Bradgate House
and the
Greys of Groby.

A Sketch
of their
History.

BY
JOHN D. PAUL, F.G.S.

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BRADGATE HOUSE.

The following pages are the notes of a lecture on Bradgate House, which I gave many times in Leicester, a few winters ago. Their object is by a description of the House, and by an account of the chequered career of the family who built and occupied it, to increase the interest and enjoyment of all who visit the Park; as well as to bring home to them that Leicestershire men and women have borne their part in some of the most interesting and important events of our national history.

We must begin by going back some five hundred years, to the time when there was no building on the site now marked by the ruins of Bradgate House, and when the spot differed in no way from the open country round. The ancestors of the Grey family were then living in the Manor House at Groby, about two miles away, where centuries before there stood a Norman Castle. At that time an almost continuous forest stretched from Nottingham to Warwick. Sherwood, Charnwood, Needwood, Cannock Chase, with Arden, covered a well-nigh unbroken upland, and one of the few roads which penetrated this forest was a very ancient way, the Via Devana or the Gartree Road, now obliterated in many places, which
started from the Ermine Street near Huntingdon, and passed through Leicester by Repton to Chester. Just where this road entered the hilly wooded country at Groby, the Earl of Leicester had built a Castle as an advanced post to protect his more important position at Leicester from the sudden attack of enemies issuing from the forest. After Blanchmains the third Earl, had taken part in an unsuccessful rebellion against Henry the Second, the King razed to the ground his Castles at Leicester, Groby, and elsewhere, and the only trace which now remains of what was once the Castle at Groby, is the mound which no doubt covers the ruins of the Keep. From this time Groby ceased to be a fortified position.

The family of Blanchmains came to an end with his granddaughter, who married William Ferrers, Earl of Derby, and brought him the Groby estate as her dowry. The male representatives of the Ferrers family held the estate for seven generations, but in 1445, on the death of William Ferrers of Groby, the estate descended to his granddaughter Elizabeth. She married Sir Edward Grey, of Astley Castle, near Nuneaton, who was afterwards summoned to the House of Lords as Baron Grey of Groby. The Greys were a strong stock and had thrown out several branches. There were Greys not only of Astley, but of Codnor, of Wilton, of Ruthin and elsewhere. The site of the old Castle at Astley is still surrounded by a moat, but the age of the present building does not go back further than the time of Queen Mary. The son of the first Lord Grey of Groby, commonly called Sir John Grey, for he seems never to have been summoned to the House of Lords, lived in troubled times, when the country was cursed by a long civil war, waged between the houses of York and Lancaster. In this miserable contest, in which neither party pretended to have any national policy,
Col. Geo. Bellairs says he has very carefully examined the country and is convinced that the ford crossed the Trent at Burton. He continued thus: "Hanbury, Heptonstall, and Retford. He thinks it was too boggy to have been used as a ford by the Roman. He apparently assumed it was a Roman road.

Roger of Wendover, Giles, Robin, 11. 38.

"There [Huntingdon] the knights of the Earl of Leicester came and surrendered to his Grace, the castles of Groby and Mountsorrel, that he might show greater compliance towards their master." The Earl had supported the King, now Henry, against his father. 4 July 1173 Leicester was besieged and destroyed. 16 Oct. the Earl the Coleiniss of M. were defeated and prisoners after a battle near Prince's St. Edmunds."
fortune favoured first one side and then the other. In the various skirmishes and engagements so many of the leaders lost their lives that it seemed not unlikely the nobility of the kingdom would be exterminated. The Greys of Groby were strong Lancastrians and fought for Henry VI., and their connection with the party was strengthened when Sir John Grey married into the Lancastrian family of the Woodvilles of Grafton, near Stony Stratford.

The head of this family, Sir Richard Woodville, had, in his early days, distinguished himself in the French wars under the Duke of Bedford, the uncle of the King. At one time, before the appearance of the Maid of Orleans, it seemed not unlikely that the Duke would reconquer France for the English, but in 1435 death put an end to his career, and he lies buried behind the high altar in Rouen Cathedral. His death necessitated the return to England of his youthful widow Jacquetta, then only seventeen years old. Sir Richard Woodville, who was reputed to be the handsomest man of his time, was appointed to escort her home. The journey was long and possibly tedious, and the widow, before its end, had so far forgotten her late husband and her Royal blood, that she had married the Knight who was her travelling companion. According to the law, she ought to have waited for a license from her nephew the King, and the Royal pardon for her offence was only procured by the intercession of her uncle, Cardinal Beaufort, the Bishop of Winchester, after her husband had been imprisoned and heavily fined. The Duchess of Bedford, as the aunt of the King, was entitled to precedence over the rest of the nobility, who did not fail to complain that she had married much beneath her position.

Time passed on and she bore her husband several children, and among them a daughter Elizabeth, who grew
up to be a Maid-of-Honour to Queen Margaret, and to be admired as one of the Court beauties of her time. Her position was good, but the means of her parents had always been small for their station, so that she could only expect a comparatively slender dowry. She was not without suitors. One was a Welsh Knight who had seen service in the French war. Why he dared not rely upon himself in urging his suit we do not know, but two letters addressed to Elizabeth Woodville have come down to us, one from the Duke of York, the Protector of the Kingdom, and the other from the Earl of Warwick, setting out that Sir Hugh Jones was a very eligible suitor, that he was deeply in love with her, and that if she would accept him they would use their influence to promote his advancement. Of course such a suit did not prosper. The lady’s reply to her correspondents was feminine and conclusive. She married a dashing young cavalry officer, who was no other than Sir John Grey of Groby. As nearly as I can discover, the bride was about seventeen and the husband about twenty-two years old. Tradition has it that it was a love match, and that their married life was a happy one. Three or four years after this marriage Lord Grey of Groby died, and his son, who continued to be addressed as Sir John, came into the estate, but why he failed to take the title of Lord Grey is not plain.

The Civil War still dragged on. In February the Queen advanced towards London with an army of raw levies drawn from the Percy country in Northumberland and the north. At St. Albans, the great Yorkist general, the earl of Warwick, the King Maker, threw himself across her path, and, in the battle which followed, the Queen inflicted upon him a serious defeat. But her half-civilised horde, instead
of marching upon London, celebrated their success in prolonged robbery and violence. Their barbarities so alarmed the peaceable and wealthier inhabitants of the south that the City at once declared for their opponents. Their leaders were unable to maintain discipline and were obliged to commence a retreat towards the north. The duke of York hastily collected an army and went in pursuit. He came up with them at Towton near York, and in a hard-fought battle drove his opponents from the field, upon which it was reported they left nearly thirty thousand slain. The victory seated him upon the throne as Edward IV., and, to all appearances, destroyed once for all the prospects of Henry VI. and Queen Margaret.

The family at Groby were overwhelmed by disasters. Not only was the political party to which they belonged utterly ruined, but Sir John Grey, who had fought on the side of his friends in the engagement at Saint Albans, was severely wounded and died a few days afterwards. According to the law and custom of the time, as he had been guilty of rebellion against his sovereign, his estate was forfeit to the King, and his widow, with the two boys she had borne him, suddenly found themselves ejected from their home, and penniless. For three years they took refuge with her parents, the Woodvilles, at Grafton. Whilst the widow mourned for her husband, she conferred with her mother, who had the reputation of being a very shrewd woman of the world, how she might induce the authorities to allow her some part of the dowry she had brought to her husband, to enable her to bring up her sons.

At this time the young King Edward IV. was about twenty-two years old. De Comines, the French Ambassador, who knew him well, says he indulged himself in a larger share of ease and pleasure than any prince
of his time, and that "his thoughts were totally employed upon the ladies, on hunting, and on dress." He was very fond of music, and very liberal in his allowance to his minstrels. He took great pleasure in setting off his fine person to the best advantage, and in introducing new fashions in dress. His tailor, Guillemi Pault, had an allowance from his privy purse of a shilling a day, and five pounds a year. This was the King's fair weather character, and though he often remained too long the indolent voluptuary, when roused by danger he became another man. He displayed at once great activity and endurance, a determined will, and a mind of no common grasp and clearness. He was not only the first general of his time, but also a very able administrator, and weighed out, as far as he could, the even-handed justice of a strong ruler. It chanced that the young King came down to hunt in Whittlebury Forest, close to Grafton. The family there decided that the opportunity must not be neglected, and that the good-looking widow of Sir John Grey should seek an interview with the King and appeal to him to grant her some part of her dowry to enable her to bring up her children. Tradition asserts that the interview took place beneath an oak, always afterwards called the "Queen's Oak," which stood, till modern times, by the side of the road leading from Whittlebury to Grafton. Here, with her children, she made her appeal. The upshot of the interview was that the King rode back with her to Grafton, and that they were there privately married, nobody being present but the Duchess of Bedford, two gentlewomen, and a young man to help the priest to sing the service. The King returned the same day to his Court at Daventry and made such excuses as he could to explain his absence.

In the meantime the Duchess arranged opportunities for
the private visits of her royal son-in-law, and for some months
the marriage was kept secret, but in the autumn of 1464. 1464
the King presented the Queen to the assembled
peers at Reading, and she received the congratulations of the
Court. Society of that day disapproved of the marriage, and
was so spiteful as to put about the report that the Queen was
thirty-three years old, whereas she was probably only twenty-
nine or thirty. It was seriously said that the Duchess of
Bedford had used magical arts to induce the King to
acknowledge the marriage.

The Woodvilles were greatly exalted, and the Queen's
three brothers, five sisters, and two sons were swiftly married
to some of the wealthiest peers and heiresses in the kingdom.
Her brother John, who was only twenty years old, was
married to the rich Dowager Duchess of Norfolk, then in
her eightieth year. As a family they were unpopular, and
had the reputation of being avaricious and close-fisted. They
must be allowed the credit of showing some interest in
literature and in the spread of learning. The Queen's eldest
brother, Anthony, the second Earl Rivers, was favourably
known for his many accomplishments, for his chivalrous
disposition, for his piety, shown in his pilgrimages, and for
a literary taste and poetic feeling unusual among the nobles
of his time. In the opinion of Sir Thomas More it was
rare to meet with anyone more prompt in action or more
ready in council. He was the patron of Caxton, our first
English printer, and translated from the French three books
which Caxton printed. He wrote also some quaint and
musical original verses.

The Queen was a liberal benefactor of Queen's College,
Cambridge.* As her boys grew up honours descended upon

* Gairdner's Richard III., p. 74.
them. Her eldest son, Thomas Grey, was created Earl of Huntingdon, and, in 1475, probably when he came of age, was made Marquess of Dorset. Soon afterwards he married Cecily, the daughter of Lord Bonneville, a grand-daughter and heiress of the exiled Duke of Exeter, entitled to large estates in the south of England. Before the exaltation of the Greys she had been affianced to George Neville, the nephew of the Earl of Warwick, but the Queen paid four thousand marks to break off the engagement.

The King's marriage was necessarily very unpopular with the nobility, and especially with his great supporter the Earl of Warwick, and Edward chose to aggravate this feeling by his unpardonable deceit. In the interval during which the marriage was kept secret, he commissioned the Earl to commence negotiations for the conclusion of a treaty with the King of France, which was to be ratified by Edward's marriage with the sister of the French Queen, and when the Council met at Reading to approve these marriage negotiations, one of the nobility, probably Warwick, expressed the hope and expectation of the King's subjects that he would deign to give them a Queen.

"Then the King answered that of a truth he wished to marry, but that perchance his choice might not be to the liking of all present. Then those of his Council asked to know of his intent, and would be told to what house he would go. To which the King replied in right merry guise that he would take to wife Dame Elizabeth Grey, the daughter of Lord Rivers. But they answered him that she was not his match, however good and fair she might be, and that he must know well that she was no wife for such a high prince as himself, for she was not the daughter of a duke or an earl, but her mother, the Duchess of Bedford, had married a
simple knight, so that though she was the child of a duchess and niece of the Count of St. Pol, still she was no wife for him. When King Edward heard these sayings of the lords of his blood and his council, which it seemed good to them to lay before him, he answered that he should have no other wife, and that such was his good pleasure.” The consternation of the Council and of Warwick may be imagined when he finished by announcing that he was already married to Dame Elizabeth.

The Earl was by far the most powerful and able subject in the kingdom. Men called him ever the friend of the Commons, and his “open kitchen persuaded the meaner sort as much as the justice of his cause.” It was the height of ingratitude and folly to goad such a man to desperation by a series of deliberate insults such as Edward continued during the next five or six years to inflict upon one who had been his lifelong guardian and supporter. “If ever one man had made another, Richard Neville had made Edward Plantagenet. He had taken charge of him, a raw lad of eighteen, at the moment of the disastrous rout of Ludford, and trained him in arms and statecraft with unceasing care. Twice he saved the lost cause of York, in 1459 and 1461. He had spent five years in harness, in one long series of battles and sieges, that his cousin might wear his crown in peace. He had compassed sea and land in embassies that Edward might be safe from foreign as well as from domestic foes. He had seen his father and his brother fall by the axe and the sword in the cause of York. He had seen his mother and his wife fugitives on the face of the earth, his castles burnt, his manors wasted, his tenants slain, all that the son of Richard Plantagenet might sit on the throne that was his father’s due.”*

* Warwick the Kingmaker. Charles W. Oman, 176.
Warwick might well be cut to the heart at his master’s ingratitude. It was no marvel if, after the King’s last treachery to him in the matter of the French embassy he retired from Court and sent a bitter answer to Edward’s next summons. It is evident that at first Warwick’s sole design was to countermine the influence of the Woodvilles, but by years of insults the King drove him into the camp of his enemies and compelled him at last, obviously with great reluctance, to permit the King of France to reconcile him to Queen Margaret and put him in the chief command of an expedition which was to invade the kingdom, dethrone King Edward and set up Henry the Sixth in his place.

So well had the ground been prepared and so unpopular were the Woodvilles, and the heavy taxation to which the country had been subjected, that Edward was surrounded by traitors, and in eleven days after the Earl had landed at Dartmouth he was master of the Kingdom, and Edward and his friends fled from the neighbourhood of Nottingham to Lynn, where he seized some small vessels which lay in the harbour and set sail for Holland. Buffeted by storms and chased by Hanseatic pirates they ran the ships ashore. Kings, lords and archers alike escaped with nothing but what they bore on their backs; Edward himself could only pay the master of the ship that carried him by giving him the rich gown lined with marten’s fur, that he had worn in his flight.* The Queen and her children took sanctuary in Westminster Abbey, and whilst she was there her son, afterwards Edward V., was born and christened, the Abbot standing as his god-father.

The sudden reverse of fortune brought out all the King’s energy and courage. He managed to raise money and arms

* Oman, 20.
in Holland, and five months afterwards he was back in England and made for London, where he was sure to find support. Warwick, with his forces, met him at Barnet, and in the battle which followed was defeated and killed.

Such Lancastrians as escaped from Barnet joined themselves to Queen Margaret's army in the west, and met with a crushing defeat at Tewkesbury. For the rest of his days Edward reigned in peace.

Resent, "Queen," 22. X. 1900

Birtsmorton Court, nr. Malvern, a very interesting old place, surrounded by a very wide moat. [Murray] said to have been the house, [some of it now rebuilt] in which Margaret of Anjou, the son were concealed after the battle of Tewkesbury.

[Handwritten note]

Attew, 6. X. 1900 - 441
Letter from Baptiste Oldoini di Bagnac to Antoninus de Bracellis in Milan as to the news obtained from the Hospitallers here to invade France, 17 Mar, 1476? Before EDIV landed at Calais and made the Treaty of Recquigny.
CHAPTER II.

The estates of Warwick and the rest of the nobility who perished on the field at Barnet and Tewkesbury were of course forfeit to the King. Warwick, among his many country houses, had one at Sutton Coldfield, and Leland, the antiquary, writing half-a-century later, says:—

"That after the earldom of Warwick was attainted and his estates came to the King, the town of Sutton Coldfield, standing in a barren soil, fell daily into decay, and the market was clean forsaken—Wingston (who had possession of it on behalf of the King) by authority of his office, sold the timber of the Manor Place and had part of it to himself. The Hall itself was set up at Bradgate, the Marquess of Dorset's house at Leicester and there yet standeth." Probably shortly before his death in 1501, the Marquess commenced with that economy which was characteristic of his family, the building of Bradgate House, not as the grand residence of the stepson of a King, but rather as a unfortified hunting seat which he might occupy when he wished to enjoy the sport afforded by the parks and forest of his Leicestershire estates.

We have no difficulty in discovering the hall referred to by Leland. In the fifteenth century, the great or common hall was the centre and main feature of every nobleman's
Westminster. Account of the households of Eves. 11.
1,000 gallons of beer consumed daily.

Longfield. Short Kristo.

Features of the 17th century. Each was central hall, in which whole household ate and many of them slept.
residence. The custom of the time required that a nobleman should be surrounded by a host of retainers, who wore his livery, lived at free quarters in his house, and were always ready to pick a quarrel and to fight with the enemies of their master. The household of a Marquess comprised 200 to 300 officers, retainers and servants holding different positions, from those who were his own companions down to ordinary domestic servants. The whole household took their meals in the great hall, and many of them slept in undescribable filth on its floor. At that time we look in vain for the privacy and cleanliness which are now demanded in the household of every class. When we examine the remains of Bradgate House we soon recognise that we are tracing out the foundations of a house arranged to accommodate a household leading a life such as that just described. The house consisted of two wings joined together on the north side by the building of the great hall, which must have been eighty feet long by about thirty feet in width. The hall was wainscoated and lighted by large windows on each side, and had an open-timbered roof. At the east end, adjoining the wing which contained the private apartments of the family, was the dais or raised platform upon which stood the table where the Marquess and his family sat at their meals. To his right hand was a bay window looking into an enclosed garden at the back, and to his left stood the sideboard loaded with the silver cups, tankards and plate which were used at his table. The bay window and the recess at the end of the table afforded to the family the partial privacy which was all that the manners of the time required. A wood fire probably burned upon a hearth in the middle of the hall and the smoke found its way out through a louvre in the roof. In the wall at the lower end of the hall may still be seen the holes in which were
inserted the joists which supported the floor of the music gallery. The meals of noblemen were always enlivened by music—

"Fro Kechene came the fryst course,
With pipes and trumps and tabours."

The wainscoat was continued round the end of the hall under the music gallery. Beneath the gallery was a passage, reached from the hall by two doors, and beyond were the buttery and pantry with the kitchen and bakery, which occupied the western wing of the house. Close to the music gallery was a door with a porch opening from the hall into the enclosed garden at the back. The large cellar required for the storage of the food of such a household extended beneath the floor of the great hall and towards the west. Looked at from the front, the house measured about 200 feet from the extreme eastern corner of one wing to the western corner of the other. The front of each wing was about 50 feet wide and was roofed in two spans and presented two very effective upright gables to the front. Then, set back about 60 feet from the front of the two wings and joining them together, was a long building containing the entrance hall with its side door, and the large common hall and porch together measuring about 110 feet in width. The eastern wing was occupied by the principal kitchen, probably open to the roof, with its great roasting fireplace 15 feet wide, which is still standing. Behind this was the bakery, with so many ovens in it as to suggest that a considerable part of the food consumed in the house was baked. The two stories and garrets over this secondary kitchen contained no doubt the chambers of the domestics. The garde robe on the first floor, with its cesspit behind the ovens and its arched opening in the south-west front, through which it was
emptied, is very curious. The block of brickwork in the front corner of the main kitchen may perhaps be the remains of something similar. The opposite and eastern wing of the house comprised the chapel and private apartments of the family. There is a curious projection which contained a staircase, attached to the west wall of the chapel. The chapel has been so much defaced that it is difficult to guess how it was originally arranged. We are told that it opened out of the dining room. It probably had a gallery reserved for the use of the family, access to which was gained by a staircase of which we see the remains. The long, narrow building, to the north, forming one side of the garden in the rear of the house, contained no doubt a kitchen and other offices added to the house when fashion ceased to compel the family to dine with the rest of the household in the common hall. As there was no communication between the large kitchen and the private apartments except by passing through the great hall, the necessity for a kitchen attached to the east wing would be obvious as soon as the family decided to dine in their private rooms. At Court the custom of dining in the private apartments came in towards the latter days of Henry VIII.

The second Marquess was one of the most celebrated jousters of his time, and I think it is probable that the large enclosed space to the east of the house might in his day have been used as a tilt yard, whilst in later and more civilised times it was transformed into a garden. The little stream which ran outside the wall of the enclosure, when it reached the south-east corner of the tilt yard, evidently turned a mill.

Bradgate house is very interesting as one of the earliest unfortified houses built in England. It is a witness to the quieter and more peaceful times which resulted from the
strong rule of Edward the fourth. Brick was then a new building material, and the fashion of using it reached us from Holland. Thorold Rogers alleges that the English had lost the art of making bricks for several centuries, and that the loss is an evidence of the general decay of the arts which resulted from the wars in which the country had been involved at home and abroad. The bricks used in the walls of the House are very hard and durable, and the work, where it has not been wantonly destroyed, has stood well, but the inexperience of the makers involved the builders in a difficulty by making the bricks of different sizes. They vary in length from $8\frac{1}{4}$ to $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and their thickness differs in about the same proportions. Tradition points out a field at the south end of the reservoir as the spot where the bricks were made of which the house was built. The site of the clay-pit and the drying floors can still be easily recognized.

My thanks are due to the Countess of Stamford’s agent, who allowed me to dig down to the foundations and so made it possible to prepare an accurate plan of the House. Many years ago legal proceedings were necessary to stop the tenant of the Park from pulling down and carting away such of the walls as stood above ground. Then for more than half-a-century time made little impression upon the ruins, till about three years ago, when they lost one of their most picturesque and interesting features by the fall of the gables and chimney-stack which stood at the south-west corner.

About two hundred years ago, sometime subsequent to the visit of William III. in 1696, a Dutch artist L. Knyff* made a


Queen's Coll, Cambridge, built 1448.

Carisbrooke Castle, Yarmouth, built by Sir John Fastolfe, after 1436 held by the Parliamnet is at the same date.

Byrgh Hall, B. S. Wolffen, 1480s. Bedingfield 1482-3. Hurstmonceux the same date.

Chimney stacks did not come into use till the time of H. VIII.
drawing of the House from the high ground at the back. It is a very poor performance. The drawing was engraved by H. Hulsbergh.* It shows the enclosed gardens laid out in the formal style of the period, with the broad watercourse leading to the mill between the orchard and the garden. A building of two storeys to the left of the house, on the far side of the brook, probably contained the stables with lofts over them. I suspect that this building and the avenue leading to the front of the house must be a long way out of their real positions.

Leland speaks of Bradgate House as a "lodge" which was commenced and almost finished by the first Marquess, who died in 1501. In the latter part of his note he confuses Bradgate and Groby. When he rode through the Park, in about 1540, he says he saw the foundations of a half-finished gate-house. No gate-house attached to the Bradgate building was ever finished.†

* "Hulsbergh, Hendrik, a Dutch engraver, born at Amsterdam, but who resided chiefly in London, where he was principally employed by the booksellers and where he died in 1727. His best works were architectural views and buildings, which he executed in a neat style but without taste." —Bryan's Dict. of Painters, Gravers, &c.

† Leland.—Itinerary of England, IV., 187.
CHAPTER III.

Such was the house the young Marquess began to build, but which he did not live to finish. A glance at the events of the time will explain how its completion was so long delayed. When the Marquess was twenty-nine years old, the death of his father-in-law Edward IV. gave the nobility an opportunity for an attack upon the influence of the Queen and the Woodville family. At the time of his father's death the young King was living with the Earl of Rivers, the brother of the Queen, at Ludlow Castle on the border of Wales. The Earl was directed by an order of the Privy Council to bring him up to London with all haste, and his coronation was to take place a few days after his arrival.

At this time the Duke of Gloucester was attending to his duties in the north, where he had greatly distinguished himself by his success as a general and as a civil governor. During the lifetime of his brother he had always been loyal to him and had shown no marked jealousy or dislike of the Queen or her relatives. Edward's opinion of him may be inferred from the provisions of his will, which gave him the care of the kingdom and of his son during the minority. It is probable that the King hoped that his brother would
take up the position of a mediator between the contending factions of the Woodvilles and the old nobility. The policy of the Queen was to prevent the Duke from acquiring this position, and by the prompt coronation of her son to supersede the guardianship appointed by his father's will and to give him at once the power to choose his own advisers.

Towards the end of April, the young King, with the Earl of Rivers his uncle, and Sir Richard Grey his half-brother, were making their way up to London with 2,000 of the Earl's retainers. On Tuesday the 29th, he had arrived at Stoney Stratford, and the same day the Duke of Gloucester reached Northampton. Rivers and Grey rode back to Northampton and supped with Gloucester. After the two guests had retired the Duke held a long conference with his friends, at which the Duke of Buckingham, who had just arrived from London, no doubt reported the efforts made by the Queen to retain her authority, how she had taken advantage of Gloucester's absence to exclude him, as far as she could, from every position of influence, and how the Marquess of Dorset, as Constable of the Tower, had so far abused his office as to obtain from thence supplies of arms and money to fit out a small naval force, which he had sent to sea under the command of his brother.

Next morning the two Dukes were up before daybreak and secured the keys of the inn where Rivers and Grey were lodged, and when later on Rivers demanded an explanation of such treatment, he was informed that he was a prisoner. Gloucester hastened off to Stoney Stratford, where, in the absence of their leader, the 2,000 horsemen offered no opposition to his carrying the King back to Northampton. The Earl of Rivers, Sir Richard Grey, with Sir Thomas Vaughan and Sir Richard Hawte, the principal officers of the
King's household and the trusted supporters of the Queen, were all sent as prisoners to the north.*

The news of what had happened early in the morning at Stony Stratford was brought that night to the Queen at Westminster Palace, and we have an account from a reliable eye-witness of what followed on its reception. He says, "but anon the tidings of this matter came hastily to the Queen a little before the midnight following; and that in the sorest wise, that the King her son was taken, her brother, her son, and her other friends arrested, and sent no man wist whither, to be done with, God wot what. With which tidings in great fright and heaviness, bewailing her child's ruin, her friends' mischance, and her own infortune, damning the time that she ever dissuaded the gathering of a power about the King, got herself in all haste possible with her younger sons and her daughters out of the Palace of Westminster in which she then lay, into the sanctuary, lodging herself and her company in the Abbot's place. . . . . The Archbishop of York came to see her and found her in much heaviness, rumble, haste and business, carriage and conveyance of her stuff into the Sanctuary, chests, coffers, packes, farldes, trusses all on men's backs, no man unoccupied, some lading, some going, some discharging, some coming for more, some breaking down walls to bring in the next way, and some yet drew to them that holpe to carry a wrong way. The Queen herself sat alone, on the rishes all desolate and dismayed, whom the Archbishop comforted in the best way he could, by communicating to her a favourable message he had received from Lord Hastings."

Thirteen years before, when the King was obliged suddenly to fly to Holland, his son, who was now coming up to London,

* Gardiner, Richard III. Passim.
Westminster Quire Hall is built on the site of the Sanctuary. It was
fortified with stones; keep, 757 ft sq + 60 ft high, consisting of an upper storey
below, with some rooms at the
corners, over one of which Ed: III
built, or rebuilt, a belfry.

'...that at Ford Abbey, Dorsetshire is
a more perfect condition still,
the roof retains its original dec-
oration. The Quenstern Hall at
the Charter House is still fairly
reserved, the the fittings are Jacobean
and is a dwelling house made
of the old monastic building.
Sir George Jones, who certainly seems
have taken pains to preserve
them, so that in the same house
he finds every style from roman
Revival to classic.'  H. W. Brewer.
was born in the Abbey, and a few days afterwards was christened there, the Abbot standing as his Godfather. The protection afforded by churches to anyone taking refuge in them, belonged specially to several religious buildings in England, and to some extent to churches generally. Many instances are recorded of men charged with murder or manslaughter, and of prisoners who had escaped from jail, taking sanctuary in S. Mary’s, All Saints’ and S. Martin’s churches in Leicester. The hall in which the Queen sat on the “rishes” and bewailed her misfortunes still exists, and is now used as the dining hall of the boys of Westminster School. It was built by Abbot Litlington in the reign of Edward III., and is, I believe, the only Abbot’s refectory remaining in its original condition in England.

The Queen’s perplexity was not diminished by the rash action of the Marquess of Dorset in fitting out the naval expedition to which we have referred.* Probably he put to sea with it, for within the next few days he was removed from his office of Constable of the Tower and part of his property was seized, but some had been carried into the Abbey at Westminster, and was in the keeping of the Abbott, who was blamed for receiving it.

On the 4th of May, the day on which he was to have been crowned, the King made his public entry into London, accompanied by his uncle and the Duke of Buckingham. Gloucester, it was evident, was highly popular, and his

* In these days military and naval commands were interchangeable, and the Marquess was evidently more than half a sailor. Lloyd, who published his “State Worthies” in the time of Charles II., sums up his character in a quaint passage. “Land service was his exercise, but the sea was his delight, the compass his study, the stars his care, trade his thoughts, our own and foreign havens his discourse, a seaman his familiar, and their fights his triumph. His converse and speech was soldier-like, short, smart and material.”
proceedings were so far approved by the Privy Council that they at once recognized him as the Protector of the Kingdom. During the following month the Queen and the Duke were evidently actively intriguing against each other, but, up to the middle of June, Gloucester had done nothing which violated the prevailing code of political morals, or which shocked the public feeling of the time. It is true he was bringing up to London all the troops he could muster, but it was not till the 13th that he revealed, by the sudden execution of Hastings, without trial and without an hour's notice, that he meditated a coup d'etat and the establishment of a reign of terror. Three days afterwards, he, half by persuasion and half by force, beguiled the Queen into allowing the young Duke of York to leave sanctuary at Westminster and to join the King in the Tower, from which neither of them ever came out. The following Sunday Dr. Shaw preached at S. Paul's Cross, in the presence of Gloucester, and argued that the King and his brother were both illegitimate, and that the Protector was the only true heir to the throne. He founded his assertion of the illegitimacy of the King and his brother on a statement made by Dr. Stillington, Bishop of Bath and Wells, that Edward IV. had entered into a contract of marriage with Lady Eleanor Butler, the daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury, before he was married to the widow of Sir John Grey. There was nothing improbable in the statement and it was never subsequently disproved. Henry VII., who, it might be thought, would have had every inducement to show that it was false, merely made it punishable ever to allude to it.

The following Tuesday the Duke of Buckingham met the citizens at the Guildhall, and, by a skilful harangue obtained a doubtful endorsement of the Duke's claim to the crown.
See Besant's Westminster, p. 144. He states that the two Archbishops, at a Council with Richard consented to his taking the boy from the sanctuary. Among the nobles present at the Council, there was not one who could possibly fail to understand that the two boys were going to be murdered. The Archbishops stepped aside while Richard climbed the winding stair to the upper chapel of the sanctuary, dragged the boy from his mother's arms, 'Farewell,' she cried... farewell to my own sweet one! God speed thee safe keeping! Let me kiss thee once ere you go. God knows well when we shall kiss thee another again.' Besant accounted it in several tales luxurious, inaccurate, I don't know.
Whilst Gloucester was thus unscrupulously intriguing in London he did not forget the prisoners he had sent off to the north from Stony Stratford. They were told they must prepare to die, and, on the 25th June, the Earl of Rivers the brother of the Queen, Lord Richard Grey her son, Sir Thomas Vaughan, and Sir Richard Hawte, all of them officers of the King's household at Ludlow, and, as far as is known, guiltless of any political offence, were publicly beheaded at Pontefract.

It may be doubted whether the fate of these men, undeserved as it was, was so deeply felt as might have been expected. Some, doubtless, pitied the grey hairs of Sir Thomas Vaughan. No sympathy was yet felt with the Queen's relations; and the many accomplishments of the Earl of Rivers,—his chivalrous disposition, shown in the Smithfield tournaments; his piety, exercised in numerous pilgrimages; his literary taste and poetic feeling, rare among the nobles of the time,—do not seem to have excited any more than usual feeling in connection with his loss.* He was the patron of Caxton, and translated from the French three of the earliest books which Caxton printed—all of a moral and philosophical character. He wrote some original poetry, and Rouse has preserved for us what he calls a "balet," written by the Earl when he had only a few hours to live. The following is the last half of these quaint, plaintive verses. They read more like the musings of a philosopher than the complaints of a disappointed conspirator:

Willing to die,
Methinks truly bounden am I,
And that greatly to be content,
Seeing plainly fortune doth wry
All contrary from mine intent.

1. Turn.

* Gardiner, Richard III., p. 73.
My life was lent me to one intent;  
It is nigh spent. Welcome Fortune! 
But I ne went thus to be shent, 2 
But she it meant, such is her wont. 3


The day after the execution of these inoffensive men, Buckingham at the head of a deputation consisting of the Lord Mayor and some of the principal citizens of London, waited upon Gloucester and urged him to accept the crown. After a show of reluctance he consented to be entreated, and thus the accession of Richard III. ended the less than three months formal reign of Edward V.

When in the autumn, after a coronation of unusual magnificence, Richard set out on a progress through the kingdom, his government appeared to be generally popular. Buckingham accompanied him as far as Gloucester and there left him, seemingly on the best of terms, but on his way to his castle at Brecknock, the Duke met the Countess of Richmond. She begged him to obtain the consent of the King to the marriage of her son the Earl of Richmond, to Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Edward IV. The King had committed to his custody at Brecknock an extremely able supporter of the York family, John Morton, at that time Bishop of Ely, but afterwards the Cardinal Archbishop of Canterbury. At his instigation, communications were at once opened with the Queen and the Earl of Richmond; under the masterly direction of the Bishop the scheme ceased to be a mere family project, and at once became the first step towards getting together a strong party to oppose the King. Why Buckingham should, in September, be plotting the

2. But I never thought thus to be confounded. Went, weened, thought. Shent, A.S. Scendan, to spurn, to confound.
3. Wont, custom.
overthrow of the King he had assisted at so much risk to place upon the throne three months before, it is impossible satisfactorily to explain.

In October, during the absence of the King, the men of the southern counties, with the connivance of Buckingham, rose and threatened to march on London with the object of liberating the princes from the Tower. The movement had scarcely begun when the news that they had both been murdered sent a thrill of horror and amazement through the Kingdom. A general rising had been planned for the 18th, but the excitement led to a premature outbreak in Kent. It was not till the middle of October that Richard learned, apparently with great surprise, that Buckingham was concerned in the rebellion. He at once issued a proclamation in which great stress was laid upon the immorality of the leaders of the rebellion, and special mention was made of the well-known dissolute life of the Marquess of Dorset. One thousand pounds in land, or an estate of a hundred pounds a year was the price set upon the head of Buckingham. Two-thirds of that sum was considered sufficient for the head of the Marquess or the Bishop. The elements fought against the rebels. They were easily destroyed in detail, as a deluge of rain made the country impassable and prevented the junction of their forces. Buckingham was captured and executed, but the Marquess, with his friends, escaped across the sea to Brittany.

What was passing on the other side of the Channel may be read in the old translation of the history of Polydore Vergil, an Italian, who wrote a history of England at the suggestion of Henry VII. and held the rectory of Church Langton in 1535.

"The Duke of Richmond going to Rennes [in Brittany],
sent forthwith certain of his retinue to bring the Marquess [of Dorset] and the other noble and worshipful [gentlemen] unto him. They having knowledge that earl Henry [of Richmond], was, after long wandering, returned safe into Brittany rejoiced wonderously." Then, on Christmas Day, they all went to the Cathedral, and "earl Henry, upon his oath promised, that so soon as he should be King of England, he would marry Elizabeth, King Edward's daughter, then after, they swore unto him homage as though he had been already created King. Richard in the meantime having intelligence what covenants the confederates in Brittany had made among themselves, determined to prevent by another way [so] that the earl Henry should not come unto the Kingdom by marriage of his niece Elizabeth. He therefore determined, by all means possible to reconcile unto him Elizabeth the Queen, 1484. that she might yield herself and her daughters into his hands, and that by hap it might fortune his wife to die, then he would marry his niece himself. So he sent into the sanctuary often messengers unto the Queen. The messengers, being grave men, though at the first by reducing to [her] memory the slaughter of her sons, they somewhat wounded the Queen's mind, and that her grief seemed scarce able to be comforted, yet they assayed her by so many means and so many fair promises, that, without much ado, they began to mollify her, (for so mutable is that sex) in so much that the woman heard them willingly, and finally said she would yield herself unto the King; and so not very long after, forgetting injuries, forgetting her faith and promise given to Margaret, Henry's mother, she first delivered her daughters into the hands of King Richard, then after, by secret messengers, advised the Marquess, her son, who was at Paris, to forsake earl Henry, and with all speed convenient to return into England,
where he should be sure to be called of the King unto high promotion. So Thomas, Marquess of Dorset, partly despairing of earl Henry's success, partly suborned by King Richard's fair promises, departed privily in the night time from Paris. But Humphrey Cheney overtook the Marquess at the town of Compiégne and so persuaded him that a little after he returned to his fellows. Earl Henry, eased of that grief, determined that it was not [wise] for him to linger, but to use all celerity that might be, lest by doubting and differing of time he should lose a great opportunity. And so obtaining of King Charles [of France] a slender supply [of money] and borrowing as well of him as of other private friends certain money, for the which he left sureties, or rather pledges, the Marquess [of Dorset] and John Bouchier, he departed to Rouen," and on the 7th of August set sail from the mouth of the Seine for Milford Haven.

It is not necessary to do more here than to refer to the success of the expedition, to the death of Richard III. on Bosworth Field, followed by the accession of the Duke of Richmond as Henry VII., and his marriage with Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Edward IV. His estates were restored to the Marquess, and his mother, the Queen Dowager, was handsomely provided for by the King. Later on Henry was convinced that the Queen and her son were supporters of the imposter Lambert Simnel, who pretended that he was the Earl of Warwick. The Marquess for a time was committed to the Tower, and his mother was deprived of her property and sent to reside in the nunnery at Bermondsey,*

* This was an important nunnery, covering a large area in the open fields, on the banks of the Thames, half-a-mile below the Tower, on the opposite bank. The entrance gate was standing in the last century. Katherine, the widow of Henry V., who married Edmund Tudor and was the grandmother of Henry VII., spent the last years of her life in the same religious house.
where five years afterwards she ended her days. She rests in peace, after her chequered life, by the side of her husband in S. George's Chapel at Windsor, under a tomb surmounted by beautiful ironwork, the workmanship, it is said, of the great Flemish master of the craft, Quentin Matsys. In 1501, her son, the first Marquess, died, and was buried with his wife in the church at Astley, near Nuneaton.
CHAPTER IV.

The second Marquess appears to have resembled his father, and to have been a handsome, powerful man, of courtly manners. We catch sight of him in the displays which celebrated the marriage of the unfortunate Catherine of Aragon to Prince Arthur the eldest son of the King.* "The great and large void space before Westminster Hall and the Palace [of Westminster] was gravelled, sanded and goodly ordered for the ease of the horses, and a tilt \( \dagger \) set and arayed at the whole length from the Water Gate well nigh up to the entrance of the gate that openeth into the King’s Street towards the Sanctuary." In front of the Palace a stand was erected for the royal family and the nobility. "The trumpets blew to the field for a great season about the tilt." Then the Earl of Essex rode round the tilt "in a great mountain of green, the which served for his pavilion, with many trees, rocks and herbs, stones and marvellous beasts upon the sides. On the height of this mountain there was a goodly young lady in her hair pleasantly beseen. The Lord Marquess [of Dorset] in a rich costly pavilion of cloth of gold, himself alway riding within the same, dressed in his

* Narrative of the Justs, Banquetts, and Disguisings, used at the inter-taynement of Katherine wife to Prince Arthue, eldest sonne to King Henry VII.—Hearne’s Leland’s Collectanea, 2nd edition, V., 356.

\( \dagger \) An awning or tent.
harness.* Thus they made their passing round about the field doing their obedience and curtesy to the King." Then descending from the pavilions they mounted their horses and "staves were brought unto them and they charged and ran together eagerly. At this first course ran the Duke of Buckingham and the Lord Marquess. The Duke brake his staff right well and with great sleight† and strength upon the Marquess." Then at the next encounter the Marquess, as no doubt had been arranged, broke his staff upon the Duke.

The jousts continued for several days, and on the following Wednesday the Marquess and other noblemen tilted at each other with sharp spears. Then they fought with swords. "By this season the day (Thursday) drew fast to its end, and these noble Knights purposed them to their departing. Then the Lord Marquess and others conveyed their chair of cloth of gold, drawn with the four rehearsed‡ beasts unto the King's stage, and there received their lady again, and so departed out of the field."

1506. A few years afterwards Philip, the King of Castile, in his voyage from the Low Countries to Spain, was compelled, by stress of weather, to put into Falmouth, and was brought to Windsor to meet the King. William Makefyrer was present at the meeting, and wrote off to his correspondent a description of what he saw. The letter runs:—"To the right worshipful Master Darsy and Master Gyllys Alyngton, being at the George in Lombard Street, be this delivered in haste. Right worshipful Masters, I recommend me unto you, certifying you that the king's Grace and the king of Castile met this day at 3 of the clock upon Cleworth Green 2

* Armour. † Dexterity.
‡ Rehearsed, probably meaning trained. I have never met with the word used in this meaning elsewhere.—See Skeat's Etymological Dictionary, under the word "rehearsed."
miles out of Windsor, and there the King received him, in the goodliest manner that ever I saw, and each of them embraced the other in (his) arms." Then he describes the magnificent dresses of the nobility who were present. "And my lord Marquess (of Dorset) riding upon a bald* sorrel horse, with a deep trapping full of long tassels of gold of Venice and upon the crupper of his horse a white feather, with a coat upon his back, the body of goldsmith's work, the sleeves of crimson velvet, with letters of gold."† Unfortunately, the Marquess did not confine himself to jousts and athletic displays. He seems to have been mixed up with some political intrigue and so to have incurred the displeasure of the King. Probably he was not free from the folly, to which all the Yorkists seem to have been liable, of believing in a succession of impostors, who came forward as claimants of the crown. For some time he was imprisoned in the Tower and afterwards at Calais, and it is suspected that he only escaped the scaffold through the timely death of the King.

When Henry VIII. ascended the throne at the age of eighteen he was popular with his subjects, his treasury was full, and his prospects were bright on every hand. There need be but little wonder if he indulged in the dream of increasing his influence in European politics and of reconquering that part of France which had been lost to the English crown some seventy years before. With this object in view he joined the "Holy League" formed by his father-in-law Ferdinand the King of Spain, and the Emperor Maximilian, to support the Pope against the King of France, whose territory he was to invade with the assistance of Ferdinand, who was to provide 9,500 men for the expedition.

* Marked with white. † Paston Letters III., 403.
and Henry 6,000. The young Marquess of Dorset, who had risen rapidly in the royal favour, was entrusted with the command of the English troops and sailed in high spirits from Portsmouth, and in a few days landed at Fontarabie near Biarritz. Ferdinand, failed to provide his contingent, but suggested to him that before marching into France he should assist him in the invasion of Navarre, at that time an independent Spanish kingdom, but the Marquess considered that his commission did not permit him to join in such an undertaking, and whilst he remained inactive waiting for fresh orders, cholera broke out amongst his troops, they mutinied, insisted on being taken home, and the expedition returned to England without having struck a blow. Their return was a deep mortification to Henry, and he received the Marquess and the principal officers with strong expressions of displeasure, but gradually his wrath cooled down. The following year Henry varied his tactics and made an attack upon the French king from the north. He crossed over to Calais with Sir Charles Brandon and the Marquess, and there wasted several weeks in feasts and entertainments, but at last he set out for the camp where he was joined by the Emperor Maximilian. The French made a rash attack, and in repulsing it Henry very wisely followed the military advice of the Emperor and was rewarded by victory in the battle of the Spurs at Guingatte. As a consequence of this defeat Ferdinand considered that France had ceased to be formidable to Spain, and that his interest did not call upon him to continue the contest. He did not hesitate at once to betray his ally and son-in-law, and secretly to make peace with France.* Henry, smarting under the rebuff, allowed Wolsey to carry out a scheme by which France should become
his ally, and the scheme was to be confirmed by the marriage of the French King with the Princess Mary, Henry's sister, a bright intelligent girl of seventeen, who it was well-known wished to marry the Duke of Suffolk, though she had been for some time betrothed to the Prince of Castille; when she was pressed to marry the French king she is reported to have told her brother that "if she married this time to please him, she should marry next time to please herself." The Duke of Suffolk and the Marquess with three other noblemen represented the English Court at the Coronation of the Queen in the Cathedral of S. Denis. We have their letters giving a full account of the splendour of the ceremony and the consideration with which the embassy was treated. They are addressed to Wolsey:—"My lord," says the Earl of Worcester, "I assure you the King hath a marvellous mind to content and please the Queen. He showed me the goodliest sight of jewels and the richest that ever I saw. I assure you all that ever I have seen is not to compare to 56 great pieces that I saw of diamonds and rubies, [and many other jewels] and when he had showed me all, he said that all should be for his wife . . . . on Tuesday he gave her a ruby two inches and a half long and as big as a man's finger."

In the splendid tournaments which followed the French showed a bad feeling towards the Duke of Suffolk, and would apparently have been glad to see the English worsted. Hall tells us, "On the morrow began the Justs, and the Dauphin with his aides entered the field. They showed themselves before the King and Queen who were on a goodly stage, and the Queen stood so that all men might see her and wondered at her beauty, and the King was feeble and lay upon a couch for weakness. These Justs were con-

* Cardinal Wolsey.—Creighton, 31.
continued three days, in which were answered 305 men of arms, and every man ran five courses, and with sharp spears, [and] divers were slain and not spoken of. The English lords and knights did as well as the best of any [of] the others. At the Randon and Tournay the Duke of Suffolk hurt a gentleman that he was like to die. The Marquess struck Mounsire Grew, an Alboanais, with his spear and pierced his head-piece and put him in jeopardy. The Duke of Suffolk, in the Tournay, overthrew a man of arms, horse and man; and so did the Lord Marquess another, and yet the Frenchmen would in no wise praise them. The Lord Marquess Dorset, at the same time, fought with a gentleman of France, that he (the French-man) lost his spear and in [a] manner withdrew. When the rail was let fall, these two noblemen put up their visors and took air, and then they took swords with point and edges abated, and came to the barriers, and the German fought sore with the Duke, which imagined that he was a person set on for the nonce, but the Duke by pure strength took him about the neck, and pommelled (him) so about the head, that the blood issued out of his nose, and then they were departed. It happened that the Lord Marquess one time, put for his aide, his youngest brother called Lord Edward Grey of the age of nineteen years, and to him was put a gentleman of France of great stature and strength, to the intent to pluck him over the bars, but yet the young Lord was of such strength, power and policy, that he so stroke his adversary, that he disarmed him."* The French biographer of the Chevalier Bayard states that Louis was so delighted with his young wife that he consented on her account to change all his habits—that he altered his dinner hour to please her, from eight o'clock in the morning to noon, and that instead

* Ellis.—Original Letters, I., 259.
The body of the Marquis of Dorset seemed sound when suddenly discovered, that after 78 years was found uncorrupted. A note in Nelson's edition, edited by Bland, "who was buried in 1536 and dug up in 1608, found perfect like an ordinary corpse newly interred." 1141.

of going to bed at six o'clock in the evening he sat up till midnight. Louis, it is true, was only fifty-three, but he was prematurely old and ailing. His wedded life did not last long. He was married in October and died on the following New Year's Day. It is plain that his widow had determined, as she had told her brother months before, to marry this time to please herself, for by the end of March she had married her old lover the Duke of Suffolk. Like her two great-grandmothers, Catherine the widow of Henry V. and Jacquetta Duchess of Bedford, she set the law at defiance by not waiting to obtain the Royal license.

We hear but little of the Marquess during the later years of his life. He had been the favourite companion of the King in the heyday of his youth, but as political difficulties increased Henry had to seek for abler men. The Marquess continued to hold his offices of ceremony about the Court, but the greater part of his time was passed at Bradgate, where he died in 1530, about a month before Wolsey breathed his last in the Abbey at Leicester. He was buried at Astley, and there still exists a tomb in the church there with two recumbent alabaster figures, probably representing the Marquess and his wife. He had prospered in the world. Lord Rivers left him the estate at Grafton, which he exchanged with the King for the manors of Loughborough, Sheepshed and Bardon, and on the dissolution of the Blackfriars' house in Leicester the site was granted to him on very easy terms. On the dissolution, the revenues of the Collegiate Church at Astley were given to him and his wife. He left a generous will; to each of his servants he gave a year's wages with meat and drink for half a year in his house. To Robert Brock, the schoolmaster of his son Henry, he left £20 a year, at that time a
handsome maintenance. To the list of celebrities of the time who were connected with Bradgate we may add the name of Wolsey, who early in his career had been the tutor of three of the boys in the grammar school at Oxford attached to Magdalen College, and had spent the Christmas holidays with them at Bradgate, and afterwards the Marquess presented him to the living of Limington in Somerset. This early connection did not prevent the eldest lad from subscribing and presenting to the King the forty-four articles of the impeachment of his old tutor. The lads had more than one distinguished tutor, for whilst they were staying in Paris they studied under Erasmus, who mentions in his diary that they paid him well for his services.

On his accession to the title and estates, Henry, the Third Marquess, seems to have had some dispute with his mother as to her rights under his father's will, for she appealed to one of her noble friends in a letter beginning—"I beseeche you to be my goode lorde, considering me a poore wido, so unkindly and extreymly escheated by my son." Nothing has come down to us which enables us to form any opinion on the merits of this family quarrel.

Three years afterwards the Marquess paid a heavy sum to free himself from a contract of marriage which he had entered into with Catherine the daughter of the Earl of Arundel. He did this with the approbation of, if not at the suggestion of the King, to enable him to marry Frances the only child of the Princess Mary and of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, his father's companion in his visits to Paris nineteen years before, when the Princess was married to Louis XII. His marriage into the royal family of course advanced his position at Court, and we meet with him now as a conspicuous figure in all the Court ceremonies and
pageants of the time. At the coronation of Anne Boleyn he carried the sceptre. He assisted at the christening of the Princess Elizabeth. He was present with his Royal master at the siege of Boulogne, and when the French made a lodgment in the lower town he distinguished himself by his courage and activity in driving them back. Eventually the town surrendered on condition that the garrison might go out with bag and baggage. Hall, the chronicler, begins his account of Henry's entrance into the town:—"On the eighteenth day the King's Highness, having the sword borne naked before him by the Lord Marquess of Dorset, like a noble and valiant conqueror, rode into Boulogne, and the trumpeters standing upon the walls sounded their trumpets at the time of his entering, to the great comfort of all the King's true subjects the same beholding."

Finally, at the funeral of the King, he officiated as chief mourner, and as Lord High Constable he had charge of the arrangements for the coronation of Edward VI. It would have been fortunate for him and for his family if his activity had been confined to Court functions and ceremonies, but the birth of his daughter, Lady Jane Grey, in 1537, led to his entering upon a career of political intrigue for which he was totally unqualified and in which he was the dupe and tool of cunning and unscrupulous men.

Towards the end of the reign of Henry VIII. he occupied a conspicuous position among the advanced religious reformers who sympathised with the Protestants of Geneva. Nothing has come down to us which enables us to define his religious opinions or to trace the steps by which he reached them. His connection with the Royal family and his daughter's position in the succession made him the most important member and the patron of the party.
CHAPTER V.

The death of Henry VIII. marks the opening of a new chapter in the History of England. Twenty-five years of strong Tudor rule, the discovery of the new world, the closing of the land route to India, and the opening of the sea passage round the Cape of Good Hope brought about immense changes. During the Wars of the Roses nearly all of the old nobility had perished either on the battle-field or the scaffold; only twenty-seven temporal peers survived to receive the royal summon to the first parliament of Henry VII. The vacant seats in the House of Lords had been filled by a new trading aristocracy, who by servility and intrigue had procured immense grants of lands out of the estates which had been taken from the monasteries and religious houses. To extract the utmost rent from these manors the open common fields were enclosed, the arable land was converted into pasture, the yeomanry and farm labourers were driven into the towns and their places taken by immense flocks of sheep. Political dangers also threatened to increase the difficulties entailed by this economic revolution.

As Henry VIII. approached his end he sought to prevent the political confusion which he foresaw would arise during the long minority of his son, by the appointment of a governing council, selected from the rival parties among the
nobility. Froude says that he omitted the name of the Marquess of Dorset from the list of the Council, because he thought him a sectarian and an imprudent man, an estimate of his character which was afterwards amply justified. On the death of the King, Edward Seymour who had been created Earl of Hertford and who afterwards became Duke of Somerset, procured his own appointment as President of the Council and Protector of the Kingdom, with the guardianship of his nephew, the boy King. His newly acquired authority seems to have intoxicated him. He not only believed that he could cure all the ills of the time, but that he could cure them all at once. He made war upon Scotland and France. He revolutionized the religion of the nation. He proposed to end the misery and distress in the country by making the world honest again, then "the great rent of lands would abate, all things would wax cheap, twenty and thirty eggs would again be sold for a penny, as in times past; and the poor craftsmen could live and sell their wares at reasonable prices; and the noblemen and gentlemen who had not enhanced their rents would be able once more to maintain hospitality. Thus ye will serve God, the King and the commonwealth." In the meantime, Somerset took to himself one estate after another from the Church lands, until he was enabled to keep two hundred servants about him.

The exercise of such supreme authority by one of their own order was certain to excite the enmity and jealousy of some of the nobility, and among his bitterest opponents was his own brother, Lord Thomas Seymour, a restless, unscrupulous man, whom he had attempted to satisfy by conferring upon him the office of High Admiral, and by the grant of an estate at Sudeley in Gloucestershire.
The Admiral's first step with a view to strengthen his position and to supersede his brother was an attempt to marry the Princess Elizabeth, but the project came to nothing through the refusal of the Council to sanction the engagement. Shortly afterwards the Admiral began his clandestine interviews with Catherine Parr, the widow of Henry VIII., and in less than three months after the death of the King he became her fourth husband. His marriage gave him a position at Court which he used to acquire an influence over the young King. He supplied him liberally with money and incited him to assert his authority and to "bear rule as other Kings do." The Admiral told the Marquess of Dorset that the King's Majesty had divers times made his moan unto him, saying, "that my uncle of Somerset dealeth very hardly and straitly with me and keepeth me so strait that I cannot have money at my will; but you my Lord Admiral both sendeth and giveth me" (sic) [money when I ask you for it].

Whilst Seymour was thus ingratiating himself with the boy King he was working in another direction to obtain the custody and disposal of Lady Jane Grey. He met with no difficulty in carrying out this part of his scheme. The simplicity of the Marquess invited the Admiral to make him his dupe. The Marquess's own deposition runs thus:—"Immediately after the King, our late master's death, one Harrington,* servant to the said Admiral, came to my house at Westminster, and showed me that the said Admiral was like to

* The Town residence of the Marquess was Dorset House, with a garden which reached from the Thames to what is now Cannon or Channon Row, but which originally had been called Canon Row, as it was built upon land belonging to the Canons of Westminster Abbey. Dorset Court, Canon Row, which for a long time marked the site of the House, was situated between what it now the Westminster Bridge railway station and the new Scotland Yard police offices.
come to great authority; . . . advising me therefore to resort unto him and to enter a more (sic) friendship and familiarity with him, . . . . and to be contented that my daughter Jane might be with the said Admiral; . . . . I doubt not, he said, but you shall see him marry her to the King, and fear you not but he will bring it to pass, and then shall you be able to help all the friends you have.” Probably he was not free from a feeling of soreness at his exclusion from the Council, and this, together with his simplicity, induced him to lend a ready ear to any proposals which promised to increase his importance. At any rate he was so fascinated with the prospect which Harrington had dangled before his eyes that he hastened to call upon the Admiral, who made him such fair promises, and boasted so confidently that he could bring about a marriage between Lady Jane and the young King, that the Marquess gave him the disposal of his daughter and sent her to live with the Admiral and his wife, the Queen Dowager.

The Admiral’s married life was not happy nor did it last long, for in the beginning of September his wife died in giving birth to a daughter. He was suspected of having hastened the Queen’s death by the harshness with which he had treated her. “Thus poor Catherine Parr, who with some difficulty had preserved her head from the axe of her third husband, was killed, as it is reported, by her fourth, with a weapon sharper than any axe,—the unkindness of one she loved.”* Her sudden death seems to have disconcerted him for the moment, for he wrote to the Lady Jane’s parents that he should be unable to keep up the large establishment he had maintained during the lifetime of his wife, and apparently suggesting that she should return to Bradgate. His

* Tytler.—England under the Reign of Edward VI. and Mary, I., 130.
despondency did not last long for on the 17th he wrote again—"my last letters, written in a time when, partly with the Queen's highness's death, I was so amazed that I had small regard either to myself or my doings, and partly then thinking that my great loss must presently have constrained me to have broken up and dissolved my whole house, I offered unto your Lordship to send my Lady Jane unto you, whensoever you would send for her. Forasmuch as since then, being both better advised of myself, and having more deeply digested whereunto my power would extend; I find indeed that with God's help I shall right well be able to continue my house together, without diminishing any great part thereof. And therefore, putting my whole affiance and trust in God, [I] have begun of new to establish my household, when shall remain not only the gentlewomen of the Queen's highness privy chamber, but also the maids which waited at large, and other women being about her grace in her lifetime, with a hundred and twenty gentlemen and yeomen, continually abiding in [the] house together. And therefore, doubting lest your lordship might think any unkindness, that I should, by my said letters, take occasion to rid me of your daughter so soon after the Queen's death; for the proof both of my hearty affection towards you, and good will towards her, I mind now to keep her until I next speak with your lordship, which should have been within these three or four days, if it had not been that I must repair unto the Court. My lady, my mother, shall and will, I doubt not, be as dear unto her as though she were her own daughter; and for my own part, I shall continue her half father and more; and all that are in my house shall be as diligent about her, as yourself would wish accordingly."

The arrival of this letter at Bradgate brought the family there face to face with a serious difficulty. It is obvious that
both father and mother knew too well that the household of a man so disreputable as the Admiral was no fitting home for their child of eleven years old, at the same time they were embarrassed by the recollection of the promises they had made, and by the fear of offending a man whose importance they greatly overrated. It is not difficult to detect in their reply, which is given below, the obvious marks of their perplexity. It is very unlikely that the Marquess could have piled up the prodigious sentence with which it opens. The construction makes one suspect that the chaplain was brought into the domestic conference, and that it was left to his hand to draught a letter which was to convey an unpleasant decision in words as little disagreeable as possible.

"My most hearty commendations unto your good lordship not forgotten. When it hath pleased you by your most gentle letters, to offer me the abode of my daughter at your lordship's house, I do as well acknowledge your most friendly affection towards me and her herein, as also [I] render unto you most deserved thanks for the same. Nevertheless considering the state of my daughter and her tender years, wherein she shall hardly rule herself as yet without a guide, lest she should for lack of a bridle take too much the head, and conceive such opinion of herself, that all such good behaviour as she heretofore hath learned, by the queen's and your most wholesome instructions, should either altogether be quenched in her, or at the least be much diminished, I shall in most hearty wise require your lordship, to commit her to the governance of her mother, by whom for the fear and duty she oweth her, she shall most easily be ruled and framed towards virtue, which I wish above all things to be most plentiful in her; and although your lordship's good mind, concerning her honest and godly education is so great, that
mine can be no more; yet weighing that you be destitute of such [a] one as should correct her as a mistress, and monish her as mother, I persuade myself that you will think the eye and oversight of my wife shall be in this respect most necessary. My meaning herein is not to withdraw any part of my promise to you for her bestowing; for I assure your lordship, [that] I intend, God willing, to use your discrete advice and consent in that behalf, and no less than my own:* only I seek in these her young years, wherein she now standeth, either to make or mar, as the common saying is, the addressing of her mind to humility, soberness and obedience. Wherefore looking upon that fatherly affection which you bear her, my trust is that your lordship, weighing the premises, will be content to charge her mother with her, whose waking eye in respecting her demeanour, shall be, I hope, no less than you as a friend and I as a father would wish. And thus wishing your lordship a perfect riddance of all unquietness and grief of mind, I leave [off] any further to trouble your lordship. From my house at Brodgate, the 19th of September. Your lordship's to the best of my power,

HENRY DORSETT.

To my very good Lord Admiral: give this.”

A few days afterwards, Lady Jane returned to Bradgate under the escort of Mr. Rouse the house-steward, and of Mr. Harrington. They did not omit to state that her maids remained at Hanworth in expectation of her speedy return.

* The sentence here is not quite clear. Possibly something like this was intended:—“I only seek her welfare in these her young years, wherein she now standeth, when she may either make or mar, as the common saying is, that addressing of her mind to humility, soberness and obedience.”

The expression, “considering the state of my daughter,” perhaps refers to some illness of the child which would be very likely to be caused by her grief and by the shock of the sudden death of her aunt.
A few months before the Marquess had visited the Admiral at his country seat at Sudeley in Gloucestershire, and it had been arranged for sometime that the visit should be returned. On the first of October a letter was received from the Admiral fixing the date of his visit. The messenger took back with him the next day a letter from the Marchioness addressed to her "own good brother" and also one from Lady Jane, written in an exquisite hand. It is a pity that the formal style of the time deprives us of what might have been a charming child's letter.

1st Oct., 1548.—"My duty to your Lordship in most humble wise remembered, with no less thanks for the gentle letters which I received from you. Thinking myself so much bound to your Lordship, for your great goodness towards me from time to time, that I cannot by any means be able to recom pense the least part thereof, I purposed to write a few rude lines unto your Lordship, rather as a token to show how much worthier I think your Lordship's goodness, than to give worthy thanks for the same; and these my letters shall be to testify unto you, that like as you have become towards me a loving and kind father, so I shall be always most ready to obey your godly monitions and good instructions, as becometh one upon whom you have heaped so many benefits; and thus, fearing lest I should trouble your Lordship too much, I most humbly take my leave of your good Lordship.

Your humble servant during my life,

JANE GRAYE."

The messenger who returned to Hanworth with this letter carried another from the mother of Lady Jane. She tried to soften the announcement of their decision to insist on their daughter's return home by addressing the Admiral in affectionate terms as her "good brother."

"And whereas of a friendly and brotherly good will you wish to have Jane, my daughter, continuing still in your house, I give you most hearty thanks for your gentle offer, trusting nevertheless that for the good opinion you have in your sister,† you will be content to

* His real relationship to her was that he was the husband of the widow of her uncle.

† i.e. in herself.
charge her with her, who promiseth you, not only to be ready at all times to account for the ordering of your dear niece, but also to use your counsel and advice on the bestowing of her, whensoever it shall happen. Wherefore my good brother, my request shall be that I may have the oversight of her with your good will, and thereby I shall have good occasion to think that you do trust me in such wise, as is convenient that a sister to be trusted (sic) of so loving a brother. And thus my most hearty commendations not omitted, I wish the whole deliverance of your grief and continuance of your lordship's health. From Broadgate the 19th of this September. Your loving sister and assured friend, FRANCEYS DORSETT.

To the right Honourable and my very good Lord, my Lord Admiral.

In October, the Admiral came down to Bradgate, accompanied by Sir William Sherington and was entertained by the mayor and his brethren as he passed through Leicester.* We have the Marquess's own account in his subsequent examination of what passed at Bradgate during this visit. He states that the Admiral "was so earnestly in hand with me and my wife, that in the end, because he would have no nay, we were contented that my daughter should again return to his house. At this time and place he renewed his promise unto me for the marriage of my daughter to the King's Majesty; adding that if he might once get the King at liberty he durst warrant me that his majesty should marry my daughter. And at this Sir William Sherington travailed as earnestly with my wife for her goodwill to the return of my daughter, as the Admiral did with me; and so in the end, after long debating and much sticking of our sides, we did agree that my daughter should return; who so did."

* Extract from the Chamberlain's accounts:—"Itm. pd. for wyne yt was gyven to my lord marques and my lord admyrell, xvjd."
The Marquess says that he and his wife "were contented that his daughter should return" to the Admiral's house. The word "contented" covered a transaction which one can well understand his reluctance to expose. The Admiral easily drew from the Marquess the confession that his circumstances were embarrassed, that his income was not sufficient to keep up his house at Bradgate, and that he was already in debt. A weak, simple man in such a dilemma stood but little chance of preserving his independence or his authority. The Admiral at once offered to lend him £2,000, and after Lady Jane had been sent back to Hanworth, he obtained £500 of this amount probably from Sherington, and sent it to Dorset, "for which he said he would have no bond, but would keep Lady Jane in gage."* Such a transaction too closely approached the sale of his daughter. The weakness of an embarrassed man and the prospect of political advancement are but poor excuses for so base an act.

The Admiral appears to have been troubled that the Marquess neglected to strengthen his personal and political popularity among his neighbours. More than once he thought it necessary to give him some elementary instructions in the art of acquiring popularity and to urge him to put it into practice. The following is the statement of the Marquess in his deposition, from which we have already made several extracts:—"When I was with the Admiral at Sudeley, which was in the end of the summer, and also when he was at my house, which was after Michaelmas, the Admiral, devising to make me strong in my custody advised me to keep a good house, and asked me what friends I had in my country, to whom I made answer, that I had divers servants that were

gentlemen, well able to live of themselves. That is well, said
the Admiral, yet trust not too much to the gentlemen, for they
have somewhat to lose; but I would rather advise you to make
much of the head yeoman and frankelyns* of the country,
specially those that be the ringleaders, for they be men that be
best able to persuade the multitude, and may best bring the
number; and therefore I would wish you to make much of them,
and to go to their houses, now to one, and now to another,
carrying with you a flagon or two of wine and a pasty of
venison, and to use a familiarity with them, for so shall you
cause them to love you, and be assured to have them at your
commandment; and this manner, I may tell you, I intend
to use myself." Though the advice was given three centuries
and a half ago, long before the advent of contested elections,
still it sounds curiously modern.

The activity of the Admiral at last alarmed his brother
the Lord Protector, and it was decided to make an indirect
attack upon him by summoning before the Council his con-
federate Sir William Sherington, the Master of the Mint at
Bristol, on the charge of amassing an enormous fortune by
coining base money and falsifying his books of accounts to
the amount of two hundred thousand pounds. The Admiral
stoutly defended him, but Sherington, to save his head,
betrayed his friend and accused him of keeping up a corre-
spondence with the pirates in the Channel, for whose ad-

tantage he had purchased the Scilly Isles as a convenient
place of refuge for them, and further of having arranged to
enroll ten thousand men with the intention to carry off the
King and change the form of government. He alleged that
he had promised to coin money for the Admiral, to whom
he had already advanced three thousand pounds. It is highly

* The smaller freeholders.
probable that Sherington's evidence was suborned, for though he was condemned to death and his property forfeited he was pardoned. Within two years we find him in possession of the manors and lands of which he had been deprived and restored to his office of Master of the Mint at Bristol.* It has been thought by some that the Admiral's main fault was his strong language against the rapacity with which church property was being divided amongst the rich. The Protector had set an evil example whilst he was building his palace in the Strand. He had not only seized a vast amount of ecclesiastical property, but to clear the site he had pulled down a parish church and carted off the bones of the dead from their graves.† It is somewhat unaccountable that Latimer spoke with intense bitterness of the Admiral, whilst he maintained that Sherington's fervent repentance entitled him to his pardon. The end soon came. About the turn of the year the Admiral was committed to the Tower, and in March he was executed on a death warrant signed by his own brother, the Lord Protector.

* See Lingard.—*History of England, V. 137.
† Gardiner.—*History of England, II., 415.
CHAPTER VI.

For some time after this catastrophe no public appearances of the Grey family are mentioned. They were living quietly, probably for the most part at Bradgate. In October, the Marquess went up to London and came down the following spring, in Lent, and a little while after Lady Jane was in Leicester and was entertained probably by the Mayoress and the wives of other members of the governing body. During the next few months the Marquess passed through the town several times on his way to and from London and was received by the Corporation, and a payment was entered in the Chamberlain's rolls for the two or three gallons of wine drunk on these occasions.

Lady Jane at this time was devoted to the study of the new learning which she had begun under her tutor Aylmer, afterwards Bishop of London, whilst she was staying with Catherine Parr at Hanworth and Chelsea. Aylmer's connection with the family was of long standing. The first Marquess had sent him to school and afterwards to Oxford. He did not confine himself to tuition, for Strype states that "for some time he was the only preacher [of the
25 Aug. 1549. Sir Wm. Cavendish married at Bradgate, for his third wife, Bess of Hardwick, see Die of Nat. Obs.
reformed faith] in Leicestershire, where he so effectually fixed the Protestant religion that neither force nor fraud could blot it out.*

We get a glimpse of the interior of Bradgate House at about this time, in the learned Roger Ascham's book, "The Schoolmaster." He explains how he was led to write it. "When the great plague was at London, in the yeare 1563, the Queen's Majesty Queen Elizabeth, lay at her castle of Windsor: where, upon the 10th day of December, it fortuned that in Sir William Cecil's chamber, her Highness's Principal Secretary, there dined together," half a score of the ministers and officers of the Court. "I was glad then, and do rejoice yet to remember, that my chance was so happy, to be there that day. Mr. Secretary [Cecil] hath this accustomed manner, though his head be never so full of most weighty affairs of the realm, yet, at dinner-time he doth seem to lay them always aside; and findeth ever fit occasion to talk pleasantly of other matters, but most gladly of some matter of learning. Not long after sitting down, 'I have strange news brought to me,' saith Mr. Secretary, 'this morning, that divers scholars of Eton, be run away from the school, for fear of beating. Whereupon, Mr. Secretary took occasion to wish that some more discretion were in many schoolmasters, in using correction, than commonly there is. Who many times punish rather the weakness of nature, than the fault of the scholar. Whereby many scholars, that might else prove well, be driven to hate learning before they know what learning meaneth." Mr. Haddon remarked 'that the best schoolmaster,

* There are still very old Baptist Chapels and there were Chapels connected with the Society of Friends both at Sheepshed and Sutton-in-the-Elms, a township of Broughton Astley; both places formed parts of the estate of the Marquess of Dorset. Whether these Nonconformist foundations were in any way connected with the work of Aylmer I have not been able to find out.
of the time, was the greatest beater,' but Ascham urged that the success was due more to the towardness of his scholars than to the beating of the master. In the end his friends urged him to set out his ideas upon teaching in a book, and thus he came to write his work "The Schoolmaster." He was down at Bradgate in the autumn of 1550, and he introduces into his book an account of an interview he had with Lady Jane Grey, to illustrate the advantages of Aylmer's persuasion and gentleness in teaching, over the severity and harshness used by the parents of Lady Jane Grey towards their daughter. "Before I went into Germany, I came to Bradgate in Leicestershire, to take my leave of that noble lady Jane Grey, to whom I was exceeding much beholden. Her parents the Duke and Duchess, with all the household, gentlemen and gentlewomen, were hunting in the park. I found her in her chamber reading the Phædo of Plato in Greek, and that with as much delight as some gentlemen would read a merry tale in Boccaccio. After salutation and duty done, with some other talk, I asked her, why she would lose such pastime in the park? Smiling she answered me 'I wisse all their sport in the park is but a shadow to that pleasure that I find in Plato. Alas good folk, they never felt what true pleasure meant— 'And how came you madam,' quoth I, 'to this deep knowledge of pleasure, and what did chiefly allure you into it, seeing that not many women, but very few men, have attained thereunto? 'I will tell you,' quoth she, 'and tell you a troth, which perchance ye will marvel at. One of the greatest benefits that ever God gave me, is, that he sent me so sharp and severe parents, and so gentle a schoolmaster. For, when I am in presence either of father or mother, whether I speak, keep silence, sit, stand, or go, eat, drink, be merry, or sad, be sewing, playing, or dancing, or doing anything else, I
must do it, as it were, in such weight, measure and number, even so perfectly as God made the world; or else I am so sharply taunted, so cruelly threatened, yea, presently sometimes with pinches, nips and bobs, and other ways, (which I will not name for the honour I bear them), so without measure misordered, that I think myself in hell, till the time come that I must go to Mr. Aylmer, who teacheth me so gently, so pleasantly, with such fair allurements to learning, that I think all the time nothing whiles I am with him. And when I am called from him, I fall on weeping, because whatsoever I do else but learning, is full of grief, trouble, fear, and whole misliking unto me. And thus my book, has been so much my pleasure, and bringeth daily to me more pleasure and more, that, in respect of it, all other pleasures in very deed, be but trifles, and troubles unto me. 'I remember this talk gladly, both because it is so worthy of memory, and because also it is the last talk that ever I had, and the last time that ever I saw that noble and worthy lady.'

All accounts agree in speaking of her charming personal appearance and manners at this period. "Lady Jane, if we may judge from the portrait in Lodge, engraved from an original in the collection of the Earl of Stamford, had sweet though rather diminutive features: but her figure was finely formed, and there is a simplicity in her dress which becomes it well. It is so plain, that Griffet might at first sight have quoted it as supporting his supposed puritanical costume of Edward's time, but on a nearer look, the richly flowered tucker, the string of pearls round the neck, the flowers in her bosom, and the little jewel clasping the tight spencer, confute his notions, and show that Plato permitted his pupil some little leisure for the toilet."*

* Tytler II., 298.
"Her character had developed with her talents. At fifteen she was learning Hebrew and could write Greek; at sixteen she corresponded with Bullinger (the leader of the Swiss religious reformers) in Latin at least equal to his own; but the matter of her letters is more striking than the language. She has left (in her letters) a portrait of herself drawn by her own hand; a portrait of piety, purity and free noble innocence, uncoloured, even to a fault, with the emotional weaknesses of humanity."

WHilst Lady Jane was pursuing her studies at Bradgate a fierce contest for supremacy was raging in the Council between the Duke of Somerset and the Earl of Warwick. The Protector made himself unpopular with the nobility by his overbearing manner at the Council board, and by setting up in his house a Court of Requests where he heard the complaints of persons aggrieved by the enclosure of the common lands and in other ways, and from which he issued orders or sent letters to the Court of Chancery in their favour. On the other hand he became unpopular in the country because he urged on changes in public worship much faster than was approved by public opinion. The treasury was empty and the jails were full, the Emperor was threatening war and the rise in prices caused by the debased currency produced severe suffering throughout the country. During the summer serious rebellions broke out round Exeter and Norwich. The Protector Somerset vacillated but Warwick did not hesitate to employ German and Italian mercenaries against the rebels. In September the Earl of Huntingdon put down a rising in Leicestershire and Rutland.
and hanged several of the leaders, and others were tried before the judges when they came to Leicester in the autumn, and were met by the Marquess.*

The feebleness of the government of Somerset brought about a crisis in the Council, which resulted in his being sent to the Tower and deprived of his property and of his office of Lord Protector and guardian of the King. Four months afterwards, in February, he was released and re-admitted to the Council and most of his property restored to him. The policy of the Council which was now under the guidance of Warwick was no more successful than it had been under Somerset. The country went from bad to worse. Warwick became more and more unpopular. To humour the King he was obliged to make a show of sympathising with the advanced religious reformers; to make peace with France he surrendered Boulogne, and then commenced negotiations for the marriage of the King to the French princess Elizabeth. The proposal to marry the King to a catholic princess was certain to encounter the strongest opposition from the Protestant party, especially from the extreme section at the head of which was the Marquess of Dorset. Before the suggestion was openly discussed it was thought advisable to provide the Marquess with an office which would necessitate his absence from Court and so prevent him from leading the opposition against the project. In February he was accordingly made Lord Warden of the Scotch Marches. It would have been difficult to have found a more unsuitable man for the post. His neighbours at Leicester thought his departure for the north a good opportunity to show their good feeling towards him by privately subscribing a sum

* Itm. pd. for ij gallons of wyne gyven to my lord m'ques when ye justices met hym at Leyc ijs. Itm. pd. for strowberies and wyne for my lade Grae gyven by mistres Meyres and hfr systers ijs. vjd.—Extracts from the Leicester Chamberlain's Accounts.
A. N. C. Eng. E. T. Lakely
of money to buy a pair of carriage horses to present to him, and when the amount subscribed fell short of the expense, the balance was made up from the Borough funds.*

We have letters from him whilst he was residing at Berwick. The constant raids of the Scots worried him and he seems to have been ill and homesick. He complained that the Council in London sent him no money to pay his soldiers. In May he writes to Cecil, "I have written to the Council for money to relieve the poor garrison here on their lamentable complaints. I long to hear from you, as those who inhabit hell, would gladly know how they do that be in heaven." Later on in the month he was so ill that he asked for leave to go to Newcastle for a time, where he hoped that his health would be better. In October he was released from the office of Warden on his own petition and at once returned home. During the summer the miseries of the people, occasioned by rebellion, famine, misgovernment and corruption were increased by a frightful outbreak of the sweating sickness. It carried off multitudes of people, rich and poor, and especially in London, where in one day, on July 10th, one hundred people died, and the next day one hundred and twenty. At Loughborough nineteen persons died in six days. The young Duke of Suffolk and his brother, the brothers of the Marchioness of Dorset, were studying at Cambridge, and when the plague reached the town they went to

* Itm. pd. for the horsys that were gyven to my lord M'ques more than was [gathered ?] then iii\$i. xvs. iiiijd. Itm. pd. for tow collars for the same hors, xxd. Itm. gyven to my lord John Grey and my lade Grey and my lade Mary a gallon and a half of wyne pescodds and appyls, iiijs. iiiijd. —

Extracts from the Leicester Chamberlain’s Accounts. It was not unusual for peascods to be served for dessert. They formed one dish of the third course of a banquet given at Winchester to celebrate the marriage of Katherine, daughter of Charles VI. of France, with Henry V. — Vide Austin, Two Early English Cookery Books, Early English Text Society. I once had peascods served for lunch at the principal restaurant at Lucca, in Italy.
a palace belonging to the Bishop of Lincoln, about twenty miles off, but they probably carried the infection with them, for they both died in the same bed within half-an-hour of each other,* and so the dukedom of Suffolk became extinct. The illness of these lads and the outbreak of the sickness possibly explains the presence of some of the Bradgate family at Cambridge, or the neighbourhood, during the summer.

It is not possible to set out every turn in the intrigues between Somerset and Warwick. The Duke was in favour of allowing the Princess Mary to use the Roman service in her house, and he even inclined to general toleration. Warwick on the other hand increased his influence with the King by simulating great zeal for the reformed religion and by his alliance with the extreme Protestant party, at the head of which was the Marquess of Dorset, whose support it was necessary that he should secure. On the return of the Marquess from the north the recently extinct dukedom of Suffolk was conferred upon him† and at the same time Warwick became Duke of Northumberland.‡ His plans were now complete. Five days afterwards, Somerset, his wife and a large number of his friends were arrested and sent to the Tower. It was given out that a plot had been discovered to assassinate Northumberland and

* Strype, II., i, 491.
† The townspeople of Leicester sent him a hogshead of claret, doubtless with their best wishes, on his elevation to the dukedom. "Itm. pd. to Mestres Ollif for a hoggs-head of claret wine that was gyven to my lord of Suffolk's Grace, 1s. Itm. pd. for wyne ale hed and suger for my lord of Suffolk the x* day of Novembr, vs. iiiijd."—Extracts from the Chamberlain's Accounts.
‡ Lady Jane was now constantly at Court and in society, though she still found time to keep up her correspondence in Latin with Bullinger. During the summer she visited her cousin the Princess Mary at Newhall in Essex and later on she was in attendance upon Mary Guise, the Queen Dowager of Scotland, on her visit to London.
"Somerset's reforms alike in Church and State, were conceived on modern lines. The first Order of Commun
in English was, as Mr. Pollard says, 'more remarkable for what it retained than for what it abolished.' In fact, it was so far from abolishing the mass that it enjoined its continuance, only adding a form of communion in bread and wine for the laity. The first Prayer Book, which shortly followed, the change led to serious dis

turbances, suggested very little innovation upon ancient doctrine. Under Somerset's mild rule all penal legislation against heresy was removed for the first time in England — the only for two short years — religious toleration was established" Rev. W. G. A.
others, to seize the King and to raise an insurrection in London. Somerset bore himself with dignity at his trial and afterwards. On January 22nd, the King made an entry referring to his uncle in his diary: "the Duke of Somerset had his head cut off on Tower Hill, between eight and nine o'clock this morning." The Venetian envoy, a truthful witness, was present at the execution. He wrote home that everybody expected that the King would pardon his uncle, and that so strong was the popular feeling against Northumberland that if Somerset had made an appeal to the crowd they would certainly have rescued him.

Northumberland was now by far the most powerful member of the Council. He used his position to further enrich himself and his supporters. In January a large property in London, including the Convent of the Little Sisters of S. Francis, in what is now called the Minories, was given to the Marquess of Dorset by Royal Patent. The failure of the King's health reminded Northumberland of the precarious tenure on which he held his position. It was obvious that Edward was smitten with consumption, and that his life would soon end. The next heir to the throne was the Princess Mary, whose accession would occasion not only his downfall but probably the loss of his ill-gotten wealth and of his head. To secure his position he conceived the daring project of changing the succession to the throne and of placing the crown on the head of his own son. His first step was to bring about a marriage between his fourth son, Guildford Dudley and Lady Jane Grey. The Marquess entered readily into the scheme, and when his daughter vehemently resisted the match, he did not hesitate to use personal violence to compel her consent. Her husband's family insisted on her residing with them, and she soon came to regard her husband's father and mother with detestation.
The mental distress which she suffered in the month after her marriage led to a serious illness which nearly proved fatal. *

The next step was to persuade the dying King, on the plea of upholding the reformed religion, to bequeath the crown to Lady Jane Grey and then to compel the great officers of State to join in a written promise to carry out the King's will. This was not completed till the twenty-first of June, and on the sixth of July Edward VI. died.

* Dict. of Nat. Biog.—Lady Jane Dudley.
CHAPTER VIII.

THE policy of Northumberland at this crisis was inspired solely by his desire to secure his own position and to obtain fresh opportunities of increasing his power and wealth. With him politics and religion were means only to promote his own interest. His policy ignored the claims of the Catholic Princess Mary and the Protestant Princess Elizabeth, the rightful heirs to the crown. He risked a civil war to place upon the throne a young girl, it is true of most estimable character, but who was unknown to the nation and whose claim parliament had never been asked to sanction, and whom he would never have dreamed of thrusting forward if he had not already married her to his son, whom he intended in defiance of all law and justice to make King. The unscrupulous means he had used to make himself the richest and most powerful man in the kingdom, left him without any genuine support.

It is admitted on all hands that Lady Jane knew nothing of his schemes. She had not been well and had obtained permission to spend a few days in quietude at Chelsea. The death of the King was still concealed from her but she seems to have been told that he had made her his heir. She first realised what awaited her when the Duchess of Northumberland came to take her, by order of the Council, to Sion House near Kew.

1553.
A violent scene ensued with her mother the Duchess of Suffolk. At last Guilford Dudley was brought in and he commanded her to return with him, and not choosing to be disobedient to her husband she consented. On Sunday, the 9th July, the Council waited upon her, and the Duke as President announced that the King was dead, and that he had commanded them to proclaim her as his successor, and with that the lords present declared that they took her for their lawful sovereign and swore that they were ready to shed their blood in support of her right. The effect of this announcement suddenly sprung upon a young girl of sixteen in bad health, was what might have been anticipated. Lady Jane trembling, covered her face with her hands and fell fainting to the ground. Her first simple grief was for Edward's death. When she came to herself she cried it could not be, that she was a very unfit person to be a queen, but that if the right was hers, she prayed that God would give her strength to govern to His honour and the welfare of the nation.*

The next day Monday, the 10th July, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, the royal barges carried Lady Jane down the river to the Tower. The heralds proclaimed her accession in the City, but the ill humour of London was no secret. The proclamation was received everywhere in silence, but one poor vintner's boy dared to shout, "The Lady Mary has the better title," and paid for his audacity by the loss of his ears. The same night the Marquess of Winchester unasked, brought the crown to Lady Jane and desired her to put it on to see if it required alteration. She said it would do very well as it was. He then told her that, before her coronation, another crown was to be made for her husband. Winchester retired, and she sat indignant till Guilford Dudley appeared, when she told him that, young as she was, she knew that the consent of parliament must be first asked and

obtained before he could be crowned, that she would make him a duke if he desired it, but king she would not make him. The Duchess of Northumberland stormed, and Guilford declared he would be no duke, he would be a king, and when Jane stood firm, the duchess bade him come away and not share the bed of an ungrateful and disobedient wife. That Northumberland fully intended that his son should be crowned king is obvious from his message to the King of France, informing him of the good affection of the new King and of his approaching coronation, and in the first despatch sent to the English envoy in the Netherlands, a king and not a queen was mentioned as the successor of Edward.

On Wednesday morning bad news arrived at the Tower. When the King died Mary was staying at Hoddesden near Hertford, and instead of obeying Northumberland's summons to present herself at Court, she took refuge with her supporters in Norfolk. The Dudleys were sent down in pursuit. They had come up with her as she was on her way from Keningham to Frankingham, close to Norwich. They had dashed forward upon her escort, but their own men turned sharply round, declared for the Princess and attempted to seize them; they had been saved only by the speed of their horses.* In all parts of the kingdom the nobility were mustering their retainers in her support. The Friday following, Northumberland set out from London with such troops as he could muster to meet the army which had rapidly gathered round Mary. On Monday the 17th he got as far as Bury St. Edmunds, where his soldiers informed him that they would not bear arms against their lawful sovereign. He was obliged to fall back on Cambridge. In his absence the crafty Cecil began secretly to work against him in the Council, but it was not till Wednesday the 19th, that the

* Froude, VI., 18.
members were able to pass the gates of the Tower. Joined by the Lord Mayor and the leading men of the City they proceeded to proclaim Queen Mary at the Cross in Cheapside. "Great was the triumph here in London: for [in] my time I never saw the like, and by the report of others the like was never seen. The number of caps that were thrown up at the proclamation were not to be told. The Earl of Pembroke threw away his cap full of angels. I saw myself money was thrown out at windows for joy. The bonfires were without number; and what with shouting and crying of the people, and ringing of bells, there could no man hear almost what another said; besides banqueting and skipping the streets for joy. The Duke of Suffolk being at the Tower, and as some say did not know of it; but so soon as he heard of it, he came himself out of the Tower, and commanded his men to leave their weapons behind them, saying he himself was but one man, and himself proclaimed my Lady Mary's grace Queen on the Tower Hill."* He at once opened the gates to the Earl of Pembroke who had been sent by the Council, with a hundred and fifty men to take possession of the Tower. He then rushed to his daughter's room and tore down the canopy under which she sat and told her she was no longer queen. She replied that his words were more welcome than those in which he had advised her to accept the crown. "Her reign had lasted but nine days; and they had been days of anxiety and distress. She suffered much from her own apprehension of an unfortunate result, more from the displeasure of her husband and the imperious humour of his mother."*

* Contemporary letter, Howard, 269.—The Chamberlain's accounts show that Lord John Grey proclaimed the Queen at Leicester. "Itm. pd. for ij gallins of wyne gyven to my lord John Grey at the proclamation if Quene Mary, the Quen's majestie that now is iij. Does the expression, "that now is," refer to another Queen's majesty that lately had been and who was now deposed? * Lingard, V., 188.
On the following Tuesday, the 25th, Northumberland was brought as prisoner up to London. The people were so incensed against him that he was assailed with yells and execrations on his way to the Tower. The first commands of the Queen showed that she had no disposition to deal harshly with Suffolk or his family. The imprisonment of Lady Jane was made less rigorous and she was allowed to walk in the garden on Tower Hill; when the Spanish ambassador urged that she and her husband must not be spared, Mary replied that justice forbade that an innocent girl should suffer for the crimes of others. After a detention of three days in the Tower, the Duke of Suffolk was released on the payment of a fine, and three weeks later he sat in Westminster Hall, as one of the Court of Peers that tried Northumberland and condemned him to death. The Spanish ambassador states distinctly that it needed all his influence to prevent Mary from pardoning this arch conspirator. In the end it was decided that he must die. In vain he strove to purchase his life by apostacy, and he omitted nothing that could make his end contemptible. He addressed the crowd from the scaffold, and said that his rebellion and present fall were owing to the false preachers who had led him to err from the Catholic faith of Christ; the fathers and the saints had ever agreed in one doctrine; the present generation was the first that had dared to follow their private opinions; and in England and in Germany, there had followed war, famine, rebellion, misery, tokens all of them of God's displeasure. For himself, he called them all to witness that he died in the one true Catholic faith.
CHAPTER IX.

At her accession the Queen found herself more popular than her best friends had dared to hope. The years of misrule by the harpies who had surrounded the throne of her brother, the heavy taxes they had imposed, and the enclosure of the common lands, with the resulting poverty and misery, had provoked the nation to welcome any change of government. In church affairs popular opinion was favourable to the restoration of the Mass, but it would not suffer the re-introduction of the authority of the Pope, and the nobility refused to listen to any proposal to surrender to the church the lands of the religious houses which they had divided amongst themselves. There was as well a strong feeling against any deviation from the succession to the throne as it had been set out in the will of Henry VIII. and confirmed by Parliament.

The proposal of the Spanish marriage, upon which Mary had now set her heart, was resented by the nation, but when the commons sent her an address praying her to marry one of her own subjects, a passionate rebuff was her only reply. The signature of the marriage treaty and the arrangements for the reception of Count Egmont, who was to represent the Spanish
Prince at the approaching wedding, drove the extreme Protestant party to desperation, and they decided to risk all upon the chances of an insurrection. It must be admitted that they were amply justified in their detestation and distrust of the Queen’s project. To seat a Spanish King upon the English throne was one of the worst crimes it was possible for an English sovereign to commit.

The manifesto issued by the insurgents spoke only of resisting the arrival of Philip, but their object was to place the Princess Elizabeth upon the throne. They had agreed amongst themselves to raise the country early in the ensuing spring, but their secrets leaked out and they were obliged to act a couple of months earlier than they had intended, and before they had been able to secure any general support.

At the instigation of his brother, Lord Thomas Grey, a rash, head-strong man, the Duke of Suffolk had undertaken to raise the Midland Counties. Lord Thomas urged his brother to go down to Leicestershire, where he would be safer amongst his tenantry than at Court. By this time the Duke’s career must have thoroughly discredited him. He had been the dupe and tool of the Lord Admiral. One day he had been the chief confederate of the detested Northumberland, a few days later he had sat in judgement upon him and had joined in sending him to the block. Lingard says that he had given Mary repeated assurances of his attachment to her person and of his approbation of her marriage. Apparently he entered upon this contest with his sovereign without a thought as to the effect that his conduct might have upon the fate of his daughter, who was still a prisoner in the Tower. Three months before, she had been tried and condemned to death by a special commission*

* The Lord Mayor, Sir Thomas White, whose Trust is so well known in Leicester, was one of the Commissioners, and sat at the trial.
sitting at the Guild Hall, but up to this time there had been no sign of any intention to carry out the sentence.

Wyatt and his friends were unable to put off the outbreak of the insurrection beyond the 25th of January, and on that day he issued his proclamation against the coming of the Spaniards, and set up his standard at Rochester. In a few hours the news of the rising in Kent was known in London and the neighbourhood. The Duke was still at his house at Sheen, close to Richmond, where a week before he had been seriously ill. On Thursday evening he sent for John Bowyer,* one of his household, who was busy as his solicitor, attending to his cases in the law courts. The message reached Bowyer so late at night that he was unable to present himself at Sheen till early on Friday morning the 26th, when the Duke directed him to ride back to London, and fetch him 100 marks which he had there in his keeping. Apparently so long as the Duke was left to himself he was in no hurry to move. In the meantime, the Chancellor's suspicions had been aroused, and though the Queen was unwilling to order the Duke's arrest, she sent him a message requiring his attendance at Court. The officer arrived just as Bowyer had received his directions. The Duke made a ready reply to the Queen's messenger. "'Marry,' quoth he, 'I was coming to her grace. Ye may see I am booted and spurred

* See S. P. Dom. Mary, Vol. XIII., No. 26.—The Examination of John Bowyer, prisoner in the Fleet [prison], before Sir Thomas White and John Throckmorton, Esquires, Masters of the [Court of] Requests, . . . the xiiiijth day of June, 1558. Bowyer says, "'I was put to the Duke of Suffolk's service about twelve years past, who appointed me first to be clerk of his kitchen, and then his solicitor, and sometime his secretary, and of whom I received the yearly wages of five marks, until the Duke's apprehension, and since I have served no man, but continued Fellow of the Inner Temple." Sir Thomas White was the late Lord Mayor and the Court of Requests was a court for the recovery of small debts. The mark was equal to 13 shillings and 4 pence, and money was worth then about eight times what it is now.
ready to ride, and I will break my fast and go.' So he gave the messenger a reward, and caused him to be made to drink."* The Duke had suddenly come to the parting of the ways. He decided to throw in his lot with Wyatt and the insurgents. Bowyer was already in the saddle and on the point of starting when a hurried message was delivered to him to meet the Duke with the money down in Leicestershire, and to go at once to Lord Thomas and Lord John Grey in the Minories, and tell them to leave London at six o'clock that evening after dark. The Duke himself rode off by way of St. Albans to Lutterworth, with such of his household as he could get together on the spur of the moment.

Lord Thomas Grey and his brother started with Bowyer at seven o'clock that evening, but instead of taking the direct road by St. Albans to Lutterworth, they left London by the Moorgate, and keeping along the low road, to avoid the watch at Barnett, between 9 and 10 o'clock they reached Mr. Wroth's house at Cheshunt. Mr. Wroth and Mr. Harrington came out of the house and talked with them for sometime as they sat on their horses, but Bowyer did not hear what was said, as he and his companions "gave them place to talk." In the end Wroth and Harrington declined to ride with them at such a short notice, but they sent a servant to guide them across the country towards St. Albans, which they would pass through about midnight. Of course they had not come a dozen miles out of their way on this winter's night without an object. The Princess Elizabeth was at this time living at Ashridge Park near Berkempstead, where Harrington's wife was in her household. He afterwards lay in the tower eleven months for having conveyed a letter to the Princess, probably from the Duke of Suffolk, and this

* Chronicle of Queen Jane, &c., 37.
clandestine visit to Wroth's house was either to give Harrington the letter, or to learn the news from Ashridge Park. The party rode on another thirty miles to Stoney Stratford, before they baited their horses. At Towcester they expected to have come up with the Duke but he had risen early and ridden off before they got there, and they did not join him till later in the day at Lutterworth where they finished their ride of a hundred miles.

The next day, Sunday, they all rode to Bradgate, where they apparently rested, for Bowyer did nothing but write to Mr. Palmer of Kegworth, asking him to join them. Mr. Cave a doctor of civil laws was closeted with the Duke drawing up a letter to be sent to the Queen.

On Monday, more letters were written and despatched, and one was sent with a copy of the proclamation "to the Township of Northampton to have themselves in readiness," and Rampton, the Duke's secretary started for Coventry, to ascertain what support the Duke might rely upon finding there. Coventry was really the key of his position; so long as the castles at Warwick and Kenilworth were occupied by the Queen's troops, the insurrection could make no headway in the country round. The first step of the insurgents was necessarily an attempt to occupy the walled town of Coventry as an advanced post facing these two castles. A handful of men would probably have sufficed to have seized it on Saturday. Up to this day, Monday, the Duke and his companions had appeared only in the character of civilians. The Duke seems to have thought that the insurrection would in no way disturb the ordinary course of affairs, for he sent off to-day by Berridge the carrier, a letter to his servants at Sheen, directing them to send down all his plate to Bradgate. To-day they became soldiers, and as many of the tenants as
Nichols Vol. II, PE I. 387, Fransis, one of Baggard's of the King's commissioners for the surrender of the religion houses.
could be mustered, together with the servants of the household who had ridden down from London, amounting all told to about three score men, put on such armour as was stored in the house at Bradgate. In the evening they rode over to Leicester and took possession of the Castle and the Newark, and after supper the Duke made the rounds to see that all the gates were shut and fastened. He evidently feared a sudden attack. The Earl of Huntingdon was the only person likely to give rise to such fears, and Bowyer was accordingly sent out in the evening to enquire whether he had been heard of in the neighbourhood. The Earl was the Lord Lieutenant of the counties of Warwick and Leicester. Six months before, he had taken up arms to support the claim of Lady Jane and had been arrested with the Duke of Northumberland at Cambridge, and had only recently been released from the Tower. He was inclined to the reformed religion and he spoke strongly to the Queen against her Spanish marriage. His intimate acquaintance with the county must have made him well aware that there was no general feeling in favour of the insurrection and that the Duke was the last man in the world who was likely to guide it to a successful end.

On Tuesday the Duke's proclamation was read in public at Leicester, Melton, and elsewhere, "but few there were that would willingly hearken thereto. He stood by in Leicester, when by his commandment the proclamation was there made against the Queen's marriage with the prince of Spain, etc. Master [Thomas] Davenport, then mayor of that town, "adherent of the Queen and the old religion," said to him, "My lord, I trust your grace meaneth no hurt to the Queen's majesty." "No," saith he, "master mayor," laying his hand upon his sword, "he that would [do] her any hurt, I would this sword were through
his heart; for she is the mercifullest prince, as I have truly found her, that ever reigned, in whose defence I am, and will be, ready to die at her foot."

Though the authorities at Leicester were in no position to offer any opposition to his taking military possession of the town by occupying the Castle and the Newark, it is plain that he met with no active support.

Rampton, whom he had sent to Coventry the day before, would be back by now with his report of the reception he had met with there. At this time the town was ruled with a very heavy hand by a small knot of the wealthier people, whose proceedings had raised a strong feeling of dissatisfaction and discontent. On his arrival, Rampton went first to the house of an old friend, who would, however, have nothing to do with the rising. Then his servant brought in Richard Aslyn and one Francis, and Rampton showed them his lordship's proclamation against the coming in of the Spaniards. They were certain that the whole town would support the Duke, with the exception of the magistrates and the council, and they were so few that they could be easily overpowered. His visitors were very pressing that he should there and then lead them, and 30 or 40 more they could find in the town, to suddenly seize Warwick and Kenilworth Castles, "which occasion and opportunity," says the more prudent secretary, "I omitted and fell into talk of other matter." Then two men, Glover and Clerk, came in. They had just arrived with others from London. "Then Clerk told me that my lord's grace had done evil in one point, for by

* Holinshed quoted in "Queen Jane and Queen Mary," 123. There are several other indications besides this reply to the Mayor, which compel us to suspect that the Duke had a very imperfect idea of the danger and of the probable results of taking arms against his sovereign. He had been so leniently dealt with for his share in one insurrection that he was far too ready to stir up another.
the way, at Towcester, he had, coming now down into the
country, spoken openly that he had not passing forty pounds in
his purse, for, saith he, that may be a discouraging to men that
peradventure shall look for money at his hands."  "Tush,"
saith Glover, "let not my lord care for money, for if he will
come hither, there will be money enough for him.  I know he
shall not want money.  I know it.  It is unhappy.  It could
never have come worse to me than at this time, for I was not
worse provided of money a great whiles.  But let me alone, say
to my lord he shall want no money."  Then they all pressed
Rampton to send for the Duke at once.  But the secretary's
servant, Burdett, objected that he had not slept well the night
before, and as Glover said he could pass him through the gates
any hour of the day or night, it was arranged, much to their
dissatisfaction, that Burdett should sleep a time and then be
gone, but when he was ready it was found that the gates were
shut for the night, and it was decided that he must wait till the
next day, Tuesday.  Burdett was to have carried a letter from
the Duke to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, at his seat, at Coughton,
in the south-west corner of Warwickshire, but apparently it was
never delivered.*  Glover's confidence in himself was still
unabated.  He said, "it might happen that upon [receipt of] the
Queen's letters the Council of the town may give a sudden order
[to shut the gates].  And yet there is no mistrusting that, for I
will so listen and understand of the doing of the Mayor and his
brethren, who indeed do presently this [Tuesday] morning sit
hard in council, that they shall go about no such thing but I will
fore know it."  Then it was suggested that if the Duke's
proclamation were at once published, it would immediately

* Throckmorton was afterwards charged with conspiring with Wyatt,
and the jury who acquitted him were imprisoned and heavily fined for
doing so.
receive the support of the common people, but Rampton enquired what would come of the disorder which must follow. It was answered by Clerk "that the undoubted spoil and peradventure destruction of many [of] the rich men would ensue. Whereunto he required me for God's sake to have respect." Then it was agreed that Burdett should ride over to Warwick and fetch Hudson, one of the garrison there and a confederate of the secretary's, so that they might advise with him how they might seize the Castle there, but Burdett brought word back that the Earl of Huntingdon had arrived and had put Hudson under arrest. "Then was it thought most requisite by Glover and the rest that I should send my man to hasten my lord, whom I sent forth, to satisfy them withall. And afterwards they required me to go myself to my lord, and so I took my horse and departed the town."*

The day was getting on when Rampton reached Leicester after his ride of twenty five miles from Coventry. The consideration of his report and the mid-day meal of the troop made it afternoon before the Duke, in full armour, was able to start at the head of three score horsemen, which was all he had been able to muster, to try his fortune at Coventry. It must have been getting dusk when he arrived within a quarter of a mile of the walls; he sent Burdett forward to find out what had happened since he and Rampton had left the town in the morning. He returned with the report that the gates were shut. The Earl of Huntingdon had reached Warwick the day before and


"I will so practise on Benedick, that in despite of his quick wit and queasy stomach, he shall fall in love with Beatrice."—Much Ado About Nothing. II., I.
had come over to Coventry with his force; he put the
town in a state of defence, and proclaimed the Duke a
traitor. There appears to have been some slight skirmish
outside the walls, in which the Earl captured some of the
Duke's men,* but darkness would soon put an end to the
encounter. It was plain now to everybody that the insurrec-
tion had failed. The Duke much dismayed rode off to
Astley Castle, about six miles north of Coventry, the old
seat of his family. Here he divided what money he had
amongst his followers and bade everyone shift for himself.
They all put off their armour and Lord Thomas rode off
towards Wales in Bowyer's coat. The Duke was at first
inclined to reach the coast, but he and Lord John were
probably too ill to make the attempt. Dugdale says that
the Duke "put himself under the trust of one Underwood,
as 'tis said, a keeper of his park here at Astley, who hid
him for some days in a hollow tree there, standing about
two bow-shoot, south-westwards from the church, but being
promised a reward, betrayed him." One report has it, that
after remaining in the tree for two nights, he could endure
the cold no longer and when the soldiers came to arrest
him he was warming himself at the fire in the keeper's
cottage. He and Lord John were taken to Coventry where
they were kept in custody for several days in the house of
Alderman Warren. As soon as the Lord Lieutenant was
assured that the country was quiet and that he might safely
withdraw his troops, he escorted them with 300 horse, up to
London, and on Shrove Tuesday, the sixth of February,
lodged them both in the Tower.

Lord Thomas Grey got as far as Oswestry, where he
was taken through the folly of his servant, "that had forgot

* Queen Jane and Queen Mary, 41, 60, 124.
his cap-case with money behind in his chamber one morning at his inn, and coming for it again, upon examination what he should be, . . . . was with his master stayed, taken and brought up to London," about three weeks after the arrival of his brother.

The bitter feeling between the partisans for and against the Spanish match may be inferred from an incident which the French and Spanish ambassadors both thought sufficiently important to mention in their despatches. A crowd of children assembled in a meadow, divided themselves into two bands to play at the Queen against Wyatt. Several were wounded on both sides and the boy who personated the Prince of Spain was nearly hanged outright by his companions and was cut down only just in time to save his life. When the Queen heard of the contest she ordered the ringleaders of the urchins to be whipped and locked up for several days.*

* Tytler, II., 331.
CHAPTER X.

The Queen had changed much since the Duke was last a prisoner in the Tower. She had not only made up her mind to marry Philip of Spain and to restore the Papal authority, but under Spanish influence her good nature and her humanity had quite disappeared. Immediately the insurrection was suppressed gibbets were set up at every gate and in the main streets of the City. "On the 14th and 15th of February there was condemned [to be hung] of the rebels to the number of 400 or thereabouts. All the prisons of London were so full that they were fain to keep the poorest sort by eighties on a heap in churches." The under-sheriff of Leicestershire was hanged in S. Paul’s Churchyard for carrying letters from the Duke of Suffolk.

During all these months Lady Jane had remained a prisoner and was lodged in the house of Partridge, an officer who resided in the Tower.* The writer of the "Chronicle of Queen Jane and Queen Mary," to which we have so frequently referred, gives us the following account of what took place. "On Tuesday the 29th of August, I dined at Partridge’s house with my

* Possibly an official of the Mint, which at that time was in the Tower.
lady Jane, being there present, she sitting at the board's end, Partridge, his wife, Jacob my lady's gentlewoman, and her man. She commanding Partridge and me to put on our caps, amongst our communication at the dinner, this was to be noted: after she had once or twice drunk to me and bade me heartily welcome, saith she, 'The Queen's Majesty is a merciful Princess; I beseech God she may long continue, and send His bountiful grace upon her.' After that we fell in [discourse of] matters of religion. 'I pray you,' quoth she, 'have they [the] Mass in London?' 'Yea, forsooth,' quoth I, 'in some places.' 'It may be so,' quoth she, 'it is not so strange as the sudden conversion of the late Duke [of Northumberland]; for who would have thought he would have so done?' It was answered her, 'perchance he thereby hoped to have had his pardon.' 'Pardon?' quoth she, 'woe worth him! he hath brought me and our stock in most miserable calamity and misery by his exceeding ambition. But for the answering that he hoped for life by his turning, though other men be of that opinion, I utterly am not;'* for what man is there living, I pray you, although he had been innocent, that would hope of life in that case; being in the field against the Queen in person as a general, and after his taking, so hated and evil spoken of by the commons? and at his coming into prison so wondered at † as the like was never heard by any man's time. But what will ye more? like as his life was wicked and full of dissimulation, so was his end thereafter. I pray God, I, nor no friend of mine, die so. Should I, who [am] young and in my

* Meaning, "though other men may approve of such conduct I utterly do not."

† Gazed at with aversion. Regarded with great disapprobation. "The supposition of the lady's death Will quench the wonder of her infamy." —Much Ado About Nothing.
few years, forsake my faith for the love of life? Nay, God forbid, much more he should have not, whose fatal course, although he had lived his just number of years, could not have long continued.' But life was sweet it appeared. God be merciful to us, for he saith, 'Whoso denieth him before men, He will not know him in his Father's Kingdom.' With this and much like talk the dinner passed away; which ended, I thanked her ladyship that she would witsafe* [to] accept me in her company, and she thanked me likewise and said I was welcome. She thanked Partridge also for bringing me to dinner. 'Madam,' said he, 'we were somewhat bold, not knowing that your ladyship dined below until we found your ladyship there. And so Partridge and I departed.'" In the February following this was all changed. The day after the capture of Wyatt, the Spanish ambassador wrote home, "the Duke of Suffolk, Lord Thomas Grey, and Sir James Crofts have written to ask for mercy, but they will find none; their heads will fall, and so will Courtenay's and Elizabeth's. I have told the Queen that she must be especially prompt with these two." The same day, Thursday, Feckenham, the Queen's confessor, was sent to Lady Jane to tell her that she and her husband were to die the next morning; afterwards their execution was postponed till the following Monday, though Lady Jane had told Feckenham she had given up all thoughts of the world, and she would take her death patiently whenever her majesty desired. The night before she died she wrote a pathetic letter to her father exhorting him to stand fast in his faith, and also a few sentences of advice to her sister, on the blank leaf of a New Testament. On the morrow her husband died first. She saw him from her window as he was led out of the gates to the scaffold, and again when unintentionally his corpse was brought back in the cart by Partridge's

* Withsave. To condescend.
house, a sight to her no less than death. "By this time was there a scaffold made upon the green over against the White Tower for the said Lady Jane to die upon. The said lady, being nothing abashed, neither with fear of her own death, which then approached, neither with the sight of the dead carcase of her husband, when he was brought into the chapel, came forth, the lieutenant leading her, in the same gown wherein she was arraigned, her countenance nothing abashed, neither her eyes anything moistened with tears, although her two gentlewomen, mistress Elizabeth Tylney and mistress Ellen, wonderfully wept, with a book in her hand, whereon she prayed all the way till she came to the said scaffold. First, when she mounted upon the scaffold, she said to the people standing thereabout; "Good people, I am come hither to die, and by law I am condemned to the same. The fact indeed, against the Queen's Highness was unlawful, and the consenting thereto by me; but touching the procurement and desire thereof by me or on my half, I do wash my hands thereof in innocency, before God, and the face of you, good Christian people, this day," and therewith she wrung her hands, in which she had her book. Then she said, "I pray you all good christian people, to bear me witness that I die a true christian woman, and that I look to be saved by none other mean, but only by the mercy of God in the merits of the blood of his only Son Jesus Christ, and I confess, when I did

* * The writer of the Chronicle, who no doubt was present at the execution, says that Lady Jane wore the same dress as at her trial at Guildhall. He describes it as a black gown of cloth, turned down: the cape lined with fesse [light blue] velvet, and edged about with the same; a French hood, all black, with a black byllyment, a black velvet book hanging before her and another book in her hand open. The French hood may be seen in any of the female portraits of the period. The front was flat over the forehead, the sides covered the ears close to the face and the edges were often ornamented with pearls. The byllyment or habilement was in this case probably a lace trimming of the hood.
know the word of God I neglected the same, loved myself and
the world, and therefore this plague or punishment is happily
and worthily happened unto me for my sins; and yet I thank
God of His goodness that he hath given me a time and respite
to repent. And now, good people, while I am alive, I pray you
to assist me with your prayers.” And then, kneeling down, she
turned to Feckenham, saying, “Shall I say this psalm?” And
he said, “Yea.” Then she said the psalm of Miserere mei Deus*
in English, in most devout manner, to the end. Then she stood
up, and gave her maiden, Mistress Tilney, her gloves and hand-
kerchief, and her book to Master Bruges, the lieutenant’s
brother; forthwith she untied her gown. The hangman went
to her to help her off therewith; then she desired him to let her
alone, turning towards her two gentlewomen, who helped her off
therewith, and also with her head-dress and neckerchief, giving
her a fair handkerchief to knit about her eyes. Then the hang-
man kneeled down and asked her forgiveness, whom she forgave
most willingly. Then he willed her to stand upon the straw,
which doing, she saw the block. Then she said, “I pray you
despatch me quickly.” Then she kneeled down saying, “Will
you take it off before I lay me down?” And the hangman
answered her, “No, Madam,” She tied the kerchier about her
eyes; then feeling for the block, said, “What shall I do? Where
is it?” One of the standers by guiding her thereunto, she laid
her head down upon the block, and stretched forth her body
and said, “Lord, into Thy hands I commend my spirit!” And
so she ended.”†

The book is supposed to be the Manual of English Prayers
preserved in the British Museum, in which are written three
notes, one by Guildford Dudley and two by Lady Jane; one of
these last is addressed to her father and was evidently written

* Psalm LI. † Chronicle 55.
shortly before she died. "The Lord comfort your grace, and that in His word, wherein all creatures only are to be comforted. And though it hath pleased God to take away ij of your children, yet think not, I most humbly beseech your grace, that you have lost them, but trust that we, by leasing this mortal life, have won an immortal life. And I for my part, as I have honored your grace in this life, will pray for you in another life. Your grace's humble daughter,

Jane Duddeley.

The Duke had been brought into the Tower two days before his daughter died. A few days afterwards, on the 17th February, he was taken by water to Westminster and arraigned in Westminster Hall. He pleaded that it was no treason for a peer of the realm to raise his power and make proclamation only to avoid strangers out of the realm, and the sergeants-at-law standing by, when he appealed to them, could not contradict him. It was then laid to his charge that he opposed the Queen's Lieutenant with 200 armed men, which was treason. He replied "But I met him indeed but with fifty men, or thereabouts, and would not have shrunken from him if I had had fewer;" and so he confessed he was guilty of treason. He said his brother, Lord Thomas Grey, "had persuaded him rather to fly into his country than to abide [at court], saying that it was to be feared he should be put again into the Tower; where being in his country, and amongst friends and tenants, who durst fetch him?" At his setting out from the Tower he went out stoutly and cheerfully, but on his return he landed at the Water Gate with a countenance very heavy and pensive, desiring all men to pray for him.

Three days before Lord John Grey and others had been tried at Westminster and condemned to death.*

* He was allowed to ride to Westminster as his gout made it impossible for him to walk.
On the twenty-third of February the Duke was beheaded on Tower Hill. The writer of the chronicle was an eye-witness of what passed inside the Tower, but he apparently was not present at the execution. He says the Duke's words on coming to the scaffold were these, "or much like." "Good people, this day I am come hither to die, being one whom the law hath justly condemned, and one who hath no less deserved, for my disobedience against the Queen's Highness, of whom I do humbly axe forgiveness, and I trust she doth and will forgive me." Then Weston, the catholic priest, whose attendance had been thrust upon him, just as the Queen's confessor had been thrust upon Lady Jane, said, "My lord, her grace hath forgiven and prayeth for you." Then said the Duke, "I beseech you all, good people, to let me be an example to you all for obedience to the Queen and the magistrates, for the contrary thereof hath brought me [to this end]. And also I shall most heartily desire you all to bear me witness that I do die a faithful and true christian, believing to be saved by none other but only by Almighty God, through the passion of his son Jesus Christ. And now I pray you to pray with me." Then he kneeled down and Weston with him, and said the psalm *Miserere mei Deus,* and *In te, Domine, speravi,* the Duke saying one verse and Weston the other. Which done, he did put off his gown and his doublet." After tying the handkerchief over his eyes, he held up his hands to heaven, and lay down with his head upon the block, which at one stroke, was stricken off by the executioner. And so after all his weakness and folly he was found steadfast at the last.

A day or two before the execution of the Duke, his brother, Lord Thomas Grey, had been lodged in the Tower. At his trial he asserted, "that [as sure as] God should judge his soul, he

* Psalm LXXI.
had sought no other end in what he had done, than to keep the Spaniards out of the kingdom, and if that was high treason, his only hope was in God's mercy." He was executed seven weeks afterwards and his body was buried, without any stone to mark his grave, in the churchyard of All Hallows, Barking, close to Tower Hill,* his head was apparently taken for public exposure.

Previous to Wyatt's insurrection, Lords Thomas and John Grey and their relative George Medley had been living for a twelvemonth in what had been years before, the Convent of the Lesser Sisters of S. Francis in the Minories. The convent had been granted by Edward VI. to the Duke of Suffolk and remained in the possession of the family till 1568. It afterwards was the property of the Earls of Dartmouth. The church of the convent became the parish church of the Little Trinity in the Minories, and contained a vault in which were interred several members of the Dartmouth family. Some years ago, when the Earl was examining the condition of the vault, he came upon what appeared to be a bundle of canvas, which, when it was opened, was found to contain the head of a man who had probably been beheaded, for one of the vertebrae was cut clean through. The shape of the head and face, the arrangement and colour of the hair of the beard, and its apparent age all go to confirm the supposition that it is the head of Lord Thomas Grey. We have no record of how the body of the Duke was disposed of, but considering the great interest his widow had with the Queen it

*Machyn's account reads, (61) he was "bered at Allalow's, Barkyng, and his hed," and there he leaves the sentence unfinished. According to the form he ordinarily used in recording an execution, the sentence should have concluded, "and his head was set upon a poll on London bridge or one of the gates of the City or elsewhere."—See Trans. of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society, Vol. II., 1864, 256. On this and several other points I am greatly indebted to the assistance of W. H. St. John Hope, Esq., the Secretary of the Royal Society of Antiquaries.
Holy Trinity, Minories, now attach to S. Peter's. Algate, Vicar. Rev. I. F. Marr, Vicar.
is very improbable that his remains were subjected to the indignity of public exposure.*

Lord John Grey was still a prisoner in the Tower, and it was not till the middle of the year, in June, that his trial concluded and he was condemned to die. He had married a daughter of Sir Anthony Browne, whose family were staunch Roman Catholics. They stood so high in favour at Court that, in the distribution of honours to celebrate her marriage with Philip, the Queen raised one of the sons to the Peerage as Viscount Montague. Through the influence of the family, and according to Holinshed, “through the painful travail and diligent suit of Lady Grey, his wife,” Lord John at last obtained his pardon and was released from the Tower.

* It was not at all unusual, when the heads of persons who had been executed were set up in public at the gates of the City or elsewhere, for their friends to carry them off. The conclusion of the account in the Chronicle of the execution of Sir Thomas Wyatt reads, “which his head, as is reported, remained not [on the stake near S. James’s Church,] ten days unstolen away.” Lady Jane Grey lies buried by the side of her husband, to the north of the altar, in the church of S. Peter ad Vincula, within the Tower.
CHAPTER XI.

Of the Grey family very few members now survived. At their head stood Frances Duchess of Suffolk. She continued the family leaning to the reformed religion, and was in consequence subjected to some petty persecution by Bishop Gardiner. This did not prevent the Queen, in the goodness of her heart, from showing her many favours and regranting her, for her life, the estates of Beaumanor and Groby, which had belonged to her husband. A year after she became a widow, she married Mr. Adrian Stokes who held the office of master of the horse in her household.* With her husband and her two daughters, Lady Catherine and Lady Mary Grey, she resided first on one and then on another of the estates which she held for her life, at Knebworth, Astley and Beaumanor. She outlived the Queen by a twelvemonth and was buried in S. Edmund's Chapel, Westminster Abbey, with great pomp, as Machyn describes, "with a great banner of arms, and eight bannerolles, and a hearse, and eight dozen pensils, eight dozen escutcheons, and two heralds of arms, master Garter and master Clarenceux, and many mourners."

* They had one child, a daughter, who died in infancy. An engraving, containing portraits of the Duchess and her second husband, is well known.
Of Lord John Grey we hear but little during the remaining years of the reign of Queen Mary. He probably continued to live in the Minories with his relation George Medley. His estates had been forfeited to the Crown on his attainder, but a year or two afterwards he and his wife seem to have possessed some property, for in consideration of their income having been reduced by recent legislation connected with tithes, &c., he was granted the reversion of what had previously been his property, at Breedon and Kirby Bellars and elsewhere.* With the accession of Elizabeth, better fortune awaited him. He wrote to Cecil complaining of his embarrassed circumstances, and in April, 1559, the Queen made him a grant of two manors in Somersetshire, and of a house and lands at Pirgo in Essex, where he resided for the rest of his days.

In the Grey family the men had no monopoly of misfortune. Lady Catherine, the niece of Lord John, had, in 1553, been betrothed to Lord Herbert, but his father, the Earl of Pembroke, was so alarmed at the risk incurred by his son’s marriage with one of the royal family, that he insisted on his immediately obtaining a release from his engagement. Eight years afterwards Lady Catherine was attached to the Court as a Maid of Honour to the Queen. One spring morning, when Her Majesty rode out to hunt in the neighbourhood of Eltham, Lady Catherine Grey and Lady Jane Seymour took advantage of her absence to leave the palace of Westminster through the orchard, and to walk along the sands on the river-side to the house of the Earl of Hertford, in Cannon Row.† Lady Jane went for a priest, who secretly married the Earl and Lady Catherine. After the marriage, the Earl conducted his wife and his sister to the steps

* Not Bardon, as Nichols says. The Crown had let the properties on lease for twenty-one years.—See Originalia Roll, 385 [2 and 3 P. & M. 110] &c.

† See page 40.
on the river-bank at the back of his house, where he put them into a boat, and they returned to the palace in time for dinner, probably about eleven o'clock in the morning. For some months the marriage was concealed, but at last rumours of what had happened reached the ears of the Queen. The guilty pair were at once sent to the Tower, where a month afterwards their son was born. The strictest orders were given that they were not to see each other, but love laughs at jailers, and a year and a-half afterwards another son was born. This aggravation of their offence so exasperated Her Majesty that her anger knew no bounds. She inflicted, through the Star Chamber, a fine of fifteen thousand pounds upon the Earl.* How long they might have lain in the Tower it is impossible to say if the plague had not broken out in London, where it carried off more than a thousand persons every week. The Queen ordered the removal of Lady Catherine and her children to the custody of her uncle Lord John Grey, at Pirgo, and her husband to the house of his mother, at Hanworth, in Middlesex.

Separated from her husband, and lying under the severe displeasure of the Queen, her health and spirits, never of the best, totally failed her. In vain her uncle wrote to Sir William Cecil, the Secretary of State, describing her piteous condition, and beseeching him to intercede with Her Majesty. "I assure you, Cousin Cecil, the thought and care she taketh for want of Her Highness's favour, pines her away; before God I speak it, if it come not the sooner, she will not live long thus, she eateth not above six morsels in the meal. If I say unto her, 'Good Madam, eat somewhat to support yourself;' she falls a-weeping and goeth up to her chamber; if I ask her what the cause is she useth herself in that sort, she answers me, 'Alas, uncle, what a life is this to me, thus to live in the Queen's displeasure;"

* Equal to more than £100,000 at the present time.
Querries 8th Series, Vol VII. 1895

[6th Series] his portrait 366-437 VII

[Lady Katherine] her biography VII. 171 (61)

83, 342, 422, VIII 9. 82. 233, XII 65

[Lady Mary] alias Keys, her biography

3. 301. 457, XII 96

Sir Owen Hopton, Cockfield Hall, Yoxford

Suffolk. A letter in the Gentleman's Magazine 1823 cites a M.S. by Reync in the College of Arms stating, "There be buried in the church + chancel of Yoxford the bowels of ye Lady Katherine, wife of Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford. Writer in 1823 transcribes the Yoxford register, "the Lady Katherine, in Feb 1557" [1538 N.S.]. Suffolk M.S.S. mentions "Lady Katherine's chamber, wherein she lay is a very fair room." Yoxford 262. 766. Her pennon was hanging in the chancel 1574 + doubtless much later.

S.S. E. of Bury St. Edmunds, No. 32. Edwin Hill points out in a letter to me 28. IX. 99 Cockfield Hall in the parish of Yoxford is near Saxmundham.
but for my lord and my children I would to God that I were buried.’” An abject petition from the culprit failed to soften the heart of Her Majesty. Her case was made worse by the meddling of an outsider. Cecil writes to one of his foreign correspondents, “here is fallen out a troublesome fond matter. John Hales [who had been a clerk in the Court of Chancery in the reign of Henry VIII.], hath secretly made a book in the time of the last Parliament wherein he hath taken upon him to discuss no small matter, viz., the title to the Crown after the Queen’s Majesty. Having confuted and rejected the line of the Scottish Queen, and made the line of Lady Frances, mother to the Lady Catherine [Grey], only next and lawful. He is committed to the Fleet for this boldness. Besides this, John Hales hath procured sentences and counsels of lawyers from beyond seas to be written in maintenance of the Earl of Hertford’s marriage. My lord John Grey is in trouble also for it. . . . This dealing of his offendeth the Queen’s Majesty very much.”

To add to poor Lady Catherine’s troubles her uncle died on the 26th of November, 1564. Cecil writes, “Lord John Gray died five days past at Pirgo, of whom his friends report that he died of thought,* but his gout was enough to have ended his life.” A month afterwards he writes: “The Queen’s displeasure continueth still toward my Lord Hertford and my Lady Catherine.” After the death of her uncle, Lady Catherine was committed for a time to the charge of Mr. Petre at Ingatestone, and afterwards to Sir John Wentworth at Gosfield. For the last fourteen weeks of her life she was in the charge of Sir Owen Hopton, at Cockfield Hall, near Bury S. Edmunds, where she died at the end of January, 1567.

One who stood by her death-bed has left us a pathetic account of her last hours. “All night she continued in prayer,

* Used at this time in the sense of melancholy.
saying of psalms and hearing them read; ... divers times she would rehearse the prayers appointed for the Visitation of the Sick, ... and the prayers appointed to be said at the hours of death. ... All the time of her fainting she would lift up her hands and eyes unto heaven and say 'Father of Heaven, for Thy Son Christ's sake, have mercy upon me.' ... And about vi. or vii. of the clock in the morning she desired those that were about her to cause Sir Owen Hoptone to come unto her, and when he came he said unto her, 'Good madam, how do you?' and she said, 'Even now going to God, Sir Owen, even as fast as I can; and I pray you and the rest that be about me to bear witness with me that I die a true christian, and that I believe to be saved by the death of Christ, and that I am one that he hath shed his most precious blood for; and I ask God and all the world forgiveness, and I forgive all the world.' Then she said to Sir Owen Hoptone, 'I beseech you promise me one thing, that you yourself, with your own mouth, will make this request unto the Queen's Majesty, which shall be the last suit and request that ever I shall make unto her Highness, even from the mouth of a dead woman; that she would forgive her displeasure towards me ... and that she would be good unto my children, and not to impute my fault unto them, whom I give wholly unto Her Majesty; for in my life they have had few friends, and fewer shall they have when I am dead, except Her Majesty be gracious unto them; and I desire Her Highness to be good to my Lord, for I know this my death will be heavy news unto him, that her Grace will be so good as to send liberty to glad his sorrowful heart withall.' Then she said unto Sir Owen, 'I shall further desire you to deliver from me certain commendations and Tokens unto my Lord,' and calling unto her woman, she said, 'Give me the box wherein my wedding Ring is,' and when she had it she opened it, and took out a
Reliquary - April 1900. Remarks on a carved oak chest of Lady Catherine Grey, at Cockerfield Hall, by Fox ford, Saffyrick, by the editor, W. L. Rutter. He thinks that before residing at Cockerfield she was in the church of Sir William Petre, probably Leighstone, Essex, Knight. Popular Hist. of Eng. III quoted a letter from the Vicar of Foxford, "Here [at Cockerfield] her great chest with the Royal arms are those of France. Has the chest descended to her from her grandmother?"
The Craik's Romance of the Peerage.

The inscription is in Latin, given full in N. Q. above.

"Viva tandem, quia vivere concordia, resurgent simul."

J. Strickland, Lives of Tudor Princesses records this tradition at Foxford that Lady Katherine's body was removed to her grandson, William Seymour, 1st Duke of Somerset.
ring with a pointed diamond in it, and said, 'Here, Sir Owen, deliver this unto my Lord, this is the Ring that I received of him when I give myself unto him, and gave him my faith.'

'What say you, Madam,' said Sir Owen, 'was this your Wedding Ring?' 'No, Sir Owen,' she said, 'this was the Ring of my assurance unto my Lord, and there is my Wedding Ring,' taking another Ring all of gold out of the box, saying, 'Deliver this also unto my Lord, and pray him even as I have been to him, as I take God to witness I have been a true and faithful Wife, that he would be a loving and natural Father to my children, unto whom I give the same blessing that God gave unto Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.' And then she took out another Ring with a Death's head, and said, 'This shall be the last Token unto my Lord that ever I shall send him; it is the picture of myself. . . . Then immediately perceiving her end to be near, she entered into Prayer, and said, 'O Lord! into Thy hands I commend my soul, Lord Jesus receive my spirit:' . . . and so she yielded unto God her meek spirit at nine of the clock on the morning of the 27th of January, 1567.'*

The Earl was not released till three years after the death of his wife, and it was not till the accession of James that he was able to establish the legitimacy of his marriage. He afterwards took to himself a second and a third wife, but neither of them bore him children. After holding important offices of State, at the age of eighty-three years, he died and was buried in the tomb of the Seymours in Salisbury Cathedral. As was fitting, the remains of his first wife were buried with him, and her effigy in marble reclines by his side, surmounted by this inscription: "Having experienced the vicissitudes of mutable fortune, they, as in the harmony of their living union, here at last rest together."

* Ellis.—Original Letters. 2nd series., Vol. II., 290.
The sad career and death of Lady Catherine Grey did not exhaust the misfortunes in store for her family. Her younger sister, Lady Mary, was not twenty years old when, in the summer of 1566, Cecil wrote to one of his correspondents that an unhappy and monstrous chance had fallen out, which had greatly offended the Queen. Lady Mary Grey had secretly in the palace itself, got herself married to Mr. Thomas Keyes, the Sergeant Porter.* He was the biggest person about the Court and she was the least. Her account of the marriage was that one July evening after supper in her chamber with Mrs. Arundell and two of Lady Stafford's daughters, she slipped out and went to the Council Chamber where, doubtless by appointment, she found Jones the Sergeant's servant, waiting for her. He fetched his master and, the lady having sent for her maid Frances Goldwell, they all went down together to the Sergeant's chamber, where a priest was waiting. She describes him as "apparelled in a short gown, being old, fat, and of short stature. He had a book of Common Prayer, and read the prayers of matrimony by the light of a candle. The Sergeant gave her two little rings, and also one with four rubies and a diamond, and a chain with a little hanging bottle of mother-of-pearl. She went back to her chamber, where she found Mrs. Arundell waiting for her."

The Sergeant was at once sent to the Fleet Prison, where filth and bad diet doubtless shortened his days. Lady Mary was committed to the custody first of Mr. Hawtrey at the "Checkers," and then to her mother, and probably remained with her till the death of the Duchess. Afterwards she was sent to Sir Thomas Gresham's, where she was evidently a very

* He is sometimes called Martin Keyes. He filled an office about the Court somewhat similar to that of a Gentleman Usher of the present day. He was Sergeant Porter of Dover Castle. The lady was probably deformed.
Hyde, W. Money (Newbury, Blackett.)

Mainz, 25. VI. 1. 1553

Instab. Period: Hampshire, 1570

There were considerable disturbances in Northampton, Derby, etc.

D. Kelsie, Heleneck, etc.
unwelcome guest. The Knight made repeated and urgent applications to Cecil to be relieved of his charge, "for the quietness of his poor wife." In another letter he states that he had informed Lady Mary of the death of her husband, which "she taketh greviously." The lady herself made frequent appeals to be taken back into the favour of the Queen, all to no purpose. It was not till seven years after her offence, when Mr. Stokes, her father-in-law, had married again, that he was allowed to take charge of her, and she became an inmate of his house at Beaumanor, till her death in 1578.
CHAPTER XII.

I have already so far outrun the limits I had set myself, that my account of the remaining members of the family must necessarily be very brief. In 1575, when time had probably softened the anger and dislike of the Queen to the Bradgate family, she made a grant to Henry Grey, Esquire,* one of Her Majesty's Gentlemen Pensioners, of the manors of Groby, Broughton Astley and Sheldon, Warwickshire, at an annual rent of £211:0:5. As the estates, whilst they were in the possession of the Crown, had been let on leases, it is probable that the grant was of little immediate pecuniary advantage, and it is doubtful whether the owner kept up any state at Bradgate for some years to come.

1603. James I. signalised his accession to the English throne by such a profuse distribution of honours, that a popular satire, "The New Art of Memory," declared that its assistance was necessary to any one who wished to keep in mind the multitude of names and titles now first heard of. Amongst the recipients of these honours was Henry Grey, who

* He was the eldest son of Lord John Grey.—Patent Roll [No. 1133] 17 Eliz., Pt. II [mem. 8, 16]. The Gentlemen Pensioners were a royal bodyguard, instituted by Henry VIII. The corps still exists under the name of the "Gentlemen at Arms."
Nichols. Hist. of Goth. Sparke and Hot. 178. "In 1613 the manor of Ratby, which had been seized into the King's hands was restored to Henry Lord Szez." Hil. Rec. 9 Vol. 7. Jac. I. Rol. 117.

now became Baron Grey of Groby. By this time his circumstances had apparently improved for he sold his property at Pirgo and took up his residence at Bradgate.*

The first Lord Grey of Groby was succeeded by his grandson, who added Stamford Castle and manor with the estates to the family property, by his marriage with the daughter of the Earl of Exeter. She was the granddaughter of Cecil, Lord Burghley, Elizabeth's Chief Secretary of State.

A few years after this marriage, about the time when everyone hoped that the contest between the King and the Parliament had been closed by his assent to the Petition of Right, Charles raised Lord Grey a step in the peerage, by making him Earl of Stamford.†

Before the outbreak of hostilities, at the time that the King and the Parliament were each using every possible exertion to get together soldiers and warlike stores, the House of Commons commissioned the Earl of Stamford to raise troops in his own neighbourhood, and on May 5th he wrote to the Mayor of Leicester requiring him to warn the trainbands to assemble in the Market Place, on Wednesday, the 8th of June. On the Saturday before the muster, when the Earl was in Leicester at the Angel Inn,‡ he was met by a nobleman who bore a Royal Commission authorising him to take command of the trainbands in the interest of the King. Immediately they met, the nobleman demanded of the Earl what his business was there, and then accusing him of seducing the people from their

* He and his wife and son were all buried in the Church at Broughton Astley.
† Here and elsewhere I have made frequent references to the Dictionary of National Biography.
‡ The Angel Inn was near the East Gates. Its site is marked by the present Angel Gateway.
allegiance, he bade him depart. This was more than a Grey could bear, and he at once drew his sword and told the nobleman to go, or he would make the place "too hot for him." The market people rushed in to join in the affray and the bearer of the royal commission was hooted out of the town.* The Earl was very active in mustering and exercising the trainbands in opposition to Mr. Hastings, who held the Royal Commission of Array. The different companies were assembled in Leicester, at Copt Oak, at Broughton Astley and elsewhere. Mr. Hastings came to the town with the object of seizing the contents of the Magazine, but the Earl had been beforehand with him and a few hours earlier had carried off the greater part to Bradgate. A day or two afterwards Mr. Hastings made another visit to the town to announce that the King had proclaimed the Earl a traitor and had issued a warrant for his apprehension.

In the summer, after his repulse at Coventry, the King retired to Nottingham and sent out Prince Rupert to hold Leicester as an outpost to the south of his position. Whilst the Earl was absent on duty in Warwickshire with Essex, the Parliamentary Commander-in-Chief, Rupert seized the opportunity to make an attack on Bradgate House. He was beaten off, and had to content himself with plundering the homesteads of the tenantry and levying £500 on the Borough.

Essex gave the Earl of Stamford an important command in the western counties and sent him to occupy Hereford. His adversaries drove him from one post to another, and his generalship was so bad that it brought upon him the ridicule of both friends and foes. At last he found himself shut up in Exeter, and at the end of a three months' siege he wrote the King protesting his loyalty, but finding fault with His Majesty's counsellors. It

* Thompson's History of Leicester, 364.
was too evident from his letter that he was only waiting for a promise that his own life would be spared, to give up the City. His subsequent surrender on these terms gave great offence to the Parliament. In October he complained to the House of Lords that Bradgate House had been again attacked and plundered, that his horses and cattle had been driven away, and his tenants robbed, and he humbly entreated their lordships that some malignant's house that was ready furnished, might be allotted to him as a residence for his family.*

Soon afterwards he seems to have become a martyr to the family complaint, the gout. His pecuniary losses had certainly been very great. The raids made by Rupert upon his tenants had left them unable to pay their rents, but when he applied to the House of Commons for a thousand pounds, to enable him to go to the baths in France, the grant was not passed without difficulty. Twelve months after the death of Cromwell, whilst the "Rump" of the Parliament was striving to assert its authority, the Earl suddenly declared for the King, and attempted to raise an insurrection in Leicestershire, with the result that he was arrested and sent to the Tower, where he remained till Charles gained possession of the throne.

We must not omit a notice of Lord Thomas Grey, the Earl's eldest son. He too supported the Parliament against the King, but unlike his father he was no waverer. He was elected to the Long Parliament for the Borough of Leicester and voted for the Grand Remonstrance, and when hostilities broke out he was given an important military command by the Parliament, but at the commencement of the campaign his standard of military obedience was not satisfactory to Cromwell, who wrote on the 3rd May, 1643, to the Committee at Lincoln; "my Lord Grey hath now again failed me of the rendezvous at

* Kelly.—*Royal Progresses and Visits to Leicester*, 721.
Stamford according to our agreement, fearing the exposing of Leicester to the forces of Mr. Hastings. Believe it, it were better, in my poor opinion, [that] Leicester were not, than that there should not be found an immediate taking of the field by our forces to accomplish the common ends. Wherein I shall deal as freely with him, when I meet him, as you can desire."* He several times received the thanks of Parliament for his services, and was mentioned as "a lord dear to the House of Commons."

In 1648, whilst Fairfax and Cromwell were in the field at Pontefract and elsewhere, the Houses, contrary to the wish of the army, resolved upon a reconciliation with the King. The next day, previous to the meeting of the House, Colonel Pride drew up his regiment of foot soldiers in Westminster Hall, and as the members arrived who had voted for the obnoxious resolution, Lord Grey pointed them out to Colonel Pride, and they were either taken into custody or excluded from the House. In the following month Lord Grey sat on the Commission which tried and condemned the King. The first three signatures to the death warrant were John Bradshaw, Thomas Grey and Oliver Cromwell. Later on he joined the Fifth Monarchy Men who proposed to supersede the government of the Protector by the reign of Christ upon earth. More than once the party arranged a rising, but the only result, so far as Lord Grey was concerned, was his arrest and imprisonment in Windsor Castle, and his liberation as soon as it was thought that he could do no mischief.

Lord Thomas Grey's eldest son succeeded his grandfather as the second Earl of Stamford. He was in trouble for a time on a suspicion that he had been concerned in the Rye House Plot, but he regained his liberty and was pardoned on the

* Cromwell's Letters, &c.—Carlyle, I., 116.
accession of James II. He entertained William III. at Bradgate; the large eastern room with a bow window in the House, and also the bridge over the brook at Anstey were built at the time of this visit.

The Earl, as an important whig nobleman, held several political offices, but was dismissed when his opponents came into power under Queen Anne. He was unfortunate in his first marriage. His wife took a dislike to the county and wrote to her sister saying that "the country was a desert and that the people in it were brutes," and asked her what she should do. Both sisters were probably insane, for the reply was a recommendation to set fire to the house, and in her attempt to do this she nearly burned her husband to death in his bed. The fifth Earl, who married one of the Portland family, was created Earl of Warrington and Baron Delamer, of Dunham Massey, but these titles became extinct on the death of the seventh Earl in 1883. He left the Bradgate and Enville estates to his widow, the present Dowager Countess of Stamford, for her life. The present holder of the title, the Reverend William Grey, a clergyman of the Church of England, is the ninth Earl of Stamford and the tenth Baron Grey of Groby.

The house was burned down probably towards the end of the last century and was never rebuilt. About three years ago the ruins lost their most picturesque feature by the fall of the western gable.

And now my task is done. In spite of the time it has taken, it has given me much pleasure, which I trust may be shared by those who read what I have written. Though I have done my best to avoid mistakes, it is too much to expect that errors have not crept in. If any reader will take the trouble to point them out, he will earn my best thanks.
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