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 978-0-521-11358-8 - A Machiavellian Treatise
 Stephen Gardiner
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INTRODUCTION

THE MANUSCRIPTS

There are two extant manuscripts of Stephen Gardiner's *Ragionamento dell'advenimento delli inglesi et normanni in Britannia*.

(I) Escorial MS I. III. 17 (cited as E). A manuscript of 197 leaves numbered I–IV, 1–189 with two blank leaves at the beginning and two at the end, parchment, 214 × 159 mm. The cover, which is not original, is red silk. The title page has gilt lettering on a red ground as does the salutation (fol. II^r) which is also ornamented in gilt. There are gilt borders on the title page and throughout the dedication (fols. I^r–IV^r). The text is in a careful Italic hand with corrections in several places in the same hand. The margins are very wide, ruled, and contain many notes in the same hand as the text. Gardiner's treatise occupies fols. 1^r–140^r: the remainder of the MS is devoted to Rainsford's appendix, *Ritratto d'Ingliterra*.

The formal appearance of the manuscript suggests that it was the presentation copy prepared for Philip II to whom the translation is dedicated, and this is confirmed by its inclusion in the *Catalogo de los libros de su Magestad* of 1574.¹ The MS was described in Jole Ruggieri's 'Manoscritti italiani nella Biblioteca dell'Escoriale', *La bibliofilia*, xxxiii (1931), 148, and is listed in P. Gregorio de Andrés' *Documentos para la historia del monasterio de San Lorenzo de el Escorial*, Vol. 7 (Madrid, 1964), p. 197.

(II) Besançon MS 1169 (cited as B). This manuscript was described by Castan as follows:

*MS 1169: 1556. Ecriture penchée, de fort calibre, très soignée, d'un copiste italien. Papier – 93 feuillets, 290 sur 210 millim. Manchettes. Rel. originale, en carton, couvert de veau; fleurons d'or dans les compartiments du dos et aux angles, ainsi qu'au milieu des filets qui encadrent les plats. Sur la principale tranche, l'inscription suivante est peinte transversalement, au vermillon: RAGIONAMENTO–DELLE–COSE–D'ANGLITERRA.*²

This copy is in ink throughout, lacking the gilt lettering and other formalities of presentation of E. The copyist may have been Italian,

¹ Entries of books in Italian from this catalog are printed by Jole Ruggieri in *La bibliofilia*, xxxii (1930). From the Gardiner entry we learn that the MS was formerly covered in crimson velvet embroidered with the royal arms in gold (pp. 422–3).

² *Catalogue général des manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France – Départements*, Vol. 32, Besançon, ed. Auguste Castan (Paris, 1897), 1, 823.

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as Castan states, but 1556 was not too early to find good professional Italic handwriting in England. The hand had been in limited use in England since the end of the fifteenth century: Linacre used it customarily, as did Leland, and by the 1550s it was common for educated people and professional scribes to learn it. The first Italic signature in the Common Paper of the Scriveners' Company appears in 1554¹.

The MS is listed in an undated (late sixteenth or early seventeenth century) inventory of the books of Cardinal Granvelle.² It is absent from the inventory of 1607³ but appears in the first inventory of the library founded by Abbé Boisot at Besançon in 1694 and also in the inventory of 1764.⁴ Muller's notice appears in *The Letters of Stephen Gardiner* (Cambridge, 1933), p. xxxv.

A microfilm copy of this MS has been used in preparing this edition.

DATE OF COMPOSITION

Gardiner's treatise is in the form of a dialogue between Stephano (a character based on the author) and Alphonso, who has come to England in search of knowledge of affairs of state. The discussion takes place at the English court, which is referred to as the court of Philip, King of England (fol. 7^v). Philip came to England in the summer of 1554 and began to hold court in late August. But since the dialogue is a fictional one, there is no reason to exclude the possibility that work on it began earlier, in the expectation that there would soon be a court of Philip in England. The Queen announced her intention of marrying Philip in November 1553, and work on the treatise could have begun no earlier, for not only does the dialogue take place at Philip's court, but the political questions that occupy the interlocutors, especially those concerning the behavior of a foreign prince in a new possession in which he intends to found a dynasty, assume the Spanish marriage.

¹ Hilary Jenkinson, *The Later Court Hands in England* (Cambridge, 1927), p. 63; see also Alfred Fairbank and Bruce Dickins, *The Italic Hand in Tudor Cambridge* (London, 1962).

² *Catalogus mss. codicum bibliothecae Granvellanae*, Papiers de Philibert de la Mare, recueillis par Fontette, Bib. Nat. coll. Moreau, vol. 849, fols. 180-3 – as cited by Castan, p. xvi.

³ Castan examined one copy of this inventory, and L. P. Gachard printed another in *Inventaire des papiers laissés par le cardinal de Granvelle à Madrid en 1586. Inventaire des archives trouvées au Palais de Granvelle, à Besançon, en 1607. Histoire d'un procès célèbre à propos de ce dernier inventaire* (Brussels, 1862).

⁴ Castan, p. 822.

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But while the treatise could have been started before August 1554, it is doubtful whether it could have been finished before Philip actually arrived, bringing the political problems of the new reign into sharper focus. At the close of the treatise, Stephano hears the six o'clock bells, and takes his guest to dinner with the Duke of Norfolk. This suggests a date after August 1554 for Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, died on 25 August and his grandson, a boy of nineteen, inherited his title on that date. The old duke was never at court during the period in question. He fled before Wyatt's forces in January 1554 and retired to Norfolk on 30 January.¹ The new duke had been at court since Mary's coronation. When Philip came to England, he was appointed first gentleman of the chamber and became a great favorite of the King, who stood godfather to his first son in 1557.² Thus the duke referred to in the treatise is probably the younger.

Also, the closing pages of the book, in which Philip is called upon to bring peace to Europe, make best sense if a date after 25 October 1555 is assumed. On that day Charles V yielded the sovereignty of the Netherlands to Philip, who thus became the leader of the Habsburg side in the dynastic struggles against the Valois, and hopes for European peace briefly turned to him.³ In the last pages of Gardiner's work, Philip is addressed in terms which would have been inappropriate while his father retained his full power: in particular, Gardiner says that by the English marriage 'his kingdoms and his power in these parts are now consolidated, and he has become without dispute the arbiter of peace and war of all Christendom' (fol. 139^v). Both the joining of the kingdoms (the Netherlands and England) and Philip's role as arbiter of all Christendom argue the late date. It is not likely that Gardiner was here indulging in careless inflation: he was a leading proponent of peace between Habsburg and Valois, and is here addressing a serious plea for peace to the man now in a position to bring it about. If so, Gardiner worked on the treatise during the very last weeks of his life while confined, for the most part, to his bed.⁴ He died on 12 November 1555. Thus the

¹ *Chronicle of Queen Jane*, ed. J. G. Nichols, Camden Soc. (London, 1850), pp. 37-40.

² Mandell Creighton in *DNB* s.v. 'Howard, Thomas II', 'Howard, Thomas III'.

³ Cf. E. H. Harbison, *Rival Ambassadors at the Court of Queen Mary* (Princeton, 1940), p. 255: 'How would the Emperor's coming abdication of his sovereignty in the Low Countries affect the international situation? Would Philip listen more readily than his father to overtures of peace? Such questions as these had first to be answered before the peace of Europe could be settled.'

⁴ James Arthur Muller, *Stephen Gardiner and the Tudor Reaction* (London, 1926), chapter xxxiv.

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treatise was written between November 1553 and November 1555, and probably not finished until very near the end of that period.

GEORGE RAINSFORD AND THE RAINSFORDS

Rainsford dated his translation of Gardiner's work 16 March 1556 (fol. IV^r), four months after Gardiner's death. Thus before the story of the transmission of the text can be told, it will be necessary to ask who Rainsford was, what his connection to Gardiner may have been, and how he may have obtained a copy of Gardiner's treatise.

It is possible to identify the translator with confidence: there were several Rainsford families in sixteenth century England, but only one George Rainsford is recorded, and though information about the man himself is scant, there is ample indication that several members of his family must have known Gardiner: one brother had been gentleman usher to Henry VIII during Gardiner's years at court, and another brother and a nephew served Lord and Lady Lisle, Gardiner's close friends and hosts during his years in France.

George Rainsford was descended from the Rainsfords of Rainsford Hall in Lancaster. His great-grandfather acquired the manor of Great Tew or Twe Magna in the county of Oxford in the middle of the fifteenth century. George was the third son of John Rainsford, who died in 1551. As a younger brother he did not inherit Great Tew: in fact, according to his father's will he inherited only a gold ring, a chamblet gown, a satin doublet, and forty shillings.¹

As the son of a prosperous country gentleman he was probably educated at the university or at the Inns of Court, though it has been impossible to find him in the surviving records.² He probably travelled as well, almost certainly to Italy, for his Italian is quite fluent,³

¹ *The Visitations of the County of Oxford*, ed. William Turner (London, 1871), pp. 165–70; *The Visitation of the County of Warwick*, ed. John Fetherston (London, 1877), pp. 48–9; *Oxfordshire Record Society*, xvii (1935), 60; Bodleian MS Wills Oxon., Ser. 1, Vol. III, fol. 66^r.

² University records for the period are far from complete (see *Book of Matriculations and Degrees 1544–1659*, ed. John and J. A. Venn [Cambridge, 1913], introduction, for an account of how records were kept). Rainsford's descendants are listed in the records of Lincoln's Inn from 1586 onward, and a Thomas Rainsford, possibly a relative, was admitted in 1568. See *Records of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn*, Vol. 1: *Admissions from A.D. 1420 to A.D. 1799*, pp. 76, 105, 198, 276, 294, 315.

³ William Thomas published his *Italian Grammar* in 1550, and after that it was increasingly common for Englishmen to learn some Italian at home: but Rainsford's proficiency suggests travel. He makes many grammatical errors (or his scribe does) but the prose is fluid and idiomatic.

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but no record of his travels has come down to us.¹ We know from the heralds' accounts that he married Katherine Taverner, the daughter of a prosperous farmer in Theydon Garnon, Essex, and in 1552 he appears as a complainant before the Court of Requests in a dispute concerning the administration of his deceased father-in-law's property. The estate was large: it is reckoned in the depositions at £300 plus the leasehold of Garnon Mill Farm. The farmhouse, which stood until 1950, was a substantial one, described in the reign of Edward IV as 'anothyr costlewe byldyng at a ferme callyd Garnouns myll, new byldyd'.²

Taverner had left

To my godson, John Rainsford, 20s . . . To my daughter, Katherine, £20 on the day of her marriage, willing my brother George Rainsford to have the guardianship of my daughter, and to convert such £20 for her benefit, with 50s for his trouble . . . I give to my said son Christopher my leasehold farm of Garnish mill, with stock and stores . . . My brothers Maynard and Glastock are to have the keeping of the farm until he attains twenty one years, and to render their accounts to Rainsford and my neighbor Thos. Shingleby . . . Executors Wybred, Rainsford, Glastock, Maynard.³

Within a year of Taverner's death Rainsford and Wybred were charging that the estate had been mismanaged, and the property converted to the use of Maynard and Glascock. The award of the court is not recorded.

Taverner's will was made in 1552, and it indicates that George Rainsford had not yet married Katherine Taverner at that time. Rainsford's own will, made on 23 March 1559 and proved at the Court of the Archdeacon of Essex, makes it clear that at that time he had six children, only two of whom were minors. Thus he must have been married before, and must have been in his forties, at least, when he worked on Gardiner's treatise. Styling himself George Rainsford, gentleman, he left a total of £90 'in money and

¹ He is not listed in Io[hannes] Aloys[ius] Andrich, *De natione Anglica et Scota iuristarum universitatis Patavinae* (Padua, 1892), and is absent from the careful lists compiled by George B. Parks, *The English Traveler to Italy* (Stanford, 1954) as well as from the supplement to Parks, Edward John Baskerville, 'The English Traveller to Italy 1547-1560' (unpub. diss. Columbia 1967).

² Documents of the case are in the Record Office, R.O. Req.2/1/57, Req.2/2/125 and Req.2/18/77 and are listed in *List of Proceedings in the Court of Requests, Vol. 1*, Public Record Office Lists and Indexes, No. 21 (New York, 1963). On the farm see *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society, N.S.*, v (1895), 28 and *Victoria History of Essex*, iv, 260.

³ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, with Addenda 1547-65*, vi, 413-14. The will is dated 16 August 1552.

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money worth' to his six children and his son-in-law, Andrew Larder, who was to get his cloak and a coat of buff leather as well. Whatever was left after these bequests was to go to Richard, the eldest son, who was also to receive the farm and the lease of the park ground for four years, after which the farm would go to the son-in-law. Rainsford bequeathed the care of his soul to 'almightye god to our Lady Saynt Mary and all the celestiaall company',¹ a dedication perhaps suggestive of a preference for the older religious forms. George Rainsford was buried on 27 March 1559 in the parish of North Weald Bassett, which adjoins the parish of Theydon Garnon in which his father-in-law's farm was located.²

George Rainsford was a younger brother, obliged to seek his fortune. It does not seem that he succeeded very well. His marriage to Katherine Taverner brought him something, which he tried to increase through litigation. We do not know how his translation was received by Philip II, but it did not earn him a pension or a place at court. In his *Ritratto d'Inghilterra* he complains of the fate of younger brothers in England. He paints a glowing picture of the life of the gentry, with its hospitality, independence and local loyalty. The gentry

rarely come to court, and they do not seek offices, honors or dignities; except for the younger brothers, who do not inherit in England . . . they do not divide estates and patrimonies among survivors as is done in Germany and Italy, but only the first born is the heir. The other brothers must be patient and attend the kindness of the first born. Therefore all the younger sons become soldiers or serve at court, so that by those means they may gradually acquire a living comparable to that of their elder brothers (fols. 155^v–156^v).³

His own eldest brother was a very successful man, and George never attained a standard of living comparable to his.

William Rainsford was a gentleman usher to Henry VIII from 1516 until the end of the reign. He was a daily waiter, a steward, and toward the end of the reign he was the man responsible for

¹ Essex Record Office D/AEW/3/321. Mr K. C. Newton, County Archivist, supplied a photocopy of the will, which is listed in *Wills at Chelmsford (Essex and East Hertfordshire)*, Vol. 1 (1440–1690), British Record Society, No. 78 (London, 1958), p. 339.

² The burial is recorded in the parish register at the Essex Record Office (D/P 84/1/1).

³ 'Vengono rare volte à la corte, non circanno ne officii, honori, ne dignitate (eccetti i fratelli minori i quali non hereditanno in Inghilterra). . . . Non dividono i stati et patrimonii tra gli figlioli, come si fa in Alemagna et in Italia, anzi il primogenito solo è herede; li altri fratelli stanno pazienti, et à la cortesia del primogenito. Pero si danno tutti a l'armi et di servire nella corte, accioche per quel mezzo vengino à gradi di comperarsi un stato di vivere à pari di lor fratelli.'

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preparing various apartments for the royal presence, supervising the preparation of the parliament chamber at Westminster, 'making ready' at Grafton, Dover and Sittingbourne. In this work he was assisted by three yeomen and three grooms (listed in the royal household expenses as 'Mr Rainsford's servants' along with the amount of their 'reward', usually 6s 8d). Rainsford's own wages for the period 1526–45 were £20 per annum in addition to 'bouch of court' and stabling for three horses. When Henry died he left £200 to be divided between Rainsford, Blunt and Norris, gentlemen ushers.¹

But the chief reward for service to the King was, at that time, land, and Rainsford was able to obtain a number of valuable grants and leases. In 1531 he was given custody of the person and lands of Edward Hall, lunatic. With the fall of the monasteries, his property increased greatly. He received a grant of the priory and lands of Wroxton in Oxfordshire in 1537, and thereafter an interest in the lands of Combe Abbey, Warwickshire. He obtained a lease for Ellingspittel Priory and lands at Peterchurch, Warwickshire from the Duchess of Somerset, and was granted the rectory and advowson of the vicarage of Michell Tewe and the chapel of Netherworton.² A letter relating to his negotiations for land is preserved, and it shows that Rainsford was not only a suitor for land himself, but was in a position to help others obtain it. Dated 8 December 1539, the letter, from Richard Androys [Andrews] is calendared thus:

Is sorry that he put him to so much pain and begs him to regard no letter but this. Has tried all day the truth for Water Eton ferm and Cuttисло close. The former is gone by convent seal three years ago to a neighbour of the writer's. The latter was also granted by convent seal which is now in the keeping of the lord Privy Seal [Thomas Cromwell], as Dr London can inform him. It was he caused all the seals granted under colour to come to my lord's hands. Begs him to speak to my lord for the said seal, which is £6 yearly. Will give my lord £20 for it. Reynesford may obtain Sandford and little Tewe in his own name. Will give him 20 mks if he obtains Cuttисло for 40 years. Would not sue for it, but that it lies next his own ground. Hears that Dr London is now with my lord. Will help Reynesford to some pasture about Combe Abbey, if possible.³

¹ *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII* (London, 1862–1932), hereafter cited as *L.P.*, II, 872; XIII, Pt. II, 499, 537; XIV, Pt. II, 313; XVI, 180; XX, Pt. II, 550; *The Genealogist*, N.S., xxx (1914), 20; *A Collection of Ordinances for the Government of the Royal Household . . .*, Society of Antiquaries (London, 1790), p. 169; *Acts of the Privy Council of England*, ed. John Roche Dasent, N.S. II, 186.

² *L.P.*, v, 103; XII, Pt. I, 251; XIV, Pt. I, 4; XVI, 276; XXI, Pt. I, 353.

³ *L.P.*, XIV, Pt. II, 239.

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The relationship between Andrews and Rainsford was a mutually profitable one, and was cemented by the marriage of Rainsford's heir to Andrews' daughter.¹ The letter suggests that Rainsford had influence with Cromwell. What the precise relationship was is not clear, but among Cromwell's papers is 'a bill of Mr Raynsford for the room of a sewer',² and in 1532 Thomas Elyot wrote to Cromwell, thanking him for his letters by Mr Rainsford and asking him to 'continue yor favor toward Mr Raynford whome ye shall fynde as honist and faithful as any'.³ The Rainsford referred to is probably John, William's younger (and George's elder) brother, who will be discussed below. William seems to have used his influence with Cromwell, with Elyot, and with others to help several members of his family to find employment.

When not at court, Rainsford served as justice of the peace in Oxfordshire, and in that capacity participated in the process of the dissolution of the monasteries from which he profited as a courtier, for we find him the recipient of commissions of inquiry into Church holdings in Henry's reign as well as in Edward's. After Henry's death William no longer appears at court, and it is only in his local offices of justice of the peace and, after 1549 (the year in which he is first referred to as Sir William) as high sheriff that he appears in the record thereafter. He died in 1555 and was buried in the chapel at Great Tew.⁴

Gardiner must have known him: we cannot say how well or whether as friend, ally⁵ or mere acquaintance, but Gardiner had

¹ D. Royce, 'History of Great Tew and South Newington', Arch. Soc. of North Oxfordshire, *Reports and Transactions*, XIII (1875), 7.

² *L.P.*, VI, 132.

³ B.M. Cotton. MS Titus B.I., fol. 372. The summary in *L.P.*, v, 674 omits this reference to Rainsford.

⁴ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward VI*, I, 88, v, 339, 415; *L.P.*, VIII, 50; XI, 491, XII, Pt. II, 52; XX, Pt. I, 323; *List of Sheriffs for England and Wales*, PRO Lists and Indexes, No. 9, p. 109; *Acts of the Privy Council*, N.S., III, 181; IV, 116; v, 30; Royce, p. 7.

⁵ There is an item in *L.P.* that may imply that William Rainsford was a conservative in religion like Gardiner: 'Gilbert Whetell came to Raynsford and Sir John of Powell who were together and twice or thrice spoke of "a pair of sheets", and said "he that lodgeth a priest overnight on the morning he shall find him a knave". Sir John replied "knave to thee again". Whetell then said "Priest, I counsel thee to bear a longer dagger for thou shalt have need thereof", and other "opprobrious words" at which all the folks in the church wondered' (*L.P.*, *Addenda*, Pt. II, 508). John and Thomas Rainford (see below) were members of the household of the conservative Lord and Lady Lisle, and may have shared their views. But only George Rainsford can be shown (on the evidence of his preface to Gardiner's work) definitely to have taken a Catholic position: there is not enough evidence to assess the religious views of the rest of the family.

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first come to court in 1529 and was, after Cromwell's fall, perhaps Henry's closest adviser: he could scarcely have avoided meeting a man who had been gentleman usher to the King for all those years. Members of the Rainsford family could also have met Gardiner at the house of Lord and Lady Lisle at Calais, where Gardiner often stayed during his diplomatic missions in France. John, the brother intermediate in age between William and George Rainsford, was in their service for a time, as was his son Thomas.

In an interesting letter, Sir Thomas Elyot wrote to Lady Lisle to ask her to forgive her servant, Thomas Rainsford, for his gambling habits. Sir Thomas assured her that Rainsford repented dicing. Elyot considered the boy's uncle, the gentleman usher, his 'long approved friend', and promised that if the nephew is forgiven, the father and uncle 'will be bound to pray for her'.¹ This was in 1533. The following year the Duke of Suffolk recommended John Rainsford, Thomas' father, for a place in the Lisle household. After that the Rainsfords are frequently referred to as the carriers of letters between Lord and Lady Lisle and their correspondents.²

The Lisles were friends and allies of Gardiner's: in 1540, at the height of the struggle between Gardiner and Cromwell, Lisle was imprisoned in the Tower on a charge of having plotted to deliver Calais to Cardinal Pole. The shock of this episode drove Lady Lisle mad, and she remained mad for many years. In 1538 or 1539 Gardiner took James Basset, her son by a former marriage, into his service, and he became Gardiner's closest friend: Basset lived with Gardiner in the Tower during the Edwardian years, waited upon him day and night while he was dying, and was one of the executors of his will.³

Thus George Rainsford was connected, through his family, both to the court at which Gardiner served, and to members of the inner circle of Gardiner's acquaintances, the Lisles and Bassets.

TRANSMISSION OF THE TEXT

One may safely assume that the original English version never circulated widely because of its sensitive (Machiavellian, pro-Spanish) nature, and that Rainsford received the text from Gardiner himself or from someone with access to the Chancellor's papers

¹ *L.P.*, vi, 605.

² *L.P.*, vi, 146; vii, 153; xii, Pt. II, 430, 434, 445.

³ Muller, *Stephen Gardiner*, 51, 69, 72, 90, 289, 291, 292.

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after his death. The second possibility is the more likely, for if the translation had been commissioned, Rainsford would have wanted to say so in order to lend authority to his project. Instead, he dedicates the book to Philip and to the memory of Gardiner, and states that he has added his own description of England 'so that nothing might be lacking in this little book that might contribute to an understanding of the laws, procedures, customs, nature and humor of the people of Britain' (fol. IV^r). Thus he assumes Gardiner's purpose was to instruct Philip, and regards his own efforts as complementary to that intention, but he does not say that Gardiner asked him to translate the work nor otherwise give indication of how he received the text.

An attractive conjecture is that James Basset had a hand in the matter: on the one hand he knew the Rainsfords, for John and Thomas had served his family during his childhood. On the other hand, he was Gardiner's closest friend in the last years, and his executor. Gardiner's will makes no mention of manuscripts or private papers,¹ but no one was in a better position to have access to such material than Basset, who had been in continuous attendance on Gardiner in his final days. Basset was also Mary's Chamberlain and was fast becoming one of Philip's closest English associates:² he was thus in an excellent position to grasp the relevance of the late Chancellor's work to the immediate situation.

In the spring of 1556 Philip was in Brussels. Mary wanted him to return and was making diplomatic efforts to convince him that he could rule England effectively. A treatise such as Gardiner's, showing how foreign princes had succeeded in establishing themselves in England, could not have failed to interest her, and in fact the translation of the treatise may have been undertaken for diplomatic reasons. It is necessary to examine the circumstances in detail.

Mary's false pregnancy terminated in the spring of 1555, and by summer it was common knowledge that Philip would leave and that he was unlikely to return. Mary seems not to have known

¹ *Wills from Doctors' Commons*, ed. John Gough Nichols and John Bruce, Camden Soc. (London, 1863). The will does give the name of the man to whom Gardiner left his 'humanitie and lawe books' (Thomas Worliche).

² Basset received one of the largest pensions from Philip (300 crowns in 1557, 1300 crowns in 1558, see *Calendar of State Papers, Spanish*, XIII, 374, 405). Basset was entrusted with a number of diplomatic missions, and was active in planning strategy for the war with France: on 18 January 1558, Philip recommended that the Duke of Savoy follow Basset's suggestions for the prosecution of the war, and later Gomez wrote to Philip that 'if the English are to go overseas, measures should be taken in time to deal with the points raised by Basset', *Span. Cal.* XIII, 334, 345.