A Study of Crown Relations with Some Members of the House of Commons in the Reformation Parliament, 1529-1536

Mary Justine Peter
Loyola University Chicago

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A STUDY OF CROWN RELATIONS WITH SOME MEMBERS OF
THE HOUSE OF COMMONS IN THE REFORMATION
PARLIAMENT, 1529-1536

by
Sister Mary Justine Peter, O.S.F.

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Loyola University in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

February
1955
LIFE

Sister Mary Justine Peter was born in Longmont, Colorado, July 23, 1924. Her elementary school training was obtained at St. John's Parochial School, Longmont. She attended Longmont High School for three years, and was graduated from St. Mary's Academy, Milwaukee, in June, 1941.

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She taught in the elementary grades at St. Sebastian School, Milwaukee, from September, 1943 to June, 1948, and at St. Bernard School, Middleton, Wisconsin, from September, 1948 to June, 1951.

Her graduate work in history began in the Summer Session of 1951 at Loyola University, Chicago, and was continued while teaching at Our Lady of Solace School, Chicago. In September, 1954, she was appointed history instructor at Cardinal Stritch College, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The parliament which was summoned at the Black Friars in London on November 3, 1529, might be called the most momentous in English history, for it changed intrinsically the soul of the nation. During its seven-year term it effected the break between England and Rome; whence its name, the "Reformation Parliament."

Tudor Parliaments were notoriously few; this was but the fourth in Henry VIII's reign. Already in 1525 Henry was beginning to find delight in Anne Boleyn and a corresponding boredom in Katharine. By 1527 Henry and Wolsey had definitely decided to be rid of Katharine of Aragon, purportedly on the grounds of religious scruples that the marriage had been invalid from the first. The delay at Rome over the proposed divorce, added to the aggravated international situation which saw its climax in the Treaty of Cambrai on August 6, 1529,¹ proved incentive enough for Henry VIII to order writs prepared for a new parliament, that he might "obtain by this means what he has not yet been able to get in any other way."²

¹ Francis I, a supporter of Henry's divorce, capitulated to Charles V, Katharine's nephew, at Cambrai. Pope Clement VII had made peace with Charles V on June 29.

² Chapuys to Charles V--Great Britain, Public Record Office, Calendar of Letters, Dispatches and State Papers, Relating to Negotiations between England and Spain, IV, pt. 1, London, 1879, 235. This work will be referred to as Spanish Calendar in future citations.
The first session was opened in the presence of King Henry VIII by Sir Thomas More, the recently appointed chancellor. More announced to the assembled Houses that the parliament had been ordered "to reform such things as have been used or permitted in England by inadvertence, or by the changes of time have become expedient, and to make new statutes and laws where it is thought fit."  

Perhaps already the Chancellor felt a certain uneasiness towards this parliament, for even before the Lords and Commons sat for the first meeting, the king's purpose in convoking it at that time was being surmised with considerable accuracy. On September 21, 1529, Eustace Chapuys, Imperial ambassador to England, wrote to his sovereign, Charles V:

It is reported that the real cause of this Parliament . . . is . . . to investigate the conduct and examine the accounts of all those functionaries who have been connected with the finances of this country, . . . to abolish the Legatine Office in England, and prevent the Pope from appointing or sending in future legates to this country. . . . I firmly believe that if they had nothing to fear but the Pope's excommunication, there are innumerable people in this country who would . . . make of the King and ordinary prelates as many Popes. All this for the sole purpose of having the divorce case tried in England . . . and not so much perhaps for the ill-will they bear towards ecclesiastics in general, but principally on account of their property which they covet and wish to seize.  

---

3 More succeeded Wolsey to the Great Seal. Contrary to common opinion, this was not the first time a layman had held the office. Six other instances are cited in Kenneth Pickthorn, Early Tudor Government, II, London, 1934, 127, n. 2.  
5 Spanish Calendar, IV, pt. 1, 235-236.
The fulfillment of these conjectures can readily be seen in the subsequent acts passed by Parliament. The completion of Wolsey's ruin was accompanied by diverse complaints against the clergy drawn up by the House of Commons. These "six great causes" were later broken down into three general bills seeking: (1) to limit probate fees; (2) to regulate mortuaries; and (3) to protest against non-residence of the clergy, pluralities, and the "takynge ofFarmes by spiritual men." The anti-clericalism thus manifested by the Commons was censured openly by Bishop John Fisher of Rochester; however, he was obliged by the king to excuse himself to them, "which blind excuse pleased the commons nothyng at all." In 1531 Parliament was called upon to ratify the king's pardon of the clergy for their infraction of the statute of Praemunire in recognizing Wolsey as Papal Legate. The clergy obtained this pardon only after having voted a "grant" of £100,000 to the king, and conceding to him the ambiguous and portentous title of "singular protector, unique and supreme lord, and, in so far as by Christ's law is allowed, even supreme head." This was but the heady wine that was to whet Henry's appetite for ever more absolute power. An Act in Restraint of Annates, which forbade the payment of the first-fruits of bishoprics to the Pope, was passed in January, 1532, which act was to be enforced at the king's pleasure.

7 Ibid., 168.
8 Letters and Papers, V, 24.
Submission of the Clergy quickly followed, and in 1533, after Henry's marriage to Anne Boleyn was proclaimed valid, Parliament passed the Statute of Appeals which forbade Englishmen to appeal to Roman courts for adjudication of cases pertaining to such things as wills, marriages, and tithes.

The height of parliamentary activity was reached in 1534, which saw not only the abolishing of the Peter's Pence and papal dispensations, but also the establishing of the succession to the throne, the repudiation of all papal jurisdiction, and finally, in November, the acknowledgment of Henry VIII as supreme head of the Church in England without qualification. It only remained to impose the schismatic oath upon the nation in 1535. The fitting climax to the series of anti-clerical legislation was the suppression of the lesser monasteries, that is, those whose yearly income was less than £ 200.

What accounted for the successful issue of Henry's ambitions? Obviously, basic to an interpretation of the proceedings of a parliament is an investigation into its composition. It is presumable that Henry should have taken some pains to insure the successful outcome of this parliament. If he did not directly control the election of the knights, burgesses, and citizens, he had other means at his disposal whereby he could oblige those who were elected to respond in a manner favorable to his private interests, and he knew well how to use flattery and attentions

10 For acknowledgments of the royal supremacy made by religious houses and corporations, see Letters and Papers, VII, 336, 392-398, 439-442, 472-473, 511, 592-593.

11 The Pope was to be recognized only as the bishop of the Roman diocese.
to win his point. Scarcely a month after the formal opening of parliamentary sessions, the Imperial ambassador to England wrote: "I am told the majority of the members has been bribed and gained over in favour of the king."12

This study purports to investigate the royal favors employed by Henry VIII and to determine to whom they were given. Grants, in the form of commissions, offices, lands, titles, and similar royal awards, bestowed upon the members of the House of Commons will be noted, as well as relations of members with the king through the Privy Council, royal court, royal household, and other executive positions. The question of personal friendship with the king cannot be overlooked. Nor can such questions as: Whom did Henry VIII employ to enforce the new legislation? Were royal favors and commissions multiplied during the years of the most important decisions? How did members subsequently share in the spoils of the confiscated church lands?

These questions inevitably lead to more vital issues which, unfortunately, admit of no satisfactory solution: how the individual members reacted to these favors, and the extent of influence which was actually exerted by such means. Because no journals of the proceedings of the House of Commons are extant, if any were kept, conclusions along these lines must be drawn tentatively and with extreme caution.

Twelve of the more prominent members of the House of Commons have been selected for individual treatment--five from among the Knights of

12 Chapuys to Charles V, December 8, 1529, Spanish Calendar, IV, pt. 1, 361.
the Shire, and seven burghers. Crown relations with each of these men will be dealt with separately and in detail; however, the investigation will be focused, for the most part, upon the years of the actual parliamentary term—1529 to 1536. Any events prior or subsequent to these dates will be considered only insofar as they furnish background or have a direct relationship to, or dependence upon, the problem under discussion. Although these individual analyses form the bulk of the paper, significant data concerning other members of the parliament will be utilized in presenting a brief picture of the general composition of Parliament, and in formulating conclusions.

The restricted treatment here given the question of Crown relations with the members of Parliament cannot furnish the basis for broad conclusions. Stress will be laid upon the king's dealings with the selected group of men; therefore, the judgments formed must necessarily be specific rather than general in character. It is hoped that in tracing the sequence of royal concessions, a clue might be found to the facility with which separation from Catholic unity was effected in England.

13 A complete list of the members of the House of Commons, together with their constituencies will be found in Appendix I.
CHAPTER II

THE COMPOSITION OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

It is natural that some controversy should have arisen over the composition of Henry VIII's "long parliament," especially in view of the dearth of documents concerning both the elections and the parliamentary sessions. A contemporary has styled it "a parliament for the enormities of the clergy." ¹ Another, Sir Thomas More, spoke in condemnation of it at his trial.² Later historians have expressed divergent opinions. One cannot subscribe entirely to Hallam's bitter denunciation of the parliament in question: "Both houses of parliament yielded to every mandate of Henry's imperious will; they bent with every breath of his capricious humor; they were responsible for the illegal trials, for the iniquitous attainers, for the sanguinary statutes...."³ But Gairdner is hardly less derogatory when he writes: "The House of Commons in those days was usually filled with nominees of the Crown; and this House had been packed with very special care."⁴

² "Against this one parliament of yours, God knoweth what manner of one, I have all the councils of Christendom, made these thousand years." —Nicholas Harpsfield, The Life and Death of Sir Thomas More, ed., E. V. Hitchcock and R. W. Chambers, London, 1932, 261.
A. F. Pollard does not agree with Hallam and Cairdner that the parliament had been hand-picked by Henry. Rather, he says:

Parliaments packed themselves quite well enough to suit Henry's purpose, without any interference on his part. The limiting of the county franchise to forty-shilling freeholders, and the dying away of democratic feeling in the towns, left parliamentary representation mainly in the hands of the landed gentry and of the prosperous commercial classes; and from them the Tudors derived their most effective support. ⑤

He attributes parliament's servility to the assiduous attentions Henry VIII paid to his lay Lords and Commons. ⑥

Kenneth Pickthorn looks at the problem in much the same way. He says very aptly:

In general it is fair to dismiss packing as an inappropriate word, and to say that on this occasion there was something, and something unprecedented which the king wanted from parliament; therefore special pains were taken to ensure that royal influence direct or indirect should prevail in all constituencies where it could be made decisive; for various reasons this was in a majority of cases effective enough to produce burgesses as anti-clerical and as anti-Roman as the king desired, but there is no evidence that any great force was necessary for this result, nor was the 1529 house of commons simply subservient to any royal purpose. ⑦

Whether or not this was a hand-picked group, Henry VIII managed to get what he wanted from this parliament. A glance at the men who made up the House of Commons, at their position relative to the royal Court, and at the king's interest in their regard, will help to answer the question: how?

A list of the members of the House of Commons, together with the names of the thirty-seven counties and 117 boroughs represented, is still

⑥ Ibid., 263.
extant. Hughes states that there were seventy-four Knights of the Shire and 234 Burgesses, but if Sir John Russell, Sir John Baker, Thomas Wards, and William Webbe each sat for two constituencies, there were only seventy-three Knights and 231 Burgesses actually present.

In measuring the relationship between Henry VIII and the Commoners, the author has tabulated ten grants and offices which indicate royal favor: (1) the Privy Council, a body of royal appointees—ecclesiastics, knights, and lawyers—chosen to give the king counsel and to aid him in dispatching business, judicial or otherwise; (2) the Order of the Garter, the highest degree of knighthood, bestowed by nomination, election, and royal sanction, and always denoting the king's approval; (3) the office of Justice of the Peace, with its jurisdiction not only over courts, but also over prices, wages, standards of weights and measures, guilds, farm labor, and the conduct of minor officials; (4) the office of sheriff, with its

8 Letters and Papers, IV, pt. 3, 2691-2692. This list has been reproduced in Appendix I, pages 112-115 below.
9 Philip Hughes, The Reformation in England, I, New York, 1951, 210. The same author notes that in the geographical distribution of seats, predominance in the centers of the new cloth industry is remarkable. Wiltshire alone sent thirty-four members to the House of Commons.
10 Justices of the Peace were nominated by the Chancellor and appointed by the Crown. It was not extraordinary for one man to hold this commission in different counties simultaneously. Sir Thomas Audley, for instance, was named Justice of the Peace in thirty-nine counties, and Sir William Fitzwilliam in twenty-nine counties in 1532. Usually the first five or six names listed for each county were of Privy Councillors, frequently the same men. This fact presents the interesting problem: did these Justices travel from county to county in order to exercise a centralizing control over these localities, in contradiction to the opinion that Tudor administration on the local scene depended upon the voluntary cooperation of the resident Justices?
duty of maintaining law and order; (5) Gaol delivery, a commission conferred upon judges and others to bring prisoners to trial at circuit court sessions, and to discharge those who were acquitted; (6) Monastic grants, including religious houses, sites, chattels, rents, and any other possessions formerly held by the dissolved religious houses, given in fee, or leased at low rates to friends of the king; (7) Leases from other crown lands, granted as a means of raising royal revenue, but also as a favor to those whom Henry desired to please; (8) offices in the Royal Household, ranging from simple domestic duties to some of the highest administrative positions in the realm; (9) the commission to collect Tenths of Spiritualities for the Crown, an exigency created by the abolition of papal authority; and (10) a general category (checked only in the cases of those men who held very few or no offices or grants listed in the table), including sundry appointments, such as commissions of sewers, of oyer and terminer, of service at special functions, and other specific royal appointments, not mentioned on the chart. The author does not pretend that the data recorded here is definitive nor exhaustive; it is merely indicative of what a more detailed study might reveal.

| TABLE I | 11 |
| OFFICES, COMMISSIONS, AND GRANTS HELD BY MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS |

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2--Knight of the Carter  6--Monastic Grant  7--Royal Household  8--Lease from Crown
3--Justice of the Peace  4--Commission to collect
4--Sheriff

* Identification incomplete
** Mortuus written against these
### Table I (continued)

**OFFICES, COMMISSIONS, AND GRANTS HELD BY MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS**

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TABLE I (continued)

OFFICES, COMMISSIONS, AND GRANTS HELD BY MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

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New Members of Parliament in 1533

| ap Rice, R. | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Basingvile, J. | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Brian, F. | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Capell, O. | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Castell, J. | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Chevney, T. | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Conway, T. | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Darce, T. | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Gostwick, J. | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Hopton, A. | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Russe, R. | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Lee, Sir H. | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Longe, H. | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Maryn, W. | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Nevele, E. | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Newport, I. | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Nastell, J. | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Seynt. John, J. | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Saphott, R. | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Seymour, E. | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Skymoor, J. | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Stolpe, W. | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Tabbett, J. | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Towe, B. | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Turwitt, R. | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Tyllay, P. | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Tyrall, J. | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
Further examination of these grants reveals the extent to which royal influence penetrated the ranks of the burgesses. On June 20, 1530, for instance, seventy-six members of the House of Commons were named on commissions of gaol delivery.\textsuperscript{12} Two years later, 237 appointments to commissions of the peace were given to 106 Commoners in thirty-six counties.\textsuperscript{13} At least one member of the House of Commons was assigned to each county (with the exception of Hertford and Kent) in which inquisition on Wolsey's possessions was made in 1529.\textsuperscript{14}

Even more significant is the number of Commoners who surrounded Henry VIII in responsible administrative positions during the parliamentary term. Sir William Fitzwilliam was Treasurer of the Household from 1527 to 1537; Sir John Hussey, Chief Butler of England from 1521 to 1537; Thomas Cromwell became Master of the Jewels in 1532 and Lord High Chancellor in 1533. Sir Richard Rich was named Surveyor-of-Liveries and Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations in 1535 and 1536 respectively.\textsuperscript{15} In 1535 Sir John Baker was appointed Attorney-General and Privy Councillor.\textsuperscript{16} On July 15, 1534, John Hasilwood took over the duties of teller of the Receipt of the Exchequer.\textsuperscript{17} Sir William Skevington was appointed deputy of the Duke of Richmond, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in August, 1529.\textsuperscript{18} John Petyt, a

\textsuperscript{12} Letters and Papers, IV, pt. 3, 2918-2919.
\textsuperscript{13} Ibid., V, 700-706.
\textsuperscript{14} Ibid., IV, pt. 3, 2931-2932.
\textsuperscript{15} Richardson, App. V, 486-488.
\textsuperscript{17} Letters and Papers, VII, 400.
London burgess, was given the office of third baron of the Exchequer on October 2, 1532, to hold "during good conduct." Many of these men, as a matter of course, were admitted into the Privy Council. Keir notes that at the end of Henry VIII's reign, of his nineteen Privy Councillors, only six were men of title and of these Arundel was the only one who held a peerage acquired before 1536.

Among the personal attendants to the king, either in quasi-military capacity, or in domestic service, are found many of the members of the House of Commons. Some of them were servants of long standing; Roger Mynours, for example, is listed as sergeant of the buttery as early as 1510, and in 1516 the list of Royal Household officers, exclusive of those holding high administrative positions, includes thirty-four of the men who were to sit in Henry's Reformation Parliament thirteen years later. The "King's Book of Payments" for the first ten years of the reign lists salaries and wages going out to twenty-nine of these men. Thirty-nine took part in the pageantry of the Field of the Cloth of Gold.

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19 Letters and Papers, V, 632.
21 Letters and Papers, I, 152.
23 Ibid., II, pt. 2, 1141, 1180.
in 1520, and of these, twenty-eight were appointed to attend upon the king and queen at the interview with the French king.\textsuperscript{24} At the meeting of Henry VIII and Charles V at Gravelines, about one-fourth (thirty-three) of the king's attendants were chosen from among the same knights and squires.\textsuperscript{25}

By 1526 the following men had been added to the King's Household staff: Sir William Kingston, captain of the King's Guard; Sir Nicholas Carewe, master of the horse; Sir Thomas Tempest, Squire for the Body; Thomas Palmer, Everard Digby, and Edward Lytton, gentlemen ushers; Edward Payton, quarter waiter; William Coffin and Edward Ryngeley, sewers of the chamber;\textsuperscript{26} Henry Thornton and Richard Gybson, sergeants-at-arms; John Marten and Robert Acton, grooms of the chamber; Sir Andrew Winesore, clerk of the Great Wardrobe; Sir John Baker, "servant of the king"; Sir William Skevington, master of the ordnance; Robert Fyssher, gunner; and John Morreys, clerk of the tallies in the Exchequer.\textsuperscript{27}

From a list of those in attendance at Anne Boleyn's coronation, we can form some idea of the wide range of positions held by the men who

\textsuperscript{24} Ibid., III, pt. 1, 240-242. Each of these knights had a retinue consisting of a chaplain and eleven servants.--Jordan, 33.
\textsuperscript{25} Letters and Papers, III, pt. 1, 325-326.
\textsuperscript{26} Lower explains the significance of this charge, as follows: "The principle duties of the sewer were to serve up the dishes for the king's table, and to taste every viand before the monarch ventured to partake of it. This, being a precaution to avoid poisoning, was generally committed to some personage in high favour with the monarch."--Mark A. Lower, trans. and ed., The Chronicle of Battel Abbey, London, 1851, 2, n. 4.
\textsuperscript{27} Letters and Papers, IV, pt. 1, 865.
were serving in parliament at that time. Among the yeoman ushers we find William Bond, burgess for Weymouth, Dorset; John Thomas waited on the queen; and William Gascoigne was Anne’s almoner during the feast. The surveyors at the dressers were Thomas Hall and William Bond; John Baker had charge of the kitchen; John Dale was steward of the larder; and Thomas Coke directed work in the scullery.

Members of the Lower House were not only related to the Court in an official way; some of them could claim an actual kinship with notable families—a factor that boded good or evil as times and circumstances changed. Sir John Seymour, sitting for Heytsbury, Wiltshire, was the father of Jane Seymour. Sir Thomas Seymour was her brother, and Sir Nicholas Wadham had married Jane’s sister, Margaret. Sir William Parr could also claim a queen as his sister. Thomas Burgh’s son Edward had married Katharine Parr before she became the wife of Henry VIII. Sir Gilbert Tailboys, Knight for Lincolnshire, married Elizabeth Blounte, the former mistress of Henry VIII. Geoffrey Pole was the brother of Cardinal Pole, and son of the Countess of Salisbury.

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30 *Gasquet*, 352-353.
31 John Bernard Burks, *Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Peerage, Baronetage, and Knightage, Privy Council, and Order of Precedence*, 99th ed., London, 1949, 300. Katharine had been married twice before she became Henry’s queen, and once afterwards. Her second husband, Sir John Nevile, also had been a member of the Reformation Parliament, as was her last husband, Sir Thomas Seymour.
A few of the Knights were elevated personally to the peerage during their parliamentary term. It is evident that Henry VIII, who created sixty-two new peers during his reign, had begun already to use this expedient to gain men over to his policies, and to express his approval of those who supported him.33 In 1529 Thomas lord Burgh and Andrew lord Wyndesore were admitted to the House of Lords, Peerage was conferred upon John lord Hussee of Sleaford, John Nevile (Lord Latimer), and Thomas lord Wentworth in 1533.34

These promotions to the House of Lords, and the deaths which had occurred among the members of the Lower House necessitated the holding of by-elections in 1533. There is evidence that these elections were managed by Cromwell with an eye to seating Commoners agreeable to the king's proposals.35 A glance at the list of new representatives brought into the House

33 Two Lists Showing the Alterations that have been made in the House of Commons, London, 1719, no pagination.
34 William Dugdale, ed., A Perfect Copy of All Summons of the Nobility to the Great Councils and Parliaments, London, 1685, 517.
35 A letter written at this time by a prospective burgess to Cromwell states:

"Since I received the letters from you and my Lord Great Seal to make friends in the country here to serve the King at this Parliament, I and my friends have essayed such as I stood in doubt of. They all replied that their promises to that effect had been given long before. Many even of my own friends had made like promise to Mr. Hall of Huntingdon, who, I understand, applied to all the friends he could. I am sorry to be thus prevented, but if the King and his Council will command Mr. Hall to forbear further labor in the matter, and give me the votes he had procured, no one will be more glad to serve the King."—Letters and Papers, VI, 14. This letter has been quoted at length because of the light it throws upon election procedures during this critical period preceding the Act of Supremacy. It is likewise illuminating to see that the places for Worcester, Westbedwyn, and Truru, were to be filled at the king's pleasure."
of Commons by this means, discloses such prominent names as Sir Francis Brian, Privy Councillor; Sir Thomas Cheyney, Treasurer of the Household; and Sir John Costwick, Auditor of the Exchequer. The future Protector Somerset, Sir Edward Seymour, was returned for Wiltshire, probably to replace Sir Edward Darrell who had died. Other outstanding personages who came into the House of Commons at this time were Sir Thomas Darcy, Sir Brian Tuke, and John Rastell, whose father, a rabid anti-Papalist (and brother-in-law of Sir Thomas More), already held a burgess' seat for Downeshed, Cornwall.36

This survey of the composition of the House of Commons in the Reformation Parliament, even in its brevity, clearly indicates the quality and extent of royal patronage. A complete treatment of the question of Crown influence in a parliamentary chamber would demand a two-fold consideration: (1) the king's relationship with the individual members, which, in this case, must be limited almost entirely to the factor of royal grants; and (2) the king's dealings with the House of Commons as a body acting in an official capacity. A study of the second point would prove too wide a digression in a work of this limited scope.37 The question of personal relations between Crown and Commoner is the focal point around which the individual analyses in the following chapters have been built.

36 See below, Appendix II.
37 For a detailed and well-documented discussion of this topic see Pickthorn, Early Tudor Government, II; and Hughes, Reformation in England, I.
CHAPTER III

THE FAVORITE

Among the group of parliamentary members considered here, Sir William Fitzwilliam, the Younger, perhaps ranked closest in relationship with King Henry VIII. An intimate companion to the king from his earliest years, Fitzwilliam came very near to enjoying, during his entire life, the unbroken friendship and esteem of his sovereign. He was no stranger to the vanities and intrigues of the Tudor court, but in his varied career as diplomat, soldier, statesman, and close adviser of the king, he managed to maintain a reputation for integrity and fairness that prompted Sir Thomas More to solicit his intercession with Cromwell when he fell from favor. Wolsey, for whose household Fitzwilliam had been treasurer, commended the "towardness of this young man," and Du Bellay described him as one of the "most sufficient personages" in French diplomatic circles.

1 The designation "the Younger" or "Jr." is used in many contemporary documents to differentiate this statesman from the older Sir William Fitzwilliam, sheriff of Nottingham, who also had served as privy councillor and treasurer for the Household of Henry VII.—Dictionary of National Biography, VIII, 230.

2 Fitzwilliam to Cromwell, July 3, 1533.—Letters and Papers, VI, 340. We find Fitzwilliam subsequently on the commission of oyer and terminer for More's trial.—Ibid., VIII, 384.

3 Wolsey to Henry VIII, March 7, 1521.—Ibid., III, pt. 1, 449.

4 Du Bellay to Montmorency, December 13, 1528.—Ibid., IV, pt. 2, 2182.
William Fitzwilliam could claim the ancestry of Sir William Fitz-Godrick, marshal of the Conqueror's army at Hastings;\(^5\) it is not surprising, therefore, that he himself should have enjoyed a brilliant military career. His appointment as royal cup-bearer in 1501, with an annuity of £20, soon gave place to that of Esquire of the Body, and in 1513, Fitzwilliam was in command of the fleet sent out against the French.\(^6\) On September 25 of the same year, knighthood was conferred upon him at Tournay, and some time later he was named vice-admiral of England.\(^7\) It is impossible to treat Fitzwilliam's military exploits in detail here, but we know that his prowess was recognized, for he ascended to the office of Lord Admiral of England in August, 1536.\(^8\)

The goodfellowship which existed between Henry VIII and Sir William Fitzwilliam can be seen in the hunting parties they enjoyed together at Fitzwilliam's estate,\(^9\) in their revels,\(^10\) in their borrowing of money from each other,\(^11\) and in their exchange of gifts on New Year's Day.\(^12\)

Likewise, the number and variety of missions entrusted to Fitzwilliam by his sovereign testify the satisfaction that the king must have

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6 *Letters and Papers, I.*, 1524, 211; 552.


8 *Letters and Papers, XI.*, 1556.


11 Fitzwilliam is listed as a debtor to Henry VIII in the accounts of November 25, 1514 (the amount owed is not noted). On September 16, 1524, Fitzwilliam was paid £200 "for money lent to the King," and in 1535, he again owed Henry £100.---*Ibid.*, I, 936-7; IV, pt. 2, 85; VIII, 57.

felt in his minister's management of personal and state affairs. His ambassadorial assignments to France included instructions ranging from the disposition of a marriage contract between Princess Mary and Francis I in 1527, to the persuasion of the French king to join forces with England against the Pope and Charles V in 1534. He handled special missions for Henry VIII in France in 1521, 1525, 1527, and 1529, and the Letters and Papers for these years contain many dispatches and reports concerning the business in hand. It was of these years of diplomatic service that John Taylor wrote to Wolsey:

Fitzwilliam is a wise, discreet, and sober man, and circumspect, with great diligence in causes to him committed. . . . He hath the language of the French tongue, with the experience of their manners, and acquaintance with many of the court, which daily did resort to him, and often times did advertise him of secret news that were [sic] in the court.15

On April 12, 1525, Fitzwilliam was sent with Sir Robert Wingfield to treat with Charles V, and "to lay before him certain great matters." Within a month the same two men were dispatched on special embassy to the Lady Margaret of Savoy touching the recent defeat and captivity of Francis I.17

Another matter requiring the utmost delicacy was placed in the hands of Fitzwilliam in October, 1531. He, together with Dr. Lee,

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14 Letters and Papers, VII, 193.
15 January 17, 1526.—Ibid., IV, pt. 1, 842.
16 Ibid., 553.
17 Ibid., 570.
Dr. Sampson, and the Earl of Sussex, was sent to persuade Katharine to have the divorce tried in England.\(^\text{18}\) Again, in 1535, when the question arose of Katharine’s keeping her Maundy Thursday, Fitzwilliam informed Cromwell that it was the king’s pleasure that Katharine perform the ceremony in the name of Princess Dowager; should she attempt to carry it out as Queen, she and the poor whose feet she washed would be adjudged guilty of high treason.\(^\text{19}\)

It was Henry VIII himself who sent his councillor to Princess Mary in January, 1534, to obtain from her a renunciation of her title and an admission of the invalidity of Henry’s marriage to Katharine.\(^\text{20}\) Fitzwilliam must have handled this and subsequent commissions in a manner favorable to Mary, for Chapuys, some time later, advised the Emperor to write a letter of thanks and congratulation to “the Treasurer Fitzwilliam, a man of good sense and a good servant of the Princess.”\(^\text{21}\)

When rebellions broke out in the North, this councillor was among those sent in behalf of the king to treat with the rebel leaders at Doncaster, in November, 1536.\(^\text{22}\)

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18 Ibid., V, 226-7.
21 Henry VIII, however, was not so well pleased with Fitzwilliam, for he excluded him and the Marquis of Exeter from the Council on one occasion as “suspected persons” on account of their dealings with the Princess.—Ibid., XII, 8.
22 Ibid., 491.
Another indication of Fitzwilliam's influence and prestige at court is found in the significant state affairs to which he was witness.

In 1518 he affixed his signature to the "Treaty of Universal Peace," and to the subsequent treaty of marriage between Princess Mary and the Dauphin. His presence at Wolsey's surrender of the Great Seal on October 17, 1529, was repeated three months later when the forty-three articles made by the Lords against his former master were approved and signed. His name likewise appears upon the letter sent by the spiritual and temporal Lords to Pope Clement VII praying for a speedy and favorable answer to the king's desires concerning the divorce.

When the Bishop of Rochester censured the Commons for their lack of faith, it was Fitzwilliam, himself a member of the Lower House, who was chosen by Henry VIII to mediate the ensuing dispute between the Houses.

The submission of the clergy regarding provincial councils was presented to the king in 1532 in the presence of George lord Bergavenny, John lord Husee, John lord Mordaunt, Sir Fitzwilliam, and Thomas Cromwell. After the attainder of Sir Thomas More in 1533, Fitzwilliam witnessed the conferring of the Great Seal, knighthood, and the office of chancellor upon Thomas Audley.

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23 Ibid., II, 1372, 1374.
24 Ibid., IV, pt. 3, 2714. Fitzwilliam sat on the commission to make inquisition of Wolsey's possessions after his attainder, and received of the spoils, rents in Begham, Tonges, Laneshowth, and Cawsey, amounting annually to 68 l. 1s. 9½d.—Ibid., 2931, 2933.
27 Wilkins, III, 754. May 16, 1532.
General Council for a decision in his favor after his divorce from Katharine. 29

Fitzwilliam's prominence in these and other state affairs is due, no doubt, to his membership in the King's Privy Council, but this cannot wholly account for the preferential treatment he received, and the deferential hearing given him by his sovereign. For example, when the abbot of Beaulieu died, Fitzwilliam advised Henry VIII to confer that abbacy and the bishopric of Bangor upon John, abbot of Waverley, a suggestion which the king immediately honored. 30 Local offices were heaped upon Fitzwilliam in such numbers that they cannot be considered individually here. From 1512 until October 27, 1530, when he was granted an exemption "from serving on juries, and from being made sheriff or escheator, etc.,” Fitzwilliam was pricked as sheriff of Essex and Herts, held commission of gaol delivery for Wuldeford Castle twice, served as commissioner of sewers for the shires of Northampton, Cambridge, Lincoln, Middlesex, Essex, and Herts, and repeatedly exercised the office of Justice of the Peace for Essex, Surrey, Northamptonshire, Kent, Middlesex, and Lincolnshire. The exemption apparently did not apply to the last office, for he continued serving in that capacity for the above mentioned counties, and many others through the ensuing years. 31

29 Ibid., VI, 320. June 29, 1533.
30 Ibid., 431.
31 In 1532, for instance, he was listed on the commission of the peace for each of the following counties: Berkshire, Cornwall, Cumberland, Cambridge, Derby, Devon, Dorset, York (East-, West-, and North-Riding), Gloucester, Huntingdon, Kent, Lincoln, Kesteven-Holland, Leicester, Middlesex, Northampton, Nottingham, Norfolk, Northumberland, Oxford, Rutland, Surrey, Stafford, Shropshire, Westmorland, Wiltshire, Worcestershire, and Warwickshire.—Ibid., V, 700-706, passim.
A multiple appointment, in 1511, to be keeper in survivorship, of
the park of Guldeford, steward of the lordships of Warpleaden and Witteley,
and master of the hunt in Witteley park, was but the first in a series of
similar grants enjoyed by Sir William.32 The reversion of mastership of the
harriers with 12d. a day was promised him in 1513,33 and the same year the
offices of bailiff and parker of the lordships of Hatfield and Thorne,
Yorkshire, were given him.34 A year later he held, in survivorship, the
office of bailiff of Bagshot Park, Surrey, alias Bagshotes Bayles, in
Windsor Forest, with 6d. a day.35 A like emolument was drawn for the custody
of Henley Park, Surrey.36 Upon the decease of William lord Conyers, the son
and heir shared with Fitzwilliam several offices in the lordship of Barnard
Castle, with the same wages the late Lord Conyers had enjoyed, to which were
added offices in the fee of Richmond and the Castle of Middleham, York, with
annual fees of 50 l. 6s. 4d.37

Following his elevation to Treasurer of the King's household,
and his election as a Knight of the Garter in 1526,38 royal commissions
were increased in Fitzwilliam's favor. Within three years he had taken the
keepership of Byflete Park and of the Great Park of Windsor, as well as

32 Ibid., I, 263.
33 Ibid., 168.
34 Ibid., 513.
35 Ibid., 817.
36 Ibid., II, 744-5.
37 Ibid., IV, pt. 1, 124.
38 Anstis, I, 376. Fitzwilliam was seated in the thirteenth stall
of the Sovereign's Side, from whence he advanced to the sixth place. Upon his
death he devised to Henry VIII "his Collar of the Garter with his best George
beset with Diamonds."—Ibid., n.s.
that of the forest of Teasdale and Marwoodag. When Sir Thomas More became Chancellor of England in 1529, the vacated Chancellorship of Lancaster fell to Sir William, and his fortunes were further enhanced by an annuity of £100, a fruit of the office of solicitor for the subsidies of kerseys in the ports of London and Southampton. In 1533 and 1535 respectively, Fitzwilliam received the reversion and constableship of the honor of Pomfret, and the stewardship of the honor of Petworth, Sussex, with mastership of the game in both places.

Such offices proved quite lucrative; the annual fee for the constableship of Pomfret, for example, was £100, no mean sum in those days. They also carried with them a certain prestige, giving the incumbent authority over the lesser officials, sometimes including the power of appointment. Other commissions held little or no monetary reward; yet they indicate that Fitzwilliam was cooperating actively in the "King's proceedings." Some illustrative instances are: the receiving of oaths concerning the succession; the conducting of a visitation in the Abbey of Chertsey with a view to its dissolution; and the sitting on a special commission of Oyer and Terminer for the trial of Anne Boleyn's accomplices. In 1533 Sir William had arranged for the arrest of "a lewd and

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39 Letters and Papers, IV, pt. 2, 1506, 1594; pt. 3, 2313. The offices in Byflete Park and Windsor were shared with Sir Anthony Browne.
40 Ibid., IV, pt. 3, 2684.
41 Ibid., 2707.
42 Ibid., VI, 133; 366.
43 Ibid. Sir William sat on such a commission in Sussex in April, 1534.
44 Ibid., VII, 205.
naughty priest... who has spoken slanderous words about your Highness and the Queen's grace,"\(^4\) and within two years he was boasting of his adaptness in collecting the tenths of spiritualities for the king.\(^5\) Certainly he was showing himself more conformable and politic than on the occasion, some time earlier, when he and Sir Henry Guildford had spoken to Henry "roundly and in very plain terms in the Queen's [Katharine's] favor."\(^6\)

The project of reforming the defenses of Calais, Quines, Ruysbank, Mark and Oye, furnished Fitzwilliam with further opportunity to exercise zeal in his sovereign's behalf. After examining matters at Calais he wrote to Cromwell: "We will redress such things as are out of order in this town and marches... The King has been so badly served here that I am grieved to see it."\(^7\) His industry in setting things right was vouched for by an official who reported: "Since their coming to Calais, Mr. Treasurer and his associate commissioners have applied holyday and work day the King's business."\(^8\)

Henry VIII, on his part, was lavish in rewarding his faithful servant and friend. Already in 1515, and again in 1518, we find an annuity

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\(^4\) Letters and Papers, VI, 448.

\(^5\) In reference to this, Fitzwilliam wrote: "I and my fellow justices of the peace of the shire of Surrey have been sitting for the assessment of the spirituality of the shire, and we have so handled the matter that I doubt not a much large sum shall be raised than when the spirituality was assessed by the Bishop."—Fitzwilliam to Cromwell, August 1, 1535. Ibid., IX, 2.

\(^6\) Ibid., V, 100-101. Chapuys to Charles V, April 27, 1531. The Imperial ambassador notes that Fitzwilliam and Guildford, in turn, "were told that they did not understand the matter, or know what they were talking about."

\(^7\) Ibid., IX, 107.

\(^8\) Henry Lacy to Cromwell, September 25, 1535. Ibid., IX, 143.
of £100 assigned to "Fitzwilliam and Mabill his wife." Three other notices (for the years 1512, 1515, and 1520) specify annuities of £40, and the "King's Book of Payments" shows that for his services as a Spear of Honor, Sir William received yearly 60 l. 16s. 8d.

As early as 1511 Fitzwilliam began to acquire land of the king, who in that year granted him in tail male more than four hundred acres of land plus messuages and tenements in Woversah and Abyngworth, Surrey. As a marriage gift, he and his intended wife, Mabel Clifford, received the manor and advowson of Yoxhall, Staffordshire, including a pasture, water-mill, and rents amounting to £44 yearly. His property holdings were further enlarged upon the death of Jasper, Duke of Bedford, in 1516, when he was given, in survivorship, the grant of the manors of Cleygate and Warblesden, at an annual rent of 11 l. 11½d. and 17 l. 12s. respectively. The attainder of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, in 1521, brought Fitzwilliam the manor of Navesby in Northampton. In 1518 the park of Potnall which was an ancient crown demesne was given, in fee, to Sir William Fitzwilliam "to be held by the service of one red rose annually." The following year Fitzwilliam and his wife surrendered a patent for an annuity of £100, in exchange for which they received, in survivorship, the reversion of the manors of Roughton, Norfolk, and Bedon, Berkshire, with the remainder for life to their eldest son.

51 Ibid., II, pt. 2, 1479.
52 Ibid., 1160.
53 Ibid., I, 233.
54 Ibid., 630.
55 Ibid., II, pt. 1, 744-5.
56 Burke, Genealogical History, 216.
58 Ibid., III, pt. 1, 72, 360.
Other grants and leases acquired by Fitzwilliam before the opening of parliament in November, 1529 included the following:

1) Grant of the manor of Purbright, Surrey, with appurtenances.

2) Grant, in survivorship, of lands in Yorkshire called Scale Park and Rande, which William Conyers had held of King Henry VII.

3) Lease of the demesne lands of Castle Bernard, the coney-burrows and herbage in Brodepark and Colteparke, closes in the park of Marwood, and lead mines in Teasdale, Yorkshire.

4) Lease of the king's new coal mine in the lordship of Bromefield, Wales, at a rent of 20s. a year, and 3s. 4d. of increase.

5) Lease of the winter agistment [forest pasturage or herbage] of Haltfield Park, the fishery of Braythmore, parcel of the duchy of York, for twenty-one years, at the annual rent of 18 l. 10s. 4d.60

In 1530 Sir Henry Wyatt received license to enfeoff a body of twelve noblemen including Fitzwilliam, of the manors of Cargo, Cumberland, and of Kendall and Gresmure, Westmorland, including messuages and lands therein, and a £14 rent.61

But it was not until after the close of the parliamentary sessions in 1536 that Sir William Fitzwilliam began to taste the richest fruits of his faithful acquiescence to the will and whim of his lord. The death of

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59 The Letters and Papers for 1529, IV, pt. 3, 3073 enumerates in detail the duties of warden of the royal forests, a commission ascribed there to Sir William Fitzwilliam, Jr. This is obviously an error on the part of the compiler of the index, as elsewhere we find evidence that the office was held by Sir William Fitzwilliam, Sr.—Letters and Papers, III, 469. See, also, Richardson, 260, n. 146.

60 Ibid., III, pt. 1, 414; IV, pt. 1, 121; IV, pt. 1, 609; IV, pt. 2, 1430; IV, pt. 3, 2136.

61 Ibid., IV, pt. 3, 2810.
the Duke of Richmond\textsuperscript{62} provided a timely opportunity to invest Fitzwilliam with one of the most prized offices of his day—that of Lord High Admiral.\textsuperscript{63}

The Act for the suppression of monasteries having a yearly income of less than £200, was one of the last passed by the Reformation Parliament.\textsuperscript{64} The prizes thus accruing to the Crown were soon allowed to slip judiciously through the royal fingers into the laps of court favorites, and it would have been exceptional had the Treasurer been overlooked. Indeed, by July 4, 1536, Fitzwilliam had become possessor of the Abbey of Waverley and the priory of Easebourne. A translation from the original grant, as reproduced in Dugdale's \textit{Monasticon Anglicanum}, follows:

\begin{quote}
The King grants to William Fitzwilliam, knight, the site &c., of the abbey lands of blessed Mary of Waverley in the county of Surrey and messuages &c., together with the manors of Waverley, Wanborowe, Markweke, and Monkenhoke in the county of Surrey, and also the rectories of Waverley and Wanborowe, and the manors of Nether Sawroton,\textsuperscript{65} and Rovyat in the county of Surrey, and also the rectories of Waverley and Rovyat in the county of Southampton,\textsuperscript{66} and the manor of Donkynefield in the counties of Surrey and Southampton and the manors of Shawe in the county of Berkshire, and all the manors, &c. and
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{62} Henry VIII's illegitimate son by Elizabeth Blounte.

\textsuperscript{63} August 16, 1536,--\textit{Ibid.}, XI, 156. The Imperial ambassador, meticulous in reporting the least event in court life, had promptly passed on the information that Sir William had shared in other spoils of the late Duke, but the extent of these gains is not apparent.—Chapuys to Secretary Perrenot, August 3, 1536.—\textit{Ibid.}, 97.


\textsuperscript{65} "Nether Sawroton" In the \textit{Letters and Papers}, XI, 88, this is translated "Nathan, Sawroton."

\textsuperscript{66} Malden notes that Waverley was not a parish; therefore, the term "rectory" is used because the abbey took the tithes from the estates. For the same reason, he says, the advowson, apparently included in the grant, means that of Wanborowe.—H. E. Malden, ed., \textit{The Victoria History of the County of Surrey}, London, 1902, II, 623; III, 375.
everything else ["quascumque"] in Waverly, Stokedaborne, Donfeld, Shallesford, Alford, Wyteley and Zele, Southwerke, Godalmyne, Weyng, Worpleydon, Farnham, Elsted, Puttenham, Paperharowe, and Frynham in the county of Surrey formerly pertaining to the abbey, and all the manors &c. in Benstede, Halybourne, Alton, Mycheldever, South Stoname, Ashe, Dumnun, and Frynham in the county of Southampton and also all the manors &c. in Northuge, Corsleigham, Derford, and Croucheston near Basshypston, in the county of Wilts belonging to the said late abbey.67 And he grants to the same William Fitzwilliam, knight, the Site and Priory of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Estbourne, with the messuages &c. and also the manor of Worthyng in the county of Sussex, with all messuages &c. in Estbourne, Chechester, Bygnour, Kerford, North Chapell, Chydyingfold, Farnhurst, Lynch, Thorney, Loddesworth, and Midhurst in the county of Sussex; and also the rectory of Compton and the chapels of Midhurst, Farnhurst, and Loddesworth, and all the glebes, &c. pertaining to the said late priory,68 to be held by the aforesaid William Fitzwilliam, his heirs and assigns, for the rent of 23 l. 2s. 10d.69

Waverley Abbey, the first Cistercian monastery in England, was founded on November 24, 1128, by William Gifford, Bishop of Winchester. Bishop Gifford transplanted an abbot and twelve monks from Aumôné, Normandy, to make the pioneer foundation in England. The Valor Ecclesiasticus of 1535 notes the annual value of the house as 17½ l. 8s. 3½d. with a gross income of 169 l. 13s. 11½d.70

67 Letters and Papers, XI, 86, has here: "... in the same manner as Wm. Alynge, the late abbot, or any of his predecessors held the same. The possessions are of the annual value of 188 l. 11s. 1ld."

68 Letters and Papers adds here: "... in the same manner as Marg. Sakevyle, the late prioress, or any of her predecessors held the same. These possessions are of the annual value of 47 l. 13s. 9d." It omits the succeeding phrase in the above text.—Ibid.


70 Malden, II, 88. See the letter of Abbot Aley to Cromwell concerning this abbey in Letters and Papers, I, 1097.
Bunbourne, or Estbourne, was, in itself, a rather small religious house founded by Sir John Bohun towards the end of the reign of King Henry III. According to Dugdale, it housed about six Benedictine nuns, and its yearly gross spiritualities and temporalities totaled about 47 l. 3s. Od., with a clear value of 29 l. 16s. 7d. 71

Another even more extensive award of lands was made to Fitzwilliam in October, 1537. It included, in the first part, grant in tail male, of the reversion of specified lands, together with rents reserved thereon, and grants of certain manors in Devon, Northampton, and Somersetshire. The remainder of the document of grant deals with further church lands acquired by the Treasurer—"The house and site of the late priory of Shelbrede, alias Shuldebrede, Sussex, the church, belfry, and churchyard of the said priory," and numerous other meadows, fields, and woods; the rectory and advowson of the vicarage of Lavant; the chapel of Lynchmere; and many landed possessions of the late priory of Boxtgrave, Sussex. 72 This same grant also included the house, site, and all properties of Dureford Abbey in Compton, Sussex.

Dureford Abbey had been built and endowed before 1169 by Sir Henry Hoese, the elder, for a group of Premonstratensian canons from Welbeck, and it was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. John the Baptist. According to an abstract of a rental in the Chapter-House at Westminster, its total

71 Dugdale, Monasticon, IV, l23, l25.
72 Letters and Papers, XII, pt. 2, 352-353.
rents, farms, and other sources of income in various counties was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Rent</th>
<th>Perks</th>
<th>Doe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sussex</td>
<td>54 l.11s. 56d.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southampton</td>
<td>31 l. 36s. 13d.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Berks</td>
<td>3 l. --- ---</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wilts</td>
<td>6 l. --- 1d.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kent</td>
<td>4 l. --- ---</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Surrey</td>
<td>5 l. --- 73</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The sum total of revenues issuing from all the abbey lands comprised in this one grant was valued at 26l. 1. 16s. 5d. a year, and these lands were held by Sir William at an annual rent of 28 l. 1s. 9d. 74

In 1539, two further monastic properties were received by Fitzwilliam, then Earl of Southampton. 75 He was given, for a rent of 47s. the manor of South Cerney, Gloucester, late of the monastery of Lanthony, 76 and he received Lenton priory in Nottinghamshire. 77 A final reference to these monastic holdings is made in 1541, when the grant of the chapel of Midhurst, Sussex, 78 was greatly enlarged by the addition of many new rents and appurtenances to the former grant. 79

It was as Earl of Southampton that Fitzwilliam was commissioned, with the Bishop of Ely, to arrest and examine Cardinal Pole's aged mother,

73 Dugdale, Monasticon, IV, pt. 1, 939.
74 Letters and Papers, XII, pt. 2, 353.
75 Ibid., 353. The charter creating him Earl of Southampton, with succession in tail male, and an annual perquisite of £20 in support of the title, is dated October 18, 1537. A year later the annuity was increased for life to £200, out of the petty customs of the port of London.—Ibid., XIII, pt. 1, 211.
76 Ibid., XIV, pt. 1, l2l.
77 Liljegren, 38. See also Dugdale, Monasticon, V, 108.
78 See page 33 above.
79 Letters and Papers, XVI, l63.
Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, on her supposed implication with the Num of Kent. She was adamant in proclaiming her innocence and since nothing to the contrary could be proved, she was placed in Cowdray, one of the Earl's houses near Midhurst. 80 Upon her attainder, Fitzwilliam did not hesitate to accept chief stewardship of her possessions in the counties of Somerset, Dorset, Wiltshire, Hampshire, Oxford, Berkshire, Bedford, Essex, Buckingham, Hartford, and Suffolk, "or elsewhere in England, Wales, and the marches thereof." 81 As a reward for the business entailed in handling her estates, the Earl was given the manor of Warblington, Hampshire, which had formerly belonged to the late Countess. 82 Besides, he leased several manors in Hampshire and Berkshire which were also part of her estate. 83

On June 10, 1540, Thomas Cromwell was accused of high treason, and it is said that Fitzwilliam not only witnessed his arrest, but also stripped him of his Garter. 84 Less than a month after Cromwell ascended the scaffold, Sir William Fitzwilliam had still another title added to his name—that of Lord Privy Seal—carrying with it the annual emolument of £365. 85

It is little wonder that by this time whatever faith the Catholic party had had in Fitzwilliam's good will was completely disillusioned. In one of his protracted letters to Charles V, Eustace Chapuys, the Imperial Ambassador, referred to Fitzwilliam as "Faulx Villain," and he reports that

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80 Richardson, 260.
82 Ibid.
83 Ibid., XIV, 291.
84 Froude, III, 304, n. 2.
85 August 18, 1540.—Letters and Papers, XVI, 98.
Norfolk had said of him earlier: "Regardez ce petit villain, il veut desja
tout embrasser et contrefaire Crumwel, mais que la fin payeroit le tout."\(^86\)

Just when Fitzwilliam transferred his allegiance completely to the king is
difficult to say. We find him excluded from Henry's council on suspicion
of aiding Princess Mary's cause, as late as 1536.\(^87\) Foxe, in his list of
the King's Privy Councillors for 1540, still designates the Earl of South-
ampton as a "Papist."\(^88\) But his open cooperation in furthering the king's
business is apparent much earlier.\(^89\) Moreover, his wholesale acceptance
of confiscated monastic property after 1536 indicates even more definitely
Sir William's alliance with the king's interests.

It was Fitzwilliam's good fortune to enjoy the king's favor to
the end, and to die a natural death, a rather rare feat among those who had
wielded much power under Henry VIII. While he was leading the vanguard of
the English army into Scotland in October, 1542, the Earl became ill with a
fever and died. He had held the respect of his men to such an extent that
they continued to carry his standard in the forward during the rest of the
Scottish campaign.\(^90\) A post mortem review of the property and positions
held by Sir William Fitzwilliam reveals that he had amply merited the
cognomen, "the favorite."\(^91\)

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\(^86\) April 16, 1542--Ibid., XVII, 723.
\(^87\) See page 24, n. 21, above.
\(^88\) John Foxe, Acts and Monuments, ed., Josiah Pratt, V, London,
1853, 439.
\(^89\) See page 28, above.
\(^90\) Burke, Genealogical History, 216.
\(^91\) Venetian Papers, IV, 1.
CHAPTER IV

COUNTRY GENTLEMEN IN PARLIAMENT

SIR WILLIAM PAULETT

Sir William Paulet, Knight for Hampshire, was another courtier who enjoyed high favor with King Henry VIII. Lloyd and Fuller both repeat the story told by Sir Robert Naunton regarding Paulet's phenomenal success at court, relating that "he being a younger brother, and having wasted all that was left him, came to court in trust, where, upon the bare stock of his wit, he trafficked so wisely, and prospered so well, that he got, spent, and left more than any subject since the Conquest." We might question Naunton's accuracy in the first statement, for we know that William was the oldest of four sons of Sir John and Elizabeth Paulet of Basing, near Basingstoke in Hampshire, and there is no evidence that he came to court penniless. However, we cannot quarrel with the rest of his allegation, for Sir William Paulet held responsible offices under four exacting sovereigns.

3. He was born in 1475 or 1485 and died in 1572, but his early career under Henry VII is obscure.
For the purposes of this study, Paulet's later preferments as Earl of Wiltshire, Lord Treasurer, and Marquis of Winchester, will be disregarded. Consideration will be given only to his official status during the reign of Henry VIII with emphasis upon the parliamentary period.

A survey of the offices held by Paulet prior to the opening date of parliament discloses the following data. Three times he was pricked as sheriff for Hampshire; he served as Justice of the Peace for the same county four times, and for Wiltshire twice; he was knighted in 1522; and was appointed, with Sir Thomas Englefield, Master of the King's Wards on November 1, 1526. In 1512 and again in 1514 he was commissioned to review the troops in Southampton and Portsmouth respectively. He took part in inquisitions touching enclosures in 1517, 1521, and 1526; in the year last mentioned he assisted in making a special detailed inventory of six manors in Northampton and Essex belonging to the king. Another duty for which Paulet was responsible during this period was the collection of the war subsidy in the town of Southampton and in the county of Hampshire.

Paulet was a member of the Council of Henry VIII at least by

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1 In 1511, 1518, and 1522.—Deputy Keepers Report, XLIX, 56.
3 Ibid., IV, pt. 3, 2433. Both masters received an annual salary of £100 and an allowance of £10 for each clerk who assisted them.
4 Ibid., I, 351, 786.
6 Ibid., IV, pt. 1, 897.
7 Ibid., III, pt. 2, 1364, 1458.
February, 1526. 11 Richardson comments in this regard:

All the important revenue and crown-land officials served as agents of conciliar control, and their names are found on the council lists. More often than not, they were admitted to the council, not so much because of their prominence or personal qualities as because of the important work they were doing. Outstanding examples include such ministers as Robert Southwell, Henry Wyatt, John Heron, Hugh Conway, William Paulet, and Edward Belknap. 12

Sir William was designated to handle the "matter in law" which would be encountered in the business treated by the council in 1529. 13

A simple chronological survey of the official business with which Sir William Paulet was associated during the years of the parliamentary sessions affords palpable evidence of the esteem in which he must have been held in the royal court. In 1530 he was given custody of the reversion of certain manors in Somerset and Devon, with wardship of the son and heir of Edward Bannfeld. 14 He served as deliverer at the gaol of Winchester Castle, Hampshire, in June of the same year. 15 A few months later we find him taking a survey of Wolsey's property in York City, and in the counties of Nottingham, Gloucester, Hants, Durham, and Somerset. 16

His appointment in January, 1531, to make inquisition, with four other barristers, concerning pirates and piracies, carried with it the duty of hearing and determining "all such cases." 17 Another grant in the same month reiterated and extended his jurisdiction as Master of the King's

11 Ibid., IV, pt. 3, App. 67, 3097.
12 Richardson, 20.
14 Ibid., 2610.
15 Ibid., 2919.
16 Ibid., 2931.
17 Ibid., V, 14.
Wards. By it Paulett was appointed: "To be surveyor-general in England, Wales, and Calais, of all possessions in the King's hands by the minority of heirs, according to Act 14 and 15 Henry VIII c. xv. Also to be surveyor of the King's widows, and governor of all idiots and naturals in the King's hands, &c." Richardson explains that a surveyorship implied complete authority over lesser officials, together with wide privileges in shaping the policies of the department, and he points out that already by 1520 the directors were not merely "masters" of the wards, but "surveyors, governors, keepers, and sellers." 

In 1532 two prominent members of the king's household died—Robert Amadas, Master of the Jewels, and Sir Henry Guildford, Comptroller of the Household. Paulett was among those who made an inventory of the king's jewels before Thomas Cromwell took over the mastership of them. Before this task was finished Paulett had been named successor to Sir Henry Guildford. The office of Comptroller gave him authority to supervise expenditures by the royal treasurer, and to exercise a kind of general stewardship over the king's household.

During the next year he was engaged in several diplomatic missions at home and abroad. In June he accompanied the Duke of Norfolk and others to France, to negotiate with Francis I concerning a proposed interview with the Pope. At the same time he was being paid a pension of 66 l. 13s. ld.,

18 Ibid., 36. 
19 Richardson, 288, 289. 
20 Letters and Papers, v, liii0, 836. 
21 Ibid., 437. 
22 Ibid., vi, 300, 367.
perhaps in connection with this charge. After his return to England, he was called upon to inform Princess Mary of the king's repudiation, and to advise her to remove to Hertford Castle. He was, likewise, sent to despoil Katharine of Aragon of her title as queen, to oblige her servants to swear their services to her as Princess Dowager, and to persuade her, by force if necessary, to take up residence in Somersham as directed by the king.

His duties as surveyor had not diminished in the meantime, for in 1532 he had made an investigation of the fortifications at Ouisnes, and the next year he became surveyor of woods in the Duchy of Lancaster. In 1534 the latter office was enlarged when Paulett received the following grant:

Appointment as chief officer for the overseeing, rule, wardship and sale of all heirs, tenants of the Crown, and other heirs, and the marriage of the same and keeper, overseer, governor, and venditor of all possessions &c., belonging to the king by right of such heirs. Also power to appoint feodaries and other officials in all the king's possessions in the different cos. of Lanc., Chester, Wales and the marches thereof; with £100 a year for himself and £10 for his clerk.

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23 Ibid., 498.
24 Ibid., VI, 491, 500.
25 Ibid., VI, 622, 628, 662; VII, 376. It was Paulett who was sent by royal command "to order all things for the interring" of Katharine's body when she died early in 1536, and to see to the disposal of her household.—Ibid., I, 16, 57.
26 Ibid., V, 712; VI, 662.
27 The marriage of the heir signifies that the guardian had the power of control of the ward's marriage, that is, he could stipulate the other party to the marriage. If the ward refused the choice of the guardian he forfeited the valorem maritagi, the value of the marriage as designated by a jury. If he married without the Lord's consent, he forfeited double the value.—H. A. Bigelow, Cases on the Law of Property, II, St. Paul, 1919, 6.
28 Letters and Papers, VII, 598. The counties of Lancaster, Chester, and Wales had been maintained heretofore by a separate body of royal officials. See Richardson, 290, n. 207, and Keir, 32.
Paulett served on a commission of sewers for Hampshire in 1535, and he also collected the Spiritual tithes in that county, in Winchester, and in the town of Southampton. In June, when the monks of the Charterhouse were tried, and in July, at the trial of Sir Thomas More, Paulett sat on the special commission of oyer and terminer. He was active, also, at the indictment of the supposed seducers of Anne Boleyn in 1536.

When the king's chaplain died, early in 1535, Paulett wrote to Cromwell reminding him that now he would "be glad" to have the parsonage of Hatfield which had been promised him at one time, but which had been given instead to the chaplain, Bettes. It was in Autumn that year, when the king was passing through Hampshire, that he stopped for a friendly visit at Sir William's "poor house of Basing." Certainly, by this time, the two men must have been on quite intimate terms. Henry had already granted him a share in the spoils which had escheated to the Crown on Wolsey's fall. The Comptroller had been given lands in Calais, which he was to hold to the king's use.

With the dissolution of the monasteries, Paulett could look for a share in "the harvest of estates." He was one of the first to receive a monastic grant, for in August, 1536, the site, buildings, and all

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29 Letters and Papers, VIII, 48, 52.
30 Ibid., 350, 364. He was given custody, during pleasure, of a "chief messuage" and other property in Chelsea, which reverted to the Crown on the attainder of Sir Thomas More.—Ibid., I, 328.
31 Ibid., I, 351.
32 Ibid., 116-117.
33 Ibid., IX, 210.
34 Ibid., V, 133, 587.
35 Ibid., 617, 671.
36 See Fuller, II, 13.
apprtenances of the Abbey of St. Mary in Letley, Hampshire, were bestowed upon him. The gift seemingly included a nuns' priory in Wintney, Hampshire, for the grant concludes: "... and all manors, lands &c. which Th. Stephens, late abbot of Letley, or Elis. Martyn, late prioress of Wyntney held in right of their respective monasteries."\footnote{Letters and Papers, XI, 155. The annual value was placed at 99 l. 11s. 7d., with rents of 9 l. 19s. 2d., and 9 l. 12s. 6d.} Apparently Paulett thought it worthwhile to invest in more church lands. In 1539 he purchased various tracts of the suppressed monasteries of Hyde and Romsey, Hampshire; of Mayden Bradlegh, Wiltshire; of St. Mary, Winchester; and of the priory of the Augustinian Friars in London, "to hold in as full a manner as the previous owners."\footnote{Ibid., XIV, pt. 1, l.421.} He augmented these gains by an exchange, in 1542, of two manors and their appurtenances in Sussex, for lands which had formerly belonged to the Earl of Hertford; a messuage and rent within the precincts of the Augustinian priory; a grange and farm which had been in the possession of Notley Monastery, Buckinghamshire; and sundry properties from Wherwell Monastery in Hampshire.\footnote{Ibid., VII, 100. A notice for 1534 states that Paulett had been sent "to dispose of the Superior and sisters in the Monastery of Wherwell," so this was, no doubt, one of the earlier monasteries suppressed.} In 1545 he bought the lordship and manor of Toller and Cottingfield in Dorsetshire, and ten acres of woodland of the late Foure Monastery in Devon; rents that had belonged to St. John's Priory in Bridgewater, Somersetshire; a manor, mills, and other property of the late Merton Monastery in Surrey; and possessions of the Monastery of Bostleham in Berkshire.\footnote{Ibid., XI, pt. 1, 305.}
Evidently, by 1544, the selling of Church lands was more than could be handled conveniently by the Augmentation Office, and Henry VIII, therefore, set up several commissions "during the King's pleasure . . . to sell the King's lands and lead, conclude with his subjects for fines and incomes [sic], for leases, for manumission of bondmen, and for sale of wards."¹¹ Paulett was chosen a member of this body, and through it he also came to handle the sale of monastic properties.

Meanwhile, personal preferences were keeping pace with increase in wealth, and Paulett performed the duties of Treasurer of the King's Household from 1536 to 1539, when he was created Lord St. John. In 1540 the Office of Wards was replaced by the Court of Wards, and the mastership was re-granted to Paulett.¹² The following year he and Thomas Cromwell became Surveyors of Woods in England and the marches, but Richardson remarks that Cromwell allowed his colleague to act as head of the department.¹³ Two years later St. John's function as Master of Wards was also expanded to management of the Court of Wards and Liveries, with an annual fee of 200 marks.¹⁴ He served as Lord Chamberlain from 1543 to 1545 when he assumed the duties of Lord Great Master (or Steward of the Household), a position which he filled until 1550.¹⁵

Shortly before Henry's death, Lord St. John received a special royal mandate to deliver the king's assent to the Act of Attainder of

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¹¹ Ibid., XIX, pt. 1, 167, 175.
¹² Ibid., XIV, 479.
¹³ Richardson, 270.
¹⁴ Letters and Papers, XVII, 640.
¹⁵ Ibid., XX, pt. 2, 540.
Thomas Duke of Norfolk, and of Henry, late Earl of Surrey. 46

William Paulett lived to the ripe age of ninety-seven years, according to some authors, and one might desire to know the secret of his long career. Foss professes to give us Paulett's own explanation:

Late supping I forbear,
Wine and women I forswear;
My neck and feet keep from cold;
No marvel then that I am old.
I am a willow, not an oak;
I chide, but never hurt with stroke. 47

Paulett was no simpleton; he could even couch his advice on keeping one's head and shoulders together in a discreet rhyme.

SIR PIERS EDGECOMBE

To understand the position of Sir Piers Edgecombe in relation to Parliament and the Crown, it will be useful to take a brief glance at the fortunes of his forbears. He could claim among his ancestors Richard Edgecombe, who, during the reign of Edward I, became possessor of the manor of Edgecombe in Cornwall. His father, Sir Richard Edgecombe, had represented Tavistock in the Parliament of 1467, and had held the position of escheator in Cornwall. As a reward for his daring exploits in favor of Henry Tudor at Bosworth, Sir Richard was knighted on the field, made a controller of the King's Household, chamberlain of the exchequer, and a member of the privy council. He was further granted all the lands and property of John,
lord Zouch, including the castle and manor of Totnes, and the manors of Cornw­
worthy, Huish, Lodeswell, and North Molton; to this was added Sir Henry
Trenouth's estate of Bodrigan, and Lord Lovel's manor of Fidlington, Rutland-
shire.\textsuperscript{48}

It was this heritage, then, that came into the hands of Sir Piers (or Peter) Edgecombe on his father's death. Edgecombe must have been well over fifty years of age when he was returned to Parliament for the shire of Corn­
wall in 1529, for he had been among the twenty Knights of the Bath created in 1489 by Prince Arthur. His valorous conduct at the Battle of the Spurs had
won him the recompense of being dubbed knight-banneret.\textsuperscript{49} Also under Henry VII he had held the office of sheriff in Devonshire, in 1493, 1494, and 1497.

His service on local commissions continued and increased under
Henry VIII. In 1509 he was made keeper of Kerrybullock Park and constable
of Launceton Castle in Cornwall.\textsuperscript{50} Both of these offices carried with them
fees from the duchy, and Rowse suggests that Edgecombe was thus constituted
a member of the early Duchy Council.\textsuperscript{51}

In the same year, Sir Piers was named escheator and feodary of
the duchy. In the capacity of feodary he not only established and evaluated
royal claims for estates acquired by prerogative right, but he also had
charge of collecting crown revenues. Richardson compares the feodary to a

\textsuperscript{48} Andrew Vian, "Richard Edgecombe," Dictionary of National Bio-
ography, VI, 375. The genealogical table of the Edgecombe family can be seen
\textsuperscript{49} Ibid. He was subsequently called upon to take part as a captain
in the War in France in 1513.—Letters and Papers, I, 679.
\textsuperscript{50} Letters and Papers, I, 29.
\textsuperscript{51} A. L. Rowse, Tudor Cornwall, London, 1941, 83.
kind of royal watchdog set over the local escheators to check bribery, venality, and like abuses, but since Edgecombe held both offices in Cornwall, he was no doubt, trusted as a man of integrity. Further evidence of his reputation for honesty and ability is seen in his appointment as receiver-general for the lands which came into the king's hands by the death of the Earl of Devon, in 1510.

Edgecombe was part of the colorful pageantry at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, and he was among those chosen to attend upon the King at Gravelines.

Strictly speaking, Edgecombe, like many of the other members, should have been ineligible to represent his county in parliament, for, according to ancient practice, no servant of the king should be elected to the House of the Commons. Edgecombe had been a Knight of the King's Body since 1523. Apparently this custom was waived in regard to other members also, for it has been said that "most of the house were the King's servants."

Within the first ten years of the new sovereign's reign, Edgecombe held seventeen commissions as Justice of the Peace for Devon and three for Cornwall. He had acted as sheriff for both counties, and twice had served on the commission of array. Edgecombe continued to hold these offices

52 Richardson, 286.
53 Letters and Papers, I, 149.
57 For these appointments, see the respective listings in Letters and Papers, I, II, III.
throughout ensuing years, and once, in 1528, he was pricked by the king as sheriff for Surrey and Sussex. 58

Of his other pre-parliamentary grants only two will be noted; that of his appointment, in 1525, to be one of the commissioners and assessors of all taxable lands, stannaries, tolls of tin, moors and wastes, belonging to the duchy in Cornwall and Devon; 59 and that which allotted an annual rent of fifty marks from certain manors in Cornwall "in consideration of the marriage between Sir Peter Edgecombe, knight for the Body, and lady Katharine Griffith ap Rice," in 1527. 60

Gaol delivery at Launceton Gaol was a charge which placed upon Sir Piers Edgecombe responsibility for enforcing the new legislation which already spoke of open rebellion against the Church. In December, 1533, Edgecombe reported to Cromwell that he had "examined Friar Gawen, warden [guardian] of the Grey Friars at Plymouth and two priests there, apart. I have caused them to sign their depositions, here enclosed. I have committed Friar Gawen to the Castle of Launceton, till the King's pleasure be known." 61 No indication is given in this letter as to the charges on which the priests were held, but in the same message, Edgecombe also noted that he had "according to your letter, punished by pillory and the stocks in the market-place such persons as spoke opprobrious words of the Queen." 62

58 Ibid., IV, pt. 2, 2132.
59 Ibid., IV, pt. 1, 690.
60 Ibid., pt. 2, 1352. Katharine was the daughter of Sir John St. John of Hietace and widow of Sir Griffith Ryce. This was Edgecombe's second marriage. He had previously married Jane Durnford. -- State Papers, I, 612.
61 Ibid., VI, 608.
62 Ibid. Rowe notes that the Friars were taken because of their "murmuring" against the King. -- Rowe, 181.
The summer of 1535 saw Edgecombe advanced to the office of receiver-general for the entire Duchy of Cornwall, in which capacity he supervised the valuation and letting of lands in that county and in Devon. He was probably given this position, because formerly he had been auditor, escheator, and assessor for the same counties.

Edgecombe was made sheriff of Cornwall in 1533 and again in 1535. In regard to this appointment, he wrote to Cromwell explaining that he had not asked for the office, but would do his best to please the king. He then complained that he had "as hedes to spent more off my sum pursse by xl. markes than I have receyyde, or thynk schall receyve"; he tells Cromwell, further, that if he does not receive a license to appear by deputy without forfeiting his sureties, it will cost him one hundred marks more and be a great inconvenience to him.

Of special interest is Edgecombe's request for the temporalities of the Priory of Totnes. This priory, valued at its dissolution at £2 1s. 9d., had been founded by Judhell or Joel, as a cell of the Benedictine Abbey of Saints Sergius and Bacchus at Angers during the reign of William the Conqueror. Joel's successor, Roger de Nautte, is sometimes mistakenly considered its founder on account of his lavish generosity towards it. His heirs, the Zouchs, retained possession, and the privilege of presenting the priors, until the accession of King Henry VII, when, on the attainder of Zouch (for supporting Richard III), the right of patronage was bestowed by

63 Letters and Papers, VII, 553.
64 Ibid., II, 192.
the Crown upon Sir Piers Edgecombe. In the face of these facts, Edgecombe's referring to himself, in a letter to Cromwell, as the "founder" of the priory, can only be interpreted as meaning patron. The letter has been interpreted as a protest against dissolution and a plea for the preservation of the priory. But in the postscript, Edgecombe plainly asks for "the temporal possessions, or parte thereoff," if the priory must go. Evidently he did not protest the suppression to the extent of not being willing to share in the spoils. However, his petition was in vain; the priory was suppressed and Edgecombe received nothing of it. There is no record that he ever obtained any of the confiscated monastic goods.

We hear no more of Edgecombe for the year 1536 until we come to the account of the mustering of men to quell the rebellion in Lincolnshire. Here, Edgecombe is listed as one appointed to attend upon the king personally, and to supply a force of two hundred men for the project. However, the order was countermanded shortly, since the rebels had been dealt with effectively without the aid of royal troops.

In 1539 it was thought advisable to establish a Council of the West to deal with the growing unrest consequent upon the confiscation of Church lands. Out of the eighteen members, four were chosen from Cornwall:

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65 Dugdale, Monasticon, IV, 628. But Watkins notes that in 1491 when the patronage was first to be conferred upon him "Petrus Eggecomb [sic] was under age and the patronage was therefore vested in the King," so that it was not until 1503 that Edgecombe actually became patron of the priory.—History of Totnes Priory, I, 500; II, 728.

66 For the full text of Sir Piers Edgecombe's letter to Cromwell see Appendix III, 117, below.

67 Gasquet, 190.

68 Dugdale, Monasticon, IV, 629.

69 Letters and Papers, XI, 234.
Sir Piers Edgecombe, Sir John Arundell, Sir William Godolphin, and Sir Thomas Arundell. Their specific duties were to deal with rioters, unlawful retainers, and those who spoke seditious words or who spread rumors. They also were to enforce conformity with legislation against the Pope, and to suppress observance of deleted holydays. 70

It is interesting to note that Edgecombe made "great suit" for the seat of the shire for the parliament of 1539.71 However, he was not chosen, and this was obviously his last attempt at gaining public office, for he died on October 14, 1539.

70 Rowse, 99, 241.
71 Letters and Papers, XIV, 598.
CHAPTER V

COMMON COMMONERS

SIR RICHARD RICH

Perhaps the best delineation of the character of Sir Richard Rich can be gleaned from two contemporary opinions expressed under entirely different circumstances. Sir Thomas More, at his trial, accused Rich of perjury, and stated that he would never confide his personal convictions to one who was "esteemed very light of . . . tongue, a great dicer, and of no commendable fame." In the articles of the Pilgrimage of Grace, Rich's name was coupled with that of Cromwell, and he was cited as being of low birth and small reputation, one who subverted the laws and maintained heretics, and who imposed taxes for his own purposes.

As to Rich's low birth, it might be noted that his grandfather had been a prominent mercer and sheriff of London in 1411. His father had also followed a commercial business, but Richard preferred to study law. He entered the Middle Temple where, in spite of his dissolute habits, he was able to acquire a certain proficiency in his profession. His first attempt at gaining a public office was not successful, for, in 1526 William Walsingham was preferred to him as common sergeant. Two years later, Rich solicited

2 Letters and Papers, XI, 238, 324.
Wolsey's attention by advocating a reform of the common law, and begging "to be called before him that he may declare the abuses that are daily used, and suggest remedies." Apparently Wolsey was not impressed, for we hear no more of this matter, but within a month Rich had been given his first royal charge, that of Justice of the Peace for Hertfordshire.

Little more is recorded of Rich until his election as a burgess for Colchester, Essex, in the Parliament of 1529, whereupon his rise in the king's service steadily increased. The first office which he held thereafter was that of gaol delivery at Colchester Castle, an appointment which gave him jurisdiction over criminal pleas in that district. In July, 1530, he was commissioned to make a return of Wolsey's possessions in Essex, and by December he had attained to the office of Justice of the Peace in the same county. A more advantageous position awaited him in March, 1532. He then became clerk of recognisances of debt taken in London before the chief justices of the Common Pleas and the King's Bench, for which he received "3s. 4d. for the making, writing, and enrolment [sic] of every such recognisance, and £20 for the certification of the same."

To these offices, in July, 1535, was added the function of Chirographer of Common Pleas. One can readily imagine how many cases came into his hands from these tribunals.

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5 Ibid., pt. 2, 2143.
6 Ibid., 2215.
7 Ibid., pt. 3, 2918.
8 Ibid., 2931.
9 Ibid., 3075.
10 Ibid., V, 430.
Rich was made Solicitor-General in October, 1533, in which capacity he took an active part in the proceedings against heretics and those who refused to take the oaths of supremacy and succession. If Rich was accorded royal favor it was not in acknowledgement of his moral integrity. His base conduct towards Bishop John Fisher and the ex-chancellor, Sir Thomas More, is evidence enough of the shameless methods he employed to obtain convictions of those who might threaten his security.\textsuperscript{11} The three Carthusian monks of the London Charterhouse who were executed at Tyburn in 1535, were also tried before him.\textsuperscript{12}

Administrative offices assigned to Rich included the lucrative position of Attorney General for Wales and the marches, and for the county palatine of Chester and Flint.\textsuperscript{13} Ever covetous of more gain, Rich petitioned Cromwell for the office of overseer of liveries of lands in England, Calais, Wales, and the marches. He wrote: "I beg you will have me in remembrance for the mastership of the King's liveries, and I will give you £40, and pray for you, as I have ever done."\textsuperscript{14} Within three months Rich had the commission.

Rich was chosen Speaker of the House of Commons in the Parliament of 1536, and his opening speech was a saccharine panegyric upon Henry's excellent qualities,\textsuperscript{15} a tribute which must have flattered the king. Towards

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\textsuperscript{11} See Letters and Papers, VIII, 384-386; 394-395, for documents treating the trial of Sir Thomas More.
\textsuperscript{12} Rich was merciless to the point of cruelty. Fox relates that he actually turned the rack on which Anne Askewe was being tortured in an effort to make her recant her denial of transubstantiation.—Foxe, V, 439, 547, 548.
\textsuperscript{13} Letters and Papers, V, 484.
\textsuperscript{14} Ibid., VIII, 189.
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the end of the parliamentary sessions in 1536, Thomas Wharley wrote to Lady Lisle that Rich was enjoying "great fees" in his new role as Surveyor-General.16

By this time Rich was on sufficiently familiar terms with the king to give him good advice concerning the property of Katharine of Aragon who had died in 1536. The "Lady Dowager" having died intestate, it was incumbent upon John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, to administer her possessions to her nearest of kin.17 Rich, realizing that the king had no just claim upon her goods, suggested that he might get around the technicalities of the law "by writing a letter to the Bishop of Lincoln to grant administration to such as he [Henry] shall name who shall hold the goods of his Grace's use."18

Rich was employed by the king on at least one occasion to purchase land, for on March 11, 1533, there is an entry in Cromwell's accounts stating that Rich was given £220 "for the purchase of lands of Thos. Roberts, nigh Copthall," this land to be held "to the King's use."19 Other funds from the royal coffers found their way to Rich himself, to what intent it is not always clear. In 1534, of the "fees going out of Queen Anne's lands in Wales," Rich received 53s. 4d., perhaps a perquisite of the office of Attorney-General.20 The same year, under the account "Payments for State Affairs" Cromwell recorded having paid "Ric. Riche, the King's solicitor, and Rob. Armstrong, for their attendance at said

16 Ibid., I, 223.
17 According to English law, a wife could make no will as long as her husband survived.—Ibid., 50.
18 Ibid., 143.
19 Ibid., VI, 102.
20 Ibid., VII, 147.
In 1536, he received £50 "towards purchasing the manor of Dunton, etc.," and the next year, in April, Cromwell allowed him 33 l. 6s. 8d., but no indication is given as to the occasion or purpose of this last sum.23

The Act for the Dissolution of the Lesser Monasteries passed by parliament in February, 1536, necessitated the setting up of a special court to deal with the confiscated property, the revenues, pensions, and other problems thus created. This Court of Augmentations, of which Rich was made Chancellor,24 put him into direct contact with the wealth flowing into the royal coffers, and, as Fuller declares, it is "no wonder if some stuck upon his fingers."25 Within a month of having received this charge, Rich became possessed of one of the dissolved priories, that of Leigs in Essex.26 The grant included not only the priory with its church and adjacent buildings, but also

the manors of Lighes Parva, Magna Lighes, Folsted, and Fyfeld, Essex; the advowson of the parish church of Parva Lighes; an annual pension of 5 marks issuing from the rectory and church of Magna Bircha, Essex; and all messuages, lands, &c., in Parva Leghes, Magna Lighes, Folsted, Fyfeld, Bradwell juxta Coggeshall, and

21 Ibid., 581.
22 Ibid., IX, 76.
23 Already in December, 1534, Sir Richard, together with Christopher Hales, had received as a crown grant the manor of Pyndon in Sussex, and in the following year he had received part of the spoils of Holy Trinity Convent (Christ's Church, London).--Ibid., VII, 597; VIII, 13.
24 Richardson remarks that Rich's salary in this capacity was "only £200 annually," but adds that fees incidental to the office make it quite profitable. --Richardson, 316. n. 31.
26 Leigs (or Lees) was an Augustinian Priory founded in the reign of Henry III, by Sir Ralph Geron. --Dugdale, Monasticon, VI, 552.
Magna Birche, Essex, and the manors of Lighes Camset, Bermea, and Herons, &c., as enjoyed by Thomas Ellys, prior of the said priory on the 1 Feb. last. . . . Annual value, 26 l. 7s. 6d.; rent 52s. 9d. 27

The manor of Leighs was to become the permanent residence of the future Lord Rich of Leighs, Lord Chancellor of England. The land obtained in 1536 apparently did not embrace all the lands which had belonged to the said priory, for a year later we find in the Augmentation records another grant greatly extending, and in fact completing the former one. 28

27 Letters and Papers, X, 419-420. Dugdale says the priory was worth 11l; 1 l. 1ls. 8d., and Page and Round list the gross value as 11l 1 l. 1ls. 8d.—Dugdale, Monasticon, VI, 552; William Page and J. H. Round, The Victoria History of the County of Essex, II, London, 1907, 156.

28 The text of this second grant, June, 1537, is as follows:
Sir Ric. Ryche [sic], chancellor of the court of Augmentation.
Grant in fee as follows:
1 Of the reversions and rents reserved on the following leases, vis.:

(1) By the late prior and convent of Leighes, Essex, 29 Jan. 7 Hen. VIII., to Sir Hen. Bowser, Earl of Essex, of the manor called Gladfen Hall, Essex; for 96 years; at £6 rent. (2) By Thos. Ellys, the late prior, and the convent aforesaid, 26 May 24 Hen. VIII., to Will. Harveys, of Mondon, Essex, of a messuage and 40 acres of marsh in Fowlney, Essex, called "Newmershe," with all their marshes near Redenhoke, and the marshes called "Clementis mershe" in Fowlneys, with all houses therein; for 80 years, at £20 rent; which lease was confirmed 10 June 26 Hen. VIII. by the Court of Augmentations.

11 Of the manors of Slamesey alias Slamondesey or Slampsey, Oldhill and Brenthall, Essex, at water-mill in Bereneham, Essex; the rectories and advowsons of the vicarages of Mating and Parva Lighes, Essex, with all other messuages, lands, &c. in the vills, fields, &c. of Slampsey, Alba Notley, Nigra Notley, Payrwade, Felsted, Magna Donemowe, Parva Donemowe, Breanktre, Boreham, Hatfield Peverell, Springfield, Magna Maltham, Parva Waltham, Magna Lighes, Parva Lighes, Matching, Stansted, Helsted, Fowlneys, Terling, Raynes Parva, Stysted, Farested, Pleshey, Schellows, Gosfield, Boldyng, Codyshall, Bromley, Wodham Parva, Ulting, Sandon, Downham, Pobbing, Bowres, Bradwell near Coggeshall, Revenhall, Witham, Hedingham Sible, Yeldham Magna, Yeldham Parva, and Byrche Magne, Essex, belonging to the said manors &c., and all other possessions in Essex of the said late priory.—Letters and Papers, XII, pt. 2, 62.
Sir Richard's wife shared in his next gift—an extensive grant of lands and tenements which had belonged to the late convent of the Augustinian monastery of St. Saviour and St. Mary and Bride, Syon, Middlesex.\textsuperscript{29} In March, 1538, he was granted the reversion of lands and rents on lease, of the suppressed monastery of St. Mary, Pritwell, Essex, and before the year was out, he had in fee, the Convent of St. Saviour's, Feversham, Essex.\textsuperscript{30}

Parcels of the Monastery of Stratford Langthorne in Essex, one of the richest and most important Cistercian houses in England, next came into Rich's possession.\textsuperscript{31} This monastery, a daughter-house of the Abbey of Savigny, Normandy, had been founded in 1135 by William de Montfitchet, and was dedicated to St. Mary. Its yearly value was placed at 511 l. 16s. 3d., the gross value being 573 l. 15s. 6 3/4d.; because of its many rents, its worth was calculated to have increased by 96 l. 9s. 9d. after it was taken over by the Crown. The plate amounted to 279 ounces of gilt and 966 ounces of parcel gilt and white.\textsuperscript{32} Plunder from St. Osith's Monastery, Essex, and from Holywell Monastery, Middlesex, was given to Rich in 1540, and lands belonging to the dissolved Abbey of Byland, Yorkshire, were added to his prizes in 1542.\textsuperscript{33}

\textsuperscript{29} Ibid., XII, pt. 1, 606. On March 17, 1538, this grant was extended to include the manors of Felsted and Grauntecourtes, Essex, forty messuages and other lands in Essex, the view of frankpledge in Felsted, and the advowson of the vicarage of its parish church. A second enlargement was granted on January 27, 1540.—Ibid., XIII, pt. 1, 245; XV, 53.

\textsuperscript{30} Ibid., XIII, pt. 1, 242; 571.

\textsuperscript{31} July 15, 1539.—Ibid., XIV, pt. 1, 588.

\textsuperscript{32} Page and Round, II, 129-133, passim.

\textsuperscript{33} Letters and Papers, XV, 110; XVII, 217.
It is obvious that by this time the Chancellor of Augmentations had feathered his nest quite luxuriously, and he was now anxious to consolidate his holdings in the county of Essex. Accordingly, we find him buying up property in Essex in such quantity that he eventually owned a great part of that county. Sir Richard's private real estate transactions became rather complicated during this period; we find him alienating parts of his own estates, and the substantial prices he was paying, in turn, for new properties indicate that his trafficking in monastic lands was proving quite lucrative. For example, in January, 1540, he paid a modest 1,684 l. 6s. 10d. for a further accretion to his possessions in Felsted, Essex. Four years later he could afford 1,604 l. 11s. 3d. for the priory of St. Bartholomew (in the suburbs of London) with its appurtenances, and the annual "Bartymewse Fayr." He likewise, purchased the lordship and manor of Newarkes in Goodester, Essex, with adjoining lands and messuages, for 1,082 l. 5s. In 1546 he received a grant "of annual rents reserved upon certain grants by patent . . . [here follow detailed listings of sixteen grants] . . . for Sir Richard's services and for £1,000 paid by him." A final purchase recorded in this period is that of the lordships and manors of Mylton, Southchurch, Lawling, and Stysted, Essex, and all other lands in those places which had belonged to Christchurch Cathedral, Canterbury.

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34 For alienations of property to Richard Rich, see Letters and Papers, XVII, 162, 563; XVIII, pt. 1, 133; XIX, pt. 1, 505.
35 Ibid., XIV, 53.
36 Ibid., XII, pt. 1, 377.
37 Ibid., IX, pt. 1, 226.
38 Ibid., XI, pt. 1, 661.
39 Ibid., XIV, 118.
That Cromwell and Rich should have tread upon each other's toes in the administration of the confiscated Church lands is not surprising, and we wonder that Cromwell tolerated this state of affairs for any length of time. However, Richardson observes that Cromwell knew Henry VIII could not afford to lose this clever, subservient minister who was able to channel such fabulous sums into the royal treasury. But in 1544, Rich, himself, resigned the Chancellorship of the Augmentations Court, when he was made treasurer of the wars against France and Scotland.

It is interesting to note that Sir Richard Rich, like Sir William Fitzwilliam, was listed as a "Papist" by Foxe. This is probably due to the fact that after Cromwell's death he was active in supporting Gairdner's campaign against the reformers. However, the same author later records Rich's admonition addressed to the Justices of the Peace urging them to promote Protestantism.

In the face of these facts it is not difficult to see why Rich is so sincerely despised. Foss says of him: "Cunning much less than Rich's would soon discover that his interest lay in gratifying the humours of the king, but it required a hardened conscience to pursue the perfidious course which he adopted to secure the royal favour." It is evident that Henry VIII

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40 Richardson, 321. However, Rich had no such scruples in Cromwell's regard, for he was among those who testified against the Lord Chancellor at his downfall.—Letters and Papers, XIV.
41 Letters and Papers, XIX, pt. 1, 370.
42 Foxe, V, 439.
44 For the full text, see Foxe, V, 724-725.
45 Foss, V, 319.
cherished him as a useful tool to carry out his designs against the Church, but that Rich did not even attain to knighthood until 1533 seems to indicate a lack of anxiety on the part of the Crown to heap personal distinctions upon him. This hypothesis is further borne out by the fact that Rich was excluded from Henry's will. It was not until after Henry's death that Rich was raised to the peerage. Indeed, it is said that had the king lived but a few days longer he would have brought this unscrupulous minister to his just fate.

The subsequent fickle career of Sir Richard Rich under three succeeding sovereigns cannot be treated here, but one can understand why Rich chose as his apopthegm: "Well done, if warily." 48

THOMAS MILLER

In speaking of the composition of the Reformation Parliament Kenneth Pickthorn remarks: "The sort of people in England who made or became members of parliament were just the sort likely to resent clerical politicians and foreign jurisdiction, and to covet offices and lands that clerics had held." 49 Certainly the career of Thomas Miller, a burgess sitting in parliament for Bishop's Lynn, Norfolk, bears out this thesis.

A merchant by trade, Thomas Miller had held the mayorship of Bishop's Lynn from 1520 to 1524, and again in 1529 and 1546. 50 He was

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46 February 16, 1547.—Dugdale, Baronage, II, 287.
48 Lloyd, I, 225.
49 Pickthorn, II, 28.
thus mayor of the town when it received the grant of incorporation on June 27, 1524, and that document specifies "Thomas Miller to be the first mayor." 51

It seems that from the first, open hostility existed between the new mayor and Bishop Richard Nix (or Noyke) of Norwich, one of the King's Councillors. 52 The entry in the Lynn Chronicle for the year 1520 reads: "Thomas Myller maior. In this yere began the su# betwyne lyne and the bishop of norwych ffor the lyberty of lyne." 53 The chief bone of contention was jurisdiction, and it found expression quite naturally in a controversy over precedence. Upon coming into office in 1520, Thomas Miller insisted that, in ceremonial processions, the ancient sword of the city, known as King John's Sword, be carried before him rather than before the bishop. 54 Apparently Miller had the better of the argument; henceforth he was allowed to have a sheathed sword carried before him, and the people voiced their approval of his victory by re-electing him as mayor for the three following years. 55

By 1529 the animosity against the bishop had increased to such an extent that it was merely a matter of time until he would be finally

54 There is considerable disagreement as to the origin of the sword. For a disinterested discussion of the issue see Henry J. Hillen, The History of the Borough of King's Lynn, II, Norwich, 1907, 803-805. Hillen suggests that the sword was given to the town by King Henry IV.
55 Ibid., I, 236, 237.
repudiated. In this controversy Miller received at least negative support from the Crown, and in 1533 when Bishop Nix was accused before the King’s Bench of having violated the Statute of Provisors, his estates were seized, and he was imprisoned. The Bishop managed to gain his pardon and liberty on payment of a fine of 10,000 marks. But the episcopal power in Lynn had been crushed, and the Charter of 1536 changed the name of the town from Bishop’s Lynn to King’s Lynn. This development is a concrete example of the repercussions of the Reformation Parliament on the local scene, and while it is true that enmities had been stirred up against the Bishop’s power long before the calling together of the parliament, the repressive measures probably would not have been carried to such lengths without the royal sanction. It is significant, also, that a leading role should have been played by a Commoner who was of the bourgeoisie.

Miller was a freeman of Bishop’s Lynn, enjoying the attendant “liberty to trade.” In 1531 he was accused of shipping grain and barley illegally, and he was fined accordingly. Miller apparently considered the charge unjust on some account, for he wrote to Cromwell, “I desire you, in behalf of me and my children, to certify the Council of the truth of my adventure of grain beyond the sea. I have sent you a true copy of the

56 Ibid., 239-240.
57 Ibid. See, also, Richards, I, 370, and Journals of the House of Lords, I, 71, 20.
58 Hillen, 241.
59 Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society, Calendar of the Freemen of Lynn, 1292-1836, Norwich, 1913, 86. Two of his sons, Robert and Andrew, purchased the franchise in 1529 and 1533 respectively. This was required of every householder of Lynn.
60 Letters and Papers, V, 245.
Miller must have enjoyed some favor with Cromwell, for we find that the Corporation of Bishop's Lynn, in 1534, requested his offices to see that Cromwell "have us in better remembrance." In the same year, the Lord Chancellor addressed "an official" in Scotland in behalf of Miller's ship, the Andrew, which had run aground there. The goods worth £260 had been confiscated by James Seyntcler, the governor of that region, and Cromwell insisted upon redress for Miller.

Commissions held by Miller are few, but they indicate that he was, at least occasionally, in the king's remembrance. In 1523 he had been appointed, together with William Conysby, Thomas Gybson, John Grindell, and Richard Bewshere, to collect the king's subsidy in Lynn. In 1530, he was granted the office of pursuivant-at-arms called Rouge Dragon, with an annual salary of £10. Commission of gaol delivery at Lynn Regis Gaol was the charge with which Miller was invested on February 4, 1541, and the next year he was on the commission of sewers for Norfolk and Cambridge. In September, 1542, he was paying £4 rent for property which had formerly belonged to the parish of Canterbury.

61 Ibid., VI, 177.
62 Ibid., VII, 585.
63 Ibid., 604.
64 Hillen, 234; Letters and Papers, IV, pt. 1, 238.
65 Letters and Papers, IV, pt. 3, 3050. The English College of Arms was a royal corporation founded in 1483 for exercising jurisdiction in armorial and heraldic matters. In the College at that time there were three kings of arms, six heralds, and four pursuivants styled Rouge Croix, Blue-mantle, Rouge Dragon, and Portcullis. The pursuivant-at-arms was a junior officer ranking below a herald.
66 Ibid., XVII, 192; XVI, 275.
67 Ibid., XVIII, 489.
Our record of Thomas Miller must end here, for the information concerning him is comparatively scant; however, we have sufficient evidence to assume that he was not one to thwart the king's plan for the subjugation of the ecclesiastics and the spoliation of the Church.

PAUL WITHIPOLL

Paul Withipoll (Wythypoll) is another burgess about whom we know comparatively little, but a study of the few facts available is rewarding, for it casts further light upon the role of the merchant in state affairs.

A prominent merchant-tailor of London, Paul Withipoll had been warden of the Merchant-Tailor’s Guild in 1522 and 1526, and Master of the Guild in 1537. He served on many local commissions, such as witnessing the will of John Skevington, former alderman of London; investigating the petition of two rival merchants and arbitrating their disputes; and examining a citizen on charges of witchcraft.

Withipoll’s leadership in civic affairs was recognized in 1522 when he was appointed with William Wilford to have the survey of the provisions supplied to Charles V on his visit to London that year. Already in 1524 Withipoll must have been among the wealthier merchants, for in the

68 Charles M. Clode, The Early History of the Guild of Merchant Taylors of the Fraternity of St. John the Baptist, I, London, 1888, 150; II, App. I, 340. His election as Governor of the Merchant Adventurer’s Company at Antwerp in October, 1512, was rejected for some reason, and another was put in his place.—Letters and Papers, XVII, 552, 596.
70 Clode, I, 150.
valuation for the subsidy in London, for that year, he was assessed 2,000 marks. 71

Clode records that Withipoll had served as Justice of the Peace for London in 1515. 72 We might deduce that he did so again sometime between 1521 and 1534, for he was granted a royal patent of exemption from jury duty, and the mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs of London were commanded by this same patent "not to molest the said Paul under pain of £1,000." 75 In 1533 he was on the commission of assay of silver and gold minted at the Tower of London, to determine whether it met the standard of purity prescribed. 74

Up to this time Withipoll had apparently received no assignment bearing directly upon the chief business of the parliament, but in 1535 he was among those appointed to collect the tenths of Spiritualities for the king, in London. 75 He was on duty at the Tower at the behest of Cromwell while Anne Boleyn was incarcerated there. 76 On March 26, 1537, he served on a petty jury panel before which Dr. Mackerell and others implicated in the Lincolnshire rebellions were tried. 77

Even these appointments might be considered merely routine, and it does not necessarily follow that participation in these matters implies

71 Letters and Papers, IV, pt. 1, 421. This assessment was repeated in 1535. — Ibid., VIII, 184.
72 Clode, I, 150.
73 Letters and Papers, VI, 678. This patent is not included in the Rolls, but it must have been given within the dates mentioned because the king is styled Fidel Defensor and Domimus Hiberniae, but not Supremus caput Ecclesiae. — Ibid.
74 Ibid., VII, 597.
75 Ibid., VIII, 49.
76 Ibid., X, 381.
77 Ibid., XII, pt. 1, 324.
a sanction of Henry's policies. However, a more reliable test of Withipoll's attitude can be gained from an examination of his handling of confiscated church properties.

True to his keen business acumen, bred of long practice in the atmosphere of commercial enterprise, Paul Withipoll recognized immediately the stakes to be won in this new area of land speculation. In 1544, he and his son, Edmund, were granted in fee, for 394 l. 11s. 8d. the lordship and manor of Mark, certain messuages and farms in Walcomstow, Essex, and messuages in the parish of St. John Walbrook, London, all of which had formerly belonged to St. Helen's priory in London. They also received the rectory and advowson of the vicarage of Walcomstow, late of the priory of Holy Trinity (Christopherchurch), London. Moreover, by the same grant, they were given the manor of Walcomstow, itself, and sixteen acres of marshland adjacent to it.78

The same year, Withipoll pooled his money with thirty-two other merchant-tailors of the city of London to purchase, for 3,803 l. 6s. 8d., wide tracts of land in Wiltshire, Worcestershire, Gloucester, and Oxfordshire, some of which had been in the possession of Launde Monastery, Leicestershire.79 Two years later Paul and Edmund Withipoll acquired the site and house of Holy Trinity Priory, Ipswich, and sundry other lands in various parishes which had belonged to the same priory.80

78 Ibid., XIX, pt. 1, 622. For an evaluation of these lands, see Dugdale, Monasticon, IV, 555.
79 Ibid., XIX, pt. 2, 78-79; Dugdale, VI, pt. 1, 187, 189.
80 Ibid., XXI, pt. 1, 152.
The subsequent alienation of much of this land, on the part of Withipoll and his son, and also by the combination of merchant-tailors, places these men in the class of land-jobbers so aptly described by Liljegren in his study of the social changes brought about by the dissolution of monasteries. He observes:

Land-jobbers appear, alone or in couples or companies, buy large estates all over England, and then sell parcels later on. They are in some way set off against the other buyers in as much as they do not generally care to purchase property of a piece, but parcels scattered over the whole country. . . . They were a chief means of causing the ecclesiastical estate to be split up into a great many small parts distributed among the less wealthy categories of the English people. 82

It would be interesting to trace Withipoll’s subsequent career, but the only other reference which could be found, concerns his appointment as gaol deliverer for prisoners in Ludgate, on July 23, 1542. 83 His name is one of the ninety-seven inscribed in the record for 1534 in the Chapter House of the Merchant-Tailor’s Guild in London. 84

81 Ibid., XX, pt. 1, 426; XXI, pt. 1, 152.
82 Liljegren, 118-119.
83 Letters and Papers, XVII, 565.
CHAPTER VI

BARRISTERS IN PARLIAMENT

SIR JOHN BALDWIN

Sir John Baldwin (Bawdewyne), an Inner Temple lawyer, must have been one of those enigmatic personalities who maintained a dual reputation—one for innate ability, and the other for an obscurity in expression that belies that ability. For, despite the fact that he had been afforded the rare honor of three times acting as reader in the Temple,¹ and that he eventually attained the position of Chief Justice of the Common Pleas,² Baldwin’s fellow judges seem not to have appreciated his legal opinions. Foss relates that Dyer, writing of a question before the court, concluded his report with the statement: "But Baldwin was of a contrary opinion, though neither I, nor anyone else, I believe, understood his refutation."³

Baldwin’s legal career began to take definite shape in March, 1510, when he was made Justice of the Peace for Buckinghamshire.⁴ He held

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¹ In Autumn, 1516; at Easter, 1524; and again in Autumn, 1531—William Dugdale, Origines Juridiciales, London, 1680, 163, 164, passim.
² April 19, 1533.—Letters and Papers, VIII, 240.
³ Foss, V, 135.
⁴ Letters and Papers, I, 112.
this office ten times in the same county, between 1510 and 1535, and even his appointment as Chief Justice did not curtail his constant activity in this field. Gaol delivery at Southampton Castle in 1511, at Buckingham County Gaol in 1520, and at Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire, in 1530 and 1531, were other recurrent charges assigned to Baldwin.

Of a more specific nature was the appointment in June, 1529, "to hear and determine causes moved before the King in Chancery." Here he was working in close contact with Cardinal Wolsey, and it is significant that upon that prelate's attainer, Baldwin was chosen to make inquisition of Wolsey's possessions in Buckinghamshire.

The commissions held by Baldwin show a definite increase in quantity and quality after 1529. From 1530 to 1532 he held the office of Attorney-General of Wales and its Marches, and of the County Palatine of Chester and Flint. An examination of Middle Temple records reveals that John Baldwin was appointed one of the king's sergeants-at-law in Michaelmas Term, 1531. Sergeants were chosen by the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Bench; their names were presented to the Lord Chancellor in writing, and they were instated in the presence of the king. 

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5 Ibid., I, 204, 377, 440; IV, pt. 1, 55, 499, 609; IV, pt. 3, 3051; V, 701. In 1532 he also served as Justice of the Peace for Cumberland, York, (North Riding), Northumberland, and Westmorland.—Ibid., V, 701-706, passim.

6 Ibid., I, 273, III, pt. 1, 161; VI, pt. 3, 2918; V, 217.

7 Ibid., IV, pt. 3, 2502.

8 Ibid., 2931.

9 Ibid., 2856.

10 Dugdale, Origins, 83.

11 Ibid., III.
must have been a gala affair, and the festivities attendant upon it indicate that the sergeants-at-law were men of means. They were obliged to present gold rings "to the value of forty pounds sterling at the least" to the king and various specified officials, and they were to "keep a great dinner, like to the Feast of a King's Coronation, which shall continue and last for the space of seven days," and costing at least four hundred marks.12

Thomas Willoughby and John Baldwin are noted as having been the first sergeants-at-law to receive knighthood, a rank bestowed upon them in 1534.13 Baldwin collected the tenths of Spiritualities in Buckinghamshire beginning January, 1535.14 It was in this same year that he had been elevated to the office of Chief Justice of Common Pleas,15 and scarcely had he ascended the bench when he was placed on a commission of oyer and terminer for Sir Thomas More and Bishop John Fisher.16 He served on a similar commission for the indictment of Sir Francis Weston, Henry Norris, William Brereton, and Mark Smeaton, all implicated in Anne Boleyn's alleged infidelity,17 and before him, Anne herself was found guilty and was condemned to die.18

12 Ibid.
13 Foss, 135.
14 Letters and Papers, VIII, 50.
15 We have an indication of his salary, for an entry in Gostwick's disbursements for August, 1536, allows to Sir John 1l l. 6s. 1ld. as a half year's fee for this office.—Ibid., X, 210.
17 Letters and Papers, X, 351.
18 Ibid., 361, 362.
Baldwin's services were required upon two other occasions immediately after Parliament was dissolved in 1536. When an assay of silver was made at Westminster in July, he was one of the inspectors; and some time later he was among those mustered to disperse the rebels in Lincolnshire who were revolting against the new legislation.

In 1387 James, Earl of Ormond, had founded a house of Gray Friars in Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire. On October 20, 1538, license was granted to Thomas, Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, to alienate the manors of Aylesbury and Berton, with adjacent lands, in order that it might be re-granted to Sir John Baldwin and the heirs of his body. Two years later, this grant was extended to include the house and site of the late "Graye Frers," and many lands belonging to it. At the same time Sir John became possessed of the manor of Broughton, late of the monastery of Missenden, Buckinghamshire, and of its numerous appurtenances. The "Particulars for Grants" for 1544 records a grant to Baldwin of the farm of Upton Manor formerly held by Osney Monastery in Oxfordshire. If the acquisition of spoils presupposes endorsement of the methods and motive of the spoiler, we might conclude that by this time Baldwin was a firm supporter of Crown policy.

19 Ibid., XI, 27.
20 Ibid., 234.
21 Joseph Tanner, Notitia Monastica, London, 1787, Buck., II.
23 Ibid., XVI, 381.
24 Ibid. The annual rent for this property is listed in Dugdale, Monasticon, VI, pt. 1, 549, as 11 l. 1s.
25 Great Britain, Public Record Commission, Ninth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Record, London, 1846, 163. Dugdale notes that Osney Abbey had been built in 1129, and that the rents for the farm of Upton were 13 l. 3s. 10d. yearly.—Dugdale, Monasticon, VI, pt. 1, 256.
Foss relates that Baldwin died on December 22, 1545, and that he had resigned as Chief Justice between Trinity Term and November 6 of that year, when he was replaced by Sir Edward Montagu. However, if Martin is correct in assigning his death to October 24, Baldwin probably held office up to the time of his death.

WILLIAM PORTMAN

William Portman was a nominal Roman Catholic, "one of the old way," who could twist his conscience into service under Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Mary, with seeming unconcern. A barrister of some reputation, he was reader in the Middle Temple in Autumn, 1533, and in Lent, 1540. In Trinity Term of 1540 he received the degree of the covert, and in the following November he became one of the king's sergeants-at-law.

Portman represented Taunton, Somersetshire, in the 1529 Parliament, a position he shared with the future Lord Chancellor, Thomas Cromwell. He had already served as Justice of the Peace in the county of Somerset in 1524, and repeatedly thereafter; he was on the commission of gaol delivery at Ilchester Gaol in 1530. But Henry VIII naturally would utilize Portman's abilities in the field of law in enforcing the legal procedures attendant

26 Foss, 135.
28 Foss, 388.
29 Letters and Papers, XVI, 141.
30 Ibid., IV, pt. 1, 57, 392, 901; IV, pt. 3, 2311; V, 56, 705.
31 Ibid., IV, pt. 3, 2919.
upon the overthrow of papal authority. The lawyer had proved himself useful in assessing the far-flung possessions of the attainted Cardinal Wolsey in Somerset.\(^{32}\) He had, likewise, had an active part in collecting the tenths of Spiritualities in that county and in the city of Bath in 1535.\(^{33}\) Henry had appointed him one of the administrators of Katharine of Aragon's will after her death in 1536.\(^{34}\)

Apparently in these charges Portman had lived up to royal expectations, for his name appears in connection with treason trials thereafter. In 1538 he was placed on a commission of oyer and terminer for treasons in six counties—Hants, Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall.\(^{35}\) Serving with him on this commission were a number of former members of Parliament—Sir Piers Edgecombe, Sir Richard Rich, Sir John Baldwin, and Sir Humphrey Wingfield. The Council of the West which was set up in 1539 likewise counted among its components not only William Portman but also Sir Piers Edgecombe, Sir Thomas Denys, Sir John Horsey, Sir John Russell, and Sir Giles Strangways, all of whom had sat in the Reformation Parliament. Finally, in 1546, William Portman was named one of the justices of the King's Bench, so we might conclude that his previous services were satisfactory.\(^{36}\)

Richardson notes that as a token of royal approval, Henry VIII often granted wardships to his royal ministers and servants.\(^{37}\) Portman was given

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\(^{32}\) Ibid., 2931.
\(^{33}\) Ibid., VIII, 52.
\(^{35}\) Letters and Papers, XIII, pt. 1, 563.
\(^{36}\) Letters and Papers, XI, pt. 1, 463.
\(^{37}\) Richardson, 287.
three wardships between 1533 and 1546. The first was in the form of custody of the possessions of Nicholas Tose during the minority of his son and heir, John Tose, with the wardship and marriage of John. In 1543 he enjoyed a similar grant in regard to the son and heir of the late Thomas Michell of Somerset. The king, further, gave him charge of a third part of the rectory of Morbath in Devon, with wardship and marriage of Stephen Tristram.

Although he was an avowed Catholic, Portman joined in the scramble for monastic spoils. He and Alexander Popham were granted in fee, for the nominal sum of 75s 1s. 17s. 8d., manors, tenements, farms, and vast tracts of land belonging to the dissolved priories of Buckland, Taunton, Athelney, and to the hospital of St. John of Bridgewater, all in the county of Somerset. This grant included the farm of the manor of Northpetherton, with rents in Aysshe and Thornsawcon, farms in Bromefield and Kingshill, the farm of the manor of Claveshaye in the parish of Northpetherton, farms in Goston, in the parish of Westmonkton, and in the parishes of Durleigh, Gotehurst, and Bridgewater, Somersetshire.

Portman continued in his position as justice of the King's Bench throughout the reign of Edward VI, and also in Mary's reign until his death in 1557. An account of his funeral in St. Dunstan's Cathedral can be found in Machyn's Diary.

38 Letters and Papers, VI, 262.
39 Ibid., XVIII, pt. 1, 284.
40 Ibid., XII, pt. 2, 244.
41 Ibid., XIX, pt. 2, 313.
42 Deputy Keeper's Report, X, 255.
Of all the members of the House of Commons reviewed here, perhaps we can say of none more surely than of Sir Humphrey Wingfield (Wyngfelde), that he was in complete accord with the king's plan for the Parliament of 1529. What more conclusive evidence could be found than his appointment to Speakership of the House of Commons at a time when Cromwell was carefully sifting and weighing the character of each candidate for the vacancies in that body in 1533? Humphrey Wingfield was the first burgess to hold that position, and King Henry VIII came, himself, to the House to receive the new Speaker and to confer knighthood upon him.44

Who was this burgess under whose leadership the most vital issues of these parliamentary sessions would be determined? Humphrey Wingfield was of noble lineage, the twelfth son of Sir John Wingfield of Letheringham, Suffolk, sixth baron Audley.45 One of his older brothers, Sir Anthony, was a Privy Councillor and Vice-Chamberlain to Henry VIII, and knight for the shire of Suffolk in the same Parliament.46 The Duke of Suffolk, Charles Brandon, was a cousin to the Wingfields, and in 1515 Humphrey was acting as Chamberlain to Suffolk's wife, Mary, Queen of France.47 Suffolk undoubtedly took an interest in the advancement of his cousin, for in 1515 he wrote to Cromwell reminding him of his promise to make Humphrey custos

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44 Letters and Papers, VI, 63.
46 Manning, 179.
47 Leadam, 655.
rotulorum in his home county.\(^{48}\) Three years later Wingfield was employed
to carry private counsel from Cromwell to Suffolk.\(^{49}\)

Humphrey Wingfield was not only active in Suffolk's behalf; he had
served on royal commissions from the first years of Henry VIII's reign.
From 1509 he performed the duties of Justice of the Peace in Suffolk every
year until 1533, with few lapses between his terms.\(^{50}\) He was on commission
of gaol delivery for Ipswich in 1512, and 1530; for Dunwich in 1514, and for
Colchester Castle in 1520.\(^{51}\) In 1520 he was pricked as sheriff for the
county of Suffolk.\(^{52}\)

Wingfield had studied law in Gray's Inn, and in 1526 the king
recognized his forensic ability by admitting him as a legal adviser into
the Privy Council.\(^{53}\) Other signs of deference were shown him at Court.
In 1527, he was suggested as an advocate with Wolsey for the redressing
of a wrong, for, it was said, he was "in great favor with the Cardinal."\(^{54}\)

When a great dinner was given in 1528 at Cardinal's College on the occasion
of the delivery of certain vestments and plate by Dr. Lee, Stephens, and
Cromwell, to Dean Capon of the college, Wingfield was present to accompany

\(^{50}\) *Ibid.*, I, 38, 42, 95, 167, 171, 202, 224-226, 257, 328, 357,
460, 506, 518, 732, 818, 904, 907; II, pt. 1, 69, 318; III, pt. 2, 1192; IV,
pt. 1, 168, 417, 499, 901; IV, pt. 2, 2217, 2311, 3667; V, 54, 399, 702, 705.
\(^{51}\) *Ibid.*, I, 726; III, pt. 1, 396; IV, pt. 1, 654; IV, pt. 3,
2919.
them to Our Lady's Chapel, and to dine with them later. The next year he was chosen to give aid to Wolsey in hearing Chancery cases. There is small wonder, then, that when the returns came in for the Parliament of 1529, the name of Humphrey Wingfield was listed for Yarmouth, Norfolk.

Nothing is known of his activities during the first sessions of parliament, but a review of the more important statutes passed during his speakership should prove significant. Anti-papal legislation which cut off revenues to Rome included the Act against Papal Dispensations and Peter's Pence, the Annates Act, and that which provided for payment of the First-Fruits to the king. The Act in Restraint of Appeals curtailed the pope's juridical power in England, and the Supremacy Act transferred his spiritual authority to Henry VIII. Other statutes affecting the province of religion were the Dissolution of the Aragon Marriage, the Heresy Act of 1534, the Submission of the Clergy, the Suffragan's Act, the revision of Canon Law, and the suppression of the Lesser Monasteries, with its corollaries, the establishment of the Court of Augmentations, and the Act which provided for the collection of tithes. The enforcement of these innovations was regulated by the Treason's Act, and to a certain extent, by the General Pardon of 1534. Acts for the Attainder of Sir Thomas More, Bishop Fisher, the Charterhouse Monks, and others, passed while Wingfield was Speaker.

On March 5, 1532, Wingfield led the Commons to the Upper House,

55 Ibid., IV, pt. 2, 2070-2071.
56 Ibid., IV, pt. 3, 2502.
57 The full text of these Acts may be found in Great Britain, Public Record Commission, The Statutes of the Realm, III, London, 1817, 427-551, passim.
where he,

in the name of all his subjects desired reformation of the Acts made by the Spirituality in Convocation against the King and his subjects in calling them to courts ex officio and not knowing their accusers, causing them to abjure, or else to burn them for pure malice, taking tithes and offerings contrary to justice, and being judges and parties in their own causes.58

The Act for the Submission of the Clergy, and that providing for a revision of Canon Law were the results of this protest by the House of Commons.

Wingfield received an annual salary of £100 "for his reward" as Speaker of the House during this period.59 On his part, he was zealous for the royal cause; in January, 1535, he collected the Spiritual tithes in Suffolk, and a month later he signed the confession of a woman who had spoken "treasonable words" against Anne Boleyn, calling her a "noughty hoore," and insisting that Katharine was Queen.60

When the religious houses were dismembered, Sir Humphrey received a grant, in tail male, of the manors of Netherhall and Overhall in Dedham, Essex, and all lands formerly belonging to the nunnery of Campsey, Suffolk. By the same grant, he was made owner of the manor of Creppinghall in Stutton, Suffolk, and of other property formerly held by the priory of St. Mary and St. John the Evangelist in Colnecomitis, Essex.61

58 Ibid., VII, 168.
59 Ibid., VI, 316; VII, 581; X, 240.
60 Ibid., VIII, 52, 75.
61 Ibid., XII, pt. 2, 83. Liljegren, 33; Dugdale, Monasticon, V, 583, gives the evaluation of Campsey.
When Anne of Cleves arrived in Rochester, Wingfield was in the delegation sent to meet her. In fact, he was one of six Wingfields in this reception. 62

The last years of his life Wingfield spent in putting his professional ability at the disposal of the king. From 1541 to 1544 he acted on commissions of oyer and terminer on the Eastern Circuit, on the Norfolk Circuit, in Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and in the city of Norwich. He died on October 23, 1545, seized of the manors of Crepinghall, Brigplace, Brantham, Barnevilles, and Dallingham, Suffolk.

62 Wingfield, 239.
63 Ibid., 239-240.
CHAPTER VII

REBELS IN PARLIAMENT

SIR RICHARD TEMPEST

Sir Richard Tempest, sitting in parliament for Appleby, Westmorland, was apparently a native of Yorkshire, for the focus of his activity is in that county. It was not extraordinary at that time for a man to be sent to parliament by a constituency of which he was not a resident, for local representation as we know it today had not yet been developed. Sir Richard's brother, Sir Thomas Tempest, held a burgess' seat for Newcastle-on-Tyne, Northumberland.

When one considers Sir Richard Tempest's active cooperation with Robert Aske in the Pilgrimage of Grace, and his subsequent imprisonment and death, one wonders what his reaction was to the "king's proceedings" during the Reformation Parliament. For lack of a journal for the House of Commons, it is necessary again to rely upon scattered bits of data to obtain some clue to the attitude of the burgesses from Appleby. As in the case of the other members considered here, Sir Richard's record will be examined for a key to the interpretation of his relations with the Crown. Certainly in the early years of the reign of Henry VIII, Tempest enjoyed the royal trust, for he was appointed repeatedly to the office of Justice.
of the Peace for Yorkshire. He was approved as sheriff for the same county in 1516, and Magnus wrote to Wolsey that he performed his duty "nobly." By 1512 he had been made a Squire for the Body, and one year later he was knighted by the King at Tournay. He must have been active in military affairs before he was knighted for there is a note to the effect that he was on a commission of array twice in 1511, and on a commission of muster for Yorkshire in 1512. He was to continue his army career, and there are numerous references to his service in that field, especially in regard to the defense of the Scottish border. It is evident that he held a responsible position, for in 1523 he was in the vanguard with two hundred men when the English marched into Scotland "to cast down the tower and great steeple of Ednam" and to burn several towns. Again, "Ric. Tempest and the garrison of Berwick" received orders "to convey the ordnance from Berwick Castle to York Castle." In 1525 Henry Duke of Richmond sent the king a message by Tempest, whom he recommended to Henry as having "done him good service in these parts." The king commissioned him and Sir Thomas Clifford, captain of Berwick, Sir Ralph Ellercore, Sir

1 Letters and Papera, I, 270, 291, 304, 352, 561, 826.
2 Deputy Keepers Reports, XLIX, 163.
4 Ibid., I, 441, 676. His fee as Squire was 33 l. 6s. 8d.
5 Ibid., II, pt. 1, 874.
6 Ibid., 261, 271, 402. He is also mentioned as having taken part in a pageant called "Pallys Marshallyn" in which he wore a green satin frock, "gored with yellow" which had been paid for by the king. These revels were often held in connection with tournaments.
7 Ibid., III, 1108, 1212, 1424, 1507.
8 Ibid., 1299-1300.
9 Ibid., 1313.
Thomas Wharton, and Cuthbert Ratcliffe, to treat with James V of Scotland "for the redress of outrages on the West Marches." When Scotland was again invaded in 1532, Tempest was present with a retinue of five hundred men.

A further index to the king's estimation of Tempest in these early years can be found in the other responsibilities laid upon Tempest's shoulders. In 1514 he was given a lease, for forty years, of the farm of the town of Wakefield, York, together with the office of bailiff there. At the end of that year, Tempest was made feodary and receiver of all possessions belonging to the Crown in York County. On July 21, 1521, his authority in Wakefield was broadened to encompass stewardship of the town and lordship of Wakefield, constabulary of Sandall Castle, and mastership of the hunt in Sandall park and woods, and in the woods of Wakefield.

Sir Richard Tempest had not aroused any suspicions by his conduct through the first years of his parliamentary term, for he is listed on various commissions to make post mortem inquisitions on property. In 1531 he was on the commission of sewers, York, West Riding, and in 1530 and 1532 he served as Justice of the Peace in the various areas of the same county. But in 1534 an unidentified person wrote to Cromwell to suggest that it might be well to dismiss Tempest from his public charges in York, on account

10 Ibid., V, 147, 209.
11 Ibid., 680.
12 Ibid., I, 802.
13 Ibid., 947.
14 Ibid., III, pt. 2, 594.
15 Ibid., IV, pt. 3, 2919, 2857; V, 59.
16 Ibid., V, 347, 400, 702; IV, pt. 3, 3076.
of neglect of duty. He accused Tempest of "fixing" the sheriff's returns, and of winking at the violation of acts forbidding livery and maintenance. "The King's felons, murderers, and outlaws are cloaked, colored and maintained by stewards and bailiffs of the liberties, so that the King's process has no place, and he is not answered of any profits on the said offenders, which causes his laws much less to be dreaded." Tempest was probably doing a bit of maintaining himself, but Cromwell apparently did not investigate this matter, for almost immediately he placed Tempest in charge of collecting the king's tithes in Yorkshire and in the city of York. And Sir Richard, himself, was still acquiescing, at least outwardly, to the royal injunction. As late as September 21, 1535, he heard the deposition of Robert Holdsworth, the Vicar of Halifax, who was accused of having spoken against the king, saying, "A pon Herre all Ingland may werre." Tempest, in his report to Cromwell, stated further, that Holdsworth was making false returns on his tithes and first-fruits.

It is difficult to estimate the exact date when Sir Richard Tempest took an open stand against the king, but he was accused of having been the first to "raise the commons" in Lancashire "before any of those parts went to Aske." By October 22, 1536, he had definitely thrown in

17 Ibid., VII, 616.
18 Ibid., VIII, 51.
19 Ibid., IX, 133.
21 Letters and Papers, XII, pt. 1, 339.
his lot with Lord Darcy.22 He commanded the middle ward of the commons' army in West Riding, Yorkshire, and he participated in the Pilgrims' Council which met at Pontefract from December 2 to December 4, 1536.23 On December 14, 1536, the Earl of Cumberland reported to Henry VIII that "certain gentlemen, some of them the King's servants" were nailing bills on church doors announcing subversive assemblies regarding the rebellion in Lincolnshire.24 The Earl sent for Tempest to question him, but Tempest excused himself on grounds of ill health, expressing his regret that "you and I are in this case."25 But by this time Sir Richard was undone, and he was ordered to deliver the command of Sandall Castle to Sir Henry Savile.26 On March 11, 1537, the Earls of Sussex and Derby complained to the Duke of Norfolk that Sir Richard's brother and servants had led the rebellions in Lancashire, and that Sir Richard had connived with them, for he "was neither good first nor last."27

Tempest was probably not surprised to receive a summons to London during the following Trinity term to give an account of himself, nor to find that when he reach London he was thrown into the Fleet. He no doubt expected some kind of trial, condemnation, and execution for treason, a pattern which had been followed in regard to many of his fellow conspirators.

22 Ibid., 236. A letter written by Tempest to Sir George Darcy was later used as testimony against him. In it Tempest declared that he would take Lord Darcy's part against any Lord in England.—Ibid., XIII, pt. 1, 379.
23 Dodds, I, 236, 345; Letters and Papers, XII, pt. 1, 6, 29, 901.
25 Ibid., 554.
26 Dodds, II, 52.
27 Letters and Papers, XI, 283. Dodds, II, 114, has a further discussion of this point.
But as the weeks dragged on, Tempest decided to petition his former friend, Cromwell, for release on bail, because of the plague raging in London at the time. 28 Dodds suggests that Henry VIII, out of deference to public opinion, had ceased his summary executions of the rebel leaders, for he could now count on the plague to dispose quietly of those who still languished in prison. Whether or not this is true, it worked out very well in Tempest's case. He was refused release, and on August 25, 1537, the plague had claimed another victim. 29

John Gostwick, reporting his death to Cromwell, noted that Sir Richard Tempest had willed his heart to be buried in his own country, in the place he had prepared for his own and his wife's interment. 30

SIR NICHOLAS CAREWE

In Sir Nicholas Carewe, Privy Councillor, Master of the Horse, Knight of the Garter, and "a jolly gentleman fit for the favour of king Henry the Eighth," is found still another example of a courtier who "fell from the top of his [Henry's] favour to the bottom of his displeasure and was bruised to death thereby." 31 Carewe, the son of Sir Richard Carewe of Beddington, Surrey, had married Elizabeth Brian, whose father, Sir Thomas Brian, was vice-Chamberlain of Katharine of Aragon. 32

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28 Dodds, II, 218.
29 Ibid.
31 Fuller, III, 234-235.
The Carewes were undoubtedly staunch Catholics, and there is good reason to suppose that Sir Nicholas was among those who voiced at least an initial protest against the proceedings in the Parliament of 1529. But, perhaps through fear of the king's displeasure, he soon learned to hide his true feelings, and carried out Henry's will without open resistance. We have evidence of this in October, 1532, when he was sent to France to prepare a meeting between his sovereign and Francis I, obviously for the purpose of furthering Anne Boleyn's cause. Carewe resented the mission; nevertheless, he performed it with seeming good grace. Sir Nicholas had good reason to fear Henry's displeasure. At least once before he and his wife had been banished from court, probably through the jealousy of others less favored than they. A man of his prestige and economic status would have much to lose by incurring the wrath of King Henry VIII.

It is possible in this brief account to delineate only the most outstanding of the many tokens of royal predilection enjoyed by Sir Nicholas Carewe. Data contained in the Letters and Papers demonstrate conclusively the intimate nature of his relations with the king. In 1514 Henry gave him a "coat of rivet" of green velvet and cloth of silver, to wear at the banquet at Tournay, and as the "Blue Knight," clad in thirty-six and one-fourth yards of blue damask, he led the jousts at the "Field of the Cloth of Gold." In the expense accounts for the year 1514, 78 l. 17s. 4d. is noted as having been spent by the king for "wynkes and martorns" given to

33 Letters and Papers, V, 592.
34 Anstis, II, 258.
35 Letters and Papers, I, 718.
36 Ibid., II, pt. 2, 1507, 1508.
Sir Nicholas and his wife. As royal cup-bearer, Carewe waited on the king at the banquet of Greenwich, and he was chosen as carver for the royal Christmas dinner in 1521.

Carewe's appointment, in 1522, as Master of the Horse, brought him into closer contact with state affairs, for he accompanied the king everywhere, and he was assigned "to have lodging in the King's house when they repair to it." Henry VIII apparently took pleasure in Carewe's company, for in 1531, he is reported as being "at sport at the house of his Grand Esquire." Sir Nicholas was called upon to wait on Anne Boleyn at her coronation, and to take part in the revels connected with it. He was given a marked sign of royal trust in May, 1536, when Henry VIII, enamoured of Jane Seymour, lodged her in Carewe's house until he could openly take her to wife.

In the meantime, the king had lost no opportunity to insure himself of Carewe's support. A chronological digest of various offices held by Sir Nicholas Carewe follows:

1513—Lieutenant of the Castle of Calais . . . . . . . . . I, 703
1517—Keeper of the Manor of Pleasance, etc. . . II, pt. 2, 1202
1518—Justice of the Peace in Surrey . . . . . . . . . II, pt. 2, 1363
1519—Justice of the Peace in Surrey . . . . . . . . . III, pt. 1, 82
1520—Justice of the Peace in Surrey . . . . . . . . . III, pt. 1, 396

37 Ibid., 1466.
38 Ibid., III, pt. 2, 812.
39 Ibid., 1012; IV, pt. 1, 866. His wages as Master of the Horse were 248 crowns.—Ibid., V, 750.
40 Chapuys to Charles V, February 21, 1531.—Ibid., V, 50.
41 Ibid., VI, 266.
42 Ibid., X, 377.
43 The figures following the various items refer to the volumes and pages of the references in Letters and Papers.
The assignment to Constableship of the Castle of Calais was intended to take Carewe away from the court, where his over-familiarity with the king, and his pro-French influence, were objected to by some of the Council. The king, however, soon restored Carewe to his former place in Court.

Some of the above grants came to Carewe by reason of attainders of former favorites. The stewardship of Brasted Manor and Keepership of the lands there, were part of Carewe's share in the property forfeited by Buckingham in 1521. The attainer and execution of Sir Francis Weston left the Governorship of the island of Guernsey a prize to be awarded by the king to one of his men.

Grants by way of lands and other titles were bestowed upon Carewe almost up to the time of his attainder. The first which he received was the
reversion of the manors of Plompton, Bercomb, Fletchering, Pedinghoo, Buskagage, and Birling, in Sussex, and the advowson of Plompton church. His marriage to Elizabeth Bryan was the occasion of a gift from the king, who issued a writ to the Barons of the Exchequer "to make over lands in Walington, Corsalton, Bedington, Woddenarshorne, Woddecote, and Mocham, Surrey . . . to the annual value of £40 mks., in part payment of 50 mks. as a marriage portion." Another share in Buckingham's spoils came in a series of grants, giving Carewe ownership, in tail male, of the manors of Blechingley, and of Tyllyngdon, Surrey, with free warren in the demesne lands. Carewe was also to profit by the death of Katharine of Aragon, for, probably acting on the advice given him by Sir Richard Rich in this matter, Henry granted Sir Nicholas reversion, in fee, of the manors of Banstead and Walton in Surrey.

Sir Nicholas Carewe carried his duplicity so far as to accept from the Crown, grants of monastic lands. In 1537, he was awarded, in tail male, manors, rectories, and advowsons in Surrey, which had formerly belonged to St. Peter's Abbey, Chartsey. On the day of the surrender of Merton Priory in Surrey, Layton notified Cromwell that at Merton Abbey there were eighteen

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44 Ibid., I, 793.
45 Ibid., II, pt. 1, 529. The indentured deed in the Exchequer records that Nicholas and Elizabeth received the lease of ten messuages, 1,290 acres of land and 5s. rent, as their allotted portion from this grant.
46 Ibid., III, pt. 2, 1012, 1013, 1258. Malden notes that this manor, reverting to the Crown on Carewe's attainder, was given later to Anne of Cleves for life, after her dismissal by Henry VIII.—Malden, IV, 257.
47 Letters and Papers, V, 507.
48 See page 56 above.
49 Letters and Papers, V, 529.
50 Ibid., XII, pt. 2, 404; Malden, III, 208, 273; IV, 200, 205.
"fat oxen" of which Carewe desired part. 51

Late in 1538 Carewe became involved in the suspicions which surrounded the Pole adherents in Surrey. He was accused of having carried on traitorous discourse with the Marquis of Exeter, expressing a desire for a change in the kingdom, and a letter was found which he had written to the Marchioness of Exeter. 52 He was imprisoned in the Tower and, perhaps in hope of pardon, revealed several things against himself and the Marquis. 53 He was tried on February 14, 1539; on the jury panel were eighteen of his erstwhile companions of the House of Commons. 54

Foxe records that when Sir Nicholas was led out to die,

[he] made a godly and humble confession of his superstitious faith and long contempt of his holy word; giving God right hearty thanks, that ever he came into the prison of the Tower, where he first felt the sweetness of God's great mercy towards him, and the certainty of his salvation, through faith in Christ, promised in his holy word; the knowledge whereof he had attained unto by the reading of God's holy word, the English Bible, which, all his life before, he disdained to look upon . . . 55

In view of all that had gone before, one wonders if this really were a last-minute apostasy to Henry's cause. Carewe had hankered for a change in England, but if he promoted the interest of Cardinal Pole, it must have been at least partially on religious grounds. At any rate if he expected

51 Malden, II, 101. Carewe had been granted the patronage of the Church of Kingston of this Abbey in 1536, and it was probably in right of this patronage that he claimed part of the goods when the Abbey was dissolved. —Ibid., III, 513.
52 Letters and Papers, XIV, pt. 1, 18; Anstis, II, 259.
53 Letters and Papers, XIV, pt. 1, 16.
54 Brian, Fitzwilliam, Rich, Gage, Weston, Baldwin, Daunce (Dauntessey), Conyngham, Sir John Hussey, Audley, Paulet, Russell, Jenny, Barentyne, Skimer, Morreys, and Curson.—Ibid., 112. An account of the trial is given in this same volume of Letters and Papers, 112-114.
55 Foxe, V, 502.
to curry favor with Henry by renouncing the Roman Church at that late hour he was mistaken. He was beheaded on Tower Hill, March 3, 1539.56

SIR GEORGE THROCKMORTON

Sir George Throckmorton (Throgmorton) of Coughton, Warwickshire, was one of the few men who crossed the will of Henry VIII and lived to tell of it. The son of Sir Robert Throckmorton, a Privy Councillor to Henry VII, George had received his own legal training at Oxford; he supplicated for his Bachelor of Arts degree on February 6, 1522, and for his Bachelor of Law degree, March 10, 1524; he was admitted as a Bachelor of Canon Law in July, 1531, and two years later he took his Doctorate in Canon Law.57

Throckmorton served as Justice of the Peace in Warwickshire in 1510, 1511, 1512, 1529, and 1531, and for that county and Worcester in 1532.58 The shrievalty of Warwickshire and Leicestershire fell to him in 1526 and 1529, and that of Worcestershire in 1528.59 Throckmorton was on the commission of gaol delivery at Warwick Gaol in 1530 and 1531, and at Worcester Castle in 1530.60 His legal training also proved useful in his administration of the various wardships entrusted to him.61

56 Anstis, II, 259. Fuller relates the family tradition that Carewe fell from favor as a result of an indiscreet remark which he made to the king while they were playing a game of bowls, but there is, apparently, no further support for this story.—Fuller, III, 235.
57 C. Wickliffe Throckmorton, A Genealogical and Historical Account of the Throckmorton Family, Richmond, 1930, 106.
58 Letters and Papers, I, 205, 216, 300, 1044; IV, pt. 3, 2312; V, 80-81, 399-400, 708.
59 Ibid., IV, pt. 2, 1182; Deputy Keepers Report, XLIX, 146, 158.
60 Letters and Papers, IV, pt. 3, 2919; V, 127.
61 Ibid., II, pt. 1, 378; III, pt. 2, 892; IV, pt. 3, 2737.
Not satisfied with the offices which he already held at that time, Sir George Throckmorton petitioned Wolsey for some of the offices formerly held by Compton. He requested "the sheriffwicke of Worcesteriershire, and to be custos rotulorum of Warwickshire. Also the stewardship of the see of Worscester, and the under-treasure of England." He reminded Wolsey that Throckmortons had been under-treassurers and stewards "in time past." In return, Throckmorton promised that he would be a benefactor to the building of Wolsey's college at Oxford. Earlier that same year, Sir George informed Wolsey of the death of Sir Giles Grevile, comptroller to Princess Mary, and he begged to be promoted to Grevile's offices. Whether anything came of these petitions at the time, is doubtful, but by July 8, 1529, Throckmorton had been given custody of manors in Bedfordshire and Northamptonshire, and he was made bailiff of the lordship of Hatton, and keeper of Haseley Park in Warwickshire.

When Cromwell succeeded Wolsey to the Chancellorship, Throckmorton continued his solicitations for favor. Sir William Spenser had died on June 20, 1532, and Sir George immediately begged Cromwell "to put the King in remembrance that he may have [Spenser's] land in farm." Already at that time some independence was becoming manifest in Throckmorton's attitude.

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62 He was chief steward, during pleasure, of the lordship of Yardle, Gloucestershire; keeper of the park of Claredon, Warwickshire; Spear of Honor to Henry VIII (with a salary of 60 l. 16s. 8d.); and woodward of the lordship and park of Tomworth, Warwickshire.—Ibid., I, 320, 6d., II, pt. 2, 1160; III, pt. 2, 1961.
64 Ibid., 1830.
65 Ibid., IV, pt. 3, 2597.
66 Ibid., 2796.
67 Ibid., V, 477.
toward the Crown. He was suspected of working against the king in regard to
the Spenser lands, by supporting Lady Isabel who contested Henry VIII's right
to wardship. Nevertheless, he continued in royal favor, serving at Anne
Bolesyn's coronation, fulfilling his duties as chief steward of the counties
of Worcester and Warwick, and collecting the tenths of Spiritualities in
Warwickshire and in the city of Coventry.

Some local dispute had arisen between Throckmorton and Cromwell,
perhaps over their adjoining estates of Coughton and Oversley, and Cromwell
was anxious to discredit his rival in the royal eyes. His first opportunity
came when Sir George was implicated with the Northern rebels for having made a
copy of their demands. Throckmorton, however, excused himself to the king
and asserted his loyalty. To the surprise of friends and enemies alike, he
succeeded in averting the royal anger. However, when Throckmorton was accused,
in 1538, of refusing to take the Oath of Supremacy, he was sent immediately to
the Tower. But again he managed to escape, this time through the entreaties
of his wife's niece, Catharina Parr, Henry's new queen. In the "Legend of Sir
Nicholas Throckmorton" Catharine's role is recorded thus:

> She willing of herself to do us good
> Sought out the means her Uncle's life to save
> And when the King was in a pleasant mood
> She humbly then her suit began to crave
> With Wooing-times denials disagree:
> She spoke, and sped; my father was set free.

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68 Ibid., VI, 56.
69 Ibid., 246; VII, 465; VIII, 51.
70 Ibid., XI, 556.
71 Throckmorton, 112. This rhymed version of the Throckmorton fortunes was written by Thomas, grandson of Sir George, and son of Sir
Nicholas Throckmorton.
Sir George Throckmorton summed up his own impressions of the Reformation Parliament when, in 1537, he told the king that four years earlier, in answer to Digneley's remark that the Act of Appeals "should pass so lightly" he had said "it was no wonder, as few would displease my Lord Privy Seal," Cromwell.\(^72\) When Cromwell was tried in 1540, Throckmorton was one of the chief witnesses against him, and after his execution Sir George purchased the manor of Oversley.\(^73\)

Throckmorton had apparently regained the king's good graces, for he was remembered liberally when the monastic lands were being distributed. On June 4, 1542, by agreement "inter dominum Regem ex una parte, et Georgium Throckmorton ex altera parte," Throckmorton received the cell of Derehurst, formerly of the monastery of Tewkesbury, Gloucestershire, with all its rents and appurtenances.\(^74\) A citation from part of this grant will illustrate the kind of rents Throckmorton might collect as a result of this gift.

Rents for the ground of the rectory of the aforesaid Derehurst, with all the tithes of all kinds, either from the lands or from the lands or from personal income or both, as also with all the useful tithes, emoluments and advantages appertaining or accruing to it, likewise having been dissolved among other things: this same being given now to George Throckmorton by the year . . . . 15 l. 16s. 8d.\(^75\)

The next year Throckmorton requested the purchase of farms formerly held by Little Malvern Priory in Worcestershire, and of Wigmore Monastery in

\(^72\) Pickthorn, II, 2114, n. 2.
\(^73\) Letters and Papers, XVI, 427.
\(^74\) The complete particular for this grant is reproduced in Dugdale, Monasticon, IV, 667.
\(^75\) Ibid.; Tanner, Notitia, Gloucester, X, erroneously states that Derehurst was given to William Throckmorton.
Herefordshire. In 1539 Sir George was given "grain rents from the farmers of Aldyngton and Wykewanford manors, the tithes of Churchonyborne, and the manor of Mydle Lytleton, Worc[estershire]," late of Evesham Priory, of which he had been high steward. 77

At his death in 1552, Sir George Throckmorton was lord of manors and lands in the counties of Worcester, Warwick, Buckingham, Gloucester, and Bedford. 78

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76 Deputy Keepers Reports, I, 288.
77 Letters and Papers, XIV, 563; Throckmorton, 105.
78 Throckmorton, 105, n. t.
CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

The facts which have been presented in the foregoing chapters concerning royal relations with the members of the House of Commons, indicate quite definitely the king's interest in those who composed this parliament. It has been noted that the conclusions which can be deduced from the evidence at hand must of necessity be specific when applied to the individual members studied here, and tentative when applied to the whole body of parliamentarians. Analyzing the grants conferred upon the individual members, and letting the facts prove their own worth, will be, perhaps, more valuable than attempting to state broad or general conclusions. Therefore, this chapter will be devoted chiefly to a recapitulation and interpretation of the findings rather than to a formulation of cause-and-effect relationships which would be arbitrary and artificial.

In reviewing the data concerning the twelve parliamentarians under consideration, we see that these men held common benefits from the Crown. In some cases the offices and grants they enjoyed form a kind of repetitious pattern which gives the impression that Henry VIII consciously followed a preconceived design for the allotment of responsibilities and favors. Ten of these men were Justices of the Peace; eight were sheriffs; nine held commissions of gaol delivery; eleven were appointed to collect tithes; eight had some connection with the Royal Household; eight received
something of the monastic spoils; and six were given leases of Crown lands.

Three—Sir William Fitzwilliam, Sir William Paulett, and Sir Richard Rich—were members of the King's Council, an institution composed increasingly of the middle-class element of society, chosen by the king to aid him in many personal and official matters. There was still no difference between the "King's Council" and the "King's Counsel" in Henry VIII's day, and the sovereign could create or destroy councillors at will. Richardson summarizes the functions of the Council as follows:

Next to parliament, the king's council was the supreme organ of authority: it executed royal proclamations and decrees, and through it the king issued detailed instructions for the regulation of both central and local administration. . . . As a renovated institution, composed of the Confidants of the king and the ministers of his choice, its chief function was to give advice. . . . It was at once an administrative body and advisory board of directors—an executive committee with recognized responsibilities, but with restrictive authority that emanated directly from the king. 1

It was clearly to Henry VIII's advantage to have councillors from among the Commoners, for these three encumbrants, and the other members of the Council must have exerted tremendous influence in the debates which arose in the Common's House. Cromwell, himself, held the burgess' seat for Taunton. In the first session of Parliament, it was a councillor, Sir Henry Guildford who initiated the complaints of the Commons against the "excessive fines" taken by the bishops for probates of wills. 2

In 1531 Henry VIII issued instructions to "his trusty counsellor, Thos. Cromwell to be declared to the Council, and undelayedly put in execution

1 Richardson, 15-16.
2 Letters and Papers, IV, pt. 3, 2763; Wilkins, III, 739-740.
this Michaelmas term 23 Hen. VIII. 3 These directives included an admonition
to the Attorney General to proceed against certain of the clergy "who have
confessed of being guilty of praeambulation," and a notice that the bill of aug-
mentations of treasons should be prepared for Parliament. The king told "some
of his most confidential councillors" in 1535 that they should see that he be
released, in the coming Parliament, from the "trouble, fear, and suspense"
that he had suffered so long on account of Katharine of Aragon and Mary. 4
Chapuys notes that Henry was anxious to make Parliament partners in his
designs, so that they would the more readily defend his policies if he were
attacked from abroad. 5

It has been said, likewise, that Henry VIII was very sensitive to
the approval of his subjects, and he demanded tangible proof of their loyalty
to him. As his jurisdiction was extended to encompass the spiritual affairs
of the realm, he became increasingly preoccupied not only with asserting and
confirming his claims by obliging his subjects to take the prescribed oaths, 6
but also with purging from his kingdom every incipient movement which might
challenge his position or thwart his will. To control effectively every
phase of national life, it was imperative that he have at his command a corps
of trusted servitors beyond the limited confines of his Council, to bolster
his assumed role as head of the body politic of the church and state.

The Justices of the Peace supplied this complementary body which
linked the outermost provinces with the central government; they maintained

3 Letters and Papers, V, 196.
4 Ibid., X, 262.
5 Chapuys to Charles V, November 6, 1535--Ibid., 288–289.
6 Ibid., VII, 206.
a real and constant connection with the king and his council. The jurisdiction of the Justices of the Peace was extended to new fields and to new facets of areas already under their control. The Justices were charged with:

(1) the building and maintenance of bridges, roads, gaols, and other public structures; (2) the correction of vagabonds and the relief of the poor; (3) the regulation of trade and commerce including wages, prices, and standards of weights and measures; (4) the determination of cases involving offences and contempt (with certain exceptions) against the existing statutes without indictments by juries, against livery, maintenance, and forbidden assemblies, and against unlawful hunting and games; and (5) the collection of tithes, the inquisition of offenders against the new ecclesiastical legislation, and the administration of the Oaths of Succession and Supremacy in their respective counties.

Evidence of the new powers given the Justices as a result of the confiscation and subsequent distribution of monastic lands is demonstrated in the last paragraph of the Act for the Dissolution of the Lesser Monasteries, drawn up in 1536. After stating that laymen who take over such lands must not be remiss in developing their resources, the Act concludes:

8 Much of this new jurisdiction had been taken over from the duties of the sheriffs, but these latter officers were still functioning in a juridical capacity under the direct supervision of the king.
9 Schmidt interprets this act as an attempt to make royal servants out of the Justices of the Peace.—Allgemeine Staatslehre, 111, cited in Beard, 102, n. 2.
10 Letters and Papers, VII, 206, 251, 273; Beard, 81-113, passim.
And over [after] that it was enacted by the authority aforesaid that all justices of the peace, in every shire where any such offense shall be committed or done contrary to the true meaning and intent of this present Act, shall in every quarter and general session within the limits of their commission, enquire into the premises, and shall have full power and authority to hear and determine the same, and to tax and assess no less fine for every said offense than is fore limited for the same offenses, and the estreets thereof to be made and certified into the king's exchequer, according and at such time and form as other estreets of fines, issues, and amerciements are made by the same practices.11

Already in 1535 steps were taken for the correction of delinquent Justices of the Peace.12 A circular letter sent to the Justices in 1541 admonished them to "earnestly bend themselves to the advancement" of the king's decrees touching the Church, else "the next advice will be of so sharp a sort as shall bring with it a just punishment of those that shall be offenders in this behalf."13

Commissions of oyer and terminer, of assise, and of gaol delivery, were bound up closely with the office of Justice of the Peace. In fact, Turner states that all justices of assise and gaol delivery were ipso facto in the commission of the peace within the confines of their jurisdiction.14 Commissions of oyer and terminer were frequently specified for the inquisition of treason after the formulation of the Treasons Act in 1535. Men who apparently had served on few other commissions before that time, were placed on the commissions of oyer and terminer for treason.15

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12 Letters and Papers, IX, 725.
13 Ibid., XVI, 456.
15 For example: Robert Dormer, Hugh Yowe (Yeo), James Baskerville, John Conysbye, Robert Hussey, Thomas Newport, and John Talbott.
It is true that the incumbents of the offices discussed above, received no fixed salary; therefore, the Crown could not control them as it might those appointees who depended upon the king for their livelihood. But these positions did bring with them a certain social prestige and no small amount of local authority, which could be turned to advantage. Since the Justices were Crown officials charged with enforcing the laws of the realm in their own localities, it was certainly a mark of royal esteem to receive these commissions, especially during the troublesome times following the introduction of the new parliamentary legislation.

The office of Justice of the Peace was held by 177 members of the House of Commons during the reign of Henry VIII. Of the twelve men chosen for special notice, ten served in this capacity; only the names of Thomas Miller and Paul Withipoll are missing from the commission lists, but Withipoll certainly exercised some kind of local jurisdiction in London.16

It is significant that Henry used as his agents in establishing the new order men whose interests were involved in the enforcement of these measures. At least 1,400 Commoners benefitted from the monastic grants. These men would naturally support legislation which aimed at maintaining the status quo, and at assuring the tranquil possession of their newly acquired goods. Moreover, does not the fact that so many of these men were recipients of despoiled monastery property indicate an effort on the part of Henry VIII to tie in his Commoners so closely with his new order that a return to Rome would prove disastrous to them personally?

16 See 53, 54, above.
There is no definite evidence that the royal grants were employed directly as rewards for services rendered, but at least one Commoner petitioned a share of monastic spoils on those grounds. On September 6, 1538, Adam Mitton, a burgess from Salop, wrote to Cromwell requesting one of the religious houses that had been suppressed in Shrewsbury. He reminded Cromwell that he "has served the King 16 years in Parliament, being one of the 'insenyscient' of the number of the Common house," and that he led one hundred men to put down the northern rebellions in 1536. Apparently Cromwell had promised Mitton that he could make such a representation for "anything in his country in the King's gift." 17

This urge to importune further favors from the Crown can also be seen in Edgecombe's straightforward request for the temporalities of Totnes Priory, 18 in Carewe's request for some of the "fat oxen" formerly owned by Merton Abbey, 19 in Paulett's petition for the parsonage of Hatafield, 20 and in Rich's unashamed bargaining for the mastership of the king's liveries. 21 It is interesting to note that even the "rebels" who seemingly opposed the king's ecclesiastical policies, were willing to become possessors of monastic goods.

It would be pressing the matter too far to claim a well-defined relationship between the grants and offices bestowed by the Crown at critical periods when certain difficult issues were under discussion in the Parliament,

18 See Appendix III, below.
19 See 92, above.
20 See 43, above.
21 See 55, above.
and the subsequent passing of the bills. To make such an analogy in regard to an individual Commoner would be unwarranted, because we have no way of tracing the votes of these men. However, it might not be amiss to draw attention to the fact that during the prolonged debate of the Treasons Act which "stuck" in the House from November, 1534, to February, 1535, 112 members of the House of Commons were given commissions to collect the tenths of Spiritualities in their home counties. Attention might also be called to the fact that it was in 1532, while the Act of Appeals and that for the Dissolution of the Lesser Monasteries were pending, that the 106 Commoners were made Justices of the Peace. The appointments en masse could point to a deliberate effort on the part of the Crown to secure support for the proceedings in question.

In conclusion it might be stated that, whether or not Henry VIII consciously pursued a policy of winning his Parliament by such means, at least in the instances cited in the preceding pages, signs of royal preference are unmistakably present. How much these attentions actually influenced or determined the voting of the men under consideration can only be surmised; however, one would not think it impossible that the Commoners should be inclined thereby to fulfill, as far as possible, the will of the lord, their king, in the parliamentary sessions.

22 Letters and Papers, VIII, 47-53.
23 See 15, above.
CRITICAL ESSAY ON AUTHORITIES

I. PRIMARY SOURCES

Of the various publications by the Great Britain Public Record Office, the twenty-one volumes (in thirty-three) of the Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, arranged and catalogued by J. S. Brewer, J. Gaillard, and H. Brodie, London, 1876-1910, proved by far the most valuable source of information for this study; many of the original documents contained in the Letters and Papers are not duplicated in printed form elsewhere, and this work is basic to any serious study of the period. The State Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII, Vols. III-IV, London, 1830-1852; the Calendar of Letters, Dispatches, and State Papers Relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain, edited by Pascual de Gayangos, Vols. IV-V, London, 1879-1880; and the Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, and in other Libraries of Northern Italy, Vols. IV-V, London, 1871, all edited for the Great Britain Record Commission, were used to some extent, for their source materials.


The Deputy Keeper’s Reports, Volumes IX and X, published by the Great Britain Public Record Commission under the editorship of Francis Palgrave, furnished comprehensive lists of crown grants of monastic properties. Volume XLIX of the same series, printed in 1896, gives the “Lists of Sheriffs for England and Wales from the Earliest Times to A.D. 1531.”

Chronicles utilised in the preparation of this thesis were: Edward Hall, Chronicle of the Reign of Henry VIII, 2 Vols., London, 1904; Raphael


A reproduction of the early records of the Knights of the Garter was found in John Anstis, ed., The Register of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, 2 Vols., London, 1724. A fascinating work, containing detailed contemporary accounts of the customs and procedures in the Inns of Courts, as well as lists of judges in the various law courts, is William Dugdale, ed., Origines Juridiciales, London, 1680. Selected Cases before the King's Council in Star Chamber, 1577-1583, edited by T. S. Leatham, for the Selden Society, Vols. XVI and XV, London, 1903-1911, provided other clues to the position of men who were aiding the king in prosecutions.

Nicholas H. Nicolas, reproducing the accounts of the Royal Household in the Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII, London, 1827, gives a fuller insight into the dealings between the King and his friends. The Rutland Papers, edited by William Jordan, London, 1842, contain copies of original lists of persons participating in the festivities of the Field of the Cloth of Gold, the meeting at Gravelines, and other related state events in the early years of the reign.

The "Rastell Fragments" edited by Elsie V. Hitchcock and R. W. Chambers as an appendix to Nicholas Harpsfield's Life and Death of Sir Thomas More, London, 1932; and George Cavendish, Life of Thomas Wolsey, London, 1885, are documents valuable as contemporary portraits of outstanding figures and events of the Tudor period.

Of particular local interest are the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society publications, Calendar of the Freemen of Lynn, 1292-1836, Norwich, 1913; and the Eleventh Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, The Manuscripts of the Corporations of Southampton and King's Lynn, Appendix, Part III, London, 1887.

Thomas Wright, ed., Three Chapters of Letters Relating to the Suppression of Monasteries, London, 1843, yielded some interesting documents on the question of monastic lands. Few treatises of the suppressed English monasteries and priories can measure up to the masterly and comprehensive work of Sir William Dugdale in his Monasticon Anglicanum, 6 Vols., London, 1816, which contains not only the history of all the confiscated religious houses of England, but also data compiled from the Valor Ecclesiasticus. Another excellent source of reliable information on this topic is John Tanner, ed., Notitia Monastica, Cambridge, 1787. The Chronicles of Battle Abbey, 1066-1176, translated and edited by Mark Antony Lower, London, 1851, was used to a limited extent. A Perfect Copy of All Summons of the Nobility to the Great Councils and Parliaments, edited by William Dugdale, London, 1865, was utilised to establish the royal summonses to Parliament.
II. SECONDARY SOURCES

GENERAL WORKS


Some general treatises on law that proved very helpful were: W. S. Holdsworth, A History of English Law, London, 3rd edition, 1932, of which Volume I traces the overall pattern of English administration; and Harry A. Bigelow, Cases on the Law of Property, Vol. II, St. Paul, 1919, of which the first chapter provides a concise presentation of feudal land law, a valuable aid in interpreting royal grants and crown leases.

GENEALOGIES AND BIOGRAPHIES


C. Wicliffe Throckmorton, A Genealogical and Historical Account of the Throckmorton Family, Richmond, 1930, presents a careful study based not only on standard sources but also on family papers. A similar work, John M. Wingfield, Some Records of the Wingfield Family, London, 1925, is not so scholarly as the former volume by Throckmorton.

the Speakers of the House of Commons, London, 1851, are shorter sketches of
the lives of the men under consideration. David Lloyd, State-Worthies, Vol. I,
London, 1766; and Thomas Fuller, The History of the Worthies of England, 3
Vols., London, 1840, contain more prejudiced and over-dramatized treatments
of their subjects.

Albert F. Pollard's scholarly biography, Henry VIII, London, 1905,
is unfortunately colored by his personal prejudices, which are revealed in the
idealized portrait of Henry VIII. H. Maynard Smith's work, Henry VIII and the
Reformation, London, 1918, adds little to the former account. Paul Friedmann,
Anne Boleyn, A Chapter of English History, 1527-1536, 2 Vols., London, 1884,
contains intimate glimpses of court life and accurate descriptions of members
of the Royal Household, as does A. F. Pollard's Wolsey, London, 1929. A
standard work on Cromwell is Roger Bigelow Merriman, Life and Letters of Thomas
Thomas More, New York, 1935, is a reliable and very readable account of More's
life which contains many references to members of the House of Commons.

Some pertinent biographical facts could be gleaned from the local
histories of the counties represented in the Parliament. William Page and
J. H. Round, eds., The Victoria History of the County of Essex, Vol. II, Lon-
don, 1907; William Page, ed., The Victoria History of the County of Suffolk,
London, 1907; and H. E. Malden, ed., The Victoria History of the County of
Surrey, 4 Vols., Westminster, 1902, are well-documented and voluminous works
giving the histories of the respective counties in remarkable detail. M.
Shoberl, A Topographical Description of the County of Suffolk, London, 1813;
and Cuming Walters, Eygore Suffolk, London, n. d., are less scholarly works.

A. L. Rowe, Tudor Cornwall, London, 1941, is a detailed investiga-
tion of that county in its political and social life during the time of the
Tudors. Henry J. Hillen, The History of the Borough of King's Lynn, 2 Vols.,
Norwich, 1907; and William Richards, The History of Lynn, 2 Vols., Lynn, 1812,
provided interesting material for the study of the member from Lynn. Members
of merchant guilds received some treatment in the following works: Charles M.
Clode, The Early History of the Guild of Merchant Taylors of the Fraternity of
St. John the Baptist, 2 Vols., London, 1885; and William Herbert, The History

PARLIAMENT AND COUNCIL

A chronological arrangement of all the sessions of the Reformation
Parliament was found in Charles H. Parry, Parliaments and Councils of England,
London, 1839, but the factual information regarding the sessions was, of neces-
London, 1806, gave a somewhat biased account of the composition of the Refor-
presented a more accurate picture of the Parliament in question. Great
Britain, House of Commons, Members of Parliament, Part I, London, 1878, pro-
vided a check-list of the parliamentary members.

Information on parliamentary elections was obtained from three
sources: H. A. Merivether and A. J. Stephens, The History of the Boroughs and


MONASTERIES

York, 1863, lists all of the disbanded religious houses and their founders, their value at the time of dissolution, and their present value. A more dispassionate source of information of this topic is John Strype, ed., Ecclesiastical Memorials, 2 Vols., London, 1721.


Madeleine Hope Dodds, likewise, is considered an authority on the immediate local effects of the dissolution. Her two volumes, The Pilgrimage of Grace, 1536-1537 and the Exeter Conspiracy, 1538, Cambridge: At the University Press, 1915, present an objective picture of these uprisings. Two obviously biased works which had to be used with corresponding discretion were: John Foxe, Acts and Monuments, edited by Josiah Pratt, Vols. IV-V, London, 1853, 1868; and Sir Henry Spelman, The History and Fate of Sacrilege, London, 1698.

The histories of the counties described above in "Genealogies and Biographies" also contained some valuable information on the monastery properties.
## APPENDIX I

**MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT, 1529-1536**

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### CONSTITUENCIES NOT KNOWN
- George Acworth
- Sir John Russell
- Sir William Gascoyne
- Sir Andrew Wyndesore

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1. *Letters and Papers*, IV, pt. 3, 2691-2692. The original spelling of names and towns has been kept in these lists.
APPENDIX II

NEW MEMBERS IN PARLIAMENT - 1533

LINCOLNSHIRE
Robert Russy
William Skipwith
Sir Robert Turwitt

BEDFORDSHIRE
Sir John Saynt John
John Costwick

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE
Sir Francis Brian
Sir Robert Lee

HUNTINGDONSHIRE
Richard Sepkott
John Castell

SUFFOLK
Sir Philip Tylney
Sir Arthur Hopton

ESSEX
Sir Thomas Darcy
Sir Brian Tuke
John Tyrrell

HERTFORDSHIRE
Sir Giles Capell

MIDDLESEX
John Conysbye

KENT
Sir Thomas Cheyne
Sir Edward Nevile

WILTSHIRE
Thomas ap Rice
Sir Edward Seymour
Sir Henry Longe

SALOP
John Talbott

HEREFORD
John Skydmore

Worcester
"The King to name one."

Westbedwyn
"The King to name one."

Lynn
William Symondes

Tavistoke
John Rastall, Jr.

Truru
"The King's pleasure."

London
"Not. for Mr. Attorney"

"Not. for my lord of Suff."

Hastings
"Not. for the warden of the ports."

PRESTON IN AUNDERNES
Unidentified

1 Letters and Papers, VII, 24.
APPENDIX III

LETTER OF SIR PIERIS EDGECOMBE TO CROMWELL

After my most harty recommendacyons with lyke thankes ffor your
goodnes to me att tymys shewd and thys ys to advertysse yow that here ys moche
communycacyons and brutes that all abbyss, pryorys, and nunrys under the cler
erly vaelw off colli. shall be suppressyd nottwtstondyng hyt ys nott as yett
in these parties vponly knownen the occacyon off suppressyon nor who shall take
most beniffyte therty nor to whate usse hyt shall rest at lengthes. But true
hyt ys that I am by the kynggs ffather, by hys graunt to my poar ffather made
to hym and hys issue male, founder of the pryory of Tottenes and the nunrye of
Corneworthye in Devonsshyr, and every off them be under the vaelw of colli. And
as to Tottenes, the pryor ther ys a man off goode vertuus conversacyons and a
good viander, and I can do lesse w. my truthe and dewty but to advertysse yow
off that I know true in this caussse hertely besechynge yow so to advertysse the
kynggs highnes and that I in my most umbyll maner besech hys grace to order
me in thys caussse as one that wyl juberd lyff and goods to do hys grace true
service, and hertely besech Almyghty God longge to preserveye hys most nobyll
personn and yow so to serve hyss highnes. Ffro my poar howsse the day of
Annuncyacyon of our Lady.

Your own,

P. Eggecombe

Mr. Secretary in case hyt be soo that the kinggs pleas\(^*\) may be by
your meanys so good that the prior of Tottenes maye enjoye the spirituall
promocyons, and hyt wyl be no better ffor hym and hys brederen to love on,
and I have the temporal possessacyons, and parte theroff the sumner ffor con-
cyderacyons that I am ffounder off bothe hoyssys. I promysse yow by this my
wrytyng to conedyer your favor and sute as I truset to please yow, and yff ye
thync my sute noott reasonyll I refferre me and my cause only to your order
under the kynggs hyghnes above all others lyvyng, and so I trust yow; and
herein I hertely praye yow to know yur pleas\(^*\).

---

1 Dugdale, Monasticon, IV, 629, n. n.
APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by Sister Mary Justine Peter, O.S.F. has been read and approved by three members of the Department of History.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content, form, and mechanical accuracy.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts.

[Signature]
[Date: Feb 1955]