

of fine wheat-flour, at the great price of 6s. per bushel. Thirty loads of coals were laid in, at 16s. the load; a vast many fagots and billets, and three dozen rushes for strewing the floors, at 20d. the dozen. In the chandry, sir Thomas Carden had provided thirty-five pounds of wax-lights, sixes and fours to the pound, and prickets, which last were stuck on a spike to be burnt; these wax-candles were 1s. per pound. Staff-torches were provided at 1s. 4d. apiece, and white lights eighteen dozen, over and above sundry fair pots of pewter by the said sir Thomas bought and provided to serve in the buttery for the lady Anne's household; likewise brass, iron, and *latten* pots, pans, kettles, skillets, ladles, skimmers, spits, trays, and flaskets, with divers other utensils and properties furnished to the value of 9l. 6s. 8d., some of which were broken, spoiled, and lost, and the rest remain at his house to his use, for which he asks no compensation. Likewise two dozen of fair new pewter candlesticks, delivered for her grace's chandry and chambers. The whole account finishes with a remark that he had provided sundry kinds of fresh fish, as carps, pikes, and tenches, at the request of her grace, which were privately dressed in her grace's laundry for the *trial of cookery*, by which it has been surmised that Anne made private experiments in the noble culinary art.

Anne possessed the placid domestic virtues which seem in a manner indigenous to German princesses. "She was," says Holinshed, who lived in her century, "a lady of right commendable regard, courteous, gentle, a good housekeeper, and very bountiful to her servants." She spent her time at the head of her own little court, which was a happy household within itself, and we may presume well governed, for we hear neither of plots nor quarrels, tale-bearings nor mischievous intrigues, as rife in her home-circle. She was tenderly beloved by her domestics, and well attended by them in her last sickness. She died at the age of forty-one, of some declining illness, which she took calmly and patiently. Her will is a very *naïve* production, showing the most minute attention to all things that could benefit her own little domestic world. It was made but two days be-

fore her death, being dated July 12 and 15, 1557, it is, when divested of tautologies, as follows:—

“WE, Anna, daughter of John late duke of Cleves, and sister to the excellent prince William, now reigning duke of Cleves, Gulick (Juliers), and Barre, sick in body, but whole in mind and memory, thanks be to Almighty God, declare this to be our last will and testament:—1st. We give and bequeath our soul to the holy Trinity, and our body to be buried where it shall please God. 2dly. We most heartily pray our executors undernamed to be humble suitors for us, and in our name, to the queen’s most excellent majesty, that our debts may be truly contented and paid to every one of our creditors, and that they will see the same justly answered for our discharge.¹ Beseeching, also, the queen’s highness of her clemency to grant unto our executors the receipts of our land accustomed to be due at Michaelmas towards the payment of our creditors, for that is not the moiety of our revenues, nor payable wholly at that time, and not able to answer the charge of our household, especially this year,² the price of all cattle and other *acats* [purchases] exceeding the old rate. 3dly. We earnestly require our said executors to be good lords and masters to all our poor servants, to whom we give and bequeath, every one of them being in our check-roll, as well to our officers as others taking wages either from the queen’s highness or from us, from the current month of July, one whole year’s wages; also as much black cloth, at 13s. 4d. per yard, as will make them each a gown and hood, and to every one of our gentlemen waiters and gentlewomen accordingly. And to our yeomen, grooms, and children of our household, two yards each of black cloth, at 9s. the yard. Also, to every one of the gentlewomen of our privy-chamber, for their great pains taken with us, to Mrs. Wingfield, 100*l.*; 20*l.* to Susan Boughton, towards her marriage; to Dorothy Curzon, towards her marriage, 100*l.*; to Mrs. Haymond, 20*l.* [To twelve other ladies, who seem of the like degree, she bequeaths various sums, from 10*l.* to 16*l.* each.] To our laundress, Elizabeth Eliot, 10*l.*; and to mother Lovell [this was the nurse of her sick-room], for her attendance upon us in this time of this our sickness, 10*l.*

“*Item.* We give and bequeath to every one of our gentlemen daily attendant on us, over and besides our former bequests [viz., wages and black cloth], 10*l.*; that is to say, to Thomas Blackgrove, 10*l.*, to John Wymbushe, 10*l.* [eight gentlemen are enumerated]; likewise to our yeomen and grooms 11*s.* apiece, and to all the children of our house 10*s.* apiece. And we give to the duke of Cleves, our brother, a ring of gold with a fair diamond; and to our sister the duchess of Cleves, his wife, a ring having therein a great rock ruby, the ring being black enamelled. Also, we give to our sister, the lady Emely, a ring of gold having thereon a fair pointed diamond; and to the lady Katherine duchess of Suffolk,³ a ring of gold, having a fair table diamond, somewhat long; and to the countess of Arundel a ring of gold having a fair table diamond,

¹ For the health of her soul, which, as a Catholic, she considered debts endangered.

² It was a time of famine: witness the enormous price of 6*s.* for a bushel of flour in the accounts of sir Thomas Carden.

³ The heiress of Willoughby, fourth wife and widow to Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk.

with an H and I of gold set under the stone. Moreover we give and bequeath to the lord Paget, lord privy-seal, a ring of gold, having therein a three-cornered diamond; and to our cousin the lord Waldeck¹ a ring of gold, having therein a fair great hollow ruby. Moreover our mind and will is, that our plate, jewels, and robes be sold, with other of our goods and chattels, towards the payment of our debts, funerals, and legacies. And we do further bequeath to Dr. Symonds, our *phisicon*, towards his great pains, labors, and travails taken oftentimes with us, 20*l.*; and to Alarde, our surgeon and servant, 4*l.*; and to our servant John Guligh, over and above his wages, 10*l.*; and to every one of our alms-children, towards their education, 10*l.* apiece, to be delivered according to the discretion of our executors. Also we will and bequeath to the poor of Richmond, Bletchingly, Hever, and Dartford, 4*l.* to each parish, to be paid to the churchwardens at the present, and to be laid out by the advice of our servants thereabouts dwelling. And to our chaplains, sir Otho Rampello, and to sir Denis Thoms, either of them to pray for us, 5*l.* and a black gown. And to our poor servant James Powell, 10*l.*, and to Elya Turpin, our old laundress, to pray for us, 4*l.*, and to our late servant, Otho Willicke, 20*l.*; and our will and pleasure is, that our servants, sir Otho Rampello, Arnold Ringlebury, John Guligh, John Solenbrongh, Derrick Pasman, Arnold Holgins, and George Hagalas, being our countrymen, and minding to depart out of this realm of England, shall have towards their expenses, every one 10*l.* And we bequeath to Thomas Perce, our cofferer, to Thomas Hawe, our clerk-comptroller, and to Michael Apsley, clerk of our kitchen, for their pains, taken with us sundry ways, over and besides their formal wages, 10*l.* each. And our will and pleasure is, that our said cofferer, who hath disbursed much for us for the maintenance of our estate and household, should be truly paid by our executors; likewise all other of our servants that hath disbursed any money for us at any time, if they have not been paid. The residue of all our goods, plate, jewels, robes, cattle, and debts, not given or bequeathed, after our funeral debts and legacies, we give and bequeath to the right honorable Nicholas Heathe, archbishop of York and lord chancellor of England, Henry earl of Arundel, sir Edmund Peckham, and sir Richard Preston, knights, whom we ordain and make our executors of this our last will and testament. And our most dearest and entirely beloved sovereign lady queen Mary we earnestly desire to be our overseer of our said last will, with most humble request to see the same performed as shall to her highness seem best for the health of our soul. And in token of the special trust and affiance which we have in her grace, we do give and bequeath to her most excellent majesty, for a remembrance, our best jewel, beseeching her highness that our poor servants may enjoy such small gifts and grants as we have made unto them in consideration of their long service done unto us, being appointed to wait on us at the first erection of our household by her majesty's late father, of most famous memory, king Henry VIII., for that his said majesty said then unto us, 'That he would account our servants his own, and their service done to us as if done to himself:' therefore we beseech the queen's majesty so to accept them in this time of their extreme need. Moreover we give and bequeath to the lady Elizabeth's grace [afterwards queen Elizabeth] my second best jewel, with our hearty request to accept and take into her service one of our poor maids, named Dorothy Curzon. And

¹ The count of Waldeck.

we do likewise give and bequeath unto every one of our executors before named, towards their pains,—viz., to the lord chancellor's grace a fair bowl of gold with a cover; to the earl of Arundel, a maudlin standing-cup of gold with a cover; to sir Edmund Peckham, a jug of gold with a cover, or else a crystal glass garnished with gold and set with stones; to sir Richard Preston, our best gilt bowl with a cover, or else that piece of gold plate which sir Edmund leaveth (if it be his pleasure), most heartily beseeching them to pray for us, and to see our body buried according to the queen's will and pleasure; and that we may have the suffrages of holy church according to the Catholic faith, wherein we end our life in this transitory world.

"These being witnesses, Thomas Perce, our cofferer, Thomas Hawe, our comptroller, John Symonds, doctor in physic, etc.; also Dorothy Wingfield, widow, Susan Boughton, Dorothy Curzon, *jantlewomen* of our privy-chamber [bedchamber], with many others; and hy me, Dionysius Thomow,¹ chaplain and *confessor* to the same most noble lady Anna of Cleves."

Two days after the dictation of this will, the repudiated queen of England expired peacefully at the palace of Chelsea. Her beneficent spirit was wholly occupied in deeds of mercy, caring for the happiness of her maidens and alms-children, and forgetting not any faithful servant however lowly in degree. She was on amicable terms both with the Catholic Mary and the Protestant Elizabeth, and left both tokens of her kindness. Although she was a Lutheran when she came to this country, it is very evident from her will that she died a Catholic.

Queen Mary appointed her place of burial in Westminster abbey, where her funeral was performed with some magnificence. A hearse was prepared at Westminster, "with seven grand palls . . . as goodly a hearse as ever seen."—"The 3d of August my lady Anne of Cleves" (sometime wife of Henry VIII.) came from Chelsea to burial unto Westminster, with all the children of Westminster (of the choir), with many priests and clerks, and the *gray amice* of St. Paul's, and three crosses, and the monks of Westminster. My lord bishop of London [Bonner] and my lord

¹ Thomas, or Tomeo, had been comptroller of Katharine of Arragon's household at Bugden, and was transferred to that of the princess Elizabeth: he had perhaps since taken orders, for he is, under the name of *Denis Thoms* (p. 97), left a small legacy to pray for her soul; thus, although the will is evidently transcribed by himself, he spells both Christian and surname differently in the course of it.

² Cottonian, Vitellus, F. 7. Sir F. Madden has carefully restored from a half-burnt fragment this quaint detail of her burial.

abbot of Westminster [Feckenham] rode together next the monks. Then rode the two executors, sir Edmund Peckham and sir Richard Preston; and then my lord admiral and my lord Darcy, followed by many knights and gentlemen. After her banner of arms came her gentlemen of the household and her head officers, and the bier-chariot, with eight banners of arms and four banners of white taffeta, wrought with fine gold. Thus they passed St. James and on to Charing cross, where was met a hundred torches, her servants bearing them; and the twelve bedesmen of Westminster had new black gowns, and they had twelve burning torches and four white branches; then her ladies and gentlewomen, all in black, on their horses, and about the hearse sat eight heralds bearing white banners of arms." These white ensigns were to signify that Anne of Cleves had lived a maiden life. "At the abbey-door all did alight, and the bishop of London and my lord abbot, in their mitres and copes, received the good lady, censing her; and their men did bear her under a canopy of black velvet with four black staves, and so brought her under the hearse, and there tarried dirge, and all the night with lights burning. The next day requiem was sung for my lady Anne daughter of Cleves, and then my lord of Westminster [abbot Feckenham] preached as goodly a sermon as ever was made, and the bishop of London sang mass in his mitre. And after mass, the lord bishop and lord abbot did cense the corpse; and afterwards she was carried to her tomb, where she lies with a hearse and cloth of gold over her. Then all her head officers brake their staves, and all her ushers brake their rods, and cast them into her tomb, and all the gentlemen and ladies offered at mass. My lady of Winchester was chief mourner, and my lord admiral and lord Darcy went on each side of her; and thus they went in order to a great dinner, given by my lord of Winchester to all the mourners."

Anne of Cleves is buried near the high altar of Westminster abbey, in a place of great honor, at the feet of king Sebert, the original founder.¹ Her tomb is seldom recog-

¹ Stowe, vol. ii. p. 603.

nized,—in fact, it looks like a long bench placed against the wall, on the right hand as the examiner stands facing the altar, near the oil portraits of Henry III. and king Sebert. On closer inspection, her initials A and C, interwoven in a monogram, will be observed on parts of the structure, which is rather a memorial than a monument, for it was never finished.¹ “Not one of Henry’s wives, excepting Anne of Cleves, had a monument,” observes Fuller, “and hers was but half a one.” The hearse of the queen was stripped by some thieves of all its ornaments of gold cloth, velvet, and banners: it had, in consequence, to be taken down within a fortnight of its erection. The robbery was laid, by popular report, on the monks of Westminster;² yet as the destruction of funeral pomps under their care militated against their very tottering establishment in England, they may be acquitted of the imputation.

It is evident that reports were spread throughout the courts of Germany that the residence of Anne of Cleves in England was a detention full of cruelty and restraint. These ideas gave credence to an impostor, who presented herself in a state of distress at the palace of John Frederic II., prince of Coburg, and pretended to be the princess of Cleves, repudiated by Henry VIII. She was a long time entertained by the hospitable prince as his kinswoman, but was finally proved to be a maniac, and died in confinement.³

¹ Stowe, vol. ii. p. 603.

² Machyn’s Diary, p. 148; Camden Society.

³ Feyjoo’s Praise of Woman.