of Tarbes. The Bishop noted that he had 'always found the Treasurer very desirous of serving Francis but does not know whether this was his object or because his master is anxious to hear from France before answering the Emperor.' Fitzwilliam was not losing his diplomatic touch.[16]

B. THE FALL OF ANNE BOLEYN [17]

Whether or not Anne was guilty is irrelevant here. She probably had an affair with Norris, perhaps a brief fling with Mark Smeaton, and, in the view of G.W. Bernard, 'There was enough circumstantial evidence to cast reasonable doubt on the denials of the others'.[18] There is room for other views. We examine here the role of Fitzwilliam and his brother and sister.[19]

Paradoxically, Anne's position became far weaker after Catherine's death on 7 January 1536. While Catherine was alive, however much of a rift was developing between Henry and Anne (and there are many signs that the first bloom of love was long past), it was impossible for them to separate. Apart from anything else, Henry would become the laughing stock of Europe, and Henry, like most autocrats, was very sensitive to ridicule. With Catherine's demise Anne became disposable.

At least two parties were plotting against her. The first was the so-called 'Aragonese' group, who wanted Mary reinstated. Professor Ives lists this group as: the Marquess

16. N. Camusat, *Meslanges Historiques* (Troyes, 1619), p.155, (*LP* x 688), (19 April 1536).
17. E.W. Ives, 'Faction at the court of Henry VIII: the fall of Anne Boleyn, *History,* lvii (1972), pp.169-88; G.W. Bernard, 'The Fall of Anne Boleyn, *EHR,* cvi, (1991), pp.584-610; E.W. Ives, 'The fall of Anne Boleyn reconsidered, *EHR,* cvii, (1992), pp.651-64; G.W. Bernard, 'The fall of Anne Boleyn: a rejoinder', *EHR,* cvii (1992), pp.665-74; G. Walker 'Rethinking the fall of Anne Boleyn' *HJ,* xlv, (2002), pp.1-29. G.W. Bernard, 'The fall of Anne Boleyn' In *Power and Politics in Tudor England'* (Aldershot, 2000), c.4.; R.M. Warnicke, 'Family and kinship relations at the Henrician court: the Boleyns and the Howards' in D. Hoak, *Tudor Political Culture* (Cambridge, 1995), pp.31-53.
18. Bernard, 'The Fall of Anne Boleyn', p.606.
19. Friedman, Constant and Block refer to Fitzwilliam as Anne's cousin. He was distantly related, but so were nearly all the nobility and many of the higher gentry.

of Exeter and his wife Gertrude, Lord Montague and his brother Geoffrey Pole (sons of Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury), the dowager Countess of Kildare, Sir Thomas Elyot and Sir Nicholas Carewe.[20] To these may be added Lord and Lady Hussey and Lord Darcy, who was in enforced residence in the London area at the time (see p.174). Carewe was an early companion of Henry and one of the 'minions' expelled in 1519, though he later became Master of the Horse. He remained an important courtier and is said to have been the director of the 'Aragonese' group, but the Courtenays and Poles seem unlikely to have been led by a man of inferior rank. The true leader may have been Gertrude, Marchioness of Exeter, who showed leadership during the Nun of Kent affair. Browne was later suspected of having links with this group but there is no indication that Fitzwilliam ever did.

Their plan was to dangle Jane Seymour before Henry. The Marchioness of Exeter sought Chapuys' aid in this, and Chapuys informed the Emperor what the syndicate backing Jane planned:

> The young lady has been well tutored and warned by those among the King's courtiers who hate the concubine, telling her not in any wise to give in to the King's fancy unless he makes her Queen ... She has likewise been advised to tell the King frankly ... how much his subjects abominate the marriage contracted with the concubine, and that not one considers it legitimate, and that this declaration ought to be made in the presence of witnesses of the titled nobility of this kingdom, who are to attest the truth of her statements should the King request them ... to do so. The Marchioness wishes that I or someone else on Your Majesty's part would take this affair in hand ...

All this might take time and was not sure to succeed. Jane was not a political figure like Catherine or Anne. Holbein's portrait shows her as plain, not even *jolie-laide*, and she was no intellectual, though she may, as Chapuys suggested, have had more intimate charms. Henry might still tire of her. The tale of her rejecting the purse may have shown she really was acting hard to get, or a charade to make people think so.[21]

20. E.W. Ives, The Life and Death of *Anne Boleyn* (Oxford, 2004), p.301.

21. *Sp. Cal.* v (2), pp.85, (*LP* x 699), (21 Ap. 1536), 106-7, (*LP* x 752), (29 Ap.). See D. Starkey, *Six Wives,* pp.584-5 and Ives, *Anne Boleyn,* p.301. At 27 Jane was on the shelf by Tudor standards. If Chapuys was right, her rejection of the purse was indeed a charade. Little is known about Jane and she lacks a good biography. D. Loades's sketch in *Henry VIII and his Queens* (pb ed., Gloucester, 2000), pp.81-104 is the best available.

The second party who may have plotted against Anne was Cromwell, who was trying to negotiate an imperial alliance. So was Henry, but they were acting in parallel rather than in cooperation. Charles's letter to Chapuys of 29 February [22] makes it clear that Henry had been making approaches to the Emperor for some time, probably since the collapse of the negotiations with France in May-June 1535, and Catherine's death made it possible for Charles to respond. Chapuys was instructed to treat with Henry, but to make it seem as if the approach came from himself (i.e. it was to be strictly deniable). However, Henry played hard to get: the difficulty was his insistence that Mary's exclusion from the succession was not negotiable. Henry could afford to adopt this attitude: the main aim of his foreign policy was to prevent France and the Empire combining, and at this time they were at war.

By mid-April there were signs that Cromwell was losing Anne's confidence.[23] But the situation was fluid: the idea of an imperial alliance was failing for the moment, but could be revived in the near future - the problem was one of timing, not principle. Anyway, for Cromwell to eliminate Anne by himself, even if he could, was very risky. Mary's partisans would gain the advantage, and he would be lucky to keep his head. It is hard to see him in a long-term plot to eliminate Anne, suggesting his role in her fall was entirely opportunistic. Fitzwilliam usually acted in cooperation with Cromwell but he was Henry's man, not Cromwell's. Cromwell was unlikely to confide in him.

In late April 1536 allegations reached the King regarding Anne's behaviour. They started with Elizabeth, Countess of Worcester, Fitzwilliam's half-sister and full sister of Sir Anthony Browne.[24] De Carles states that one of the lords of the privy council[25] noticed his sister was apparently carrying on a dishonourable liaison. The 'lord' was

22. Karl Lanz, *Correspondenz des Kaisers Karl V aus dem königlichen Archiv und der Bibliothèque du Bourgogne zu Brüssel* (Leipzig, 1845), pp. 212-3]. Lanz's text should be consulted in preference to the abbreviated text in *LP* x 575. I find no suggestion of Anne being bought out. (Ives, *Anne Boleyn,* p.312). It is hard to see how this could be achieved.
23. Ives, *Anne Boleyn,* pp.349-355.
24. She was not, as Professor Ives states, Browne's daughter.
25. The poem refers to one of the *seigneurs du conseil plus étroit.* The syntax shows this refers to membership of the Privy Council, not to Browne being straight-laced, as Professor Ives implies. Browne had the reputation of being a womaniser.

clearly Browne and the sister Elizabeth. She retorted that if immorality was the issue she was not the worst offender: Browne should look to the queen herself and her relations with Smeaton, Norris or even Rochford, her brother.[26] De Carles' story has been doubted on the grounds that it reflects the official line relayed to the French ambassador by Cromwell, but Elizabeth's role is confirmed by two letters from Hussey to Lisle, both stressing that 'the lady Worseter' was the first and main accuser.[27] The story then goes that Browne consulted two other councillors and they then went to the King. This is in accord with other sources. Ministers probably knew of Norris' altercation with Anne when she accused him of waiting for dead men's shoes, and may have known of her conversation with Smeaton; there was no privacy at court. De Carles' story accounts for the suddenness of Anne's fall, but some points need consideration.

Despite Browne's accusations Elizabeth does not seem to have had a bad reputation. The paternity of the child she carried[28] was not questioned by anyone except Browne (if he did) and she seems to have had an amicable, if not happy, marriage with her husband. As Browne was reputed to be a womaniser her obvious retort would be 'what about you?'. Elizabeth probably spoke unprompted. Why?

One possibility is that she was linked with the 'Aragonese', as Professor Ives argues,[29] her accusations being deliberately aimed at bringing Anne down. It is true she was a prominent mourner at Catherine's funeral, but against that she was one of Anne's ladies. Whether or not Henry personally appointed Anne's ladies, he had a veto, and it

26. Lancelot de Carles, 'De la royne d'Angleterre', in G. Ascoli, *La Grande-Bretagne devant l'Opinion Francaise,* (Paris, 1927).

27. NA, SP3 xi f° 953, [*LL* iii, 703a]; NA, SP3 xii f° 35, [*LL* iv, 847].

28. Elizabeth bore a child, a daughter named Anne, in the year ended Michaelmas 1536, according to the accounts of the Earl of Worcester's bailiff at the manor of Monmouth and Wischam. (W.R.B. Robinson, 'The lands of Henry, Earl of Worcester in the 1530s: part 3: central Monmouthshire and Herefordshire', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies,* xxv, pp. 460, 492). It is uncertain whether this was the child she was carrying in May 1536. It is possible that Anne was born in the last quarter of 1535 and that Elizabeth had become pregnant again. Anne Boleyn's concern suggests that the pregnancy was a difficult one and Elizabeth may well have lost the baby.

29. E.W. Ives, *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn*, pp.332-4.

is hard to see him or Anne appointing a strong supporter of Catherine. In fact Anne seems to have regarded her as a friend[30], though friendship was brittle in any court, and contemporaries saw it as dangerous rather than desirable.[31] Elizabeth's attachment to or even sympathy for the 'Aragonese' faction by would explain the suspicion that later fell on her brothers (see below), but there is no evidence for it. Another possibility is that she was acting for Cromwell. This does not mean she was necessarily his mistress, as Professor Bernard suggests[32]: her surviving letters to him show only the usual amenities of polite discourse.[33] However, Anne lent her the very large sum of £100, a transaction Elizabeth was anxious to keep from her husband. Cromwell knew of the loan, [34] putting him in an excellent position to put pressure on Elizabeth. In this case Elizabeth attended Catherine's funeral not only to make sure she was dead and buried but to see who else was there and what they were doing. If she was indeed Cromwell's agent her denunciation of Anne suggests Cromwell was involved from the start. However, here again we lack the necessary hard evidence. The last possibility is that Elizabeth informed Browne in his capacity as councillor as a matter of duty. To remain silent would have been concealment of treason, putting Elizabeth herself under threat of serious penalties. In this case Anne was guilty of at least some of the charges against her. Interpretation of the circumstances of Anne's fall and its aftermath depends on the view one takes of why Elizabeth informed on her. On balance the third view (that she informed Browne as a matter of duty) creates the fewest problems, but the other two are certainly possible: the difficulty is that there is no evidence for them.

Neither councillor Browne informed is named by de Carles, but one must have been his brother, who clearly became involved in the investigation at a very early stage. The other may have been Cromwell or Norfolk, by now thoroughly disillusioned with his niece. Another possibility is Kingston, a close associate of Fitzwilliam and Browne (see p.73). Once Browne reported, he and his sister fall out of the story. Retha

30. BL Cotton. MS Otho C x f° 222, (*LP* x 793), [Ellis, *Or.Letters,* 1st ser., ii, 53].
31. L.B. Smith, *Treason in Tudor England,* pp.106-117; Ives, 'Faction at the court of Henry VIII', p.185.
32. Bernard, 'The Fall of Anne Boleyn', p.598.
33. Ives, 'The fall of Anne Boleyn reconsidered', p.659, n.1.
34. NA, SP1/129, f^os 225, (*LP* xiii (1) 450).

Warnicke thinks Elizabeth was responsible for Brereton's arrest and execution. Cromwell is more likely: Professor Ives has shown how Brereton's abuse of office in the Welsh Marches, especially by executing John ap Gruffydd Eyton, was beginning to embarrass ministers.[35] Involving him with Anne Boleyn was a way to get rid of him.

The allegations had to be investigated. The interrogations began with Mark Smeaton. (He was not Anne's servant, as Dr Walker states, but the King's).[36] In the next few days he, Norris and Anne were questioned and sent to the Tower, followed by Rochford, Sir Francis Bryan, Sir Richard Page, Sir Francis Weston, William Brereton and Sir Thomas Wyatt. The fact that Page[37] and Wyatt were freed and other suspects not arrested suggests the investigation by Fitzwilliam and Paulet was genuine and that those on trial were not picked indiscriminately. Unless the parties are found in the act, evidence of adultery must be circumstantial. But for those mocking Henry's lack of potency the evidence is strong. Henry took part in some of the questioning (particularly of Norris).[38] Fitzwilliam interrogated Anne with Norfolk (who now clearly thought mainly not of Anne but of how her behaviour would affect his position) and Paulet, comptroller of the household. Norfolk treated her aggressively, Paulet more gently and Fitzwilliam just listened. Anne said later that he was absent in mind.[39]

35. Warnicke, *Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn*, p.223; E.W. Ives, 'The fall of Anne Boleyn reconsidered', p.652.

36. Originally a chorister in the Chapel Royal, Smeaton was attached to the King's privy chamber for at least 4 years as musician - he played the virginals - and page, in which capacity he ran errands round the court. See Walker, 'Rethinking the fall of Anne Boleyn' p.4; A. Ashbee, 'Groomed for service: musicians in the Privy Chamber at the English court', *Early Music,* May 1997, p.193. He is usually referred to as low-born, but by 1536 he was a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber (see Appendix), a post usually reserved for members of the higher gentry. There is an anomaly here which has not been satisfactorily explained.

37. P. Friedmann (*Anne Boleyn*: a *Chapter of English History, 1527-1536* (2 vols, 1884), ii, p.262) suggests Page's escape was due to his link with Fitzwilliam and the Russells.

38. T. Amyot (ed), 'A memorial from George Constantine', *Archaeologia,* xxxiii (1831), p.64.

39. BL Cotton MS. Otho C x f° 225, (*LP* x 793), Kingston to Cromwell, (3 May 1536), [Ellis, *Original Letters,* ser. I , ii, p.62-3]. She said he was in the forest of Windsor - an Englishing of the French idiom *être dans le forêt de Fontainebleau:* to be absent in mind. (Friedmann,, *Anne Boleyn*, ii, p.318). Professor Warnicke is wrong to think he was hunting for evidence in Windsor Forest - an odd place to look for it in any case.

We should not think he was distracted. We should perhaps see him leaning forward with eyes half closed, weighing every word and inflection: in an interrogation the silent interviewer is the dangerous one. There is a significant comment in one of Kingston's reports to Cromwell. After asking him where he had been all day and being told he had been dealing with prisoners, Anne suddenly said 'I thought I heard Mr Treasurer'.[40] This suggests that Fitzwilliam had interviewed her at least once before, and she feared his visits.

Fitzwilliam evidently persuaded Norris to make a partial confession, which Norris later retracted, saying at his trial that Fitzwilliam tricked him into it.[41] This does not prove his innocence: Fitzwilliam was an experienced interrogator. He questioned other defendants, and Anne's ladies and household staff: Wriothesley states that on 13 May

> Master FittesWilliams, Treasurer of the Kinges Howse, and Mr Controller [Paulet] deposed and broke up the Queene's households at Greenwich, and so discharged all their servantes utterly.[42]

This would involve thorough interrogation of them - much more than a one-day job.

In May Hussee wrote to Lisle that:

> ...touching Mr Treasurer, it prevailed nothing to sue unto him till he hath more leisure, for he never read letter since these matters began.[43]

Fitzwilliam acted as Henry's personal security chief, conducting and coordinating interrogations within the Household. He and Paulet were senior Household officers. Dr Starkey writes that Cromwell, 'together probably with Audley and Rich' ran the investigation.[44] The evidence shows that Fitzwilliam and Paulet took the lead, though Cromwell played a part; the role of Audley and Rich is more uncertain. A letter in May from Sir Edward Baynton, Anne's Vice-Chamberlain, to Fitzwilliam suggests Smeaton, Norris and Rochford were equally guilty and that the latter two may have acted in collusion. Baynton says Mr Almoner (Foxe, Bishop of Hereford)

40. BL Cotton MS. Otho C x f° 224b, (*LP* x 797), undated.
41. Amyot, 'Constantine', p.64.
42. C. Wriothesley, (ed. W.D. Hamilton), *A Chronicle of England.* (Camden Soc, n.s. 1875), pp.36-7.
43. NA, SP1/103 f° 281, [*LL*, iii, 695], dated 13 May 1536.
44. Starkey, *Six Wives,* p.576 .

had advised him to speak with Fitzwilliam and Cromwell.. [45] This suggests that Anne's fall was not Cromwell's doing and that Cromwell did not run everything by himself. Joanna Denny suggests Baynton was Fitzwilliam's spy.[46] Sir Edward Baynton (1480-1544) of Bromham, near Chippenham, Wilts, was prominent as a courtier and soldier, being elected MP for the shire in 1529. Henry sent him to bring Cardinal Pole round to his views, suggesting intellectual leanings. He was said to have had reforming ideas, but if so they were moderate. Henry appointed him Vice-Chamberlain to his last five Queens; he was Henry's spy, not Fitzwilliam's, though he reported to him as Treasurer of the Household. He was a poor spy: his letter is almost incomprehensible.

Cromwell played his part on the wider political scene, arranging the trials and, through Audley, ensuring Cranmer was brought into line. Fitzwilliam worked mainly in the Household. On 24 April, at Cromwell's instigation, a commission of *oyer et terminer* was set up to investigate unspecified activities in Middlesex and Kent which might lead to charges of treason. On 27 April writs went out for a new Parliament, even though the Reformation Parliament had been dissolved less than two weeks before.

Professor Ives suggests 'the plot against Anne Boleyn was most carefully calculated: ... Cromwell duly produced evidence enabling him to assure Henry that the suspicions voiced to him were indeed justified'.[47] The evidence is against this view: the speed at which events unfolded precludes a carefully laid plot. Cromwell strove for maximum advantage as the situation developed, but Fitzwilliam and Paulet did much more gathering of evidence than Cromwell did.

On Tuesday 9 May a Middlesex grand jury decided there was *prima facie* evidence of the alleged offences at Whitehall, Richmond and Hampton Court. The next day a Kent jury found similarly for Greenwich, Fitzwilliam being a member of the Commission of *oyer et terminer* in both cases. On 12 May Weston, Norris, Brereton and Smeaton stood trial in Westminster Hall before a hand-picked jury.[47] The following Monday Anne and Rochford stood trial in the Tower before the Court of the High Steward.

45. BL, Cotton MS. Otho C x f° 29b, (*LP* x 799) [Ellis, *Original Letters,* I , ii, p.61].
46. Joanna Denny, *Anne Boleyn* (2004), p.278.
47. E.W. Ives, *Faction in Tudor England* (HA pamphlet, 2nd ed., 1986).
48. NA, KB.8, pouch viii, (*LP* x 848), (12 May 1536).

Was Fitzwilliam prejudiced against Anne? Aleander's letter suggests everyone of note hated her and sought her downfall, including, presumably, Fitzwilliam. This was not for her religious opinions (the extent of her inclination to reform has recently been questioned,[49] and her private devotions were thoroughly catholic[50]), but because she had wronged a popular queen and princess, was regarded as a *parvenue* and made herself objectionable to powerful people. Even her uncle the Duke of Norfolk was now estranged from her. Many thoroughly disliked Anne; many had doubts about Henry's second marriage; many were apprehensive about the break from Rome. Fitzwilliam left no record of his views, but may well have shared these beliefs. If he was prejudiced against her he shared this prejudice with most of the political class.

The Aftermath

Chapuys wrote that Fitzwilliam and Exeter were dismissed as suspects from the Council and forbidden the court in early June, but gave no further details.[51] As we shall see, the most likely explanation is that both were suspected of being involved in a plot to reinstate Mary in the succession. E.W. Ives suggests one document shows Fitzwilliam's property may at one point have been catalogued for seizure[52] Undated, it lists only the posts of constable and steward of Pontefract castle and honour (held only in reversion), the custody of two manors in Cambridgeshire and the custody of his nephew John Cutte. On the back are Cromwell's jottings on another matter, suggesting it was so unimportant that Cromwell used it as scrap paper. This is not evidence of Fitzwilliam's property being catalogued for seizure. The same bundle includes valors of the lands of Sir John Dudley, Sir Walter Stonor and two others now unidentifiable.[53]

49. G.W. Bernard, 'Anne Boleyn's religion', *HJ,* xxx, (1993), pp.1-20.

50. 'Agnes Strickland', *Lives of the Queens of England* (1866 ed). vol ii, pp 690, 692: 'It is certain she did not die a Protestant. She passed many hours in private conference with her confessor, and received the sacraments according to the doctrine of transubstantiation ... Her desire of having the consecrated elements remain in her closet [i.e the reserved sacrament] and the fact that she termed the sacrament as 'the good lord' proves plainly that she did not die a protestant'. She was probably a reforming catholic in the mould of Briçonnet.

51. *Sp. Cal.* v (2), p.170, (*LP* xi 7), (7 July 1536).

52. NA, SP1/104, f^{os} 305-6, (*LP* x 1268), endorsed 'A Bill of Maister Thresaurer's Offices'; Ives, 'The fall of Anne Boleyn reconsidered', p.660.

53. NA, E36/143 f^{os} 1-22 , (*LP* vi, 299, ix G).

Cromwell had valors made for several people. Some were of people engaged in lawsuits, including Sir Walter Stonor, a relation of Fitzwilliam through his aunt Anne. Sir Walter held office throughout Henry's reign, serving as Sheriff of Oxfordshire and Berkshire. A regular correspondent of Cromwell, he assiduously sought out treason.[54] His daughter Anne married Sir Adrian Fortescue, arrested in 1534 as Silken Thomas' father-in-law, but freed after some months[55] Cromwell still had him watched. Despite his record Sir Walter was suspect for a while because of his rather tenuous relationship to Silken Thomas. Fitzwilliam's relationship to him and to Sir Adrian Fortescue seems too distant to explain his exclusion from the Council.

The suggestion that Fitzwilliam's exclusion from the Council was because he failed to get Mary's submission to the Act of Supremacy is also unconvincing. He visited her with Cromwell and Kingston to urge her to renounce her title nearly 18 months before: neither of the others was blamed for failure. A commission visited her unsuccessfully later to try to get her to accept the Royal Supremacy and the nullity of her mother's marriage, but it did not include Fitzwilliam. Elton wrote that Fitzwilliam's exclusion was Cromwell's doing in his action against the 'Aragonese' faction which helped him get rid of Anne.[56] Fitzwilliam is not known to have acted in concert with any of them in national affairs, though he was associated with Carewe in Surrey in the early 1530s. A link between his sister, the Countess of Worcester, and the 'Aragonese' group might explain action against him and Browne, but there is no evidence for this (see above).

Fitzwilliam is called Mary's friend by most modern historians except Retha Warnicke, who rejects any link between him and the 'Aragonese' faction.[57] The evidence for his

54. Elton, *Policy and Police*, pp.75, 340, 352.

55. R.Rex, 'Blessed Adrian Fortescue: a martyr without a cause?', *Analecta Bollandiana,* cxv (1997), 307-53. We know very little of Sir Adrian or why he was executed (though he was related to the Poles). He is venerated as a martyr of the Hospitallers, but probably had nothing to do with them. His relationship to 'Silken Thomas' may account for his imprisonment in the Geraldine revolt, but both the 9th and 10th Earls of Kildare were dead by 1536, when Fortescue attended court and was in good odour.

56. G.R. Elton, *Reform and Reformation* (1977), p.254.

57. Warnicke, *Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn*, p.223.

friendship rests on a letter Chapuys wrote early in June to Granvelle suggesting 'It would be well also to write to the Treasurer Fitzwilliam, a man of sense and a good servant to the Princess'.[58] This is not supported by his harassment of Mary. Chapuys could get things wrong, being hampered by his inability to speak English. If he tried to probe Fitzwilliam's views Fitzwilliam probably answered him as blandly as he did the Bishop of Tarbes (see above). He had no links with the Poles or the Courtenays, and did not attend Chapuys' dinners for them: if he had, he would not have been given a major role in uncovering the Exeter Conspiracy in 1538.

Fitzwilliam's exclusion is explained neither by his failure to get Mary to submit, nor by membership of an 'Aragonese' faction Cromwell was trying to eliminate. But after Anne's fall Mary's reinstatement was a subject for speculation: this came very close to government policy. Browne and Sir Francis Bryan were interrogated on 14 June about their part in a conspiracy in favour of Mary, who had still not submitted, and Browne again on 17 June.[59] Both convinced their interrogators of their innocence. Asked why he spoke so often of Mary to his brother, Browne replied that he spoke to him twice, once at Guildford and once at Court. His answers pointed to Carewe as prime mover of the campaign for Mary's restoration.[60] Carewe then wrote to Mary advising her to submit, which she did on 22 June.[61] The conspirators were free for the moment, but many survived only to fall in 1538-9. Browne was suspect for a while; Fitzwilliam's exclusion was probably a precautionary measure taken in case he was guilty by association with him.

Either Cromwell or Henry may have initiated the investigations. Chapuys wrote to the Emperor that Cromwell told him that he himself had fallen under threat.[62] He may have lied. If so, the prime mover in the elimination of the 'Aragonese faction' was indeed Cromwell. But Cromwell may have told the truth. Then the investigation was initiated

58. *Sp Cal.* v (2), p.61, (*LP* x 1070), (6 June 1536).

59. BL Cotton. MS Otho C x f° 172-3, (*LP* x 1134), (? 14 June 1536); 1150, (17 June).

60. Browne's second interrogation is endorsed by Wriothesley: he did not necessarily conduct the examination. If he did, we do not know if it was on Cromwell's orders or Henry's.

61. BL Cotton MS. Otho C x f° 172-3, (*LP* x 1136-7), [ST.P. i p.457].

62. *Sp. Cal.*, v (2), p. 170, (*LP* xi 7), (7 July 1536).

by Henry, determined to stop the spread of any notion of Mary returning as heiress by right. Henry was willing to take Mary back into favour, but only on his terms. In this case anyone who ever said anything in favour of Catherine or Mary was suspect, including Cromwell, who had corresponded with Mary (though Henry must have known about this) and Fitzwilliam, who at the time of the divorce said Henry ought to keep Catherine. In this case Henry ensured the 'Aragonese' faction's teeth were drawn, with Cromwell, once cleared, acting as a willing instrument.

Anne's fall and the elimination of the 'Aragonese' happened one after the other. Did Cromwell get rid of Anne by allying himself with the 'Aragonese' and then in a display of political virtuosity eliminate the 'Aragonese' as well, as Dr Starkey suggests?[63] It looks different if we see the fall of Anne and the discomfiture of the 'Aragonese' as unconnected processes that happened to coincide. Anne fell because she was accused of immorality. The 'Aragonese' fell because they were supporters of Mary who was defying the King. Allowing them to continue their activities invited civil war.

Fitzwilliam was cleared and soon resumed his government activities. He was back at court by 5 July, when he wrote to Lisle that the previous day he and Sir Richard Whethill (a prominent Calais citizen) had discussed before the King Whethill's claim regarding the appointment of a Spear.[64] He remained Chancellor of the Duchy and Treasurer of the Household. He was active in preparing for the Parliament of June/ July 1536. On 5 July 1536 he met Rich to discuss application of the act dissolving the smaller monasteries to the Duchy of Lancaster (see pp.126-7). On 16 August 1536 he became Lord Admiral.[65] Fitzwilliam was one of Hussee's main contacts. If he had fallen Hussee must have mentioned it. But during the summer he continued to report dealings with Fitzwilliam, suggesting nothing had happened. Fitzwilliam's brief exclusion from the Council while keeping two important posts and getting a third was not a success for Cromwell if he wanted to eliminate a competitor. Instead, they

63. D. Starkey, 'Intimacy and Innovation', p.111.

64. NA, SP3 iii f° 763, [*LL* iii 738] (5 July 1536). It is interesting that Henry took time to consider a comparatively minor personnel matter.

65. NA, SP1/104. f° 104, *LP* xi 385, g.15, (16 Aug. 1536).

remained on amicable terms and corresponded as usual on business.[66]

Conclusions

Fitzwilliam played a part in the events leading up to the Divorce, dealing with both Catherine and Mary. Initially, while Henry was undecided what action to take, he argued against both the Divorce itself and the exclusion of Mary, but once Henry made up his mind he dutifully did what he was ordered to do, taking part in the delegations to both the Queen and the Princess and, indeed, subjecting Mary to some degree of harassment. This does not indicate that he was hypocritical or a mere timesever. Fitzwilliam's first loyalty was to Henry, and he showed himself dependable in the King's service whatever his personal views may have been.

The evidence suggests that Fitzwilliam's role in the investigation into Anne and her alleged accomplices in adultery was much more significant than has hitherto been appreciated. Acting on behalf of the King, he became involved at a very early stage, though what reports he made to Henry personally we do not know. Fitzwilliam's involvement, and the speed at which events unfolded after the Countess of Worcester's initial allegations, tend to preclude the possibility that Cromwell was engaged in a well-planned plot to get rid of Anne in association with the 'Aragonese' faction - which is not to say that he did not take full advantage of the situation as it developed.

Fitzwilliam's very brief exclusion from court and Council in June 1536 was almost certainly a precautionary measure caused by suspicions about the views of his half-brother and close associate Browne than those of Fitzwilliam himself.

66. NA, SP1/105, f° 95, (*LP* xi 128), (? July 1536).

9 FITZWILLIAM AS 'ENFORCER' AT LARGE 1536-41

In the 1530s Fitzwilliam assumed some responsibility for State security. In July 1531 the Earl of Arundel sent him Sir William Moore, the vicar of South Harting 'for certain unfitting words spoken against the King contrary to his allegiance'.[1] The following year he was involved in uncovering Aleyn's accusations of conspiracy, working with Cromwell, the Earl of Oxford and Sir Henry Guildford[2], and in 1533 he wrote to the Earl of Derby to secure the arrest of a 'lewd and naughty priest inhabiting these parts [Lancs], who has spoken slanderous words about you and the Queen's grace'.[3] In September 1536 Thomas Suthill, deputy to Sir Thomas Clifford, captain of Berwick, wrote to Fitzwilliam passing on reports on the King of Scots' movements, telling him that: 'He means to pass into France, and has made great provision for the same'. The letter is addressed to 'My Lord Admiral, and in his absence to Sir Anthony Browne, Knight'.[4] Browne seems to have been regarded as Fitzwilliam's unofficial deputy.

A. THE PILGRIMAGE OF GRACE

The Lincolnshire rising [5]

When the Lincolnshire rising began in October 1536 Henry proposed to advance against them himself, but instead sent the Duke of Suffolk, the Earls of Shrewsbury, Rutland and Huntingdon and Fitzwilliam.[6] They were told to assemble at Ampthill (Beds), each with a specified force. Fitzwilliam, coming from Hampshire on 8 October, reported the country was loyal as far as Godalming and Guildford, where he heard that everywhere the people prayed God to speed the Lincolnshire rebels; he had no difficulty in raising men, but was only recruiting horse because of the need for haste.[7]

1. NA, SP1/66, f° 188, (*LP* v 343), (20 July 1531).
2. NA, SP1/120, f^os^ 115, 136 (*LP* v 793, 830); E 36/120, f° 76 (*LP* v 759), (25 Jan 1532). Elton, *Policy and Police*, pp.109-112. Aleyn was making accusations of treason to get out of gaol.
3. NA, SP1/78, f^os^ 115-6, (*LP* vi 964), (10 Aug.1533). [Ellis, *Or. Letters,* 1st ser., ii, 42], See Elton, *Policy and Police,* p.278.
4. NA, SP1/106, f^os^ 102-3, (*LP* xi 400), (4 Sept. 1536), [ST. P. v 59].
5. The best modern account is by R.W. Hoyle, *The Pilgrimage of Grace* (Oxford, 2001), cc.4-6. Also worth consulting is Anne Ward, *The Lincolnshire Rising 1536* (2nd ed., Louth, 1996).
6. NA, SP1/106 f^os^ 301-2, (*LP* xi 569), undated.
7. NA, SP1/107, f^os^ 62-3, (*LP* xi 584), (7 Oct. 1536).

On 11 October, when the rebellion was starting to collapse, he joined Suffolk, Richard Cromwell, Russell, Parr and Bryan at Stamford. Richard Cromwell wrote:

> My Lord Admiral ... 'is so earnest in the matter that I dare well say that he would eat [the rebels] with salt. I never saw one triumph like unto him'.[8]

His colleagues shared this gung-ho attitude. He, Suffolk and Russell wrote to Henry:

> Sir, we doubt not but yor Honer will divise to punish this Countrey for theyr Rebellion, so that the same may be an example etc. And if Your Highness command us to put the whole country or part thereof, as Louth, Hornecastle etc where it begun, to the sword, in that case we know what we have to do ... They had advised the king to sack these towns, and to give the spoyle of them to the Soldiers which went against the sayd Rebells which would be a terrer to the refractory and a great incouragement to those who ... fight against them.[9]

Suffolk was in dispute with many Lincolnshire gentry.[10] Fitzwilliam had an interest in Lincolnshire as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, which held the Honour of Bolingbroke. The steward was Lord Hussey, though his son William did the work.[11] Fitzwilliam could not reach Hussey at Sleaford, but he wrote to Cromwell recommending the Council to examine William about seditious words he had, according to his servant, heard on his journey from Lincolnshire to London when the revolt broke out.[12]

By 13 October the rebels began to disperse. Suffolk sent Fitzwilliam with an advance guard, and on 17 October was himself at Lincoln. Ten days later Fitzwilliam, Russell and Richard Cromwell entered Louth and disarmed the inhabitants.[13] By 22 October Suffolk and Fitzwilliam told the King the rebels had dispersed, the ring-leaders were in hand and only mopping up remained. They paid particular attention to Louth, where the rising began.[14] Fitzwilliam later sat with Cromwell, Sampson, Kingston and Parr

8. NA, SP1/107, f^{os} 147-8, (*LP* xi 658, (11 Oct. 1536).
9. R.W. Hoyle, 'Thomas Master's Narrative of the Pilgrimage of Grace', *NH,* xxi, (1985), nos. 11 and 12.
10. James, 'Lincolnshire Rebellion 1536', pp.39-45. Dr Gunn suggests Sir Christopher Willoughby had reached a reluctant compromise with Suffolk. ('Peers, commons and gentry in the Lincolnshire revolt', *P&P,* lxxiii, (1989), p.56). The gentry may still have thought him a threat to the existing power structure.
11. Somerville, p.577.
12. NA, SP1/107, f^{os} 62-3, (*LP* xi 584), (7 Oct. 1536).
13. Gunn, *Charles Brandon,* p.147.
14. NA, SP1/110, f^{os} 28, (*LP* xi 913), (Richard Cromwell to Cromwell), dated 29 Oct 1536.

on the commission of *oyer et terminer* to try the abbot of Barlings and others and on the commission examining Ralph Goodknap, mayor of Lincoln, about Lord Hussey's activities.[15]

Fitzwilliam's attitude to the Lincolnshire rebels contrasted with his view of the Pilgrims in Yorkshire, his home shire, where, as we shall see, he was much more conciliatory. He clearly shared Henry's view of Lincolnshire as 'one of the most brute and beastly [shires] of the whole realm', even though it had great wealth.[16]

The Pilgrimage of Grace [17]

The Yorkshire rising began at the beginning of October. On 19 October Sir Brian Hastings, sheriff elect of Yorkshire reported to Fitzwilliam that he was still keeping Hatfield and Doncaster and 'all places under your rule' in good order.[18] This included the Duchy lands, especially the honour of Tickhill, where Sir Brian was acting deputy steward, as Sir Henry Wyatt was dying. He was also Fitzwilliam's deputy at Hatfield Chase.[19] Hastings was over-optimistic. On 15 October Suffolk wrote that Hastings had been driven to 'Thurne Pile'[20], but he was still reporting to Suffolk nearly three weeks later. William Harrington, Mayor of York, sent the King's treasury at York to Tickhill two days before Aske's arrival at York on 16 October.[21] Pontefract was nearer and supposedly strongly fortified, but Harrington may have suspected Darcy. His action deprived the Pilgrims of vital funds.

15. NA, KB.8, pouch X, bundle 1, (*LP* xii (1) 734), (26 Mar. 1536).
16. J.R. Ketteringham, 'The Material Manifestation of Secular Piety and the Impact of the Lincolnshire Rising of 1536', *Lincs History and Archaeology,* xxxiii (1998), pp.30 ff.
17. The best modern account is Hoyle, *The Pilgrimage of Grace*, cc.7-16. Also valuable are: M.L. Bush, *The Pilgrimage of Grace: a study of the rebel armies of October 1536* (Manchester, 1996); M.L. Bush and D. Bownes, *The Defeat of the Pilgrimage of Grace* (Hull, 1999); and G.W. Bernard, *The King's Reformation: Henry VIII and the Remaking of the English Church* (2005), c.4.
18. NA, SP1/107, f^ps^ 155-6, (*LP* xi 663), (11 Oct. 1536).
19. Smith, *Land and Politics,* pp.197-198.
20. NA, SP1/108, f^ps^ 111-2, (*LP* xi 728, (15 Oct. 1536). I have not been able to identify 'Thurne Pile' but it was probably near the market town of Thorne, ten miles northeast of Doncaster.
21. NA, SP1/108, f^ps^ 3-6, (*LP* xi 672), (12 Oct. 1536).

On 18 October Shrewsbury, at Southwell, learned that Pontefract Castle was besieged, the Earl of Northumberland taken, and the rebels had reached Doncaster.[22] Suffolk and Fitzwilliam asked Henry for instructions.[23] By the end of October the government's position was precarious. Five Pilgrim hosts were converging on Pontefract, two confronted the Earl of Derby in Lancashire, and another was besieging the Earl of Cumberland in Skipton Castle. The government had only a small, disease-ridden army, part of which was holding down Lincolnshire. Henry was forced on 27 October to agree to a truce under the terms of which he was to consider five general articles delivered to him by two of the rebel leaders, Robert Bowes and Sir Ralph Ellerker.

Fitzwilliam met Norfolk and other councillors at Windsor on 2 November. Cromwell was put into the background, and we find Fitzwilliam acting as the King's secretary, as when he wrote to Cromwell in London telling him that because of news received from the North he was to keep Bowes and Ellerker in London till the king had consulted his Council again.[24] Henry thought at first that the rebels were as weak as those in Lincolnshire, but now even he realised diplomacy was needed.

Henry appointed Norfolk to go north and deal with the rebels, but only very reluctantly. Despite Norfolk's spaniel-like devotion, Henry never trusted him, and he was rumoured to sympathise with at least some of the rebels' aims. At first he was told to stay in East Anglia to oversee its defence. He reacted angrily: 'Shall I now sit still lyk a man of law?'. Eventually Henry changed his mind and allowed Norfolk to take command against the pilgrims, but only on condition that Norfolk's eldest son the Earl of Surrey stayed at home as a hostage to ensure Norfolk's loyalty.[25]

In the first week of November Norfolk wrote to Darcy that he was coming north and hoped to meet him at the end of the month, and, in a PS: 'At my suit the King is

22. NA, SP1/108, f° 197, (*LP* xi 774), 18 Oct. 1536.
23. BL, Cotton. MS App L, 65, (*LP* xi 808), (20 Oct.),
24. NA, SP1/110, f^os^ 202-3, (*LP* xi 986), (5 Nov. 1536).
25. NA, SP1/107, f^os^ 81-82, (*LP* xi, 601); D.M. Head, *The Ebbs and Flows of Fortune: the life of Thomas Howard, Third Duke of Norfolk* (Athens GA, 1995), pp.136-7.

content that the Lord Admiral, your kinsman, shall come with me'.[26] (Fitzwilliam's mother's cousin was the Earl of Westmoreland, whose mother was Darcy's second wife - a relationship remote even in Tudor times.) More relevant was that his family had links throughout the North and he was Chancellor of the Duchy, with major estates and patronage in Yorkshire, especially the honours of Pontefract, Knaresborough and Tickhill. It is most unlikely that Fitzwilliam went along at Norfolk's request. As we shall see, he was probably sent by Henry to keep an eye on him.

Henry's instructions to the two[27] are lengthy and detailed, but the following extracts show what he required. Norfolk and Fitzwilliam were to go to Doncaster and summon Darcy and any others 'they shal think mete',

> there to here and knowe the resolution of the Kinges Majestie, towching the matiers lately in communication between them ...
>
> The Duke and Lord Admyrall shall first declare unto them, in the Kinges Hieghnes name, that his moste Royall Majestie, being their King and Sovereigne Lorde, doth take their procedines sundry wayes, in very unkinde parte.
>
> Firste, that they, being his naturall subgietes, wold, for any cause, attempt any rebellion against him; specially considering, that non of them hathe at any tyme made any sute to his Majestie for the redress of suche thinges, as they thought were abused ...
>
> Second, that having attempted suche heynous and detestable rebellion ... they doo, nevertheless, soo litle waye and consyder his greate and excellent majestie, soo litle remembre their most ingrate and unkinde proceding towards him, and soo litle appere to repent the same, that His Heighness is almost enforced to molest and trouble his Counsilours with their repaire, at this tyme, in to those parts; and likewise to put many others to paines, travail and chardge ...
>
> Thurdely, that notwithstanding, at the appointment taken at Dancaster, they made assured and, as it appered, faithfull promyse, that until suche tyme as they shuld knowe His Majesties answere to their petitions, there should be nothing, on that side, innovated or attempted, whiche might offend His Heighnes, molest or greve any of his good subjectes in those partis; [but they had broken this undertaking] ...
>
> The Duke of Norfolk and Lord Admyrall shall advise them to ... [ac]knowledge their offences and ... in their dedes tho shewe themselves redy and willing to doo all thinges that maye tende to the repairing of ... His Graces honour ... yet,

26. NA, SP1/110, f^os^ 6,7, (*LP* xi 909).

27. NA, SP1/111 f° 21, (*LP* xi 1014), (8 Nov. 1536).

> if they ... refuse the same, and still adhere to their furies and madnes, they may be assured His Heighnes woll not further forbere them; but, with all his force, on all partes, soo devise for their punyshement, as their exemple shalbe terrible to all others hereafter ...
>
> ... [They shall], in cace thise men growe to a submission, not only cause them, that shalbe presente, to receyve suche othe, as the Lincolnshir men have sworn and received; but also, take promise of them aswell to doo any further thing, that may be, by the Kinges Hiegnes desired.

This was evidence of a thoroughly uncompromising attitude on Henry's part, but in the penultimate paragraph Norfolk and Fitzwilliam were empowered to vary these instructions 'as they shall thinke most expedient for His Graces honour and the good conducing of this affayr to his desired purpose'. No mention was made of monasteries at this stage, but in later communications Henry made it clear that dissolution of the smaller monasteries was not negotiable. The conference met on 6 December. Each side complained of the other's bad faith.[28] The Pilgrims did not attack Tickhill, and Hastings spent most of his time at Hatfield watching the Marshland rebels, who took some of the King's deer from Hatfield Chase and stole some of Hastings' own cattle.[29]

Norfolk and Fitzwilliam reviewed their defences, concentrating on Nottingham Castle and the fords along the Trent toward Derby.[30] Gonson (Fitzwilliam's aide at the Admiralty) commanded at Grimsby and Sir Anthony Browne along the Trent. Sir Brian Hastings held Doncaster, and Sir Nicholas Sturley occupied Tickhill Castle. [31] Norfolk and Fitzwilliam pointed out the difficulties they were encountering. Thomas Masters summarised their letter of 30 November as follows:

> ...The Rebells increase in number and malice. The Lords and Gentlemen have noe such power as they had among them, they will not suffer two of them to talk together in private. The Rebells are so strong, and out forces so small, that if this meeting tak no effect, and warr follow, we are in an ill case. Wherfor we think it requisite your Grace should send us diverse degrees of proceeding with them; and the last of them should be smal, as they might be a little appeased and

28. Smith, *Land and Politics,* pp.197-8.

29. NA: SP1/111 f° 88, (*LP* xi 1059), (13 Nov. 1536); E36/122 f°49, (*LP* xi 1088), (16 Nov.).

30. NA. SP1/109 f° 76, (*LP* xii (1) 854).

31. Sturley is rather obscure. He bore the greyhound standard at Henry VIII's coronation . (www.pegasus51.org/henry/pageant.htm) .

> conduced to take a longer day, that in the meantime your Majestyes forces may be provided. [32]

Otherwise they must use force, with no certainty of success.

Henry considereded their complaints of weakness before a large and well equipped Pilgrim army was abject defeatism, writing to Norfolk and his colleagues:

> We mervayl moche, that youe doo all the time write unto Us in suche extreame and desperate sorte, as thoughe the world should be,in maner, turned sppe soo downe, onles We wold, in certain pointes, condescende to the petitions of the rebelles. ...it is moche to our mervayl, to receyve soo many desperate letters from yow, and in the same no remedyes. We might thinke that either thinges be not soo wel looked on, as they might bee, whenne youe canne loke but only to thone side; or else that youe be soo perplexed with the brutes [rumours] of the oon parte, that ye doo omytt to write the good of thither.

Dissolution of the monasteries was not negotiable: '... touching the abbeys, we shall never consent to their desires'.[33] This long letter includes a detailed critique of Norfolk's actions to date and a pardon to the rebels which, however, Norfolk was not to use unless absolutely necessary. It was reinforced by a letter from the Council and one from Henry to Norfolk alone.

Fitzwilliam then intervened. He wrote a letter to Henry including the following:

> ... And where as Yor Highnesse said Counsaille write that Your Grace receyveth many desperate lettres from us, as to that, we have written nothing but as we have herde. And for the desperate matiers conteigned in our said lettres, the same have been confirmed by the lettres of Your Highnesse true servants, as my Lordes of Suffolk Cumberland and Dacres. Yee, and by all others Your Graces true servauntes being of that contrey. And as soone as we have received any better newes we have advertised Your Highnesse thereof incontinently [immediately] and with diligence.

If the King's purpose could not be obtained, they would make 'as honourable appointment as shall lie within our power'.[34]

This is an important letter for judging Fitzwilliam. Citing the Council letter refers indirectly to the letter from Henry himself. Very few people criticised Henry and got away with it. Those who faced Henry's anger could find their support evaporating:

32. 'Master', no 48.

33. NA, SP1/122 f^{ps} 71ff, (*LP* xi 1227), [ST. P. I. pp.511-8].

34. NA, SP1/112, f^{ps} 135-7, (*LP* xi 1243), (4 Dec. 1536).

Wolsey and Cromwell are examples. Fitzwilliam could easily have let Norfolk fend for himself. Norfolk was in an invidious position, facing a large rebel army and at the same time being criticised by the King. Fitzwilliam showed fair-mindedness and courage in pointing out to Henry that the charge of defeatism was simply wrong.

Fitzwilliam was in the North for over a month before taking over at Pontefract. We have only the scantiest information on what he did. Anything he said at Doncaster was not recorded. He was to use his position as Chancellor of the Duchy to pressurise local gentry, many related to him. He gathered intelligence. Beyond that we cannot go.

Pontefract

As Somerville has observed, most Duchy castles were only maintained as 'administrative quarters or prisons, or as possible temporary residences for the king'[35] Pontefract castle was an exception. Primarily intended as a rear base in the event of a Scottish invasion, it was supposed to have artillery and was thought defensible against rebels with no siege train. But Darcy wrote to the government that when he returned after his forced stay in London, there was:

> therein not one gun ready to shoot, powder none, arrows and bows few and evil, money none, gunners none, the well, the bridge with all houses of office and other things for the defence thereof, the most out of frame that can be. [I] have recived no answer of money, ordnance, artillery, gunpowder, gunners, laying of parts or who shall be your lieutenant.[36]

Yet on 10 February 1537 he asked Aske to return all arrows, bows and spears he took from the castle during the rebellion.[37] Clearly Aske had removed much materiel. Even so, the Castle was plainly badly run down. Darcy was not wholly to blame: in 1536 he had been away for over three years. If he could not control Pontefract, Duchy officers should have filled the gap. Fitzwilliam, as head of the Duchy, must be held responsible.

In mid-December Fitzwilliam took over Darcy's offices in Yorkshire and garrisoned Pontefract Castle.[38] He had several meetings with Darcy and drew him out to find what part he had played. Darcy sought Henry's favour through Fitzwilliam, writing to him:

35. Somerville, pp.281-2.
36. NA, SP1/108, f^{os} 35-7, (*LP* xi 692), (13 Oct).
37. NA, E36/122 f^{o} 9, (*LP* xii (1) 390), (10 Feb. 1537)
38. NA, SP1/113 f^{o} 69, (*LP* xi 1410), ? Dec. 1536).

> I send my servant Ralph Medilton .. To learn from you, first, of the King's favour towards me, which, both in the King's time of famous memory and since I have sought. Item: I trust you and others of the Council who were at Doncaster have declared how [the castle fell] for lack of furniture [materiel], for which I thrice wrote to His Grace, which will never from my heart as long as a suspicion of an unclean spot of my coat armour rests on the King's mind. Item: According to our communication before my Lord Steward [Shrewsbury], let me know the King's pleasure as to the furniture of this castle, which has cost me above 500 marks.

His asking to know 'the King's pleasure as to the furniture [materiel] of this castle, which has cost me above 500 marks' is inconsistent with his saying earlier he had surrendered the castle for lack of such 'furniture': his letter shows both panic and cupidity.[39] He later suggested future policy:

> if true justice shall have place against all that was in their bill of articles and the same showed, with Norfolk arriving to declare and affirm the same', and if 'every lord and gentleman [was] in his quarter' rather than at Court, and told to publicise the free parliament and pardon, the problem of rebellion would be solved more effectively than if an army of forty thousand were directed against the north. [40]

Darcy said after the second revolt began that all inhabitants of the honours of Pontefract, Knaresborough and Snaith and the estates of Pontefract Priory, Fountains Abbey and Selby Abbey, where he was steward, were 'in perfect stay'[41]; this was also true of his son Sir George's stewardships.[42] Even when he was about to travel to the King - his last journey - he wrote to Henry that he needed to '[commune] with my lord Admiral touching Pontefract castle.'[43] Fitzwilliam had clearly gained his confidence.

We do not know how far Fitzwilliam, as a member of the Government, knew of the dealings of Darcy and Hussey with Chapuys, and Darcy's suggestions that he might give military support for an invasion by Charles.[44] Insofar as these conversations had any meaning (Hoyle's description of them as 'so much hot air from elderly, embittered

39. NA, E36/122, f° 58, (*LP* xi 1308), (15 Dec. 1536).
40. NA, E36/122 f^os^ 4,10; SP1/114 f° 208, (*LP* xii (1) 171).
41. NA, E36/122, f° 63, (*LP* xii (1) 349), (6 Feb. 1537).
42. Smith, *Land and Politics,* p.67.
43. NA, SP1/117, f^os^ 88-9, (*LP* xii (1) 699) (22 Mar. 1537).
44. Hoyle, *Pilgrimage of Grace,* pp. 66-9.

men' is apt), it is clear that Darcy envisaged leading an army of nobles and gentry in support of Charles at the head of a feudal host. This is a far cry from what actually happened, which was a peasants' revolt. Ambivalence was built in to Darcy's attitude from the beginning. He tried to ride two horses at once and inevitably came to grief.

Henry had already written to Darcy that Norfolk and Fitzwilliam had reported Darcy's endeavours to 'appease' the commons in their late commotion; he summoned Darcy to his presence to give advice on this, and so that he might show he retained no displeasure against Darcy.[45] This was surely a trap. Darcy's fate was sealed when the second rebellion began, but Henry must have marked him down for retribution early on. There was ample evidence even then of the part he had played. 'Appease' is an ambiguous word: it can mean simply to pacify; it can also mean to pacify by satisfying demands, implying a degree of surrender.[46] The second meaning is not recorded by the *OED* before 1548, but this is sufficiently close to 1536 to make it possible that Henry was using the word in its second meaning, knowing Darcy would read it in its first. If it was a trap, was Fitzwilliam involved in setting it? The evidence suggests Norfolk and Fitzwilliam simply reported what they found, which was damning enough.

Fitzwilliam reviewed Duchy officials' actions in the revolt. Darcy's father-in-law Sir Richard Tempest, with important Duchy offices in Yorkshire and Lancashire, was a prominent Pilgrim. Fitzwilliam took over his offices till they were filled by men like Sir Henry Savile who stayed loyal. (Because of his feud with the Tempests, Sir Henry was bound to oppose Sir Richard.)[47]

The Earl of Cumberland

Suffolk and Fitzwilliam wrote on 22 October urging the Earl of Cumberland to take positive action:

> ... Sorry wee be to heare of the stirs that yee be in, nevertheless sithence it is soe laid to your charge that yee must needes defend it eyther in the field or

45. NA, E36/122, f^os^ 3, (*LP* xii (1) 26) 6 Jan. 1537).

46. *OED,* 'appease'.

47. Somerville, pp.498, 501, 506-7, 508, 515, 522, 532.; Smith, *Land and Politics,* pp.147-50.

> within your house, my lord, if yee suppose that yee may be able to make your party good with them with your honour in the feild, then in the name of God to advaunce your selfe and sett upon them as yee shall thincke most expedient. And if yee shall thinck your selfe not able to fight them in the feild, then wee cann say no more to yow but to keepe your house with all the force yee cann devise soe that you keep you out of theire handes...'. [48]

As his tenants deserted him Cumberland spent the revolt besieged in Skipton Castle. Later he needed reassurance. Both Henry and the Council wrote to him at the end of January 1537. He would remain warden if he wished and receive the Garter, but it was clearly indicated that he was expected to resign to facilitate reorganisation of the West March. Cumberland replied to both King and Council that he would 'obey with whole hert', but there were fears that he might go back on his word. In case he did not get the message, a private letter from Fitzwilliam, Cromwell and Suffolk reinforced the point:

> ...albeit we doubt not but the least knowledge you could atteyne in any thing that may tend to his graces satisfaccion, would easily frame your mind to apply your selfe without desyre unto it. Yet remembring what paine and charge you have in th'occupying of the office of those marches and of Carlile, and how loth you were to receyve them, how desirous you have shewed your selfe to forgoe them, and what quiett shall thereby ensue to you, wee have thought convenient in this our privat lettre to advice youw to shew your selfe gladd, as thankfully for the purpose aforesaid to render them into his graces handes as you did like a good servant and a faithfull minister at the beginning receave the same, which wee doubt not but you will doe right gladly, so wee desyre and pray you by your secret lettres to advertise us speedily thereof. [49]

Ultimately he stayed in office but his deputy Wharton did the work. No evidence of Fitzwilliam exploiting other family links during the Pilgrimage has survived.

Intelligence responsibilities

Fitzwilliam may have coordinated intelligence. The incident of Knight's servant recorded by Hoyle was a spying operation that failed through over-elaboration.[50] A

48. R.W. Hoyle, 'Letters of the Cliffords, Lords Clifford and the Earls of Cumberland c1500-c1565', *Camden Miscellany 31, Camden 4th series 44* (1992) no. 54. Suffolk's daughter Eleanor was married to Cumberland's son and heir Lord Clifford.
49. Hoyle, 'Letters of the Cliffords', nos. 58 and 59. These are samples of a considerable correspondence which took place at this time. The matter was complicated by the fact that Cumberland had entered into a feud with Lord Dacre and the Musgraves.
50. Hoyle, *Pilgrimage of Grace,* p.338, quoting NA, SP1/111, fo. 136v. (*LP* xi, 1103, which calendars this, does not give the whole story.)

letter from the Earl of Derby to the Earl of Sussex describes a letter he found from Aske to Atkinson, captain of the commons at Kendal telling him he had information that 'the worshipful men and also the commons of Lancashire are contented to enter into a pilgrimage of grace'. A copy was sent to Fitzwilliam[51], who corresponded with Derby and others west of the Pennines[52], but we do not know its contents.

Fitzwilliam as political commissar?

Henry did not trust Norfolk but had no alternative to putting him in command. He may have originally planned to go north in person[53], but news of the Pilgrims' strength made him abandon this idea: they were well armed and well led, and if there was a battle he might be defeated or even captured, which would be a disaster for the regime.

Norfolk was Henry's best general. He was respected in the North for his part at Flodden and so could deal with the Pilgrims. However, Henry, who never trusted him, thought he might sympathise with them. Cromwell may have reinforced Henry's doubts. Someone wholly loyal had to accompany Norfolk: Fitzwilliam was eminently suitable. Dr Head suggests he went with Norfolk as Cromwell's man.[54] Fitzwilliam often worked with Cromwell but was always primarily loyal to Henry. A draft letter from Henry to Fitzwilliam and Russell (evidently not sent) berates both for not ensuring certain persons were reserved for punishment, and states that policy on the suppression of the monasteries was non-negotiable.[55] This suggests that the role of Russell and Fitzwilliam was to ensure that Norfolk adhered to Henry's policy and to report back.

Fitzwilliam stayed in Yorkshire to oversee the pacification. By February he was in London attending Council and dealing with Admiralty business.[56] In May he sat on the

51. R.W. Hoyle and A.J.L. Winchester, 'A lost source for the rising of 1536 in north-east England', *EHR,* cxviii (2003), pp.120-9, doc 4 and n 29. Sussex was Derby's brother-in-law and commander of the support force. Derby had no close relationship to Fitzwilliam.
52. Dodds, i, pp.241-3.
53. NA, E36/121, f^{os} 69, (*LP* xi 821), (21 Oct.).
54. Head, *The Ebbs and Flows of Fortune*, p.326, n36.
55. NA, SP1/112 f^{os} 151ff, (*LP* xi, 1271) c. 8 Dec. 1536. That the letter was not sent is clear from Wriothesley's endorsement. (Dodds, ii, p.22).
56. NA, SP1/116, f^{os} 156-7, (*LP* xii (1) 528), (? Feb. 1537).

commission condemning Margaret Cheyney to be burned and Constable, Bigod, Percy, Sir John Bulmer, Hamerton, George Lumley and Aske to be executed for treason..[57]

The Latimer episode

During the pilgrimage Fitzwilliam was involved with Lord Latimer, his cousin, also linked through the Parrs (Catherine Parr was his third wife). In October Latimer was taken from Snape Castle (probably collusively in the light of later events) and subscribed the Pilgrims' oath.[58] He was soon signing rebel documents and was thought to be close to Aske. He was identified with a party of violence, with other Nevilles, Lord Lumley, Sir Thomas Hilton and Sir Robert Constable, who wanted to accept Norfolk's challenge to battle, not negotiate.[59] He was accused of mustering men under St Cuthbert's banner, though he later denied this.[60] He was with the rebel leaders who met Norfolk and Fitzwilliam at Doncaster on 6 December 1536. He was a close friend of Bigod, being betrothed to his daughter Margaret.[61] Henry accepted, reluctantly, that gentlemen might be coerced but not peers. Latimer inherited a grudge against the Tudors: Henry VII had confiscated important Neville lands to which he had a claim.[62]

Fitzwilliam and Sir William Parr (Latimer's brother-in-law) wrote to Henry on his behalf. After Christmas he set out to court. Latimer wrote to Fitzwilliam describing what happened next. At Buntingford he was told to return north and report to Norfolk. At Stamford he heard the commons had stormed Snape Castle (by the 1530s Snape Castle was much as it is now - a lightly fortified manor house with large windows that would not keep anyone out), and taken his family hostage, saying that if he did not return at once they would destroy the castle and kill them. Latimer had to choose between disobeying the King (Cromwell wanted him executed for treason) and losing his family. He was compromised by his friendship with Bigod, who started the

57. NA, SP1/112 f^{os} 71ff, , (*LP* xii (1) 1227), (17 May 1537). Why these specific people were put on trial is examined in Hoyle, *Pilgrimage of Grace*, pp.406-411.
58. NA, SP1/108, f^{o} 164, (*LP* xi 759), (15 Oct.).
59. NA, E36/118 f^{o} 32, (*LP* xii (1) 6, p.5), (? Jan 1537). See M.E. James, 'English Politics and the Concept of Honour', *P &P Supplement 3* (1978), pp.37-9.
60. NA, E36/118 f^{o} 108, (*LP* xii (1) 6, 29), (both Jan 1537).
61. Susan E. James, *Kateryn Parr: the Making of a Queen* (Aldershot, 1999), p.81.
62. See Hicks, *Richard III,* p.334.

second rebellion. He begged Fitzwilliam to ask the King what to do.[63] He returned to Snape Castle, persuaded the commons to leave, left his family there, and went to Norfolk at Pontefract. Cromwell told Norfolk to gather evidence against him[64], but Norfolk sent him to London to plead his case, writing that he could not find 'any evidence other than he was enforced and no man more in danger of his life'.[65] Latimer got off by bribing Cromwell - small gifts of money, the sale of two southern manors (one each for Cromwell and Gostwick) and the lease of his London house.[66]

Dr Smith suggests the Earl of Westmoreland spoke for Latimer. But the Earl did little in the rising - he seems to have sat it out, probably to see who came out on top - and had little influence at court. The influence of Fitzwilliam, Norfolk and Sir William Parr was far greater[67], and Latimer wrote to Fitzwilliam thanking him for 'your good report of me in my being among the commons against my will'.[68] (Both Fitzwilliam's mother and Latimer were of course Nevilles.) Even so, Latimer was under suspicion the rest of his life, especially during the Exeter conspiracy.

Latimer may have been far more guilty than Fitzwilliam, Norfolk or Cromwell knew at the time. Two questions were put to Aske in his examination:[69]

> 100. To what intent was it movid to the saide archbiusshop and doctors that they should showe their lernynge whether subjects might leffully [lawfully] move warre in any cacis against their prince
> 101. Who that mynded that question to be moved to the archbushhop and doctors.

Aske's response was

> To the 100th and 101st he saith that my Lorde latomer first moved this examinate and other to enquire that poynte of the clergy, to thintent as he thinketh, that if they had declared that it was laufull, than if they wolde not agre at the next meeting at Doncaster, they might declare to the people the said determinacion of the clergie that it were laufoll for theym to fight in the cases,

63. NA, SP1/114 f^os^210-210b, (*LP* xii (1) 173), (20 Jan. 1537).
64. NA, SP1/121, f^os^ 19-24 , (*LP* xii (2) 14), (2 June 1537)
65. NA, SP1/121, f^os^ 133-4 , (*LP* xii (2) 101), (16 June 1537)
66. James, *Kateryn Parr,* p.84.
67. Smith, *Land and Politics* , p173; (*Kateryn Parr*, p.83 n.34)
68 NA, SP1/114 f^os^210-210b, (*LP* xii (1) 173), (20 Jan. 1537).
69. Mary Bateson, 'The Pilgrimage of Grace and Aske's examination', *EHR* v pp. 556, 573.

by theym to have ben specified, against that prince.

Aske gave the impression that Latimer was not asking an academic question: he sought theological justification for war against the King. That Latimer raised the question is confirmed by Archbishop Lee, who said he came to him on the Saturday night before he preached to the Pilgrims requesting that he should preach the next day on the illegality of rebellion against the King.[70] Lee did not say which side Latimer expected him to take, and it is just possible he wanted Lee to preach against rebellion. Hoyle rightly calls Latimer's behaviour 'deeply ambiguous'[71], and had Norfolk and Cromwell known about it in January he would have got off much less lightly.

After the Pilgrimage

In 1537 Alexander Carnavell, a Cornish customs officer, told Fitzwilliam he was mistreated trying to board a ship containing priests and others going to Brittany for a patronal festival. When he 'required them in the kynges name peasiblye to suffer them to serche and vewe ther warys' the master and crew replied that 'they wolde nor for kyng ne quene tary to be serch and furder yf ye sarche here ye shall over borde or into Britayen'. He and his deputies were forcibly detained, the men cast off five miles out and Carnavell taken to Brittany, where he suffered various indignities:

> ... the master of a certain ship of the said poort of Trewrew [Truro] called the Mawdelyne and diverse other personnes of the said ship, thorough the counsell of thre priestes fayning a Poope-hollye Pilgrymage to a pardon in Brytayn, denyed not oonly the said Deputie Serchoir to searche the ship but also my Deputie of the Admyraltie in those parties to doo his office and dutie, as by the said bille maye appere to Your Lordship at lengthe. And forasmuch as he whiche hathe thus presented the said bille semeth to bee a symple busye personne, and that the matier toucheth many personnesand petie it were in myne opinion upon a lighte grounde and information to distorbe and trouble so many personnes I have thoughte it mete and reasonable [that] the said matier may be herde and examined by my said Deputie of the Admyral and Mr Goodalphyn. [72]

It looks as if Carnavell intruded on a Tudor picnic with minimal religious overtones.

70. NA, SP1/119, f^os^ 7ff, (*LP* xii (1), 1022).

71. Hoyle, *Pilgrimage of Grace,* p.354.

72. J.P.D. Cooper, *Propaganda and the Tudor State: Political Culture in the West country* (Oxford, 2003), pp.116-7, based on NA, SP 1/123/40-1 and NA, SP 1/127/193-4.

Cromwell may have been anxious about Cornwall because of the Carpissacke case the same year.[73] The allegations did look serious, but Fitzwilliam played them down. Fitzwilliam's to a 'Poope-Hollye Pilgrymage' shows that he was no covert papalist.

Next year Fitzwilliam visited Mr Studolf, who told him:

> One Rychard Cokkes [head constable of one of the Surrey hundreds] was with hym, and among other communications Mr Studolfe axed him of the fifteenth. And the said Cokkes said that the people paith it very willyngly bot they drede and feare fore the payment that is to be come ... "It is said with ws that we shall buye "horn money", that is to saye for every hornyd beast a certain ..." .

Cox had heard of this from one Nicholas Hapsley of Pulborough, gentleman.[74] Fitzwilliam undertook at least seven interviews to find who started the rumours. He told Cromwell those concerned were of good reputation, were very sorry for what they said and only one of them (Adyshede, a collector of the fifteenth) could be blamed, if anyone. Cromwell evidently agreed and nothing more was done.[75]

B. THE EXETER CONSPIRACY

Events of the Exeter conspiracy are well covered by the Dodds sisters,[76] though some aspects of it remain obscure: I concentrate on Fitzwilliam's role. It began against a background of ill-feeling between the Poles and prominent Sussex families, especially the Earl of Arundel and Sir Roger Lewknor.

The Poles: local background

The lands of Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury, were mostly in Hampshire and

73. Elton, *Policy and Police,* pp.295-6; Cooper, *Propaganda,* pp.118-21.
74. NA, SP1/129 f^{os} 178-9, (*LP* xiii (1) 392), (1 March 1538).
75. NA, SP1/129 f^{os}216-8, SP1/130, f^{os}4-8, (*LP* xiii (1) 440, 475), (7 and 10 Mar.). See also Elton, *Policy and Police*, p.59. Why Fitzwilliam visited Studolf is explained in c.10.a.
76. See also Hazel Pierce, *Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury 1473-1541* (Cardiff, 2003), cc.4,5 and Bernard, *The King's Reformation,* pp 407-432.

Dorset; the family was also trying to extend into Sussex.[77] She and her son Lord Montague, were hands-on landowners[78] who kept a close watch on her tenants' religious practices. The surgeon Richard Ayer alleged nothing was done in Hampshire 'bout my Lady did know it' as local priests told her the secrets of the confessional. He had evidence for this, as the curate of Warblington related his confession to Margaret, for which he later 'askte him forgevunes afterward off hys kneyes'. (Margaret was beatified by Leo XIII as a martyr. Her extraction of the secrets of the confessional - a serious breach of canon law - was apparently not addressed.) Gervase Tyndall (probably a spy) was told to depart as 'sche is credabully informed that yow ar all of the new lernynge'. Another witness (Peter Wythens?) reported that Margaret's council forbade her tenants to have the English New Testament or any other new books issued with the King's approval.[79] This was directly opposed to Henry's religious policy.

Henry was annoyed by her action against him on the manor of Canford, the main issue. He had treated her well in restoring the Salisbury lands, and resented her dubious claim.[80] If Henry wanted a property, peers knew it not to argue. If they did, they were accused of ingratitude or worse. Margaret supported Mary and opposed Henry's marriage to Anne and his religious legislation. She was interested in the Nun of Kent. She was Mary's governess from 1525 to 1533. When dismissed with the rest of the household she offered to serve at her own expense, but Henry refused. He probably blamed her for Mary's refusal to obey him and accept relegation from the succession.

Reginald Pole

The biggest threat to Henry's reforms was Reginald Pole. Henry subsidised his studies in Italy, and hoped he would support his ecclesiastical policy - a hope destroyed by Pole's *De Unitate Ecclesiastica.* It asserted papal supremacy uncompromisingly, so violently denounced Henry that reconciliation was impossible and threatened him with

77. Pierce, *Margaret Pole*, App III.

78. Pierce, *Margaret Pole*, pp.77-8.

79. BL, Cotton. MS, App. L 82, (*LP* xiii (2) 817) (?Nov. 1538).

80. Pierce, *Margaret Pole,* pp.92-7.

intervention by Charles and Francis. Ironically, Pole leant far more to Lutheran ideas on free will and justification than Henry, probably crossing the limits of orthodoxy even as they existed before the definitions laid down by the Council of Trent.[81]

Early in 1537 Paul III sent him to Flanders as legate[82] with secret instructions to get Charles to postpone the planned Turkish war and go to war against England, if possible with Scottish support. Charles told the Venetian ambassador: 'On the one hand it seems that the cardinal wishes me to forbid trade with the King of England as a sort of warning, on the other he appears to want me to make war on him'.[83] Charles refused support in advance, though he said he might offer it if Henry's fall was certain. Pole '... seems to have lacked the force to impose his views, or even to force a hearing for his views, upon those who needed to consider them',[84] Henry and Cromwell knew of the mission and saw it as a threat. Cromwell acted at once. Efforts to extradite Pole failed, as did three attempts to assassinate or kidnap him. Security was minimal, and Wallop, the English resident in Paris, told the papal nuncio Pio what was going on. [85]

Pole's known agents were no threat: Michael Throckmorton (a double agent) Thomas Starkey[86], John Walker (Pole's London business agent), John Helyar (Margaret's parish priest), John Collins (Lord Montague's chaplain), and George Crofts, chancellor of Chichester cathedral. More dangerous were fellow-travellers. Dr Mayer lists Gardiner, Paulet, Sir Anthony Windsor, Lisle, Sampson, Tunstall, Russell and Fitzwilliam,[87] without any evidence. As Professor Bernard comments: 'Mayer makes a great deal of

81. M.Firpo, 'Note su una Biografia di Reginald Pole', *Rivista Storica Italiana,* cxiii (2001) pp.859-74.
82. For Pole's mission to Flanders see T.F. Mayer, 'A Diet for Henry VIII: the Failure of Reginald Pole's 1537 Legation, *J. Brit. Stud.* xxvi (1987), pp.305-331.
83. P van Dyke, 'The Mission of Cardinal Pole to Enforce the Bull of deposition against Henry VIII', *EHR,* xxxvii, (1922), pp.422-3.
84. P. Hughes, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in England* (1944), pp.37-8.
85. T.F. Mayer, 'If Martyrs are to be exchanged with Martyrs: the Kidnappings of William Tyndale and Reginald Pole', *AFR,* lxxxi (1990), pp.297-300.
86. Starkey had argued for Mary's reinstatement in 1536 (see G.R. Elton, *Reform and Renewal: Thomas Cromwell and the Common Weal* (Cambridge, 1973), pp.50-55).
87. Mayer, 'A Diet for Henry VIII', pp.326-30.

Pole's connections, beginning with his family and friends, and including anyone who at any time in the 1530s had expressed the slightest dissent from royal policy, but none of this convinces that Pole could have led a noble rebellion in England in the late 1530s'.[88] He is certainly wrong about Fitzwilliam. He was suspect when excluded with Exeter from the Council in 1536, but, as we have seen, he was soon exonerated. He did not try to conceal Geoffrey Pole's misdeeds or his mother's. If he was suspected of sympathy with the Poles he would not have been given the job of interrogating them.

Henry feared that Charles, Francis and the Papacy would combine against him, making Pole a real menace. It was by no means obvious that Charles and Francis did not trust each other, Charles did not want to make war on Henry, and Pole was the last person to persuade him to do so. Henry would have been remiss not to take precautions.

Fitzwilliam's part in investigating the conspiracy

Fitzwilliam played an important part in unravelling the conspiracy after Hugh Holland and Geoffrey Pole had been arrested towards the end of June because Tyndale and Eyre revealed that Hugh Holland had been carrying letters to Reginald Pole.[89] While Fitzwilliam was hawking at Cowdray with Lord Delaware on 17 September 1538 a poor man complained to him that his wife, Johanne Sylkden, had been committed to prison by Gunter, a local JP, for saying Sir Geoffrey Pole would have sent a band of men overseas to Reginald if he had not been imprisoned in the Tower. (It is perhaps significant that the 'poor man' approached Fitzwilliam rather than his companion: perhaps he thought Delaware would take no action; perhaps Fitzwilliam had more of the 'common touch'.) Fitzwilliam followed the matter up, finding much local gossip about the Poles. The rumours were traced to Lawrence Taylor, the Havant harper. He was examined by Gunter, who released him to go to a wedding at Wimborne. When Fitzwilliam heard this he accused Gunter of negligence, accusing him of acting 'like an untrue man'. Gunter delivered Taylor next day and he related conversations he had had with Sir Geoffrey. Fitzwilliam told Cromwell he had sent for Lords Delaware and

88. G.W. Bernard (ed), *The Tudor Nobility* (Manchester, 1992), p.29.

89. BL, Cotton. MS App L f° 82, (*LP* xiii (2), 817), (20 Nov. 1538), 875 (1). The background to Holland's arrest is given in Dodds, ii pp.303-5 and Pierce, *Margaret Pole,* pp.116ff.

Maltravers (Arundel's eldest son) to find what they knew.[90] Dr Mayer suggests Fitzwilliam tried to cover up for Geoffrey Pole by writing 'the only evidence [for Taylor's allegations] came from an old woman, a midwife and a young woman with a small baby'.[91] As Dr Pierce shows, what he actually wrote was that as Taylor now confessed the words attributed to him, it was unnecessary to detain witnesses who could only give hearsay evidence.[92] This was not covering up for Pole.

Fitzwilliam then rode to London to interrogate Geoffrey[93], who gave increasingly compromising information on the activities and conversations of his brothers and friends, especially Montague, the Exeters, Sir Edward Neville, the priest Collins and Croftes.[94] He was put under such pressure that he attempted suicide, though trying to suffocate himself with a pillow (this is impossible) and stabbing himself with a blunt knife look more like cries for help than real suicide attempts. He was probably not tortured, as he might have been as a matter of routine under the Elizabethan police state. Fitzwilliam's technique was apparently to use extreme psychological pressure.

In 1540 Sir Geoffrey Pole assaulted John Gunter, who provided much of the initial information against him. Fitzwilliam advised the assault should be overlooked 'considering the ill and frantique furious nature of the unhappy man'[95]. Geoffrey was put in the Fleet until he had apologised to Gunter, and had to stay away from Court. [96]

The Dodds sisters say 'there is absolutely no proof of a conspiracy'[97], but Geoffrey had been in touch with Reginald via Helyar and Holland. The evidence that he was willing to raise men to fight for his brother is convincing. Herbert of Cherbury wrote: 'I

90 NA, SP1/136, f^os^ 200-3, 204-5, (*LP* xiii (2) 392, 393), (20 Sept 1538).

91. Mayer, 'A Diet for Henry VIII', p.325.

92 Pierce, *Margaret Pole,* p.155; NA, SP1/136, f205. (20 Sept. 1538). (The summary given in *LP* xiii (2) 393 is deficient in important details).

93. He had Paulet as associate - a strong argument against Paulet being involved in the conspiracy. Geoffrey's interrogation is described in Pierce, *Margaret Pole,* p127ff..

94. NA, SP1/163, f^os^ 12-27, (*LP* xiii (2) 695, (26 Oct. 1538).

95. NA, SP1/163, f° 5, (*LP* xvi, 19), (6 Sept. 1540).

96. NA, SP1/163, f^os^ 45,6, (*LP* xvi 19); *PCP,* vii, p.32.

97. Dodds, ii, p.311.

read that [the conspirators] sent the Cardinal money'.[98] This was certainly treason. Montague clearly knew much of what was going on, and the amount of letter-burning which took place is suspicious. How far the rest were conspirators is harder to assess: they indulged in loose talk which could be seen as disloyal. Collins and Crofts may have been arraigned for denying the Royal Supremacy rather than plotting with the Poles.

So far nothing implicated Margaret. On 12 November Fitzwilliam and Thomas Goodrich, Bishop of Ely (later a zealous supporter of the Reformation) interviewed her at Warblington . They found her hard to crack despite the techniques they used. As Fitzwilliam wrote:

> We then entreated her with both sorts, sometimes with douce and mild words, now roughly and asperly.[99]

In two days they got no response from her.

On 15 November she was taken to Cowdray. Fitzwilliam ensured there was no unrest at Warblington, placing it under watch.[100] At Cowdray they had slightly more success in wearing her down, and old papal bulls and a copy of a letter from her to Montague were found at Warblington - still not enough to condemn her. Fitzwilliam reported:

> We have dealid with such a one as men have not dealid with to fore us. Wee may call hyr rather a strong and custaunt man than a woman'.[101].

This was grudging respect. Fitzwilliam concluded:

> [either] her sons have not made her pr[ivy] ne participant ... or else is she the [most] arrant traitoress, that ever [lived]'[102]

He still could not tell how much she was involved.

Margaret later complained that Fitzwilliam and Mabel treated her with discourtesy by refusing to speak to her. Discourtesy indeed, as she was his second cousin: his and her maternal grandfathers, the Marquis of Montagu and the Earl of Warwick were brothers. This was close kinship. Fitzwilliam described what happened:

98. Herbert of Cherbury, *Henry VIII,* p.503. Herbert does not say where he saw this.

99. NA, SP 1/138 f°246, (*LP* xiii (2) 818), (13 Nov. 1538).

100. BL, Cotton. MS App L f°77, (*LP* xiii (2), 835), (14 Nov. 1538).

101. BL, Cotton. MS App. L f°79, (*LP* xiii (2) 855), (16 Nov. 1538).

102. BL, Cotton. MS App. L f°77, (*LP* xiii (2) 835).

> I ... told her the cause whie I and my wief forbare to see her was for that wee could not find it in our hertes to doo any odre seeing that that arraunt whoreson traytor, her sonne the Cardinal, went aboutes from prince to prince to work suche troble to our Sovraigne Lord and his realm. Wherunto she made me answer with a wondreful sorowfull countenaunce that albeit he were most unhappy and an il man to behave himself so unkindly and traitorously unto his Sovraigne Lord and Maistre, who hath been so good and gracious lorde to him and his freendes, yet was he no horeson for she said she tooke God to reacord she was both a good woman and and a kinges woman... I soone left herre and for this tyme had ne further talk with her, neyther entend to have whiles I ame her. I beg you to rid me of her company, for she is moche chargeable unto me [she cost a lot to keep] and troubleth my mynd.[103]

Like Geoffrey, Margaret was put under psychological pressure, but more subtly. She was taken to unfamiliar surroundings and treated in a manner calculated to lower her self-esteem - standard interrogation technique then and now. She resented isolation from the rest of the Cowdray household, but this was hardly harsh treatment. His quarterdeck language in talking to her overstepped the mark, but she answered well. There was clearly strong antipathy between the two. Dr Pierce suggests he may have resented her wealth and position since her father the Earl of Warwick and her uncle Richard, Duke of Gloucester deprived his mother of John Neville's estates'.[104] But the Montague heiresses were not treated unfairly after Bosworth. Though not as rich as Margaret, Lucy was still one of the richest women in England. Fitzwilliam's complaint that 'She troubleth my mind' may indicate worry that duty to the King made him bully a close relative. She stayed several months at Cowdray. When the Bill of Attainder passed she was sent to the Tower, to Fitzwilliam's relief. He wrote to Cromwell:

> I assure your lordshippe my wief is not a little prowd to here that your lordshippe wol help to deliver her of the lady of Saris[bury]. I was fain to take her with me to Portismowth, for in no wiese wold she tarry behind me, the said lady beeing in my howse.[105]

While she was at Cowdray, Fitzwilliam's searchers found an embroidered white silk tunic in a coffer at Warblington. Cromwell produced it during the last reading of the Bill of Attainder in the House of Lords as conclusive proof of Margaret's disposition. The embroidery was described by John Worth to Lord Lisle:

> There was a coat-armour found in the Duchess [*sic*] of Salisbury's coffer, and by

103. BL, Cotton. MS Cleop. E iv f° 176, (*LP* xiv (1) 520), (14 March 1539).

104. Pierce, *Margaret Pole,* p.155.

105. BL Cotton MS Otho E ix f° 69, (*LP* xiv (1) 573), (20 Mar. 1539).

> the one side of the coat there was the King's Grace his arms of England, that is, the lions without the flower de luce, and about the whole arms was made pansies for Pole[106] and marigolds for my Lady Mary ... And betwixt the marigold and the pansy was made a tree to rise in the midst; and on the tree a coat of purple hanging on a bough, in tokening of the coat of Christ; and on the other side of the coat all the Passion of Christ. Pole intended to have married my Lady Mary and betwixt them both should again arise the old doctrine of Christ.[107].

Contemporaries were familiar with the significance attached to beasts, flowers and armorial bearings, and the tunic no doubt had the meaning Worth described. Dr Pierce thinks Cromwell had the surcoat made.[108] But it was something that would be produced in a noblewoman's *Frauenzimmer*, not by a commercial embroiderer. If the surcoat had been forged, there would have been a problem in maintaining security, and it is significant that no accusation of forgery seems to have been made at the time.

After Margaret's attainder Fitzwilliam was appointed chief steward of her lands in England, Wales and the marches, and granted the castle and manor of Warblington.[109]

Margaret was executed in 1541, but a chilling episode occurred when Christ Church Priory surrendered on 28 November 1539. The letter announcing the surrender, signed by Southwell, Carne, London, Paulet and Berners, detailed the plate and jewellery 'mete for the kinges majestie in use' and continued:

> In thy churche we finde a chaple and monument curiously made of Cane [Caen] stone prepared by the late mother of Raynolde Pole for her buriall, wiche we have caused to be defaced and all the arms and badges clerly to be delete. [110]

This tells us much about Henry's regime. Though still alive, Margaret was now referred to as dead - an unperson in an Orwellian nightmare. Defacement of the tomb shows the petty vindictiveness Henry displayed to those he thought personally betrayed him. His attitude contrasts with Fitzwilliam's magnanimity to Geoffrey Pole the next year. Though loyal to Henry, Fitzwilliam did not follow his example in everything.

106. In summer 1534 Darcy asked Chapuys to sound Charles out about an invasion in favour of Mary. He gave Chapuys an enamelled gold pansy *Sp. Cal.* v (1), pp.355ff, (*LP* viii, 1and 121), (1 and 28 Jan. 1535), said to be a token of the old Yorkist nobility.

107. NA, SP3 xiv f° 67, (LP xiv (1) 980), [*LL* vol 5, No 1419]. Pole was not in priest's orders.

108. Pierce, *Margaret Pole,* p.222, n.88.

109. NA, SP1/142, f^os^ 124-5, (*LP* xiv (1), 113 (18)), (July 1539).

110. BL, Cotton. MS. Cleop. E iv f°324; [*VCH Hampshire* ii, p.159].

Lord Delaware refused to sit in the Court of the High Steward condemning Montague and Exeter. The Dodds sisters suggest 'Perhaps he had determined after Darcy's trial to pass no more of the King's sentences. It would be good to think there was one nobleman in England who was capable of so acting'.[111] But he had distinct catholic leanings, was involved in the conspiracy as much as Neville and wanted to keep his head down. He was interrogated by Audley, Norfolk, Suffolk, Cromwell, Sussex, Hertford and Fitzwilliam, a commission reflecting a wide range of views. They wrote to Henry:

> As yet we can fynde no sufficient grounde to committe hym to prison into Your Graces Towr' ... Beseeching your most noble and benign Grace that, seen upon consyderation that we finde as yet no sufficient mater agenst hym, and that having respect aswell to your mercyfull clemencye, as also to your Graces honor, that wold not have hym upon a weake grounds (wherof he might clere himself afterwarde) to be extremely handeled, we have respited his Emprisonement ... Assuredly if we should have committed hym to the Towr, howsoever the matier should waye, it should so moch touch his honeste, and he by the same should be put to such a rebuke, that he should never be able to recover [112].

Henry put him in the Tower anyway. The commission probably feared a witch-hunt. The case may show Cromwell was not all-powerful and government more collegiate than is sometimes thought. It may also mark the start of a decline in his position.

Conclusions

Fitzwilliam was closely involved in State security. All peers and magistrates reported on events affecting the security of the regime: acts of overt treason and denial of the Royal Supremacy, rumours, 'prophecies', and drunken talk in inns.[113] Fitzwilliam, like other informants, reported on these to Cromwell. But he also operated in a field not open to Cromwell. He was responsible for security in the Household (especially in the Anne Boleyn affair) and matters affecting the security of the Tudor dynasty (the Exeter conspiracy). Cromwell was plainly involved, but Fitzwilliam operated at a level open only to someone with the complete trust of the King and the advantage of high birth, being related to most of the nobility. Cromwell was always a *parvenu*. Fitzwilliam may have had wider intelligence duties, but little evidence of them survives.

111. Dodds, ii, p.314.

112. Ellis, *Or. Letters,* 1st series i, CXLV. (1 Dec. 1539).

113. See Sharon L. Jansen, *Political Protest and Prophecy under Henry VIII* (Woodbridge, 1991).

10. FITZWILLIAM AS LOCAL MAGNATE

Fitzwilliam was a wealthy landowner. By his death he held over 16,000 acres in Surrey, Sussex and Hampshire, worth over £1020 p.a., with more in Berkshire. These were the heartland of his holdings. He also held lands in Hertfordshire, Kent, Norfolk, Devon, Northamptonshire, Somerset, Wiltshire and Yorkshire.[1] He probably acquired many of the latter on a speculative basis in the buyers' market after the dissolution of the monasteries. This pattern of landholding was typical for a landed magnate. Here we examine his role in Surrey, Sussex and Hampshire, where he was a major landowner and in Yorkshire, where he held offices and wardships. Each section begins by tabulating his properties and offices and then examines his political influence in the shire.

A. SURREY

Table 10A: Properties and offices held by Fitzwilliam in Surrey

Date	How obtained	Property or office	Reference
1511	Grant	Property at Wonersh	LP i 731 (55)
1511	Office	Keeper of Guildford Park and Steward of	
		Worplesdon (jointly with William Cope)	LP i 804 (43)
1513	Grant	Manor of Worplesdon (on marriage)	LP i 1836 (30)
1514	Office	Bailiff and Keeper of Bagshot Park *	LP i 2964 (73)
			LP i 3499 (35)
1516	Office	Custody of Henley Park	
	Grant	Manor of Claygate	
	Grant	Confirmation of grant of Worplesdon	LP ii 2387
1518	Grant	Waste land called Pothed Park in Windsor	
		Forest by service of one rose at midsummer.	LP ii 3971
Early 1520s	Grant	Manor of Pirbright,	LP iii 414
1527	Office	Keeper of Byfleet Park (jointly with brother)	LP ii 3971
		Keeper of Witley (jointly with brother	LP iv (2) 3324 (3)
1531	Exchange with King	Manor of Witley	LP v 219
1534	Left by mother	Shalford Bradeston, moiety of the manor of	
		Shalford	VCH Surrey iii, p.109
1537	Grant (on being made	Abbey of Waverley, including the manors of	
	Earl of Southampton)	Waverley, Wanborough, Markwick and	
		Monkenhood, Oxenford Grange and Oxshott	LP xii (2) 1008 (19)
Before 1525	Purchase?	Mansion in Guildford **	DNB04
?	Purchase?	Manor of Down Place in Compton parish	VCH Surrey, iii, p.19.

* Fitzwilliam installed his mother at Bagshot. Her sons used to visit and stay the night after hunting in Windsor Forest. Her will states: 'I will that there shall remain ... in the lodge at the park of Bagshot ... during all the time my sons Sir William Fitzwilliam and Sir Anthony Browne, knights, shall have the office of custody ... of the said park, six of my featherbeds, four mattresses with bolsters, pillows, blankets, sheets and coverings necessary to the same for the lodging, ease and profit of my said sons when ... as they shall happen to come and lie at the said lodge for their pleasure and recreation'.[2]
** The location of Fitzwilliam's 'mansion' in Guildford is unknown.

1. *DNB04.*
2. 'North Country Wills', *Surtees Society,* cxvi, (1908), p.129.
3. Colvin, *King's Works*, vol. iv (2), pp.123-4.

Local politics

In spring 1538 Fitzwilliam wrote to Cromwell describing a visit to one Mr Studolf, who told him about the Adyshede affair (see p.181).[4] To explain why he visited Studolf and why he assumed Cromwell knew who he was we need to know the history of local government in Surrey over the preceding two decades.

Fitzwilliam's early activities in Wolsey's service were mainly at local level.. In 1515 he held the Guildford court leet with Thomas Parr[5] - an early link between Fitzwilliam and the Parrs. In 1518 he became JP for Surrey, where his estates were being built up: members of the royal household were regularly appointed to county benches.[6]

No magnate lived in Surrey; local politics were run by a small group of higher gentry. The Surrey bench was split between two factions. One of these was led by the Howards under Sir Edmund Howard (father of the later Queen Catherine Howard) and his brother William[7] and the other by Sir Matthew Browne of Betchworth (d.1557), active since the late 1490s. Browne was Fitzwilliam's step-cousin, and had been MP for Surrey and sheriff of Surrey and Sussex.[8] The feud between the Howard and Browne factions came to a climax in 1518/9, paralysing the Surrey Bench and so threatening order in the shire that Wolsey ordered an investigation in which Fitzwilliam played a major part: he may well have been put on the Bench to facilitate his investigations. His reports[9] led to a Star Chamber case in which Lord Edmund Howard, his supporter Sir John Legh, Sir Matthew Browne and probably John Scott of Camberwell (a Browne ally) were prosecuted in the summer of 1519 for 'maintenance, embracery and bearing'. At least eight Surrey JPs were examined.[10] Fitzwilliam gave Wolsey a long list of

4. BL, Cotton. MS. Titus B i 73, (*LP* xiii (1) 392), (1 March 1538).
5. Enid M.Dance, 'Guildford Borough Records 1514-1546', *Surrey RS* xxiv, (1955), p.3.
6. Guy, 'Wolsey and the Tudor Polity', pp 69-71.
7. The Dukes of Norfolk never lived in Surrey. Howard affairs in Surrey were conducted by younger brothers and nephews, especially Lords Edmund and William Howard.
8. The two counties came under one sheriff. Under Henry VII and in the early years of Henry VIII he was usually a Sussex man.
9. NA: STAC 2/2/163 (5); STAC 2/2/195 (4-7); STAC 2/26/252 (5); STAC 2/26/355 (10).
10. The initial examinations have not survived. Maintenance was illegal retaining. Embracery was the suborning of juries. Bearing was the exertion of undue influence.

'misdemeanours contrary to the King's laws and statutes' committed in Surrey since Henry's coronation, trying unsuccessfully to downplay Sir Matthew's part.[11] The Star Chamber case lanced the boil somewhat, but tensions persisted even though overt outbreaks of disorder ceased.

The Browne/Fitzwilliam faction's power grew in the 1520s through Fitzwilliam's high standing with the King. The deaths of the 2nd Duke of Norfolk and Legh and Lord Edmund's bankruptcy led to a fall in Howard influence. By 1529 Studolf and others were followers of Cromwell. Fitzwilliam had links with at least four of Wolsey's servants on the Bench: Thomas Heneage, (Fitzwilliam's cousin by marriage (see p.242), Sir Richard Page (Wolsey's chamberlain (pp.239-40), Sir William Gascoigne of Cardington (comptroller of Wolsey's household), and Ralph Pexall (clerk of the Crown in Chancery).[12] He also had links of family and friendship with Sir John Gage (pp.232-3), and Sir Christopher More (pp.242-3).

Fitzwilliam remained active in Surrey after Wolsey's fall, despite losing some supporters in a purge by Norfolk during his brief time as chief minister. Cromwell was a Surrey JP by 1532 and built an alliance with the Browne/Fitzwilliam faction, reinforced by the appointment of Browne, Heneage and Page to the bench in 1532. Fitzwilliam served on commissions to enquire about Wolsey's possessions in 1531, commissions of gaol delivery in 1530 and 1531 and of sewers in 1534, and an enquiry to determine responsibility for the repair of Cobham Bridge in 1532.[13]

During the summer of 1535 Fitzwilliam sat with the Surrey justices assessing the spirituality of the shire: 'and we have so handled the matter that I doubt not a much larger sum shall be raised than when the spirituality was assessed by the Bishop

11. W.B. Robison, 'The justices of the peace of Surrey in national and county politics, 1483-1570', unp. Louisiana State University PhD dissertation (1983), pp.100-43; Guy, 'Wolsey and the Tudor Polity', p.71; J.A. Guy, *The Cardinal's Court* (Brighton, 1977), pp.72-4.
12. Elton, *Tudor Revolution in Government,* p.111. There is no evidence of close contact between Fitzwilliam and Gascoigne, whose main interests were in Bedfordshire. Little is known of Pexall.
13. *Surrey AC* xxvi (1913), p141, quoting Chancery Miscellanea Bundle 7, file 4, no 4.

[Gardiner].' He sought instructions on what to do with the abbeys, which they had left aside, understanding that Cromwell's auditors were dealing with them.[14] Shortly afterwards he accompanied Gardiner to investigate Chertsey Abbey. Their favourable report was rejected: Thomas Legh, one of Cromwell's servants, later produced a report with the right answer, charging at least nine monks with illicit sexual behaviour.[15] This reversal of the original verdict is unconvincing: Fitzwilliam was an experienced interrogator and Gardiner was not biassed in favour of monks. Yet 'In the following summer this remarkable community, due for suppression as a lesser house, was transferred to Bisham to man the king's new abbey, and the abbot was mitred by Henry himself.'[16]

Fitzwilliam was elected as senior knight of the shire to the 1529 Parliament with Nicholas Carewe. Carewe usually acted in his own interests in county affairs and was neutral in the feud between the Howard and Fitzwilliam/Browne factions.[17] In the 1530s he was more closely linked to the Marquis of Exeter, being among the opponents of Cromwell's religious reform policy who sought the restoration of the Princess Mary to the succession.

The differences between the Howard and Browne/Fitzwilliam factions were about power, not ideology. Both groups were religious conservatives, and Cromwell was content to see Surrey kept in order by religious conservatives led by Fitzwilliam. 'By continuing to act through the natural rulers of the county community, Cromwell ensured its faithfulness to him and to Henry VIII [in the Pilgrimage of Grace'][18] Only in the late 1530s did reformers like Sir Richard Long, Robert Acton, Ambrose Walley and Sir John Gresham sit on the Bench, but they were outnumbered by conservatives, and Cromwell's own position now was threatened. Fitzwilliam continued to cooperate with Cromwell, and they ensured a clean sweep in elections for the 1539 Parliament.

14. NA, SP1/95, f^{os} 6,7, (*LP* ix 4), (4 Aug. 1535).
15. NA, E/322, f^{o} 22, (*LP* xii (2) 220), 1311, no 22.
16. NA, SP 1/95, f^{o} 6. (*LP* ix, 472), (29 Sept. 1535); J.A. Muller, *Stephen Gardiner and the Tudor Reaction* (1926), p58; D. Knowles, *The religious orders in England, vol. iii: The Tudor Age* (Cambridge, 1959), p.302.
17. Robison, 'Surrey JPs', p.137.
18. Robison, 'Surrey JPs', p,199

After Cromwell's fall the Howards returned to prominence in Surrey. Though they suffered a setback when Catherine Howard fell, for the rest of the reign they cooperated fairly amicably with the Browne/Fitzwilliam faction; this was imperilled for a time when Sir Matthew Browne returned to his old tricks of assaulting Howard supporters.[19] There is no doubt of the important role Fitzwilliam played in Surrey for more than twenty years. He was in effect the government minister for Surrey up to his death, acting successively in cooperation with Wolsey, Norfolk and Cromwell. The old rivalries did not disappear, but by his death county affairs ran fairly smoothly. Fitzwilliam clearly achieved this through personal contact and tactful persuasion. He was careful to keep in touch with the leading men of the county and seems to have made a point of visiting them from time to time and listening to their views, as he did with Studolf (see above) and Sir Richard Weston (p.206).

B. SUSSEX

Table 10B: Properties and offices held by Fitzwilliam in Sussex

1528	Purchase	Half the manor of Rustington from Sir John Dudley	Ref 20
1527-9	Purchase	Cowdray estate	See below
c1530	Purchase	Manor of Ford	See below
1534	Left by mothe	Bayham Abbey, Calceto priory with manors of	
		Calceto, Selham and Bourne (with brother)	see c.1.
1534	Purchase	Manor of Heyshott	VCH Sussex iv, p.6.
1535	Office	Steward of lordship of Petworth	LP ix 103 (8)
1536	Grant	Easebourne Priory, Manor of Worthing and others	LP ix 1063 (8)
1537	Grant	Shulbred Priory and abbey of Durford	LP xii (2) 1008 (19)
1541	Grant	Hospitallers' forfeited propert in Midhurst etc.	Pat. Rolls 33 Hen.
			VIII pt 4 M3

Fitzwilliam bought the Cowdray estate, formerly a property of the Bohuns, from Sir David Owen in 1527-9.[21] Born in 1459, Owen was an illegitimate son of Owen Tudor and Henry VII's half-uncle. He was of no political importance but was a prominent courtier under Henry VII and Chief Carver to the King. He occasionally attended important events under Henry VIII, including the Field of Cloth of Gold. The trans-

19. *Surrey History Centre,* MS. LM/1484.
20. L.F. Salzman, 'Sussex Deeds at Althorp', *SxAC* lxxvii (1936), p.258, quoting deeds 1470-2 in calendar of Earl Spencer's muniments at Althorp.
21 Russell, *Field of Cloth of Gold,* App.C .

actions connected with the purchase were very complex and have been described in detail by Sir William Hope.[22] Sir David started to build at Cowdray in the 1520s after clearing the site of an earlier building. The work was only half complete when Sir David sold the property to Fitzwilliam on condition that he was allowed to stay in it until his death and that he was not inconvenienced by building work. Fitzwilliam moved in and finished the house when Owen died in 1535. In 1532 he was licensed by the King to empark 600 acres of land, meadow, pasture and wood in Easebourne and Midhurst 'to be called and named the park of Cowdray for ever', and received one of the last licences to crenellate issued in England. The main structure, incorporating what Sir David had already built, was built between 1535 and 1539. It was extended between 1539 and 1542, probably to accommodate Henry VIII on progress. Cowdray Castle was, and was meant to be, one of the great houses of Southern England and proclaimed Fitzwilliam's status. Because of Owen's royal links it is certain that Henry arranged the sale to Fitzwilliam and the terms by which he stayed in the property till his death. Fitzwilliam also purchased the manor of Ford from David Owen's son Henry, who played an obstructive and not altogether honest role, as he did in the Cowdray negotiations. After Fitzwilliam's death Cowdray went to his brother Anthony Browne.

Local politics

Sussex is three times as long from east to west as from north to south, the shire town, Chichester, lying in the extreme west. At this time communications from east to west were poor. This made co-ordinated administration of the county difficult. Quarter sessions were usually held at Chichester and Lewes. JPs from western Sussex usually attended the former and those from the east the latter, the dividing line approximating to the present boundary between East and West Sussex. Further complications arose from the liberties of the Cinque Ports. Rye, Winchelsea, Hastings, Pevensey and Seaford had their own privileges which largely divorced them from the political and administrative affairs of the shire as a whole. All this fragmented county affairs.

22. W.H.St.J Hope, *Cowdray and Easebourne Priory in the County of Sussex* (1919), c2, particularly pp 17-22 and 27-31. See also WSRO COWDRAY/ 4933/f^{os} 14-20. The text of the *IPM* for Fitzwilliam's Sussex possessions is given on pp 30-1 of Hope's book, n.23. See also *VCH Sussex,* vol iii, p77, quoting *Sussex Arch. Trust Deeds (Lewes),* BA 6 and 5.

In July 1531 the Earl of Arundel sent Fitzwilliam Sir William Moore, vicar of South Harting 'for certain unfitting words spoken against the King contrary to his allegiance'.[23] The Poles were religious conservatives and Harting lay in the middle of their 'country'. They presented Reginald Pole to Harting in 1526, though the Lewknors had the advowson (Moore was Reginald Pole's vicar). How Fitzwilliam reacted is unknown. The complaint against Moore came from Sir Roger Lewknor, father-in-law of Arthur Pole, furiously at odds with him and with the whole Pole family. Knowing who these people were and why they were at odds with each other is the key to much of the political activity in West Sussex in the twenties and thirties.

Sussex had two resident magnates: the Earl of Arundel and Lord Delaware. A third, Lord Dacre of the South, was a minor and soon after coming of age was executed for murder. The Earl was the biggest landowner in the shire, with an income of about £2200.[24] As senior earl, he attended court occasionally in a ceremonial role. He played little political part, only attending the council twice in the late 1520s and early 1530s.[25] Chapuys reported he was the only lay peer not to vote for the bill in restraint of annates in 1532, marking him as a religious conservative.[26] Next was Lord Delaware, with an income of about £500, also a religious conservative. His seat at Halneker was near Chichester, where the cathedral chapter, to which he was closely connected, was a hotbed of extreme religious conservatism. Both lived in the west of the shire. Cowdray was near their main residences, and Fitzwilliam may well have been encouraged to amass estates in West Sussex to counterbalance a group Henry saw as suspect. While there is no documentary evidence for this conclusion, some support for it is provided by the attention he paid to Arundel and Delaware during the Exeter Conspiracy (see pp.184-5)

The Howards were also big landowners. Their estates, totalling 18 manors, centred on the baronies of Bramber and Lewes in mid-Sussex: these included the boroughs of

23. NA, SP1/66, f° 188, (*LP* v 343), (20 July 1531).
24. Income estimates are based on the subsidy assessments for 1524/5 and come from J. Cornwall, 'Sussex Wealth and Society in the reign of Henry VIII', *SxAC.* cxiv (1976), p.1.
25. Miller, *Henry VIII and the English Nobility*, pp.103-4.
26. *Sp. Cal.* iv (2) p.922.

Bramber, Horsham, Shoreham and Lewes. They owned major ironworks in the Weald. Their main base was Horsham, where Norfolk installed his stepmother and Catherine Howard grew up. The Dukes exerted influence through junior Howards and officials. Fitzwilliam associate Sir John Gage, one of the 'inner group' of Household officers lived at Firle, near Lewes.[27] In the 1530s Sir Anthony Browne received Battle Abbey and its lands, providing a counterweight to Howard influence in this part of the shire.

Of the gentry the most powerful was Sir Roger Lewknor of Trotton. He had large estates in Sussex and six other counties, the whole worth about £480 p.a.[28] The second richest was Sir David Owen with £400. Links between the Lewknors and the Earls of Arundel went back to the first half of the 15th century[29]; Sir Roger's appeal to the current Earl suggests these still existed. Neither was in favour at court, Arundel for his catholic sympathies and Lewknor because Henry felt he could not discharge the military obligations on his lands (this seems unlikely - maybe Henry just did not like him).

Sir Roger's daughter married Sir Arthur Pole, third son of Margaret Pole. Relations between Sir Roger and Sir Arthur broke down because the latter tried to take over the administration of Sir Roger's estates.[30] Sir Roger could administer his own lands: he was neither senile (he was sheriff of Sussex in 1532) nor disabled: he later sired three more daughters.[31] After Arthur's death, probably between 1529 and 1531[32], his brother

27. R.J.W. Swales, 'The Howard Interest in Sussex elections 1529 to 1558', *SxAC* cxiv (1976), pp.49-50. Norfolk intervened helpfully during a survey of the drainage of the Lewes levels by commissioners of sewers in 1537, impressing Gage: see Swales, 'Howard Interest', p.51.
28. Pierce , *Margaret Pole,* p.51.
29. M. Mercer, 'Driven to Rebellion? Sir John Lewknor, dynastic loyalty and debt', *SxAC,* cxxxvii(1999), p.154.
30. Pierce, *Margaret Pole,* pp.67-69.
31. W.D. Cooper, 'Pedigree of the Lewknor Family', *SxAC,* iii (1850), p.89.
32. F. Ward, 'The Divorce of Sir William Barentyne, *SxAC,* lxviii (1927), p.279, suggests that Arthur died in 1535/6, basing his estimate on Barlow, Bishop of St Asaph, receiving Jane Lewknor's vow of widowhood that year. Pierce, *Margaret Pole,* p.91 suggests Ward mistook the dates of Barlow's occupancy of the see and suggests 1528 as his date of death. Records of a Chancery case begun in 1532 describe Arthur as deceased. (NA, C1/866/69). He is not mentioned after 1528, but he married Jane in 1526 and had three children by her: unless the third was posthumous 1528 is too soon for his death. I suggest a date between 1529 and 1531.

Lord Montague pressed Arthur's wife Jane into taking a vow of perpetual widowhood to preserve his nephew Henry's inheritance, Jane being then Sir Roger's sole heiress. The Lewknors resented this and hostility was renewed between the two families.[33] Arundel, already opposed to the Poles for their attempts to challenge his pre-eminence in his own 'country', backed Lewknor.[34] Fitzwilliam's associate Christopher More acted as mediator. The reporting of Moore, a dependent of the Poles, was a shot in the war. The report was evidently filed away and forgotten.

Fitzwilliam was not involved in the dispute between the Poles and the Arundel/ Lewknor connection, but kept in close touch with Delaware and with Arundel and his son, Lord Maltravers. This ensured there was no open breach between the Poles and their enemies until the Exeter Conspiracy came to light (see Chapter.9b). Here Fitz-william was careful to keep in close touch with the Fitzalans, partly because the Earl of Arundel was the principal magnate in the county, but also to ensure he did not join the religious conservatives threatening the Royal Supremacy and other aspects of Henry' religious policy.[37] Fitzwilliam did not play a major role on the bench as he did in Surrey: his part was to provide a counterweight to two magnates of known catholic sympathies.

C. HAMPSHIRE

Fitzwilliam was less involved with Hampshire than Surrey or Sussex, but from the mid-1530s he held property there and during the Exeter conspiracy exerted some influence.

Table 10C: Properties and offices held by Fitzwilliam in Hampshire

Date	How obtained	Property or office	Reference
1534	Left by mother	Manor of Eversley	
1536	Grant	Manors of Neatham, Swarraton and Boyatt (the	
		Hants possessions of Waverley Abbey)	LP xii (2) 1008 (19)
1539	Grant	Manor of Chalton	VCH Hants, iii, p.135
1539	Office	Chief stewardship of Margaret Pole's lands in	
		England, Wales and the Marches	LP xiv(2), 113 (18)
1539	Grant	Manor of Warblington	LP xiv(2), 113 (18)

Local politics

Until Foxe's death in 1528 the ruling magnate in Hampshire was always the current Bishop of Winchester. Foxe was succeeded by Wolsey *in commendam.* He paid little

33. Pierce, *Margaret Pole,* pp.91-2.
34. Pierce, *Margaret Pole,* p.67.
35. NA, SP1/129, f^{os} 178-9, (*LP* xiii(2), 392).

attention to the see and his rule effectively ended the next year. This put power in the hands of the diocesan steward, William Paulet. When Gardiner was appointed in 1531 the Bishop was no longer all-powerful and had to share power with Paulet and his large family. In Dr Fritze's view: 'Gardiner would make scattered efforts to assert his dominance, with some success, but circumstances never allowed him to sustain them'.[36]

By the mid-1530s no lay magnate could compete with Paulet. Lord Sandys, closely linked to him, held 13 manors, the Countess of Salisbury eight (including the huge manor of Canford), Lord Delaware seven. The holdings of Lords Lisle and Audley were too small to give them much influence. The peers usually made little impact on county affairs and were followed by gentry families like the Wallops, Nortons and Tichbornes with three or four manors each. Until he inherited Eversley in 1534 and was granted three manors formerly owned by Waverley abbey Fitzwilliam held no land in the shire, though he had influence and patronage as chief steward of Christchurch Priory.

The rivalry between Paulet and Gardiner was about power, not ideology: both were religious conservatives. The bulk of the county was catholic in sympathy, most reformers being in Southampton. Cromwell was concerned to enforce his religious policies in Hampshire and was aided by Wriothesley's rise to prominence in the shire when he acquired monastic lands at the time of the Dissolution, particularly Tichfield.[37] Fitzwilliam gained potential influence in the county after Margaret Pole's attainder, when he was granted Warblington and Chalton and the stewardship of the rest of her lands[38], but there is no sign that he made any significant impact before his death. The question whether it was envisaged that he should occupy a similar position in Hampshire and Dorset to Russell's in the West cannot be proved either way.

36. N. Fritze, 'Faith and Faction: religious changes, national politics, and the development of local factionalism in Hampshire, 1485-1570', (unp. PhD thesis, Univ. of Cambridge, 1981), p.97.
37. Fritze, 'Faith and Faction', p.138.
38. Moorhouse, *Great Harry's Navy*, pp.44-6.

Southampton

Until the end of the fifteenth century Southampton was important as the main starting point and terminus for maritime trade in the south of England, largely because Italian ships from Florence, Genoa and Venice found it convenient to call there on the way to the Flanders markets. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, however, the port entered a long period of decline which lasted until Victorian times. Ships from Genoa and Florence ceased to arrive by the end of Edward IV's reign; the Venetians stopped coming in 1509 as they were under attack at home. The Venetian trade revived spasmodically after 1518, but never reached its former scale. London now took over an increasing proportion of the trade which had formerly passed through Southampton.

Fitzwilliam's first link with Southampton came when in November 1529 he received the office, jointly with Richard Page, of solicitor for the subsidies on kerseys in London and Southampton.[39] This gave Southampton a 'friend at court'. In 1531 he helped the port to get an Act (22 Hen. VIII c23) reducing its fee-farm on the grounds of the port's decline, working on this with his Household colleague Sir Henry Guildford and the Duke of Suffolk.[40] Fitzwilliam thus had close links with the port. He had a particularly close association with *Harry Huttoft*, the port's customs officer and with *John Mille*, a leading merchant and burgess of the port, and his son George (see pp.243-4).

Portsmouth

Fitzwilliam visited Portsmouth many times during his career. He must have made contacts with local men, and in 1539 he thought he could secure the return of at least one borough member.[41] The lack of contemporary records makes it impossible to say more.

Fitzwilliam became a significant landowner in Hampshire after becoming steward of Margaret Pole's lands, but died before he could use the influence this gave him. He had influence in Southampton and Portsmouth through his patronage as Admiral, but the power in the shire as a whole throughout the period was Sir William Paulet.

39. NA, Patent Roll, 12 July 1540, (*LP* xv, 942, g54).
40. Lehmburg *Reformation Parliament*, p.125.
41. BL, Cotton. MSS: Cleop. E iv 175, (*LP* xiv (1) 520); BL, Titus B i 259, (*LP* xiv (1) 538).

D. YORKSHIRE

Table 10D: Properties and offices held by Fitzwilliam in Yorkshire

Date	How obtained	Property or office	Reference
1515	Office	Bailiff and park keeper of Hatfield Chase and Thorne	
		(in survivorship jointly with John Carr)	LP ii 949
1519	Grant	Manor of Hoton Russell	LP iii 209
1524	Office	Offices in lordship of Barnard Castle, fee of	
		Richmond and castle of Middleham.	LP iv (1) 297 (p.124).
1524	Grant	Estates of Scale Park and Rande	LP iv (1) 297 (p.124).
1524	Purchase	Lands at Lelingthorpe, Owlsthorpe, Tollethorpe	LP iv (1) 461
		and Fymour	Yorkshire feet of fines
1525	Lease	Demesne lands of Barnard Castle and other nearby	
		properties and lead mines in new forest of Teesdale	LP iv (1) 1377 (10)
1529	Lease	Offices and properties at Hatfield Chase.	LP iv (3) 5100 (46)

(See also Doncaster Archives DD/DC/900 and 902 for purchases of minor properties).

As a younger son, Fitzwilliam inherited no lands in Yorkshire: his power came from the offices he was granted, especially at the royal estate of Hatfield Chase, and from his influence as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. Also, in 1516 he received the wardship of his nephew William, with custody of the Fitzwilliam family lands [43], and after his death that of his two sisters. In 1529 he was granted the wardship of his nephew John Cutte, with custody of lands in Yorkshire, Essex, Surrey and London.[44]

Local Politics

Most of the West Riding's population lived in the south-east. The leading nobles and gentry in landed income were the fourth Earl of Shrewsbury, at Sheffield with a landed income of rather over £1500, the first Earl of Cumberland (Skipton, c£1300) and the Earl of Northumberland (Spofforth, c£1000). They were followed by Fitzwilliam's relation by marriage Sir William Gascoigne (Gawthorpe, £533), Sir Henry Savile (Thornhill, £400) and Lord Darcy (Temple Hirst, £333). These figures underestimate Lord Darcy's status: he had great influence as steward of the Duchy honour of Pontefract.[45] They also inflate the influence of Northumberland, whose power was waning. Cumberland, in the north-west, and Shrewsbury, in the far south, were too remote to have much influence on the central area.

43. NA, C66/626, 82/428, (*LP* ii 1391), dated 7 Jan. 1516.

44. *LP* iv (3) 5906, g5, dated 5 Aug. 1529.

45. Smith, *Land and Politics,* Table XIV.

After he came to court as a boy there is no evidence that Fitzwilliam visited Yorkshire before the Pilgrimage of Grace; any record would have survived. Any influence he exerted was at a distance, with much less effect. Lord Darcy and Sir Richard Tempest, both Duchy officers, took part in the Pilgrimage, but no other Duchy officers were among its leaders: they were mostly neutral or loyal. Whether this was due to Fitzwilliam is uncertain. Matters were different after the Pilgrimage: Fitzwilliam took over Pontefract from Darcy and took steps to pull the Duchy organisation together.(see p.175)

Fitzwilliam was related by marriage to Sir William Gascoigne, twice over by marriage with Sir Godfrey Foljambe, and was cousin of the Clarells, Wakerlys, Reresbys and Wentworths. Gascoigne offered Darcy 100 men before the Pilgrimage, but later did nothing. Fitzwilliam may have made him reconsider, but more probably he just awaited events. Foljambe was a longstanding servant of the King attached to the Council of the North: nothing is known of contacts with Fitzwilliam but he was unlikely to betray Henry. Of the Wentworths, Sir John Wentworth of Elmsall attended Darcy's meeting with Aske in October but Sir Thomas Wentworth of West Bretton probably remained in London during the rising.[46] The rest of Fitzwilliam's cousins were neutral or loyal.

Besides the Duchy network, Fitzwilliam's most effective contact during the Pilgrimage was *Sir Brian Hastings* (d.1537), his deputy at Hatfield Chase, the royal estate of which he was granted a lease in 1529.[47] (See Table 10d).

Fitzwilliam might have exerted power through his Chancellorship of the Duchy and his stewardships, especially that of Hatfield Chase, but his influence was exerted at a distance though deputies. His influence was always circumscribed because he did not live in the shire. The family estates now belonged to the Foljambes. Power in London was no substitute for personal presence. No real control was exerted by the central government over Yorkshire until the establishment of a resident Council of the North after the Pilgrimage. By 1542 this was where effective power lay. Fitzwilliam did not sit on it. Sir Brian Hastings did, but can have contributed little before his death.

46. Smith, *Land and Politics,* pp 193, 195.

47. Hunter, *South Yorkshire,* vol ii, p.472.

E. CONCLUSIONS

Power structures in the shires and their relation to the centre varied. The role Fitzwilliam played differed in the four counties, reflecting different conditions. Surrey had no resident nobles, Sussex had two, Hampshire in effect one. In the West Riding there were four but their influence was restricted to limited areas, leaving most of the shire to the gentry, who, as in Surrey up to about 1520, were divided by faction.

Yorkshire's relation to the centre differed from that of the three home counties. In Surrey, Sussex and Hampshire MPs tended to be connected with the court. Dr Hyde and Dr Zell observe that:

> Elections for county seats were certainly related to local political issues and factions, but they also demonstrate a continuing desire on the part of the county elite to select individuals who embodied the connections between the court and the shire, both in human and political terms[48]

Dr Zell further adds:

> It was to men like Guildford, who had both county and court connections, that any government would turn for advice in the selection of its representatives in the shires. [49]

These passages were written about Kent, but could be applied equally to Surrey, where Fitzwilliam resembled Sir Henry Guildford in being an excellent example of one man embodying close connections between court and shire - connections which benefited both shire and central government. Surrey ran smoothly under Fitzwilliam, as he could undertake continuous personal supervision and contact.

West Riding politics operated differently. The geographical isolation of the North of England meant that courtier politicians could not exert the close contact and super-vision normal in the South East. As for membership of Parliament, 'great landowners without significant court connections were most likely to be returned'.[50] Fitzwilliam

48. Patricia Hyde and M. Zell, 'Governing the County', in Zell, M. (ed), *Early Modern Kent* (Woodbridge, 2000).

49. M. Zell, 'Early Tudor JPs at work', *Archaeologia Cantiana,* xciii (1997), p.125.

50. Lehmberg, *Reformation Parliament,* p.16.

was Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, with its great holdings and enormous influence in Yorkshire, and also held the important Stewardship of Hatfield Chase. But he never visited Yorkshire except during the Pilgrimage of Grace and the northern expedition of 1542 on which he died. His power was exerted though deputies. Even in south eastern England influence had to be exerted face to face to be effective and there is every reason to believe that this was even more true in the North, where 'feudal' links were still significant. This was relevant not just to ensuring government policies were applied, but also to controlling endemic factional rivalry.

Factional rivalry

In Surrey and the West Riding factional rivalry was a serious problem in the early sixteenth century. The shires considered here were not the only shires affected. Kent was riven by the feud between the Guildfords on one side and Lord Bergavenny and the Earl of Kent on the other[51]. Sir Thomas Cheney's appointment as Warden of the Cinque Ports did much to remedy this: his role in Kent was very similar to Fitzwilliam's in Surrey. Leicestershire was split between partisans of the Hastings clan and the Greys[52]; disputes continued till the Civil War. Cheshire and North Wales were split between Sir William Brereton's supporters and those of his opponents[53] - a problem solved by his execution. In Derbyshire the Vernons fought with nearly everyone, notably the Savages and Ainsworths.[54] Progress was made toward resolving local factional rivalry under Henry VIII, but it still caused trouble well into the seventeenth century. Examination of all these cases shows that faction was about family power, not ideology or religion.

However, the problems presented by factional rivalry were should not be overstated: many engagements were stand-offs; reports to Star Chamber by the parties were usually partisan and exaggerated; fighting was limited in scope (use of projectile

51. A. Dunn, 'Inheritance and Lordship in Pre-Reformation England: George Neville, Lord Bergavennny (c1470-1535)', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* xlvii, (2004), pp.116ff.
52. Mary L. Robinson, 'Court Careers and County Quarrels: George Lord Hastings and Leicestershire Unrest 1509-1528' in C. Carlton (ed), *State, Sovereigns and Society in Early Modern England* (Stroud, 1998).
53. E.W. Ives, *Letters and Accounts of William Brereton of Malpas* (Chester, 1976), pp.31ff.
54. Susan M. Wright, *The Derbyshire Gentry in the 15th Century,* Derbyshire Record Society, viii, (1983).

weapons was frowned on) and even ritualised.[55] Where fighting did take place it was usually with sword and buckler - a mode of combat in which anyone with a modicum of skill could avoid any injury more serious than incurred nowadays in a hard fought rugby match (the participants probably enjoyed themselves just as much). There was nothing like the level of noble vindicatory violence found in contemporary France.[56] Men were killed, but instances of this are few. Strife of this kind was a police matter, not incipient civil war. Nothing under Henry VIII resembled the siege of Caister Castle in 1469. [57]

County benches

The system of justices of the peace uniquely defined English (and, from the mid-1530s Welsh) local administration. The system never got off the ground in Ireland, and there was no real parallel in the 'outliers' (pp.113-4).

> To a Kentish gentleman, membership of the commission of the peace signified more than just the work he was expected to perform ... the onerous duties of the job never restrained Kentish squires from seeking appointment. [57]

This comment applied not only to Kent but to anywhere in England. Appointment to the bench conferred power, or rather it recognised and confirmed existing power. A JP's place in the order of names in the letters patent issued when a new bench was appointed was critical. The letters patent were scrutinised in a way anticipating the way students of the Soviet Union examined the order ministers stood on the Kremlin wall at the May Day parade - and for exactly the same reason. Who was in and who was out? Who was rising and who was falling? Conflict between different interests in a shire took the form not only of fights on the highway but also, and increasingly, of rivalry on the Bench. It is clear that Fitzwilliam was concerned with appointments to the Bench in Surrey in the 1520s and 1530s. Hampshire was Paulet's responsibility, and Fitzwilliam came too late on the scene to change this. He was probably unable to exert much influence in Yorkshire as he was not on the spot. The position in Sussex is unclear, but there is no indication that Fitzwilliam set out to disturb existing power structures.

55. J.G. Bellamy, *Criminal Law and Society in Late Medieval and Tudor England* (Gloucester, 1984), p.69.

56. N. Davis, *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century* (2 vols,Oxford, 1971-6), letters 202, 204, 242, 244, 241. See also Helen Castor, *Blood and Roses* (2004), pp.205-13.

56. S. Carroll, *Blood and Violence in Early Modern France* (Oxford, 2006), especially Part I.

57. Zell, 'Early Tudor JPs at work', p.126.

11. LAST YEARS, 1539-42

In April 1539 a new Parliament met. Cromwell strove for the return of cooperative members, and wrote to Henry: 'I and other your councillors be about to bring to pass that your Majesty had never more tractable Parliament'.[1] Fitzwilliam canvassed Surrey, Sussex and Hampshire.[2] He visited Sir Richard Weston, under-treasurer of the exchequer since 1528 and MP for Berkshire in the Reformation Parliament. He was ill but promised to back Sir Anthony Browne in Surrey: he was elected. Fitzwilliam wanted the other county seat for his relative Sir Matthew Browne[3], but conceded to Cromwell, who wanted Christopher More. He arranged suitable candidates at Guildford. In Sussex he backed Sir John Goring and Sir John Gage: Lord Maltravers (speaking for the Earl of Arundel) and Sir John Dawtry promised to help. Midhurst, under the walls of Cowdray Castle, could be relied on to return 'ii honest men'.

Cromwell wanted to take advantage of Gardner's absence as ambassador to the French court: his list of nominees survives for the boroughs the Bishop of Winchester normally controlled.[4] In Portsmouth Fitzwilliam could use his influence as Lord Admiral to ensure the return of at least one member. Wriothesley was one candidate for Hampshire. Cromwell nominated the other. Both were returned despite Gardiner's opposition. Fitzwilliam tried to see 'honest men' returned according to Cromwell's wishes[5], but his information on seats was not infallible. He said Gardiner had already 'movid men after his own desires' for the Farnham seats, so he would not interfere unless Cromwell wished.[6] He was wrong here: Farnham sent no members to any Tudor Parliament. Clearly Fitzwilliam and Cromwell were then cooperating closely.

Little more than a year later Fitzwilliam was present at Cromwell's arrest and, with Norfolk, stripped the Garter insignia from him. What happened in the meantime?

1. BL, Cotton. MS Titus B i f° 259, (*LP* xiv (1) 538), (17 Mar. 1539), [ST. P. 1 600].
2. BL, Cotton. MS Cleop. E iv f^os^ 209-10, (*LP* xiv (1) 520), (14 March 1539).
3. For Weston and Matthew Browne see c.10.
4. BL, Cotton. MS Otho C x 218, (*LP* x p.1540, ii).
5. S.E. Lehmberg, *Later Parliaments of Henry VIII, 1536-1547* (Cambridge, 1977), pp.41ff.
6. Lehmberg, *Later Parliaments,* p43, quoting BL Cotton. MS Otho E. ix f° 77^v.

Negotiations with Lutherans

Contact was maintained with the German Lutherans during the 1530s[7]: they could put pressure on Charles and might be allies if he became hostile. Dr McEntegart suggests Henry 'was interested in the Schmalkaldeners not merely for their political usefulness but also as a consultative source to help establish his new Church and as possible co-religionists'. The failure of successive negotiations owed as much to their intransigence and their failure to send Melanchthon, the theological consultant Henry wanted to see, as to Henry's attitude.[8] Henry would not compromise on the Royal Supremacy or his own 'middle way' reformed catholicism. This did not preclude cherry-picking helpful ideas, nor seeking a limited alliance on the principle 'my enemy's enemy is my friend'.

Cromwell did not operate independently. In 1539 he told the German envoys:

> Er siehe unser maynunge den glauben betreffen aber wie die weldt iezt stehet wesz sich sin her der konnig halte wolle er sich auch halten [9]

This means he saw their point of view. It is not a ringing endorsement of Lutheranism, and it makes clear Henry was in charge. Dickens writes: 'On Wolsey's fall Henry personally assumed the supervision of external relations ... we seldom or never witness a purely Cromwellian negotiation'; G.W. Bernard sees no evidence of a Cromwellian negotiation at all.[10] Cromwell influenced policy and its execution: sending Barnes as envoy to the North German princes was hardly Henry's idea. But Henry always took the final decisions.

Discussions with the Lutheran envoys took place in the spring of 1539 at Cromwell's house. Audley, Tunstal, Fitzwilliam, Suffolk and Norfolk took part.[11] They formed a balanced team well able to brief Henry on the theological and diplomatic implications of linking with the Schmalkaldeners. We do not know what advice Fitzwilliam gave.

7. E.G. Rupp, *Studies in the Making of the English Protestant Tradition* (Cambridge, 1947), c.6.
8. R. McEntegart, *Henry VIII, the League of Schmalkalden and the English Reformation* (2002), p.217.
9. Merriman, *Life and Letters*, i 56, 61; Bernard, *The King's Reformation*, p.514.
10. A.G. Dickens, *Thomas Cromwell and the English Reformation* (1959), p.153.; Bernard, *The King's Reformation*, pp.533-42.
11. Rupp, *English Protestant Tradition* p.121. The text of Burchardt's report of the meeting is given in Merriman, *Life and Letters*, p273.

Hopes of agreement were dashed by news of an undertaking given by the Schmalkaldic League to the Emperor whereby the League undertook not to admit more members. The German delegates left on 31 May. The Act of Six Articles was passed next month, but the delegates knew the legislation was imminent, and it was not why the talks failed.

Fitzwilliam's presence at these talks is one of the only two instances where he was remotely involved in religious controversy. The other was in 1540 when Henry tried to defuse the quarrel between Gardiner and Barnes, when, by Gardiner's account,

> Barnes offered to yelde to his Highnes in his opinion. The Kynges Grace, syttinge secretely in his closet and havinge with him the late Erle of Southampton, the Mayster of the Horse that nowe is [Browne], me, [Drs Cox and Robinson], sayd "I am a mortall man ... I shall ... defende the truthe. And otherwise Barnes ... yelde not to me" Much more there was notably spoken by the Kynges Highness ...[12]

But Gardiner makes it clear that Fitzwilliam and the others were there to witness Henry's virtuoso display of theological learning, not to participate in a debate.

Legislation

On 28 May 1539 the Act of Precedence was passed. Previous orders of precedence had been linear: they went from the highest ranking man to the lowest. Examples of these are the commissions of the peace and the Calais Act. But within the Council there were the precedence of personal rank (a duke preceded an earl and so on) and the precedence of rank conferred by office (Chancellor, Treasurer, Keeper of the Privy Seal, etc). The solution reached (probably by Cromwell) was a 2-dimensional matrix where precedence was determined by a combination of personal rank and rank conferred by office.[13] The Act affected Fitzwilliam's seniority dramatically. Previously he sat in the Council as the second most junior earl; after it, as Lord Admiral, he was second most senior, after Oxford (great chamberlain). In 1540, on becoming Lord Privy Seal, he rose above all temporal peers except Audley (Lord Chancellor) and the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk.

12. J.A. Muller (ed), *The Letters of Stephen Gardiner* (Cambridge, 1933), p171. For the provenance of this letter see Muller's introduction.

13. For a full discussion see G. D. Squibb, *Precedence in England and Wales*, cc.1 and 2, especially pp.46-8; Miller, *Henry VIII and the English nobility*, pp.111-114; D. Starkey, *The reign of Henry VIII; Personalities and Politics* (2002 ed.), pp.107-8.

A. CROMWELL'S FALL

By 1539 Cromwell's position began to weaken. He tried to maintain his position by having Gardiner sent as ambassador to Paris and by effectively rusticating Norfolk, but this could not go on indefinitely, as Parliament was about to meet. Leonard Grey wrote to the King to report that George Paulet told him that Cromwell was out of favour and that Fitzwilliam and Sir William Paulet ruled all.[14] George Paulet had a grudge against Cromwell (see p.237) but probably reported what at least some people were saying.

In summer 1539 soundings were made for Cromwell's replacement. Fitzwilliam, Browne and Kingston 'put it into the King's head' that it was time to replace him by Tunstal. They visited him but he refused, saying '*Lubricus est primus locus apud reges*', a saw proven by the fall of Wolsey and More. There is no doubt the visit took place.[15] The source is one Chaytor who had (or was trapped into) a conversation with Cray, an agent of Cromwell, to whom Cray reported his conversation. Chaytor was examined and said he heard the tale from Lancelot Thornton, one of Tunstal's chaplains, who was also examined.

Henry must have approved, if not instigated the approach, which was strictly deniable. His government left no room for private initiatives. The timing is significant if considered with events in Calais. Lisle wrote to Hertford and others at the end of April. (see pp.117-8) The three visited Tunstal during the King's summer progress (June to August). Fitzwilliam's participation may have changed his relations with Cromwell. They had always worked together amicably and effectively as colleagues. Now when Cromwell saw a chance to eliminate Fitzwilliam he took it.

Anne of Cleves

In September 1539 the King's commissioners (Norfolk, Suffolk, Cranmer, Audley, Tunstal and Fitzwilliam) met Cleves envoys to negotiate a marriage treaty. Except for Audley, who was there to deal with legal questions, they were experienced diplomats. Cromwell took charge of logistics: on 21 September Fitzwilliam wrote ordering him on

14 NA, SP60/8, p.26., (*LP* xiv (1) 944), (9 May 1539). [ST. P. iii 126].

15. NA, SP1/155, f^{ps} 187-200, (*LP* xiv (2) 750); C. Sturge, *Cuthbert Tunstal: Churchman, Scholar, Statesman, Administrator* (1938), App. XVI and p.217.

behalf of the King to welcome the Cleves envoys and to give them priority during the negotiations.[16] The treaty was signed on 4 October. The marriage contract, a notarised statement on Anne's behalf completing an indissoluble union *per verba de praesenti,* was signed next day. The Cleves delegation undertook that on returning to England with Anne they would bring written evidence that she was not precontracted to Francis of Lorraine. The validity of Henry's marriage would be in doubt otherwise, but the Cleves envoys seemed not to realise the importance of this.

On 11 December 1539 Fitzwilliam, attended by his nephew John Cutte, met Anne at Calais to conduct her to England.[17] The Cleves ambassadors gave Fitzwilliam valuable gifts in gratitude for his favouring the marriage and asked him to advise Anne on the behaviour expected of her. He answered that as a faithful servant of the King he would be glad to promote love and affection between her and her husband.[18] He wrote to the King praising her appearance, which later got him into trouble.

They were delayed by bad weather for fifteen days. Fitzwilliam and Wotton set up a watch to tell them at once of any change. Anne asked to be taught card games to play with the King; Fitzwilliam taught her 'sent' (a game rather like piquet).[19] She invited him and some colleagues to supper, contrary to English protocol. Fitzwilliam had to make a spot decision, and accepted with nine others, including Lord William Howard, Sir Francis Bryan and Gregory Cromwell. He wrote that her manner while eating was regal.[20] While Fitzwilliam did his best to make himself agreeable to Anne he was also in charge of security. He reported in full to the King, and in less detail to Cromwell, and assigned two clerks to inform Henry about Anne's activities in Calais.

Fitzwilliam was among Anne's escort to her meeting with Henry at Greenwich on 3 January 1540, when Henry made clear his dislike of her. The wedding, fixed for two days later, was delayed. Henry told Cromwell and those who met the Cleves envoys to

16. NA, SP1/153, 126-30, (*LP* xiv (2) 200), (20 Sept 1539), [ST. P. I, pp.617].
17. Retha M. Warnicke, *The Marrying of Anne of Cleves* (Cambridge, 2000), pp.117-9.
18. NA, SP1/155, f^{os} 126-30, (*LP* xiv (2) 677), (13 Dec. 1539), [ST. P. vii, p.208].
19. Warnicke, *Anne of Cleves,* p.121.
20. NA, SP1/156 126-30.

find if they had evidence of the annulment of Anne's previous engagement. They only had sworn depositions. Fitzwilliam witnessed the instrument they signed, promising to produce the documents within three months.[21] The wedding took place on 6 January.

Only Cromwell, Butts and perhaps one or two others knew at the outset that Henry's marriage was not consummated Fitzwilliam was not told by Cromwell until 14 January, and not by Henry until just before Easter. Cromwell, who first met Anne at Blackheath, accused Fitzwilliam of overpraising her in his letters. They nearly cost Fitzwilliam his standing with the King: Browne feared for his life. He admitted lamely:

> Upon the first sight of her, [he] considered it was not time to dispraise her there, when so many had by reports and paintings so much extolled, [so he] by his letter much praise[d] her[22]

On 6 July (after Cromwell's fall) Fitzwilliam, Audley, Cranmer, Tunstall, Suffolk and Norfolk reported to the Lords that there were impediments to the King's marriage and got leave to seek his approval for an ecclesiastical inquiry into its validity.[23] Later Fitzwilliam gave evidence on the negotiations with the Cleves envoys and on the King's lack of will and capability to consummate the marriage.[24] He witnessed Anne's consent to the divorce on 11 July[25] and, with Suffolk and Wriothesley, met her to arrange her settlement, discharge her officers and servants (except her receiver-general Carew, the only German speaker) and appoint new ones.[26] Anne always liked Fitzwilliam for his kindness at Calais, and Olisleger, the Cleves envoy, addressed him as 'one whom the Duke of Cleves and his sister specially trust'.[27] After Cromwell's fall Audley, Norfolk and Fitzwilliam visited him in the Tower to gather statements for the annulment proceedings on the details of the marriage and how much Cromwell knew of

21. BL, Cotton. MS Otho C x f° 242, (*LP* xv, 91), (21 Jan. 1540), [G. Burnet, *History of the Reformation of the Church of England* (Oxford, 1826 ed.), I, ii, pp. 497-8].
22. J. Strype, *Ecclesiastical memorials relating chiefly to religion* (1722), p.309. He could have said he praised her manners, not her person (see above).
23. NA, SP1/161, f^os^ 36-8, (*LP* xv 843), (6 July 1540).
24. HMC: *MSS of the Marquis of Salisbury*, vol. i, pp.15-16, (*LP* xv 840), (7 July 1540); NA, E30/1470, (*LP* xv 861), (9 July). [Strype, *Ecclesiastical memorials,* p.454].
25. NA, SP1/161, f^os^ 97-100, (*LP* xv 872), (11 July 1540); E30/1471-2, (*LP* xv 925), (29 July).
26. BL, Cotton. MS Otho C x f° 248, (*LP* xv 874), (12 July 1540).
27. NA, SP1/165, f^os^ 201-3 , (*LP* xvi 833), (29 Nov. 1541), [ST. P. i 714, n.1].

its non-consummation. He was willing to tell all he knew.[28] Questioned about the preliminaries, Fitzwilliam Cranmer, Norfolk, Suffolk, Audley and Tunstall signed a deposition dealing specifically with the alleged precontract.[29] After Catherine Howard's execution William of Cleves wrote to English councillors, including Fitzwilliam, to see if Anne might be reinstated as queen.[30] We do not know Fitzwilliam's response, but nothing came of the approach.

The attainder of Cromwell[31]

Fitzwilliam and Norfolk stripped Thomas Cromwell of his Garter insignia when he was arrested on 10 June 1540. This is often seen as pure spite. In fact it was carried out by two senior Garter knights at the command of the Sovereign of the Order, whose property the insignia were. Ironically, Norfolk underwent the same degradation when arrested for treason in December 1546.[32] Until then Fitzwilliam's relations with Cromwell were generally thought at least amicable, though as we have seen they may have started to fray. Cromwell's support evaporated in a trice: Cranmer put in a plea; Sadler risked his position by taking a letter from Cromwell to the King. That was all.

Fitzwilliam took part in interrogating Cromwell, but otherwise seems not to have been involved in his attainder. One episode is mysterious. Kingston said Cromwell revealed a secret matter entrusted to him by Henry two weeks before his arrest, about 29 May. Cromwell denied telling anyone but Fitzwilliam about it on 6 June, on royal orders.

28. BL, Cotton. MS Titus B i f° 267, (*LP* xv 776), [Ellis, *Or. Letters,* 2nd ser., ii, 1601; BL Cott. MS Titus B i f° 409, (*LP* xv 822); HMC: *MSS of the Marquis of Salisbury*, vol i, p.12, (*LP* xv 823), [Burnet, *History of the Reformation,* I pp.193-6]; BL Cott. Otho C x 242, (LP xv 824), (dates from 12 to 30 June 1540).

29. HMC: *MSS of the Marquis of Salisbury*, vol. i, pp.15-16, (*LP* xv 840), (7 July 1540); Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials,* p.309, gives Fitzwilliam's testimony in full.

30. Warnicke, *Anne of Cleves,* p.248.

31. Cromwell's fall is fully examined in G.R. Elton, 'Thomas Cromwell's decline and fall', in *Studies,* i (Cambridge, 1974), p.220ff. I concentrate on Fitzwilliam's part.

32. *Sp. Cal.,*vi (1) no. 364, (*LP* xxi (2), 546), (14 Dec. 1546). Strictly speaking, only the collar of the Order had to be returned to the King: see S. Gunn, 'Chivalry and the Politics of the Early Tudor Court' in S. Anglo (ed) *Chivalry in the Renaissance* (Woodbridge, 1990), p.110.

What the 'secret matter' was is unknown. Retha Warnicke suggests that it probably related to Henry's decision to set up an inquiry into the validity of his marriage. Significantly, Kingston only came forward once Cromwell was safely in the Tower. Nevertheless, the episode suggests that four days before his fall, Cromwell and Fitzwilliam were still cooperating closely on the King's business.[33]

B. FITZWILLIAM AS LORD PRIVY SEAL

Foxe gives the following breakdown of religious views on the Council in 1540:

Table 10A: Religious views on the Council in 1540 according to Foxe

Protestants		
Canterbury (Cranmer)	Suffolk	Beauchamp (Hertford)
Lisle (Dudley)	Russell	Paget
Sadler	Audley	
Papists		
Winchester (Gardiner)	Durham (Tunstal)	Norfolk
Southampton (Fitzwilliam)	Anthony Brown	Paulet
John Baker	Rich	Wingfield

He continues:

> 'This division and separation of the council among themselves caused both these parts above mentioned, ... to suffer together. For, as the one part of the council called for the execution of Barnes, Garret and Jerome; so the other part, likewise, called for the execution of the law upon Powel, Fetherstone and Abel; which six, being condemned and draw to the place of execution ... where all the said six together, for contrary doctrine, suffered death; three by the fire, for the gospel; the other three, by hanging, drawing and quartering, for popery.'[34]

Foxe's list of Council members is wrong. He gets the titles of Dudley and Hertford wrong and omits Sussex, Gage and Cheney despite their frequent attendance (see pp.89-90), and also Sandys - all religious conservatives. Dudley probably had reforming tendencies even then, but Paget and Paulet conformed with future changes in religion without difficulty. Suffolk's protestantism was moderate and influenced by his

33. Warnicke, *The Marrying of Anne of Cleves,* p.213. (BL, Cotton. MS. Titus B i f° 267, *(LP* xv, 776), [Ellis, *Or. Letters,* II, ii, p160]. (12 June 1540). Cromwell refers to 'My Lord Admiral'. Russell's patent was issued during July (*LP* xv 850) but he evidently took up his post in June. The *LP* editors think Cromwell referred to Russell, but I follow Professor Warnicke in preferring Fitzwilliam: Cromwell was closer to him than to Russell.

34. *A&M,* v, p.439.

Forceful young wife.[35] Hertford's actions seem to have been largely opportunistic, without commitment to a single cause. As to Fitzwilliam, Pollard suggests he inclined to Cromwell's theological views. [36] There is no evidence to support this view. Fitzwilliam left no indication of his religious beliefs, but his close associates were all religious conservatives, and it is fair to conclude that he followed the King's conservative religious line. He was always Henry's man, not a member of a religious faction.

Henry determined religious policy, not the Council. By executing the six named by Foxe he signalled that deviation towards either radical protestantism or papalism was unacceptable - a harsh demonstration of commitment to the middle way. The Privy Council tilted much more towards religious conservatism than Foxe suggests but, as Dr Ryrie shows, at the time the divide between moderate reformers and moderate catholics was not as unbridgeable as it later became.[37]

Under Cromwell, both Lord Privy Seal and Secretary, actions formerly going through the Privy Seal were often initiated by the Signet or the King's sign manual, or even private letters from Cromwell.[38] Even so, the Keeper of the Privy Seal was still at the centre of administration. Fitzwilliam was an experienced administrator but no innovator, and during his term of office there were no major changes in administrative practice. The Privy Seal did not give Fitzwilliam Cromwell's power, although he evidently presided over the transaction of day-to-day business. Henry was not to have any other chief minister, and insofar as the Council had a leader it was Norfolk.

As Lord Privy Seal, Fitzwilliam kept up his connections with the world of espionage and counter-espionage. On 31 October 1540 Chapuys wrote to the Emperor:

> Last week an Italian physician [Agostini] attached to the King's household and very familiar with the Lord Privy Seal came to dine at this embassy on four different days. He is the king's spy and has come ... to learn what I am about and persuade me to intercede with your majesty for a closer and particular friendship and alliance ... ... I had no difficulty in guessing ... who had sent him to me. For in the course of conversation he alluded to certain facts which could

35. R.H. Bainton, *Women of the Reformation in France and England* (Minneapolis, 1975), pp.256-7; Evelyn Read, *Catherine, Duchess of Suffolk, a Portrait* (1962), c.3.

36. A.F. Pollard, *Henry VIII,* (1913), pp.393-4.

37. A. Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII,* (Cambridge, 2003), pp.2-4.

38. Elton, *The Tudor Revolution in Government,* pp.4-15, 268-9, 296-8.

not be known to him except through the channel of the Lord Privy Seal. [39]

Agostini may well have been a double agent.

The Wallop affair

1541 saw accusations of treason against Sir Thomas Wyatt and Sir John Wallop.[40] Wallop served several years in Paris, earning praise from Henry. The first hint that something was afoot comes in a letter from Chapuys to Mary of Hungary reporting that Wallop had been recalled and was to be Captain of Guines, adding:

> Some suspect Wallop had been recalled for fear he should withdraw, as the archdeacon of Lincoln [Pate] did: for he was suspected at the time that he first returned to France, when the King sent several persons to find out the truth.[41]

Marillac speculated to Francis on the reasons for Wallop's arrest after the event:

> *...maistre Wallop, ... revenant de vostre court hyer au soir arriva en ceste ville et ce matin a esté logé en la grosse tour comme accusé de trahison, et avec lui a esté mené le maistre portier de Calays [Sir Thomas Palmer], par où l'on présume que ce soit à cause de mesme charge qu'on print pieça le debitis, le sieur de Lisle. Un personnage d'autorité a dit A Marillac 'que c'estoit pour une vielle faulte don't la vérité s'est maintenant esclaircye'. L'on avoit aucunement parlé dudict maistre Wallop au temps que Cramwel vivoit, quant l'on feit ici bruyct qu'il s'en estoit fouy à Romme, et croy que dès lors l'on eust mys la main sur luy s'il eust esté en Angleterre.* [42]

Chapuys was correct. Pate was on a mission to the Emperor in 1540 when relieved by Knyvet and ordered home. Fearing for his life, he fled to Pole at Rome, being provided by Paul III to the see of Worcester in 1541. As Wallop was ambassador in Paris, the two naturally corresponded. Henry was sure they were colluding. His suspicions were heightened by Wallop's failure to secure the extradition of Blancherose, known by all to be a minor felon of no importance - except by Henry, convinced he was connected to

39. *Sp. Cal.* vi (1), p.285. (*LP* xiv, 214), Agostini, Wolsey's former personal physician, had been used as a spy by the Government and was probably a double agent.

40. Wyatt's case is examined in K. Muir, *Life and Letters of Sir Thomas Wyatt* (1963), pp.175-209 and Susan Brigden, 'The Shadow that you know: Sir Thomas Wyatt and Sir Francis Bryan at Court and in Embassy', *HJ,* 39, 1 (1996), p21 ff. Wallop's case is summarised in V.J. Watney, *The Wallop Family and their ancestry* (Oxford, 1928) vol i pp.xxix ff. It has not been considered by other historians. Much is unexplained about both cases.

41. *Sp. Cal.* vi (1), 493. (*LP* xvii 251) (16 April 1542)

42. Kaulek, p.276, (*LP* xvi, 606), (10 March 1541).

the House of York.[43] Henry wanted Wallop treated considerately. He was to be met without fuss at Sittingbourne by Sir Richard Long and brought to London. The operation was botched.[44] What happened when Wallop reached London - or the official version - was described in a letter from the Privy Council to Lord William Howard:

> ... he was sent for to the house of me, the Lord Privy Seal, [in Bath Place], where and my Lord Chancellor, my Lord Great Master [Suffolk], my Lord Admyral, and diverse others of the Privy Counsail were assembled to declare what was laid to him and to here what he could saye for himself in that behalf, which was observed in the most secrete and honeste sorte that could be. At first he stood very stiffly to his truth ... but when the King, of his goodness, caused his own letters to Pate 'that traitor' to be shown him, which whenne he ons saw and redd he cryed for mercy, knowledging his offences ... Nevertheless he made most ernest and harty protestations, then the same never passes him upon any evyl mynde or malicious purpose, but only upon wilfulness and ultraquidance [?] which he confessed had been in him ... Whereupon His Majesty, conceiving that the man did not at first denye his transgressions upon any purpose to cloke and cover the same, but only by slippernedss of memory ... hath forgiven him.[45]

More pressure may have been put on Wallop than the Privy Council letter (in effect a Government press release) suggests. Fitzwilliam and Audley were experienced interrogators. Fitzwilliam and Wallop were close associates, if not friends, but under Henry yesterday's dinner guest could be today's prisoner. Though writing to Pate seems a tenuous reason for Wallop's arrest, the real object was to try to find links with Pole, as is suggested by Wyatt's arrest, with which Fitzwilliam was not concerned: there the link was through Elizabeth Darrell.[46]

According to the official record Wallop and Wyatt were saved by the intercession of the Queen, Catherine Howard. Patricia Thomson suggests that in Wyatt's case this was due to the favour of the Howards[47], but Catherine's involvement in politics was minimal.

43. For an account of Blancherose, whose real name was Richard Hosier, see Kaulek, pp.219-233.
44. Long was of the Privy Chamber, being Master of the Buckhounds. *(DNB04).* For the botched operation see: NA, SP1/164, f^{os} 188-93, (*LP* xvi, 515, (5 Feb. 1541); NA, SP1/164, f^{os} 223-32, (*LP* xvi, 541), (18 Feb.), [ST. P. viii, p528]; NA, SP1/165, f^{os} 11-12, (*LP* xvi, 595), (4 Mar.), [ST. P. viii, p.539]; NA, SP1/165, f^{os} 13,14 , (*LP* xvi, 597), (6 Mar), [ST.P.viii. p.540].
45. NA, SP1/165, f^{os} 58-61, (*LP* xvi, 660), (26 March 1541), [ST.P. viii, p.544].
46. Fitzwilliam was not concerned with Elizabeth Darrell. Most of what is recorded about her is incorrect. She was Hertford's first cousin, so may have received preferential treatment.
47. Patricia Thomson, *Sir Thomas Wyatt and his background* (1964), p.73.

Formal intercession by a Queen went back centuries: it showed both King and Queen in a good light, providing useful publicity.[48] The main example of queenly intercession under Henry was after the Evil May Day riots, when his two sisters and his wife besought him to secure the rioters' pardon - a superbly stage-managed affair.

The Yorkshire Rising

The Yorkshire rising of 1541[49] was, after the Pilgrimage, the most serious conspiracy during Henry's reign. It is a measure of the efficiency of the police action by the Council of the North and Sir Robert Southwell that it was nipped in the bud before any actual rising took place: it was over before Fitzwilliam could be recalled from Calais, where he was inspecting fortifications and gathering intelligence (see pp.122-3).

Chapuys regarded Fitzwilliam as having a pre-eminent position in the government:

> I addressed [Henry] in the flattering terms recommended by the Lord Privy Seal, who knows his nature better than any man in England ... The Lord Privy Seal and Secretary [Wriothesley] are the two people who enjoy nowadays most authority and have most influence and credit with the King.[50]

Chapuys' sense of where power lay was usually right. Fitzwilliam's advocacy of a Disraelian approach to royalty shows that while personally loyal he saw Henry's faults. Norfolk had for the time being lost credit with the King because of Catherine Howard.

By the spring of 1542 Norfolk is alleged to have expressed resentment about Fitzwilliam's influence: 'See this little villain. He wants already to engross everything and do like Cromwell, but in the end he will pay for all.' This is based on one of Chapuys' reports, but we need to look at what Chapuys actually wrote. He had tapped in to Marillac's correspondence and quoted one of his reports:

> It is provoking that Norfolk has now retired to the country unless Parliament reassembles, and he [i.e. Marillac] has to negotiate with the Privy Seal, whose name is Feu Vuillem (called faulx vilain by Marillac) of whom he [Marillac] has circulated a report that Norfolk had said: "See this little villain....." [51]

48. See J.C. Parsons, 'Family, Sex and Power: the Rhythms of Medieval Queenship', in J.C. Parsons, *Medieval Queenship* (Stroud, 1994), pp.9-10.
49. A.G. Dickens, 'The West Riding Conspiracy' *YAJ* xxiii (1939).
50. *Sp. Cal.* vi (1) p.493. (*LP* xvii 251) (16 April 1542).
51. *Sp. Cal.* vi (1) p.114 (*LP* xvii, 251). Head, *The Ebbs and Flows of Fortune*, pp.197-8.

This was a time when Marillac was engaged in negotiations with the English government which were proving very difficult. (see p.71) He was evidently circulating propaganda to create discord in the English government. If England could not be persuaded to conclude an alliance with France it was vital that at least they should not enter one with the Empire. Fitzwilliam was probably singled out as the nominal head of the Privy Council and one who stood in high favour with the King.

Henry's northern progress

Fitzwilliam went with Henry on his Northern progress in the summer and autumn of 1541. He was at meetings of the Council attendant throughout except between 13 and 20 August, when he was at Hatfield Chase, and from 16 to 30 October (see below). He was responsible for some logistical aspects of the progress. He wrote to the Council on the best way for the King to travel from Bawtry to Scrooby - a journey of rather under two miles[52] - and made requisitions on the Earl of Shrewsbury (and no doubt others) for deer to be delivered to Hatfield Chase[53] for the King's hunting . They would be carted rather than driven if they were to arrive in good condition. The aim was to give Henry excellent hunting, and Fitzwilliam and his staff did a good job. At Hatfield Chase two hundred stags and does were slain, and Henry himself officiated at the destruction of 'a great quantity of young swans, two boats' full of river birds, and as much of great pikes and other fish'.[54] Such slaughter of deer suggests that they were driven in a battue. Henry could no longer hunt properly. Though he was steward of Hatfield Chase, it is unclear why Fitzwilliam, the Lord Privy Seal, should leave the council attendant to do tasks normally done by the Treasurer of the Household, a post he had not held for nearly five years. Perhaps this is more proof that Henry now trusted very few people.

C. THE FALL OF CATHERINE HOWARD

The story of Catherine's fall is well known[55], but presents some difficulties. Here again we concentrate on Fitzwilliam's role, which helps to elucidate what actually happened. Our knowledge of events before 12 November 1541 rests on the letter sent by

52. Longleat House, Portland Papers, PO vol I, f° 49.

53. HMC: *Talbot Papers in the College of Arms* (ed. G.R. Bathe), (1971), vol. P f^os^ 69 and 77.

54. NA, PRO 31/3, 1541 (*LP* xvi, 1130), [Bath Longleat MSS, ii, p.8].

55.. L. B. Smith, *A Tudor Tragedy: the Life and Times of Catherine Howard* (1961), c.6.

the Privy Council to Paget, ambassador to France, on that date. Some time in October one Lascelles came to Cranmer and informed him that his sister had told him that:

> Katherine Howard was not in deade a woman of that pureness and clenenes that she was esteemed but a woman who before she was joyned with the Kinges Majestie had lived most corruptly and sensuallye.

She then told Lascelles about Katherine's adventures with Dereham and Mannox. Cranmer then told Hertford and Audley, the councillors who were with him in London. It was agreed that Cranmer should inform the King, which he did on 2 November. Henry then consulted with Fitzwilliam, Russell, Browne and Wriothesley and an investigation was set in hand. The letter proceeds to describe the interrogation of Lascelles and his sister by Fitzwilliam, and the examination of Mannox and Dereham by Wriothesley. Catherine herself was interviewed by Cranmer, Audley, Sussex and Gardiner. She initially denied the accusations, but subsequently admitted them to Cranmer. At first Henry refused to believe the accusations, but when the investigations revealed there was substance to them, he broke down. The letter was signed by Audley, Fitzwilliam, Hertford, Gardiner, Sussex and Anthony Wingfield.[56]

This letter is the basis of the subsequent accounts given by Lord Herbert of Cherbury, the *State Trials* and all later historians, notably L. Baldwin Smith. But it presents difficulties over the timing of events in October and November 1541. The letter was clearly designed to influence opinion in Europe, and should be scrutinised as a government press release would be at the present day, taking into account not only what it says but what it does not say.

Cranmer gave Henry his written evidence on 2 November having 'a litle bifore hard' of Catherine's indiscretions before marriage. This does not mean he heard the news a day or so before. As we shall see, there are good grounds for thinking he and his colleagues Hertford and Audley had the evidence much earlier, probably in the first half of October, as L. Baldwin Smith admits.[57] If they heard of Catherine's teenage misdeeds

56. *PPC,* vii, pp.352-6.

57. Baldwin Smith, *Tudor Tragedy*, p.178. Professor Loades writes that Lascelles gave his information to Cranmer as late as 1 Nov. (*Henry VIII and his Queens,* p.121). The text of the Privy Council letter is quite consistent with an earlier date.

before mid-October they were taking a big risk if they did not tell Henry until 2 November. The choice of Cranmer to break the news does not necessarily mean that Hertford and Audley were too scared to tell Henry themselves. Matrimonial issues were the business of the Church, and he was the obvious choice.

In fact Fitzwilliam probably had the information by the middle of October. He was at a Privy Council meeting at Sleaford on 14 October but not the next at Collyweston on 16 October.[58] He was absent for the rest of the month. There must be a strong possibility that the councillors in London sent a message on about 14 October to Fitzwilliam telling him the news. As Household security expert and Lord Privy Seal he was the natural person to contact. In this scenario Fitzwilliam left for London at once to supervise the investigation. It was vital to get to the root of the matter before the facts leaked out. Fitzwilliam's departure needed explanation. He would need to tell Henry allegations had been made about the Queen needing immediate investigation.

There are further problems with the official account. On 26 October Chapuys wrote to Mary of Hungary that:

> on his return from York the King has given permission to the principal members of his Privy Council to go for change of air to their respective country houses On All Souls' Day [2 November] all are to meet again.[59]

Henry and his train made good time from Collyweston and arrived at Hampton Court on 24 October, allowing, if Chapuys' information was correct, the members of the Council attendant a week off before they reassembled. This did not happen. Instead they went to Windsor and back: there were meetings on 25 October at Chenies and on 26 October at Windsor, but no further ones are recorded until the Council met at Hampton Court on 30 October. The proceedings of the Council on 25 and 26 October are in the same handwriting as preceding and succeeding entries but entered on a separate piece of paper, suggesting the record was tampered with. The absence of

58. All references to places and attendances at Privy Council meetings are taken from *PPC* for the relevant dates.

59. *Sp. Cal.* vi (1) p.374, (*LP* xvi, 1292), (26 Oct. 1541)

records for 27-29 October does not mean the Council did not meet; if the Council did not sit this is usually noted and the reason given, but this practice was not invariably followed. Plainly something had happened which necessitated keeping the council attendant at Henry's side. Only the Catherine Howard affair fits.

On 1 November Henry offered a solemn mass of thanksgiving for the happiness the Queen had brought him. Next day Cranmer presented his information to Henry in writing in a public place 'with over much importunity'[60] (so everyone saw what he did). Was this a carefully set up charade in which everyone, including Henry, knew what part to play? Public events were rarely spontaneous in Tudor England. Nothing was left to chance. Henry VII lay dead for several days while arrangements were made for his son's accession, Henry VIII likewise. The ceremony of forgiveness for the 'Evil May Day' was carefully orchestrated. There is reason to think the same applied here.

Events after Henry was told of Catherine's misdeeds are documented in the letter to Paget, the reports of ambassadors (particularly Marillac) and public records. Henry consulted Fitzwilliam, Russell, Browne and Wriothesley and it was agreed what part each would play. Fitzwilliam interviewed Lascelles, the original informant, and his sister Mary Hall, who had first told him what had happened. (This could well have taken place in the latter half of October rather than in November). Wriothesley dealt with Dereham and Mannox. Fitzwilliam worked with Wriothesley to sift the evidence, visiting the dowager Duchess of Norfolk: they found her hard going. 'Much trash, baguiage and many odd ends'. She was taken to the Tower for further interrogation.[61] Fitzwilliam and Browne pressed the ladies of the court for incriminating evidence.[62] By 12 November it became clear that it was not just a matter of Catherine's premarital activities and the investigation widened to include her relationship with Culpeper. On 1 December Dereham and Culpeper went on trial at the Guildhall before a commission

60. J.G. Nichols, *Narratives of the Days of the Reformation,* Camden Soc., or. Ser. lxxvii, (1859), pp.259-60.

61. NA, SP1/168 f^{os} 140-1, (*LP* xvi 1445), (12 Dec. 1541) [ST. P. I 714]; NA, SP1/168, f^{os} 163-5, (*LP* xvi 1467), (21 Dec), [ST. P. I 722]

62. NA, SP1/168 f^{os} A85-6 (5 Dec); A..J. Slavin, *Politics and Profit: a study of Sir Ralph Sadler 1507-1547* (Cambridge, 1966), p.147.

headed by the Lord Mayor and including Fitzwilliam. Both were condemned to death. Early in December there was an approach by Cleves representatives seeking Anne's reinstatement, but nothing came of it.[63]

Audley, who had reservations about attainder, advised that to remove any suspicion of injustice, a delegation should wait on her to enable her to speak in her own defence.[64] A commission headed by Suffolk and Fitzwilliam did so; she made no defence, only asking that her family should not be blamed for her misdeeds and that her clothes should be passed on to her ladies. The Act of Attainder was passed and she was executed on 13 February, making a surprisingly Protestant end. Otwell Johnson, who was there, wrote: 'she uttered [her] lively faith in the blood of Christ only', not referring to the intercession of the saints.[65] Dr Starkey suggests she was coached by Cranmer, who was with her in her last days and with whom she apparently got on well.[66] She may have consulted him on a form of words. (It is not impossible Catherine did say 'I die a queen but I would rather have died the wife of Culpeper'. The *Spanish Chronicle* is unreliable but the author was there. As Barbara Winchester points out, Otwell was the servant of Sir John Gage, Constable of the Tower and had to be careful about what he wrote.[67])

What was the state of Henry's marriage? On 10 November Chapuys, recalled that he wrote the previous Lent that:

> this King, feigning indisposition, was ten or twelve days without seeing his Queen, or allowing her to come in his room, during which time there was much talk of a divorce, but owing to much surmise that she was with child, or because the means for a divorce were not arranged, the affair slept until the 5th [November]. [68]

There is plenty of evidence that Henry was not 'feigning indisposition'. The ulcer on his leg closed, and there were fears for his life. Marillac reported:

> *La visite que le roi d'Angleterre devait faire aux places maritimes qui sont du*

63. NA, SP1/168 f^os^ 140-4, (*LP* xvi 1387, 1445), (12 Dec. 1541); Kaulek, pp.374-5.

64. *LJ,* I, p.76.

65. NA, SP1/157, f^os^ 98, (*LP* xvii, 106), [Ellis, *Or. Letters* 1st series II, pp 128-9].

66. D. Starkey, *Six Wives*, p.684.

67. Barbara Winchester, *Tudor Family Portrait* (1955), p.39.

68. *Sp. Cal.* vi (1) no 204, (*LP* xvi 1328), (10 Nov.41).

> *côté de la France a esté différé par ung accident de maladye qui est advenu au dict seigneur estant en sa maison de Hamtempcourt, laquelle ces jours a semblé à aucuns médecins plus doubteuse qu'elle ne monstroit estre perilleuse aux aultres, d'aultant que c'estoit seullement une petite fiebvre tierce, qu'on povoit estimer debvoir plutost proufficter que nuyre audict seigneur qui est bien fort replet; mais il advint d'ailleurs que l'une de ses jambes pieça ouverte et en cest estat entretenue pour mainctenir sa santé se veint soubdainement à clorre, dont il se trouva esbay, car en cas pareil, depuis cinq ou six ans, il en cuyda mourir soubdainement, mais cette foys l'on y a si promptement remedié que le tout se porte bien pour l'heure et mesmement que la fiebvre s'en est allée.*[69]

Marillac supports Chapuys in writing that Catherine was thought to be pregnant.

> *... il y a ici commune oppinion que ceste nouvelle royne est grosse ... [Ce roy], a la vérité, semble qu'il le croyt, et se délibère si la chose se trouve vraye de la faire couronner à la Penthecouste.*[70]

This may have been why she was excluded. (D. Loades suggests Henry was keenly aware what a gross and unattractive figure he presented. But as his wife Catherine presumably knew what his body looked like - not a pretty sight at the best of times, with its 'pus-oozing flesh'[71]). Chapuys' reference to a possible divorce is echoed by Marillac.[72] It suggests Henry was already aware of Catherine's unsuitability. Whether he knew she was not a virgin on marriage is impossible to determine.[73] More to the point was that she was virtually uneducated, in marked contrast to Catherine of Aragon and Anne Boleyn, who were both highly intelligent and well educated women.

Henry could hardly divorce Catherine on suspicion barely a year after he parted from Anne of Cleves. Whether she was pregnant and if so when she lost the baby, is unclear: There had been rumours that she was pregnant the previous October, but nothing came

69. Kaulek, p.273.

70. Kaulek, p.289.

71. Karen Lindsey, *Divorced, Beheaded, Survived: a Feminist Reinterpretation of the Wives of Henry VIII* (Reading, MA, 1994), p.164.

72. Kaulek, p.231.

73. Loades writes 'How he managed not to notice that she had not come to him a virgin is something of a mystery' (*Henry VIII and his Queens,* p.118). Either he preferred not to notice or she took steps well known to French peasants for centuries. As she was well up in current contraceptive methods she would surely have known about them.

of it.[74] There does seem to be some evidence that a return to Anne of Cleves was considered a possibility. Chapuys wrote to Mary of Hungary about this time:

> *Madame, il me este donne a entendre de bon lieu que, se trouvant ces jours [deniers] cette royne ung peu pensive, le dit roy voulut sçavoir dont cela procedait, elle luy declaira estre pour quelque bruyt que courroit quil y avoit suspicion quil ne voulaist reprendre celle de Clèves, a qui reponda [le] roy quelle avoit tort de penser telles choses ny dy adjouster foy, et quant il seroit bien a marier si navoit il garde de reprendre la dite de Clèves, ce quest a croire considerant sa nature de non retourner en affection de personne quil aye habandonne depuis lavoir une foys aimee, si estoit ce opinion de plusieurs ... quil se reconcilleroit avec la dit de Clèves.* [75]

Henry's little speech must have made Catherine more pensive than ever. Wives rarely welcome discussion of their possible successors, and she would have been well aware of what had happened to her predecessors when Henry's eye wandered elsewhere.

In public, as evidence against Catherine mounted, Henry raged, waved a sword and called for her to be tortured.[76] In private, he was more relaxed. Some time before 8 November Marillac visited him and found:

> *... ce roy estant avec les dames en sa maison de Hantemcourt, aussi gay, joyeulx et déliberé que je l'ay oncques veu.*[77]

On 11 February the commission which visited Catherine Howard before her attainder reported to the Lords. Suffolk opened, followed by Fitzwilliam. The House of Lords Journal report is worth quoting in full:

> *Interea autem temporis Communes accersuntur, Dux Suff. Magnus Magister Hospitii Domini Regis, gravissima Oratione, declarabat, se, cum suis Collegis, delegatam sibi functionem apud Reginam prestitisse.*
>
> *Atque eam primo agnoscere et palam confiteri Crimen suum, quod patravit in Deum Optimum Maximum, in benignum Principem, denique in totam Gentem*

74. Kaulek, p.231. The incidence of spontaneous abortions among Henry's wives and court ladies (e.g. the Countess of Worcester) is remarkable. One reason that might be considered is lead poisoning. A pale complexion was essential for women (Anne of Cleves was criticised for being too brown). To achieve this ladies used a cosmetic cream containing white lead, which they rubbed over their faces, shoulders and breasts. Lead can be absorbed through the skin and is an effective abortifacient; it can also be teratogenic.

75. *Sp. Cal.,* vi (1), p328, (*LP* xvi, 864), (26 May 1541)

76. Kaulek, p.370.

77. Kaulek, p.352.

Anglicanam; tum Veniam a Deo, deinde a ceteris postulare; supplicare Regie Majestati, ut ne suum Crimen universo ipsius Generi aut Familie imputetur; sed ut ejus Majestas, tametsi ipsa per se indignissima sit, que aliquid omnino debeat impetrare, immensam tamen ejus Misericordiam, et in omnes singularem Beneficentiam, in Fratres quod ipsius extendere pariter et exercere non gravetur. Postremo orare Regiam Majestatem, ut liceat sibi aliquid suarum Vestium impartire illis Ancillis, quas ab initio Ablegationis sue Comites habuit, quibus alioqui non habet quo ipsarum Labores queat demereri.

Quam quidem Orationem Comes Southt. Privati Sigilli, totidem pene verbis confirmavit. Hoc etiam adjicens...[78]

The Journal then breaks off its account of Fitzwilliam's speech and abruptly reports the adjournment of the House; clearly he had not finished. The editor of the *State Trials* concluded 'it was a trick of state to prevent posterity from being acquainted with some matters not consistent with the respect they then paid to their grand monarch' (a touch of Cobbett here?), but Henry and his ministers were more concerned with the present. Clearly Fitzwilliam's speech referred to matters they did not want broadcast.

The official version fails to explain why in the latter part of October senior ministers knew about Catherine's misdeeds but not Henry. The scenario presented here avoids this difficulty. It also suggests Fitzwilliam was involved very early on, which is what we might expect. Henry probably knew what was happening in mid-October, and the interviews may have started before he returned to London. Cranmer thus submitted his *dossier* when Henry already knew its contents, enabling Henry, the least magnanimous of men, to indulge in an impressive show of magnanimity. The latter part of Fitzwilliam's speech may have been suppressed in the *Lords Journal* because he, maybe inadvertently, revealed the true sequence of events. All this does not affect the guilt of Catherine and her lovers, though the official account may omit significant points. Henry's infatuation with and marriage to Catherine was plainly a coup for the religious conservatives. Was her fall and execution a coup for the reformers? While the London councillors and Lascelles were all on the reforming side, once Lascelles' information had come to light the matter could not be swept under the carpet. The investigation, once started, was under Fitzwilliam's direction, with his brother and Wriothesley as his main lieutenants. Sadler, installed on 11 November as secretary to the King, leant

78. *LJ* I, p.176. (11 Feb. 1542).

towards reform and was friendly with Cranmer. He took some part in the enquiry, but as an instrument of the King's will, not on his own initiative.[79] There is no indication that he and Fitzwilliam diverged in any way in the course of the investigation, and on this occasion we find religious conservatives and reformers acting together.

Lucy Browne

A postscript to the Catherine Howard affair suggests that Fitzwilliam's niece Lucy may have been caught up in it. On 5 December 1541 he wrote to Sadler and Browne:

> ...having received your lettres brooder immediately according to the pourport thereof, I wrote my lettres to my Lord Admyralle [Russell] and enclosed therein my neces confessiyon, causing oon of my servants to ride therewith alle night so that he arrived at his house before day. Being now returned with advertisement from my said Lord Admyralle that Mistres Garnish, upon examination of the mattier, utterly denieth that she ever had any such wordes to my Ladie Lucie as she confessed, as I doubte not he hath or this tyme declared unto you. The point thereof resting nowe in the averment of the tone and denyalle of the tother.

The matter had evidently come before the Privy Council. Fitzwilliam goes on to state that Mistress Garnish had previously accused Lucy of owing her money; he had sent his servants Fitzwilliam and Griffith to Hampton Court to investigate and they had found this accusation to be untrue. Fitzwilliam wrote in so guarded a manner that it is hard to know just what happened, 'And so the like inconstancy may happenne to her in this matter. [80] It seems Mistress Garnish accused Lucy Browne, one of the Queen's ladies at Hampton Court, of something presumably connected to the Catherine Howard affair: Sadler and the Privy Council would hardly be involved in a purely private matter.

Mistress Garnish may have been no more than a mischief maker who took advantage of the Queen's affair to make false accusations against a colleague she disliked. Lucy's 'confession' may have been only what we would now call a witness statement. We do not know what subsequently happened - there is no mention of Lucy in the *Privy Council Proceedings*, and she emerged without a stain on her character. The episode

79. Slavin, *Politics and Profit*, pp.145-8.

80. NA, SP1/168, f^{os} 55-6, (*LP* xvi 1411). His servant Fitzwilliam was almost certainly William Fitzwilliam II, Fitzwilliam's chief of staff (see p.345), not John Fitzwilliam, as Vodden suggests.

shows Fitzwilliam, engaged in time-consuming investigation of the Queen's infidelities, taking time to act on behalf of his niece, Anthony Browne's daughter.

Conclusions

In the Catherine Howard case Fitzwilliam was once again the King's chief inquisitor within the Household , becoming involved at a very early stage. What reports he made to Henry personally we do not know. Fitzwilliam's involvement shows a high degree of trust on Henry's part - a trust which by 1541 Henry extended to very few.

D. THE SCOTTISH EXPEDITION AND FITZWILLIAM'S DEATH

By late summer 1542 England was on the verge of war with Scotland.[55] Norfolk, Fitzwilliam, Browne and Tunstall went north to negotiate with the Scots or otherwise coerce them into surrender.

By September 1542 Norfolk was leading an army against them. Fitzwilliam was second in command and Browne, as Master of Horse, led the cavalry. It is hard to see why Fitzwilliam was appointed. His last military experience was nearly twenty years earlier; then he only led a light cavalry troop. Hertford, Lisle (Dudley) and Russell all had recent military experience. He was also ill. Norfolk, Fitzwilliam, Browne and Tunstal, were all religious conservatives, and may have been deliberately sent north while the reforming Privy Council members stayed in London. Perhaps also, as during the Pilgrimage of Grace, Fitzwilliam was sent to watch Norfolk, whom Henry never trusted.

Fitzwilliam had a bad attack of the stone, which required complete rest. Dr Butts gave him pills. Though they were only a palliative Fitzwilliam got much relief from them, writing while on campaign:

> I pray youe recommende me to Buttes, and thanke him for his pylles, I promise youe I wolde not have forgone them at this tyme for all the good I have.[56]

We do not know their content, but the drugs normally used for the stone were opiates and stupefacients. He would be alert in neither negotiation nor battle.

55. For the background to this invasion see C. Patrick Hotle, *Thorns and Thistles: Diplomacy between Henry VIII and James V 1528-1542* (Lanham MD 1996), pp.172-5.

The appointment was made at the last minute. Marillac wrote on 16 and 23 August and 2 September that Fitzwilliam was going to Calais to reinforce Guines.[57] The original plan was for the army to meet on 27 September. This was postponed while talks with the Scots continued at York: except for Tunstal all the commissioners (Norfolk, Fitzwilliam and Browne) had military commands.[58] It was soon clear the Scots had no powers to treat, and were there to delay rather than conduct serious business. Norfolk at once prepared to invade Scotland, despite a lack of supplies. Plans for invasion were delayed by the Scots' pledge that James would meet Henry at York and perhaps journey to London with him: Henry insisted on a signed promise to release all English prisoners and a detailed schedule for James's journey. To put pressure on the Scots he wanted to pillage the lowlands and raid the northern isles, which for some reason he thought were the breadbasket of Scotland.[59] Norfolk knew he had just enough supplies for a punitive raid. Logistics were poorly planned: beer was short, so men had to drink water, a health risk. Fuel was scarce. Fitzwilliam wrote that Sir Thomas Wharton thought the Scots would carry out a scorched earth policy.[60] Already very ill, he wrote:

> ... the more I come into this mater and affaire, the more sorowe commeth to my herte. Surelie I suppose there was never was so greate an enterprise purposed and so ill provision made'. [61]

Provisions came at the beginning of October. Fitzwilliam wrote to Wriothesley:

> Thankes be to God the victailles and provision sent from London is all arrived at Newcastell in saufetie ... Mr Secretarie, I assure youe I have been veray yll at ease ever sithence I came to this towne, but the good newes of the commeng of thies thinges hath nowe made me all hole'.[62]

56. BL, Add. MS 32,648 f° 29 (*LP* xvii, 912), (6 Oct. 1542), [*Ham. P.* i, 200].
57. Kaulek , pp.451, 454, 460.
58. Hotle, *Thorns and Thistles,* p.176.
59. BL, Add. MS 32,647 f° 162, (*LP* xvii 799), (15 Sept. 1542), [*Ham. P.* i, 163].
60. BL, Add. MS 32,647 f° 223, (*LP* xvii 828), (23 Sept.), [*Ham. P.* i, 177].
    BL, Add. MS 32,647 f° 242, (*LP* xvii 856), (27 Sept); [*Ham. P.* i, 185].
61. BL, Add. MS 32,647 f° 223, (*LP* xvii 828), (23 Sept.), [*Ham. P.* i, 177].
62. BL, Add. MS 32,648 f° 35, (*LP* xvii 921), (7 Oct.), [*Ham. P.* i, 202]. Now the term 'ill at ease' suggests mental discomfort. Then it described a physical state. On 12 Oct Norfolk wrote: 'My Lord Pryve Seale hath be ill at ease this viii or ix days ... [he] is so ill that I feare him to be in extreme danger.' (BL, Add. MS 32,648 f° 48, (*LP* xvii 940), [*Ham. P.* i, 207]). Clearly Fitzwilliam was seriously ill before he set out for Newcastle.

But there was still a serious shortage of transport and packaging.

Between 7 and 12 October he made the long journey from York to Newcastle, arriving by litter: it killed him. By then he was too ill to sign the commissioners' joint letter. His colleagues reported the next day 'with weeping eyes, that my lord Privy Seal is in such case that his man Patric thinks him past remedy'. He died on 15 October[63], having received the last rites from his old friend Tunstal the previous day.[64] Browne wrote to Wriothesley asking him to comfort Mabel and find out his brother's instructions in his will as to his burial. Meanwhile his body was lying coffined in the local parish church, 'where he shall have service over him till he be removed'.[65] He was honoured in death.

> 'A brave Lord, and so much esteem'd, that for the honour of his memory, his standard was born in the fore-ward in all this expedition' [66]

Chapuys at first heard that Fitzwilliam died of plague, writing to Mary of Hungary '...a great loss, for he was a wise and prudent personage, and most devoted to the Emperor's service'.[67] He subsequently reported that he had died of 'his ordinary malady of the stone' and that Wriothesley had visited Mabel and had taken away 'quelques paques et besognes' belonging to the King.[68]

Norfolk wrote that 'he would rather have one of mine armies broken than to miss his company', but wrote two weeks later to Gardiner and Wriothesley asking them to help

63. BL, Add. MS 32,648 f° 46, (*LP* xvii 941), (12 Oct. 1542), [*Ham. P.* i, 207].
BL, Add. MS 32,648 f° 54, (*LP* xvii 943), (13 Oct.), [*Ham. P.* i, 209].
BL, Add. MS 32,648 f° 56. (*LP* xvii 944) (13 Oct.), [*Ham. P.* i, 210].
BL, Add. MS 32,648 f° 61 (*LP* xvii 950), (13 Oct.), [*Ham. P.* i, 212].
BL, Add. MS 32,648 f° 63 (*LP* xvii 951), (15 Oct.), [*Ham. P.* i, 213].
64. Sturge, *Cuthbert Tunstal,* p.239.
65. BL, Add. MS 32,648 f° 63, (*LP,* xvii, 951), (15 Oct.).[*Ham. P.* i, 213].
66. Herbert, *King Henry the Eight*, p.547.
67. *Sp. Cal.*, vi (2), p.69) (*LP* xvii, 963), (18 Oct. 1542). Machyn also says he died of plague.
68. *Sp. Cal.,* vi, (2), p.74, (*LP* xvii, 1017), (2 Nov. 1542).

him obtain Fitzwilliam's London house, Bath Place.[69] To be fair to Norfolk, he also wrote to Gardiner and Wriothesley hoping the king would make Browne his brother's heir in the name and lands of Southampton - a suggestion which was turned down. [70]

In his will Fitzwilliam asked to be buried with his wife in a new chapel in Midhurst parish church if he died within 100 miles of it. He was presumably buried at Newcastle, but his tomb is lost. He left the King 'his great ship with all her tackle'[71], and his collar of the Garter, with his best George beset with diamonds'.

69. BL, Add. MS 32,648 f° 112, (*LP* xvii 997). [*Ham. P.* i, 227] In 1539 Henry made the bishop of Bath and Wells exchange Bath Place for the property of the Minoresses, east of the City. An Act of Parliament (31 Hen. VIII, c27) granted it to Fitzwilliam and his issue; he took possession by August. It was granted to Sir Thomas Seymour in 1545 for a payment of £700. (BL, Add. MS 10,110 f° 257, (*LP*, xvii, 997)); *LP* xx(2), 910 g.77.

70. BL, Add. MS 32,648 f° 56, (*LP* xvii 944) (13 Oct.), [*Ham. P.* i, 210].

71. Marillac reported in October 1540 that:

> *Oultre les navires de ce roy, Sire, il ne se peult affermer qu'il y ayt en Angleterre sept ou huict navires qui passent quatre ou cinq cens tonneaulx, dont les troys sont à celuy qui est maintenant Privé séel, qui naguères estoit admiral.* (Kaulek, p.227).

Presumably the other two ships had been disposed of.

12. FITZWILLIAM'S ASSOCIATES

This chapter looks at Fitzwilliam's associates, beginning with the small group of family and friends with whom he had the closest links (the 'inner circle'). It then considers a group which were no quite so closely connected, but with whom he still had significant associations (the 'outer circle') and some more distant associates at national level. Local connections in Surrey, Hampshire and Yorkshire are then examined. The chapter ends with his remaining Fitzwilliam and Clifford kin. Most of the people examined are in the *Dictionary of National Biography, 2004 edition* and/or *the History of Parliament,* which should be consulted for full details of their careers: the sketches here concentrate on their links to Fitzwilliam.. Those not in *DNB04* or *HP* are marked with an asterisk and given fuller treatment.

That Household officers should largely share a common background was nothing new, but it is striking that many of the Household officers in the 1520s and 1530s were closely linked by family relationships and business dealings and, as references in wills and property transactions show, were clearly close personal friends. They formed a group consisting of Fitzwilliam, his brother Sir Anthony Browne, Browne's father-in-law Sir John Gage and Gage's brother-in-law Sir Henry Guildford. Sir William Kingston was closely associated with them.

The inner circle of Fitzwilliam's closest associates.

Anthony Browne (c1500-1548), Fitzwilliam's half-brother, was his closest associate. He was also probably brought up as a henchman. He became Knight of the Body in 1522 and Gentleman of the Privy Chamber in 1526. He was a member of the 'privy' council by 1536. In the 1530s he acted as Fitzwilliam's deputy on several occasions, particularly in naval affairs, though he had no official position. Both he and his brother were deeply involved in Anne Boleyn's fall but later ran into trouble for allegedly supporting Mary's restoration (see p.163). Browne soon returned to favour, taking part against the Pilgrimage of Grace. In 1539 he became KG and Master of the Horse and was returned as MP for Surrey in the Parliament. The same year. Cromwell complained that Lisle wrote to Browne, not himself, about religious troubles in Calais. His executors included Paulet, his father-in-law Sir John Gage and Sir John Baker.[1] He

1. WSRO, SAS-BA/19.

was a religious conservative. Though a competent military commander he had a petulant streak which probably debarred him for the highest political office.

Sir John Gage[2] (1479-1556) was son of William Gage of Burstow and Agnes Bolney of Firle, in Sussex., where he lived. The Gages came from Gloucestershire, perhaps accounting for his closeness to Sir William Kingston, from the same shire. Gage married Philippa, daughter of Sir Richard Guildford, Comptroller of the Household in 1522. He sided with the Guildfords in their feud against Lord Bergavenny leading to disturbances at Aylesford and Maidstone in 1503.[3] With Guildford's patronage he was Esquire of the Body by 1503, continuing under Henry VIII. By 1522 he was deputy to Sir Nicholas Vaux, captain of Guines. Vaux wanted him replaced, but Sir William Sandys, Treasurer of Calais, supported him, stressing his 'wisdom, personage and hardiness' and his good service to the King. He was under Fitzwilliam's command at Guines in 1524. Knighted by 1525, in 1526 he became Vice-chamberlain of the Household under Lord Sandys[4]; either the Guildford connection or his friendship with Sandys may have contributed to his promotion. Elected for Sussex in 1529, he supported Norfolk, the magnate whose lands lay closest to his own. Cromwell approached Gage to ask Norfolk to provide a seat for him.

In the mid-thirties Fitzwilliam sent two letters to Cromwell about Gage, who had left court in odd circumstances:

> Maister Vicechamberlayn yesternighte departed from the Kinges Highnesse after such a soorte as I am sorye to here. And as Mister Kingston sheweth me, the said Maister vicechamberlayn shewed hym, the Kinges said Highness had licenced hym to departe him home, and soo toke he his leave of him with the water standing in his ees. Good Maister Crumwelle I beseche you to remembre and consider the olde fryndeship that hath beene between the said Maister Vice-Chamberlayn and you, and how that kindnes and fryndship is yo bee shewed

2. A comprehensive account of Gage's career is given in D. Potter, 'Sir John Gage, Tudor Courtier and Soldier, *EHR* (2002), pp.1109ff. For his links with the Johnsons see Barbara Winchester, *Tudor Family Portrait.*
3. A. Dunn, 'Inheritance and Lordship in Pre-Reformation England: George Neville, Lord Bergavennny (c1470-1535), *Nottingham Medieval Studies* xlviii (2004), p.124.
4. NA, SP1/24 119-20, (*LP* iii(2), 2222); BL Cotton. MSS, Calig. E ii f^{os} 122 and 119. (*LP* iii(2), 2413); ESRO: SAS/G13/106; SRL 1/1/1. *DNB04* stresses Sandys' patronage; the Guildford link was probably also important.

> between fryndes, specially in tyme of necessitie, and that ye wille not oonly mocion and enduce hym to reatorne unto the Court within a fornet but also that ye wil be a meane unto the Kinges said Highnesse for the opteyning of His Graces favour towards the said Maister Vicechamberlayn and the bringing hym unto the rowme and state he was before, as my trust is ye wille.[5]

And, later:

> Sir, this shal be to advertes yow that I have spoken with Mayster Vicechamberlayn at goud layser and fynally I fynd hym a man more desposed to sarf god then thow world. Yet ther is syche honeste in thow man that I dare warrand yow next God he lofes thow king abof all thenges in thys world. And thereof I dare aventor my lyf and fyndes so myche tendnes in yow that loke what ye woll advys hym to do and that well he follo setting is houne abetyd apart and heffere condesshon.[The last six words seem corrupted] [6]

Dr Potter writes: 'We have no direct evidence for the reason for Gage's withdrawal from court in 1533-4, which may have been for purely private or spiritual reasons'.[7] He may have entered the Sheen Charterhouse for a spell about then[8], suggesting a religious crisis or a nervous breakdown. Before 1536 he resigned, but attended the Council in the Pilgrimage crisis and was at Prince Edward's baptism and Jane Seymour's funeral. After Cromwell's fall he succeeded Kingston as Comptroller of the Household and Constable of the Tower, entering the Privy Council on Kingston's death. He was made KG the following year. He was a religious conservative.

Sir William Kingston (c1476-1540) came from Gloucestershire. Called by Hall 'a strong and a tall knight',[9] under Henry VII he gained several Household posts and was one of Henry's early jousting companions. On Henry VIII's accession he became esquire of the body. He was knighted after Flodden. After the 'expulsion of the minions' in 1519 he was one of the knights named to reform the privy chamber[10]. He was captain of the guard in 1523, constable of the Tower in 1524, Councillor by 1533, vice-chamberlain of the Household 1536-9, comptroller and KG in 1539. He signed the petition to the pope for Henry's divorce, yet in 1535 Chapuys wrote that if war

5. NA: SP1/78 f° 117. (*LP* vi 965), (10 Aug 1533). [Potter, 'Gage', p.1123]
6. NA: SP1/78 f° 118. (*LP* vi 966). [Potter, 'Gage', p.1123]. Vodden dates this before the previous reference, but it must have been written shortly afterwards.
7. Potter, 'Gage' p.1124.
8. Potter, 'Gage', p.1131.
9. Hall, *Henry VIII*, i, p.152.
10. Hall, *Henry VIII*, i, p.178.

came and Catherine and Mary were put in the Tower, he would be 'a good servant to your majesty and the ladies'. (Chapuys was not infallible: he also reported that Lord Bray, a very minor baron, would write to major figures to raise them against the government) [11] Kingston went on to have a respectable career - unlikely if he had been associated with the Pole/Exeter group. He may have been a Government plant: his wife's link to Elizabeth Barton made his adherence to the 'Aragonese' cause plausible.

Returned for Gloucestershire in 1529 and 1536, he often acted as liaison with the Lords. By 1536 he was one of Henry's inner council. He led 500 Gloucestershire men against the Pilgrimage of Grace. He was prominent in the 1539 Parliament, bringing nine bills from the Commons to the Lords in the first two sessions. He died on 14 Sept. 1540. His executors were his wife, Fitzwilliam and Sir Anthony Browne. His strong religious conservatism was shown by his hysterical speech denouncing the evangelical Thomas Broke during the Commons debate in 1539 on the Act of Six Articles.[12]

Sir Henry Guildford (1489-1532) was son of *Sir Richard Guildford* (c1450-1506), a leader in the Kent rising against Richard III in 1483.[13] Sir Richard joined Henry in exile, and after Bosworth became master of ordnance in the Tower, knight of the body, master of the horse, spymaster, councillor and comptroller of the Household. His expenditure in the King's service nearly bankrupted him and he left office a year before his death on pilgrimage to the Holy Land.[14] Gage was one of his executors.[15]

Sir Henry was about the same age as Fitzwilliam. Early companion of Henry VIII as prince and King, he was esquire of the body and master of the revels by 1513, Master

11. NA, PRO 31/18, (*LP* viii, 327), (4 March 1535).
12. *A&M.* v, pp.504-5.
13. A.E. Goodman, *The wars of the Roses: Military Activity and English Society 1452-97* (1981), pp.86-8.
14. P.W. Fleming, 'Charity, Faith and the Gentry of Kent', in A.J. Pollard (ed) *Property and Politics: Essays in later mediaeval English history* (Gloucester, 1984), p.44. S.J. Gunn sees Guildford's departure on pilgrimage as a result of political failure ('The court of Henry VII, in S.J. Gunn and A Janse (eds), *The Court as a Stage* (Woodbridge, 2006), p.132-3). It may also have been a wish to escape his creditors. The issues were of course linked.
15. NA, C1/807/67.

of the Horse in 1515 and councillor in 1516. At some time during these years he became a Gentlemen of the Pirivy Chamber. He was purged in the expulsion of the minions in 1519, but remained Master of the Horse. In 1521 Henry complained of being unattended in the Privy Chamber and asked to have him back.

He served with Fitzwilliam as provost marshal in the Spanish campaign of 1511 and fought at Brest and Tournai, being made knight banneret. He attended the Field of Cloth of Gold and became Comptroller of the Household in 1522 and KG in 1526. In 1527 he and Sir Thomas Wyatt ran the spectacle given to the French ambassadors who came to London to sign the Treaty of Westminster.[16] With Fitzwilliam, he was one of the *milites et doctores in Parliamento* signing the letter of 13 July 1530 urging the Pope to grant the King's divorce. He was in the delegation that tried unsuccessfully to persuade Catherine to obey the King's wishes but had doubts. Chapuys reported in 1531 that he and Fitzwilliam spoke robustly in Catherine's favour to the King.[17] (see pp.150-1) and later:

> 'Guildford, the Controller, said it would be the best deed in the world to tie all the doctors who had invented and supported this affair in a cart, and send them to Rome to maintain their opinion or meet with the confusion they deserve'.[18]

Anne saw him as a threat and warned him that as Queen she would have him dismissed. He resigned at once and initially refused Henry's request to reconsider.[19] Henry persuaded him to change his mind, saying he should ignore 'women's talk': he was Comptroller till his death in 1532.[20] Anne got much of his plate.[21]

As a classical scholar he had intellectual interests rather unusual in a gentleman in the early 1500s, being a correspondent of Erasmus. His dislike of Anne did not mean he was against any religious reform: he spoke in the Commons against high probate fees,

16. NA, E36/227. S. Thurley 'The Banqueting House: The Reception of 1527' in D. Starkey (ed), *Henry VIII: a European Court in England* (1991), c.5.
17. NA, PRO 31/18, (*LP* v 216) (20 Ap. 1531).
18. *Sp. Cal.,* iv (2), p,177, (*LP* v 287, p.138), (6 June 1531).
19. *Sp. Cal.,* iv (2), p,176, (*LP* v 287, p.137), (6 June 1531).
20. NA, E101 42/15, (*LP* v 686) (1 Jan 1532); NA, SP1/70, f^{os} 84-95, (*LP* v 1064 (May 1532). Paulet was not appointed his successor till after his death in May 1532.
21. NA, SP1/72 f^{os} 9-13, (*LP* v 1685), (Dec 1532).

and helped Tyndale early in his career (but for his translation of Isocrates, not his religious opinions).[22] He was probably an Erasmian catholic. Surviving documents show him in frequent property and financial transactions with Gage.[23] Most also involve Browne, Fitzwilliam and Kingston. They clearly formed a tightly knit group, often acting together in financial and property markets. Sir Henry's 1527 portrait by Holbein depicts a man with a massive frame. He was evidently sensitive about his weight, as the preliminary sketch shows him with a noticeably fleshier face than the finished portrait.

His brother *Sir Edward Guildford* (c1479-1535) was Esquire of the Body at Henry's accession. From 1510 he ran royal business in France. In 1521 he became Warden of the Cinque Ports. He had land dealings with the 'inner group'[24] but less than Sir Henry.

Sir John Dudley was Sir Edward's ward and son-in-law. Cromwell pencilled him in to succeed Gage as Vice-Chamberlain in 1534, but he never gained Household office. His links with the inner group were shaken by a lawsuit over Sir Edward's lands, when Gage tried unsuccessfully to act as mediator.[25] In the later 1530s he was Vice-Admiral, but his links with Fitzwilliam seem to have been strictly professional.

The outer circle

William Paulet (c1480-1559)[26] was steward of the diocese of Winchester under Foxe (d1528) and took over the bishop's power base after Wolsey's death (see pp.198-9). He was a JP and served as sheriff three times before 1522. Knighted by 1525, he was

22. D. Daniell, *William Tyndall, a Biography* (1994), pp.85-9.
23 NA: C1/807/67; E328/92; ESRO: SAS/G4/7(3), SAS/G12/4, SAS/G21/7, SAS/G21/8, SAS/G22/50,51; SAS/G43/11,19,22; CKS U/120/T1/24/1. WSRO, SAS/BA-3.
24. NA: E210/4861, 9449, 10790 (all relating to the same transaction); Centre for Kentish studies U120/T1/24/1.
25. For the details see D.Loades, *Dudley*, p.30.
26. The contemporary verse life of Paulet (S.E.Bridges (ed), *The Life and Death of William Pewlett, first Marquis of Winchester by Rowland Broughton, Gent; First Printed in 1572* (1818)) recites in doggerel his offices, but is useless for studying his career. For his family see C.A.H. Franklyn, *A Genealogical History of the Families of Paulet (or Pawlett), Berew (or Barrow), Lawrence and Parker* (Bedford, 1963). Broughton's suggested date of birth would make him well over a hundred years old at his death. A date in the mid-1470s is more likely.

a member of the Council from at least 1526 and probably associated with the Household from the mid-twenties, when he was about fifty - an unusually late starter in office. He sat for Hampshire in the 1529 Parliament, and became Comptroller of the Household in May 1532. That year he went with Suffolk to reduce Catherine's household and in 1534 with Wiltshire to persuade Mary to renounce her title. He sat on the commission trying Fisher and More in 1535. He worked with Fitzwilliam investigating Anne Boleyn. In the Pilgrimage of Grace he raised 200 men and was in charge of the musters of the Royal Forces. In 1540 he sat on the commission investigating religious disturbances in Calais. He was Treasurer of the Household from October 1537 to March 1539, when he was ennobled. Lord Chamberlain and KG in 1543, he was Great Master from 1545 to 1550.

In the late 1530s his brother George told how Henry boxed Cromwell's ears and called him knave while Norfolk, Fitzwilliam and Paulet looked on laughing. George claimed Cromwell's Irish policy wasted the King's treasure. He was put in the Tower, and Paulet had to beg Cromwell for his release. There was no open breach, but 'it is doubtful whether he or any of his following in Hampshire could be safely counted on for support any longer'.[27] In the war scare of 1539/40 Paulet accompanied Fitzwilliam to inspect defence works in Hampshire (pp.138-9).

He was a major figure in four reigns. Despite saying '*ortus sum e salice non ex quercu*' he was at heart a religious conservative. His survival resulted from his grasp of financial affairs and knowing where all the bodies lay.

William, 1st Baron Sandys (c1470-1540, of a prominent Hampshire family, was Sir Thomas Cheney's cousin. He became Knight of the Body in 1496, when he married Margery, Sir Reginald Bray's heiress. JP in 1498, he was sheriff of Hampshire in 1510. He was a personal friend of Henry VIII before his accession. He became KG in 1518, when he probably joined the King's council. He was ennobled in 1523 and later took

27. Fritze, N., 'Faith and Faction: religious changes, national politics, and the development of local factionalism in Hampshire, 1485-1570', (University of Cambridge Ph.D. thesis, 1981), p.154-6. George probably exaggerated the horseplay. A date of 1534/5 is likely: Norfolk was effectively rusticated after 1536.

part in Suffolk's invasion of France, succeeding Fitzwilliam as captain of Guines. In 1526 he became Lord Chamberlain. He signed the letter to the Pope on the King's divorce, but the break with Rome upset him and he tried to distance himself from court, though he took part in Anne Boleyn's reception. In January 1535 Chapuys reported that Darcy was allied with Sandys, the best captain in the kingdom; he claimed Sandys was disaffected because of Henry's religious changes and was staying at his house pretending to be ill.[28] (Probably an example of Chapuys' wishful thinking: there is no other evidence of Sandys' disaffection). Later that year he received Henry and Anne at the Vyne (near Basingstoke). Next year he was a juror at Anne's trial. He sat on the Privy Council in 1540 but died that year. He was a strong religious conservative.

Sir Thomas Cheney (c1485-1558)[29], a henchman at Henry VII's court, was knighted by 1513. In 1515 he was Sheriff of Kent and Esquire to the King. In 1520 he became a gentleman of the Privy Chamber. He was at the Field of Cloth of Gold and in 1522 succeeded Fitzwilliam as ambassador to Francis. In 1523 he served in Brittany under Suffolk and in 1525 was Fitzwilliam's aide under Norfolk. In 1536 he became Warden of the Cinque Ports.With extensive lands in Kent, he was now its most powerful figure. He became Treasurer of the Household and KG in 1539. In 1540 he led the Commons delegation that joined the Lords in asking Henry to let Convocation decide the legality of his marriage to Anne of Cleves. He attended over half the Privy Council meetings from 1540 to 1543. Conservative in religion, he had several brushes with Cranmer.

Sir Thomas' father, *Sir John Cheney*, Henry VII's Master of the Horse, joined the West Riding bench in May 1493 when Perkin Warbeck threatened to invade (and the East and North Riding benches two years earlier).[30] He and Sir Thomas Fitzwilliam probably knew each other.

Sir John Baker (1489-1558), of Cranbrook and Sissinghurst in Kent, was at the Inner Temple by 1506, JP for Kent in 1515, and bencher by 1517. In 1526 he became

28. NA, PRO31/18/2/2, (*LP* viii 48).

29. P. Fleming, 'Sir Thomas Cheyne, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, 1536-1558' in Fleming *et al, The Crown and its Provinces in England 1250-1650* (1998) concentrates on Cheney's role as Warden but contains much of wider relevance.

30. Arnold, 'Commission of the Peace', pp.131, 137, n93.

Recorder of London and was retained of counsel to the Duchy of Lancaster, a connection he kept till his death. He was Attorney-General to the Duchy in 1535 and 1536, when he became King's Attorney-General until 1540. He was then knighted and appointed Privy Councillor and Chancellor of the Court of first-fruits and tenths. Fitzwilliam secured his appointment to the 1540 Calais commission and his being chosen as MP for Guildford in 1542.

He was an executor of Fitzwilliam's and Gage's wills, being named by Gage as 'my singuler undoubted good lover and freende'.[31] He was foeffee in land deals carried out by members of the inner circle.[32] He was also linked to Fitzwilliam by his Duchy service. Though Treasurer of the Household throughout Edward VI's reign, he had strong catholic sympathies and under Mary had the reputation of being a persecutor.

More distant connections

Sir Richard Page (d1548) had legal qualifications and started his career in Wolsey's service, becoming his chamberlain. By 1516 he was a knight and a Gentleman of the King's Privy Chamber. Like Heneage he was appointed to the Surrey bench in 1521. He was removed in 1530 after Wolsey's fall but reinstated in 1532. A link with Fitzwilliam is shown by their jointly receiving the office of solicitor for the subsidies on kerseys in the ports of London and Southampton in 1529.[33] In 1525 he went to be the Duke of Richmond's vice-chamberlain in his household at Sheriff Hutton and to sit on the Council of the North.[34] He served as Recorder of York from 1527 to 1533.[35] He was arrested in 1536 as one of Anne Boleyn's lovers and banished from court. Friedman thought he owed his release to Fitzwilliam, but Fitzwilliam was then in difficulty himself (see pp.161-4). In June 1536 he sat on the commission for dissolving Waverley Abbey,

31. WSRO, SAS-BA/17.
32. ESRO: G21/7, G21/16 G19/3. WSRO, SAS-.BA/270
33. *LP* iv (3) 6072, g.18, (18 Nov. 1529)
34. Rachel Reid, *The King's Council in the North* (1921), p103) and Beverley A. Murphy, *Bastard Prince, Henry VIII's lost son* (2001), p.63, suggest that Page was the King's man, not Wolsey's. But Page spent some time in Wolsey's household and held a responsible post.
35. He was presumably qualified to sit, but resigned at the City fathers' request 'for that he is unlernyd in [the temporal law of the realm]'. (Reid, *Council in the North,* p.103).

and became sheriff of Surrey and Sussex in November. By 1540 he was lieutenant of the Gentlemen Pensioners under Fitzwilliam. After Fitzwilliam's death Page became chamberlain to Prince Edward's household, and remained in the royal household after the latter became King. He was close enough to the inner circle to act as feoffee for its members[36] and is one of the few who can properly be called Fitzwilliam's client.

Sir Thomas Wriothesley (1505-1550)[37] became close to Fitzwilliam after Cromwell's death. As joint secretary to the Privy Council and effective head of the working Council respectively they worked together closely, as they did in unravelling the Catherine Howard affair. By 1542 Chapuys reported that Fitzwilliam and Wriothesley were 'the two people who enjoy nowadays most authority and have most credit and influence with the King'.[38] They seem to have become close friends - the tone of Fitzwilliam's letters to Wriothesley from the North shortly before his death seems to be warmer and more personal than one would expect otherwise (see pp.227-8). Fitzwilliam left Wriothesley his best gilt cup in his will - a recognised sign of especial regard.[39] Wriothesley's religious views changed over time. He seems to have been a moderate reformer under Cromwell, but became increasingly conservative after his death. With Rich, he engaged in the torture of Anne Askew. The advanced reformer Hooper preached at his funeral, but this may not have been at Wriothesley's request.[40]

Sir John Russell (1485?- 1555) was executor of the wills of both Fitzwilliam (with Mabel, Browne and Baker) and of Browne (with Rich, Paulet, Gage and Baker).[41] He was appointed a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber in 1527 and became Comptroller of the Household in 1537 in succession to Paulet. There is little evidence that Russell and Fitzwilliam were closely associated other than officially. He accompanied Norfolk and Fitzwilliam to the North during the Pilgrimage of Grace and took part in diplomatic

36. WSRO, SAS-BA/279.
37. An account of Wriothesley's career is given in G. Gibbons, *The Political Career of Thomas Wriothesley, First* (sic) *Earl of Southampton, 1505-1559* (Lewiston, NY, 2001).
38. *Sp. Cal.*, vi (1), no.244.
39. For Fitzwilliam's will see NA, PRO Prb 11/29 16.
40. Gibbons (*Wriothesley,* p.263) thinks Warwick nominated Hooper to preach at the funeral.
41. WSRO, SAS-BA/270.

negotiations with the Imperial representatives in 1541/2. He was Fitzwilliam's successor both as Lord Admiral in 1540 and as Lord Privy Seal in 1542, after his death.

Robert Radcliffe, First Earl of Sussex (c1483-1542) was son of John Radcliffe, first baron Fitzwalter (c1452-1496), attainted after the Warbeck conspiracy in 1496. The attainder was reversed in 1506; Robert resumed the title and was soon a favoured companion of Henry VIII. Serving at Tournai and in the wars of the early 1520s, he became KG in 1524, Viscount Fitzwalter in 1525 and Earl of Sussex in 1529. He was brother-in-law to the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Derby. He played a major part against the Pilgrimage of Grace, operating mainly in Lancashire and tending to be much more aggressive than Norfolk. He joined Fitzwilliam in trying to persuade the Earl of Cumberland to resign as warden of the West March. In 1540 he became Great Chamberlain of England after Cromwell's execution. He was a Council member at least from the fall of Wolsey and during the 1530s. Largely ignored by historians, he would repay closer study. Unusually for an 'old' nobleman, he took an active part in day-to-day administration. There is no evidence of land dealings between him and Fitzwilliam's close associates (his lands were mostly in Essex and Hertfordshire), but Browne's eldest son married Sussex' daughter in 1547, perhaps reinforcing existing ties. Sussex was a religious conservative

Anthony Wingfield (1480-1552), nephew of Richard, Robert and Humphrey Wingfield, was a squire of the body under Henry VII and came to Henry VIII's notice serving under Brandon at Tournai. Fitzwilliam had dealings with the Wingfield family quite early in his career (see Chap.3), but how close he was to Anthony we do not know. He entered the Royal household, being Vice-Chamberlain from 1539 to 1550. He was the captain of the guard who arrested Cromwell in 1540 and became a Privy Councillor that year. Though he was, like other members of the Wingfield family, linked to the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, Anthony himself was essentially Henry's man. He was a religious conservative.

Sir Thomas Heneage of Hainton (Lincs) (c1480-1553)[42] was Fitzwilliam's cousin by marriage: his wife was descended from Sir Richard Fitzwilliam and Elizabeth Clarell.[43] He started as gentleman usher in Wolsey's household, being Fitzwilliam's colleague up to 1520. By the early 1520s he conducted much of Wolsey's correspondence and was foeffee in some of his property dealings.[44] Wolsey appointed him to the Surrey Bench in 1522. He was dropped by Norfolk after Wolsey's fall but reinstated in 1533 by Cromwell, remaining for the rest of Fitzwilliam's life. In 1528 he was appointed to the Privy Chamber, but never severed his links with Wolsey. He handled large sums of money for both Wolsey and Henry. After Wolsey's fall he acted as link between Henry and Cromwell. By 1532 he was royal cofferer and from 1536 was, with Sir Anthony Denny, responsible for the Privy Purse. He succeeded Norris as esquire of the body, and by the end of the 1530s was Groom of the Stool. He was made KG in 1540. He was probably a religious conservative, moderate enough to be able to work with Cromwell.

Fitzwilliam also had links with Thomas Heneage's brothers *George** and *Robert**, who were feoffees when Fitzwilliam purchased four Yorkshire manors in 1524. George became Archdeacon of Lincoln. Robert became joint auditor for the south parts of the Duchy in 1526 and sole auditor in 1535[45], holding several other Crown offices. A third brother, *John**, was the Bishop of Lincoln's commissioner at Louth in the 1530s. He almost became a victim of the mob in the initial rising at Louth but escaped to serve as link between the court and loyalists in Lincolnshire. He lived to sit on the Grand Jury indicting Catherine Howard for adultery committed at Lincoln and Gainsborough.[46]

Associates at local and shire level

Christopher More (c1483-1549), a London fishmonger's son, was Sir Thomas More's step-uncle by marriage.[47] From 1513 he attended the Inner Temple and became under-

42. For an account of Heneage's career see N.P. Sil, *Tudor Placemen and Statesmen* (2001), c.1.
43. A.R. Maddison, (ed), *Lincolnshire Pedigrees* (4 vols, 1902-6), ii, p.482.
44. NA, E40/1850 and E41/58. In both documents Thomas Heneage and Richard Page appear as foeffees. So does William Fitzwilliam, but this is surely Wolsey's treasurer.
45. Somerville, pp.442-3.
46 Ward, *The Lincolnshire Rising,* pp.14-16, 30, 39.
47. E.W. Ives, *The Common Lawyers of Pre-Reformation England* (Cambridge, 1983), p.469. Alice More, Christopher's sister, was Sir John More's fourth wife.

steward of Witley and Worplesdon, granted to Fitzwilliam in 1513 - a link strengthened when he became verderer of Windsor Forest in 1519. Clerk of the Exchequer by 1505, he became King's Remembrancer in 1542. He served on Surrey subsidy commissions from 1515 and was appointed JP about 1521 by Wolsey. Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex in 1532-3 and 1539-40, he sat on commissions investigating the Exeter Conspiracy. In 1539 he was elected knight of the shire, arranging the return of an MP at Gatton for Cromwell. It is hard to trace More's links to Fitzwilliam with certainty, but they seem to have worked in close association on Surrey and Sussex affairs. He was not only linked to Fitzwilliam: he became annuitant of both Lisle and Margaret Pole.[48] His will shows catholic leanings but he was active in dissolving chantries in the mid-forties.

Harry Huttoft (fl. 1506-40) was admitted as free burgess in 1506 for services to the town of Southampton. He was court bailiff in 1520, sheriff in 1521, mayor in 1525 and 1534 and collector of customs in 1534. He was very wealthy by 1524, when he was assessed for 200 marks of movables. He dealt in the sweet wine trade, and had links to Cromwell and Wriothesley, with whom he dealt on dissolved religious houses. Financially embarrassed by his son-in-law Antonio Guidotti's debts, he was replaced as collector of customs in 1540. Jointly with John Mille's son Richard he was receiver of the Beaulieu estates and 1534 he wrote jointly with Fitzwilliam to Cromwell proposing a candidate for the vacant abbacy of Beaulieu. He was granted the office of clerk of the signet in 1539 and soon after became secretary to Anne of Cleves. [49] In 1537 Fitzwilliam wrote to Cromwell referring to 'my fellow, Henry Huttoft' regarding an outbreak of plague among workmen building a 'great ship' at Portsmouth. He called Huttoft 'master builder': judging by the letter he had great responsibility.[50] Cromwell gained a hold over Huttoft by helping him over his son-in-law Guidotti's debts.

John Mille (fl. 1509-51) became town clerk and recorder in about 1509, holding both offices until his death. He was MP in 1523 and 1529. He succeeded Huttoft as

48. Pierce, *Margaret Pole,* pp.67-8.

49. C. Platt, *Medieval Southampton: the port and trading community 1000-1607* (1973), pp.244-5.

50. NA, SP1/25 f^{os} 85-6, (*LP* xii (2) 794). The text in *LP* is truncated. The full text is given by W.G. Gates, *History of Portsmouth* (Portsmouth, 1900), p.144.

overseer of customs in 1540. He was described as 'merchant adventurer' in 1538/9 and actively dealt in the lands of dissolved religious houses, especially St Denys Priory and Beaulieu and Quarr abbeys.[51] Both Milles were paymasters for defence works built on the Hampshire coast from 1540 to 1544: John was responsible for Calshot, East and West Cowes and Hurst Castle, George for Sandown, Yarmouth and Sherpenode.[52] He was also commissioner for purchasing victuals for the army and the fleet. Both Milles bought monastic lands directly from the Crown and from other grantees. By mid-century they were leading landowners in south Hampshire. Fitzwilliam was not the only magnate they served (Cromwell was another from the early 1530s)[53], but the offices of paymaster for coastal defence works and commissioner for victualling the Fleet were in Fitzwilliam's gift and contributed to their rise.[54]

Sir Brian Hastings was of the Hastings family of Fenwick in Yorkshire (kin to the Lords Hastings), sheriffs of Yorkshire ten times in the fifteenth century.[55] In 1529 Wolsey reconciled him to Sir Richard Tempest at Cawood[56], putting him on the Savile side of the dispute disrupting Yorkshire politics up the Pilgrimage of Grace, when the Tempests rebelled and the Saviles stayed loyal.[57] He was distantly related to Lord Darcy.[58] He was sheriff-elect when the Pilgrimage began. His closeness to Fitzwilliam is shown by his reports in the early stages of the Pilgrimage in Yorkshire,[59] when his actions showed him to be clear-headed and efficient. He played a part in keeping the peace round Doncaster, Tickhill (where he was acting steward while Sir Henry Wyatt

51. Platt, *Medieval Southampton,* pp.251-2.
52. Colvin, *King's Works,* vol. 4 (2) pp.554-6.
53. Fritze, 'Faith and Faction', p.100.
54. J. Kennedy, 'Laymen and Monasteries in Hampshire, 1530-1558', *Proc. Hampshire Field Club,* xxvii (1970), pp.65ff.
55. PRO: *Lists and indexes no ix: List of sheriffs for England and Wales.* Smith, *Land and Politics,* p291, gives Hastings' landed income as £17 pa. This was too small to qualify him for the shrievalty, so is an underestimate unless he held lands elsewhere in Yorkshire.
56. Cavendish , *Thomas Wolsey late Cardinal*, p.185.
57. Smith, *Land and Politics,* pp.147-150.
58. Darcy called Hastings his cousin in his interview with Somerset Herald on 14 Oct. 1536, (Dodds, *Pilgrimage of Grace,* p.301), but the link was very tenuous.
59. NA, SP1/107, f^{os} 155-6, (*LP* xi 663), (11 Oct. 1536).

lay dying)[60] and Hatfield Chase, being a significant bar to the Pilgrims' advance. He was also linked to the Earl of Shrewsbury, and acted as a conduit for communication between the Earl and Lord Darcy and his sons.[61] He died in August 1537 during his term of office. This was probably after a long illness as he was substituted at Easter of that year[62] by his deputy sheriff and son-in-law Francis Frobisher of Altofts (uncle of Martin Frobisher), a lawyer and long-time recorder of Doncaster who became Vice-Chancellor at Lancaster in 1544-7.[63]

Fitzwilliam connections

William Fitzwilliam II (c1506-1559) was one of the Merrion Fitzwilliams of Ireland, a branch which split from the main Sprotsborough line about the end of the 14th century. His father, Thomas Fitzwilliam of Baggotrath served as Sheriff of Dublin. He started in Fitzwilliam's service in the 1520s. By 1539 he was what we would now call his chief of staff. In 1537 he was granted the manor of Celbridge, Co Kildare. Fitzwilliam may have secured one Guildford seat for him in the 1540 Parliament; he certainly did so in 1542, when he sat with Sir John Baker.[64] Later he became Gentleman in the Privy Chamber of Prince Edward and kept the rank under Edward as King. He was knighted in 1551/2. Elizabeth I said he stood high in her esteem. He probably inclined to religious reform.

John Fitzwilliam (d1562)* (of Mexborough, Yorks and Kingsley, Hants) was Fitzwilliam's heir male. His marriage to Elizabeth, daughter to Sir Thomas Clifford, confirmed the link, and Anthony Browne, Viscount Montague, acted as one of his feoffees in about 1553. After Fitzwilliam's death he was sued by the Foljambes over

60. His status must have been 'acting and temporary'. He is not in Somerville's lists of officers.
61. NA: SP1/110, f^{os} 35-6), (*LP* xi, 604), SP1/107, f^{o} 154, (*LP* xi, 662), NA, SP1/111 f^{o} 88, (*LP* xi, 1027), SP1/111, f^{o} 88, (*LP* xi, 1059), SP 1/111, f^{os} 121-2, (*LP* xi, 1067).
62. D.E. Hoake, 'The King's Privy Chamber, 1547-1553', in D.J. Guth and J.W. McKenna (eds), *Tudor Rule and Revolution* (Cambridge, 1982), pp 97-8, 101.
63. J. McDermott, *Martin Frobisher: Elizabethan Privateer* (New Haven, 2001), c.1; Smith, *Land and Politics,* p130n; Somerville, p.480.
64. W.B. Robison, 'The justices of the peace of Surrey ', pp.217-8. S.E. Lehmsberg, *The later Parliaments of Henry VIII 1536-1547* (Cambridge), p133, errs in stating the MP for Guildford was the son of Sir William Fitzwilliam of Milton.

lands in Yorkshire 'of the gift of William Fitzwilliam'.[65] He sat for a time on the Hampshire bench but was otherwise unimportant, even locally. He acquired some minor offices, probably through Fitzwilliam's influence. His religion is uncertain.

Hugh Fitzwilliam (d.1578)* was a distant cousin of Fitzwilliam. The Visitation of Yorkshire of 1563/4 notes that he was 'put yonge to my Lord Fitz William, Earle of Southampton, Kinge Henry theigte being at Yorke'. There is no further mention of the link - in view of his later history Hugh may have proved unemployable - but the episode shows Fitzwilliam's willingness (and obligation?) to give a chance to distant Fitzwilliam relatives. Hugh was accused by the Kings of Arms of basing his claim to the lordships of Emley and Sprotborough on a forged will. He was still accused of fraud in 1577, the year before he died [66] (He is not to be confused with the Hugh Fitzwilliam who supplied Bess of Hardwicke with news[67]: he was one of the Irish Fitzwilliams.)

The Parrs

Fitzwilliam was linked to the Parrs, through his mother and through his wife: *Maud Parr* (Catherine Parr's mother) was one of Catherine of Aragon's ladies. He had early dealings with **Sir Thomas Parr**, Catherine's father: in 1515 they held the Guildford borough court leet [68] Sir Thomas, an able man close to the King, died in 1517.

Sir William Parr of Horton (c1480-1547) was Sir Thomas' brother. Esquire to the Body to Henry VII and Henry VIII, he became King's Spear and Knight of the Body. He fought was knighted after Tournai. In 1525 he became the Duke of Richmond's chamberlain at Sheriff Hutton. In the mid-1530s he was employed to watch the

65. Fritze, 'Faith and Faction', p.385; NA, C1/1218/11-13.
66. C.B. Northcliffe (ed), *The Visitation of Yorkshire in the years 1563 and 1564, made by William Flower Esq., Norroy King of Arms* (Harleian Soc., 1881), p126. Sheffield Archives BFM/2/122.
67. J. Daybell, 'The News and Intelligence Netwoks of Elizabeth Talbot', in J. Daybell, (ed) *Women and politics in Early Modern England, 1450-1700* (Aldershot, 2004), pp.128-123.
68. Enid M.Dance, 'Guildford Borough Records 1514-1546', *Surrey RS* xxiv (1955), p.3.

activities of his step-brother, the 2nd Lord Vaux.[69] He led a contingent in Lincolnshire in 1536, and later held Stamford. Sheriff of Northamptonshire four times between 1517 and 1537, he sat for the shire from 1529 to 1540. He was Cromwell's agent in dissolving Northamptonshire monasteries. Like his brother, he is said to have been a business partner of Fitzwilliam, but no evidence survives. He was Catherine Parr's chamberlain and was ennobled in Dec. 1543. He was a strong religious reformer.

Fitzwilliam was first involved with **Sir William Parr, later Earl of Essex and Marquess of Northampton** (c1516-1571) when he helped arrange his marriage. In July 1526 Fitzwilliam and Sir Thomas Englefield were jointly granted his wardship.[70] At the end of 1528 Maud Parr, tried to marry her son William to Anne Bourchier, daughter and heiress of the Earl of Essex, and contingent heiress of a third of the Countess of Oxford's estates.[71] Maud set up a council of war with Fitzwilliam, Tunstall and Sir Edward Montague, later CJKB. Lucy was probably involved: as well as being related to the Parrs she could help finance the operation, which involved serious money (any resemblance to the dealings involved in a modern takeover bid is not coincidental). Essex, land-rich and cash-poor, would only marry off his daughter at a high price. Maud borrowed heavily against her son's inheritance and the proposed marriage: Fitzwilliam lent her money and guaranteed other loans. Henry was involved: William was the Duke of Richmond's companion and Essex had fought at Tournai. William (13) and Anne (10) married on 9 February 1529. The marriage was a total disaster.[72]

Parr took part against the Pilgrimage of Grace, and, with Fitzwilliam, pleaded for Lord Latimer, married to his sister.(pp.186-7) He owed his entry to court to the Duke of Norfolk, who recommended him to Cromwell in 1537, and to his uncle, Sir William Parr of Horton, who asked Cromwell in 1538 to get him a place in the Privy Chamber.[73] After serving as MP for Northamptonshire he was ennobled in 1539. He received the Garter in 1543 and became Earl of Essex later that year, after his sister married Henry. He was Privy Councillor by March 1543. A reformer, he was attainted under Mary.

69. G. Anstruther, O.P., *Vaux of Harrowden: a recusant family* (Newport, 1953), pp.48-54.
70. *LP* iv (1) 2362, g22, (12 July 1526).
71. A. Martienssen, *Queen Katherine Parr,* (pb. ed. 1975), p.47.
72. James, *Kateryn Parr*, pp.56-60.
73. LP xii(1), 713; *Addenda,* i(2) 1297

Sir Godfrey Foljambe (d.1541) *

Fitzwilliam's two nieces Alice and Margaret were the daughters of Fitzwilliam's eldest son Thomas, who fell at Flodden. They married Sir Godfrey Foljambe's two sons James and Godfrey respectively.[74] The Foljambes were a leading family in Derbyshire, with lands mainly around Chesterfield.[75] They also had property in Nottinghamshire. Sir Godfrey was esquire of the body to the young Henry VIII. In 1513 he made a will when 'intendyng to go over the see with the kynges grace'. Under the Duchy he was at various times receiver and feodary of Tickhill, escheator of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, and three times sheriff of both counties. In 1525 he became Richmond's treasurer at Sheriff Hutton, one of the few senior officers not linked to Wolsey.[76] The marriages to Fitzwilliam's nieces brought the Foljambes large estates in south Yorkshire. They took place early in Fitzwilliam's career and were probably more advantageous to the Foljambes than to him. There seems to have been no significant later contact between them. Sir Godfrey's religion is uncertain: the preamble to his will shows both catholic and reformed leanings.[77] As JP he diligently administered the Act of Supremacy, eg in the case of William Roland.[78] The Foljambes were very litigious and did their best to deprive John Fitzwilliam of Kingsley of the Yorkshire lands Fitzwilliam left him.[79]

Other relatives on the Fitzwilliam side

Fitzwilliam was not close to his sister *Elizabeth, Countess of Worcester*, (but left property to her son, later 3rd Earl of Worcester), nor to his sister *Margaret*, Sir William Gascoigne's wife. He and Mabel probably had a hand in his sister *Lucy's* marriage to Sir Thomas Clifford; Fitzwilliam obtained the wardship of her son by her first marriage, *John Cutt*. He was clearly fond of the boy, who went with him to meet Anne of Cleves at Calais. His youngest half-brother *Henry* evidently died while still a young man.

74. See the *IPM* on William Fitzwilliam, son and heir of the late Thomas Fitzwilliam of Aldwark, co York, taken 24 Sept. 1526.
75. Wright, *The Derbyshire Gentry in the 15th Century.*
76. Reid, *King's Council in the North*, p.103.
77. D.G. Edwards, *Derbyshire wills proved in the prerogative court of Canterbury,* Derbyshire R.S. xxvi, (1998).
78. G.R. Elton, *Policy and Police,* (Cambridge, 1972), p.347.
79. NA, C1/1218/11-13.

Fitzwilliam had a bastard son, *Thomas Fitzwilliam, aka* Fisher (presumably his mother's surname). He settled the manor of Heyshott, Sussex, on him, with reversion to Anthony Browne.[80] Browne died seised of Heyshott in 1548, so Thomas presumably died before him.

Clifford connections

Henry Clifford, 1st Earl of Cumberland (c1493-1542).[81]

Mabel's brother, Henry was, like Fitzwilliam, a child of honour at Henry VII's court. A tearaway when young, he was in constant dispute with his father. A close friend of Henry, between 1510 and 1520 he was granted seven manors in Craven and south Yorkshire, though he still misbehaved and was briefly imprisoned by Wolsey in the Fleet in 1517.[82] Two years after his father's death he was made Earl of Cumberland.

Warden of the west march from 1525 to 1527 and from 1534 to 1537, his ability to act was impaired by his living at Skipton, and by his feud with Lord Dacre. From 1525 he lived mainly in the North, but he kept up some contact with Fitzwilliam. He was reputed to be a rapacious landlord, which was a factor in the Cumberland and Craven risings. He spent the Pilgrimage besieged in Skipton Castle. Sussex, Fitzwilliam and others then persuaded him to remain as titular warden, the duties being carried out by Wharton. (see pp.175-6) In 1537 Cumberland turned to Fitzwilliam when pirates stole his goods, to Fitzwilliam's embarrassment. (p.145) His will shows catholic leanings.

The Fitzwilliams and Cliffords valued their family links and tried to strengthen them. Sir Thomas Clifford, the 1st Earl's brother, married Fitzwilliam's sister Lucy, and their daughter Elizabeth married Fitzwilliam's heir male John Fitzwilliam of Kingsley, Hants.

80. *VCH Sussex,* ii, p.61.

81. M.E. James, 'The First Earl of Cumberland (1493-1542) and the decline of Northern Feudalism', *NH* i (1965) p.45. R.W. Hoyle, 'The First Earl of Cumberland: a Reputation reassessed', *NH,* xx (1986) pp.63ff.

82. R.T. Spence, *The Shepherd Lord of Skipton Castle: Henry Clifford, 10th Lord Clifford 1454-1523* (Skipton, 1994), pp.53-5.

13. CONCLUSIONS

Fitzwilliam sprang from a prominent West Riding family which rose through service to the House of York and a series of judicious marriages. A child of honour at Henry VII's court, he was close to Prince Henry, forming a lifelong association. By the mid-1520s he was a senior Council member, one of a group of higher gentry based in the South East of England and linked by kinship and mutual land dealings, who had a firm grip on the Household offices which gave them *ex officio* membership of the 'privy' council.

Courtiers hoping to rise had to show military, diplomatic and administrative skills. A spell in Calais was almost obligatory. They acted as links with their own shires by sitting on county benches and holding posts on Crown estates. Most served in Parliament. Fitzwilliam's career followed this pattern. He also acted as Henry's private enforcer.

Fitzwilliam as Household officer

Household officers had always sat on the 'privy' council. In the late 1520s and 1530s the offices were largely monopolised by a small group of family and friends (see p.85). This group and other Councillors not so closely linked to them (for example the first Earl of Sussex and Sir Anthony Wingfield) had one thing in common. All (except Guildford, who died comparatively young) were Privy Councillors in 1540 and had been Henry's companions thirty years earlier. This underlines Henry's innate conservatism and the underlying continuity of the regime throughout the periods of dominance of Wolsey and Cromwell.

These Household officers accounted for over a third of the Privy Council's membership and well over half total attendances. They did most of the day-to-day business. They carried out political tasks for the King, as when Fitzwilliam, Browne and Kingston tried to get Tunstal to replace Cromwell as Lord Privy Seal (see p.209). They were not a faction but a group of office-holders acting under the King's instructions. They were all religious conservatives who supported the Royal Supremacy, but Fitzwilliam himself worked well with reformers. He and Goodrich made a good team when they interrogated Margaret Pole (see p.186), and on several occasions we find him working closely with the Parrs (see pp.178-9, 246-7). He also worked in close cooperation with

Cromwell, though how far he was privy to his inmost ideas on religion is doubtful. This supports Dr Ryrie's contention that Foxe's picture of an unbridgeable religious divide in the 1530s and early 1540s is misleading[1]: there was more in common between moderate catholics and moderate reformers than between either group and its extremes: Latimer, for example, opposed religious radicals as much as the religious conservatives did.

Fitzwilliam as military and naval commander

Polydore Vergil called Fitzwilliam *eques fortis et strenuus.* He showed courage at Brest and Tréport, though on closer examination his actions seem rash, especially at Tréport. He successfully led light skirmishes, but never had a major military command. He was an able naval commander. He undertook sea trials, inspected existing naval bases and investigated potential new ones. His letter to Wolsey in 1522 making suggestions on the deployment of ships in the three main theatres of operations shows keen appreciation of strategic necessities.[2] He was noted for his care of his men (see p.149), unlike many contemporaries. Pirates were a perennial problem. Fitzwilliam left a reputation for dealing with them effectively: much of his correspondence as Lord Admiral concerns intelligence about pirates and measures to be taken against them. His attitude contrasts with that of later Lords Admiral such as Sir Thomas Seymour and the Earl of Nottingham, who took bribes and were almost hand in glove with pirates. How far the 1536 Piracy Act can be attributed to Fitzwilliam is unclear, but he must have made a significant input. Fitzwilliam was also actively engaged in intelligence. If Henry was the Father of the Royal Navy one may justly call Fitzwilliam the Father of British naval intelligence.

Fitzwilliam's lasting monument is the series of forts built to protect Southampton Water. They reveal a profound knowledge of tides, currents, prevailing winds and how forts can cover each other, based on his experience as a seaman and on his knowledge of fortifications, gained mainly during his time as captain of Guines.

However, Fitzwilliam failed as an administrator in that he tackled neither the Navy's antiquated management structure, nor the problems arising from competing jurisdictions in coastal areas (see below).

1 A. Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII*, p.3.

2. NA, SP 1/25, f° 64, (*LP* iii (2) 2419)

Fitzwilliam as diplomat

Fitzwilliam's time as resident ambassador to Francis in 1521 earned him praise from both Wolsey and Henry. He gained the confidence of Francis and his mother Louise of Savoy and provided valuable military intelligence. One reason for his success was his command of the French language and his social skills - then as now an important aspect of the job. He came to know important people at the French court, and made acute comments on them, though he never really appreciated the dynamics of the French royal family. But the main job of a resident ambassador was to act as a channel for communications between two courts. He was kept in the dark about events at the Calais conference. When Worcester and West arrived for serious negotiations he ran errands for them, illustrating the relative standing of resident and special ambassadors.

As special ambassador he had little success. At Lyons he failed to find the conditions and timing of Francis' release. Louise lied and manipulated him. His missions in 1526 and 1529 failed as the French priority was getting Francis' sons back. In 1534 and 1535 he failed because Henry made non-negotiable demands Francis would never accept. Negotiations with Francis and Charles in the last years of Fitzwilliam's life failed for the same reason: he and his colleagues were negotiating from an inflexible brief dictated by Henry's outlook, dominated by the Divorce and its consequences.

A good diplomat may be able to do no more than ensure the door is left open. A bad one has all doors shut in his face (like Bonner at Marseilles). Fitzwilliam always ensured a door was left open, even when all of Henry's demands were non-negotiable. Despite the failure of most of his missions, he was a model diplomat.

Fitzwilliam as administrator

Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster

Fitzwilliam was not a successful Chancellor of the Duchy. Rents were not raised in a time of inflation and estate management was poor. Since Bray's reforms under Henry VII the Duchy seems to have been seen as largely running itself - an attitude unlikely to promote efficiency. He was outwitted by Rich when they met to discuss arrangements for dissolution of smaller monasteries in the Duchy. He got a good agreement on paper, but Augmentations reneged on important parts of it.

He visited Duchy estates in Yorkshire after the Pilgrimage of Grace and found Pontefract Castle had fallen into disrepair, being inadequately supplied with provisions and munitions. It should have resisted easily a rebel force lacking artillery, but it fell without a fight, making Norfolk's task of putting down the Pilgrimage much harder. Clearly there had been serious dereliction of duty by the Duchy authorities, and as head of the Duchy organisation Fitzwilliam must bear at least part of the responsibility.

Admiralty

Fitzwilliam failed to tackle the Navy's chaotic management structure. He also failed to deal with problems arising from the competing jurisdictions of the vice-admirals of the coast and private Admiralty rights. Perhaps only a Cromwell could have dealt with these intractable areas, but Cromwell did not touch the Admiralty.

Judgment on Fitzwilliam's performance as administrator must be mixed. He failed in the Duchy and some areas at the Admiralty, yet proved to be a capable Lord Privy Seal in his last years. The reason was that in the 1530s he had too much to do. Besides his formal duties as Lord Admiral and Chancellor of the Duchy he was responsible for keeping Surrey in order and was at times *de facto* Secretary for Calais, besides going on several diplomatic missions, investigating Anne Boleyn, dealing with the Pilgrimage of Grace and unravelling the Exeter conspiracy. He had parliamentary duties, sat on the Council, and had to attend the King (immediately!) when Henry wanted his advice.

A weakness of the early Tudor system was that capable men tended to have several jobs, partly because accumulating offices bestowed prestige and wealth, but also because over time Henry trusted fewer people. Much of the day to day work was done by deputies who were paid much less and had less incentive to be efficient. An office holder like Fitzwilliam who held several posts could only devote part of his time to any one job, so only problems open to quick solutions tended to be addressed. Perhaps Fitzwilliam should not be blamed for not tackling fundamental administrative problems in the Duchy and Admiralty: they demanded time he did not have.

Calais

Fitzwilliam was captain of Guines in 1524-5 and showed skill and enterprise in carrying out sorties against the French. He was responsible for intelligence and acted as channel for contacts with the French before the *renversement des alliances* which led ultimately to the Treaty of the More. At this time he also had responsibilities as vice-admiral and went on embassy to Margaret of Austria at Brussels. Despite his absences he was praised by Sandys for the good order he kept in the fortress. He returned in 1529 to sit on a commission which prepared ordinances for Guines which anticipate the 1536 Calais Act. The latter was innovative in that it provided for election of MPs and laid down the precedence of office holders but most of it, like much contemporary legislation, merely reiterated previous ordinances at greater length. Fitzwilliam did not address the basic problem of underfunding, nor ask the fundamental question: whether keeping Calais was worth the huge expense incurred.

From 1537 onwards Calais was split by religious strife (See Chapter 5b). By then Cromwell had taken charge. He did not address the religious problems presented by religious radicals, despite Lisle's frantic letters. A crisis arose when Lisle wrote to Browne (so indirectly to Fitzwilliam). By February 1540 Fitzwilliam was back in charge of Calais. A commission of enquiry dominated by Fitzwilliam connections and chosen on his advice was sent. Cromwell was bypassed. Events in Calais were undoubtedly a factor leading to his fall. From 1538 onwards Fitzwilliam's role in Calais was mainly behind the scenes. Much of what he did can only be inferred, but it seems to have been critical.

Fitzwilliam as local magnate

Fitzwilliam had lands and offices in Surrey, Sussex, Hampshire and Yorkshire. In all these shires he was expected to exert influence on behalf of the government, though he came too late to Hampshire to be able to have any effect before his death.

Fitzwilliam came to Surrey local politics, badly affected by faction, in about 1516. Until his death he was a dominant influence in the shire. He did not eliminate disruptive faction, but reduced it to manageable proportions, and his running of the shire was a success. This was achieved by exercising his diplomatic skills and treating leading local men like Sir Matthew Browne and Sir Richard Weston with deference.

His role in Sussex was not to run county affairs but to act as counterweight to the Earl of Arundel and Lord Delaware, both religious conservatives whom Henry had reason to suspect. He maintained good relations with both, deferring to Arundel and his son, Lord Maltravers, and ensuring they were kept informed during the Exeter Conspiracy.

In Yorkshire his control of the Duchy and stewardship of Hatfield Chase were more important than his few lands in the shire. He had an able deputy in Sir Brian Hastings, but his personal influence was limited by failure to visit the shire except during the Pilgrimage of Grace. Heads of families like the Gascoignes, Saviles and Temples could only be influenced by someone on the spot. Like Russell in the West, he 'served as Privy Councillor and allowed his responsibilities in London to claim too much of his time'.[3] (This comment may be unfair: both had other onerous jobs). A useful contrast can be made with the fourth Earl of Shrewsbury and the third Duke of Norfolk: Shrewsbury dwelt mainly in the north, rarely visiting London; Norfolk always spent part of the year in Norfolk. Otherwise they would lose power in their home 'countries'.

Fitzwilliam as enforcer

During the 1530s Fitzwilliam acted as Henry's private enforcer, dealing within the household with Anne Boleyn (see pp.157-60) and Catherine Howard (pp.218-26) and at large with the Exeter conspiracy, when the Poles (and probably the Courtenays) were clearly engaged in a plot Henry could not ignore. (Chapter 9b) In all these cases Fitzwilliam worked hard at interrogating witnesses and suspects, patiently unpicking the details of what had happened. He acted for Henry, not Cromwell. His part during the Pilgrimage of Grace is unclear (Chapter 9a): he was almost certainly put at Norfolk's side by Henry to keep an eye on him, and he may have had intelligence responsibilities the scope of which is unknown. He gained the trust of Darcy and developed a close relationship with him - so close that Darcy told him virtually everything that he knew.

Fitzwilliam's left no evidence of his religious beliefs, and he played no significant part in the religious disputes of the reign. As he was an intimate servant of the King, who was always at heart a religious conservative, (albeit with an Erasmian tinge) and as his closest associates were religious conservatives it is reasonable to suppose he was also a

3. Willen, *John Russell*, p.63.

religious conservative who fully accepted the Royal Supremacy. Though intelligent and well educated by the standards of the time, he was no scholar and was probably content to let Henry think for him in the religious disputes of the age.

Henry

That Henry was an inattentive king is suggested by Dr Starkey:

> Many a long ...month was spent on horseback ... Even in an ordinary court day Henry was usually willing only to apply himself seriously to business in the mid-morning while he heard mass, and again late at night after supper ... He could scarcely be bothered to look at accounts, let alone check them; he would read nothing more than a short letter, and often not even that; ... even extracting his signature took time and art. None of this made him a cipher. He had secretaries and attendants to do his reading and writing for him, and councillors to cope with the detailed execution of policy and finance. But even when his whole energies were involved it put him at one remove from events: he saw and heard indeed, but through the eyes and ears of others.[4]

But, as Dr Gunn points out:

> In the areas of policy that interested the king, notably foreign policy, religion, treason and the divorce, there is plenty of evidence that he considered and annotated papers, and that he shaped the policy his ministers executed by correspondence when he was unable to do so in face-to-face discussion[6].

Other areas attracting his attention were war and its materiel, especially the Navy (obviously of interest to Fitzwilliam) and relations between magnates, where he worked hard to defuse disputes.

What can we gather about Henry From Fitzwilliam's relations with him? Did he serve a lazy, inattentive king who indulged too much in hunting, women and tournaments, or a demanding master who kept his ministers up to the mark? Certainly administrative detail held little interest for Henry, unlike his father, who is said to have spent hours checking accounts. But people like Cromwell dealt with that. (Of sixteenth century

4. D. Starkey, *The Reign of Henry VIII: personalities and politics* (pb ed, 2002), pp.2-3.
5. G.R. Elton 'King or Minister? The man behind the Henrician Reformation' in *Studies*, vol i, p.175.
6. S. Gunn, 'The structures of politics in Early Modern England' , *TRHS*, 6th series no 5, (1995), p.67.

monarchs the most assiduous at his desk was Philip II of Spain; that did not make him more effective).[7] Arguably, Henry was a master of management by delegation. Tournaments had an important political and diplomatic dividend.[8] And chatting to a gentleman on a royal progress, with a gift of venison from the King's hunt, was received as a great honour, as Fitzwilliam himself observed.[9] It was a remarkably inexpensive way to ensure loyalty. Henry can also be regarded as a master of public relations.

As to the areas of particular interest to Henry, all can reasonably be regarded as important, and concentrating on them was not the mark of an inattentive king. Fitzwilliam's correspondence with Henry, Wolsey and Cromwell shows that Henry was a demanding master and that in his chosen areas of expertise his knowledge was extensive and his judgment acute. On the whole the judgment must be that Henry worked hard at being king. He could, as More said, make each man believe that he alone enjoyed his 'special favour'. As he aged he played mind games with Cranmer, Gardiner and Catherine Parr.[10] No original thinker, he drew on others' suggestions and drafts and scrutinised them minutely, often late at night.[11] Henry was not lazy and did not have a limited attention span: he got bored with trivialities, but that is different.

7. 'Philip insisted that all decisions must be made by himself alone. This meant that all significant papers, whether *consultas* from the councils or petitions from the public or administrative documents passing through the hands of his secretaries, were meant to come to him for deliberation or signature; he would write his comments or decision, where necessary, in a virtually indecipherable scrawl ... In May 1571 alone, 1252 separate memoranda had to be dealt with by the king'. (H. Kamen, *Spain 1469-1714: a society of conflict* (New York 1983), p.145). The situation was exacerbated by Philip's extreme indecisiveness.
8. S. Gunn, 'The Early Tudor Tournament', in D. Starkey (ed), *Henry VIII: a European Court in England* (1991), p.48. See also S. Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford, 1969), pp.108-23.
9. NA, SP1/39 f° 31, (*LP* iv (2), 2368).
10. L.B. Smith, *The Mask Of Royalty*, pp.29-33.
11. L.B. Smith, *The Mask Of Royalty*, p.39.

That Henry was a hard-working King is shown by the great detail in which he drew up instructions for ambassadors and generals in the field - examples include his instructions to Fitzwilliam as ambassador to the French court on how to present his Scottish policy to the French King (see p.53), his instructions to Norfolk and Fitzwilliam when they were sent north against the Pilgrimage of Grace (pp.170-2), and his instructions to the commissioners sent against the Scots (including Fitzwilliam) in late1542 (p.228).[12]

But Henry was no statesman. He may have spent hours making nit-picking amendments to his secretaries' and ministers' drafts but this suggests excessive concentration on individual trees (or even twigs) rather than an ability to see the whole wood. Here he can usefully be contrasted with his greatest servant, Wolsey. Wolsey, the consummate diplomat, realised two things Henry never grasped. Firstly, if Plan A fails one should always have plan B and if necessary Plan C in reserve. Secondly, diplomacy is a matter of trading. To get what one wants one must be ready to make concessions; this involves considering what concessions one is willing to make. Henry did not see things this way. Certain subjects were always non-negotiable: the Divorce, Mary's illegitimacy, the Royal supremacy, the dissolution of the monasteries. Ministers like Fitzwilliam had to accept this and bear the consequences. As he aged Henry got worse. Sending instructions in minute detail left the man on the spot no room to respond to changing circumstances. By the mid-1530s Henry gave his ambassadors no discretion, scripting their speeches, and adding alternative responses according to the answer received. These are the actions of a control freak, not of a lazy and inattentive king.

Though in the 1520s and 1530s he could be open to advice, Henry took policy decisions, not the Council, which was only responsible for implementing them. By the 1540s Henry was becoming more unpredictable and needed careful management.[13] In 1523 Fitzwilliam could write frankly to Henry in answer to criticism.[14] In 1541 he advised Chapuys to use the maximum amount of flattery in his approaches to him.[15]

12. NA. SP1/21 f^{os}247-257, (*LP* iii (1) 1212); NA, SP1/111 f^{o}21, (*LP* xi 1014), (8 Nov. 1536); BL, Add. MS 32,647 f^{o} 162, (*LP* xvii 799), (15 Sept. 1542), [*Ham. P.* i, 163].
13. See L.B. Smith, *The Mask Of Royalty* (1971), especially c.2.
14. BL. Cotton. MS Calig. E iii f^{o} 55, (*LP* iii (2) 3046).
15. *Sp. Cal.*, vi (1), 493.

No amount of whitewashing can conceal the fact that Henry was a tyrant and a monster, as shown by the execution of Buckingham, More, Fisher, Margaret Pole, two of his queens and many others. He could be vindictive and petty-minded to those who opposed him. Yet he still attracted much loyalty: when he last addressed Parliament, according to Hall:

> Thys the kynges oracion was to his subjectes there present suche comfort, that the lyke joye could not be unto them in this worlde.[16]

On her accession Elizabeth made a favourable impression by reminding the nation she was her father's daughter. However much Henry was feared, he was respected by his subjects. He possessed a quality which cannot emerge from written evidence: personal charm and charisma, like his grandfather Edward IV, his great-uncle Richard III and his daughter Elizabeth. Even Mary could display this quality, as she did when rallying her followers during Wyatt's rebellion.

Wolsey

Fitzwilliam's service before entering the Council in 1526 was an apprenticeship under Wolsey, who appointed him ambassador to the French court and member of the Surrey bench. Henry was more likely to have been responsible for his appointment as Vice-Admiral. Fitzwilliam was close to Wolsey: he sent him presents, cracked jokes with him and offered to cover for him when he had to miss a Court appointment. During his mission to Margaret of Austria in 1525 he wrote to Wolsey 'Had spoken to my Lady of the secret charge given him by [Wolsey]'[17] (see p.65). Though we do not know what this was about, it looks as if Wolsey was entrusting him with a highly confidential and important task demanding much discretion. As diplomat and government minister Fitzwilliam owed much to the training he received under Wolsey.

Cromwell

While Fitzwilliam was plainly Wolsey's subordinate, he and Cromwell were on more equal terms, especially in the later 1530s when he was Lord Admiral. When Cromwell was absent or had to step into the background (as during the Pilgrimage of Grace)

16. Hall, *Henry VIII,* p.358.

17. BL, Cotton. MS. Galba B v f^{os} 223-4, (*LP* iv (1) 1308), (3 May 1525).

Fitzwilliam sometimes acted as the King's secretary. He worked closely with Cromwell till his fall, but he was never, as Dr Head suggests, Cromwell's man.[18] They came from different backgrounds and were not natural allies, but up to 1539 they appear to have worked together perfectly amicably.

The first signs of a deterioration in Cromwell's position may date from 1538 when a high-level commission including Fitzwilliam considered Delaware's case and recommended that he be let off (see p.189). Cromwell failed to get the result Henry wanted. The episode may also show that government was more collegiate under Cromwell than is sometimes thought. Relations between Fitzwilliam and Cromwell seem to have deteriorated from 1539 onwards. Cromwell probably saw Fitzwilliam's approach to Tunstall (p.209) as a threat, even if it was made at Henry's behest. In retaliation he blamed Fitzwilliam for praising Anne of Cleves.

The Act of Six Articles (in which Fitzwilliam was not involved, though Kingston spoke strongly for it in the Commons) was passed next month. It has been argued that the Act was not as restrictive as writers like Fox made out [20] But it was seen at the time as inhibiting further reform. Though Cromwell went along with it (or seemed to) he cannot have welcomed it. There are signs he was losing ground: as Strype comments:

> About this time [1539] Cromwell's interest was not so absolute but Winchester sometimes got the ascendent of him with the King' [21]

The setting up of the Calais commission in the spring of 1540, through Fitzwilliam and bypassing Cromwell, surely shows Cromwell on the verge of falling. His mishandling of the Cleves marriage made his position even more doubtful. When he was stripped of his Garter insignia by Fitzwilliam and Norfolk at the Council meeting on 10 June 1540 - not an act of personal spite but a ritual commanded by Henry as Sovereign of the Order

18. Head, *The Ebbs and Flows of Fortune,* p.326, n.36.
19. Elton 'King or Minister?' p.177.
20. Rupp, *Making of the English Reformation,* p.121; McEntegart, *Henry VIII, the League of Schmalkalden and the English Reformation,* pp.108-27, 150-63; Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII,* pp23-39. But even Ryrie admits that 'the ... Act remained a body blow to evangelicals' hopes for future reformation'.
21. Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials,* i, p.343.

- this was not a sudden event but the culmination of a process which had begun in early 1539, if not earlier, and in which Fitzwilliam had been closely involved.

Dickens suggests:

> Within the Cromwellian years, the spectacle is marvellous even where it is unattractive. It abounds in new ideas, still more in sheer political and administrative energy. The dead weight of ancient routines is hurled aside ... [22]

Up to a point. His achievement in securing the break with Rome and piloting the Acts culminating in the Act of Supremacy, the suppression of the monasteries, the establishment of new revenue courts (even if most of them did not last very long), the absorption of Wales into the English legal system and the running of a fairly efficient police state, changed England irrevocably. But there were many parts this revolution did not reach, as we see from Fitzwilliam's experience at the Admiralty, the Duchy of Lancaster and Calais. Cromwell had the vision to make dramatic changes in the areas he touched, but in others life went on as before. Even under his dominance others were responsible for important initiatives. The credit for the Statute of Uses lies with Audley, though Cromwell was clearly concerned. The episode related by George Wyatt showing Cromwell as unsure about how to proceed with abolition of the smaller monasteries,[23] suggests that even in his period of dominance he had moments of hesitation.

Norfolk

Norfolk was probably the closest of Fitzwilliam's ministerial colleagues outside the Household group. Their association went back a long way to the days of the Brest expedition led by Lord Edward Howard. Lord Thomas Howard, as Norfolk then was, picked out Fitzwilliam for his keenness to do the king further service (see p.31). Later Fitzwilliam served as Vice-Admiral under Norfolk as Lord Admiral (pp.32-8) and accompanied Norfolk during the Pilgrimage of Grace (see Chapter 9a) and the Scottish expedition during which he met his death. (Chapter 11d) They were certainly close comrades in war, but this did not necessarily make them political allies. Fitzwilliam's primary loyalty was to Henry, so Cromwell's fall and the reinstatement of Norfolk did not involve him in any conflict of loyalties: Fitzwilliam served with Norfolk as amicably

22. A.G. Dickens, *Thomas Cromwell and the English Reformation* (1958), p.175.

23. D. Loades (ed), *The Papers of George Wyatt.* Camden Soc. Ser. 4 no 5, (1968), p.159.

as with Cromwell. As we have seen, Norfolk's alleged outburst against Fitzwilliam in the spring of 1542 was almost certainly a fabrication of Marillac. (see pp.217-8).

Faction

Faction is defined by Professor Ives thus:

> For Tudor history, a strict definition of 'a faction' is 'a group of people which seeks objectives that are seen primarily in personal terms' ... A faction may come to occupy a recognisable ideological position and the struggle to place this individual or that can be a way to advance a desired policy ... But ... the emphasis is on the advancement of such concerns by the advancing of people.[24]

Faction has its positive side. A good leader wants a range of advice on policy options. He can then change course if need be. For a skilled political leader - and Henry was nothing if not skilful - faction can be used positively to achieve creative tension, allowing disagreement to simmer but not boil over. Elizabeth was good at this. Mary Tudor and Mary Queen of Scots never mastered it - an important reason for the failure of their reigns. Another option is for the monarch to stand above the fray and let factions tear each other to pieces. This seems to be what Henry did in his last years.[25]

A faction could only influence events if its members were close to the King: for Henry absence never made the heart grow fonder; it was rather 'out of sight, out of mind' - or worse, as the Duke of Buckingham and the Marquess of Exeter found. Wolsey's influence was eliminated when he was sent to York; the fourth Earl of Shrewsbury was worried about being away from Court in 1516.[26] Courtiers served on embassies or in war. They might fall sick or be quarantined if a household member fell ill. They had to attend to their estates. Cromwell dealt with opponents by sending them on mission abroad (Gardiner) or rusticating them (Norfolk). Those close to the King were a shifting group, making coordination difficult and putting those with offices demanding frequent attendance, like Fitzwilliam as Treasurer of the Household, at an advantage. Significantly, Cromwell began to be undermined at the 1539 Parliament, which all major political figures attended. All these factors affected the influence Fitzwilliam exerted.

24. E.W. Ives, *Faction in Tudor England* (2nd ed), (1986), pp.5-6.
25. L.B. Smith, *Treason in Tudor England*, c.10.
26. G.W. Bernard, *The Power of the Early Tudor Nobility: a study of the fourth and fifth Earls of Shrewsbury* (Brighton 1985), pp.11-26.

'Faction' does not explain all crises in Henry's reign. Wolsey fell not because of factional opposition but because he failed Henry in the divorce. Anne Boleyn and Catherine Howard fell because evidence emerged against them which could not be ignored. (Of course, factional interests took advantage of all these crises). But Cromwell's fall was at least partly the result of faction. It may be a mistake to concentrate on religious differences here: as suggested above, the religious divide was not as clear-cut as it was later. The critical factor is that current and past household officers (including Fitzwilliam) on the 'privy council' who earlier worked with Cromwell were now against him. His attempt to infiltrate the Household as he had earlier infiltrated the Privy Chamber may well have alienated them, though there is no direct evidence for this. Norfolk and Gardiner may have advised Henry to sack Cromwell, but he would not have acted without consulting his household group, including Fitzwilliam.

Assessment

Fitzwilliam was not a first-rank figure like Wolsey or Cromwell. But any government needs able second-rank figures, and he was highly regarded both as naval commander and as diplomat. The adjectives most applied to him by contemporaries were 'wise' and 'prudent'. Though apparently a religious conservative he was never identified with extreme positions and in his advice to Henry we can reasonably assume that he was generally on the side of moderation.

He was well educated by the standards of the time and was clearly intelligent. He had a sense of humour which he frequently expressed in his letters. How well-read he was we cannot tell as the contents of the Cowdray library were destroyed by fire, but he was a first-rate letter writer who could give a vivid sense of action, as is proved by his letter describing his actions off Calshot Point in 1539 (see pp.139-40).

However, he was no political theoretician, and as suggested above he let Henry think for him in the religious controversies of the age. He did not address the administrative problems of the Duchy of Lancaster or the Admiralty, suggesting that he was not interested in administration for its own sake. His diplomatic and social skills made it easy for him to get on with people of all ranks, views and nationalities, and one gets a

strong impression that he was a man of action who was happiest dealing with other men directly rather than with theoretical issues or with largely anonymous vested interests.

Only in recent times has he met with criticism. Elton calls him 'a creature of Wolsey'.[27] Wolsey started him on his career, together with More, Gardiner, Audley, Cromwell and most political figures of the second half of Henry's reign: only Wolsey could provide them with training in administration and diplomacy. Fitzwilliam was Henry's man from his first association with him as a henchman at Henry VII's court: this is the key to his career. To call him 'timeserver' as Somervell does[28] implies a choice between loyalty and principle he almost certainly never felt, as his personal motto over the square porch at Cowdray House, *Loyauté s'approuvera*,[29] suggests. He was prepared to speak plainly to the King in addressing controversial matters like the Divorce (such plain speaking was also a virtue attributed by contemporaries to Sir Francis Bryan), but he then obeyed orders when the time for talking was past. This is not the attitude of a mere timeserver. He wrote to Wriothesley from York shortly before his death:

> Seurly I had lefher [rather] tell my maystre treuth in all thinges that toches hym and is reme [realm], and bere sum blame therefore, than to tell him a lye and to have a grete reward for my labour.[30]

By now he was desperately ill and probably realised he might not return from this ill-conceived expedition. These words can be regarded as his political testament; they are not those of a mere timeserver. But there may be more to it . Two days later he wrote:

> The Kinges Majestie willed me always to signifie unto him the trouthe.[31]

These letters have a febrile quality. Toxins resulting from blood poisoning and kidney failure may have begun to make his mind wander. Did Henry make him his official truth-teller? Perhaps he was recalling his councillor's oath, or even the oath he took as King's Spear nearly forty years before. Whatever the reason, these letters bear witness to his essential honesty.

27. G.R. Elton, 'Tudor government: the points of contact', *Studies,* iii, p.25.
28. Somervell, p.394.
29. A rough translation might be 'loyalty is its own reward'.
30. BL, Add. MS. 32,647, f° 179, (*LP* xvii 844, [*Ham. Papers*, I, 165].
31. BL, Add. MS. 32,647, f° 109, (*LP* xvii 821, [*Ham. Papers,* I, 173].

But honesty by itself is not sufficient to explain Fitzwilliam's reputation among contemporaries. Competence was also necessary, and Fitzwilliam proved to be competent as naval commander, diplomat and intelligence chief, and as 'enforcer' both within the Household and in the country at large.

But even honesty and competence were not enough. The key to Fitzwilliam's career was his close association with a King to whom he gave thirty years of devoted loyalty and service. In return Henry trusted him as he trusted few (with perhaps a slight wobble at the time of the Anne of Cleves debacle). In his last years Fitzwilliam appears to have been one of the very few that Henry was prepared to trust at all. *Loyauté s'approuvera* was indeed an apt motto for Fitzwilliam to choose.

Appendix: Known non-noble members of the Privy Chamber, 1511-47.

Name	*Status*	*Year*	*Home shire*		
Barnham, Stephen	Groom	1529?	Kent		
Berkeley, Maurice	Gent usher	1535	Somerset		
	Gent	1539			
Blagge, George	Gent	1540	Suffolk	Prot	
Brereton, William	Groom	1524	Cheshire, N. Wales		
Browne, Anthony	Gent	1526	Surrey, Sussex		
Bryan, Francis	Gent	1516	Beds, Bucks, Berks		
Brydges, John	Groom	1539	Glos, Wilts		
Butts, William	Gent	1528?	Norfolk	Prot, King's doctor	
Carew, Nicholas	Groom	1511	Surrey		
	Gent	1518			
Carew, Peter	Gent	c1539	Devon	Prot	
Carey, William	Gent	1518	Herts		
Cawarden, Thomas	Gent	1540	Surrey	Prot	
Cecil, Richard	Gent	?	Lincs		
Cheney, Thomas	Gent	1520	Kent		
Clement, Richard	Gent	1511	Kent		
Cromwell, Richard	Gent	1542	Hunts		
Culpeper, Thomas	Gent	c1540	Norfolk?		
Darcy, Thomas	Gent	1544	Essex/Suffolk		
Gates, John	Groom	1542	Essex	Prot	
	Gent	1544			
Guildford, Henry	Gent	1511-19	Kent		
Heneage, Thomas	Gent	1528	Lincs		
Herbert, William	Gent	1540	Wilts, S. Wales	Prot	
Hoby, Philip	Gent. usher	1542	Berks	Prot	
Jernigham, Richard	Gent	1509	Suffolk		
Kingston. William	K of B	1519	Glos		
Knollys, Robert	Gent usher	1509-18	Oxon		
Knyvett, Henry	Gent	by 1542	Wilts		
Long, Richard	Gent. usher	1535	Wilts	Prot	
	Gent	1539			
Mewtas, Peter	Gent	1536	Essex	Prot	
Morison, Richard	Gent	1539	?		
Neville, Edward	Gent	?	Kent		
Neville, Henry	Groom	1546	Kent, Berks	Prot	
	Gent	1550			
Page, Richard	Gent	1516	Middx and Surrey		
Parr, William	Gent	1537?	Northants	Prot	

Palmer, John	Gent	1538-40	Sussex	Prot	
Paston, Thomas	Gent.	1535	Norfolk		
Penn, John	Groom	1527?		King's barber	
Peyton	Groom	by 1539	Cambs/Suffolk		
Pole, Arthur	Gent	1518	Hants/Sussex		
Russell, John	Gent	1527	Bucks, Beds, W country		
Sadler, Ralph	Gent	1536?	Herts		
Seymour, Thomas	Gent	1546-7?	Glos	Prot	
Simpson, Nicholas	Groom	by 1537	?	King's barber	
Smeaton, Mark	Groom	1532	Flemish??	Musician	
St Leger, Anthony	Gent	1538	Kent		
Tyrwhitt. Robert	Gent	1540?	Lincs, Hunts		
van Wilder, Philip	Gent	?	Flemish	Director of music	
Wallop, John	Gent	1526	Hants		
Walsh, Walter	Groom	1526	Worcs		
Welbourne, John	Groom	1521	Oxon, Berks		
	Gent	1531			
Weston, Francis	Gent	1532	Surrey		
Weston, Richard	K of B	1519	Surrey, Berks		
Wingfield, Richard	K of B.	1519	Norfolk		

Notes

The above table has been compiled from the *History of Parliament, DNB04,* Starkey, 'Intimacy and Innovation', www.tudorplace.com, and Riordan: 'Henry VIII, privy chamber of (*act.* 1509-1547)' (in *DNB04*). Use has also been made of a wide range of local and family websites. Dates of entry to the Privy Chamber are in some cases approximate.

It is unlikely that the list comprises all Privy Chamber personnel: in particular, some who were on temporary attachment or who were unpaid may have been omitted. However, it is reasonable to conclude that it contains the great majority of Privy Chamber staff - certainly a large enough sample for conclusions to be drawn. The designation 'Prot' indicates those who were regarded at the time as being reformers. This description covers a wide range of possible views, and no attempt is made here to distinguish between them.

Kingston, Weston and Wingfield were appointed 'Knights of the Bedchamber' after the 'expulsion of the minions' in 1519 (also Jerningham, but he was already a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber). They are shown as 'K of B'.

NOTE ON TRANSCRIPTIONS AND REFERENCES

While I have used the *Letters and Papers* and other collections of contemporary documents as a starting point, I have wherever possible consulted the original texts - consultation which has proved if proof were needed that the calendared texts are often deficient, sometimes omitting significant points.

Quoted passages are, with some exceptions, transcriptions of the original texts, but where transcriptions already exist I have made use of them. The main sources for transcriptions are:

- The transcriptions of Fitzwilliam's correspondence in D.F. Vodden's M. Phil thesis, 'The correspondence of William Fitzwilliam, Earl of Southampton', (University of London, 1972). I have come across three very minor errors but I have found this thesis invaluable.

- The transcriptions of Cromwell's letters in Merriman, R.B., *Life and Letters of Thomas Cromwell* (Oxford, 1902).

- The *State Papers of Henry VIII* (11 vols, 1830-52).

- Henry Ellis, *Original Letters illustrative of English History,* (1824, 1827, 1846).

- H. Nicholas, (ed), *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England,* vii, (1837).

Some other sources have also been used: these are indicated in the text. There are some minor discrepancies in the methods of transcription used, but I have reproduced the transcriptions as they are, allowing for the fact that I do not have exotic type faces at my disposal. I have standardised on two matters: I have used 'j' and 'v' rather than 'i' and 'u' where appropriate, and to avoid error I have used Arabic numerals for numbers larger than ten.

With regard to Chapuys' correspondence, there is a note at the National Archives stating that neither the *Spanish Calendar* version nor the transcriptions in PRO31/18 are complete but that the *Spanish Calendar* transcriptions are fuller. Examination of a sample showed this to be true, so as visiting Vienna and Brussels was impracticable I have used the *Spanish Calendar* throughout except for three letters not contained in it: one from K. Lanz, *Correspondenz des Kaisers Karl V aus dem königlichen Archiv und der Bibliothèque du Bourgogne zu Brüssel,* (Leipzig, 1845), and two from PRO31/18. These are indicated in the text.

The *Lisle Letters* presented a problem. The majority of the letters are in SP3 at the National Archives, but most of the letters I wanted to quote or refer to happen to be in SP1. It was immediately apparent from examining the microfiches at the IHR that the foliation Dr Byrne used was not the same as that currently in use (some of the documents have up to five page numbers), so with reluctance I have used her rather idiosyncratic method of transcription.

There was also one letter of Lord Darcy that I wanted to quote. (E36/122 fol. 58; *LP* xi 1308). I looked at the file in the National Archives but found his writing impossible to read. Again, with reluctance, I have used the *LP* version.

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