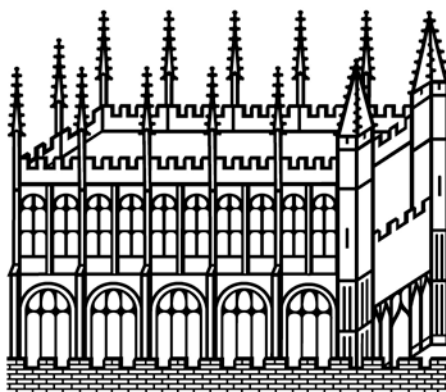




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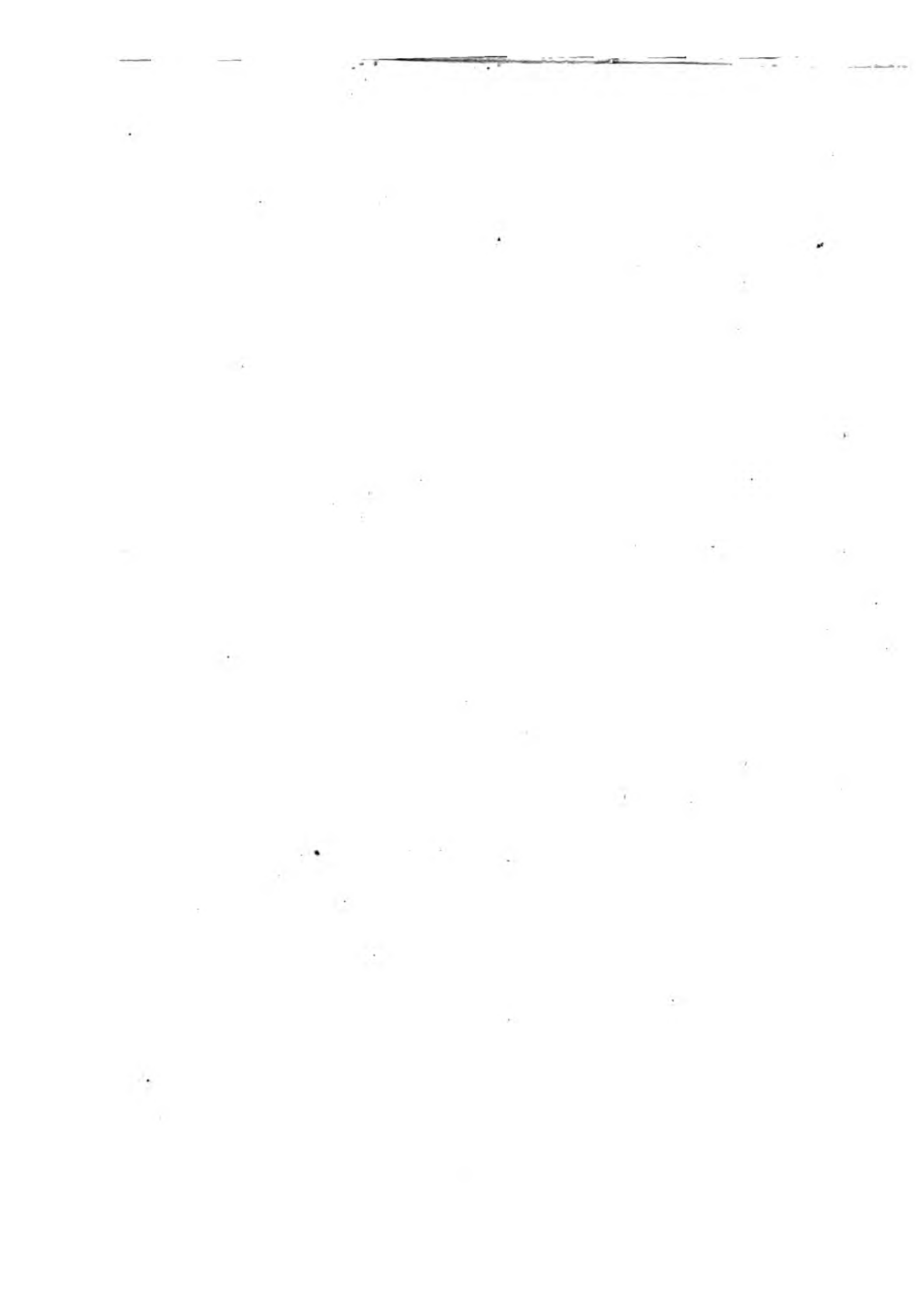
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A COMMENTARY
OF THE SERVICES AND CHARGES
OF
WILLIAM LORD GREY OF WILTON, K.G.

BY HIS SON

ARTHUR LORD GREY OF WILTON, K.G.

WITH A MEMOIR OF THE AUTHOR, AND ILLUSTRATIVE DOCUMENTS.

EDITED BY

SIR PHILIP DE MALPAS GREY EGERTON,
BART., M.P., F.R.S., V.P.G.S., &c.



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M.DCCC.XL.VII.



[NO. XL.]

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INTRODUCTION.

THE manuscript, now for the first time printed entire, was accidentally discovered in a box of old deeds and papers, at Oulton Park, Cheshire, in the autumn of 1844. It is headed, "A Cōmentarie of y^e servycies & Chargies y^t my L. my father was employed in whyllst hee lyved, *f^r Lav. Hollyngshead.*" It is written on coarse paper, in a careless, irregular hand; and, from the numerous erasures and corrections, has the appearance of a rough draft rather than of a finished composition. The words in the title, printed in italics, have been inserted in a smaller character, and paler ink. This manuscript gives an account of the military achievements of William lord Grey of Wilton, K.G., who was a distinguished leader in the reigns of Henry the Eighth, Edward the Sixth, and Mary; the larger portion of the narrative being devoted to the details of the siege of Guisnes, in 1558, of which place lord Grey was at that time the governor. The author of the manuscript was Arthur, lord Grey's eldest son. Although there is no signature to the document, this fact is placed beyond a doubt by comparing the names of the hostages delivered to the French, during the truce, at the siege of Guisnes, as given by Holinshed, with the parallel passage in the manuscript: the former says, "*Maister Arthure Gray, my lordes sonne, and maister Lewes Dive, were put out;*" the latter, "*My coozyn Dyve and mysellf were put owte.*"* Moreover, a comparison of this document with authentic autograph letters of Arthur lord Grey of Wilton,

* See page 33.

in the British Museum, proves it to be an holograph of this eminent man. He makes a singular mistake in the Christian name of Holinshed; but this does not invalidate the presumption that he furnished the chronicler with the information here recorded, for entire passages occur in the Chronicles of England and Scotland coinciding, nearly verbatim, with the expressions used in the manuscript.* It is probable that the author retained this document, and sent a copy to Holinshed, as many of the emendations appear to have been made subsequently to the publication of the Chronicles. The manuscript has no date; but, as the author mentions his father's death, it must have been written between 1562, the year of lord Grey de Wilton's decease, and 1577, the date of the first edition of the Chronicles. It is not improbable that he employed his leisure hours on this composition during his confinement in the Fleet, in 1575. Holinshed nowhere acknowledges the source of this information, but he probably alludes to the author of the manuscript when he says (after describing the circumstances attending the demolition of the fortress of Chatillon's Garden), "This have I set downe the more willyngly for that I have received it from them which have herd it reported, not only by the lord Grey's owne mouthe, but also by the relation of syr Thomas Palmer, *and others that were present*; the same not tending so much to the lord Grey's owne prayse as to the betokening of the king's noble courage, and the great secret trust which he worthyly reposed in the sayde lord Grey."† In the latter part of this paragraph he introduces the identical words used by our author in prefacing his account of the same exploit. Had he been more explicit in avowing his authority, he might have escaped the doubts cast upon the correctness of his information by

* The parallel passages from Holinshed are printed on the same pages with the original.

† Holinshed's Chronicle, first edit. 1577, p. 1610.

lord Herbert of Cherbury, touching some of the events recorded in the Chronicles, but which (as it now appears) was derived from the narrative of one who must have been intimately acquainted with all the circumstances he relates, and whose high character is a sufficient guarantee for the accuracy of his statements.

The Editor has been much perplexed, whether to print the manuscript as it stood when the chronicler made use of it, or as subsequently emended by the author: after much consideration, he has thought it better to insert the additions and corrections in italics, giving the original passages in foot notes. A few explanatory notes are added where they have appeared necessary; and some original documents, for the most part not before made public, are given in the Appendix.

William, our hero, was the fourth son of Edmund lord Grey of Wilton, who died in the 3rd Henry VIII.* “which William,” says Dugdale, “in regard the rest of his brothers died successively without issue, became heir to the estate and honour, and in 20 Henry VIII. had a special livery of his lands. After which, viz. in 36 Henry VIII., he was in that expedition then made into France, and one of the commanders under John lord Russell, (then lord privy seal,) in the rere of that army which besieged Montreul; and, upon the taking of Boloigne by the king himself,†

* Dugdale's Baron. i. 714, 1610.

† This appointment was not immediately after the taking of Boulogne, but (as stated by the present author, p. 3) on the earl of Surrey's recall, in April, 1546. In the previous year, by the Commission printed in the Appendix No. II. (but which is undated,) lord Grey had been appointed chief captain of the army called “the Crews.” On the 25th August it was determined to transfer this command to the earl of Surrey, and lord Grey was to be appointed Lieutenant of Boulogne in the room of lord Poynings, then recently deceased: “Letteres were addressed to the counsell of Bolloyne signefyinge the appointement of the lorde Graye to the lieutenantye of that towne, whome they shoulde use at his arrivall as they did the lord Poynings.” At the same time “To the counsell of Callaice was signified his majesties appointement of the said lord Graye to Bolloyne, and the earl of Surrey to be general as the lord Graye was.” (Register of the Privy Council.) But, a few days after, on the 31st of that month, “Upon letteres from Guisnes

the same year, was made commander-in-chief of that place. Moreover, in 1 Edw. VI., being marshal of the field, and captain-general of the horse for that army then sent into Scotland, he marched in the head thereof, and gave the first charge upon the enemy; and in 2 Edw. VI. fortified Haddington, fired Dalkeith, and won the castle; spoiled much of the country about Edenburgh, Lowthian, and Meers*; fired Muscleborough; fortified Lowder, and took Yester. And the same year, upon those commotions raised in divers parts of England in opposition to the Reformation, being sent into Oxfordshire with fifteen hundred horse and foot, the gentlemen of the country resorted to him in such numbers (in regard he was so generally known to be a man of valour and fortune) that, many of the seditious dispersing themselves, the rest were slain or taken. Howbeit, after this, viz. in 5 Edw. VI. he was attached as a favourer of the duke of Somerset, and committed to the Tower. But this storm, when the duke of Somerset's head was off, lasted not, (he being the person chiefly aimed at by those that then bore the greatest sway,) for the year next following he was made deputy of Calais,† and governour of the castle of Gisnes, in Picardy. In 1 Mariæ, he accompanied the duke of Northumberland, with those forces wherewith he marched

the king's majestie was pleased that the lorde Graye should keep his ould charge, and the earl of Surreye goe to Bulloine, which was by letters signified to either place at the full." A patent (dated Sept. 3) immediately passed the seal, appointing the earl of Surrey lieutenant of Boulogne, and lord Grey, in his turn, superseded the earl in the following April. The correspondence of this period, which is printed in Dr. Nott's life of Surrey, contains the particulars of these changes, and developes some jealousy which existed between the two commanders. In one letter mr. secretary Paget speaks of "sinister means to set your two lordships at variance, to the continual torment, if it so be, of yourselves, and the dangerous hinderance of his majesties affairs." (p. 215.)

* Merse, a county of Scotland, called also Berwickshire, obtained the appellation of Merse, or March, because it was one of the borders towards England. Seally's Geographical Dict.

† This is an error of Sir John Hayward, Dugdale's authority.

from London on the behalf of the lady Jane Gray (whom, upon the death of Edward the Sixth, most of the lords of the council had proclaimed queen). And to him it was that the duke, then discerning multitudes of people to stand gazing at them, said, 'Do you see, my lord, what a conflux of people here is drawn together, to see us march? And yet of all this multitude you hear not so much as one that wisheth us success.' Furthermore, being captain of the castle of Guisnes, which was strongly besieged after the French had taken Calais, he defended it with great valour, much longer than could well have been expected against such a powerful army; but at length, his soldiers through despair mutinying, he was constrained to yield it up, upon such terms as the enemy would give, viz. That himself with all his captains and officers should remain prisoners, at the disposal of the duke of Guise (at that time general of the French forces) and the common soldiers to march away, with their arms and baggage, whither they pleased. So that, being thereupon given to the marshal Strozzy, and by him sold to monsieur de Randan, and from him to his brother the count of Rouchefoucalt, he continued prisoner until he was redeemed for twenty-four thousand crowns; which did much weaken his estate.* How he came to be attainted I have not seen, but in 1 Eliz. he was restored in blood; and in 2 Eliz. being then one of the knights of the most noble order of the garter,† and having so valiantly defended Guisnes (as before is said) he was constituted governour of the town and castle of Barwick-upon-Twede, as also warden of the east and middle marches towards Scotland.‡

* On this occasion he was obliged to sell his ancient castle of Wilton-upon-Wye.

† He was elected K.G. April 1557, but being at that time a prisoner in France, Garter was sent to notify his election. He was installed on April 19th, 1558, by his proxy, Sir Humphrey Ratclyffe.

‡ See "An Instruction for the Lord Grey of Wylton, Warden of the Est and Middle Marches ageynst Scotland; given by the Quenes Majestie, Jan. 23, 1559." Haynes' State Papers, vol. i. p. 229.

Soon after which, being likewise made general of the English army then sent into that realm in aid of the Scots against the French, who had made an invasion there with great forces, on purpose to subvert the ancient state of that kingdom and to annex it unto the crown of France, he besieged Leith, and at length forced the French to depart. But after this he lived not long; for it appears that he died upon the 14th* of December, anno 1562 (5 Eliz.), at Cheston,† besides Waltham, in Hertfordshire, in the house of his son-in-law Henry Denny, esq., and was buried in the parish church there, near to the communion table, leaving issue by Mary his wife, daughter to Charles earl of Worcester, two sons, viz. Arthur and William, and one daughter, called Honora, wife of the same Henry Denny.”‡

Lloyd, in his *State Worthies*, has the following

“Observations on the life of William lord Grey of Wilton.

“That great souldier and good christian, in whom religion was not a softness, (as Machiavel discoursed,) but a resolution. Hannibal was sworn an enemy to Rome at nine years of age, and my lord bred one to France at fourteen. Scipio’s first service was the rescue of his father in Italy, and my lord Grey’s was the safety of his father in Germany. He had Fabius his slow way and long reach, with Herennius his fine policies and neat ambusca-does; having his two companions always by him, his map, and his guide: the first whereof discovered unto him his more obvious advantages, and the second his more close dangers. His great conduct won him much esteem with them that saw him. Observable his civility to strangers, eminent his bounty to his followers, obliging his carriage in the countries he marched through, and

* Holinshed incorrectly says the 25th. The ceremonial of the funeral, which was Dugdale’s authority, has been obligingly communicated by William Courthope, esq. Rouge Croix. See the Appendix, No. XII.

† Cheshunt.

‡ Dugdale’s *Baronage*, vol. i. page 715.

expert his skill in wars ; whose end, he said was victory, and the end of victory nobleness, made up of pity and munificence. It lost him his estate to redeem himself in France, and his life to bear up his reputation in Berwick. Having lived to all the great purposes of life but self-interest, he died 1563, that fatal year;* no less to the publick sorrow of England which he secured, than to the common joy of Scotland which he awed. Then it was said, That the same day died the greatest scholar and the greatest soldier of the nobility, the right honourable Henry Mannors, earl of Rutland, in his gown, and the honourable lord Grey in his armour ; both, as the queen said of them, Worthies that had deserved well of the commonwealth by their wisdom, counsel, integrity, and courage.

“Two things my lord always avoided: the first, to give many reasons for one thing, the heaping of arguments arguing a neediness in every of the arguments by its self, as if one did not trust any of them, but fled from one to another, helping himself still with the last. The second, to break a negotiation to too many distinct particulars, or to couch it in too compact generals ; by the first whereof we give the parties we deal with an opportunity to look down to the bottom of our business ; and by the second, to look round to the compass of it. Happy are those souls that command themselves so far, that they are equally free to full and half discoveries of themselves, always ready and pliable to the present occasion. Not much regarded was this gallant spirit when alive, but much missed when dead : we understand what we want better than what we enjoy ; and the beauty of worthy things is not in the face but in the back-side, endearing more by their departure than their address.”

Lord Grey had summons to Parliament from the 21st of Henry 8th to the 1st Eliz.

* Fatal from the prevalence of the plague.

Lord Grey's eldest son Arthur, the author of the manuscript, was born about the year 1536. He was present with his father at the siege of Guisnes, (of which he gives the description,) and was one of the hostages delivered to the French during the parley which preceded the evacuation of the castle.* In 1560 he accompanied lord Grey in his Scotch expedition; and on the 15th of April of that year, received a wound while aiding to repulse a sally made by the French garrison of Leith. Holinshed, in his description of this skirmish, alludes to the bravery of young Grey on this occasion. "Maister Arthur Greie," says he, "with certeine of his demilances, of whome he had the conduction, suddenlie came upon them, and, charging them with great courage, drave them into the towne, and made no small slaughter of them. In which charge master Arthur Greie was shot through the shoulder."† In December, 1562, on the death of his father, he came

* See page 33.

† Holinshed's Chronicle, first edit. 1577, p. 1807. In the following passage of a curious contemporary work, the wound of Arthur Grey is made a consequence of the bad engineering of Sir William Pelham. "Now to returne where I lefte touching wronge informations or wante of experience: It fell out within two yeeres that the Queenes Maiestie that nowe is sent her army into Scotland for the expelling of the Frenche Nation from thence, at which time the Frenche did then retire themselues, with some fewe Scots, into the towne of *Lieth*, for theyr most safetie vpon the approaching of her Maiesties armie: the *L. W. Gray* of *Wilton*, then generall of the sayd armie, it pleased his L. to send the horsemen to the number of 500, to viewe the groundes where the campe might best be placed the nexte daie; and *Sir William Pelham*, beeing then captaine of the pyoners and trench maister, went also to see where he might best begin to intrench: I seeing him going about the same, and notwithstanding I had no acquaintaunce of him, and yet knowing that hee had neither serued in Fraunce, nor with the Emperour, of goodwill that I bare vnto the seruice, I wente vnto him in courteous manner and saide, Maister *Pelham*, it were verye good for you to beginne at the foote of this hill, and runne straight to yonder hillocke; whereat he seemed to be offended, and saide that I stoode not charged with these matters—it was his charge and not mine: I was sorie of that I had spoken, considering how vncourteouslie he did accept of my good will. But how did the matter fall out? Before tenne daies, by leauinge his trenche open, the French perceiuing that they might without any let come both on horsebacke and foote, and so did: wheras it cost the liues of 200 souldiers, and captaine *Bartlet* taken prisoner, with diuers others; and at the reskew wherof the *L. Gray* of *Wilton* that now is, hauing not time to

into possession of the family honours as 14th baron Grey of Wilton. The family estates had been much impaired by the heavy ransom his father paid for his release to the count of Rochefoucault. Wilton Castle had been sold, but the Buckinghamshire property was retained; and lord Grey took up his residence at Whaddon.* This was formerly the seat of the Giffords, hereditary keepers of Whaddon Chase, under the earl of Ulster. From them it came to the Pigotts, who sold it. "Here," says Camden, "was the house of the warlike barons Grey of Wilton, who held the neighbouring manor of Eaton by the service of keeping one gerfalcon of the king's, whence that family bear for their arms,† a falcon on a glove."‡ It appears from letters preserved in the Lansdowne collection in the British Museum,§ that the office of keeper of Whaddon Chase was held by lord Grey, and also the stewardship under the Crown of Olney park and bailiwick. In September 1566, 8th Eliz. he had summons to Parliament; and in 1568, Nichols || informs us that her Majesty honoured him with a visit at Whaddon during her progress of that year. He was elected a knight of the garter on the 24th of April 1572; and his installation took place on the 17th of June following. His motto, "FORTE EN LOYALTE," is one of those which Tashe has recorded in verse, in the beautiful vellum manuscript preserved in the Harleian collection in the British Museum.¶

arme him selfe, was shotte through the body with a bullet, so that many thousandes haue dyed of lesser woundes then that was." From "*A breefe discourse concerning the force and effect of all manuall weapons of fire, etc. . . . Written by Humfrey Barwick, gentleman, souldier, capitaine, et encor plus oultre.*" At London. Printed for Richard Oliffe. 4^o. no date. [1591?]

* Lysons's Buckinghamshire, p. 662.

† This is the Grey crest.

‡ Camden's Britannia.

§ Lansdowne MSS. No. 7, art. 54, and 18, art. 87: the latter refers to some privileges of the chase disputed by a Mr. Fortescue.

|| Nichols's Progresses of Queen Elizabeth, vol. i. p. 254. In the Addenda, vol. iii. p. 660, Arthur lord Grey of Wilton is stated to have entertained the Queen at Whaddon also in 1563, the year after his father's death.

¶ History of the Orders of Knighthood, by Sir Harris Nicolas, p. 36.

About this period it was rumoured that lord Grey was likely to be appointed to Ireland; but in a letter, preserved in the British Museum, in answer to one from the lord treasurer, alluding to this report, he denies having received any direct communication from the government on the subject.*

In the following year Lord Grey was one of the peers for the trial of the Duke of Norfolk. In the course of this year, or early in 1574 (as appears from a letter to the earl of Sussex, published in Howard's Letters), lord Grey was in "disgrace" with Elizabeth, and, for some cause which I have failed to discover, was committed to the Fleet prison; from which he was released the following year. Two letters occur in the Lansdowne collection, written during his confinement, in one of which he declines complying with the wish of the lord treasurer that he should "exhybite soom wryting ontoo hyr majestie, leaste the same wolde bee now taken too procede of feare of the Star Chambre, rather than of symple submission, how soever it were ment; and so, beesydes encourageing of myne adversarie, avayle mee but lyttle too-wardes hyr majestie."†

Lord Grey's appointment as Lord Deputy of Ireland eventually took place in July 1580. Previous to this time he had solicited some employment from the government, which had been refused. He alludes, with much bitterness, to this refusal, in an autograph letter to the earl of Sussex (now in the Cottonian Collection), dated June 29, 1580. In the same letter he mentions with some dissatisfaction his appointment to Ireland, and entreats the earl of Sussex to instruct him how to carry on that government to the best advantage.‡ Sensible of the heavy responsibility he had incurred in undertaking the office of lord-deputy in the then distracted state of the country, he also applied to sir Henry Sidney, who had been four times lord-justice, and three times lord-

* See Appendix, No. XIII.

† Lansd. MSS. 16, art. 21.

‡ See Appendix, No. XIV.

deputy of Ireland, for the benefit of his experience in conducting the affairs of "that unhappie countrie." The answer to this application is still preserved in the Sidney papers, and is remarkable for shrewd sense and the accurate knowledge it displays of the state of things then existing in Ireland.* Cox informs us that lord Grey's official instructions, bearing date in July, were,—“1. To observe former instructions, whereof he shall have a copy. 2. To assure the Irish of the queen's protection and favour, if they deserve it. 3. To hinder the soldier from oppressing the subject, and to notifie this by proclamation; and to punish the offenders, though captains. 4. To shorten the war by effectual prosecution. 5. To continue the justice of Munster, and to increase his allowance as you and the council think fit. 6. After Allhallowtide to disband as many of the new soldiers as can be well spared, and secure their arms. 7. Not to grant pardons and protections but upon especial reasons, and to mention the crime in the pardon.” A copy of the original instructions is preserved in the Lambeth Collection of Manuscripts, bearing date June, 1580.† Lord Grey arrived in Dublin on the 12th of August, and on the same day wrote a report to the Queen of the state in which he found the country.‡ His formal investiture did not take place until the 14th of September, in consequence of the absence of the lord-justice sir John Perrot, to whom the custody of the sword and the administration of affairs had been entrusted until the arrival of the newly-appointed lord-deputy. In the meantime, hearing that Fitz-Eustace (who with his company was in the Queen's pay) had joined the rebels under lord Baltinglass and Pheag MacHugh, the lord of the O'Brine's, and that they had secured themselves in the fastnesses of Glendilough, in the county of Wicklow, he determined to attack them; “both,” as Camden says, “to gain to himself a

* See Appendix, No. XV.

† Appendix, No. XVI.

‡ Appendix, No. XVII.

reputation, and by a severe beginning strike terror into them." The result was most disastrous; for, through ignorance of the intricacies of the glen, his troops were entangled in an ambush, and the greater part of them cut to pieces by the rebels.* Shortly after this reverse, the landing of the Italian and Spanish expedition, under the command of San Josepho, took place at Smerwick, in the county of Kerry. Lord Grey hastened to the spot, and, finding the invaders had strengthened the place with fortifications, joined his force with lord Ormond's, and, with the assistance of the men and guns from admiral Winter's ships of war, invested the fort. After four days' battering, the enemy was forced to yield at discretion. A consultation was forthwith held as to the disposal of the prisoners; and it was resolved, "against the mind of the lord-deputy, who shed tears at the determination, that the commanders should be saved, and the rest promiscuously put to the sword for a terror; and that the Irish should be hanged up; which was presently put in execution."† The reasons given for this wholesale slaughter were, that the prisoners equalled their captors in number; that vessels could not be spared to convey them away; that the rebels, 1500 strong, were in the immediate vicinity; and that the English were so destitute of victuals and apparel that, unless they were relieved out of the fort by the spoil of the enemy, a mutiny was to be feared. The Queen did not consider these reasons justificatory of the cruelty committed; and although lord Grey was opposed to the act, he nevertheless came under the severe displeasure of her Majesty. In the latter part of this year, affairs assumed a very threatening aspect; the provinces of Munster, Connaught, and a great portion of Leinster being in arms and open rebellion. The lord-deputy, having received reinforcements from England, took vigorous measures for repressing these outrages and restoring the country to peace and quiet. He marched into Ophalia

* Camden; Holinshed.

† Camden.

against the O'Connors, and succeeded in quelling the rebellion in that district, as also in the country of the Magoghigans and O'Carrols. About this time he fortunately discovered a dangerous conspiracy, organised by some noble families in Leinster (out of affection for the Romish religion and hatred of the English), for the purpose of seizing him and all his household, of taking by surprise the castle of Dublin, and getting possession of the provisions of war kept therein, and putting all the English in Ireland to death. By the timely execution of a few of the ringleaders, this plot was effectually extinguished. Nevertheless, Camden tells us that "Lord Grey incurred great displeasure with the Queen for putting these men to death; which displeasure was raised against him by Sussex, his adversary (for rare it is to see great captains love one another), who suggested, as if, by his cruelty of late towards the Spaniards which had yielded themselves, and now towards her own subjects, he had both eclips'd his Prince's glory and increased the number of her enemies." The letters, before alluded to, written by lord Grey to the earl of Sussex, throw some doubt upon Camden's assertion, that the influence of the latter at court was exerted against the lord-deputy; however this may be, it is clear that secret enemies were at work, and lord Grey felt so keenly the unfairness of the representations made against him, that, in July, 1581, he wrote to sir Christopher Hatton, praying him to use his influence to procure his release from the appointment.* The history of Ireland at this period shows that the lord-deputy did not allow the misrepresentations of his enemies to check his zeal in the public service. Although constantly struggling against a defective supply of money and provisions from the home government, and sometimes thereby reduced to great extremities, yet, by a continuance of prompt and vigorous measures directed against the rebels whenever they attempted to show themselves in force, he eventually

* Appendix, No. XVIII.

succeeded, before his recall in August, 1582, in quelling the dangerous disturbances which had long distracted that unhappy country.* The Desmond faction was subdued, Turlogh Leinigh was brought to terms, and the O'Briens, O'Moores, and Cavenaghs in all humility and submission craved peace, offering hostages.† “Nevertheless,” says Cox, “this good deputy, by the contrivance of the rebels, was represented at the court of England as a bloody man, that regarded not the lives of the subjects any more than the lives of dogs, but had tyrannized with that barbarity, that there was little left for the Queen to reign over but carcasses and ashes.”‡ During the two years that lord Grey administered the affairs of Ireland, Edmund Spenser was his private secretary, of whom he appears ever after to have been the friend and patron. The poet was warmly attached to his master, making frequent mention of him in his *View of the State of Ireland*; “defending his reputation against hasty censures; asserting, with affectionate zeal, his glory; and expressing, with amiable gratitude, his obligations to him; on which point he dwells more particularly in the sonnet sent to his lordship with the first edition of the *Fairie Queene*.”§ The warmth of the poet’s attachment to

* Many of Lord Grey’s letters to the Home Government at this period are published in the *Burghley Papers*. See *Burghley Papers*, by William Murdin, pages 347, 348, 353, 354, 356, 360, 361, 363, 366. The letter given at page 356, dated Dublin, August 30, 1581, is one of great interest, as giving a general view of the effects of Lord Grey’s measures for the pacification of Ireland.

† Camden.

‡ Cox’s *Ireland*, p. 366.

§ Todd’s *Spenser*, Introduction, page xlviii. “To the most renowned and valiant Lord, the Lord Grey of Wilton, Knight of the Noble Order of the Garter, &c. :—

“Most noble Lord, the pillar of my life,
And Patrone of my Muse’s pupilage;
Through whose large bountie, poured on me rife,
In the first season of my feeble age,
I now doe live bound yours by vassalage
(Sith nothing ever may redeeme, nor reave
Out of your endlesse debt, so sure a gage);
Vouchsafe, in worth, this small guift to receave,

lord Grey is still further manifested by the frequent allusions to him, his policy, and his calumniators in the immortal poem. In the fifth book, containing the legend of Arthegal, or Justice, lord Grey sustains the character of the knight. The adventure of the relief of Irene is evidently intended to pourtray the success of his administration of Ireland; and the "two old ill-favoured hags," Envy and Detraction, were conceived to depict the calumnious nature of the representations made by his enemies at court during his absence. "The blattant beast," in the sixth canto, is a creation of like intent.* Lord Grey's recall is thus alluded to by Holinshed: "The lord-deputy after long sute for his revocation received her Majesty's letters for the same, and in the end of August, 1582, after that he had served full two years, he delivered up the sword unto the archbishop of Dubline, then lord chancellor, and to sir Henry Wallop, then treasurer-at-arms, and tooke shipping. The said lord Grey was a man of great nobilitie, and of as honourable and ancient descent, one that feareth God in true religion, and dutiful to her majestie in all obedience. And, albeit he had deserved well of that Irish nation, and had sowed the seeds of notable services, as well for his martial services as for his civill

Which in your noble hands for pledge I leave
Of all the rest that I am tyde t'account:
Rude rymes, the which a rustick Muse did weave
In savadge soyle, far from Parnassa mount,
And roughly wrought in an unlearned loome:
The which vouchsafe, dear Lord, your favourable doome. E. S."

* Blattant beast:—

" 'Then since the salvage island I did leave,'
Sayd Arthegal, 'I such a beast did see,
The which did seeme a thousand tongues to have,
That all in spight and malice did agree,
With which he bay'd and loudly bark't at mee,
As if that he att once would me devoure:
But I, that knew myself from perill free,
Did nought regard his malice nor his powre:
But he the more his wicked poyson forth did poure.' "

government; yet he reped (as his predecessors before him) but darnel and cockle. For they had among them not only conspired his death, for which some paid deerelie; but made also sundrie complaints against him, to which he answered to his commendation and acquittall, and to their reproach for their ingratitude." His personal explanations, however, seem to have failed for some time in mitigating the disfavour with which he was regarded at court, for in the October following his return, intercession was made in his behalf with sir Christopher Hatton, by the countess of Bedford, his mother-in-law. This letter is printed by sir Harris Nicolas from a manuscript in the British Museum, as also a letter written by lord Grey to sir Christopher in August 1584, from Northampton, thanking him for his great courtesy in desiring his officers and keepers to allow him the privilege of "taking of sport in games,"* and descanting on the charms of a life of retirement.† Lord Grey appears again on the stage in 1586, when he was appointed one of the commissioners for the trial of Mary queen of Scots at Fotheringhay, on the 11th of October, and subsequently in the Star Chamber on the 25th of the same month. In the February following he was one of the commissioners for the trial of secretary Davison, for delivering the warrant for Mary's execution without the queen's authority, and, as Camden informs us, being "influenced with a religious zeal," delivered "a set speech" in his defence.‡ The military reputation of lord Grey stood so high at this period, notwithstanding the late efforts of his enemies to undermine it, that in the eventful year 1588 he was appointed one of the five knights to consult upon the most advantageous means of protecting the country against the threatened invasion of the Spaniards.

* The manor of Holdenby, or Holmby, in Northamptonshire, belonged at this period to Sir Christopher Hatton.

† Life and Times of Sir Christopher Hatton, by Sir Harris Nicolas, pages 271 and 385.

‡ Appendix, No. XIX.

The following quaint passage from Lloyd's State Worthies, in allusion to the part lord Grey took in the public affairs of this period, concludes the materials I have been enabled to collect concerning the author of the manuscript.

“Returning into England, the queen chiefly relied on his counsel for ordering our land forces against the Spaniards in 88, and fortifying places of advantage. The mention of that year (critical in church differences about discipline at home, as well as with foreign forces abroad) mindeth me that this lord was but a back-friend to bishops, and in all divisions of votes in parliament or council table sided with the antiprelatical party. When secretary Davison, that state pageant (raised up on purpose to be put down), was censured in the Star Chamber about the business of the Queen of Scots, this lord Grey onely defended him, as doing nothing therein but what became an able and honest minister of state. An ear-witness saith, ‘*Hæc fusè, oratoriè, et animosè, Greium disserentem audivimus.*’ So that besides bluntness (the common and becoming eloquence of souldiers) he had a real rhetorick, and could very emphatically express himself. Indeed, this warlike lord would not wear two heads under one helmet, and may be said always to have borne his beaver open, not dissembling in the least degree, but owning his own judgment at all times what he was.*

“Three things he was observed eminent for : I. dispatch ; San Joseph having not been a week in Ireland before he had environed him by sea and land ; II. For his resolution, that he would not parley with him till he was brought to his mercy, hanging out a white flag with *Misericordia, Misericordia* ; III. For his prudence, 1. that he saved the commanders to oblige the Spaniard ; 2. that he plundered the country to enrich his soldiers ; 3. that he decimated the soldiery to terrify invaders ; and hanged all the Irish to amaze the traitors.

* This passage is borrowed by Fuller, in his Worthies, Buckinghamshire, page 134.

“ Henry Fitz-Alan earl of Arundel, when steward at King Edward’s coronation, or constable at Queen Mary’s, was the first that rid in a coach in England; my lord Grey was the first that brought a coach hither; one of a working brain, and a great mechanist himself, and no less a patron to the ingenious that were so. That there was an emulation between him and Sussex was no wonder; but that the instance wherein he thought to disgrace him should be his severity to the English traitor, and the foreign invaders, would seem strange to any but those that consider: 1. That princes of late would seem as they look on the end and not the means; so they hug a cruelty and frown on the instrument of it; who, while he honestly sacrificeth some irregular particulars to the interest of sovereignty, may be made himself a sacrifice to the passion of populacy. And, 2. which is the case here, that aspiring princes may employ severer natures, but settled ones use the more moderate. Love keeps up the empire which power hath set up.”

Lord Grey was twice married: by his first wife he had Elizabeth, married to sir Francis Gardiner, of Winchester. His second wife, Jana Sibylla Morison (an alien born but endenized in the 18th of Elizabeth), was daughter of sir Richard Morison, of Cashio-bury, in Hertfordshire, and Bridget his wife, daughter of John lord Hussey, widow of Henry earl of Rutland, and after sir Richard’s death, second wife of Francis second earl of Bedford.* Her daughter, the wife of lord Grey, was widow of Edward lord Russell, son and heir of the same earl of Bedford, by his first wife Margaret, daughter of sir John St. John, of Bletshoe.

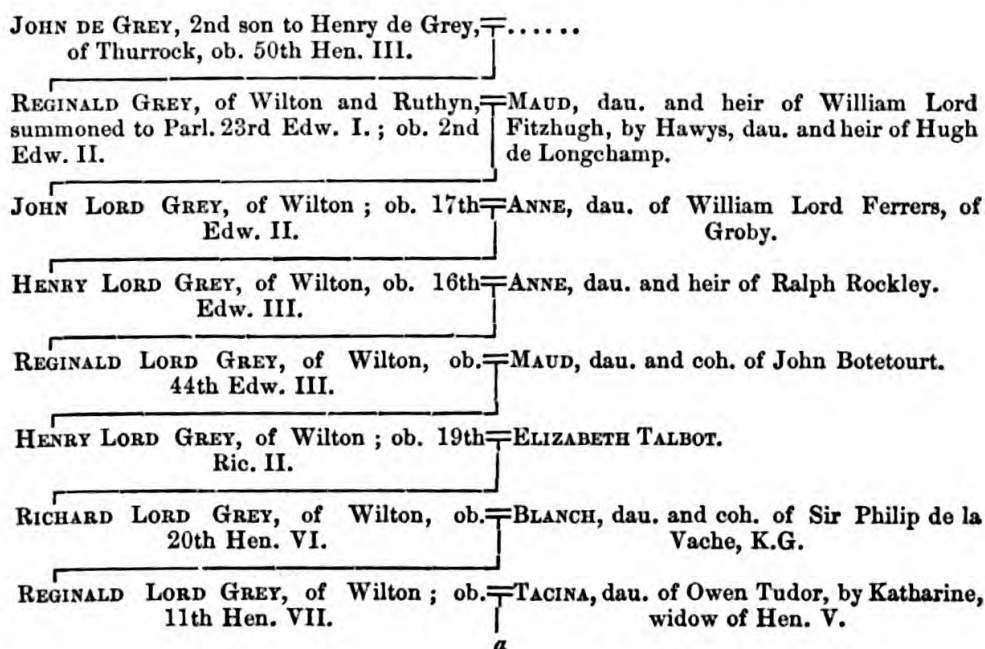
Lord Grey died the 14th of October, 1593, aged 57, and was buried at Whaddon, in Bucks, leaving by his second wife two sons

* Lord Grey was one of the mourners at the funeral of Francis earl of Bedford, Sept. 14, 1585, and the funeral sermon, which was afterwards printed, was dedicated to him by the preacher, Dr. Sparkes.

and one daughter: William, who died in 1605, aged 13, and was buried in Magdalen College Chapel, in Oxford; Thomas, who succeeded to the title on his father's death, and died in the Tower unmarried in 1614, where he was confined, and his title attainted, for his participation in Raleigh's plot; and Bridget, married to sir Rowland Egerton, baronet, of Egerton and Oulton, co. Chester.*

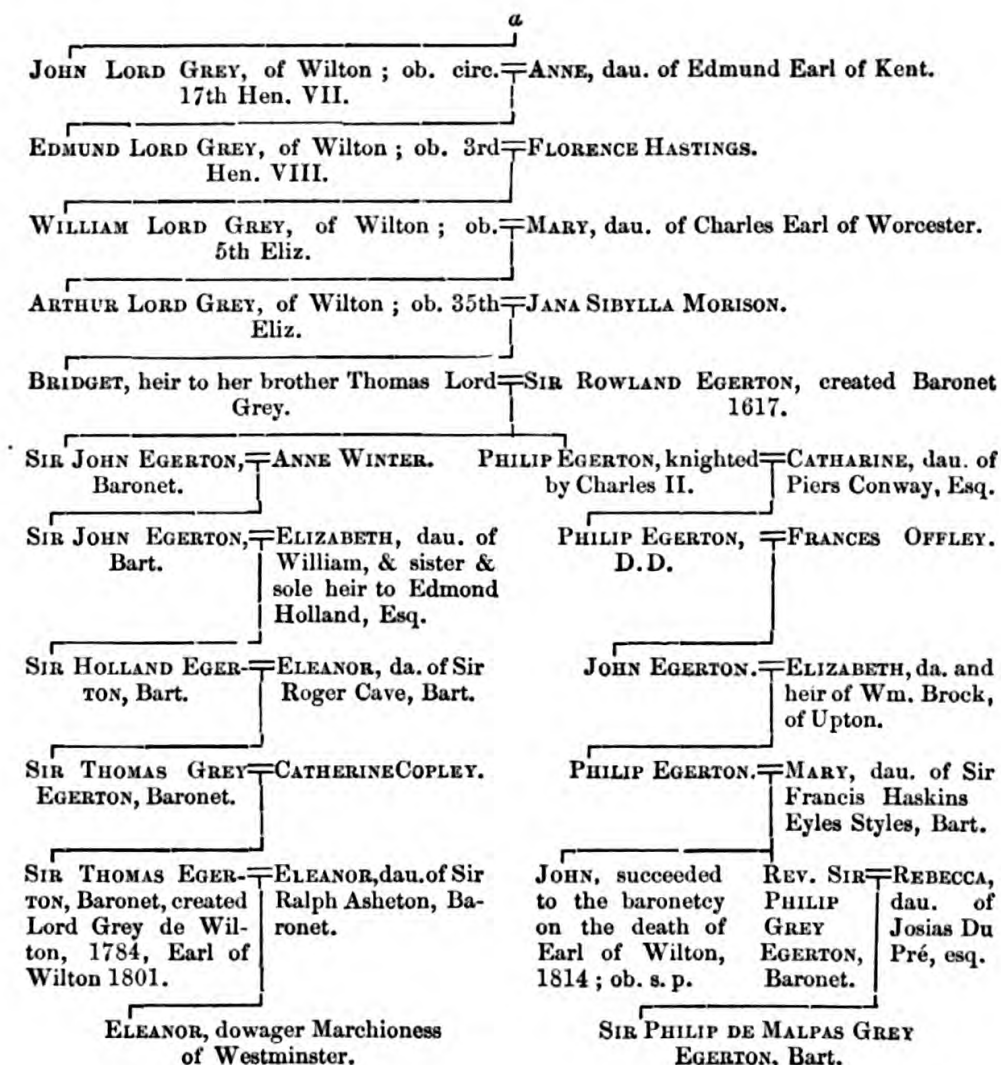
The following "Succession of the Barony of Grey of Wilton" is taken from Banks's Dormant and Extinct Baronage.† The pedigree is continued to the present time to show the connection between the author and possessor of the manuscript, and the probability that this document has been handed down with other family papers.

SUCCESSION OF THE BARONY OF GREY, OF WILTON.



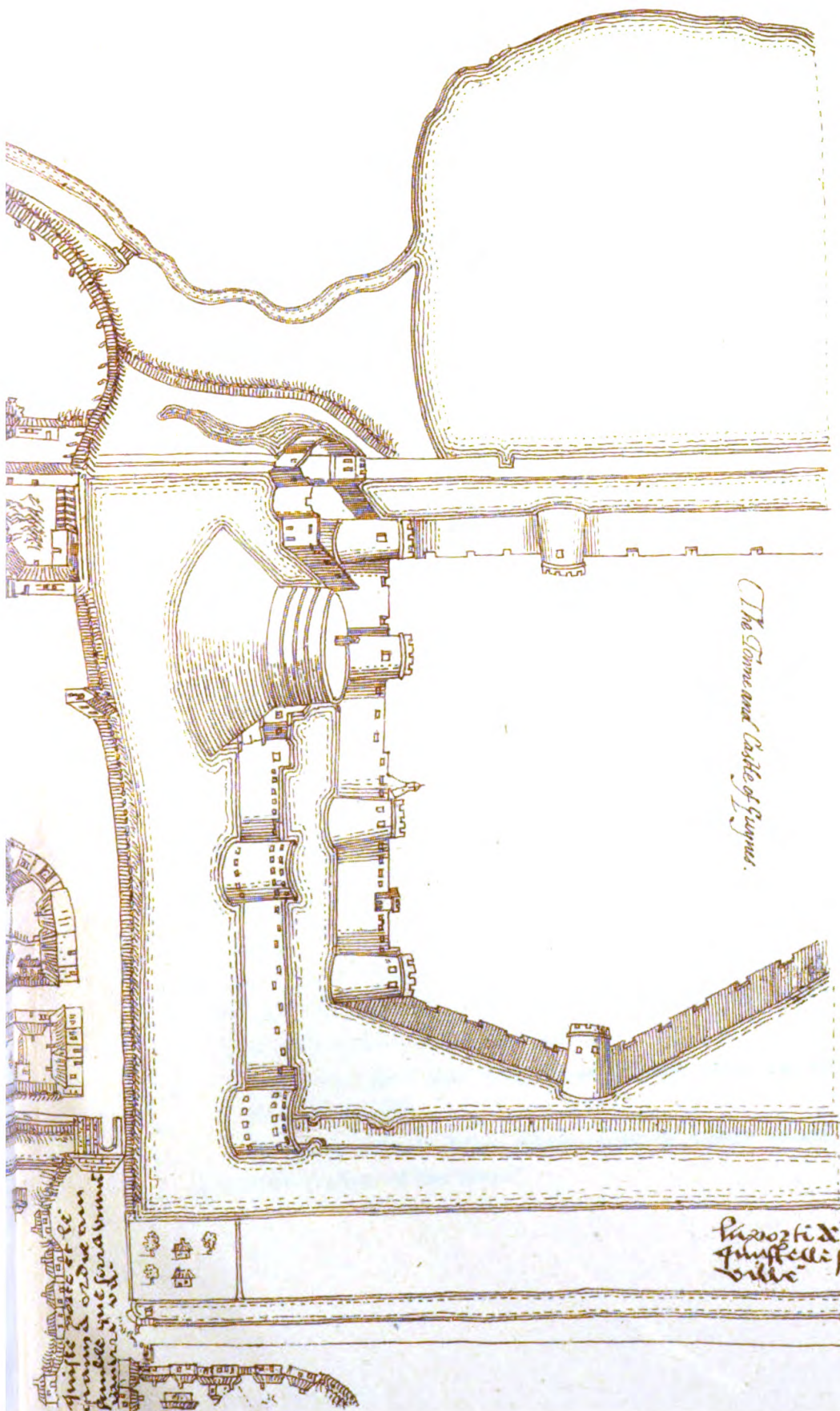
* See Pedigree, page xxiv.

† Vol. ii. page 237.



Oulton Park,
September 5, 1847.

P. DE M. G. E.



The Temple and Castle of Piquet.

Progetti di fortificazioni
quattroli per la città di
villè

THE MAP of the Castle and Town of Guisnes has been reduced from the original in the Cottonian collection, Augustus I. 11. 23. A portion of it, showing the part of the castle furthest from the town, has been lost. It seems to have been drawn by a Spanish or Italian engineer, as the inscriptions are in bad French, interlarded with words of one or other of those languages. They are difficult to decipher, and both the present copies and their translations are offered as partially conjectural.

The inscription at the right-hand corner is as follows :

la porte del servisse del quastelle serrade et passado la ville.

That is, "The gate of service of the castle closes and passes through the town."

The next, at the entrance of the town,

*quiste porte et le chemin de ardre sanble que serra bonne
[qu] il vu.*

"This gate is the way from Ardre, seems that it will be good [that] it seen."

At the left-hand corner,

*aquy nō se posse fairre bolonuirks de terre per qui et le plus halte
de la ville et parfonde de la parte dehorrs et pour tanto et mas for-
terresse et lemallirs de la parte de denho (?) les casses mates par
dehors.*

"Here it is not possible to make bulwarks of earth, because it is the highest part of the town, and deep on the part without ; and therefore it is a stronger fortress, and better for those within the casemates than without."

The inscription at the further gate is

*porte uer pari que deve starer serrade pour que et la loge plus
debil de la ville.*

"The gate towards Paris, which ought to remain closed, because it is the weakest place of the town."

A COMMENTARIE OF THE SERVYCIES AND CHARGIES
THAT MY LORD MY FATHER WAS EMPLOYED IN
WHYLLST HE LYVED. *For Lav. Hollyngshead.*

[The passages printed in Italics are those *added* to the original manuscript, but in the same hand ; those passages or words of the original which are erased are printed in the foot notes.]

ABOWTE xxj or xxij yeeres of hys age, *in the raygne of that famus* A. D. 1530,
prince Henry 8, hee bowght the office of Hams castell: I know 23 Hen. 8,
not well of whowme;^a but, as I thynck, eyther of the lord Moun- 29 June.
Joye^b or Audeley;^c marrie let better sertche bee made for that, or
els pass it over.

At the journey too Bulleyne hee was appoynted too followe the A. D. 1544,
duke of Northefolck^d to the siege of Mountrell,^e and was, I take 36 Hen. 8.
it, coronell of the footemen, thowghe that tearme in those dayes June.
unuzed. In that servyce, at a sallie that the ennemie made, hee was
shott thowroghe the left shullder, servyng that daye onely in a cutt
jeerkin with sweard and targett.

^a The patent has been found ; and it shows that lord Mountjoy was lord Grey's predecessor : see Appendix, No. I.

^b William Blount, fourth lord Mountjoy, succeeded sir Edward Poynings as governor of Tournay, 7th of Henry VIII.

^c John Touchet, lord Audley, son of James lord Audley, who was beheaded for rebellion in 1497. He had the title restored in 4 Henry VIII. and restitution of his lands in 25 Henry VIII. He attended the king at the taking of Therouenne.

^d Thomas duke of Norfolk, in this expedition, had command of the "voward" of the army. In his suite, Holinshed mentions "the lorde Grey of Wilton, lieutenant of Hammes, whose name even then began to growe famous."

^e After the taking of Boulogne, Sept. 8, the siege of Montreuil was raised.

October. *The king beeyng retourned from the wynnyng of Bulleyne, and the earle of Hartford^f left as generall, my lord was appoynted to repayre untoo hym, with whowme hee served, I know not in what*
 1544-5. *charge, tyll that the Dalphin^g and mounsieur de Beese^h were retyred, and the sayed earle called hoame; then was hee remoovedⁱ from Hams (which yet hee served by deputie, and that was myne uncle sir George Soomersett^j) too Gwysnes towne,^k whereof hee had the soale gouvernement, with all the bandes of footemen and horssmen^l within that precinct,^m the castell onely excepted, wherof sir Jhon Wallap was then captayne.ⁿ*

1545,
37 Hen. 8.

^f Edward earl of Hertford, afterwards duke of Somerset, governor of his nephew king Edward VI. and protector of the realm.

^g Henry son of Francis I. became dauphin on the death of his eldest brother Francis, 1536, and was afterwards Henry II. of France.

^h Monsieur de Bayes or Bees was the French captain of Boulogne; see the Chronicle of Calais, pp. 40, 197. He is styled by Holinshed, at the period before us, "Monsieur de Biez, one of the marshals of Fraunce, and governour also, in the absence of monsieur de Vandosme, of Picardie." First edit. p. 1594.

ⁱ "Shortly after the wynnyng of Bullen hee was remooved." Orig.

^j Charles first earl of Worcester, natural son of Henry duke of Somerset (who lost his life in 3 Edw. IV.), married to his second wife Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas lord la Warr, by whom he had issue,—sir Charles Somerset, knight, captain of the tower of Rysebank, in the haven of Calais; sir George Somerset, of Badmundesfield, in com. Suff. knight; and Mary, a daughter, married to William lord Grey of Wilton. Brooke's Catalogue of Nobility.

^k Holinshed recounts the following gallant exploit of lord Grey during the time he was captain of Guisnes, in the summer of 1545, "The capitaine of Arde, monsieur de Dampiere, having got for a supplie from the French camp at Boullogne the companie of the men at armes that belonged unto the duke of Orleans, led by his lieutenant monsieur de Tavannes, chanced one day to encounter with the Englishmen, guyded by that valiant baron the lord Greie of Wylton, capitaine of the towne of Guines, who, being accompanied with a number of valiant gentlemen and soldiars, distressed their ennemyes, and slew the captayn of Arde the foresayd lord de Dampierre there in felde." First edit. p. 1603.

^l See his commission to the command of "the Crews." Appendix, No. II.

^m "beelonging too that quarter." Orig.

ⁿ Sir John Wallop, K.G. of whom ample memoirs will be found in Collins's Peerage, art. Portsmouth, having been previously successively marshal and lieutenant of Calais, made his will when "lieutenaunte of the castill and countye of Guysnes," May 22, 1554, and died in that town on the 7th July following.

The earle of Surrey^a beeyng called hoame, hee was made gouver-
 nor of Bulleyne and all Bullenoyes,^b and, yf I remember well,
 general of the whoale province on that syde the sea. Heere I call
 too mynde one pretie exploytt (beesides oother) that I have hard
 hym tell of, not tending so mootche too hys owane prayse, as too
 the *expression*^c of the kynges noble *mynde and* courage, with the
 greate secret trust that hee reposed in my lord. Thus it was:
 Beefore my lord's comyng too this charge the fortification of the
 Frentche forte, alias Shastilion, was beegoon^d and, I *think*,^e a August,
 moonethe or twoo oald; there was allso now a surcease *from*^f 1545.
 war beetwyxt the princes taken. My lord perceavyng the greate
 inconvenience that this new buylding wolde bryng too *the*^g towne
 yf it went forward, dyd advertyse the kyng *of it*,^h earnestly com-
 mendyng the same to bee well considered of. Sir Thomas
 Paulmerⁱ was the messenger. The king, uppon the intelligence,

^a The poet earl of Surrey. He was field-marshal of the army in the campaign of 1545; and after the winning of Boulogne was constituted (Sept. 3,) the king's lieutenant and captain-general of all his army within the town and county of Boulogne. (See the note in p. iv. of the Preface.)

^b The patent will be found in the Appendix, No. III.

^c "beetokenyng." Orig.

^d "During the French admiral's being in England, [which was in August,] monsieur de Chatillon, capitain of Montplaisier, began to make a new bastilion even at the very mouth of the haven, naming it Chatillons gardeyn." Holinshed, p. 1609. The privy council had directed the earl of Surrey's attention to it in October.

^e "ween." Orig.

^f "of." Orig.

^g "hys." Orig.

^h "therof." Orig.

ⁱ Sir Thomas Palmer, third son of sir Edward Palmer, knight, seems to have been a busy actor in all the stirring scenes of this eventful period; and, although his valour was

The parallel passage in Holinshed.

"Wherupon that noble gentleman the lord Grey of Wilton, shortly after appointed to be deputie of the towne and countie of Boulongne, perceiving the great inconvenience that this new buylding would bring to the towne if it went forwards, did advertise the king thereof, earnestly beseechyng his grace that the matter

asked *the*^a counsell's advyce; which whoaly went that, *consideryng it couldd not bee healped withowte utter infringing of the conditions of the truce, it was in no wyze too bee attempted.*^b Thus resolved, the secretarie (which was my lord Paget,^c then but knyght) was commaunded accordingly too drawe a letter unto my lord, the which the king hymself dyd sygne; wyllyng that the messenger shulde further know of hys pleazure beefore hee departed: wherupon sir Thomas, havyng hys dispatche at the secretaries handes, did gett woorde too bee guyven therof too the

without discretion, yet, had he confined himself to military exploits, he might have handed down to posterity a name less unenviable than is now the case. Holinshed first mentions him as being employed under sir John Wallop in his expedition to aid the emperor against the French. He was subsequently, when knight-porter of Calais, taken prisoner by the French. To pass over the events recorded by our author, we find the chronicler attributing the defeat and loss of lord Grey's troops at Haddington, to the "unadvised rashness of sir Thomas Palmer." In 1551 he was arrested and committed to custody with the duke of Somerset, lord Grey, and others. According to Hume, he "had all along acted the part of spy upon Somerset," and consequently appears on the duke's trial as the principal witness against him. In short, throughout this business he seems to have been a creature of the duke of Northumberland, with whom he suffered decapitation on the 22d August 1553.

^a "hys." Orig.

^b "the conditiones of the truce were by no meanes too be infringed." Orig.

^c Sir William Paget was of humble extraction, but, says Dugdale, "naturally endowed

The parallel passage in Holinshed.

might be thoroughly considered of. Sir Thomas Palmer was the messenger. The king, uppon the intelligence, asked hys counsels advice; which only went wholly that the conditions of the peace were not in anye wise to be infringed. This resolved, secretarie Paget, then knight and afterwards lord, was commaunded accordingly to drawe a letter to the lord Grey, the which the kyng himselfe did signe, willing that the messenger shuld further knowe of his pleasure before he departed. Wherupon sir Thomas Palmer, having his dispatche at the secretaries hands, did get word

king, whow presently^a *sent* for hym into hys pryvie chamber, and beetwyxt them twoo uzed theze woordes: Paulmer, yow have there a letter from us to the lord Grey, that hee doo in no wyze deale in the matter that hee hathe by yow advertyzed us of; notwithstanding, I wyll that yow delyver hym this message from us,—Byd him call too mynde how that hys breetherne and hymself, not awhyle, but eeven from chyldisshe yeeares, nor far of, but styll neere too owre persone, wee have browght up; the which tell hym, not unjustly, yf that bee in hym that wee conceave doothe breede in us an *greater*^b trust of hys fervencie too

with excellent parts, as may seem by his ascent from so low a condition to those high preferments whereunto by sundry degrees he attained." He rose through the patronage of bishop Gardiner, having been one of the clerks of the signet, and of the privy council; was knighted about the year 1543; and in 1544 was made one of the principal secretaries of state. In Jan. 1546-7 he was elected a knight of the garter; and in the following December summoned to parliament as lord Paget of Beaudesert.

^a "dyd send." Orig.

^b The original expression here was "odder," i. e. other. See note below.

The parallel passage in Holinshed.

to be given to the king, who presently sent for him into his privie chamber, and betwixte them two used these words: Palmer, you have there a letter from us to the lord Grey, that he do in no wyse deale in the matter that he hath by you advertised us of; notwithstanding, I will that you deliver him this message from us,—Bid him call to minde howe that his brethren and himselfe, not a shorte time, but even from tender yeres, nor farre off, but still nere to our person, we have broght him up, which (tel him) not unjustly, if that be in him that we conceyve doth breede in us an odde* trust of fervencie to serve us of him, more than a common

* This is the first of several cases in which the words of the Grey MS. were misprinted by Holinshed. Arthur lord Grey wrote "an odder," meaning *another* or superior confidence. The mode of expression, "another than," was not uncommon at the time. In the second edition of Holinshed, the word is printed "od"; but, after the original MS. had been

serve us then of a common servant or subject. By that toaken, wyll hym, whatsoever I have wrytten too the contrarie, that presently hee empeatcche the fortification of Chastilion, and rase it yf it bee possible; and this my message shall bee hys cleering therin, and the servyce gratefully accepted. Sir Thomas, somewhat estonyed heereat, considering the waygh-tines of the cause, and the contrarietie of the letter and message, beegan too put the kyng in mind of the small credit that hys bare arrant of ryght was lyke too have, so flatt agaynst the import of hys majesties wryting. But the king, cutting of hys ^a *speech*, Delyver thou the message, quoth hee; at hys choyce then bee the executyng therof. Sir Thomas, thus dispatched, with greate speede arryved at Bullen, immediately uppon the openyng of the gates at afternounge. Hys letter and message delyvered, my lord

^a "tale." Orig.

The parallel passage in Holinshed.

servant or subject. By that token wil him, whatsoever I have written to the contrary, that he presently impeache the fortification of Chatillons garden, and rase it if it be possible; and this my message shall be his cleering therein, and the service gratefully accepted. Sir Thomas Palmer, somewhat astonied hereat, considering the weightinesse of the cause, and the contrarietie of the letter and message, began to put the king in mind of the small credite that his bare errand of right was like to have, so flatte against that whiche his majesties letters imported. But the kyng, cutting off his tale, Deliver thou the message (quod he); at his choyce then bee the executyng thereof. Sir Thomas, thus dispatched, wyth great speed arrived at Boulongne immediatly upon the openyng of the gates at after noone. His letters and message delivered, the lord Grey streighte assembled the counsell; shewed

returned to the writer, he, perceiving that the word had been misunderstood, altered it to "greater."

strayght assembled the councell; sheowed unto them the king hys letter; that read, hee caused sir Thomas too pronounce beefore them the message allso. Everie man was too saye hys advyce. Yt went rowndely throwghe the bourde, withowte any question, that the letter was to bee followed, the message not too bee stayed on. My lord havynge hard, not replying any thyng, wylled sir Thomas too bee called in agayne,^a *bad* hym repeate hys message, and therwhyllst made a clarck of the councell too wryte the same verbatim;^b *thys* doonne, hee^c *wylled sir Thomas Pallmer to sett hys hand thertoo, and then requyred the whoale table beesydes as witnessies of the same too doo the lyke*:^d which they dyd. Then my lord, takynge the same into hys owane handes, withowte further openyng hys resolution,^e brake up councell; commaunded

^a "wylled." Orig.

^b "that." Orig.

^c "prayed the whoale table too sett theyr handes unto yt." Orig.

^d Holinshed has, "without further opening, *declaring* his resolution." (p. 1610.) This must be an error, as secrecy was evidently lord Grey's policy.

^e Lord Herbert of Cherbury, in his "Life and Raigne of King Henry the VIIIth,"

The parallel passage in Holinshed.

them the king's letters; which red, he caused sir Thomas to pronounce before them the message also. Everie man was to say his advice. It went roundly thorough the boorde, without anye question, that the letter was to be followed, the message not to be stayed on. The lord Grey having herd, and not replying any thing, willed sir Thomas to be called in agayne, bad him repete his message, and therwhilst made a clerke of the counsel to write the same *verbatim*. This don, he prayed the whole table to set their handes unto it, which they did, and my lorde Grey taking the same into his hands, without further opening, declaring his resolution, brake up counsell; commaunded streight the gates to be shut; gave privie warning that certain bandes with armour and weapon, and lykewyse pioners, should that night by an houre be in a readinesse. The

strayght the gates too bee shutt; guave pryvie warnyng that certayne bandes with armoor and weapoon, and lykewyze pyoners, shulld that nyght by an oware bee in readines. The oware coom, hyssellf with the warned companie yssued owte, passed over, and, withowte any larme too the ennemie, overthrew in .iij. or .iiij. owares what in .ij. or .iij. mounthes had been rayzed: so^a *in greate quyetnes retourned into the towne*. Prezently hee dispatched sir Thomas back agayne too the king with the newys; whowse retourn was so sooddayne as the king hymself, beeyng in the chambre of presence, and seeyng hym whan hee cam in, beefore sir Thomas, in dooyng hys reverencies, coulde coom unto hym, dyd asck hym aloude,—What, wyll hee doo yt or no? Sir Thomas, gyyvng no oother awnswer, but presenting hys letters, and sayeng that therby hys majestie shulde knowe, the king agayne in earnest moode,—

gives a different version of this transaction, following his relation with an evident attack on the correctness of Holinshed's information, "which passage," says he, "I have related more particularly out of our records, that I might correct the error of some of our historians, who would have our king deliver Palmer a message and letter that were contradictory; whereas it appears by our records that the message was first delivered, and the business done before the letters came."

^a "retourned that mornyng." Orig.

The parallel passage in Holinshed.

houre comen, himself with the warned companie issued out, passed over the water, and, without any alarme of the enimie, overthrew in .iij. or four houres what in .ij. or three moneths had bin reysed: and so in great quietnes returned into the towne. Prezently he dispatched sir Thomas Palmer back agayne to the king with the newes; whose returne was so sodeyn as the king hymself, being in the chamber of presence, and seing him, sayd aloude,—What, wyll he do it or no? Sir Thomas, giving none other answer, but presenting his letters, and saying that therby his majestie should know, the king again in earnest mood, — Nay tell us

Nay, tell us, I saye, whyther hee wyll doo it or no? Then sir Thomas toald hym that it was doon, and the whoale fortification cleane rased. Wherat the king, takyng greate joye, presently called too certayne of my lords of the counsell that were by, and sayed: How saye yee, my lords? Chastilion, the new forte, is layed as flatt as thys flowre. One strayght amongst them guave judgement that hee that had doonne it was woorthy too looze hys head: the king strayght replyed that hee had rather looze a dozen sutche heads as hys that so judged then one sutche servantes that had doon it; and dyd commaunde that my lord's pardoon were presently made, the which with a letter of greate thanckes and promys of reward was retourned by the sayed sir Thomas too my lord; but the rewarde fayled, the king not contynuyng long after.^a

^a Holinshed here adds, "The like happe wherof had oftentimes happened unto divers of his worthie auncestors upon their due desertes to have bin considered of, and therefore the case the lesse strange." This family fortune was handed down to posterity,

The parallel passage in Holinshed.

I say, whether he will do it or not? Then sir Thomas tolde him that it was doone, and the whole fortification cleane rased. Whereat the king taking great joy, presently called to certain of the lordes of the counsel that were by, and sayd: How say you my lords, Chatillon's garden, the new forte, is laid as flat as this floore. One streight amongst them gave judgment, That he that had done it was worthy to lose his head. The king straight replyed, he had rather lose a dozen such heads as his was that so judged than one such servant's as had done it: and herewith he commanded, that the lord Grey's pardon should presently be made, the which, with a letter of great thanks, and promise of rewarde, was returned by the sayd sir Thomas Palmer to the sayd lord Grey; but the reward fayled, the king not continuing long after in lyfe. *Holinshed, 1st edit. 1577, f. 1609.*

1546-7,
1 Edw. VI.
February.

Thys office of Bulleyn hee kept tyll the duke of Soomersett's joorney intoo Scotland, in the fyrst yeere of Edward the vjth ; at which hee was made marshall of the field,^a and caryed over with hym the men at armes of Bulleyn, a bande of launcies of hys owane, and anoother of harquebuziers, that were Italianes. Heere I have hard my lord tell how that the duke at the armies entryng into Scotland had gueeven a strayght commaundement that no offre of skyrmysshe by Scottyshe horsemen shuld bee taken ; wheruppon the Scotts in owre martche woold contynually coom pricking, as they call it, and shootyng within theyr speare lengthes of owre horsmen, and with bragges and reaylinges never lyv egging us : which my lord mootche myslyking, dyd one nyght,

as appears from the following letter from Charles the First to sir Rowland Egerton, who married the author's daughter, now preserved at Oulton-park :

" To our trusty welbeloved sir Rowland Edgerton, bart.

" Trusty and welbeloved, wee greete you well. Though wee are unwilling in the least degree to presse upon our good subjects, yet wee must obey that necessity which compells us in this publike distraction, when our owne money and revenue is seized and deteyned from us, to lay hold on anything, which with God's blessing may be a meanes to preserve this kingdom ; wee must therefore desyre you forthwith to lend us the somme of 2000^b. for our necessary support and the maintenance of our army, which wee are compelled to rayse for the defence of our person, the Protestant religion, and the laws of the land. Wee have trusted this bearer to receive it of you ; and wee doe promise you, in the word of a King, to repay the same with interest ; and of this service wee cannot doubt, since if you should refuse to give us this testimony of your affection you will give us too great cause to suspect your duty and inclination both to our person and to the publike peace. Given att our court att Oxford, the 8th of February 1642."

^a " The lorde Grey of Wilton was ordeyned hyghe marshall of the sayde armye, and capitayne generall of all the horsemenne, beyng in number sixe thousand." (p. 1615).

The parallel passage in Holinshed.

Here we have to understand that the Scots light horsemen oftentimes woulde come pricking almost within their staves' length of the Englishmen as they marched, whoouping and shouting, to the ende they mighte traine them forth from their strength, and with rayling words would stil be in hand to provoke them therto.

beeing at supper with the duke, crave leave, that hee myght, yf they contynued in that braverie, the next tyme sett them farther of. The duke at the fyrst wolde by no meanes assent unto it, tellyng my lord that hys dezyre proceeded more of a jolytie of courage then knowlege of the ennemie, and seemed to defend the goodnes of theyr horssmen. My lord styll persisting in hys sute, and makyng offre of the loss of hys credytt, in case hee myght bee suffred, yf ever the enemye pricked agayne so nyghe, the earl of Warwyck^a allso assystyng hys request, the duke in soom collor dyd yeelde thertoo, and that the rather, he toald my lord, because hee hooped that so hee shulld well paye for the wytt, which ootherwyze hee myght have gotten better cheape; marry that hee would have no moa adventured, then those horssmen that hee had browght from Bulleyn with hym. The next daye (beeing the 1547, Frydaye beefore the battayle) the camp remoovyng, my lord, with Sept. 9.

^a John Dudley, afterwards duke of Northumberland.

The parallel passage in Holinshed.

But the duke of Somerset, doubting the goodnesse of those Scottish prickers, gave secret commandment that no offer of skirmish by the Scottish horsmen should be taken. But at length the lord Grey of Wilton, not able to beare such bold presumption in the Scots, adventuring as he tooke it over rashly and more than stood with their owne suertie, made sute to the duke of Somerset that if they continued in such braverie it mighte bee lawfull for him to set them further off. The duke at the first would by no means assent thereto, telling the lord Grey that hys desire proceeded more of a jolitie of courage, than of anie knowledge of the enimie, and seemed to defende the goodnesse of the Scottish horsemen: but, when the lord Grey persisted in his sute, and the earle of Warwike assisted his request, the duke in the ende yeelded thereto. Hereuppon, when the Scottes* the next time, whiche was on the

* Altered to the lord Hume with the Scots in edit. 1587.

hys Bullenoyes bandes, had the vauwarde of the martche; hys owane of a hundrethe horss intoo twoo troupes hee had devyded, appoynting the one too martche a pretie space beefore the oother; on the wyng of the hyndmor trowpe hee appoyntes hys Italianes too garde; hyssellf with the men at armes coomes an oother space beehynde, indyfferently in the myddest of those twayne. For the fyght thys ordre guave hee too the leaders of these troupes, that too which so ever the ennemie shulld fyrst offre, in no wyse that^a *any awnswer by skyrmyshe were made* them, but, havynge tyllled them too theyr accustomed dallying, and bragging of charge, the troupe that it was offered unto, presently uppon the enemies wheelyng aboute, shulld thowrogly guyve it them, and that so guyven, the next troupe presently too guyve it in the face; and so as occasion asked eatche troupe whole toogether too heelp

^a "any awnswer were made." Orig.

The parallel passage in Holinshed.

Friday the ninth of September, came forth to offer the skirmish after their wonted maner, the lord Grey, taking with him certayne bands of horsemenne, both menne of armes, demilaunces, and also lighte horsemenne, devided them in troupes, appoynting the Spanish and Italian hagbutters on horsebacke to keepe on a wing, and to gard the hindermost troupe of the English horsemenne, giving order to the leaders of every troope, that to which soever the enimie should once offer, in any wise that no aunswer by skirmishe were made them, but, after they had drawen them to their accustomed play and proffer of charge, that troupe that it was offered unto, presently uppon the enimies wheeling about, should thoroughly gyve it them; and that so given, the next troupe presently to give it in the face, and so as occasion required both those troupes wholly togyther to help other without breaking. The

oother withowte breakyng. Owre camp had no sooner now taken their martche but that the Scottes on everie syde came pryckyng and huyng after theyr oald woont. My lord's men forbare a greate whyle, tyll at the last a .iiij. or .v C. of them coomyng scattered on the spur with a merveylus shute within theyr staves lengthe of the formost troupe, and thynking then, as was theyr guyze, too have wheeled aboute, Gaynesford, the leader of that troupe and lyeftennant of my lord's owane bande, cryed the charge, which as hottly as unlooked for beeyng guyven, from charging in sporte the Scottes fell too runnyng away in earnest, wherat the rest of theyr horssmen (esteemed at the feowest 1000), beeyng amazed, fell lykewyze too the trying of theyr horssies speede. Thus was the greatiest parte of the Scottisshe force in horssmen thys daye overthrowen, and a greate sorte of pryzoners taken, amongst which the earle of Huntley was one.^a

^a Our author appears to be in error respecting the capture of the earl of Huntley, who was not taken prisoner until the next day. Holinshed says, "they had killed of the

The parallel passage in Holinshed.

Scottes comming forward, pricking and whoouping after their olde wont, the Englishmen forbare a great whyle, tyll at the last, foure or fyve hundred of them comming skattered upon the spurre, with a marvellous shoute within their staves' length* of the foremost troupe, and thinking then to have wheeled about, maister Nicholas Gaynesford, the leader of that troupe, and lieutenant of the lord Grey's band of his men of armes of Bulloigne, cryed a charge, whych as speedily on the English parte as unlooked for of the Scottes beeing given, from charging at that time in sport, the Scottes were driven to gallop awaie so fast as theyr horses myghte beare them, losing of their companyes that were taken and slayne to the number of an eyght hundred or more. *Holinshed, Historie of Scotland*, p. 468.

* Altered to within a stone's length in edit. 1587.

Saturday,
Sept. 10.

At the daye of the battayle this speetche allso passed betweene the duke and my lord, eyther camp beeyng within syght of oother. The Scottes were spyed in greate haste and order of battayle too martche, nay rather too *trot*^a toowardes the hyll, the takyng whereof was no less peryllus too them that lost it then of advauntage too them that wan it. The duke was tould of thys, the alarme guyven, everie man tooke hys armes. The duke cam fourthe, and, behoolding theyr hasty martche, sayed openly that they ment not too fyght. My lord, standing bye, toald hym that hys grace woold fynde it ootherwyze, and further that hee woold jeopard hys lyeff that they woolde fight that daye with hym; and that sutche theyr haste was not for feare, but for advauntage. The duke, after a whyle standing in opinion, and perceavyng the enemies the whyllst too have very neere gotten the hyll, dyd asck what was then best to doo. My lord awnswered that the onely waye was by adventuryng of soom horssmen too staye the ennemies martche, and therwhylyst owre *battayles*^b too gett the hyll. Yea marry, quoth the duke, but whowme shall wee have too take that uppon hym. Your grace, quoth my lord, shall not thynck that I wyll bee a devysor of that which I dare not allso bee an enterpryzor of, thowghe the desperatnes of the servyce bee no whytt unknownen too me; but where extremitie presseth choyce and skyll must guyve place; onely crave I, at your grace's hande, too stand good too my wyeff and chylderne, whatsoever of mee doothe beecoom. The which the Protector promyzing to doo, my lord lept too horss, and with hys men at armes of Bulleyne and hys oawne bande of launcyes onely (savyng a feowe of gentlemen pensyoners and certayne oother courtyares that of theyr owane good wylles accompanied hym) went and chardged the whoole ennemies battayle, and therby (God assistyng) gat the purpose of the enterpryze; for,

Scots within a three houres above the number of thirteene hundred, and taken the maister of Hume, the lorde Hume's son and heire, two priests, and sixe gentlemen." (p. 1620.)

^a "run." Orig.

^b "armye." Orig.

the ennemies therwith stayed and shaken, wee in the meane whyle recoovered the hyll and presently after the victorie.^a My lord at thys charge receaved a greate wownde in the mouthe with a pyke, sutche as clave one of his teethe, strake hym thowroghe the tongue, and three fyngers deepe into the rouff of the mouthe:^b yet notwithstanding hee poursued owte the chase, wheryn, whot with the aboundance of blood, heate of the weather, and dust of the press, hee *had surely been suffocated*^c had not the duke of Northehumberland, then earle of Warwyck, lyghted and lyfted a fyrcken of ale too hys head, as they passed thowroghe the Scottische camp.^d (Thus mootche of my lord hys owane mouthe concernyng the battayle I doo beare awaye.)^e

^a The historian Hume, in his account of this battle, says that lord Grey "neglected his orders, left his ground, and at the head of his heavy-armed horse made an attack on the Scots infantry, in hopes of gaining to himself all the honour of the victory." I have been at a loss to discover what authority the historian can have had for this serious aspersion on the character of lord Grey; Holinshed (from whom Hume professes to derive his information) loses no opportunity of testifying to the high-mindedness, talents, and discretion of this distinguished general; and on the occasion in question, not only tells us that the decisive victory of this memorable day was mainly attributable to the check the Scots received from the gallant charge of lord Grey and his horse, but also informs us that that charge was undertaken by lord Grey in compliance with the express wishes of a council of war summoned on the field, in a case of great emergency and danger, when no one else was found to volunteer his services. The following passage alone from Holinshed, in reference to this battle, fully exonerates lord Grey from the slander of the historian: "Whiche enterprise, though it seemed ryghte daungerous to the assaylers, yet was it not more wisely devised by the counsayle than valiantly and willingly executed of the lord marshall and the others." (p. 1622.)

^b Holinshed gives the following description of lord Grey's wound: "For the lord Grey with a pike through the mouth was rased along from the tippe of the tong, and thrust that waye very daungerously more than two inches within the necke." (p. 1624.)

^c "was allmost suffocated." Orig.

^d Lord Grey was not long disabled by his wound, as we find on the 22d of this month (the victory having been gained on the 10th) he was appointed to receive the delivery of of Hume Castle.

^e Lord Grey received the honour of knighthood from the Protector, at Berwick, on the 28th September.

1548, An. Next now at the retournyng hoame of the Protector^a hee was
 Reg. 2. left goovernor of Barwyck, warden of *the East*^b marchies, and
 "vz. 2 E. 6." generall of the northe parts.^c In thys tyme Hadington was
 Orig. beesieged,^d for the relieff whereof my lord entending a vyage,
 and all thynges so far in a readines as the next day hee ment too
 have sett forwarde, coomes letters that nyght from the courte,
 wylling hym too perfourme that servyce by deputie, and too staye
 hym self for the receavyng of my lord of Shrewosbery,^e whow
 now was sent with a new powre as generall into those partes. My
 lord sent in hys stead sir Thomas Paulmer and sir Robart
 Bowes:^f marrye of all the launcies sir Thomas had the rule,

^a "But nowe that Rockesbrough was sufficiently made defensible (the which to see it secured the duke of Somerset had vowed before hee would thence depart), his grace and the counsaill did first determine that my lorde Grey shoulde remaine upon the borders there, as the king's lieutenant." (p. 1633).

^b boath the." Orig.

^c During this period, "it was thought expedient to fortifie the towne of Hadington; whereupon the lord Gray, lieutenant of the north partes, with sir Thomas Palmer and sir Thomas Holcroft, were appoynted to goe thither."—"During his abode there, diverse exploytes were bothe valiauntly attempted and luckilye atchieved by his martiall conduct and politique direction." (Holinshed, p. 1634.) "Now after that my lorde Grey had fortified Hadington, and furnished it with vittayles and munitions sufficient, the .xij. of June he departed thence homewardest, leaving there in garrison about two thousand footmen and .v. C. horsmen." (p. 1635.)

^d "The next daie the Frenchmen and Scottes with their whole power came before Hadington," &c. &c. (Ibid.)

^e Francis eighth earl of Shrewsbury, K.G.

^f "After this there came a power of English horsemen, to the number of little lesse than two thousande demielances, light horsemen, and arquebusiers on horsebacke, under the leading of sir Robert Bowes, sir Thomas Palmer, sir Henry Wharton, capitayne Gambo, a Spaniarde, and others, the which, adventuring over rashly within daunger of the whole French power, were overthrowen and chased. Sir Robert Bowes and sir Thomas Palmer, with a great number of other capitaynes, gentlemen, and souldiers beyng taken prysoners, besyde those that were slayne." (Holinshed, *Historie of Scotland*, p. 474.) Sir Robert Bowes appears to have been unfortunate in his Scotch expeditions, for in 1542, when he was sent to invade Scotland with 3000 men, his force was put to flight by the earl of Huntley, and he, his brother Richard, and 600 others were taken prisoners at Haldenrig, and kept in Scotland until after the death of king James V. See Holinshed, *Historie of Scotland*, pp. 455, 458.

whowse selfwyll and glorie in that joorney dyd cast awaye the whoale power, for they were all overthrowen; in which defeayte my lord lost lxxij great horssies, 100 geldinges, and all the men uppon theyr backes, armed with hy owane furnytüre; onely cam there hoame iij or v of hys men, of which Thomas Cornewallys^a and Robart Carwere then my lord's pagies.^b

A yeere after this, or therabowte, my lord havynge leave too 1549. repayre too the courte, the great and generall rebellion came, wheruppon hee was sent as lyftennant into the shyres of Buckingham and Oxford,^c where havynge appeased all, hee had commaundment too goo with hys power into the West countrie,^d where hee joyned with the olde earle of Bedford,^e and dyd greate servycies at Clyst^f and ootherwheares.^g

^a Thomas Cornwallis was some years afterwards groom porter to queen Elizabeth.

^b "My lorde Gray remayning on the borders, lieutenant of the North partes, after the earle of Shrewsbury (with the rest of the armye) was returned home, assembled al the horsemen then lying on the borders, and, being backed with the Almaine footemen, entred againe with the same horsemen into Scotlande, burning and wasting in the countreys of Tivdale and Liddesdale, for the space of twentye miles, both house, corne, hay, and all other things that came within their reach, and after returned without incounter." Holinshed, p. 1639.

^c "About the same time that this rebellion began in the West, the like disordered hurles were attempted in Oxefordshire and Buckinghamshire; but they were speedilye appeased by the lorde Grey of Wilton." Holinshed, p. 1656; quoting Foxe.

^d "For the pacifying of these rebelles (in Devonshire) were appoynted by the king and his counsaile sir John Russell, knight, lorde privie seale, the lord Grey of Wilton, sir Willyam Herbert, after earle of Pembroke, sir John Paulet, sir Hugh Paulet, sir Thomas Speake, and others, with a convenient power of men of warre, both on horsebacke and foote. Amongst other, there came certaine straungers that cam with my lorde Grey, as captaine Germaine, an Hennowyer, with a band of horsemen, most part Albanoyes and Italians. Also captaine Paule Baptist Spinola, an Italian, borne of a noble house in Genoa, with a bande of Italian footemen." Holinshed, p. 1651.

^e John lord Russell, K.G. on this occasion defeated the Devonshire and Cornish rebels at Feniton bridge, and relieved the city of Exeter. (Hayward's Edward VI. and Godwin's Annals.) He was created earl of Bedford on the 19th January following. In one of his despatches to the council on this occasion, he writes, "The lord Grey and Mr. Herbert have served notably." Strype, Mem. ii. Repos. D.D.

^f St. Mary's Clist, in the eastern division of the hundred of Budleigh, co. Devon.

^g Holinshed makes no mention of lord Grey from this period until the declaration of

1551. At hys coomyng owte of the Tower then (where hee was for the duke of Somerset hys cause^a), the duke of Northumberland for amendes caused the king too guyve him the captayneshyp over the towne and castell of Gwysnes; whytche office hee kept tyll by the eares hee was pulled owte of the same, which chaunced the Chrystmas next ensuyng the siege and takyng of St. Quyn-
 1557-8. tines,^b in which joorneye my lord *bare the marshallship over^c* the Inglysshe armie.

Here bryeffly to speake of the siege and taking of Guysnes I judge it not alltogeather impertinent. Callyce beyng woonne,
 Jan. 1557-8 aboute a fortnyght after, uppon a thursdaye, doothe the Frentche
 Jan. 13. armie prezent itselff beefore the towne and castell of Gwysnes.^d The towne was a large thyng, and my lord unable any thyng lyke too man the same; wherefore aboute mydnyght, setting all the housies on fyre, hee drew all the soldiers into the Castell. Tyll the
 Jan. 17. moondaye next wee kept them sutche playe with greate ordinance and often salliese as scarsely too caste theyr trenchies, mutche less too plant any battrie they were able.

On the sayd moondaye mornyng, by the break of daye, they had layed twoo battries to the Marie bulwark, xiiij cannons in the one and ix in the oother, with which they plyed it so well as that by nowne they had not onely dysmounted owre counter batterie, but allso cleane cutt awaye the houe of bryck of the

war against France in 1557, when "the lord Grey of Wilton, lord marshall," is one of the leaders of the forces sent to Flanders to aid king Philip.

^a He was sent to the Tower with the duke of Somerset, Oct. 15, 1551. Machyn's Diary, p. 10.

^b St. Quentin's was taken August 27, 1557.

^c "was — of." Orig.

^d "Of which towne and castell at the same time there was capteine a valiant baron of England, called William lord Gray of Wilton." Holinshed, p. 1773.

The parallel passage in Holinshed.

On Monday morning therefore, by the breake of day, they had layde two batteries to the sayde bulwark, .xiiij. cannons in the one, and nine in the other, with which they plied it so well as that by noone they had not onely dismounted their counter batterie within,

whoale forfroont of owre bulwarck, wherwith, the fyllyng beeyng but of late dygged earthe, like sande dyd croomble awaye ; whytche the enemie fynding, aboute ij of the clock of the same afternounge, sent a xl or 50 forlorne boyes with swoordes and roondells^a too view and essaye the breateche. The dytche at that place beefore the battrie was not xxiiij foote brode, now assuredly not a doozen, nor in depthe aboove a man's kneese ; wherfore with small adoo they cam too the breatche, and with as lyttle payne ran up the same, the clym was so eazie ; from whence, havying dyscharged certayne pystoles uppon us, and receaved a feowe pussies of the pyke, they retyred ; and, makyng reporte (of lyke) of the eazines of the breatche, strayght a bande or twoo of Gascones (as it was thowght) throw themselvs into the dytche, and up they coome. Then a lyttle more earnestly wee leaned too owre tacklyng, owre flanckers wallckt, owre pykes, owre collers, owre pottes of wyllde fyre were

^a "targetts." Orig.

The parallel passage in Holinshed.

but also cleane cut away the hoope of bricke off the whole forefront of theyr bulwarkes, whereof the filling, being but of late digged earth, did crimble away ; which the enemie finding, about two of the clocke in the same afternoone, sent fortie or fiftie forlorne boyes with swordes and targets to view and assay the breach. The ditch at that place before the batterie was not .xxiiij. foote brode, nowe assuredlie not a dozen, nor in depth above a man's knees ; wherfore with small adoe they came to the breache, and with as little paine came up the same, the climbe was so easie ; from whence, having discharged certayne pistolles upon the English men, and receyved a few pushes of the pyke, they retyred ; and, making report of the easinesse of the breache, streight a bande or two of Gascoignes (as it was thought) threw themselves into the ditche, and up they came. Then a little more earnestly the English men leaned to theyr tackling, their flankers walked, theyr pikes, theyr culvers, their pots of wildfire were lent them, the harquebush

lent them, the harquebuss saluted them, so as jolly Mr. Gascone was sent downe with more haste then hee cam up with good speede; and so ended moundayes woork, soaving that uppon the retyre from the assaute they guave us vij or viij sutch terryble tyres of batterie as tooke cleane away from us the top of owre vammure and maundes, leavyng us all open too the cannon's mouthe; wherby surely, but for nyght that came on, wee had ben enforced too have habandoned the place. At thys assaute was slayne of jentlemen one captayne Bourne an Inglyshe-mon, very valyant, and a Spanyshe gentleman, whowse name I remember not; of the common soldiors, too the numbere of a 40 or 50; there was allso sore hurt at the same an oother Spannysshe captayne, with dyvers oother that for tediusnes I lett pass. At nyght my lord came into the bullwarck, and, havynge rendred thanckes to God for the dayes good success, dyd greatly commend

The parallel passage in Holinshed.

saluted them, so as joly maister Gascoigne was set* down with more hast than he came up with good speede; and so ended mondayes work, saving that upon the retyre from the assault they they gave seven or eight such terrible tyres of batterie as tooke cleane away from them within the toppe of their vawmure and maundes, leaving them all open to the canons mouth; whereby surely, but for night that came on, the Englishmen had beene forced to have abandoned the place. At this assault was slaine, of gentlemen, one captaine Bourne, an Englishman, verie valiant, also a Spanish gentleman, and common souldiors to the number of fortie or fiftie. There was also sore hurt at the same assault one other Spanish captaine, with diverse other, whom for the avoyding of tediousnesse I let passe. At night the lord Gray came to the bulwarke, and, having rendred thanks to God for that dayes good successe, did greatly commende them all for theyr manfull defence

* So misprinted, for sent.

them all for theyr manfull defence and valyant beehavyor, and exhorted them too continew therin, as the onely thyng wherin theyr saftie and good name dyd rest. The batterie (as beefore is toalde) havynge layed the bullwarck open, wee were enforced for the wynnyng of a new vammure too entrentche within the bullwarck vj foote in depthe and ix in thyckness which merveylusly dyd strayghten the piece, the same beeyng of no greate largenes beefore.

By the next daye, beeyng tuysdaye, they had planted ij bat- Jan. 18.
teries mo; the one in the marckett-place of the towne, of vj cannons, to beate a curteyne of the bodye of the castell; the oother uppon the rampier of the towne, of iij piecies, too beate the catt and a flanker of the barbecane; which twoo *commaunded*^a one syde of Mary bulwarck. Thys mornynge *the ennemie*^b moast beestowed in playeing at *owre*^c flankers, which the daye beefore

^a "garded." Orig.

^b "they." Orig.

^c "the." Orig.

The parallel passage in Holinshed.

and valiaunt behaviour, exhorting them to continue therein, as the onely thing wherein their safetie and good name did rest. The batterie (as before is tolde) having laid the bulwarkes open, they within were enforced for winning of a new vawmure to entrench within the bulwarke sixe foote deepe and nine in thicknesse, which marvellously did strengthen* the peece, the same being of no great largenesse before.

By the next day, being Tuesday, they had planted two batteries mo; the one in the market-place of the towne, to beate a curteyne of the bodie of the castell, of sixe canons; the other upon the rampire of the towne, of three pieces, to beate the catte and a flanker of the barbican; which two garded one side of the Mary bulwark. This morning they bestowed most in battering at the flankers, which the day before they had felt, and in deede wanne

* This word, altering the sense, evidently in error, and in opposition to the closing part of the sentence, is a strong proof of the originality of the Grey MS.

they had felt, and in deede welnyghe tooke everie one from us, savyng that of the catt, which laye hyghe and soomwhat secrett, and an oother at the end of a brayes by the gate on the oother syde of the bullwarck; all the rest, as those of the garden bullwarck (which chyeffly beeheald the mayne breatche), the barbecane, and the keepe were quyght beereaved us. And, beesydes, theye contynually entertayned the breatche with x and xj^a tyres the owre. In the afternounge, abowte the same owre that the daye beefore, a regimentt of *Swytzers*,^b with certayne bandes of Frentche, approteched the dyke, as yf prezently they wolde have guyven the assaute; but there dyd staye, sendyng too the breatche onely a coompanie or twoo, seeking therby too have discoovered what flanckers yet were left us, wherin they were prevented, my lord havynge beefore warned the gounners not too discloze them but uppon extremitie; and thus, after an owres playe with the harque-

^a "viij and ix." Orig.

^b "Allmaynes." Orig.

The parallel passage in Holinshed.

everie one from them within, saving that of the catte, which lay high and somewhat secrete, and another at the ende of a bray, by the gate on the other side of the bulwarke; all the rest, as those of the garden bulwarke (which chiefly behelde the maine breach), of the barbican, and of the keepe, were quite bereved them. And, besides, the enimie continually interteyned the breach with viii or ix tires the hour. In the afternoone, about the same houre that they made their attempt the daie afore, a regiment of Swisses, with certain bands of Frenchmen, approched the dike, as if presentlie they would have given the assault; but there they did stay, sending to the breach only a captain or two, seeking therby to have discovered what flankers yet were left to them within: wherin they were prevented, the lord Gray having before warned the gunners not to disclose them but upon extremity; and thus, after an houres play with the harquebush only, and a light offer or

buss onely, and a lyght offre or twoo of approtche, thys people retyred them, and guave the cannon place agayne, whytche by nyght had dryven us of new too beecome moalewarppes.^a

The morroghe, beeyng wednesdaye, by the pype of daye, all Jan. 19. the battriese beegan, and withowte intermission heald on tyll one of the clock in the afternounge; and in esspecyall that of the marckett place so prevayled, as havynge cleane ruyned the oald wall, dyd dryve thowroghe the rampyre and a new countermure of earthe rayzed uppon the same, where my lord, syttyng uppon a fourme, with sir Henry Paulmer^b and my coozin Lewys Dyve,^c hys deputie, made a fayre escape, the fourme beeyng strycken in

^a The common mole, moldwarp, *Scotticè* moudiewarp. Bell's Brit. Quad. p. 85.

^b Sir Henry Palmer, knight, was second son of sir Edward Palmer, knight, and elder brother of sir Thomas Palmer, who suffered with the duke of Northumberland.

^c Lewis Dyve, of Bromham, co. Bedford, esquire, sheriff of that county and Buckinghamshire in 37 Hen. VIII. and 14 Eliz. and of Bedfordshire alone in 25 Eliz., was the son of William Dyve, of the same place, esquire, who, through his mother, was cousin-german to lord Grey; sir Ralph Hastings, the third brother of William first lord Hastings (the celebrated lord chamberlain to king Edward IV.) having left daughters and coheiresses, Isabel, the wife of sir John Dyve, and Florence, the wife of Edward lord Grey. This Lewis Dyve was the grandfather of sir Lewis Dyve, a famous cavalier in the armies of Charles the First, of whom memoirs will be found in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1829, vol. xcix. part ii.

The parallel passage in Holinshed.

two of approche, this people retired them, and gave the canon place againe, which by night had driven them within anewe to become moldwarps, and to entrench themselves with all speed possible.

The morrow, being Wednesday, by the peepe of daie, all the batteries began, and without intermission held on till one of the clocke in the afternoone; and especially that in the market-place so prevailed, as having cleane ruined the old wall, did drive through the rampire and a new countermure of earth rayzed upon the same, where the lord Gray himself, sitting upon a forme, with sir Henry Palmer, and master Lewes Dive, his lordship's cousin and deputie, made a faire escape, the forme being stricken asunder

sounder under them, withowte any further harme too any of them, though sundrie oother that daye, and the oother followyng, lost theyr lyves on the same courteyne, by the forsayed battrie, which full in flanck dyd sweepe it; where yet was my lord hys onely aboode, as the chyeffiest place to view and reguarde the behavyoor and neede of all the oother limmes, from which allso a quaytte wellnyghe myght bee throwen into Mary bullwarck. The *ennemies cannon*,^a as is sayed, havynge played thus all the mornyng, and well sertched, as they thowght, everie corner that *casematti*^b myght lurck in, *abowte*^c the forsayed owre of one of the clock wee myght descrye the trentche beefore the breateche too bee stuffed with enseyngnes. My lord, strayght expecting that that followed, guave woorde strayght too everie place to stande on theyr garde, encouraging everie man too continew in theyr well beegoon endevoures. A tower that was called Webb's tower, and yet standyng, which flancked one syde of the beaten bullwarck,

^a "ordinance." Orig.

^b "flanckers." Orig.

^c "at." Orig.

The parallel passage in Holinshed.

under them, without any further harm to any of them, though sundrie other that daie and the other following lost their lives on the same curteyn by the foresayd battrie, which ful in flank did beat it; wherein yet was his lordship's onely abode, as his cheefest place to view and regard the behaviour and need of all the other limmes, from which also a quoit might be throwne into Mary bulwarke. The enimies canon (as is sayde) having playd thus all the morning, and well searched, as they thought, every corner that flankers might lurke in, about the foresaid houre of one of the clocke the Englishmen might descrie the trench before the breach to be stuffed with ensignes. The lord Gray, streight expecting that which followed, gave word incontinently to every place to stand on their gard, encoraging every man to continue in their wel begon endeavor. A tower that was called Web's tower, and yet standing, which flanked one side of the beaten bulwarke, he stuffed

hee stuffed with a xx^{tie} of the best shott, with curriares:^a *These thynges no sooner thus ordered, but that viij or ix enseyignes of Swytzers, and a three of Gascones, doo prezent themsellves uppon the counterscarff; and withowte staye the Gascones flye into the dytche, the breatche they run up, owre harquebusrie receaveth them, they twoo for one requyte us. The top of owre vammure, or rather trentche, they approteche, the pyke is offered, to handie blowes it coomes; then the Swytzar with a stately leazure steps into the dytche, close toogeather martchethe up the breateche; the fyght warmethe, the breatchies all coovered with the ennemie. The small shott in Webb's tower beegan now theyr partes, no bullet^b that went in vayne. On the oother syde agayne, xx of the Spanyardes, on the insyde of the^c brayes, had layed themsellves close tyll this heate of the assaute, and then sheow-*

^a The editor of Hayward's *Annals of Queen Elizabeth* explains "shott" to be a foot soldier who used fire-arms. Page 52, note.

^b "shott." Orig.

^c "open." Orig.

The parallel passage in Holinshed.

with .xx. of the best shot, with curriers. These things no sooner thus ordred, but that .viij. or .ix. ensignes of Swisses, and three of Gascoignes, do present themselves upon the counterscarfe; and without stay the Gascoignes flew into the ditch, run up the breach, whom they within receyve with harquebush shot, but they requite the Englishmen againe with two for one. The top of the vawmure, or rather trench, the enimie boldly approcheth, the pike is offred, to hand blowes it commeth. Then the Swisse with a stately leasure steppeth into the ditche, and close together marcheth up the breach; the fight increaseth, waxeth very hote, the breach all covered with the enimies. The small shot in Webbes tower began now their parts, no bullet that went in vaine. On the other side againe .xx. of the Spaniards on the inside of the brayes had laid themselves close till the heate of the assault; and

yng themselves, dyd no less gaule the ennemie then the tower; thus went it, no lustiliar assayled, then gallantly defended. At last, after an owres fyght and more, the gouvernores withowte fyndyng the greate slawghter that theyres went too, and small avayle, and perceavyng the twoo lyttle casimatti of tower and brayes too bee the chyeffiest annoyancies, dyd cause a retyre too bee sownded, and withall iij or iiij of the cannons in the marckett place to bee turned uppon Webbes tower; the which at twoo tyres browght cleane downe the same uppon the powre soldiores heads, wherin ij or three were slayne owtrygthe, oothers hurt too deathe, and that scaped best so maymed or bruzed as they were no more able to serve. The ennemie this whyle havynge breathed, and a brace of hundrethe shott putt fourthe onely too attend on the feowe Spanyardes that kept the corner of the brayes, the saute of fresshe is beegoonne, and theyr beaten bandes with *new coompanies*^a relieved.

^a "freshe supplies." Orig.

The parallel passage in Holinshed.

then shewing themselves, did no lesse gall the enimies than the tower; thus went it, no lustilier assayled than bravely defended. At last, after an hour's fight and more, the governors without, finding the great slaughter that theyrs went to, and small availe, and perceyving the two litle casemates of the tower and brayes to be the cheifest annoyances, did cause a retire to be sounded, and withall three or four of the canons in the market place to be turned upon Web's tower; the which at two tires brought cleane downe the same upon the soldiers' heads, wherin two or three were slain outright, others hurt to death, and who escaped best so maimed or brused as they wer no more able to serve. The enimie this while having breathed, and a brace of .C. shots put foorth only to attend on the few Spaniards that kept the corners of the brays, the assault of fresh is begun, and their beaten bandes with new companies relieved. The lord Gray also sent into the

My lord allso sent intoo the bullwarck 200. fresshe men. Now grew the fyght heavy uppon us, all owre defence restyng in the pyke and byll, owre chyeffest flanckers beeyng gone, owre placies to beestowe shott in taken from us, owre fyre woorckes in manner spent, the Spanysse shott on the oother syde so overlayed as not one of them but was eyther slayne or mard eare a quarter of the assaute was past. The eazines of the fyght thus alluryng the ennemie, unappoynted coompanies flew too the breateche, and coorage was on everie syde with them. My lord, perceavyng the extremitie, sent too the twoo fornamed flanckers that they shulde no longer spare; they strayght played: the dytechies and breatche beeyng coovered with men, what havock they made it is not hard to gess. These unlooked for gwestes made *the ennemie that was*^a coomyng too pause, and *the oother*^b allreadie coome too repent theyr haste. Three or foure boughtes of these salutatioons

^a "them that were." Orig.

^b "these that." Orig.

The parallel passage in Holinshed.

bulwarke two .C. fresh men. Now grew the fight heavy upon the Englishmen, al their defence resting in the pike and bill, their chiefest flankers being gone, their places to bestow shot in taken from them, their fireworkes in maner spent, the Spanish shot on the other side so overlayd as not one of them but was eyther slain or marred ere a quarter of the assault was past. The easinesse of the fight thus alluring the enimie, unappointed companies flew to the breach, and courage was on everie side with them; what havock they made it is not hard to gesse. My lord Gray, perceyving the extremitie, sent to the two forenamed flankers that they should no longer spare. They streight went off, the ditches and breach being covered with men. These unlooked for gwests made the enimie that was comming to pause, and the other alreadie come to repent their hast. Three or foore bouts of these salutations began to cleare well the breach, though the ditch

beegan too cleare well the breatche, thowghe the dyteche grew the fullar. The nyght at last parted, with no greate triumphe of eythers wynnynge, for, as wee went not scottfree, so surely no small number of theyr carckazies tooke up theyr lodgings that nyght in the dytche.

My lord thys nyght cam into the bulwarck, where, after prayze fyrst too God, he guave thanckes and commendations to them all. The slayne then hee caused too bee buryed, the hurt too bee remooved and looked too, sawe the breateche repayred, enquired of theyr lackes, and as hee myght supplied the same. Soom yet that were greate coulde not be healed, as corne powder, fyrewoorckes, yea and pykes beegan too fayle us. The moast parte of the nyght hee heere bestowed, and longer, I judge, had taryed, had not a scabbardless sword abowte one of the soldieres, as hee went in the thronge and darck amongst them, thrust hym allmoast thowrowghe the foote; whereuppon hee withdrue hym too bee

The parallel passage in Holinshed.

grew the fuller at night. At last parted, with no great triumph of ethers winnings, for, as the Englishmen within went not scot free, so surely no small number of their enimies carkasses toke up their lodgings in the ditch that night. My lord Gray this night came into the bulwarke, where, after prayse first to God, he gave thanks and commendations to them all. The slain men he caused to be buried, the hurt to be remooved and looked unto, sawe the breach repayred, enquired of their lackes, and (as he might) supplied the same. They that were great could not be helped, as corne powder, fireworks, yea and pikes began to faile us. The most part of the night he here bestowed, and longer, as was thought, had taryed, had not a skaberdlesse sword about one of the souldiers, as he went in the throng and darke amongst them, thrust him almost through the foote; wherupon he withdrew him to be dressed, using first

drest, uzyng fyrst untoo the soldiores an exhortation too acqyte themsellves no less valyantly the next day, assuryng them that one or twoo more sutche bancketts as this last guyven too the ennemie wolde coole theyr cooragies for any moa assaultes. Thys nyght nowe greate noyse and woorckyng was heard in the dytechies, whereuppon the bullwarck once or twyce was on alarme; at the last with cressytts it was *espyed*^a that they were makyng a Jan. 20. brydge. The mornyng coom, wee see the same fynysshed; emptie casckes with ropes fastned toogeachther, and sawed bourdes layed theron. This yet dyd but put us in a certayntie of that which beefore wee accounted of and stode prepared for. Too bee shortt, they spent all the daye tyll it was full three of the clock in batterie, and beatyng at owre twoo last flanckers, which at lengthe they woonne from us, and the goonnars of eyther slayne. Wheruppon my lord, takyng councell with sir Henry Paulmer,

^a "fownde." Orig.

The parallel passage in Holinshed.

unto his souldiors an exhortation to acquite themselves no lesse valiantly the next day, assuring them that one or two more such bankets as this last gyven to the enimie would coole their courages for any mo assaults. This night now great noise and working was heard in the ditch, whereupon the bulwark once or twice was on alarme; at the last with cressets it was espied that they were making a bridge. The morning came, and then the same was seene to be finished; emptie casks with ropes fastned together, and sawed boordes layd theron. This yet did but put them within in a certaintie of that which before they accompted of, and stood prepared for. To be short, the enimies spent all the day till it was full two* of the clocke in batterie, and beating at the two last flankers, which at length they won from them within, and the gunners of either slaine. Wherupon the lord Gray, taking counsaile of sir Henry Palmer, master Lewes Dive, and Montdragon

* So, instead of three as in the original.

Lewys Dyve, and *Moundragon*^a *the Spanyardes leader*,^b it was resolved, yf there myght bee leazure, too make a fricoisie within the bulckwarck, and prezently too withdrawe all from thence, savyng a certayne for the face and stale too tyll in the ennemie, and then too have blowen it up whoale. Thys no sooner arrested on and in hand, but that the assawte is prezedent, with greater furie and force then yet at any tyme. What shulde I dwell abowte so heavy a tragedie? After halff an owres fyght the ennemie entered, which my lord seeyng, lept too the top of the rampier, wysshyng of God that soom shott would take hym, when one that stoode next hym by the scarff sooddaynely pullde hym downe, ootherwyze the effect had well declared the earnestnes of the prayer, my lord not beeyng up agayne when a cannon grazed on the same place from whence hee fell.

^a Mondragone is mentioned in Watson's History of Philip the Second, as one of the most experienced officers under the duke of Alva. Vol. i. 8vo ed. p. 446.

^b "a Spanysshe capteyne." Orig.

The parallel passage in Holinshed.

the leader of the Spaniards, it was resolved that there might be order to make a fucacie* within the bulwarke, and presently to withdraw all from thence, saving a certain for a face and stale to til† in the enimie, and then to have blowen it up whole. After halfe an houres fight, the enimie entered, which when the lord Gray behelde, he leaped to the top of the rampire, wishing of God that some shot would take him, when one that stoode next him, by the scarffe sodainly pulled him downe, otherwise the effects had well declared the earnestnesse of the prayer, for he was not yet up agayne when a canon shotte grated upon the same place from whence he fell.

* This word, which was printed fucasie in the edition of 1587, is evidently the result of mistaking the Grey MS.

† toll in edit. 1587.

The fyght within the bullwarck yet lasted too owre greater slawghter. My lord presently called too Lewys Dyve and oothers that were aboute hym too followe hym to the gate. The maze was sutche that, beesydes the sayed Lewys, mysellf, and ^a Bryckwell, with halff a doozen armed corssletts, not a man dyd follow. By this wee cleane dryven owte of the bullwarcke. The ennemie not daryng too pass the brayes, guave them that escaped of owres good leazure too recoover the gate, where my lord, hoalding the wycked hymself, receaved them in. Uppon the takyng of this bullwarck, the soldiores of the garden bullwarck, Whetleys bullwarck,^b and base courte, in discoomfiture abandoned theyr chargies, flying into the castell: so that now, more then the keepe and the body of the castell, no parte was free from the ennemie. My lord, havying receaved in all hys, caused the gates too bee rammed up.

^a "Capt." in the *MS.* is here erased.

^b *i. e.* Whetehill's bulwark; see the *Chronicle of Calais*, pp. xxix, 149.

The parallel passage in Holinshed.

The fight within the bulwarke yet lasted, to the great slaughter of them that defended it. My lord Gray presently called to maister Lewes Dive, and others that were about him, to follow him to the gate. The maze was such that, besides his sonn maister Arthure Gray and now lorde Gray, maister Lewes Dive, captaine Brickwell, and half a dozen of armed corslettes, not a manne else did follow him. By this meanes the Englishemenne were cleane dryven oute of the bulwarke. The enemye yet not daring to passe the brayes, gave them that escaped good leysure to recover the gate, where my lord Gray, holding the wicket himself, receyved them in. Upon the takyng of this bulwarcke, the souldiours of Wheteley's bulwarke and the base court in discomfiture abandoned theyr charges, flying to the castell: so that, more than the keepe and the bodie of the castell, no part was free from the enimie. My lorde Gray having received all his, caused the gates to bee rammed uppe.

Yt was now nyght. A trumpeter came to the ditechies syde in the base courte, and sounded a summons, whow beeyng called unto and asked what hee wolde, toalde that hee was sent too my lord by the duke of Gwyze^a with offre of parle, yf it would bee harckened too. The soldiores no sooner hard thys *newys*,^b but, forsakyng the walles, came all in rowte togeather, and, confusedly speakyng too my lord, prayed hym too harcken too the message, and too have consideration of theyr lyves, which as long as any hoape remayned they wyllngly had ventured. My lord's awnsswer was, that hee mervyled eyther what causeless mystrust of hys caryng for them was now coome uppon them, or what sooddayne unwoonted fayntnes of mynde had so assayled them, as too cause them in sutche disorder too forsake theyr placies, and leave the walles naked; hee wylled them too retourne too the same. My

^a Francis of Lorraine, duke of Guise, son of Claude of Lorraine, and brother of Mary, queen of James V. of Scotland.

^b "message." Orig.

The parallel passage in Holinshed.

It was now nighte : a trumpettor came to the ditches side in the base court, and sounded a sommons, who, being called unto and asked what he woulde, tolde that hee was sent to my lorde Gray by the duke of Guise, with offer of parlee, if it woulde be hearkened to. The souldiers no sooner hard these newes, but, forsaking the walles, came all in rowte togethers, and, confusedly speaking to their chieftaine, the sayde lorde Gray, prayed him to hearken to the message, and to have consideration of theyr lyves, which so long as any hope remayned they willingly had ventured. The lorde Grayes answere was, that he marveyled, eyther what causelesse mistrust of his caring for them was now come upon them, or what sodaine unwoonted fayntnesse of mynde had so assayled them, as to cause them in suche disorder to forsake their places, and leave the walles naked; hee willed them to retourne to the same. My lorde Gray hereof tooke counsaile.

lord heereof tooke counsell. Yt was thowght good not too reject the offre, the extremitie on everie syde wayed. The trumpettor, so awnsswered, without long aboade retourned agayne; requyred in the duke's beehalf ostagies for a truce, duryng the parle, from us; hee mynding too delyver the lyke into the castell from hym. In fyne, mounsieur de Trease and a jentleman of the kynges chambre were sent in, and my coozyn Dyve and mysellf were put owtte. Mounsieur Dandalott^a in the brayes receaved us, and caryed us over the late unfortunate bullwarck, beeyng cooin uppon which, naked and new slayne carckasies, soom of them yet *sprawlyng*^b and grownyng under owre feet, were onely the earthe wee trode on; so, passyng downe the breateche, soomwhat too the eaze of *the*^c former heavy syght, wee saw it and the dytche *lyttle*^d less frawght with

^a D'Andelot, brother of admiral de Coligny. He was colonel-general of the French infantry at the siege of St. Quentin's, 1557. Robertson's Charles the Fifth, vol. iii. p. 84.

^b "pantying." Orig.

^c "owre." Orig.

^d "no." Orig.

The parallel passage in Holinshed.

It was thought good not to reject the offer, the extremitie on everie side weyed. The trumpettor receyving answeere accordingly departed, and without long abode returned again, requyring in the duke's behalf hostages for a truce, during the parlee, from us, he mynding to deliver the like into the castell. From him in fine monsieur Destrees and a gentleman of the king's chamber were sent in, and maister Arthure Gray my lordes sonne and maister Lewes Dive were put out. Monsieur Dandelot in the brayes receyved them, and carried them over the unfortunate bulworke, being come uppon naked and newe slaine carkasses, some of them sprawling yet and groning under their feete, were onely the earth they trode on; so, passing downe the breach, somewhat to the ease of the former heavie sight, they saw it and

thennemies corpssies ; so too the camp wee came, and were lodged in *mounsieur de Trease tent*.^a

Jan. 21.

The next daye in the mornynge my lord was too meete with the duke abroad, as hee dyd : beetwyxt whowme wellnyghe an oware spent in talck, they brake of withoute agreement, onely uppon thys poynt that my lord wolde have hys bandes departe with enseignes dysplayed, which wolde not bee yeelded too ; so my lord retourned and wee, the hostages, allso sent in, mounsieur de Trease not yet beeyng coom fourthe. My lord no sooner thus coom in but that the soldiores, agayne forsakyng the walles (well nyghe too the present cutting of all owre throates yf mounsieur de Trease hymself had not been with a feowe of captaynes and gentlemen of my lord's owane retynnew), came and mett hym, crying uppon hym too have pittie on them. My lord stayed, and,

^a " the sayed Dandalott's camp." Orig.

The parallel passage in Holinshed.

the ditche little lesse fraught with the enimies corpses. So to the campe they came, and were lodged in the sayde Dandelot's tent.

The next day in the morning the lorde Gray was to meet with the duke abroad : betweene them willingly* one houre was spent in talking withoute agreement, onely upon thys poynt, that the lord Gray would have his bands depart with ensignes displayed, which woulde not be yeelded unto ; so he returned, and the hostages also thereupon were sent in. Monsieur Destrees not being yet come foerth, my lord was no sooner entred againe, but that the souldiours, eftsoones forsaking the walles, willingly† to the present cutting of all their owne throtes (if monsieur Destrées himselfe had not beene with a fewe captaynes and gentlemen of the lorde Grayes owne retinue), came and met him, crying upon him to have pitie upon them. The lorde Gray herewith stayed,

* *This word, it will be seen, was a misprint for well-nigh.*

† *And so here again : in the edition of 1584 it is printed willinglie and, &c.*

pausing awhyle, spake thus : The onely pyttie (yf fond I cannot saye) that I have of you hathe caused me thys daye too make sutche offres of composition as neyther yowr honesties, nor my honor, nor eyther of owre duties, in my thought, maye well beare ; which refused, too take harder, *to the utter*^a defacying of owre credytt, synce the best would blott it, yf I would, soldiores, yowresellves, mee thynckes, in vengeance therof shulde turne yowr weapons uppon mee, and sacryfyse so hartless a captayne, rather than too take it as a toaken of a pittifull care over yee, and too yeelde thanckes for the same. Wee have beegoon as beecoomed us ; wee have yet heald on as dutie doothe bynde us ; lett us end then as honestie, dutie, and fame doothe wyll us. Neyther is there any sutche extremitie of dyspayre in owre case but that wee maye yet deerely ynowghe sell our owre skynnes eare wee looze them. Lett us then eyther martche owte under owre enseyignes displayed, or

^a "utterly therby." Orig.

The parallel passage in Holinshed.

and, pausing a while, had this speech : The onely pitie (if fonde I cannot say) that I have of you hath caused me this day to make such offers of composition as neyther your honesties, nor my honour, nor eyther of our duties, in my thought, may well beare ; which refused, to take harder, to the utter defasing of our credites, since the best would blot it, if I would, souldiours, your selves (me thinketh) in vengeance thereof should turne your weapons upon me, and sacrifice so heartlesse a captaine, rather than to take it as a token of a pitifull captaine over you, and to yeeld thankes for the same. We have begonne as becommed us ; we have yet held on as duetie doth binde us ; let us ende then as honest dutie and fame doth will us. Neither is there any such extremitie of despayre in our case but that we may yet dearely ynough sell our skinnnes ere we lose them. Let us then eyther march out under our ensignes displayed, or else herewith^a die under them

^a A misprint for here within.

els heere within dye under them displayed. The soldiores herewith in a mutinie flatly awnsswered, that they for hys vayne glorie wolde nott sell theyr lyves; the desperatenes of theyr case not too bee unknowen untoo them; that theyr lyves in oother servyce myght yet avayle theyr prynce and countrie; in this now *too putt them further venture was but lyke oxen too thrust them too the^a butcherie*; that hys lordship therefore was not too expect any one blowe more of theyr handes. Heerewith in haste coomes one from mounsieur de Trease from the rampyer, advysing hym too send hys soldiores too the walles, ootherwyze that the Swytzers woulde assuredly enter. So constrayned, my lord promyzed them too compownde, and gat them too the walles. Then, my lord goyng too counsell, *these articles of composition were agreed on^b*:—First, that none but my lord hymself, sir Henry Paulmer, and hys

^a “ventured as but oxen too the.” Orig.

^b “dyd sett downe these articles.” Orig.

The parallel passage in Holinshed.

displayed. The soldiours herewith in a mutenie flatly answered, that they for his vainglorie woulde not sell their lyves; the desperateness, of theyr case was not unknowne unto them (sayde they); and that theyr lyves in other service myght yet availe theyr prince and countrey; in this now further to venture was but like oxen to to be thrust to the butcher; that his lordship was not to expect any one blow of their hands. Herewith in hast came one from monsieur Destrees, that stood at the rampire, advysing him to sende his souldiours to the walles, otherwise that the Swisses woulde assuredlie enter. So constrayned, his lordship promised them to compownde, and so he gat them to the walles. Then my lord, going to counsayle, at length agreed upon these conditions:—First, that the castell with all the furniture therein, as well vittayles as great artillerie, powder, and all other munitions of warre, shoulde

deputie my coozin Dyve, and captaynes of bandes shulde beecome prysoners ; Secondly, that all the soldiores shulde departe with *armor and weapon*,^a and everie one a crowne in hys purss ; Thyrdly, that the castell with all the gooddes and furnytüre shulde bee yeelded. These articles, sent by mounsieur de Trease to the duke, were accepted ; and so in the after nowne the duke hymself came and receaved the keyes of my lord, whow presently went owte and was guyven too marsshall Stross,^b and from hym soalde too Mounsieur Randall,^c by whowme he came into count Rochefaulcates handes, and there rested tyll hee was redeemed for fowre and twenty thowzand crownes. Sir Henry Palmer was guyven to monsieur Sipiers, in whose handes hee dyed ; Lewys Dyve to mounsieur de Cresakres,^d and did pay xvc. crownes for hys raun-

^a " bag and baggage." Orig.

^b Peter Strozzi, lord of Epernay, an exiled Florentine nobleman, rose to high command in the French army. He was killed at Thronville shortly after the taking of Guisnes.

^c Monsieur de Randon was brother of the count de Rochefoucault.

^d Cresakres. Crevecœur ?

The parallel passage in Holinshed.

bee wholly rendred without wasting, hyding, or minishment thereof ; Secundarily, that the lorde Gray, with all the captaynes, officers, and others, having charge there, should remaine prisoners at the duke's pleasure, to be raunsomed after the maner of warre ; Thirdly, that all the rest, as well souldiers as others, shoulde depart with their armors and baggage to what parties it seemed them best : neverthelesse to passe without sound of drum or trumpet, or ensigne, and to leave them behinde. These articles, sent by monsieur Destrees to the duke, were accepted ; and so in the afternoone the duke himselfe came and receyved the keyes of my lorde Gray, who presently went out, and was given to Marshall Strozzi, and from him sold to monsieur de Randan, by whom he came into his brother the counte de Rochefoucault his handes, and there rested, till he was redeemed for .xxiiij. thousand crownes.

soom. Thus endes this siege,^a wherin for brevytie sake I have left too saye any thyng of the provysiones that my lord made agaynst the same, of the advertisements that from tyme to tyme hee sent too queen Mary and king Phyllyp, and of theyr awnsswers;^b of the soundrie encounters that wee had with the ennemie duryng theyr beeyng abowte Callyce, and of the greate and many booties that were thence taken: onely in a woord or twoo wyll I ad what bandes of stranegers were within the piece, because therof as in an oother thyng or twoo I fynde Graftun too speake at rovares.^c Fyrst came in Moundragon, with twoo Spanyardes moa, very valyant men; whowme dyd followe within a day or twoo *one and thyrtye*^d Spanyardes, all shott, of which I thynck not v went owte of the castell. Then cam there one

^a This graphic description of the siege of Guisnes is copied verbatim by Holinshed, amplified by extracts from Ric. Grafton and Rabutine, where our author's account seemed to require it.

^b See the Appendix, Nos. VIII. and IX.

^c Bishop Nicolson says of Richard Grafton, "he is a great borrower from Hall, and was a very heedless and unskilful writer," citing Buchanan as of the same opinion.

^d "aboute a fowre or fyve and thyrtye." Orig.

The parallel passage in Holinshed.

Thus endes this siege, wherein for brevityes sake we have left to say any thing of the provisions that the lorde Gray made agaynste the same, of the advertisements that from tyme to tyme hee sent to king Philippe and queene Marie, and of theyr aunsweres; of the sundrie adventures which they of Guisnes had with the enimie during their being about Calays, and of the greate and many booties that were there taken: onely in a worde or two will I adde what bandes of straungers were within the peece, bycause thereof, as in an other thing or two, I finde maister Grafton in his Chronicle speake at rovers. First came in Mondragon, with two Spaniardes more, verie valiaunt men; whom did follow within a day or two, about foure or five and thirtie other Spaniards, all shotte, of whiche (as I have heard) there went not five oute of the castell.

captayne Defkie, a Burgunyon, with 200 soldiores, pykes moast. This band was appoynted too the Marie bullwarck, whowse cap-tayne, beeyng full of the goute, and an impotent man, wolde not yet lye from hys charge, but in hys bed ended hys lyeff in the bullwarck. And so of thys ynowghe.

At the coronation^a of the queen that now is, the Frenche king, Henry II., offred my lord leave too coom over uppon hys faythe too the same, which my lord refuzed not, and within a v or vj wykes dyd yeeld hymself pryzoner agayne: and so contynued wellnyghe a yeere after.

Not long after hys setting free and coomyng hoame, the journey of Lythe fell in hand, wherin hee was lyefftennant,^b and with a company of 7000. men, wherof, one 800. excepted, all were rawe and new levyed cuntrie men, hee envyroned the towne, which was of no small circuitt, and frawght with 4000. of the bravest soldiors that then Frawnce had; a very unindifferent matche in skylle of warre, yet after ij monethes siege, or thereabowtes, and ther-whyllest many hott skirmisshies and encounters past, and as-

^a In the list of claims made at the coronation of queen Mary, we find "the lord Grey of Wilton claymeth to be master of the queene's hawkes the day of the coronacion, and to have the robe or vesture whiche the queene shall weare that daye." Rutland Papers, Camden Soc. p. 120.

^b "In the meane tyme the armie by land was both amassed and ordered about Barwicke, over which the lord Grey of Wilton was appoynted lieutenant-generall, a man valorous in warre and in peace courteous; great both in birth and estate, but greater in courage; in counsaile a commander, a soldier in armes." Hayward's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, p. 51.

The parallel passage in Holinshed.

There came one captaine Desquie, a Burgonian, with two hundred souldiours, pykes most. This bande was appoynted to the Marie bulwarke, whose capteine, beeing full of the gowte, and an impotent manne, would not yet be from his charge, but in his bed ended his life in the bulwarke. And so of this ynough.—*Holinshed*, pp. 1774-1777.

saultes, by rayzing of mountes and oother warlyke pollicies, it was constrayned too fall too composition and yeald.^a This servyce ended, my lord was left goovernor of Barwick, and warden first of boathe the martchies: afterwarde sir Jhon Foster,^b with my lord hys content, had the Myddle: the oother twoo offices hys lordship kept untill hee dyed.^c

And so for brevitie sake I leave further of this joorneye to discourse, thowghe mattere there bee ynowghe to saye mutche more therof.^d

FINIS.

^a The principal events in which lord Grey figured at this period are recounted by Holinshed in the following order:

Monday, April 1, 1560. Lord Grey has an interview with the earl of Arran and others of the Scottish nobility at Preston Pans.

Tuesday, April 2, 1560. Lord Grey meets the duke of Chateaulerault and other lords at Mussleburgh.

Wednesday, April 3. Lord Grey has a second interview with the earl of Arran at Pinkey.

Saturday, April 6. Lord Grey marches with the army to Arthur's Seat, and there holds another conference with the duke de Chateaulerault and the Scottish lords. During the truce (the army having advanced to Lesterike) the French troops attack lord Grey. After four hours' hard fighting, he drives them back into Leith.

Monday, April 15. Master Arthur Grey shot through the shoulder.

Tuesday, May 7. At two a.m. lord Grey attempts to surprize the town of Leith, but is repulsed.

Monday, June 17. "An abstinence of warre was concluded."

Sunday, July 7. (Hol. June 7th in error.) Peace proclaimed in Leith.

^b Sir John Forster is mentioned by Holinshed as having behaved "very valiantly" in an encounter with the Scots on the border, in 1557, in which he was severely wounded. *Hystorie of Scotland*, p. 484.

^c December 25, 1562. "There ended his life at home that honorable baron, and right famous capteyne in his dayes, William lorde Grey of Wilton, knighte of the most noble order of the garter, and at that presente governour of Berwike, and warden of the east marches aneinst Scotland. He deceased the fyve and twentieth of December, this yere, 1562, at Cheshunt, in Hertfordshire, then the house of Henrye Deny esquier, that had married mistresse Honor Grey, the said lord Grey's onely daughter." Holinshed, p. 1821. His funeral is described in the Appendix, No. XII.

^d "And of thys I leave any further too wryte, beecause yowr self was well ynowghe acquainted with the matters of that joorney and gouvernment sence." Orig.

APPENDIX.

I.—Grant to William lord Grey of Wilton of the office of lieutenant of the castle of Hampnes in Picardy, dated 29 June 1530.

(Rot. Pat. 23 Hen. VIII. pars 1.)

REX omnibus ad quos, &c. salutem. Sciatis quod nos bona laudabilia et acceptabilia servicia quæ predilectus noster Willielmus Grey dominus Grey de Wilton nobis diversimode impendit indiesque impendere non desistit merito contemplantes, ac de fidelitate industria et circumspectione ejusdem Willielmi plurimum confidentes, de gratia nostra speciali ac ex certa sciencia et mero motu nostris concessimus et per presentes concedimus eidem Willielmo Grey locumtenenciam castri nostri de Hampnes in partibus Picardie, ac ipsum Willielmum Locumtenentem nostrum ejusdem castri nostri facimus et constituimus per presentes, cum numero soldariorum sub se in castro predicto specificato in quibusdam indenturis inter nos et ipsum Willielmum de dato sexti diei Aprilis anno regni nostri vicesimo secundo inde confectis, Habendum, exercendum, tenendum et occupandum locumtenenciam predictam unacum dicto numero soldariorum predictorum prefato Willielmo Grey pro termino vitæ naturalis predicti Willielmi per se vel per sufficientem deputatum suum pro quo nobis respondere voluerit, percipiendo annuatim pro se vel pro deputato suo et soldariis suis predictis talia vadia feoda et regarda qualia in indenturis suis predictis specificantur per manus thesaurarii villæ nostræ Cales' pro tempore existentis de exitibus

proficuis reventionibus et receptionibus officii sui, ac cum omnibus aliis commoditatibus, juribus, libertatibus, prerogativis, consuetudinibus, et proficuis quibuscumque dicto locumtenenti qualitercumque pertinentibus debitis custumatis sive consuetis, adeo bene et integrè ac tam amplè et largè prout Willielmus Blounte miles dominus de Mountjoye nuper locumtenens dicti castri nostri ibidem habuit tenuit sive percepit; et ulterius de uberiori gratia nostra dedimus et concessimus per presentes licenciam et potestatem plenariam perfato Willielmo Grey quod ipse vel deputatus suus predictus ordinabit et stabiliet omnimodos officarios quos sibi videbitur opportunos et convenientes pro bona et salva gardia castri nostri predicti durante vita ipsius Willielmi Grey, et quod ipse ac deputatus suus predictus dare possit et concedere sub sigillo vel signeto suo salvas conductus et securitates adversariis nostris et heredum nostrorum veniendis ad castrum nostrum predictum ibidem morando et abinde recedendo per terram et ex illa parte maris pro victillacione castri nostri predicti ac pro deliberacione prisonariorum si quos capi contigerit per ipsum Willielmum Grey vel per deputatum suum predictum aut per aliquem de retinencia sua durante vita ipsius Willielmi Grey. Eo quod expressa mencio, &c. In cujus, &c. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium, xxix. die Junii. Per breve de privato sigillo et de data, &c.

In 1539 (for that is the true date of the document, not 1533,) the garrison at Hampnes is thus described:—"My lorde Graye, leutenaunt of Hampnes, at xij*d.* per diem and xx. markes in rewarde per annum, with xvij. souldyors at viij*d.* every of them, and vij. in vj*d.* Summa, ccclj*li.* vs. xd. Inde, victaill money, xvj*li.* xvs. And so rest clere, ccclij^{xx}*vi.* xs." Chronicle of Calais, p. 139.

II.—*Commission to William lord Grey of Wilton as chief captain of the Crews within the towns of Calais and Guisnes, 1544.*

(Rot. Pat. 36 Hen. VIII. pars 16.)

REX predilecto et fideli suo Willielmo domino Grey de Wylton salutem. Cùm vos nuper constituerimus et ordinaverimus Principalem Capitaneum et Gubernatorem exercitus nostri vocati *Lez Crewes* existentis infra villas nostras de Calays et Guysnes ac infra marchias et comitatus earundem tam pro

tuicione et defencione dictarum villarum et marchiarum earumdem contra Gallos inimicos nostros quam pro dominiorum Gallorum regis invasione, Sciatis igitur quod nos de fidelitate, strenuitate, diligencia, et experientia vestris plurimum confidentes damus vobis, tenore presencium, potestatem et auctoritatem omnes et singulos capitaneos, vicecapitaneos, et alios quoscunque in *Le Crewes* predictis retentos et retinendos juxta sanam discrecionem vestram de tempore in tempus ducendi, regendi, gubernandi et congregandi, necnon ordinationes pro sano et bono regimine de *Le Crewes* predictis ordinandi et statuendi et debitæ executioni demandandi, ac quoscunque contravenientes et delinquentes castigandi et incarcerandi atque incarceratos solvendi et deliberandi; necnon quascunque causas criminales per vos sive deputatum vestrum sufficientem tam vitæ quam membrorum ac de morte, hominis mutilacione, quam alias causas, contractus et querelas omnium et singulorum in exercitu de *Le Crewes* predicto existentium et futurorum audiendi et terminandi, ac delinquentes juxta eorum demerita castigandi, penasque mortis et membrorum quociens opus fuerit infligendi, ceteraque faciendi et perimplendi quæ pro bono regimine exercitus de *Le Crewes* predicti juxta sanam discrecionem vestram fuerint facienda. Damus autem universis et singulis capitaneis, vicecapitaneis, dominis, nobilibus, militibus, hominibus ad arma, armatis equitibus, peditibus, sagittariis et aliis quibuscunque in exercitu de *Le Crewes* predicto retentis et retinendis tenore presencium firmiter in mandatis quod nobis in executione premissorum intendentes sint, assistentes et obedientes in omnibus prout decet. In cujus rei, &c. Teste Rege apud (*blank*). Per ipsum Regem, &c.

III.—*Commission to William lord Grey of Wilton as chief captain and seneschal, and chief leader and governor, of all the army in Boulogne and Boulognois; dated 9 April 1546.*

(Rot. Pat. 37 Hen. VIII. pars 13, m. 16.)

REX predilecto et fideli suo Willielmo domino Grey de Wilton salutem. Sciatis quod nos, de vestra fidelitate, prudentia, strenuitate, et industria

plurimum confidentes, assignavimus vos nostrum Principalem Capitaneum et Senescallum, Ducemque Primarium et Gubernatorem totius exercitus et armatæ nostræ infra comitatum et villam nostram Boloniæ et de Bolonoys in partibus Franciæ, ac vobis potestatem et auctoritatem, tenore presentium, damus et committimus omnes et singulos ligeos et subditos nostros infra comitatum et villam predictos ad guerram habiles convocandi et congregandi, ac eos arraiandi et triandi, ipsosque juxta eorum gradus et facultates bene et defensibiliter armari et muniri faciendi, et ad monstra sive monstrationes eorundem in locis magis congruis, juxta sanam discretionem vestram, de tempore in tempus capiendi et supervidendi; necnon ligeos et subditos nostros predictos arraiatos, triatos, et armatos, tam homines ad arma ac homines armatos et sagittarios quam alios homines equites et pedites defensibiles, vobiscum, in resistantiam et debellationem Francorum et aliorum eis adherentium, quotiens opus fuerit, ducendi et duci faciendi; necnon terram Franciæ, cum dictis subditis nostris, sic ut predictum est arraiatis de tempore in tempus prout opus fuerit, invadendi, intrandi, conducendi et gubernandi, ac cum Francis illis pugnandi et eos debellandi, et dictos subditos nostros in invasione et conductione illa regendi; ac etiam audiendi causas et querelas omnium et singulorum de hiis quæ ad officium nostri Principalis Capitanei et Senescalli Ducisque Primarii et Gubernatoris tangunt; necnon ordinationes et statuta pro sano et bono regimine exercitus et armatæ predictæ ordinandi, statuendi et stabiliendi, et superinde proclamationes faciendi, debitæque executioni demandandi; ac quoscumque infra exercitum et armatam predictam delinquentes et contravenientes castigandi et incarcerandi, atque incarceratos solvendi et deliberandi; necnon quascumque causas criminales, per vos aut deputatum vestrum sufficientem, tam vitæ quam membrorum mutilatione, ac de morte hominis, quam alias causas contractus et querelas omnium et singulorum de armata et exercitu predicta existentium et futurorum audiendi et terminandi; cæteraque faciendi et perimplendi quæ, pro bono regimine exercitus et armatæ predictæ, juxta sanam discretionem vestram fuerint facienda. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod circa premissa diligenter intendatis, ac ea faciatis et expleatis cum effectum. Damus autem universis et singulis capitaneis, vicecapitaneis, baronibus, baronettis, dominis, nobilibus, militibus, hominibus ad arma, armatis equitibus, peditibus, sagittariis, et aliis quibuscumque in exercitu et armata nostra predicta retentis et retinen-

dis, tenore presentium, firmiter in mandatis quod vobis, in executione premissorum, de tempore in tempus prout opus fuerit, intendentes sint et auxiliantes et obedientes in omnibus prout decet. In cujus rei &c. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium nono die Aprilis. Per ipsum Regem.

IV.—*Extract from the History of the winning of Hadington in Scotlande.*
An. 2 Reg. Edw. VI. (1548.)

[This remarkable narrative of a judicial combat which was fought in the presence of lord Grey, is here given in the words of the original writer, Ulpian Fulwell, in his "Flower of Fame, 1575," 4to, from which source Holinshed derived his version of it.]

THE lorde Graye, being at Barwicke, and the king's liefetenaunt theare, after the overthrowe of the Scottes at Musleborow felde, made a roade into Scotlande in the Lent in the seconde yere of the kinges raigne, to take a viewe of the towne of Hadington; and returned to Barwicke agayne, without any assault geeven. The sommer following he came with his armye, and entred the towne without any resistance, and then made preparation for the fortifying thereof. In whyche mean space, he laide siege unto a castell that was three myles from the towne, named Ester Castell: which forte was furnished with Scottes and Spanyardes, who stooode at their defence, refusing to submitt themselves, untill the lord Graye had with the greate cannons made a breach, and was readie to enter the saide castell. Then they yielded,* and desyred pardon for their lyves onely; which the lorde Gray graunted unto them all excepting one, who during the siege had revyled the king in woordes, and abused his grace's name with most opprobious termes. Then they all came forth of the castell, in their shurtes only; submitting themselves to the mercye of the lorde Gray. And upon strait examination who should be the rayler that was excepted out of this pardon, it was knowne to be one Newton, a Scott; but he, to save himself, put it to one Hamelton. Thus these two gentlemen accused one the other:

* The xxviij. of May. Holinshed.

for the decysing wherof, a combat was appointed between them, and by the lorde Gray adjudged so to bee.

The tyme came for this combat to be accomplyshed, and the listes were made in the market-place of Hadington. And these saide gentlemen entred in their dublets and hose, weaponed with sword, dagger, and buckler. At the firste entrie into the listes this Hammelton kneeled on his knees, and made his hartie prayer unto Almighty God to geeve the victorie unto the truthe; with solempne protestation "that he never uttered any such words of king Edward of Englande as his adversarie accused him of." And, on the other syde, Newton's conscience being troubled with his false accusation, argued unto all the beholders his guilt: for there appeared in him great timorousness. The beholders prayed God for Hammelton: for the souldiers knewe right well that it was Newton, for his voyce bewrayde him.

Nowe were the sticklers in a readinesse, and the combatours drewe their weapons; and between them was fought six or seven blowes very lustely. But Hammelton, being mervalous fierce and eager upon the truth of his quarrell, constrayned Newton to geeve grounde, almost to the ende of the listes. And if he had driven him to the verye ende, then (by the lawe of armes) he had wonne the conquest, and his enemy should have been hanged, if he had not slayne him. Newton, perceiving him selfe to be almoste at the poynt of hanging, stept forwards againe, and gave Hammelton such a gashe on the legg that he was not able to stande, but fell downe; and then Newton fell on him, and slewe him with his dagger.

Thus the combat was ended. But the Englishmen that knewe Newton to be the rayler and the false accuser (although by more happ than hardnesse he had the upper hande), were very desyrus to renewe the combat againe with him; for there were many gentlemen theare that would willingly have ventured their lyves on him, man for man. But he challenged the privilege of the lawe of armes, which was unto him granted; and the lorde Gray gave him his owne gowne of his backe, and the chayne that he then wore. Thus was he well rewarded that better deserved to have been hanged. But he escaped not so; for afterwards, as he was ryding between the borders of Englande and Scotlande, he was slayne and cut in piéces.

Now I will speake of the seige that the Frenche armye and the power of Scotlande layde unto the towne of Hadington againste the Englishe men.

When the foresaide castell was wonne and the combat finished, the lorde Graye departed towardes Barwicke, leavinge behynde him syr James Wilford* as generall of the garryson, and 2000 chosen souldiers under him, to defend the town.

V.—*Grant to William lord Grey of Wilton of the offices of warden, governor, surveyor, and lieutenant of the castle of Guisnes, Oct. 31, 1552.*

(Rot. Pat. 6 Edw. VI. pars 3.)

REX omnibus ad quos, &c. salutem. Sciatis quod nos de gratia nostra speciali ac pro diversis causis et consideracionibus nos specialiter moventibus, ac de fidelitate, circumspectione, et industria dilecti et fidelis nostri Willielmi Grey militis domini Grey de Wilton plenius confidentes, assignavimus, deputavimus et constituimus ac per presentes assignamus, deputamus et constituimus ipsum Willielmum dominum Grey, Custodem, Gubernatorem, Supervisorem, et Locumtenentem nostrum castri nostri de Guysnes in partibus Picardiæ ac villæ et tocius comitatus nostri de Guysnes predicti, ac eadem officia Custodis, Gubernatoris, Supervisoris, et Locumtenentis per presentes eidem Willielmo concedimus, Habenda, occupanda et exercenda custodiam, gubernacionem, supervisionem, et locumtenentiam ac officia illa et eorum quodlibet per se vel per sufficientem deputatum suum vel deputatos suos sufficientes pro quo vel pro quibus nobis respondere voluerit, a quinto die Novembris proximo sequente durante beneplacito nostro, cum omnibus juribus, proficuis, emolumentis, feodis, vadiis et regardis eisdem officiis et eorum alteri pertinentibus sive spectantibus, in tam amplis modo et forma sicut Nicholaus Vaux miles dominus de Vaux nuper habuit et percepit pro eisdem officiis,

* This sir James Wilsford, "some time captain in France," was buried at Little St. Bartholomew's, in London, Nov. 24, 1550, and lord Grey attended his funeral; as he did that of sir Thomas Audley, "a famous captain," at St. Mary Overy's, in Southwark, Oct. 29, 1554. Machyn's Diary, pp. 3, 73.

sub certis modo et forma in quibusdam indenturis* inter nos ex una parte et prefatum Willielmum ex altera parte confectis specificatis; ac ipsum Willielmum retinuimus ac per presentes retinemus penes nos Locumtenentem, Custodem, Supervisorem, et Gubernatorem castri nostri predicti ac villæ et comitatus predictorum, dantes et concedentes eidem Willielmo domino Grey et deputatis suis plenam potestatem et auctoritatem ad ea omnia et singula quæ ad officia predicta seu eorum aliquod pertinent seu pertinere poterint in tam amplis modo et forma prout per indenturas specificatur; dantes ulterius et concedentes eidem Willielmo et deputatis suis et eorum cuilibet licenciam et plenariam potestatem quod ipse Willielmus vel aliquis deputatorum suorum in ejus absentia dare possit et concedere sub sigillis dicti Willielmi et nomine suo salvos conductus securitates et alias literas gratiæ tam adversariis quam quibuscumque aliis personis concedendas, dandas et faciendas tam per terram quam per aquam adveniendi, equitandi, sive transfretandi usque ad castrum nostrum predictum ac alia loca in partibus illis sub cura et regimine ipsius Willielmi ac ibidem morandi ac salvo et secure abinde recedendi per terram sive per mare ex illa parte maris pro victualacione dicti castri nostri, necnon pro deliberacione prisonarum si quem capi contigerit per prefatum Willielmum vel aliquem de retinencia sua, durante termino supradicto; et quod ipse Willielmus dominus Grey omnia emolumenta et proficua ex hujusmodi salvis conductis securitatibus et literis gratiæ pervenientia recipere, percipere et ad usum suum proprium habere et retinere possit absque aliquo compoto inde nobis heredibus seu successoribus nostris reddendo, solvendo, sive faciendo; ceteraque omnia et singula quæ ad officium vel officia Locumtenentis, Custodis, Supervisoris, et Gubernatoris castri nostri predicti, necnon villæ et comitatus predictorum, pro salvo regimine et salva custodia eorundem aut eorum alicujus pertinent secundum vim, formam et effectum dictarum indenturarum faciendi, exequendi et exercendi. Proviso semper, et per presentes volumus et concedimus, quod predictus Willielmus dominus Grey virtute harum literarum nostrarum patentium se non intromittat quovismodo ad clamandum aut vindicandum aliquod proficuum, auctoritatem, gubernacionem sive interesse de et in aliquibus marchiis villæ nostræ Cales' quam per aliquod decretum sub magno sigillo nostro Angliæ sunt quovismodo

* The articles of the similar indenture into which his predecessor lord Vaux entered on entering upon the custody of the castle of Guisnes, are printed in the Chronicle of Calais, p. 203.

appunctuata sive limitata. Eo quod expressa mencio de vero valore annuo officii predicti aut officiorum predictorum seu ceterorum premissorum vel eorum alicujus aut de aliis donis sive concessionibus per nos eidem Wilhelmo ante hæc tempora factis in presentibus minime facta existit, aut aliquo statuto actu ordinatione provisione sive restrictione inde in contrarium factis editis sive ordinatis, aut aliqua alia re, causa, vel materia quacumque in aliquo non obstante. In cujus rei, &c. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium, tricesimo primo die Octobris. Per breve de privato sigillo.

VI.—*Commission to William lord Grey of Wilton to array 350 footmen and 50 horsemen demi-lances in the counties of Middlesex and Kent, and the city of London, for the garrison of Guisnes; dated July 31, 1553.*

(Rot. Pat. 1 Mar. pars 2, m. 2 dors.)

MARY, by the grace of God, &c. To our right trustie and welbeloved William Graye knight, lorde Gray of Wilton, greeting. Knowe ye that for the singuler confidence we have in you, and also for the great truste we likewise have in your approved fidelitie, wisdom, and discretion, we have assigned and appoynted you, and by these presents we give full power and auctoritie unto you to levye, gather, and call together of our loving subiectes inhabiting and dwelling within our counties of Middlesex, Kent, and in our citie of London, or in any of them, as well within liberties as without, the nombre of three hundreth and fyftie footemen, and fifetie horsemen demi-launcys, mete and apte for the warres of our service to be done, and theym to trye, arraye, and put in redynes, and theym also and every of them, after there habilities, degrees, and faculties, well and sufficiently to cause to be armed and sufficiently weaponed, and to take the musters of them from time to time in placys most mete for that purpose, after your good discretion; and also the same nombre of our subjects, as well horsemen as footemen, so arrayed, tried, and armed, to leade, bringe, carye, or conducte to our castell and towne of Gynes beyonde the see; and further by these presents we do give unto you full power and

auctoritie to do, fulfill, and execute all and singuler other things which shall be requisite for the levyeng, leading, and government of the said nombre of our subjectes, so by you in forme aforesaid levyed and to be ledd; wherfor we will and commaunde you that ye withe all diligence do execute the premisses with effect; and further, we will and commaund all and singuler our faithfull subjectes within our said counties and cite to whom it shall appertayne, that they and every of them from tyme to tyme shall be attendaunte, ayding, assisting, counsailing, and helping you in the execution hereof, as they and every of them tendre our pleasure, and will aunswere for the contrarye at their uttermost peryll. In witness whereof, &c. Witness our self, at Newhall, the xxxi. day of July. Per ipsam Reginam.

VII.—*Warrant for William lord Grey of Wilton to pass beyond the seas, July 31, 1553.*

(Rot. Pat. 1 Mar. pars 2, m. 10.)

Mary the Queene, by the grace of God, &c. to all mayours, sheryfs, bayliffs, custumers, comptrollers, and serchers, and all other to whom in this case it shall apperteyne, and to everie of them, gretynge. We lete you wit that we have licenced, and by these presents do licence, our right trustie and welbeloved servaunt, William Graye knight, lorde Graye of Wilton, and his company, to passe out of this our realme into the parties of beyonde the seas, with his mony, plate, jouels, letters, and other his writings, and all other his bagges, baggages, and other his utensiles necessaires; wherefore we will and commaunde you and every of you to whom in this case it shall apperteyne to permyt and suffer him to passe by youe witheout any your let, serche, molestation, or disturbance to the contrarie, as you tendre our pleasure, and these our letters shall be youre sufficient warraunt and discharge in that behalfe. Geven under our signet at our mannoure of Newhall. Teste Regina apud Newhall tricesimo primo die Julii. Per ipsam Reginam.

VIII.—*Letter of lord Grey to queen Mary, during the siege of Calais, Jan. 4, 1557-8.*

(MS. Addit. Brit. Mus. 4104, art. 11.)

My most bounden duty humbly premised to your majesty. Whereas I have heretofore always in effect written nothing to your highness but good touching the service and state of your places here, I am now constrained with woeful heart to signify unto your majesty these ensuing.

The French have won Newnhambridge, and thereby entered into all the low country and the marishes between this and Calais.* They have also won Rysbank, whereby they be now masters of that haven. And this last night past they have placed their ordnance of battery against Calais, and are encamped upon St. Peter's Heath before it. So that I am clean cut off from all relief and aid, which I looked to have both out of England and from Calais, and know not how to have help by any means either of men or victuals. There resteth now none other way for the succour of Calais, and the rest of your highness's places on this side, but a power of men out of England, or from the king's majesty, or from both, without delay, able to distress and keep them from victuals coming to them, as well by sea as by land, which will force them to levy their siege to the battle, or else drive them to a greater danger. For lack of men out of England, I shall be forced to abandon the town, and take in the soldiers thereof for the defence of the castle. I have as good provision of victuals as I could by any means out of the country, with the which (God willing) to defend and keep this place as long as any man, whatsoever he be, having no better provision and furniture of men and victuals than I have; wherein your grace shall well perceive that I will not fail to do the duty of a faithful

* Some letters of lord Wentworth, the deputy of Calais at this period, and a narrative of the siege and loss of the town, written by John Highfield (who held an office there), will be found in Lord Hardwicke's Collection of State Papers, vol. i.

subject and captain, altho' the enemy attempt never so stoutly, according to the trust reposed in me. I addressed letters presently to the king's majesty by this bearer, most humbly desiring aid from him according to the effect aforesaid. I might very well have spared * this bringer, my servant and trusty officer here in this time of service. Howbeit, considering the importance of his message, I thought him a very meet man for this purpose, desiring your majesty to credit him fully, and to hear him at large, even as directly as your grace would hear me, to open my mind in this complaint of imminent danger. Thus, trusting of relief and comfort forthwith from your majesty for the safeguard of Calais, and other your places here, I take my leave most humbly of your grace. At your highness's castle of Guisnes, most assured English even to the death, the 4 of January, 1557, at 7 of the clock in the morning.

Your majesty's most humble servant and obedient subject,

GREY.

IX.—*Extract from the Register of the Privy Council, referring to the preceding letter.*

(MS. Harl. 643, p. 198.)

Jan. 6, 1557.—A lettre to the lord Graye, signifying unto him the receipte of his letters, and that the queenes majestie hath written to the king's majestie for ayde, who, as is thought, is preparinge towardes the field before this tyme, and also that her highnes is preparinge an armye with all speede possible to be sente over for ayde of him, and the reste of that side; and in the meane tyme his accustomed good dilligence in guarding the charge committed unto him, untill succoure may come unto him, is nothinge mistrusted.

* i. e. spared sending him.

X.—*Grant to William lord Grey of Wilton of the office of governor of Berwick-upon-Tweed, Nov. 5, 1560.*

(Rot. Pat. 2 Eliz. pars 5.)

REGINA omnibus ad quos, &c. salutem. Sciatis quod nos de gratia nostra speciali ac ex certa sciencia et mero motu nostris, necnon in consideracione boni, veri, et fidelis servicii quod predilectus et fidelis noster Willielmus dominus Grey de Wilton, preclari ordinis garterii nostri miles, nobis ante hæc tempora impendit et durante vita sua impendere intendit, dedimus, concessimus ac per presentes damus et concedimus prefato Willielmo domino Greye officium Gubernatoris villæ et castri nostrorum Barwici super Twedam ac turris nostræ super pontem ejusdem villæ, Habendum, occupandum et gaudendum officium predictum prefato Willielmo domino Grey per seipsum vel per sufficientem deputatum suum sive deputatos suos sufficientes durante beneplacito nostro cum omnibus feodis et vadiis eidem officio tam ab antiquo tempore debitis et consuetis quam nunc per nostram constitutionem nuper factam eidem officio assignatis et limitatis; dantes et concedentes eidem Willielmo domino Grey potestatem et auctoritatem omnia et singula faciendi et exercendi quæ ad officium predictum pertinent in tam amplis modo et forma prout predilectus Willielmus dominus Eure defunctus nuper existens capitaneus villæ et castri ac turris nostrorum predictorum officium predictum exercuit sive occupavit. Eo quod expressa mencio, &c. In cujus rei, &c. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium, quinto die Novembris. Per ipsam Reginam, &c.

XI.—*Grant to William lord Grey of Wilton of the offices of warden of the Middle Marches towards Scotland, and warden of Tynedale and Ryddesdale, Dec. 22, 1559.*

(Rot. Pat. 2 Eliz. pars 7.)

REGINA omnibus ad quos, &c. salutem. Sciatis quod nos de gratia nostra speciali ac ex certa sciencia et mero motu nostris, ac de fidelitate, discretione

et circumspectione predilecti et fidelis nostri Willielmi domini Grey de Wilton prenobilis ordinis garterii militis plenius confidentes, de avisamento consilii nostri, assignavimus et constituimus ac per presentes assignamus et constituimus eundem dominum Gray dominum Gardianum sive Custodem nostrum generalem Marchiarum regni nostri Angliæ versus partes Scociæ, videlicet, in partibus de le Middlemarche ac in dominio nostro Scociæ; necnon eundem dominum Gray custodem de Tynsdale et Ryddesdale facimus et constituimus per presentes; Dantes et concedentes prefato domino Graye potestatem et speciale mandatum faciendi et exercendi omnia et singula quæ ad officium gardiani sive custodis pertinent ibidem, prout antea auctoritate tam domini Ricardi nuper regis Angliæ secundi, quam Henrici quarti, Henrici quinti, Henrici sexti, Edwardi quarti, Ricardi tercii, Henrici septimi, ac precharissimi patris nostri Henrici octavi et precharissimi fratris nostri Edwardi sexti nuper regum Angliæ, necnon charissimæ sororis nostræ Mariæ nuper reginæ Angliæ in hac parte rationabiliter fieri et exerceri consuevit; ac ad omnia et singula per quoscumque ligeos et subditos nostros tam officarios nostros quam alios contra formam quarumcumque treugarum inter nos aut custodes sive commissarios nostros auctoritatem habentes, et ipsos de Scocia similiter auctoritatem habentes, initarum sive ineundarum, et subditos et ligeos regni Scociæ ab incepcone earumdem treugarum attemptata et perpetrata seu imposterum attemptanda et perpetranda juxta formam quarumcumque treugarum hujusmodi corrigendi, reformandi, et emendandi; et delinquentes in hac parte juxta eorum demerita tam per incarcerationes corporum suorum quam per discreciones terrarum et tenementorum, bonorum, et catallorum suorum ubicumque inventa fuerint tam infra libertates quam extra castigandi et puniendi; necnon ad cognoscendum in omnibus querelis, placitis, et debatis tam in prisonariis, spoliis, et rapinis, quam aliis quibuscumque factis guerrarum ibidem motis vel movendis; ac eciam ad tenenda curias gardianatus et sessiones in quibuscumque locis marchiarum de le Middlemarch predictarum tam infra libertates quam extra ad inquirendum de quibuscumque personis contra formam treugarum predictarum aut ordinacionum per commissarios nostros et commissarios dicti regni Scociæ seu treugarum aliarum aut ordinacionum quarumcumque tam per quoscumque commissarios nostros et commissarios regni Scociæ quam per predictum dominum Gray seu deputatos suos auctoritate custodiæ sibi in hac parte commissæ captarum, habitarum, initarum seu faciendarum,

quovis modo delinquentes ; et de hujusmodi personis et eorum delictis plenius informandi, eosque juxta hujusmodi delictorum quantitatem tam infra regnum nostrum predictum quam marchias predictas castigandi et tam in bonis quam in personis suis puniendi, prout melius pro conservacione dictarum treugarum et ordinacionum ac salvacione marchiarum predictarum eidem domino Graye aut deputato suo videbitur expedire ; necnon ad quascumque penas pecuniarias et alias obligaciones quas pro violacione hujusmodi treugarum et ordinacionum personæ quicumque ut premittitur delinquentes incurrant levandi et per deputatos et ministros suos levari faciendi, ac quascumque personas sibi in execucione predictarum inobedientes seu parere aut obedire recusantes viis et modis quibus expediencius eidem domino Graye videbitur castigandi et puniendi, vel alias si in eorum inobediencia persisterint ad nos et consilium nostrum ut congruum adhibeamus remedium sine dilatione certificandi, prefatis libertatibus et omnibus aliis quam in hiis quæ ad dictas treugas et ordinaciones marchiarum predictarum concernunt semper salvis. Assignavimus eciam prefatum dominum Gray ad inquirendum de omnibus et singulis personis qui conivas cum inimicis nostris in nostri aut regni nostri prejudicium qualitercumque et quocumque colore fecerint et exnunc levare presumpserint, et ad hujusmodi personas et alios proditores nostros quoscumque in hac parte delinquentes juxta eorum demerita castigandum et puniendum ; necnon ad querelas, placita, et debata prevocata audiendum, discutiendum et debito fine terminandum secundum legem et consuetudinem partium, marchiarum et dominiorum predictorum ; ac eciam ad vigiles et alios ad explorandum nos ac fideles nostros pro defencione nostra et regni nostri contra hostiles incursus inimicorum nostrorum Scociæ si quos ad mala aliqua nobis seu regno nostro aut fidelibus nostris facienda venire contigerit premuniendum, et sumptibus liguearum nostrorum parcium eorundem de assensu et voluntate sua prout antea ibidem rationabiliter fieri consuevit ordinandum et prefigendum ; ac ad villam et castrum nostrum de Berwike in partibus Scociæ quociens in casu quo aliquam obsidionem ad villam sive castrum illud imposterum per Scotos aut alios inimicos nostros proponi fieri seu haberi contigerit rescuciendum, defendendum et salvandum ; et omnes homines defensibiles inter etatem sexdecim et sexaginta annorum existentes infra limites marchiarum de le Midlemarch predictarum ac omnibus aliis locis tam infra libertates quam extra infra easdem marchias in quibus aliquis gardianus sive custos marchiarum

predictarum hujusmodi homines pro tempore quo custodes sive gardiani ibidem extiterint arraiari fecerint, per dictum dominum Graye seu deputatos suos arraiandos, et ad omnes homines ad arma, armatos, hobellarios et sagittarios, videlicet, quemlibet eorum juxta status sui exigencias et facultates suas armis competentibus muniri, et in millenis, centenis, et vintenisis poni, et eos sic arraiatos et munitos in arraiacione hujusmodi teneri faciendi; ita quod omnes homines ad arma, armis armati, hobellarii et sagittarii prompti sint et parati ad proficiscendum in defencionem marchiarum de le Myddlemarche predictarum ac regni nostri predicti; necnon in rescussum, defensionem, et salvam custodiam villæ et castri nostrorum de Berwike predictorum, quociens ex hostium incursubus vel obsidionibus hujusmodi periculum aliquod eveniat et super hoc per predictum dominum Graye vel deputatum suum sive deputatos suos ex parte et nomine nostris fuerint premuniti; et ad omnes hujusmodi homines ad arma, armatos, hobellarios et sagittarios ad se in forma predicta arraiandos et in defencionem marchiarum predictarum ac regni nostri et fidelium nostrorum, rescussum, defencionem et salvam custodiam villæ et castri predictorum, quociens et quando indigerint et prout pro salvacione et defensione marchiarum regni et fidelium nostrorum predictorum ac rescussu, defensione et salva custodia villæ et castri predictorum melius videbitur expediri, congregandum et uniendum in defensionem earundem marchiarum, regni, et ligeorum nostrorum, ac in rescussum, defensionem et salvam custodiam earundem villæ et castri proficisci, duci et morari per incarcerationem corporum suorum ac aliis viis, modis et mediis quibus melius pro salvacione marchiarum regni et fidelium nostrorum predictorum ac rescussu defensione et salva custodia eorundem villæ et castri in hac parte expedire viderit distringi compelli faciendum; assignavimusque prefatum dominum Graye ac suos in hac parte deputatum seu deputatos, ac ei et ejus deputatis tenore presencium plenam potestatem et auctoritatem dedimus et constituimus guerraram abstinencias inter nos ac ligeos et subditos nostros ac gubernatores, ministros et subditos regni Scociæ cum prefatis gubernatoribus, commissariis seu ministris regni Scociæ sufficientem potestatem ad hoc habentibus a septimana in septimanam, a duabus septimanis in duas septimanas, a tribus septimanis in tres septimanas, et a mense sive mensibus in mensem sive in menses, pro nobis et nomine nostro juxta providam discrecionem ipsius domini Graye seu deputatorum suorum capiendi, ineundi, appunctuandi et concludendi. Ac insuper ut idem dominus Graye melius ac

commodius dictum officium et singula eidem pertinentia exequi et perimplere valeat et possit, volumus et per presentes damus et concedimus eidem domino Graye potestatem et auctoritatem nominandi, assignandi, faciendi, ordinandi, substituendi et deputandi sub se in dicto officio duos deputatos sive substitutos suos ac etiam duos alios officarios sub se vocatos *warden serjeantes*; necnon omnes et omnimodos alios ministros et officarios sub se necesarios et opportunos predicto officio vel pro executione ejusdem et ad omnia et singula vice et loco suo faciendi et exequendi quæ per custodes sive gardianos marchiarum de le Middlemarche ordine et more solitis et consuetis de tempore in tempus fieri consueverunt prout sibi melius videbitur expedire; ratum, gratum et firmum habentes et habituri totum et quicquid per dictum dominum Graye sive suos deputatos sive substitutos in forma predicta factum faciendum actum factum sive gestum fuerit in premissis seu in aliquo premissorum. Habendum, tenendum, exercendum et gaudendum officium custodis sive gardianatus predicti ac cetera omnia et singula premissa superius expressa et specificata cum eorum preeminenciis, libertatibus, commoditatibus et appendenciis universis prefato domino Graye ac ejus deputatis vel substitutis in tam amplis modo et forma in omnibus et per omnia prout aliquis alius sive aliqui alii ante hæc tempora habuit sive percepit habuerunt sive perceperunt a festo Natalis Domini proximo futuro quamdiu nobis placuerit. Et ulterius concedimus eidem domino Gray pro exercicio officii gardianatus predicti quamdiu in officio illo steterit feodum et vadium quingentarum marcarum per annum pro se ipso, et pro dictis duobus deputatis sive substitutis sub se in dicto officio, videlicet, pro utroque eorum annuatim decem libras; necnon predictis duobus officariis sub se vocatis *warden serjeantes* pro utroque eorum annuatim quadraginta solidos dicto beneplacito nostro durante solvendos ad festa Annunciationis beatæ Mariæ Virginis et sancti Michaelis Archangeli per equales porciones de thesauro nostro ad receptus scaccarii nostri per manus thesaurarii et camerariorum nostrorum ibidem pro tempore existentium. Mandamus insuper omnibus et singulis ministris, ligeis et subditis nostris quibuscunque quod in executione omnium et singularum prefato domino Graye, necnon deputatis, substitutis et ministris suis quibuscunque de tempore in tempus auxiliantes et obedientes sint in

omnibus prout decet. Eo quod expressa mencio, &c. In cujus rei, &c. Teste Regina apud Westmonasterium, vicesimo secundo die Decembris.

[This commission is followed on the roll by another, in the same terms, and bearing the same date, appointing lord Grey of Wilton to be Warden of the East Marches. The patents differ only in the sums assigned for the respective salaries : for the Middle Marches it was fifty marks, for the East Marches seventy.]

XII.—*Ceremonial of the funeral of William lord Grey of Wilton.*

(From MS. in the College of Arms, I. 13, fol. 35 a. In the margin are sketched two atchievements: the first, within the Garter of ten quarterings, six and four, viz.—
1. Grey ; 2. Longchamp ; 3. Rockley ; 4. Grey of Codnor ; 5. Clare ; 6. Vache ; 7. Talbot ; 8. Grey of Ruthyn ; 9. Hastings and Valence quarterly ; 10. Hastings. The second, the same Coats impaling : quarterly of four, 1 and 4. Somerset ; 2. Herbert ; 3. Wydville.)

Thordre of th'entyrement and funerall of William lorde Grey of Wylton, lorde warden of th'est marchys towards the Scottes, and governour of the towne and castle of Berwyck, and knight of the most noble ordre of the garter, who departed owt of this liefte at the howsse of hys son in lawe Henrye Denny esquier, at Cheston,* besyde Waltham, in the countye of [Hertford], on Munday at nyght betwene the howres of xij and one, the xiiijth of Decembre, A°. 5 Elizabeth' Re-gine, 1562, where hys bodye remayned untill Tuesday the 22 therof, that yt was carryed to the parryshe churche of Cheston, where that daye yt was buryed in the quere of the same churche as afre appeareth.

Item, the sayd lorde had to his wife Marye Somersett, then lyvinge, doughter to Charles erle of Woorcestre, by whom he had issue sir Arthur nowe lorde Grey, Honour wife to Henry Denny esquier, and William Grey.

* Cheshunt, where sir Anthony Denny, the father of sir Henry, had obtained from Henry VIII. a grant of the dissolved nunnery.

Item, afre hys bodye was colde hyt was bowelled, trameled and wrapped dyversse-folde in lynnyn ceare-clothe, and putt in a coffyn covered with blacke; and then browght into the parlour of the same howsse, where it remayned untill the buryinge daye, covered with a pawle of black velvett, in length 4 yardes dim. in the whole 24 yardes, besyde 8 yardes of whyte sattyn for the crosse, garnyshed with vj. eschoocheons of buckeram of his armes within the garter, and of hym and his wife in pale; and uppon and abowt the seid corpse was sett and placed the standerd, banner, banerolls, and other hatchementes, in which order yt there remayned untill the buryall daye afore-named.

Item, the said parlour and greate chamber were hanged with brode blacke clothe, and the halle, steyres, inner courte tyll withowt the myddle gate, were hanged with cottons garnissed with schoocheons.

Item, the chauncell and churche of Cheston on bothe sydes the myddle ile, and so without the west dore, was lykewise hanged and garnyssed, and so covered were formes in the chauncell for the assystantes to sytt on.

Item, in the myddle of the chauncell was erected a hersse of stronge tymbre, borden above uppon the joystes, in length xij. fote, and in breade ix. fote, with uttre and ynner rayles, 7 stooles, ij. trestles, and a table all covered with brode and narrowe cotton, and xiiijth. quyssheons covered with blacke, whereof ij. of velvett and the grounde strawed with russhes.

The pyllers fro the rayles to the joystes were a elne a pece covered with velvett; on eche a schoocheon of buckeram in metall; and on the toppe of the sayd pyller a schoocheon of armes wrowght on payste; and round abowt the joystes was hanged a vallence of velvett with a sylke frynge; and undre-nethe the joystes a majestie all garnyssed with scocheons; and the toppe of the joystes rounde abowt was garnyssed and sett owt with pencells.

On the table within the hersse was at the comyng to the churche the corpsse sett garnyssed as apperteneth, and as afre the next leafe appeareth.

And so all thinges being in a readynes they proceaded with the corps to the churche, as here appeareth.

*Thordre in proceadinge fro the howsse to Cheston churche as followeth,
Tuesday, the 22 of Decembre.*

In primis, the ij. conductors, Richard Wynton and William Shepley, in blacke cotes and blacke staves in theyre hands.

Then the clerkes and prystes synginge.

Then Mr. Runager * the preacher and my lordes chapleyne together.

Then John Savage gent. in his gowne and hode on his heade, bearinge the standerde.

Then vj. gentlemen in gownes and hodes on theyre shulders, vidj.

Thomas Hedley, Richarde Shelton, John Ronyon, Richarde Celye, George Gardynner, and Emerye Acworthe.

Then Richard Wake gent. in his gowne and hode on his heade, bearinge the banner of hys armes.

Then Roudgdragon with his gowne and hode on, bearinge thelme † and crestes, in his cote of armes, the fawcon.‡

Then Chestre likewyse, bearinge the targett.

Then Norrey likewyse, bearinge the cote of armes.

Then Garter alone.

Then the corpse borne by xvj. of his yeomen, viij. at one time and viij. at another, vidj. Henrye Bell, George Sandland, Childe, Edward Bastier, John Ussher, Harryson, Lewen, and Raufe Mowser; David Evans, Alexandre Danyell, Roberte Gardynner, John Duckett, Richard Smythe, William Cawell, Thomas Browghen, and Phyllyppe Thomas.

And at each corner as assystantes a gentleman, as Mr. Acworthe the draper, Thomas Capell the defunctes steward, Tremayne and Anthonye Loe gent. in gowns and hodes on theyre heades. And also at the iiij. corners iiij. gentlemen in gownes and hodes on theyre heades, berynge the iiij. bannerolls, vidj. Walter Vawghan, with a banneroll of the armes of the defuncte in pale, with Marye Somersett his wife; the ij^{de}. George Dyve,§ with a banneroll of the armes of the defunctes parents in pale, Edmond lorde Grey, and Florence doughter and heyre to Raufe Hastings knight, iij^d. brother to William lorde Hastings, his wife; the iij^{de}. John Barnes, bearing the banneroll of the armes of the graund-parentes to the defunct in pale, John lorde Grey, and ladye Anne doughter to Edmond

* Michael Reniger, a celebrated Protestant refugee.

† i. e. the helm.

‡ The crest of lord Grey, on a glove argent, a falcon or.

§ George Dyve, brother to Lewis, noticed in p. 23, died in 1589, and was buried at Bromham, co. Bedford. Pedigree of Dyve in Baker's Northamptonshire, i. 83.

erle of Kent ; and the iiijth. Henrye Brereton, bearinge the banneroll of the armes of the greate-graundfather and greate-graundmother to the defuncte in pale, Reygnolde lorde Grey, and Thomasyn or Thasyna base daughter to John duke of Somerset.*

Then next afre the corpse followid sir Arthur Grey knight, nowe lorde Grey (son and heyre to the defunct), as chiefe morner alone.

Then Charles Somerset, son to Henrye Somerset erle of Worcestre, and Henrye Brudges son to John Brudges lorde Chandoyes,† together.

Then Henrye Denny esquier, son-in-lawe to the defuncte, and Lewes Dyve gentleman.

Then John Dyve ‡ and Mr. Alexandre, gentlemen.

Then the yeomen in blacke ij. and ij., vid3. William Emerye, Alexandre Ayshe, Bartholomewe Turner, Reignold Thomas, Morrett, Thomas Smythe, Thomas Coossyn, Robert Stowell, Richard Griffyn, John Bolte, Nycholas Lynsycom, Francys Kynes, Roger Newebroke, Henry Starkye, John Gwynett, John Thomas, and John Grye, wherof the ij. fyrst were apoynted to loke unto the blackes in the cherche.

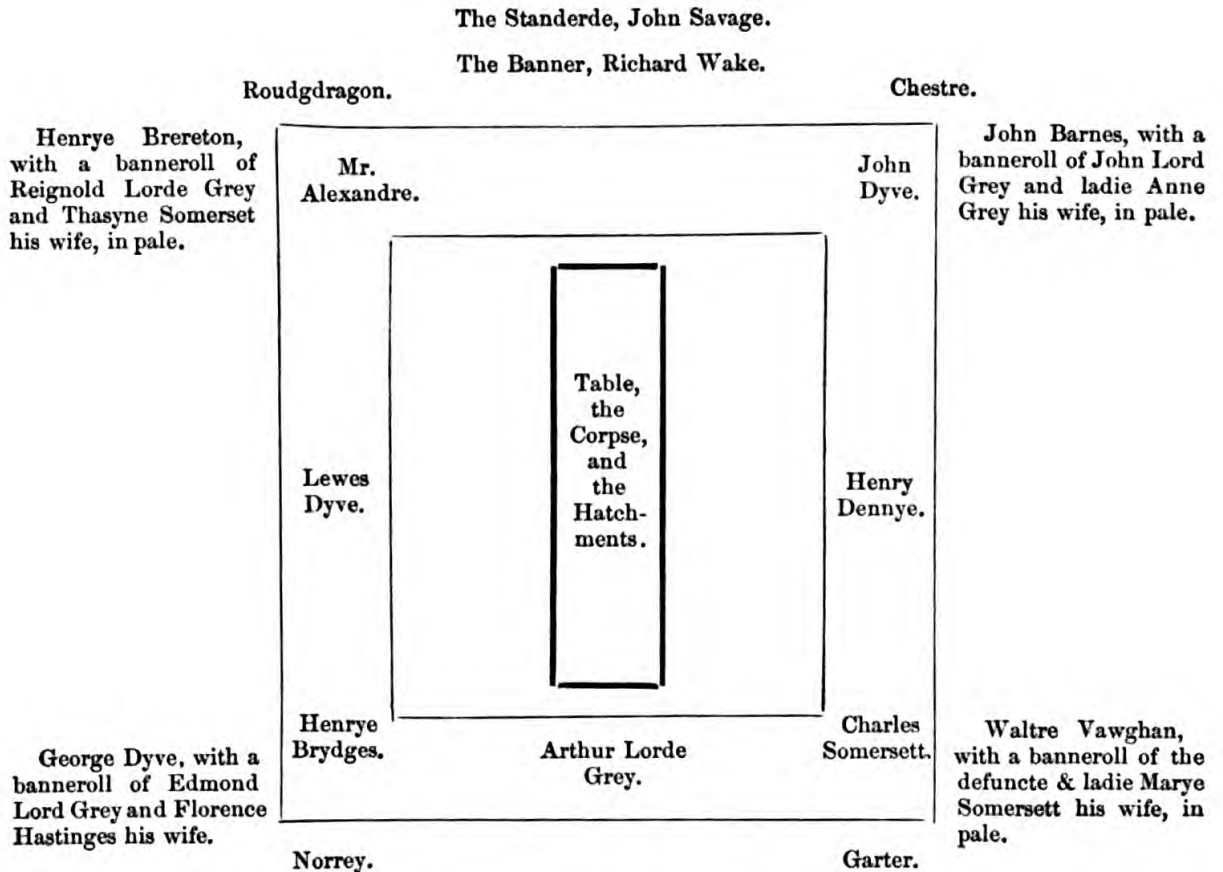
Then all other comers.

In which ordre they proceaded to the church, where the corpse placed undre the hersse, the hatchements thereon, viz. thelmett in the myddest, with the swerde and targett lying on eyther syde, the cote hanginge on theade, the morners within the rayles, the banner and standerd withowt at the feate, the bannerolls holden at the iiij. corners, as appeareth :

* The present is the only known authority for such a marriage. In the pedigree of Grey in Vincent's Baronage in the College of Arms, this lady is called Thaceta, daughter of Owen son of Tudor ; and by others, sister of Owen ap Meredith Tudor, father of Edmond earl of Richmond. See the Harleian MSS. 2045, 1155, and 1529.

† John Brydges, lord Chandos, had married Elizabeth, sister to the defunct. His son Henry is not mentioned by Dugdale.

‡ Another brother of Lewis.



Then Norrey kinge of armes bade the prayer, which he did also at other tymes accustomed, as followeth :—

“ Blessed be the Kinge of Eternall Glorie, who thorowe hys devyne mercye hathe translated thys right noble lorde, William lorde Grey of Wilton, late lorde warden of th’este marchys towards the Scottes, and gover-nour of the towne and castle of Berwycke, and knight of the most noble ordre of the garter, from thys earthlye unto hys hevenlye kingdom.”

Then the servyce began, which was the mornynge prayer, the psalmes beinge of prayse and thanksgevinge for the departure of the deade in the faythe of Christe ; and the ij. chapters, one beinge owt of the boke of

Job, and thother the xvme of the firste epistle of St. Pawle to the Corynthians; which servyce ended, the comunyon began. And at th'offeringe the lorde chiefe morner, with th'other vj. followinge hym, the offycers of armes before hym, proceded uppe to the offereinge, whereat he onelye offered a pece of golde for theade pennye,* and so returned and toke theyre places.

Then the said lorde chiefe morner, with Norrey before hym, proceded uppe, and stode by the pryste to receave thatchementes.

Then at theade of the hersse, Mr. Garter delyvered to Mr. Somersett and Mr. Bridges the cote of armes, who with Chestre before them caryinge yt betwene them, procedid uppe, at whose handes the lord chiefe morner, as right owner of the said armes, recevid the same, and delyvered yt to Norrey, who toke yt and leyd yt on the table of admynystracion, the two morners ordrelye returnyng to theyre places.

Then Mr. Garter delyvered Mr. Denny and Mr. Dyve the targett, who lykewise offered uppe the same, and returned with Chestre before them.

Then Mr. John Dyve and Mr. Alexandre recevid of Mr. Garter the swerde, and offered uppe lykewise the same, and returned.

Then the ij. fyrst morners receivd and offered lykewise thelme and creste, and aftre that Mr. Wake offered the banner, and aftre hym Mr. Savage the standerde, with Chestre before them.

Then the lorde chiefe morner proceded downe to toke hys place, and then with a offycer of armes before hym alone agayne proceded uppe and offered for hymselfe, and returned to his place.

Then Mr. Somersett and Mr. Brudges proceded uppe with Chestre before them, offered, and returnid and toke theyre places.

Then Mr. Denny and Mr. Dyve offered likewise and returnid, and aftre them thother ij. Mr. John Dyve and Mr. Alexandre.

Then offered the iiij. assystants, with Rudgdragon before them, aftre them thother gentlemen, and last the yeomen.

Then the sermonde began, made by Mr. Runager, doctor of, one of the quenes chappellayns, wherin he much comendyd the worthy servyce fro tyme to tyme don, as well in Fraunce as in Scotland, by the defunct; and so amonge other thinges fynysshed the same; the comunyon

* *i. e.* the head penny, or ordinary funeral offering.

proceeded forthwith ended, the morners with offycers of armes and gentlemen before them departed ordrelye agayne to Mr. Denny his howsse, from whence they cam, to dynner. In which meane tyme the corpse was buried in the quere besyde the table of admynystration; and so they likewise which staid for the buryall therof eyther returnid to the sayd place to dynner or els otherwyse at theyre pleasures. The dole was geven to the poore, ij^d. the peece to all that came, beinge in noumbre a M^l. persons.

Thatchmentes and bannerolls were on the afre none there appoynted and sett uppe in the walles of the quere by the offycers of armes in ordre, and were rewarded,* as well for theyre dewties of the hersse as for all other theyre recompences, besydes theyre ordynarye blackes, which afore they hadde delyvered unto them, and departed with thankes.

The paynter's Bill at the said funerall.

Rowley.

In primis, one greate banner of his armes frynged with ys coolers of whyte and blewe of xj cotes, 6 and 5, vidz. Grey, Longshampe, Rockley, Grey of Codnor, Clare, and Vache, Talbott, Grey of Ruthyn, Hastings, Vallence and Hastings, pryce (blank.)†

Item iiij. bannerolles afore-named, the fyrste made with the hole armes aforsayd of the defuncte in pale with the armes of hys wife Marye doughter to Charles erle of Worcestre, viz. quarterlie, fyrst and iiijth. golde with the armes of Somerset in fesse; ij. Herbert, per pale azure and gules, 3 lionceulx rampant argent; 3, Woodvile, argent, a chaperon gules; . . .

The ij^{de}. banneroll of the armes of the parentes to the defuncte, vj. Edmond lorde Grey, and for hym thole armes in the banner abovesayd wanting the last cote, which was his wifes, in pale here with hym, beinge Florence doughter to Sir Raufe brother to William lorde Hastings

The iiij^{de}. bannerolle was of the armes of the grand-parentes to the defuncte John lord Grey, and Elizabeth doughter to Edmond Grey erle of Kent, his wife, in pale, viz. for hym the vij. fyrst cotes afornamed, and for her the other iiij. Grey, Hastings, and Vallence

The iiijth banneroll was of the armes of the greate-grande parentes to the

* Here is a side-note, *per me 50s. in money.*

† The amounts of the money are omitted throughout the account.

defuncte, Reygnold lorde Grey, and Thasyn his wife, in pale, base doughter to John Duke of Somerset, viz. for him the seid vij. cotes, and for her tharmes of Somerset, with the bordre argent and blue, pryce the pece of thes xx.

Item, the standerd garnysshed with a dragon or, and the fawcon or, sett on a leftehande with a glove argent, owt therof issuyng caste over theade a braunche of collobyns blue, the stalke vert; pryce

Item, a cote of hys armes lyned with buckeram.

Item, his creste, with the fawcon gylte with fyne golde, the glove sylver, and the collobyn branche.

Item, a helmett of stele gylt with fyne golde.

Item, a target of his armes gylte with fyne golde

Item, a swerde with the hyltes, pomell, chape, bucke, and pendant, likewise gylte, with the gurdle and sheathe of velvet.

Item, a payre of mantles of blacke velvet.

Item, a payre of knoppes, gylte with burnyshed gold, with tassells of sylke of his colers to the same.

Item, a wrethe of coolers of white and blewe sylke.

Item, . . . schoocheons wrowght with mettall on buckeram, at . . .

Item, . . . schoocheons wrowght with mettall on papre royall, at . . .

Item, . . . schoocheons wrowght with coler on papre

Item, iiij. greate schoocheons wrowght with metall on payste boorde, at

Item, for . . . doossen pencells of his severall armes, creste, and supporters, at

Item, for . . . doossen of pencell stycks, at

Item, for vj. banner staves, at the pece.

Item, for a heade-peace brase of iron for the hatchements, with a rodde for the cote of armes, and a pynne of iron for thelmett

Item, for vj. other irons for the banner standerde and bannerolls, at the pece

A shorter account of Lord Grey's funeral will be found in the *Diary of Machyn*, the herald-painter, (about to be published by the Camden Society,) p. 297. He concludes by saying, "After all done at the burying, they all went back again unto master Denny's place to dinner, for there was as noble a dinner as has been seen, for venison and wild fowl."

XIII.—*Letter of Arthur lord Grey to Lord Treasurer Burghley, Sept. 19, 1572, that he is full of concern, which is increased with the news of the Parisian massacre; and respecting his first invitation to take charge of Ireland.*

(MS. Lansd. 14, Art. 83.)

My very good lord,

This mornyng I receaved yowr lettre, wherin yowr lordship moste truly doothe gess of th' encrease of my grieff by the late horryble and tirannicall dealings in Fraunce: and with yowr lordship doo praye too God that hyr Majestie may have the wysedooome too follow and magnitude to execute the thynges that maye divert the same from hence.

Where yowr lordship wolde knowe the tyme that last yeere I shulde bee wrytten ontoo, too have taken the chardge of Irelande, I was never by lettres directly wylled theruntoo; all that by wryting tending therunto I receaved, was from my lord of Leacester the ixth of August, the courte then lying at Hattfield, wherin his lordship dyd seeme but too guyve mee an inckling that too bee the cause of my sending for; oother lettre I receaved not. So prayeng yowr lordship not too thynck hym idle that is diversly opprest with care, but to suffre hym fyrst too bee quyett in mynde beefore yow put hym too any further care of servyce, I humbly take my leave for this tyme.

From Whaddon, this sixth of September, A°. 1572.

Your lordship's moste assuredly,

A. GREY.

To the ryght honorable and my very good L. the [lord] Burghley
hyghe [tre]azurar of Ingland, yeeve this.

Seal.—A falcon on a glove.

XIV.—*Letter of Arthur lord Grey to Thomas earl of Sussex, June 29, 1580, expressing uneasiness at a service he is sent upon.*

(MS. Cotton. Vesp. F. XII. p. 164.)

My very good lord,

Hopyng styll of your coomyng hathe caused that I have not all this whyle emparked untoo your lordship the estate of my buzynes heere; but now this daye perceaving (too my no small grieff) that want of healthe is your staye,

I could not but sende too knowe how yowr lordship dyd, prayeng the Author of all healthe too yeeld yow no woorse than I doo wysshe. The cause I was sent for too yowr lordship I am sure is not unknowen : my petition which lately abowte the same cause was so sticked at, is now grawnted too, and commaunded I am too bee in a readines by x dayes end too departe ; Scarboor-rowe warnyng, my lord,* for sutche a matter, especyally for one so utterly unfurnysshed, and lyttle looking agayne too bee called on, havynge so lately beefore receaved so flatt a dischardge therof ; but well, as dutie byndes, the maye shall bee readie, how ever the woold coomes shorte. Now since it must bee my lott too trye that unluckie place, pardon me, good lord, in remembring and boald claymyng of your lordship's favorable and most freendly promysse tootchyng yowr instructions for that goovernment. Many freendes emparte unto mee sundrie, but in good trowthe, sir, yowres arre they that I relye most on, and entend too make my grownde-warck : thus, my good lord, with your woonted loove (which truly hathe and ever shall bee most deere unto mee), excuse I beseetche yow my boaldnes in waying my necessitie, wherof humble thanckes assured ; and yf God make mee a good imitator, the glorie allso too yowrself shall redownde, for neyther unwylling nor asshamed wyll I bee too acknowledge any good whence I receave it. So, beeseetchyng yowr good lordship too hoald mee styll in yowr good opinion, I rest allwayes assured untoo you in the same servyce and affection that heertoofore I have promyzed. The Lord of lordes keepe and direct yow ever.

London, this xxixth of June, A°. 1580.

Your lordship's unfaynedly too use,

A. GREY.

Too the ryght honorable my very good L. the Earle of Sussex,
L. Chamb. yeeve this.

* *Scarborough warning*. This curious term is thus explained by Fuller in his *Worthies*; 1662, fol. Yorkshire, p. 189 (quoting Godwin in his *Annals of Queen Mary*), "That is none at all, by a sudden surprize, when a mischief is felt before it is suspected. This proverbe is but of 104 years standing, taking its originall from Thomas Stafford, who in the raigñ of Queen Mary, 1557, with a small company, seized on Scarborough Castle (utterly destitute of provision for resistance), before the townsmen had the least notice of his approach. However, within six days, by the industry of the Earl of Westmoreland, he was taken, brought to London, and beheaded. So that since the proverb accepteth a secondary (but no genuine) sence; and a Scarborough-warning may be a caveat to any, how he undertaketh a treacherous design."

XV. *Sir Henry Sydney* to Arthur lord Grey, Lord Deputy of Ireland; how to proceed in his Government of that kingdom.*

(Sydney State Papers, by Collins, 1746, vol. i. p. 279.)

I doe remember, my verry good lord, that I wrought unto you I would by Auditor Jenison wright more at large, whose comminge hether to me put me in remembraunce of the same. And now, my lord, in satisfaction of your requests, and easynge of my desirous mynde of your happie success in that unhappie countrie, in the lovingest manner that I canne, I sende unto your lordship theis notes followinge; which if I shold laye downe as principles of government to your lordshippe I might well be likened to the puttock that taught the faulcon to flie; or, if I shold wright unto you any instructions for martiall dessines or actions, I might well be scorned with that scholler that offred to reade to Hanibale *de arte militari*.

But nowe to beginne, and that with Godde Almightye. As I knowe you are relidgious, so I wishe your lordshippe to frequent sermons and praier in publike places; it would comforte the fewe protestants you have there, and abashe the papistes, whereof you have many.

Have speciall regarde to the helthe of your bodie; be not withoute a phisitian of your owne, and he of this land's birthe; and as you have ben alwaies delighted in vertuous and noble exercises, so what busines soever you have, use wekely some daies, or rather dailie some howers, to continewe the same; otherwise ye shall bothe dull your sprights, and make your bodie unable to serve.

Provide carfull and bowlde officirs for your howshold; and put on a determinacion to live within the compass of your allowance, wherein I wishe you to make a patterne of other men rather than of me; who by spending there (and yet in truthe not prodigalie) am forced to spoile my patrimonie heere, with what reward or thank I knowe your lordship cannot be ignorant; and lett one of the princepall officers of your howshold have a care for the collection of your cesse for the same. And now, *ut uno verbo dicam*, never agree withoute cesse, for if you take money, it wilbe made a greate matter heere, and yet not serve your torne their. Trust me, o my lord, this one perticuler was the thinge that chefely brack my backe, which I only released to bringe the people more wiling to advaunce the revenewe of the crowne; and so I did,

* Four times lord justice and three times lord deputy.

as hereafter your lordship shall perceive in this lettre. This officer I termed my clarke controwler; and albeit I had bothe threasorer and controwler, his precedents in ranke, yet had I never a one that I trusted better. If your lordship or your officers have neede of any formiler of my howshold held there, if you wright unto me for it, I will sende it you, so sone as I can gette it; for here I have none for that countrie. Be suer of a juste and painfull man to be gentleman of your horse, who shall have neede to have a yoman under him; in theis two officers resteth much, importinge bothe honnor and profite. There liveth yet an owld man, Powle Greene by name, unto whome, by the waie, I beseeche your lordship to be good lord: he can instructe, and I am suer will, for so have I written to him, who soever he be, that your lordship will putte in that office.

Your beinge in actuall warres, I neede not to advise your lordship to make none, withowte the consente of the councell; but for any charge that may be for the same warres layde uppon the countrie, doe it not withowte calling them to it, and others of the nobilitie, as hath been accustomed; for althoughe you have not all to consente with you, yet I dowte not but you shall have so strong a partie, as alwaies shalbe sufficient for your dischargde. One greate matter you shall have to deale in at the councell borde, which is the cesse for the armie and your howshold; and, my lord, as this advised, compownde not for any moneye they will offer you. I did, and, as I writ before, undid myself by the same; for, uppon their grevous complaintes affirminge that some one ploughe-land was chardged with twelve pounds, and I think might prove theye were chardged with eight, I compounded with them for five marks *sterlinge*; which five marks *sterlinge* uppon everie ploughe-land amownted to two thowsand and fower hundred pownds *sterlinge* for one yeare, and the same received within one hundred pownds, little more or lesse, by the above named clerke controwler; and the same might have ben fixed to the crowne imperiall for ever, yf it had ben well stode to here. The limites and counties chardged to this I thinke will apere in the councell booke; if not, I knowe none so able to informe you as the secrity Chaliner; my opinion is, your lordship shold be resolute in this, that you cesse them accordinge to th'estate of your howshold, and nomber of your garison. The man laste named I ever fownde painful, skilfulle, and faithfull; and praie your lordship to be good lord to him, and lette him knowe that I forgette him not. My deere

lord, in consultacion of this matter, and of all other matters that must be treated of at counsell borde, suppress passion; you shalbe tempted *in summo gradu*. I had forgotten one late thinge, and yet materiall, and that is, the choise of cessers for the garison, and raters for your howshold; for albeit I fownde some more honeste than other, yet amongst them all never a perfect honest man.

For the warres now in action, I wotte not what to wright, for that not long agoe my lord of Leicester wright unto me of your lordship's safe arrivall there, of the deathe of sir Jeames of Desmond, and of th'overthrowe of sir John his brother, and howe everie thing wente well ther: but since I have harde of a shrewde conflicte in Goulranell, and divers principall men slaine in the same, and that the Desmonds are of such force as they be able to kepe two armyes; and to whether of theis factions I shold advise your lordship to adresse your self, consideringe the nereness of the one to Dublin, th'opinion and possibilitie of the landinge of forren force to th'aide of th'other; towards which if this yeare you doe advaunce, leave a stronge garde uppon the Pale behinde you; for a cottage burnte there will be made more here then a towne burnte in Mounster. If you will this yeare goe about th'extirpinge of those caniballs of Goulranell and theire neigbrowres, or when you will, if your lordship lette me knowe it, I think I will laye you downe a better plotte then ever any yet of your predecessors for these two hundred yeares ever followed; and lette it not troble you that your people toke some blowe there, for I doe not remember that ever any attempte was made there nor yet ever harde by my elders, but that we had more losse then gaine. Those vermin have lived there offensivelie to Englishe men and Irish government above iiijc. yeares: and yet I thinke it verry possible, and verry feycible to subdue or expulse them; and dowteless an acre wonne there is more honorable and profitable for the state, then a myle in any other remote place. Once again, my lord, if you goe into Mownster, leave a stronger garde uppon the Pale, and spare not to burden them of the countrie to doe it; it is for themselves; and what masse of threasure this crowne exhausteth, besides that they yerelye doe, they cannot be ignorant of. I wishe your lordship should in person be in either action.

If you go into Mownster I cannot perceive that there is any maner or procedinge yet, but marcially; this I had forgotten, that you leave all of that countrie birthe behinde you, that are men to make any defence, and

truste to your soldiers. Some counsellors of the countrie you shall neede to have with you ; the potentates of that province truste not till you have tried them, yet happely you muste use them, but lette them comme imbrued [*qu.* unarmed] before you greatelie allowe them.

And since it is marciallie that you must proceede, and considering your experience and judgmente, I seasse to treate any more of that, lest, as I wright in the begininge of my lettre, I might power more follie out of my self then put wisdom into you ; only this, that you spare for no coste to gette spies. Knaves will be bought for money ; and for helpinge of you to suche I knowe none so apte men as Thomas Masterson, Robert Pipno, and Robert Harpole, all which I fownde honeste, servisable, and faithfull ; all which I doe recomend unto your good Lordship's favoure.

Me thinks it is nowe owte of season to make any treatise or discorse of a generall reformation, for that were like as if a man seinge his howse on fire wold sette downe and drawe a plotte for a newe, before he wold put his helpinge hande to quenche the owld. Neither yet doe I knowe what course you shalbe directed, or of yourself are inclined to howld ; for if your course be either by direction or inclinacion to temporise, then must you proceede in different maner from that course which you muste howld, if you aspire to a perfecte reformation of that acursed countrie. Here will come in question whether provinciall counsells and forces be to be mainteined or not, and as theis courses be different, so muste you use difference of action, councellers, and ministers ; and herin, whensoever you will make me privy, you shall have the beste advice that I shalbe able to geve you ; protestinge that if Philip Sidney were in your place, who most earnestlie and often hath spoken and writen to doe this lovinge office, he, I saie, shold have no more of me then I moste willinglie will wright to you from tyme to tyme. But it wilbe beste that you oppose me by questions : I will answer them as well as I can.

And nowe, my good lord and beloved companion, I will sease to wright of any matter, and to treate a little of men. The moste sufficient, moste faithfull, kinde, that ever I fownde there, were the barron of Uper Ossery, sir Lucas Dillon, and sir Nicholas Malbie ; these for principall men both for counsell and action, and who ever moste dilligentlie and faithfullie discharged that which I comitted to them, and trulie they be men of greatesufficiencie. Make much of this bringer, for he may, and I am suer will,

stand your lordship in stede: I have alwaies fownde him a juste, sownde, frende. If he be alive, there is an honest gentleman called Thomas le Strange; he was some tymes henchman to kings, and at the laste servaunte to me, and nowe to the quene, planted there by me: yf it please you to call him to you at tymes, and give him good countenaunce, he will well informe you of that tracte of the countrie where he dwelleth. I recomend to your lordship also Launcelot Alforde, the survaier. All theis I have fownde sownde and faste frends to me. I had almoste forgotten my nerest and derest frend and kinsman, and knight of myne owne makinge, nephew and godson, sir Henry Harrington: I beseeche your lordship bestowe on him your favourable and lovinge countenaunce; you shall find in him nobilitie of mynde, and that he is not voide of good counsell throughe experience. It is not for lack of love that I place not aright your martiall there, sir Nicholas Bagnall, whom I have ever fownde a faithfull constant frend, and servisable and moste faste and assured to that famelie wherewith I am matched, and with which your lordship is allied; his sonne, my godson and knight, I recomende unto your lordship. I desier your lordship to geve your good countenaunce to my owld cossen Jaques Wingfeld; I truste he will deserve it. And nowe laste, thoughe not least in likinge, the bishop of Methe, whom I ever fownde a good counsellor for the state, a good countrieman for the comon wealthe, a good howsekeeper, and alwaies my faste and sownde frend. These that I have thus writen of, I pray you lette them knowe that I have not forgotten them to your lordship. I might wright of many other, but I will wright evell of none; yet evell have I fownde of some whome you must use, for hapelie God ordeined them to be scourges for my sinnes: and yet they may be good and fruitefull instruments to farther your service, (which if you finde) use them thereafter, and like them never the lesse for any thinge don to me; but if benefit wold have bownde, I shold have fownde fast where I fownde lose.

As I finde your lordship liketh this I will supplie you with more, and nowe desire you to comend me to the newcomes of Ireland, videlicet, my cossen John Cheke, who, withowte challenge be it spoken, passed by Chester and sawe me not, albeit he tarried there daies enoughe; and to my good allie John Zouche, whom I thanke for comminge to me to this towne, and to my governer and deere frend mr. Edward Denny, unto all which I wishe from my harte all good and happynes.

My lord, I had forgotten three kinsmen of myne, sir Edward More, Owen More, and Thomas More ; one of them was my man and nowe the quenes, th'other my lord of Warwick's, and nowe a knight, the third my man still ; I pray your lordship lette them knowe that I forgette them not. The beste worthy of captens that I lefte behinde me was Humfrie Mackworth ; he was a boye of myne owne breedinge : I praie your lordship favower him the rather for my sake. I knowe I shall have many other that in respecte of me will desire grace at your hands ; and according to the goodnes of the cawse I besече you to extend the same unto them. I wold that they for whome I have written might knowe that I have not forgotten them, and that you would kepe this lettre secret, least others not named might take occasion to deme themselves of me condemned.

My lord, I did omitte to wright this lettre myself only for the shaking of my hande, which is such as with difficultie I wright myne owne name, but allso for that my lettres written are to any reader, yea almoste to my self, illegible ; and so I praye you accept it, thoughe sette downe by the pen of my man, yet delivered by the tonge of my self. Finalie I comend myselfe, my sonne Phillip (who is not here), and the frendship and service of us bothe, to your good lordship, whom you shall finde your faste and sownde frends. From Denbighe the xvijth of September 1580.

Your lordship's ancient allie, lovinge companion, and faithfull frend,

H. SYDNEY.

POSTSCRIPT.

My lord,—There is a debte due unto me by Oreilie, for the recóveringe whereof I have put Launcelot Alforde in trust ; but for that men of his sorte, who are not commonlie to be delte withall by ordinarie authoritie, become slowe paiers of theire debttts excepte they be verrie earnestlie solicited, I praie your lordship therfore (if neede be) to asiste Alforde by your countenaunce and commission, the rather to quicken him to procure me paimente. My good lord, I had almoste forgotten, by reason of the diversitie of other matter, to recomende unto you, amongst other of my frends, sir Henry Cowley, a knight of myne owne makinge, who whilst he was yonge, and the habilitie and strengthe of his bodie served, was valliant, fortunate, and a good servante, and havinge by my appointment the charge of the King's Countie, kept the countrie well ordred and in good

obedience. He is as good a borderer as ever I fownde any there. I lefte him at my cominge thence a counsellor, and tried him for his experience and judgment, verry sufficient for the rome he was called unto. He was a sownde and faste frend to me, and so I dowte not but your lordship shall finde when you have occasion to imploye him. And once more, my lord, I praye you to be good to Thomas Masterson; he is one of the ancienteste followers I had there, and one that hath ben of longest acquaintaunce with me: you shall finde him valliant, of greate experience, and a verry good borderer, and fitte to be used when you shall have any occasion to trie his service. Finaly, my lord, take this for my laste precepte: make not many ministers for the layinge owte of your money, and to deale with your purse. What losse I susteined that waie no man can better informe your lordship then this bearer, who knewe my estate, and by what meanes and degrees I toke the moste harme.

XVI.—*Her Majesties Instructions to the lord Grey of Wilton, when he wente Lord Deputy into Ireland in anno 1580.*

(Lambeth MSS. 600, p. 236.)

Instructions for the Lord Grey in Julie, 1580.

ELIZABETH.

Wheras, at the late humble request of our servant Pelham, servinge presentlie in that our realme of Irland as Justice, we are moved to disburden him of that goverment committed unto him, and to send thether another to supplie his place. In respect of the good opinion we have conceived not only of your wisdom and judgment, aswell in marshall as civile affayres, but also of your integritie, we have made choise of you to take that charge uppon you, not doubtinge but the good effects of your goverment there will fullie answere our expectation and hope; and thoughe it shall not be verie needfull to give longe instructions for the managinge of the affaires of that realme to one of your sufficiencie, yet we have thought it good to deliver unto you (before you repayre over) a short memoriall of these points followinge:—

First, for the better direction of yourself in that goverment, you shall duellie observe such instructions as are contayned in the late orders an-

nexed to a certayne establishment set downe by us, as also such other instructions as have been given to such as latelie had the goverment of that realme, and are thought meet to have countynuance still, of all which you shall have the true coppies delivered by one of our secretaries.

And wheras our subjects of that contrie birthe have (as we are informed) conceived that we have a determination as it were to roote them out, with an intention to place there our subjects borne in this realme, we would have you seeke, by all the meanes you can, to remove that false impression wrought in them, by certayne sedetious and ill-disposed persons, that would be glad to worke a divorce betweene us and our subjects there; wheras, in truthe, we beinge interessd alike in our subjects of bothe these our realmes, do carie like affection to them both, unlesse throughe their unnaturall and unduetiful dealinge, and by havinge intelligence with forraine princes, as latelie certayne of them have had, they shall give us just cause to the contrarie.

And for that it is often seene that where garisons are, many violences and outrages are offered to the inhabitants where the said garisons are placed, our pleasure is (as we assure our selfe you will) you have an especiall care to see that by the oppression and insolencies of the said soldiers (where they shalbe placed) our good subjects in that realme may not be alienated in devotion from us by their misbehaviour.

And to the end our care in this point may be notified to our good subjects in that our realme, we thinke it meet that the same should be made knowne unto them by some proclamation to be by you published in that behalfe, and to see the offenders severelie punished, without sparinge the captaynes or head officers, in case they shalbe found faultie.

And wheras we fynde the warres in that contrey and realme bothe chargeable to us and burdenous to our subjects there, we are verie desirous to see a good and a short end of them; and therefore we thinke it verie expedient that, assone as may be after your arrivall in that realme, you make your repayre into the province of Mounster, and there conferre with the justice and such other of our councellors as you shall understand to be best experienced in the affaires there, in what sort the rebells may be most effectually prosecuted, and accordingly to dispose and imploye not only such numbers of soldiers as are presently sent over from hence, but also those that are alreadie there.

And for that the said justice (in respect of his skill in marshall affaires,

and the experience he hath had in the late service there) wilbe a verie good assistance unto you, as also for that you may be otherwise uppon some necessarie occasion called from thence, and imployed in some other places of the realme, we are pleased that he shall continewe there untill the present warre shalbe ended, and to supplie the place of a counsellor in that realme, to whome we thinke meet you give such allowance duringe his employment there, as by you and the rest of the counsell of that realme shalbe thought meet.

And in case the warrs in Mounster shall nott be ended before Allollentide next, forasmuche as after that tyme (as we are informed) there can be no great matter attempted to the annoyance of the rebells, whereby the number of souldiours presently there, and that are shortlye to be sent over from hence, shall remayne there in the winter to no great purpose, but be chargeable to us, and burdenous to the countrie, you shall in this case (with the advise of our counsell there) discharge suche numbers as by you shalbe thought meet; retayninge notwithstandinge so many as, beinge placed in garnison there, may be sufficient to keepe the rebells from annoyinge and spoylinge our good subjects, forseeinge that in the sayed discharge you cashe none of the captens and heades of our garnison placed in the realme before this rebellion, nor others who for their longe service in that realme have been lately appoynted to have charge as captens, for that otherwise we should have bene driven to allow them pensions. Besides, it would [should] be cared for that the armours of those that shalbe discharged, should be retayned and preserved for the use of those counties of which they were levied.

Amongst other things, whereas by experience it hath bene seene that our governours heretofore there, by our easie and common grauntinge of pardons and protections to notorious transgressors of our lawes, have thereby bred great boldness in the offenders and subjects of that realme, our pleasure is, that, accordinge to suche instructions as heretofore have bene given to some of our sayed governours, you have an especiall care to graunt nether pardon nor protection but uppon some great and apparent cause of importance, tendinge to the advauncement of our publique service in that realme; and in case anye pardon uppon some speciall cause shalbe graunted, we thinke meet that the fact for which the pardon shalbe graunted be expressed, and not to avance in generall termes, as heretofore hath bene accustomed.

XVII. *Letter of Arthur lord Grey, Lord Deputy of Ireland, to Queen Elizabeth, August 2, 1580, reporting the state in which he found Ireland.*

(MS. Cotton, Titus B. XIII. p. 305.)

It maye please your Majestie, I am humbly to requyre that my wyll-yngnes bee not examined by the small haste my late arryvall here maye seeme too make shewe of: ten dayes was I heald at Beaumarris by contrarie wynde, and in end too enforced too adventure in a very scarce one, or els have made longer staye, which yet God it pleased too turne too the best, so as, after twoo dayes and as many nyghtes' sayling, I landed heere this mornynge.

The state of the countrie heere in generall, I fynde too bee thus.

The Pale itself sore vexed throughe the undutifullnes of vicount Balinglass and hys associates, many of your good subjects by them spoyled and burnt, which sturre wyll now bee the hardlyer suppressed havynge had head with the longyst affourded it, and the good that is in hoape too bee doonne on them by Inglyshe bandes onely in manner is too bee expected, the chieffest of your hyghness' good subjects hanging in mystrust, or rather dispayring of theyr owne followers; so, contrarie too former purpose, am I stayed from the west for the prosecution of these, which in deede is so mootche the more perillus action, as it is nearer the hart. Well, the event is God's onely; but that sumwhat is undertaken very shortly, I dowght not but yowr hyghness shall heare.

The rebells in Munster hoald on styll; yet this daye I fownd it advertized hyther that James of Desmond with Sawnders, theyr honest apostle, making into these partes too have joyned with the rebells heere, were encountered with by one sir Cormock M'Seig, lord of Muskrie in the county of Corck, the sayd James was taken and a man of Sawnders hys, the master escaping very hardly unhappely, sundry of theyr people slayne, and the rest putt too flight. An exployt sure of greate avayle and woorthely too bee considered: it may therefore please yowr hyghness too bestowe sum thanckes on the gentleman that perfowrmed it, with sum rewarde, which not onely too hymself wyll bee an encooragement too doo better, but beesydes styrre oother too emulate hys servyce by showe of lyke endevoours.

By sir Nicholas Mallbie it seemethe that hys countrie is in dowght too

bee troobled by one Orwyck, backed by Odonnell, but yet hope of staye therein restethe.

I fynde by captain Piers that Terence Lenoghe seemes yet too stande well devoted, and in good obedience too yowr Majestie ; how bee it that certayne Scottes bee arryved in those partes, whowme hee yet repressethe from dooyng any owtrage uppon yowr subjects, havynge made proclamacion in hys countrie, that none of hys shall attempt anythyng that maye bee offensive to your hyghness. In requytall wherof, and for hys mayntaynyng heerein, yowr counsell heere doo lykewyze cause too bee proclaymed the well lyking of hys dutyfull dealyng, with no less saftie and provysion for hys : for all this hys assurednes goethe not undowghted, by reazon of hys wyeff, knowne too bee a pestilent instrument alltogeather Scottishe, and applying all that in her is too divert hym from yowr loyalltie. Yowr Majestie thus seese what uncertayne conditions this your realme standethe in. Greate complayning heere of lack of paye and vittayle : these wantes, surely, duryng thys tumultuous season, yowr hyghness must have care in tyme too see supplied, ootherwyze beeyond the industrie or reatche of man it is too perfoorme any acceptable or expected servyce.

Tyll it shall please God too bryng thynges too better quyett, I can not satsfyfie yowr hyghness' directions for yowr accountes' takyng and certyfying of the same, neyther as yet is the auditor coome ; but, any pawse guyven, I wylle not, God wylling, bee further slack therin. For that I maye have occasion too yeeld yowr hyghness sutche advertisements, as the same intercepted or knowne too oother myght bryng no small prejudice too yowr servyce, I thowght it requysit too devyse a cypher, wherby I myght the more safly beetake unto yow matters of most importance, which heere enclozed I send (*), humbly prayeng yowr hyghness too beare with my ragged characters, whytche, for secresie sake, I chose rather mysellfe yllfavouredly to sett downe, then too impart too oothers fayrer drawght. So, most humble leave I take of yowr majestie, beeseetchyng the Lord of lords too garde, direct, and prosper yowr hyghnes in persone, spyritt, and all actiones ever.

Dublin, xijth of August, A°. 1580.

Yowr Majesties most dutiefull subject and servant,

A. GREY.

Too her Ma^{tie} yeve this.

* The cypher is not preserved.

XVIII. *Letter of Arthur lord Grey to sir Christopher Hatton, July 1, 1581, to solicit his recall from Ireland.*

(MS. Addit. Brit. Mus. 15,891, f. 74; printed in Sir Harris Nicolas's *Life and Times of Sir Christopher Hatton*, p. 174.)

Sir,—Because I have certified my lords in a general letter of the present estate of this country, and of the fruit of my last journey, I have not thought good to trouble you further therewith at this instant, but to refer you wholly to that advertisement; wherein perceiving that, notwithstanding all my endeavour and continual pains which I have taken here to advance her majesty's service, I can no way so well satisfy her highness as I have dutifully sought and ever wished for, my most earnest desire is, to be now disburdened of so thankless a place, and that some other, that with better liking and more sufficiency can answer that expectation, may be called hither. I am moved herein to crave your furtherance, both in regard of her majesty's service, which I wish might take as happy success as herself desireth, as also for her better contentation and my own quietness. And yet my conscience, in the comfortless impression of this disfavour, will always bear me witness that I rest simply blameless herein towards her majesty, whose service, never forslowing, I have ever followed with all dutiful care and travail, as faithfully as the power of my body and mind would give me leave. If the sway have been beyond my strength, the blame is justly theirs whose choice was no better; and not mine, that did plainly and simply at the first reveal that little which I found in myself for so great a charge. In this cause, that toucheth me so dear, I am now forced to fly to your promised friendship for the removing of me from hence; whereof I make the more assured account, for that I have ever found it ready in my causes of less importance. And so, earnestly praying herein your honourable solicitation and good furtherance, I commit you to the grace of God. From Dublin, the 1st of July, 1581. Your assured friend and loving kinsman,

A. GREY.

XIX. *Extract from Camden's Annales of Elizabeth, being the speech of Arthur lord Grey on the trial of secretary Davidson.*

After him followed the lord Grai, who in a set speech, as being inflamed with a religious zeal, thus sharply delivered himself. "Davidson," said he, "is charged to have demeaned himself contemptuously towards the queen, and that contempt is aggravated with these circumstances,—that he has caused the queen of Scots to be put to death, has divulged certain secrets, and concealed from the queen the sending away of the warrant. But what queen was it whom he caused to be put to death? Even she from whom, as long as she lived, dangers daily threatened our religion, our queen, our commonwealth, and every particular man of us; and by means of whom, though she be now executed, we are to this day put to this trouble; so that he who has delivered England from so great dangers, may seem worthy rather to be honoured and esteemed. I do not take him to have revealed secrets who imparted the business to no other than the council and managers of the weightiest affairs, whom it specially concerned to know such matters; and the queen herself had already acquainted one or two of them with the thing. If Davidson have offended, he is most to be blamed for this, that when the queen was entering upon a new resolution he did not let her know that the warrant was not already sent away. But he, without question, was divided in doubtful and perplexed thoughts whether he were best venture the queen's favour, by sending away the warrant without her knowledge, or, by recalling it, endanger the queen's safety anew. Who remembers not how turbulent a time it was, and what frightening rumours were spread abroad in all places? If any violence had then been offered to religion or the queen, or her life had been taken away while the warrant was in his hands, should not he have borne the blame of it? should not we ourselves, our wives and children, have fallen violently upon him? should we not have embrued our hands in his blood? should we not have cursed his indiscretion to the pit of hell? and should we not, to his eternal infamy, have erected a monument of his inconsiderateness, engraven with letters of blood? Whatsoever either punishment or fine ye lay upon him shall not displease me; but to be sure he shall never, with me, loose the esteem of a good and honest man." These things Grey continued to press copiously, eloquently, and boldly.

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