
A table of contents for *The Churchman* can be found here:

https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_churchman_os.php

THE

CHURCHMAN

A Monthly Magazine

CONDUCTED BY CLERGYMEN AND LAYMEN

OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

VOL. XI.

LONDON
ELLIOT STOCK, 62, PATERNOSTER ROW
1885

majority of men do now in these days of railroads and steamships; and braved hardships, bitter persecutions, shipwrecks, and constant threatenings of martyrdom. Now, a man who under such an experience could so enthusiastically continue his studies, and writings, and preachings, and travellings until the age of fourscore and one, and who, in spite of such tremendous opposition, succeeded, by God's blessing, in gathering in such a large number of Mohammedans into the fold of the Christian faith, deserves to be remembered with the sincerest gratitude, and to be held up as a very pattern for those who, like him, wish to extend the kingdom of the Redeemer amongst the Mohammedans.

Nothing can be accomplished towards the breaking of the yoke under which this infatuated people are labouring and praying until, following Raymund Lull's example, we bring every power and ability into war against it, and sustain our every effort by such a spirit of prayer as was cultivated by him. Thank God for the good and noble and able men already labouring earnestly in the mission field, but "what are they amongst so many?" Some good men were stirred up by the example of Lull. Mention is made of one especially—a monk in 1345, who succeeded in obtaining entrance into the great mosque at Cairo, and there preached "Christ and Him crucified" before the Sultan himself; and so powerful was his sermon, that a renegade from Christianity was induced thereby to return within the pale of the Church. Many others also were stirred up. May the Divine blessing rest upon this necessarily imperfect sketch, that it may produce conviction in some, and deepen conviction in others, concerning the grandeur and nobility of the missionary enterprise. Hear ye the voice of the Lord, brother: "Whom shall I send, and who will go for us?"

J. Hinton Knowles.

Art. V.—THE LISLE PAPERS.

THE old saying, "Happy is the man who has no history," has much truth to recommend it. It is mainly troubles and sorrows which go to make personal history. How can any one write the biography of a man to whom nothing has happened of any moment, whose days have fled softly by, one just like another, to whom life has been a happy Valley of

Amhara, with no steep slopes to climb, and no valleys of humiliation into which to descend?

A striking illustration of this is furnished by the fact that of all the private letters which have come down to us from the distant past, the survival of the great majority is owing to the misfortunes of their owners. Odd letters here and there may exist from other causes, but any series is almost sure to fall under this head. Either writer or recipient—more frequently the latter—was attainted of treason, and his private letters became State papers, and were preserved accordingly.

It is to this cause that we owe, among others, that most interesting series of letters known as the Lisle Papers, from which we may acquire a more accurate idea of the private life, and many of the ecclesiastical and political events of the early part of the Reformation period, than we can hope to do from the pages of any contemporary chronicler. The recipient of these letters, though afterwards completely cleared, lay for two years in prison under suspicion of treason; and the King's officers, sent to secure his papers, gathered up not only official documents pertaining to his post as Governor of Calais, but also the private letters of his friends, the business despatches of his agents, the milliners' bills of his wife, and the childish intercommunications of his step-children. The Lisle Papers occupy nineteen folio volumes, of which fifteen are filled with English correspondence, and four with French. The letters which passed between members of the family comprise the first volume. Nearly seven are taken up with the letters of one correspondent, of whom we shall hear more directly. The remainder are occupied with despatches from a variety of persons. Before turning to the letters themselves, a short account of the Lisle family and the chief letter-writers may save some subsequent interpolations by way of necessary explanation.

Arthur Plantagenet, Viscount Lisle, Lord Deputy of Calais, was the son of Edward IV. and Elizabeth Lucy, to whom the King was legally married by the Bishop of Bath and Wells, though he subsequently found it convenient to deny his marriage, and had the baseness to call upon her to confirm his assertion. Elizabeth, who loved her worthless husband better than her own good name or future prospects, obeyed the command, and then passed out of sight. Her history consists beyond that of only the three words appended to every name in that oldest roll of "the world's grey fathers" to be found in the book of Genesis—"and she died." Her son appears to have inherited her character in the main, with one feature derived from his father. He took for his motto, "Dieu l'a voulu." In silent, calm self-abnegation he accepted such

honours as came upon him, and left all the rest to that will of God. There were several turnings in his life-road where, it may be said, he had but to lift his hand and he would have been King of England. But the hand was never lifted. On the contrary, he died in a dungeon of the Tower, under attainder of treason, living just long enough to receive a message of pardon from the King, but not to see it carried into effect by the subsequent and complete clearing of his character and actions. The religious side of Lord Lisle's life is even more interesting than the political one. On this subject the evidence is somewhat conflicting: but, so far as can be perceived, he was all through a Protestant at heart, though at times wavering; and it is difficult to say how far he authorized the use made of his name in the persecutions at Calais, of which a full account will be found in the fifth volume of Foxe's "Acts and Monuments." One thing is certain, that he suffered agonies of remorse for the part thus taken, whether by himself or by others in his name, and that the two years of penitence and pain had a large share in his sudden end. The one feature which Lord Lisle had inherited from King Edward was his spendthrift tendency, with this important difference, that the latter squandered his money on his own whims and vices, and the former flung it right and left for the advantage of his friends. He had, however, much less money to waste than his father, for he found it extremely hard work to get his salary paid by the Treasury.

Lord Lisle married twice. By his first wife, Elizabeth Grey —in whose right he was created Viscount Lisle—he had three daughters, Frances, Elizabeth, and Bridget: of whom the first was with him at Calais during the whole period covered by the letters, and the last for the last eighteen months only. But the Lady Lisle of these Papers is his second wife, Honor Grenville, widow of Sir John Basset of Umberleigh, who had a large family by her first husband, but no surviving issue by Lord Lisle. These Bassets—some of whom will keep appearing through the letters—were John, who in 1538 married Lord Lisle's eldest daughter Frances; Philippa, whose character does not appear; Katherine and Anne, both extremely amiable, and both maids of honour, of whom the former afterwards became Lady Ashley—but, as both her sons died issueless, she was not an ancestress of the present Lord Shaftesbury—and the latter was Lady Hungerford of Farleigh; the fourth was George, renowned for eloquence; the fifth, Mary, a rather self-centred beauty, who became Mrs. Wollacombe; and the last, James, a "black Papist," at one time servant of Bishop Gardiner, and at another gentleman-in-waiting to Queen Mary:

his wife was a daughter of the well-known Margaret Roper, the daughter of Sir Thomas More, who

> "clasped in her last trance
> Her murder'd father's head."

There is no doubt at all concerning the religious proclivities of the Viscountess Honor Lisle. She was a "stout Papist," and it was mainly and virtually by her that her husband's name was apparently compromised in respect to the persecution. The circumstantial evidence goes to show that Frances Basset was a decided Protestant; Katherine was probably inclined in that direction; Anne, as she was in Queen Mary's household, must have belonged to the opposite party, as well as her brother James. The opinions of the rest are doubtful, except that John Basset probably agreed with his wife.

John Husee, the writer of seven out of the nineteen volumes of letters, was one of the English agents of Lord and Lady Lisle. He was a Devonshire man, most likely an old friend of the Viscountess, since they were natives of the same county; and he was a married man, for one of the bills presents us with an entry of, "Given to Hussy again his marriage, xx s." But not one of his scores of letters seems to contain a single allusion to his wife. Husee's duties consisted in fulfilling commissions for his employers, who had almost every pound of meat and yard of ribbon sent to them from London; in attending to their business in their absence from England; in managing the estates which Lady Lisle held in dower from Sir John Basset; and in gathering and retailing to them every scrap of news, of whatever kind, which he was able to obtain. It is on this account that his letters are so interesting and valuable for the elucidation of the history of his times. As to opinions, Mr. Husee's were—as nearly as he might judge of them—those of the ruling powers. A very Vicar of Bray in his capacity for being Papist to day, and Protestant to-morrow, or the reverse with equal ease, was Mr. John Husee, of Subberton.

Much less is known of Thomas Warley, the other English agent, whose letters are few compared with those of Husee. In the opinion of the latter gentleman, Warley's intellect was evidently not of the first order. Both these agents were in London; the third, John Bekynsaw, dates chiefly from Paris: but his business appears to have been mainly the looking after that rather idle and very discontented young gentleman, Mr. James Basset, who was at school in that capital.

A second group of writers were English dignitaries, whether in Church or Court. This class comprises Archbishop Cranmer;

Sir William Kingston, Comptroller of the King's Household; Sir John Russell, afterwards the first Earl of Bedford; Thomas Cromwell, Lord Privy Seal; and Sir John Wallop, ancestor of the Earls of Portsmouth. All these except the last were on the Protestant side, though frequently urged thereto by very diverse motives. Kingston, indeed, seems to have veered round with his royal master. A meaner member of this group was Anthony Waite, servant of the Bishop of Chichester; the word "servant" in those days was much more elastic than now, and included many educated gentlemen.

The third series of correspondents were those who held official positions at Calais, or in the "English pale" around it. One of these was William Lord Sandes, Governor of Guisnes, a stout Papist, and the oddest of spellers even then, when every man spelt as he thought proper: for the old regularity of the pre-Reformation period had been broken up, and the new regularity of the modern age had not come in. The time was entirely a transition period, in regard to secular no less than ecclesiastical matters. Another of this group was Sir Thomas Palmer, Knight Porter of Calais; he too was a strong member of the "orthodox" party, and was afterwards one of the chief witnesses against the Protector Somerset on his trial. In the Diary of Edward VI., another hand than the King's has interlined over the name of Palmer, "hating the Duke [of Somerset], and hated of him." Palmer was beheaded on the accession of Mary, having been a partisan of Lady Jane Grey, or rather of the Duke of Northumberland, and died expressing great penitence for his evil life, and for the course which he had taken against the Gospellers. He had been in earlier life one of a group of profligate gamesters about the Court, and was known by the sobriquet of "Busking [dandy] Palmer." Francis Hall was one of the spearmen of Calais, and a Gospeller. John Rookwood was a member of the Council, and a "stout Papist." Thomas Larke and Thomas Boys appear to have filled offices in Lord Lisle's service: the latter, if not both, was a fervent member of the Romish party.

It was at the close of 1532 that Lord Lisle was appointed Deputy of Calais, but none of his letters have much interest for the general reader until the beginning of 1534. At that period the work of the Reformation was commencing. Queen Katherine of Aragon had been divorced, and was now known as "My Lady Princess," namely, as the widow of Arthur Prince of Wales; the Queen was Anne Boleyn, married to the King in November, 1532, by Cranmer, almost clandestinely, and formally acknowledged in the following May: the dissolution of the monasteries was fully resolved on, but had not yet begun to take effect; the chief advisers of the King were

Cranmer and Cromwell, both of whom were not Gospellers but Lutherans.

Much mischief is done by inaccurate ideas of the state of parties at this time—by a supposition that there were Papists and Protestants, and there the matter ends—instead of a true and definite recognition of the four parties into whom society was then divided. These were, first, the Papists, or men who acknowledged the Pope's supremacy—these mainly leaned to the old, *i.e.* Roman creed; secondly, the Lutherans, who held consubstantiation, and desired to keep as near the Roman boundary, in respect both of doctrine and ceremony, as truth and necessity would admit; thirdly, the Gospellers,[1] who wished to get as far away from it as possible, and held that the Lord's Supper was a memorial institution only, and not a sacrificial one in any sense (both Lutherans and Gospellers were included in the term Protestant, which then merely meant a man who rejected the supremacy and dictation of the Pope); fourthly, the Henricans, who cared nothing for views of any sort, but whose grand object was to be weathercocks, to whom King Henry was the wind. There was also, though they can scarcely be called a party, that "mixed multitude" which always follows a camp, and is least of all absent from the camp of Israel. These belong in turns to any party or all parties, and alas for that one to which they ally themselves!

But there is another source of perhaps greater mischief still, and that is the singular but very popular notion that if the character of a man can be undermined and shown to be bad, the character of his cause or party must necessarily fall with it. Those who hold this opinion fancy that if it can be shown that Henry VIII. was a sensual tyrant, that Cromwell was a time-server, that Cranmer was timid and malleable, the Reformation is proved beyond all question to be a wicked series of proceedings, and one that deserves to be reversed as quickly as possible. Now, if the Reformation can be shown to be Scriptural, what can it signify whether the Lord worked to bring it about with instruments set in handles of plain deal or of carved ivory? Is the Reformation the only event wherein the evil passions of men have been used by God for the accomplishment of His own purposes? "Measures, not men," should surely be the test in this matter. And those who are most ready to apply the fallacious test above-mentioned to the doctrines of the Reformation would probably be, as little as any one else, ready to admit that every Bill introduced into the

[1] This word, originally applied to the followers of Wycliffe, was now revived by the Papists, and was also used by the Lutherans. How far the Gospellers themselves employed it is doubtful. Underhill writes, "I was also called the hot Gospeller, jesting and mocking me."

Legislature should be approved or condemned according to the good or evil private life of the man who introduced it. The absurdity of the suggestion would then become patent.

Arranged in chronological series, which is not an easy task, for few of these letters have any year appended, and internal evidence requires to be carefully sifted before assigning their places, the series commences with one from Sir Brian Tuke, then an officer of the Treasury, dated Jan. 15th, 1534. "The King has established my Lady Princess [Katherine of Aragon] to keep her estate and house at Hatfield; and my Lady Mary is there, and her house dissolved." It is followed by a long and interesting letter from John Rookwood, who writes on the 8th of March:

The ambassadors of Scotland be not yet come to the [Court], howbeit they be at Ware; a bishop and abbot, with other gentlemen, to the number of seventy horse. . . . The Lady Dowager's [Katherine of Aragon] jointure is clean taken away by Act of Parliament, and she is restored to other lands in the name of Prince Arthur's Dowager's, and the saying is that the Queen's Grace shall have the said lands for her jointure: and as concerning the Pope, there is taken from him by Act of Parliament, that he shall have no more out of the land, neither Peter pence nor yet none other thing. All his authorities be clean disnulled here; and daily doctors and great clerks maketh new books, and writeth against his pomp and other his inordinate living. As upon Thursday last past, all the whole Parliament House were with the King at York Place in his gallery the space of three hours: and after that, all the Lords went into the Council House at Westminster, and there sat till ten o'clock at night. . . . And as for preaching in *this* quarters, the preachers accordeth metely [tolerably] well; for here preacheth none but such as be appointed ["by the King," which follows, is crossed out]; beseeching God that all may be well, for there *is* many men much desirous to hear them preach; and the most famous doctors of Oxford and Cambridge, with the Vicar of Croydon and many other good clerks, faileth not to be at their sermons, and marks their opinions and articles, as well of Latimer as of such as preaches: and it is thought that when the matter shall come to disputation amongst them, that the business and inconvenience thereof shall come to great trouble, when the contrary parts may be suffered to dispute with them.[1]

Sir Thomas Palmer, writing on April 15th, is "informed Dr. Noylson was [yesterday] committed to the Tower, and some saith the Vicar of Croydon also. My Lord of Winchester [Gardiner] is out of the Secretaryship [of State] and [it] resteth

[1] On the 28th of March, Warley writes: "The abbeys shall down, and the King's solicitor, Mr. Rich [afterwards Sir Richard Rich, Earl of Warwick and Lord Chancellor], is made general surveyor of the same, and Mr. Pope, my Lord Chancellor's servant, is made general receiver, and have great fees allowed them for the same; and there shall be eight other receivers made, which shall have during their lives every of them yearly £20 fee, and for carrying of every thousand pounds, £10 for their labours; their costs and charges borne. . . . [This is] as evil a time for suitors [petitioners] as can be, the King and Council have so many matters in hand."

in Master Cromwell." To this Husee adds, two days later, "The Bishop of Rochester [Fisher] is in custody of my Lord of Canterbury [Cranmer], and Sir Thomas More in the keeping of the Abbot of Westminster, and Dr. Wilson in the Tower." In an undated letter, written about this time by Rookwood, we find further that "the Bishop of Norwich[1] is condemned in ten thousand pounds, for that he [a word or two here illegible] in *premunire*, and is committed to the keeping of the Knight Marshal unto Friday, and he agreed for the payment of the sum. Some men thinketh the Bishop of London [Stokesley] shall bear him company." On the 18th of April Warley writes: "All abbeys of three hundred marks and under shall be put down." The small and poor religious houses were first suppressed; the rich and famous ones followed later. Warley, writing on the 13th of August, says:

> Nothing can be done because of Parliament, the Queen's dowry [jointure], and matters of my Lady Princess, the Lady Katherine Dowager, [and] the Lady Mary. . . . [Mr. Skevington has been sent] into Ireland on news that the Lord Garrad [Garret, the colloquial name of the Earl of Kildare] had shamefully slain the Archbishop of Dublin and his chaplains, and servants, and spareth not to put to death man, woman, and child, which be born in England. . . . Dr. Barnes and others do daily dispute with the bishops and doctors, but their conclusions are kept secret. . . . Here is a priest which would do you service [that is, wishes to do so]: he writes a very fair secretary hand, and text hand, and Roman, and singeth surely, and playeth very cunningly on the organs; and he is very cunning in drawing of knots in gardens [labyrinths, then very fashionable], and well seen in grafting and keeping of cucumbers and other herbs.

We should think some of these, in the present day, rather odd qualifications for a family chaplain.

Anthony Waite writes, a little drily, on the 10th of October, "Many preachers we have, but they come not from one Master, for it is reported their messages be diverse. Latimer many blameth, and as many doth allow. I heard him preach on Friday last, and as methought, very godly and well." He adds that the Archbishop had sent for that troublesome black sheep the Vicar of Croydon, "but he hath made sickness his excuse, and, as some said, because he would not appear before him." A letter from the Abbot of Hyde, Bishop of Bangor elect, dated Nov. 16th, contains the only reference to Elizabeth Barton, the professed prophetess, who endeavoured to prop up the falling cause of Popery, and made so great a sensation as "the holy maid of Kent": "Our holy nun of Kent hath confessed her treason against God and the King, not only a traitress but also an heretic; and she with her accomplices are like to suffer death." Sir William Kingston writes, on the 24th of February,

[1] The blind Bishop, Richard Nix, who had been a great persecutor.

apparently in 1535, "Upon Ash Wednesday, Mr. Latimer preached afore the King, and shall so do every Wednesday, this Lent; and for the first part he hath well begun, and is very well liked: God send him good continuance!" The irrepressible Vicar of Croydon, as we learn from a letter of Rookwood, dated April 6th, "hath desired of the King's Grace to have license to dispute with Latimer, whereunto the King hath granted; and my Lord of Winchester is gone to his diocese of Winchester, and not to return back till the King's Grace send for him."

The uncertain and tumultuous condition of England was repeated on a smaller scale at Calais. A letter from Lord Sandes, dated, as provoking people do date, "Sunday night," to the confusion of posterity, reports that he had received a letter from the Council of Calais, inquiring about a report that the parish priest of Guisnes "had caused the image of St. Anne to be borne about" on St. James's Day previous, and the Archbishop's Commissary (Sir John Butler, who was Vicar of St. Pierre-lèz-Calais) had desired that the priest might be kept in safe custody until the facts had been investigated. Lord Sandes reports that the parson of Guisnes knows nothing about the matter. The English authorities, however, were far from being pleased with the state of affairs. "Mr. Secretary" (Cromwell) writes Husee, on June 28th, "is not a little displeased with the rumours and surmised news of Calais and the Marches, and what salutation he gave me at the delivery of your letter, I will not now express. . . . . When Mr. Marshall cometh, he shall have his part, for surely he loveth him not." The Marshal of Calais, thus designated, was Lady Lisle's nephew, Sir Richard Grenville, the circumstances of whose heroic death, many years later, have earned for him a place as a hero of romance. He was an uncompromising Gospeller.

An amusing letter from Sir William Kingston, in the following September, tells us that "the King's Grace hath heard never word from my Lord of Winchester, so the King hawks every day with goshawks and other hawks." Are we to understand from this that King Henry's intermittently sensitive conscience had been troubled by doubts about the lawfulness of hawking, and that he had referred the solution of his difficulty to Bishop Gardiner, meanwhile continuing the questionable amusement? Sir William adds, "We thank my Lady for my token [*gift*], for it came to me next the Church of the Black Friars, and my wife was disposed to have offered it to Saint Ley that her horse should not halt, and he never went upright since." Whether this lamentable result was caused by Lady Kingston's superstitious reliance on the offering to St. Ley—probably St. Eloy, the patron saint of blacksmiths—

or by the omission to propitiate that powerful person, Sir William does not clearly indicate.

Anthony Waite writes on the 12th of November:

We have no news, but that it is preached here that priests must have wives, and that we should receive the Sacrament of the Altar in the espece [kind] both of bread and wine, like as the priest doth. But as concerning Purgatory, some preacheth [it] to be tribulations of this world; and some saith there is none. Yesterday there was at *Powles* [St. Paul's Cathedral, usually thus irreverently termed] a great and solemn procession, in which what abbots, what bishops! There were five that ware mitres, and the blessed Sacrament was borne under a canopy.

This procession was in thanksgiving for the recovery of King Francis I., of France, from a dangerous illness.

The eventful month of May, 1536—the month which saw the downfall and execution of Anne Boleyn, and the immediate marriage of the King to her maid of honour, Jane Seymour—brings us, as might be supposed, a handful of letters from all quarters. It opened quietly enough. On the second of that month, Warley's news is of the most unsensational character:

The King . . . is minded to set forward to Dover the next week. Robert Whethell brags freshly in the Court in a coat of crimson taffeta, cut and lined with yellow sarcenet, a shirt wrought with gold, his hosen scarlet, the breeches crimson velvet cut and edged, and lined with yellow sarcenet, his shoes crimson velvet, and likewise his sword-girdle and scabbard, a cloak of red frisado, a scarlet cap with feathers red and yellow. He hath many lookers-on. . . . Sir Richard Chichely, B.D., priest, well seen [skilful] in physic, astronomy, and surgery, and can sing his plain-song well, and is well apparelled, which would fain serve you, if you would help him to a chantry at Calais, and meat and drink: he demands no more. . . . Also he saith he is cunning in stilling of waters.

Ten days later, the blow has fallen, and the whole Court and kingdom are in a turmoil. "This day," writes Sir John Russell on the 12th, "Mr. Norris and such other as you know are cast [convicted]; and the Queen shall go to her judgment on Monday next [15th]." On the following day comes a letter from Husee, who writes as if the indictment of the Queen had stunned his intellect:

Madam, I think verily that if all the books and chronicles were totally revolved, and to the uttermost *proscruted* and tried, which against women hath been penned, contrived, and written since Adam and Eve, these same were, I think, verily nothing, in comparison of that which hath been done and committed by Anne the Queen: which, though I presume be not all things as it is now rumoured, yet that which hath been by her confessed, and other offenders with her . . . is so abominable and detestable, that I am ashamed that any good woman should give ear thereunto. I pray God give her grace to repent while she now liveth. I think not the contrary but she and all they shall suffer. John Williams hath promised me some cramp-rings for your ladyship.

The last sentence has in it more than bathos. The cramp-

rings, of which Lady Lisle was an acquisitive collector, would have had no value beyond that of their metal, but for the virtue inherent in the touch of the Queen—this very Anne of whom the previous horrified paragraph was written. Mr. Husee was so capable of writing up or down to the level of his correspondents' views, that it would perhaps be scarcely safe to suppose that he felt as scandalized as his expressions augur. On the 19th he writes, "The late Queen suffered this day in the Tower, who died boldly [*i.e.*, with firm fortitude]; and also her brother, Mr. Norris, Brureton, Weston, and Marks [Mark Smeaton], suffered the 17th day of this instant upon Tower Hill, all which died charitably. God take them to His mercy, if it be His pleasure! Mr. Page and young Wyatt are in the Tower; what shall become of them God best knoweth." With respect to nine silver cramp-rings which he sends, he adds, "John Williams [the keeper of the Jewel House, afterwards Lord Williams of Thame] says he never had so few of gold as this year. The King had the most part himself; but next year he will make you amends." Mr. Williams evidently did not expect his royal master to continue a widower long.[1]

Five days later, Husee writes: "Touching the confession of the Queen and others, they said little or nothing: but what was said was wondrous discreetly spoken—the first accuser, the Lady Worcester, and Nan Cobham, with one maid more." On the day following he adds, "Touching the Queen's accusers, my Lady Worcester beareth name to be the principal;" and in a duplicate letter, "Mr. Russell wrote to my Lord how he should write the King's Highness in laud and praise of the [new] Queen."

The Tudor capacity for swallowing flattery was exceptionally large: but even bluff King Hal at times grew weary of that dish of sweets which his courtiers spent their lives in setting before him. Witness that Sunday morning when, coming into the vestry after a sermon pointedly levelled at his personal sins, the King took honest Hugh Latimer in his arms with, "Is there yet one man left bold enough to tell me the truth?" Possibly, had there been a few more, it would have been better for Henry and for England.

Courtiers, however, could scarcely be expected to see matters in this light. The letter just alluded to from Sir John Russell is probably the following, which has no date beyond May:

My Lord, as upon Friday last, the Queen sat abroad as Queen, and was served with her own servants, and they were sworn that same day,

[1] Pickering writes on the same day: "The 18th, my Lord Rocheford, Norris, Weston, Brurton, and Marks, of the privy chamber, were put to death on Tower Hill. Also this present day the Queen was put to death within the Tower, in presence of a thousand people."

and the King and Queen came in his great boat to Greenwich the same day, with his privy chamber and *her*, and the ladies in the great barge. I do assure you, my Lord, she is as *gentill* [amiable] a lady as ever I know, and as fair a queen as any in Christendom. The King hath come out of hell into heaven, for the gentleness in this, and the cursedness [shrewishness] and unhappiness in the other. My Lord, we think it were very well done when you write to the King again, that you do rejoice that he is so well matched, with so gracious a woman as she is and you hear reported by her, wherein you shall content his Grace in so doing.

Sir John had written after "reported by her," four words which on consideration he erased: "and he was so——" They evidently were about to lead to some slur on the memory of the dead Queen, that "entirely beloved" Anne, touching whom only a few weeks before Henry would have brooked no sinister word. Her playful satire, not always wise nor delicate, but rarely ill-natured, was not termed "cursedness" then. Now —"*la Reine est morte: vive la Reine!*"

Next comes a letter from Anthony Waite (June 11th): "It is rumoured among the people that one should be committed unto the Tower" for the heinous offence of predicting the weather! The prophet had asserted that "this month shall be rainy and full of wet, the next month death, and the third wars: there to be kept until experience shall entryst [discover to] us the truth of his prophecy." Rather a neat method of testing a vaticinator! Waite has further to recount that twenty-three Anabaptists, three being women, have arrived from Flanders, who

hold these no less strange than damnable opinions (as by report I do hear): first, that Christ hath not of the nature of God and man: second, that Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, took no part of the substance of her body; third, that the bread consecrate by the priest is not the incarnate body of Christ; fourth, that baptism given in the state of innocency (that is, to children) doth not profit; fifth, that if a man sin deadly after he be once baptized, he shall never be forgiven. My Lord of London and Dr. Barnes, with other, be in commission to examine them, which hath sitten these two days past at Poules in consistory there; but they be too stiff; as yet there is small hope of their conversion. And as to-morrow they shall be examined again, and take their judgment if they be obstinate; but if judgment be given, it is doubted whether the King's Grace shall suffer execution of them here, or else send them to their countries, there to suffer, according to their laws and their deserts.

It was not for long that society could cease worshipping its new idol. Even grave Anthony Waite is carried away by the popular fervour. After saying, on the 12th of June, that his master, the Bishop of Chichester, had resigned his see at the request of the King to Dr. Sampson, Dean of the King's Chapel, "a man in very great favour with his Prince," he follows the popular lead by adding, "as yesterday [the new Bishop] did in his pontificals execute the Mass before the King and Queen at

Westminster, which came thither from the New Hall on horse back, highly accompanied with two archbishops, bishops, dukes, marquises, lords, barons, abbots, and justices, with a great part of nobleness [*sic*] of his realm, and with no less solemnity went a procession after the blessed Sacrament, to the great comfort and rejoissance of a great multitude of his subjects . . there gathered to see his Grace and the Queen, which is a very amiable [handsome] lady, and of whom we all have great hope." No doubt those of his Majesty's subjects whose minds had been made uneasy by his recent rapid progress in the Protestant direction, would hail this retrograde movement with much relief.

Two letters came this autumn from the English ambassadors in France, Bishop Gardiner and Sir Francis Bryan. The former, written from Antibes, June 19th, records a meeting between the sovereigns of France and Germany and the Pope: "The Empress' Court is great, the Bishop of Rome's less, and the French Court three times so big as the most of them: so that with them all the towns and villages being within four or five leagues of the Courts any way from them be so full that no man passing by the way can but very hardly find lodging. In the French Court I [Bryan] never saw so many women; I would I had so many sheep to find my house whilst I live."

A letter from William London, Comptroller of Lord Lisle's house, undated, in which he makes the irreverent statement that "the idol of Rome departs to-morrow," probably refers to the same event. This letter, however, is among the Harleian MSS. By October the ambassadors had reached Marseilles, where apparently they did not find the commissariat satisfactory, since they wrote to Lord Lisle, "We would ye had part of the wines that we drink here, and then we doubt not ye would pity us!"

Lady Lisle had now earnestly taken up an object which she thought exceedingly desirable — to advance two of her daughters, Katherine and Anne, to be maids of honour to the new Queen. The first difficulty in the way was how to recommend her suit; and the letters written to her amusingly show the numerous suggestions made by her Ladyship. "The Queen does not care for dogs,"—Anne Boleyn had been fond of dogs, and Jane Seymour showed a fancy for doing everything as unlike her predecessor as possible. "The Queen loveth no such beasts as your monkey, nor can scant abide the sight of them." Her Majesty graciously accepted some quails, but the anxiety with which Husee impresses on his mistress that royalty "would have them fat"—"the King hath written unto my Lord for fat quails"—"let them be very fat, or else they are not worth thanks"—in perpetual repetition, shows either

great care on the part of the donor, or much fastidiousness on that of the recipient.

After Jane Seymour's premature death, Lady Lisle continued her endeavours to obtain promotion for her girls; and by this time she had discovered that bluff King Hal himself was no less physically than morally a "sweet tooth," liking marmalade as well as flattery, and as much pleased with offerings of early vegetables as of personal adulation. Some grapes which were sent over from Calais, and proved to be spoiled on arrival, are much lamented by Husee. Had they been good, "I would certainly have ridden to Court and presented them to the King myself; for I know he has had none yet." Her Ladyship's endeavours proved successful. Anne Basset continued in the royal household until she married in 1554; and Katherine was, after much waiting, taken into the service of Anna of Cleve after her divorce from the King.

In December, 1536, Sir John Wallop, then ambassador to France, writes several letters, in two of which he gives us an interesting glimpse of James V. of Scotland, the hero of the "Lady of the Lake," presenting a rather different portrait from that drawn by Scott. "The King of Scots is a right proper man, after the northern fashion." "He is a man of the fewest words that may be. He shall shortly be ensured to Madame Magdalene [of France], and soon after marry her. His wife shall temper him well, for she can speak; but if she spake as little as he, the house should be very quiet."

Husee, writing on Jan. 13th, 1537, says, "Here are fair behests [promises] and small performance." He is sending to Lady Lisle the Queen's gift for the new year, "a pair of beads of gold, weighing as they now are with their tassels three ounces [a scrap is here torn from the letter]; they are of her Grace's own wearing." In February, he finds a difficulty in sending the spices for which Lady Lisle had written, because "your Ladyship shall understand that now the grocer is dead, and his wife is a limb of the Devil; I will in no wise deal with her." A few days later, he appears to have discovered a less objectionable dealer in spices, for he forwards an "invoice of spices bought of John Blagge" as follows:

Raisins Alicants, at one penny farthing, 10s.
Figs *dorte*, one tapnet, 3s.
Raisins corants [currants], 20 lb. at 3d., 5s.
Sugar fine, 8 loaves per oz. [*sic*], 71 lbs. at 7d. per lb., 44s. 10d.
Rice, 50 lb. at a penny halfpenny, 6s. 3d.
Almonds, one gret at a penny halfpenny, 23s. 4d.
Cinnamon, 2 lb. at 6s. and 8s., 13s. 4d. [*sic*].
Cloves, 10 lb. at 5s., 50s.
Maces, one pound, 6s.
Nutmegs, one pound, 3s.

Ginger *casse*, 2 lb., 5s.
Turnsole, 2 lb., 2s. 8d.
Figs *merchat*, one piece, 4s.
Figs of Algarve, one tapnet, 3s.
Blue, 3s.

Total, £10 15s. 2d.

The reckoning, which is not always intolligible, is that of Mr. Blagge.

Lady Lisle was not always satisfied with the proceedings of her agents, and occasionally, like other people, wanted what they could not send her. "Your night gown [evening dress] and waist coats are even in every point made as my Lady Beauchamp's," writes Husee in a deprecating manner, "and it is the very fashion that the Queen and all the ladies doth wear, and so were the caps." And again, "There is none of that colour of cloth to be had which the Queen's brother did wear at Calais." "The Court is full of pride, envy, indignation, and mocking," is the opinion of the same writer shortly afterwards.

The Queen had now promised to accept one of the Basset young ladies as her maid of honour, having arrived at that decision when she was dining on the quails. Mr. Husee, who liked to save money as well as his master did to spend it, thriftily suggests that there is no need to spend much until the final decision has been made: "but two honest changes they must have, one of satin, the other of damask." Both the girls were to be sent over from Calais, for the Queen wished to see them, "and know their manners, fashions, and conditions, and take which of them shall like her Grace best,"—that is, in modern diction, which the Queen liked best. Very curious is the account, showing how fastidious the Queen was, and to what minute particulars she descended. She went so far as to inspect the young ladies' linen, and pronounced it too coarse for their new position. Anne was the one she chose, the younger and handsomer of the two. At first the Queen commanded that her "French apparel" should be laid by, but on second thoughts she allowed it to be worn out, the hood excepted, for the shape of the French hood did not please her. Husee deplores that her new velvet bonnet became Anne "nothing so well as the French hood: but the Queen's pleasure must needs be fulfilled."

On the 17th of July, 1537, "Other news there is not, but that the bishops cannot yet agree." The plague had now broken out, and Husee writes, "Your Ladyship will not believe how fearful the Queen's Grace is of the sickness; yet the death is not so great as it was the last year, for there died this last week in London but 112." The same writer reports that "All the Court did eat fish, St. Lawrence Eve, but divers in

the realm did eat flesh." "Here is nothing but every one for himself," he says, in September. "I remember my Lord of Rocheford's words, who exhorted every man to beware of the flattering of the Court." On the 16th of October he writes to announce the baptism of the new-born Prince of Wales, afterwards Edward VI.:

On Sunday last, by twelve of the clock, the Prince was christened, in most solemnity and triumphant manner, whose birth hath more rejoiced the realm and all true hearts in the same more [*sic*] than anything hath done these xl. years. I pray Jesu send his Grace long to prosper and live, and the King's Highness many more sons. . . . Your Lordship hath heard of his birth before this, for John Skarlett went directly with the Queen's letters. The Duke of Norfolk and Archbishop of Canterbury were sponsors, with my Lady Mary, at the fount, and the Duke of Suffolk was godfather at the confirmation. . . . My Lord Admiral [Fitzwilliam] and my Lord Privy Seal shall on Thursday next be created earls; the one, as I am informed, Earl of Warwick [Southampton], to whom the King hath granted £2000 out of the attainted lands, and out of the suppressed lands [of the monasteries] a thousand marks by the year; and the Lord Privy Seal shall be either Earl of Kent or Earl of Hampton, to whom the King hath given 200 [*sic*] a year;[1] and divers other shall be made lords, and certain knights shall be made.

What my Lady Lisle wanted with old carpets may not unreasonably be asked; but as there was "not one to be had for no money," it is evident that she had to do without them.

Mr. Husee was in the spring of 1538 in a Protestant frame of mind. So was his master, King Henry. The two facts, indeed, were cause and effect. On the 6th of February he "prays God send him little ado with any spiritual men"—by which term Mr. Husee meant not men of spiritual discernment, neither do modern writers who employ it.

Archbishop Cranmer writes on the 4th of March, "I send to you your own man Master Hore; as you liked him so well last Lent, I appointed him to preach again, accompanied by a very honest, discreet, and well learned man, Mr. Nichols: desiring your Lordship, with the rest of the Council, to assist them in the doctrine of the Gospel, and in the promoting of the truth." There are two letters to Lady Lisle from the Rev. Richard Hore, which show him to have been a spiritual man in the real sense of the word.

On the 6th of March Husee writes that he has received £4 from his mistress through Corbett, "wherewith I will please the tailor the best I can, and also entreat the grocer to tarry till November, and send such Lenten stuff as you write for with the first [*i.e.*, on the first opportunity]: yet I think I

[1] Cromwell was only created a baron; he was not Earl of Essex until 1540.

shall get no ling without ready money." Three days later he reads his lady a solemn lesson on her Romish proclivities:

I first protest with your Ladyship not to be angry with me [which she was very sure to be, and to let him know it]; but if it might be your pleasure to leave part of such ceremonies as you do use, as long prayers and offering of candles, and at some time to refrain and not speak, though your Ladyship have cause, when ye hear things spoken that liketh you not, it should sound highly to your honour, and cause less speech: and though that thing were right good and might be suffered, yet your Ladyship of your goodness might do a very good deed to conform yourself partly to the thing that is used, and to the world as it goeth now, which is undoubtedly marked above all other things. I trust your Ladyship shall not be miscontented, but take it within in as good part as I do mean it; for if I did not bear you my true heart and service, I would not write so plainly.

Poor Husee! only one of her Ladyship's letters to him has been preserved—in vinegar, it might be said: for if she usually wrote with as much sharpness as in that instance, the correspondence must have been charming to receive. He might well beg her not to be miscontented.

"Here is a priest which would gladly serve my Lord and your Ladyship; he seemeth to be a right honest man, and I think your Ladyship lacketh such a one!" Mr. Husee was not wrong in that opinion, if he alluded to that far from honest individual, Sir Gregory Botolph, then Lord Lisle's chaplain, who in all probability had some hand in his master's undoing: nor was he mistaken in his estimate of the priest, who was Sir Oliver Browne, and a Gospeller.

On the 21st of March Husee writes: "Pilgrimage saints goeth down apace, as our Lady of Southwick, the blood of Hales, St. Saviour, and others; and this day the Abbey of Stratford is suppressed. I am glad to hear that your Lordship doth set forth so earnestly the Word of God, wherein above all others you shall demerit high thanks." The next day he writes to Lady Lisle, hinting at some disagreeable reports which had been circulated to her disparagement, and which seem to have been to the effect that she did not earnestly favour the Word of God as her husband did. There was reason for them: and, as Husee regretfully notes, they were not spread by "low people, but great men. I think if your Ladyship will leave the great part of your ceremonies, and have only mass, matins, and evensong, of the day, they shall have nothing to speak of." He is glad to hear that the preachers—Hore and Nichols—are liked, and trusts their wholesome doctrine may do good. It will be seen that Mr. Husee is a Protestant—just now. "The most part of saints whereto pilgrimage and offering were wont to be made are taken away: our Lady of Southwark is one, St. Saviour, the blood of Hales, and other: I

doubt the Resurrection shall after. I can no more, but God be lauded in all His works!" The allusion to "the Resurrection" is not easy to explain; it was probably some assemblage of figures, such as those now termed "Calvaries."

King Henry was now in his most evangelical frame of mind, and reaction ensued ere long.

EMILY S. HOLT.

(*To be continued.*)

ART. VI.—CLERICAL CHARITIES.

The North Riding Clergy Charity. Report for the year ending December, 1883. Thirsk: Z. Wright, Market Place.

Report, Rules, and Regulations of the Society for the Relief of Distressed Clergymen in the Diocese of Durham, for the year 1876. Durham: *County Advertiser* Office.

The Clergy—too Many and too Few. A Paper read at the Leicester Church Congress, 1880, by the Rev. J. J. HALCOMBE, M.A.

The Church and her Clergy. A Plea for a Sustentation Fund by B. and C. 1884. Boston: Dingwall and Wilson, 42, Market Place.

The Diocesan Clergy Charities. A Paper contributed to the *Guardian*, November 28th, 1883, by the Rev. E. G. O'DONOGHUE.

THE centenary celebration of "the North-Riding Clergy Charity" was held at Thirsk, on Tuesday, August 19th. The Archbishop of York was the preacher, and at the subsequent gathering made some very forcible remarks on the whole question of the social condition of the clergy. The special Charity which enjoyed the privilege of the Archbishop's powerful advocacy was founded at a general meeting of the clergy of the North Riding of the County of York, held at Northallerton, on Thursday, the 5th day of August, 1784, "To consider of a plan for the better provision of the necessitous clergy and their families within the said Riding." In pensions and donations, this charity disbursed last year about £300, and administered the interest of a sum of £2,000 called the Edmund Smith Fund, bequeathed on the express condition "that it be applied for the benefit of clergymen who should become necessitous by reason of age, sickness, infirmity, or unavoidable misfortune, and for no other purpose whatever."

A much older charity is "The Society for the Relief of Distressed Clergymen and their Widows and Families, commonly called the Society of the Sons of the Clergy in the Diocese of Durham." Founded in the year 1709, it made no