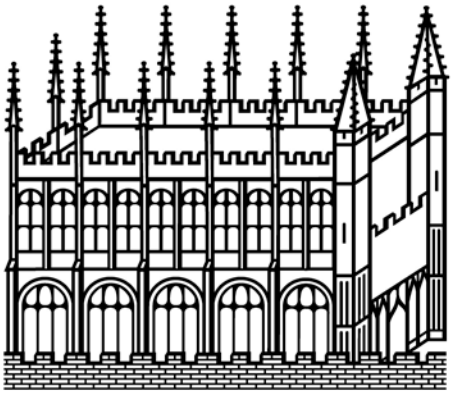

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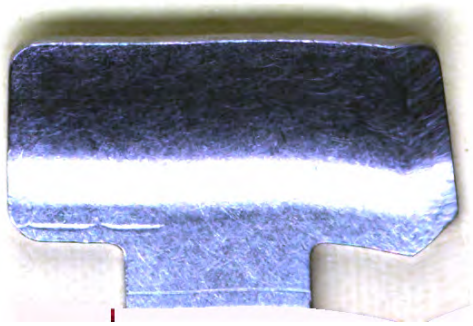

"JANE THE QUENE"

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BEING SOME ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE AND LITERARY REMAINS OF LADY JANE DUDLEY COMMONLY CALLED LADY JANE GREY

BY

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CHAPTER I.

Birth and Early Years.

THE Lady Jane was the eldest surviving child of Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset, by his wife Frances, elder daughter and eventual heiress of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. By the lineage of both her parents she could claim kinship with the blood royal, although it was solely on the grounds of her maternal descent from the family of Tudor that she was persuaded to usurp the throne. By the marriage of her grandfather, Charles, Duke of Suffolk, with Mary, sister to Henry VIII., she was directly descended from the Houses of York and Lancaster; whilst her father's ancestress, Elizabeth, widow of Lord Grey of Groby, had become the wife of Edward IV.

The precise date of Lady Jane's birth is unknown, but it is clear that she must have first seen the light in the month of October, 1537, at Bradgate Park, the country-seat of her parents, in Leicestershire. It was at beautiful Bradgate that she passed the greater portion of her short and sorrowful career. Of a sweet and amiable disposition, as handsome as she was both pious and clever, she failed, nevertheless, from her earliest days to win the good-will of her father and mother. Strict as were the rules to which parents used at that epoch to lay down for the guidance of their children, the domestic discipline to which the juvenile Lady Jane was subjected was as cruel as it was absurd. Lord and Lady Dorset seem to have ever experienced an unholy delight in tormenting her. If, when introduced into their company, she apprehended an outburst of reproaches, and consequently remained silent, they would tax her with being cross and disagreeable. If, on the other hand, she tried her utmost to prove lively

and loquacious, they would reprimand her for being too forward and self-assertive. Whatever she did, or wherever she went, the same Argus-eyes pursued her. Over her embroidery, at the music-stool, at the dance, at the dinner-table, she was always the recipient of her seniors' sarcasms.

Notwithstanding this undue severity, Lady Jane obtained ample compensation from her father in other ways. Lord Dorset was, in the first place, a sound Protestant, holding in genuine abhorrence the superstitions of the Church of Rome. He was a Protestant from sincere religious fervour and conviction, and not, like Northumberland and others of the nobility, merely for the sake of the extra advantages accruing thereby for the development of political ends. It was to his zeal on behalf of the Reformers that Lady Jane owed her truly Christian piety, and love of reading the New Testament, which was to prove such a consoling companion in those dark hours when she lay awaiting execution on Tower-Hill.

Her education was consigned to the tender care and teaching of John Aylmer,* chaplain to the household at Bradgate, where this divine, who, in after days, was to wear a mitre, had taken refuge at an asylum during the last years of Henry VIII., when the new-born Anglicanism was struggling against the hard-dying mediæval Church.

Bearing a deep affection for this learned priest, Lady Jane was never happy unless in his company, seeking to acquire from him further knowledge. By Aylmer she was, at an unusually early age, instructed in the Greek, French, and Latin tongues.

With so many lives extant between her and the succession to the throne, Lady Jane had, until well in her "teens," no suspicion that she would ever be called upon to assume any part on the world's stage more prominent than that of an English matron of noble family—hence, when, in 1546, she was appointed to the household, and to wait on the person of Queen

* *Vide* Notes: "Bishop Aylmer."

Catherine Parr, no political significance could be attached to her presentation to such a post. During her service under the last of Henry's wives, the pretty face and charming ways of the maiden evoked the most favourable comment, whilst, as she took great pains to study the most ornate means to display her little person in the most costly and beautiful dresses that could be procured for her, she was fully sensible of cutting a fine figure in the *beau monde*. The bashful, retiring, society-hating heroine of Foxe, and other ultra-Protestant writers, was, as a matter of fact, with all her virtues, literary talent, and strict religious observances, like the vast majority of her sex, a lover of finery, of pretty garments, and sparkling jewels. It may be safely said that she delighted in displaying her figure to the best advantage, as most girls of her age do, to-day and have in past ages always done.

On the death of Catherine, September 7th, 1548, the juvenile Lady Jane actually played the important *rôle* of chief-mourner at the

funeral, which took place within a suspiciously short time after the Queen's death in the chapel of Sudely Castle. As chief-mourner, Lady Jane had the privilege of being allowed a lady to wait in attendance behind her at the funeral rites, and carry her train in the procession.

So little regard, apparently, did Lord and Lady Dorset pay their eldest and most promising daughter at this date—there being so far no special value for her, as it were, in the sordid political market of the moment—that she was formally made over to the care of Lord Seymour,* who soon busied himself in projecting a matrimonial alliance for his ward. This was no less than to draw up a marriage contract between her and the boy-king, Edward VI. That Seymour was actuated by self-interest in projecting such an alliance is plain, but he must be considered to have endeavoured to complete what would have been, had circumstances permitted its consummation, one of the

* She was, as a matter of fact, actually offered as a pledge by her father, in lieu of security for a loan of money lent him by Seymour.

most proper, sensible, and splendid espousals recorded in history. Had Edward been granted a longer lease of life, with a constitution less impaired by infirmities, it is impossible to conceive a more judicious arrangement, both as regards his interest and those of the nation. By the marriage of Edward and Jane, two different scions of the house of Tudor would have been peacefully united, whilst one of the most learned and most virtuous youths then living would have had the good fortune to obtain for a bride a young lady as learned and as virtuous as himself. Such a match would have ranked without parallel in the annals of Britain, if not in those of all countries, in all eras, ancient or modern.

But Seymour's scheme was never destined to reach maturity. His brother, the Duke of Somerset, Lord Protector of the Realm, desiring one of his own daughters to assume the place of Jane as Edward's fiancée, all the negotiations were abruptly broken off, and Seymour was soon after sent to the Tower,

and finally to the block. Bereft of her ill-fated and ambitious guardian, Lady Jane, sick and wearied with the intrigues of Court, returned to Bradgate to find peace, rest, and enjoyment in the delights of study. Yet she had not, during her absence, let the grass grow under her feet. Her occupations in the royal household had comprised other matters besides the fitting-on and display of expensive dresses. Queen Catherine Parr, as behoved an ardent student of *belles lettres* and the classics, had encouraged her to persevere with her books, as she had also, with excellent results, similarly encouraged the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth.

Jane's sweet seclusion at Bradgate was soon interrupted by an incident that afforded her the utmost pleasure, as well as literary profit. This was the arrival in the month of July, 1550, of Roger Ascham,* the most erudite of contemporary English scholars who visited

* He had been formerly employed at Bradgate as a tutor when Lady Jane was quite young.

Bradgate, *en route* from Cambridge University to the south coast, whence he was to take ship for Germany. This visit with its intercourse between the veteran scholar and Lady Jane has achieved a permanent place in the pages of history, and is best described in Ascham's own words :—

"Before I went into Germany, I came to Brodegate, in Leicestershire, to take my leave of that noble lady, Jane Grey, to whom I was exceedingly much beholding. Her parents, the Duke and Duchess, with all the household gentlemen and gentlewomen, were hunting in the park.

"I found her in her chamber alone, reading 'Phaedo Platonis' in Greek, and that with as much delight as some gentlemen would read a merry tale of Boccace. After salutation and duty done, with some other talk, I asked why she would lose such pastime in the park?

"Smiling, she answered me, 'I wist all their sport in the park is but a shadow of that

pleasure I find in Plato. Alas! good folk, they never felt what true pleasure meant.'

"'And how came you, Madam,' quoth I, 'to this deep knowledge of pleasure? And what did chiefly allure you unto it, seeing not many women, and but very few men, have attained thereto?'

"'I will tell you,' quoth she, 'and tell you a truth which perchance you may marvel at. One of the greatest benefits God ever gave me is, that he sent me so sharp and severe parents, and so gentle a schoolmaster. For when I am in presence of either father or mother, whether I speak, keep silence, sit, stand, or go, eat, drink, be merry, or sad, be sewing, playing, dancing, or doing anything else, I must do as it were in such weight, number, and measure, even so perfectly, as God made the world, or else I am so sharply taunted, so cruelly threatened, yea, presently, sometimes with pinches, nips, and bobs, and other ways (which I will not name for the honour I bear them), so without measure misordered, that I think my-

self in Hell, till time come that I must go to Mr. Elmer,* who teacheth me so gently, so pleasantly, with such fair allurements to learning, that I think all the time of nothing while I am with him. And when I am called from him, I fall on weeping, because whatsoever I do else beside learning, is full of grief, trouble, fear, and whole misliking unto me. And thus my book hath been so much my pleasure, and bringeth daily more pleasure and more that in respect of it, all other pleasures, in very deed, be but troubles and trifles unto me.'

"I remember this talk gladly, both because it is worthy of memory, and because also it was the last talk I had, and the last time that ever I saw that noble and worthy Lady."

On Ascham's arrival in Germany, he commenced a correspondence with Lady Jane, who wrote to him both in Greek and Latin, and as he lost no opportunity of extolling the praises of his young friend's learning among

* Alymer.

the Swiss and German *savants* with whom he was acquainted, Lady Jane quickly found herself inveigled into the pleasant toils of maintaining a further correspondence concerning the classics with other famous continental scholars, such as the learned Bullinger, and his friend, John Ullmer.

Amid these occupations so delightful to her, Lady Jane passed away her time in the seclusion of beautiful Bradgate until the latter end of the year 1551, when she was taken by her parents to reside permanently at Court, where her father's political position had considerably improved, thanks to his close friendship with John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, and to the sudden and successive deaths of the brothers, Henry and Charles Brandon,* Dukes of Suffolk: whilst Lady Dorset became sole heiress and representative of the Brandons, and Edward VI. revived the vacant Dukedom, with the rest of the family honours, in favour of her husband, who

* *Vide* Notes: "Henry and Charles Brandon."

was created Duke of Suffolk, October 4th, 1551. Grateful, therefore, for the Dudley interest, exerted on their behalf with such pleasing results, the parents of Lady Jane encouraged the establishment of friendly relations between their daughters and the children of Northumberland.

The establishment of this newly-cemented friendship between these ducal houses was to prove of vast and even fatal importance to the prospects of Lady Jane. Hitherto her career, in spite of her parents' harshness, had been spent happily and nobly, but now, at the early age of fourteen, the remainder of the short span of life allotted to her was to be marred by becoming the unconscious tool of shameless and ambitious politicians, to further whose designs the innocent maid of Bradgate was to be cajoled into the meshes of a conspiracy, whence she was to emerge a prisoner attainted of treason, with the penalty of a traitor's death upon the scaffold.

The first duties, worthy of note, that occupied

Lady Jane on her return to a public career, comprised her appearance at the festivities, which greeted the journey of Mary of Lorraine, Queen-Dowager of Scotland, during her visit to London, on her way from France to Edinburgh. Shortly after this she paid a visit to her cousin, the Princess Mary, at Newhall, in Essex. That between Mary, the bigoted Catholic, who after the straitest sect of her religion had lived a Pharisee, a bigot of bigots, a believer in all the superstitious legends which it has ever been the custom of the Roman priests to impose upon their credulous penitents, and Jane, the frank and open-hearted child of the Reformation, well skilled not only in the classics, but (unlike Mary) also in the Scriptures, there could be but little in common. It is not surprising, then, that the visit failed to pass without discord, a discord which was never forgotten by the stern and unforgiving daughter of Catherine of Arragon. This difference between the cousins arose upon the following grounds.

Walking, one afternoon, in the company of Lady Anne Wharton, a personal friend and attendant of Mary's, Lady Jane, on passing by the Catholic chapel which was attended by her hostess, was astonished to note that her companion made a profound obeisance in its direction. Surprised at this sudden homage, and thinking that it was probably a somewhat exaggerated piece of respect to Mary, occupied perhaps in her devotions therein, Lady Jane, with all the impetuous curiosity of youth, asked if it was to the Princess that her companion had bent her knee?

"No," was the reply, "the curtsey had been made to Him that made us all." (Referring to the Blessed Sacrament confined within the chapel.)

"But how," answered Lady Jane, "can he be there who made us all? Did not the baker make him?"

This ingenious and spirited reply was duly reported to Mary, who, according to John Foxe, the martyrologist: "this hir answere

comming to the Ladye Marie's eare, she did never love hir after, as is credibly reported."

It was the commencement of the very eventful year 1553, that arrangements were at length seriously made with regard to procuring a husband for Lady Jane. Although not sixteen years old, she was, according to the customs of that age, considered to be by no means too young to enter upon the holy state of matrimony. Heiresses and ladies of rank were often married before they were fifteen, and more often still, formally engaged to be married by the time they were ten. But before dealing with the negotiations which preceded her marriage, it will be well to pause, and examine into the complicated condition of politics obtaining at this momentous period.

CHAPTER II.

Marriage to Lord Guildford Dudley.

THE history of the reign of the "boy-king," Edward VI., presents from beginning to end extraordinary reading. To the student, wading through this vast maze of interminable intrigue, of plot against plot, of creed against creed, of partisan against partisan, it seems as if the annals of England, from 1547 to 1553, had transformed themselves into a fairy-tale, so replete with sensational incidents were those half-dozen tragic years.

From the time when the breath was scarcely out of the body of Henry VIII. until the execution of Lady Jane Grey, English politics may be said to closely resemble the vicissitudes peculiar to the existence of South American Republics in our day. The reign of Edward VI. was not, in fact, that of a single sovereign, but the reign of a pair of self-constituted rulers

of the kingdom, respectively the leaders of two different parties, each vainly anxious only to further his own private ends, and both utterly regardless of the welfare of their fatherland.

By dint of carefully manipulating the strings of government whilst Henry VIII. was lying on his death-bed, the Lord Protectorate of the Realm, on the accession of King Edward, was assumed by Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, a man of boundless vanity and ambition, who represented the Protestant interest as opposed to the Catholic, represented by the Howards. Until the commencement of the year 1549, Somerset succeeded in ruling with all the authority of an absolute monarch, until he suddenly discovered the integrity of his position to be menaced by the audacious schemes of his younger brother, Lord Seymour of Sudely. But the pride of the Protector brooked no interference, not even from a brother, and Seymour was, by his express order, attainted of treason, proved, or rather found guilty, and executed on Tower-Hill.

Such was the standard of the shameless code of ethics which regulated the principles of the ambitious men who ruled England at that lawless epoch, when religious authority was at a low discount owing to the recent collapse of Catholicism, and the slow progress effected by the doctrines of the Reform, that even Somerset, outwardly a most sincere and zealous Christian, and an ardent Protestant, hesitated not to commit the crime of parricide in order to benefit his own ignoble purposes. But his brother's blood was to cry out for vengeance against him, and he himself lived to encounter the same doom which he had, with a shallow show of remorse, meeted out to Seymour. He was himself to fall a victim to the selfishness and sordid ambition of one of his own supporters, John Dudley, successively created Viscount Lisle, Earl of Warwick, and Duke of Northumberland, a nobleman supporting the same Protestant interest as Somerset, but with even less sincerity, endowed also with even more

ambition, but with greater genius and skill in the art of government. With consummate craft, Dudley plotted secretly to depose Somerset with a view to putting himself in his place, and in this he was completely successful. Somerset was beheaded on the same spot as his brother before him, on January 22nd, 1552. the young King, his own nephew, signing his death-warrant just as he had signed the death-warrant of Lord Seymour.

The Duke of Northumberland was now left the Master of the Realm, whilst his family were enabled to maintain a semi-royal position, and as the Suffolks went to reside in 1551 at Sheen, Lady Jane was consequently placed in close proximity to the Dudleys, whose chief residence was Sion House, formerly Sion Abbey, situated on the banks of the Thames, in the immediate vicinity of the towns of Richmond, Isleworth, and Brentford.

It was not long after the initial steps had been taken to cement a durable friendship between the Ladies Grey and the younger

EDWARD SEYMOUR, DUKE OF SOMERSET.

and unmarried members of the House of Dudley, when Northumberland's eagle eye fixed itself on Lady Jane as offering another puppet, whose possession would provide him with yet one more useful piece to place upon the political chess-board. He, accordingly, resolved to accomplish this by endeavouring to contract a marriage between Lady Jane and his son, Guildford, the senior of his unmarried children.

The object of effecting this matrimonial alliance was of immense importance to Northumberland. The health of the King gradually growing visibly weaker, day by day, the question of the succession to the throne had become the topic of the hour, and this question involved either victory or death to the Dudleys and their party.

By the terms of the will of Henry VIII., the crown had been bequeathed, in the event of Edward dying without issue ; thus :

1. To the Princess Mary, and the heirs of her body ;

2. to the Princess Elizabeth, and the heirs of her body ;

3. to the heirs of the body of Frances Brandon (Lady Jane's mother).*

By this arrangement, the Scotch line, as represented by the issue of Margaret Tudor, whose heirs should lineally have ranked as number three in the above table, and consequently have deposed the claims of Lady Jane into number four, were entirely ignored.

That Henry, although perhaps not strictly acting within his legal rights, was wise according to his views in ignoring the claims of the Scottish branch to the throne, may be soundly argued, because the succession of a Stewart prince or princess to the English throne was sure to prove unpopular. But admitting the justice of his decision, then there were left

* It is very important to note that Henry did not nominate Lady Frances as an heiress to the throne, but only the heirs of her body. Nearly all our leading historians have misinterpreted this, and have censured Northumberland for putting aside the Duchess of Suffolk in favour of her daughter. It is probable that Henry very reasonably anticipated—not expecting his will would be tampered with—that by the time the succession devolved on Lady Frances' branch of the family, she would herself have long been dead.

two heirs standing between Lady Jane Grey and the succession, and, notwithstanding the provisions of the will, it might be still argued that the Duchess of Suffolk had a better right than Lady Jane. It needed an extremity of audacity, even for such an ambitious and lawless politician as Northumberland, to conceive that the nation could be peaceably induced to accept Lady Jane as Queen, on the decease of Edward. To set aside the Tudor princesses for Lady Jane involved the adoption of plans as dangerous as they prove treasonable, bristling as they did with innumerable legal and political obstacles. Yet Northumberland nerved himself to the task, and in endeavouring to procure Lady Jane as a husband for Lord Guildford, he designed to make his son King-consort, while he himself should—with both Queen and King as mere wax in his hands—govern England with all the autocracy of an Emperor.

It may at once be objected, why was it so vital to the interests of the Dudleys that Lady Jane should succeed Edward? The answer to

this is easy of explanation. The succession of Mary implied in the first place the return of the Papists to power, which simply meant the fall and perhaps execution of Northumberland, Suffolk, and their supporters. To exclude Mary he had, therefore, to appeal to the plea that she, by reason of her mother, Catherine of Arragon's divorce, was illegitimate. But he was yet left with the Princess Elizabeth to face, and notwithstanding the array of pretexts furnished by historians to demonstrate that having excluded Mary, Northumberland was logically bound to exclude her sister, it seems open to argument whether he did not commit a grave error by not promoting Elizabeth to the throne, either as an unmarried woman, or as married to one of his sons. That the haughty and proud-spirited Elizabeth would have agreed to marry a Dudley is, however, doubtful; and she would have proved very troublesome to manage. Northumberland resolved, meanwhile, to exclude Elizabeth on the grounds that she, too, had been declared illegitimate by a previous

Act of Parliament.* Although both Mary and Elizabeth eventually ascended the throne, it is clear even now that one of these queens was of illegitimate birth, for if Catherine of Arragon was legally divorced, then Mary was an illegitimate child. If, on the other hand, Catherine was to the day of her death Henry's lawful wife, then Elizabeth was an illegitimate child, and her father, Henry, had committed bigamy!

But it was a more difficult task to obtain Jane as a wife for his son than the wily Northumberland had supposed. The young lady was totally opposed to the match. Her parents were in favour of it, since by Northumberland's help alone could their daughter become Queen. As to Lord Guildford, so far as can be ascertained, considering that next to nothing is definitely known of his character, he was genuinely in love with Lady Jane, and was only too eager to be allowed to name the happy day, which, regardless of all Lady Jane's pro-

* It would be tedious to recapitulate all the arrangements entered into by Henry VIII. regarding the legitimacy of his daughters, and their succession to the throne, before drawing up his final will.

tests, was at last fixed for May 21st, 1553, the Duke of Suffolk threatening to drag her by force to the altar should she not yield to his wishes.

Yield she was tacitly compelled to, and her nuptials were celebrated on the above date, with a ceremonial and marriage-feast of unusual splendour, at the chapel attached to Durham House, the London residence of Northumberland. The extravagant festivities, with which the nuptials were followed, gave rise to unusual comment amongst the general public, since it was held that owing to the feeble state of the King's health, it would have been proper if his cousin, the Lady Jane, had been more privately and quietly wedded. In the same chapel, also, on the same day, Lady Catherine Grey (Jane's sister)* espoused Lord Herbert;† and Lady Catherine Dudley (Lord Guildford's sister) was married to the Earl of Huntingdon.‡ The

* *Vide* Notes: "Lady Jane's Sisters."

† Afterwards Earl of Pembroke, who eventually married Mary, daughter of Sir Henry Sidney, K.G.

‡ This nobleman had also a slight presumptive claim to the throne, since he could trace descent from the Duke of Clarence, brother to Edward IV.

astute Northumberland, who never procrastinated when his mind was once made up, had thus brought off no less than three *mariages de covenance* within the space of a single morning.

He had united his eldest daughter, the Lady Mary, to Sir Henry Sidney, in 1551. By this union Northumberland became the grandfather of the illustrious Sir Philip Sidney, and his sister, the talented Countess of Pembroke. Sir Henry Sidney, it is worth while remarking from the view of genealogical interest, was grandson of Anne Brandon, aunt to Charles, Duke of Suffolk, Lady Jane's grandfather.

CHAPTER III.

Northumberland's Conspiracy.

NORTHUMBERLAND had hastened on the preparations for the wedding of Lord Guildford and Lady Jane, since he was afraid that the moribund King might be gone before the nuptial knot was tied. As it was, his arrangements had not been finished a bit too soon, for Edward died at Greenwich, in the arms of Sir Henry Sidney, on July 6th; that is, within seven weeks after Lady Jane had changed her maiden name for that of Dudley.

Meanwhile, as soon as Northumberland perceived that the young monarch's hours were numbered, he set about the concoction of a plan to obtain his sanction to the alteration of the succession to the throne. In this he was warmly supported by the Duke of Suffolk and the Marquis of Northampton. On approaching Edward with details of his plan, the dying boy

readily assented to the advice that the safety of the reformed religion, and the delivery of England from the clutches of the Papacy, necessitated the exclusion of the Princess Mary. But he was less pliant with regard to the exclusion of Elizabeth, to whom he was deeply attached. But his crafty adviser, pretending to sympathise with him in this respect, yet pointed out that it would be a monstrous injustice to exclude Mary on the grounds of her illegitimacy, without also excluding Elizabeth, although by what process of reasoning he supported these arguments it is difficult to conceive,* notwithstanding the facility with which historians seem to have satisfied themselves thereon. Edward, at length, weary and worn out with sickness, with the shadow of death already looming over him, gave way, and consented to nominate Lady Jane, who was kept in profound ignorance of the plot, as his heiress.

* "Mary could have no title if she was a bastard, but, if her mother's marriage was good, and she legitimate, Elizabeth could have none." (Algernon Sidney.)

The King's sanction thus obtained, Northumberland had next to procure the consent of the Council, whose members, after much diffidence, were induced to assent, although, considering the Catholic tendencies of many of them, it is clear that nothing short either of absolute force compelled them to do so, or else they must have done so with the object of gaining time in order to secretly communicate with Mary as to the best means of overthrowing the hated house of Dudley. Cranmer, whose name was the first on the list for signature to the deed nominating Lady Jane as successor, was the last to sign, and according to the excuses of ultra-Protestant writers, he appended his signature with the utmost possible reluctance, since he was, so his defenders allege, conscious of committing a great crime in thus aiding the deposition of the Princess Mary. But surely the excuses adduced on behalf of the Archbishop must prove but of a little moment when we examine closely into them! Cranmer, in fact, had as

much to dread from the accession of Mary as Northumberland himself, for as soon as he found that there was no hope of securing the crown for Elizabeth, he was, in self-defence, bound to connive at the succession of the next Protestant heiress, Lady Jane. His conduct on this occasion, and, moreover, his whole character, has been so ably summed up by Lord Macaulay, that it is only fit to quote the great essayist's exact words herewith :—

"The apology made for him by his admirers only renders his conduct more contemptible. He complied, it is said, against his better judgment, because he could not resist the entreaties of Edward. A holy prelate of sixty, one would think, might be better employed by the bedside of a dying child, than in committing crimes at the request of the young disciple. If Cranmer had shown half as much firmness when Edward requested him to commit treason as he had before shown when Edward requested him not to commit murder,*

* Referring to the execution of the Duke of Somerset.

he might have saved the country from one of the greatest misfortunes that it ever underwent. He became, from whatever motive, the accomplice of the worthless Dudley. The virtuous scruples of another young and amiable mind were to be overcome. As Edward had been forced into persecution, Jane was to be seduced into treason. No transaction in our annals is more unjustifiable than this."

That Macaulay is correct in alluding to the great weight which his advice carried in the mind of Edward admits of no reasonable doubt. Cranmer—the promartyr of the Anglican Church—was really as guilty as Northumberland. Nay, further, he is worthy of the greater odium, for whereas to Northumberland's credit it must, at least, be allowed that he acted bravely and openly in his audacious design, staking his head upon the success of the venture, Cranmer, on the other hand, did his work in a cowardly and underhand manner, leaving others to run the risk he was too timid to incur.

But Northumberland's greatest difficulty in

obtaining signatures to attest the letters patent, which Edward had issued, limiting the succession on the heiress of the Duchess of Suffolk, was encountered in overruling the opposition of the judges, who replied that to frame such a document was to lay themselves open to a charge of high treason. But their arguments, their protests, their appeals, their applications for a delay fell on unheeding ears. Northumberland, in a white heat of passion, called the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas a villain and a traitor, and with furious gestures threatened to "fight any man in his shirt" who should venture to thwart him. Even Edward was hardly less amenable to reason. With a force of character little to be expected in one on the point of death, he angrily insisted on their signatures. At his command they unwillingly assented, still, however, murmuring that the powers of the document in question were—from its illegality—but null and void.

It was a strangely mixed company of men who signed the document. Papists, Protestants,

supporters of Mary, friends of Jane, noblemen, lawyers, courtiers, and clergy all signed it indiscriminately, the complete list of whom was composed as follows :—Archbishop Cranmer ; the Dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland ; the Lords Winchester,* Northampton, Arundel,* Oxford, Bedford,* Westmoreland, Shrewsbury,* Worcester, Huntingdon, Pembroke, Clinton, Darcy, Abergavenny, Cobham, Grey, Windsor, Bray, Wentworth, Paget, Willoughby, Rich ; the Bishops of London and Ely ; Lords Warwick, Fitzwalters, Talbot, St. John, Russel, Fitzwarren, Bath, Gerald Fitzgerald, Strange, and Thomas Grey ; Sirs R. Cheyne,* W. Cavendish, Henry Sidney, R. Cotton, J. Gates, W. Petre, W. Cecil,* J. Cheke, J. Mason, R. Sadler, R. Sackville, E. North, A. St. Leger, R. Southwell, T. Wroth, M. Berkeley, N. Throgmorton, R. Blount, H. Gage ; the Judges, Sirs R. Cholmeley,* E. Montagu,* J. Baker,* H. Brown, W. Portman, R. Bowes, and Judge Bradshawe. The docu-

* Indicates those who manifested the greatest reluctance to sign.

ment was also signed by the Solicitor-General, J. Gosnold;* the King's Serjeant, James Dyer; by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen; by the Sheriffs of Kent, Surrey, and Middlesex; and by a dozen leading merchants.

Such was the Napoleonic power wielded by Northumberland, who could, by sheer strength of will, succeed in inducing so many hostile partisans to combine together to commit treason.

The ink had not many days dried upon the papers to which this formidable list of signatures was attached, when Edward died. Ill as he had been for months past, his decease had not been expected quite so soon, and was a little too premature to suit the complete development of Northumberland's scheme. In order, therefore, to gain time, this master-spirit of the conspiracy, with great ingenuity, contrived to conceal the news of the King's death,† with the ulterior object of securing the

* Indicates those who manifested the greatest reluctance to sign.

† Northumberland is said to have had Edward lifted out of bed after death, and his face shown at the palace window, in order to deceive the people.

person of the Princess Mary, and of instructing Lady Jane how she was to assume the reins of power. So cleverly was the secret kept that news of Edward's death was not publicly announced in London until two full days after he had actually died at Greenwich. As soon as the news did become public property, the tongue of rumour gave vent to a score of scandalous tales, circulated by the enemies of Northumberland, to the effect that the young King had died of poison, administered by Northumberland's own order. In support of the veracity of these idle stories no proof has ever been adduced, and as all the existing circumstances tend to demonstrate, it was to Northumberland's interest that Edward should have survived for a space of at least several more months. Moreover, all efforts—by concealing the report of Edward's death—to capture Mary were fruitless. Timely information was sent to her of her danger, and she immediately rode off for refuge from Hertfordshire into Suffolk to Framlingham Castle,

where she was speedily joined by large numbers of adherents.

Lady Jane, meanwhile, had been removed from Chelsea, where she was living, to Sion House, during the crisis. It was a convenient retreat, whence Northumberland could, in the space of a few hours, convey her when occasion needed to the Tower of London.

It is not precisely known to what extent she was acquainted with the process of the tragedy being enacted on behalf of her succession to the throne. But although it is probable that she had received some slight account of what was going forward, it is equally probable that she was totally unaware both as to how near her cousin was to his death, and as to the audacious and treasonable extent of her father-in-law's plans. The news of Edward's imminent death, and that she was nominated his successor—news brought to her by Lady Mary Sidney—proved, at any rate, a complete surprise as well as a severe blow to her. Her health, moreover, was at that moment ill-prepared for

additional strain, since it had suffered much from the worries of married life, concerning which had been her hope and the wish of her intimate friends, that until she reached a more mature age she might, after marriage, be permitted to reside with her parents, and not at the residence of her husband's family. The latter, unfortunately, wished otherwise, and she was forced to enter into a dispute with her father-in-law and his imperious spouse, for both of whom she gradually learned to feel the deepest abhorrence, before she could be permitted to remain with her mother.

On it being made manifest to her by both her father-in-law and father together at an interview with other members of the Council, that it was imperative for the joint welfare of the Realm and the Reformed religion that she should, forthwith, ascend the vacant throne, her distress was so acute that she is said even to have fallen into a swoon, so sharp was the shock occasioned by these ominous tidings. "Coming to her senses, she was not long in

recognizing the extreme gravity of her position.* To assume the crown, she knew well, was to imperil her head, to unfairly take precedence over her cousins, as well as her mother," and, worse still, to render herself a tool in the hands of the hated Dudleys. Much as her soul recoiled with horror at the thought of committing the flagrant injustice of excluding Mary, she was hardly less alarmed at the thought that any acquisition of power accruing to her would be marred by the constant supervision of Northumberland, and she inwardly resolved to struggle hard, whatever fate might do for her, to break off her domestic bonds.

In the words of Peter Heylyn in his "Ecclesia Restaurata," "the poor lady found herself in a great perplexity, not knowing whether she should more lament the death of the King, or her adoption to the kingdom: the first loss not to be repaired, the next care possible to be

* To show how utterly illegal was Lady Jane's position, it should be mentioned that Northumberland had arranged that even if the Duchess of Suffolk were yet to have a boy born to her, Lady Jane should still be Queen.

avoided. She looked upon the Crown as a great temptation, to resist which, she stood in need of all the helps which both philosophy and divinity could suggest unto her—and she knew also that such fortunes seldom knocked twice for entrance at the same man's gate; but that if once refused they are gone for ever. Taking sometime, therefore, for deliberation, she summoned a council of her purest thoughts; by whose advice, half drowned in tears (either as sorrowing for the King's death, or foreseeing her own), she returned an answer in these words, or to this effect:—

"That the laws of the kingdom, and natural right standing for the King's sister, she would beware of burdening her weak conscience with a yoke which did not belong to them; that she would understand the infamy of those who had permitted the violation of right to gain a sceptre, that it were to mock God, and deride justice, to scruple at the stealing of a shilling, and not at the usurpation of a crown. Besides," she added, "I am not so young, nor so little read

in the guiles of fortunes, as to suffer myself to be taken by them. If she enrich any, it is but to make them the subject of her spoil; if she raise others, it is but to pleasure herself with their ruins. What she adored but yesterday, to-day is her pastime. And if I now permit her to adorn and crown me, I must to-morrow suffer her to tear me in pieces. Nay, with what Crown doth she present me?

"A Crown which hath been violently and shamefully wrested from Catherine of Arragon, made more unfortunate by the punishment of Anne Bulloign, and others who wore it after her. And why then would you have me add my blood to theirs; and be the blind victim from whom this fatal Crown may be ravished, with the head that wears it?

"But in case that it should not prove fatal unto me, and all its venom were consumed; if fortune should give me warranties of her constancy, should I be well advised to take upon me these thorns which would dilacerate, though not kill me outright, to burden myself with a

yoke which would not fail to torment me, though I were assured not to be strangled with it?

"My liberty is better than the chain you offer me, with what precious stones soever it be adorned, or of what gold soever framed. I will not exchange my peace for honourable and precious jealousies, for magnificent and glorious fetters. And if you love me sincerely, and in good earnest, you will rather wish me a secure and quiet fortune, though mean, than an exalted condition, exposed to the wind, and followed by some dismal fall."

Providing that Heylyn has not here followed in the steps of Ascham, Foxe, and other eulogists of Lady Jane, and resorted to considerable exaggeration in magnifying her virtues and abilities, the above discourse was indeed a creditable and powerful exposition of her case from the lips of a mere girl. Heylyn has, however, I should certainly imagine, relied largely on his imagination in compiling this speech, and "in these words, or to this effect," serves to very conveniently endow the author

with plenty of license to illustrate his subject. There were no shorthand reporters in those days to take down the speaker's words. Nay more, although it is most probable that this formal offer of the crown was made her at Sion, it is by no means certain that it was so, and Heylyn himself even fixes it elsewhere. Seeing, therefore, that controversy exists as to where the ceremony took place, and undoubtedly as to the personality of those who came to offer Lady Jane the crown; it also is surely open to controversy as to the exact nature of the words spoken on the occasion. The above represents, at any rate, a powerful defence in favour of the "ten days'" Queen, combining a concise epitome of English history since the divorce of Catherine of Arragon. All authorities are, moreover, agreed that she, at first, resolutely refused to accept the crown, which had, as Lady Jane pertinently pointed out, been a pecularly fatal gift to those of her sex who had recently worn it. Queen Catherine of Arragon, for example, had died a divorced woman, in

loneliness and bitter sorrow ; Anne Boleyn had perished on the scaffold ; Jane Seymour had succumbed to the agonies of child-birth ; Anne of Cleves had been ruthlessly put aside ; Catherine Howard had been beheaded ; and Catherine Parr had died, under suspicious circumstances, before Lady Jane's own eyes. Edward VI. even had reigned for a period of but six sad and stormy years.

With her eyes fully open to the consequences of her folly, it is somewhat surprising to find Lady Jane quietly surrendering herself to be led like a lamb to the slaughter-house! To her credit, she for some little time remained proof to the united entreaties and commands of Northumberland, the Council, and her parents, but gave way eventually at the special petition of her husband, who carefully tutored by his father, dazzled by the alluring prospects open to him as the consort of a Queen, most earnestly besought her to ascend the throne. With many misgivings as to the result, and conscience-stricken at the wrong she was in-

flicting upon Mary, she then permitted herself to be overruled, and to be proclaimed as Queen.

She was, according to a chronicle or diary kept at the time by a resident in the Tower of London, on "the 10th of July (the day after her acceptance of the Council's offer), in the afternoone, about 3 of the clocke, convayed by water to the Tower of London, and there received as quene."

Hardly had she entered the grim old pile, with great ceremony and stately splendour, but amidst the ominous silence of those who lined the banks of the river from Sion to London to see her pass, than a fanfare of trumpets called attention to the voice of the herald proclaiming her,* with the customary formalities, "by the grace of God, Queen of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and of the Church of England, and also of Ireland, under Christ on earth the Supreme Head."

* "At her proclamation, the people neither made any great feasts, nor expressed any great satisfaction, neither was one bonfire made" (Perlin). One bold youth amongst the crowd actually shouted "the Lady Mary hath the better title," for saying which he was severely punished.

CHAPTER IV.

"Jane the Quene."

IT is a matter for private judgment as to the exact duration of time Lady Jane remained seated upon the throne of her usurpation. The length of her reign varies in the different histories, according to the data employed in calculation by the respective historians. Lady Jane is thus described as "Queen of England for a week," as "the nine-days' Queen," "the ten-days' Queen," and "the twelve days' Queen,"* these various titles depending for their warrantry on the various dates when her reign is imagined both to start and finish. For example, if we commence to measure from July 6th, when Edward died, until July 19th, when Mary was proclaimed at the Tower-gates, we get one estimate; but if we begin at July

* She was also called, in scorn, the "twelth-day Queen," by the French Ambassador.

8th, until the 19th inst. (the 8th being the day when Edward's death was publicly announced), we get another; then again, it is perfectly reasonable to begin at the 10th or 11th, and end the reign at the 18th or 19th of the month. But the most proper duration at which to approximate the reign is, I think, ten days, as has been adopted in "Baker's Chronicle."

The Tower of London—fortress, prison, and palace all in one—had been selected for Lady Jane's metropolitan quarters for two cogent reasons; because, in the event of danger or alarm, her supporters could protect her there, and because it was the hereditary custom of English sovereigns to reside there prior to coronation.

Efforts were next directed towards having Lady Jane proclaimed Queen in all the chief towns, but it is hardly possible that she could have been proclaimed in but very few, and the only one of note of which we can be tolerably sure was King's Lynn, in Norfolk, where

she was proclaimed by Lord Robert Dudley (afterwards Earl of Leicester).

Mary, meanwhile, was not idle. The number of her supporters grew larger hourly. With all her faults, she was no coward. The pride and courage inherited alike from both her parents served her in good stead in the hour of peril, and she was confident of quickly ousting the usurper. In this hope she was buoyed up by the knowledge that a large number of the Council was secretly acting on her behalf, and had found means to keep her cognisant of all that was going on. She, accordingly, sent a letter, couched in the concise terms of an ultimatum, to the Tower, commanding the Council to proclaim her as Queen. To this demand an answer was returned, signed by Cranmer, the Bishop of Ely, Lords Northampton, Bedford, Northumberland, Arundel, Pembroke, and several others, renouncing her claim, and advising her to surrender. Such was the extraordinary duplicity employed by this crafty, cowardly, and time-serving Council,

the majority of which, only a few days hence, was to declare with joy in her favour, and clamour for the arrest and execution of the minority! Arundel and Pembroke, in particular, vied with one another in the depth of their perfidy, and told lie after lie to delude Northumberland into taking them into his confidence, and then, Judas-like, betrayed him the very instant they foresaw the imminence of his fall.

Lady Jane signified her recognition of the royal power by issuing three proclamations, in all of which she signed herself "Jane, the Quene;" and despatched a gentleman named Shelley as her Ambassador to the Emperor, Charles V.

Whilst Mary's cause was gaining ground every moment, Lady Jane, the hapless instrument of the Dudleys' base ambition, was playing her dismal part in the comedy, so soon to be transformed into tragedy. It was in vain that she was surrounded with all the emblems of sovereignty; in vain that the crown itself was specially placed upon her head to see

if it fitted; in vain that she ordered the preparation of the most costly and magnificent dresses; in vain that she steadfastly repelled the arrogant and presumptious airs assumed by her husband's relatives—all in vain; *atra cura* possessed her, body and soul. Lonely in the midst of crowds, sorrowful and dejected amid all the glories of a court pageantry, humbled and dismayed amid the homage of her courtiers, she was, in truth, sick at heart and uneasy with forebodings of the future. She had scarcely entered the Tower, ere her husband, backed up by his parents, began to insist upon being raised to share her throne as king, and her firm refusal to this unrighteous request produced a violent quarrel between her and his kindred.

Whilst adherents were daily flocking to Mary, who had in the commencement of her flight into Suffolk successfully resisted an attempt made by Lord Robert Dudley to arrest her, the opposition of the Londoners to their *de facto* Queen grew swiftly on the

increase. All the eloquence of Bishop Ridley* in his sermons, extolling the justice of Mary's exclusion, delivered before large congregations at St. Paul's, fell on unheeding ears. Nine-tenths of the populace of London, Catholic and Protestant, was in favour of the daughter of Queen Catherine.

Quickly perceiving the fulness of the unpopularity of the Dudley *regimé*, Arundel and Pembroke, with the rest of Mary's secret supporters in the Council, now began to arrange a plan to get Northumberland to leave the shelter of the Tower. Once outside its strong walls, and his fall and arrest were rendered easy. Northumberland, however, recognized his enemies' object, but was constrained by force of hostile circumstances to yield himself a victim to their designs, which were to induce him to head the armed force on the point of starting to fight the little army

* Ridley's cowardice was on par with that of the Council, for a day or two after his last sermon he fled to Mary, and, in abject terms, asked her pardon; but "this sermon rose up in judgment against him" (Strype).

under Mary. He perceived that to follow this advice would prove fatal to him. He declined the command accordingly, and nominated the Duke of Suffolk as general in his stead. Unfortunately for him, his crafty enemies, carefully prompted by Simon Renard, the Spanish Ambassador, to whose exertions perhaps more than to any of her own countrymen Mary eventually owed her crown, managed to work on Lady Jane's natural and ever-increasing antipathy to her father-in-law, to such an extent that Suffolk was actually commanded by his imperious daughter to remain with her in London, and let Northumberland depart forthwith with the troops ready to attack Mary (July 12th).

Now thoroughly alarmed and suspicious at the behaviour of his colleagues, Northumberland made one final endeavour to ascertain the real intentions of the conspirators. For if, said he to the Council, they should be tempted to waver in their allegiance from Queen Jane in his absence, could they not easily save their

lives, and "make themselves seem innocent in his guiltiness." To this pertinent remark Lords Arundel and Pembroke, with a craftiness worthy of a Jesuit, replied to the effect that they had committed themselves too far to seek reconciliation, or obtain pardon from Mary, and they were only sorry that their marred inferiority in military capacity to the Duke prevented them from leading the expedition themselves!

Early in the morning of the fourteenth of July, Northumberland, vainly endeavouring to check the misgivings which were secretly vexing him as to the danger of his position, and the future of his cause, rode out of London, at the head of a force of some eight thousand men, horse, foot, and artillery. He was accompanied by Lords Northampton and Grey. Large crowds of Londoners pressed forward to see him and his cavalcade, but there was no cheering, and the fact that many of his soldiers were mercenaries brought over from Germany only seemed to render him and his troops more

unpopular. As he went through Shoreditch he could not help admitting to Grey, "the people press to see us, but not one saith God speed us." *

Pressing forward without delay, he found to his dismay, on arriving at St. Edmondslney, that Mary's army had now reached the formidable total of over thirteen thousand men; while town after town all over England, as the news of Edward's death became gradually spread further abroad, was formally proclaiming her Queen, Norwich being the first to do so, before he had even left the Metropolis. Worse news than this was also forthcoming when he was informed that the crews of some ships of war, sent to watch the coast, and thereby prevent Mary's escape to the Continent, had abandoned their task, and espoused the cause of the legitimate heiress.

* "The people prece to se us, but not one sayeth God spede us." ("Chronicle of a Resident in the Tower of London.") This is somewhat parallel to Cromwell's famous complaint, when the people pressed forward to greet him as (unlike Northumberland) a popular general, "though there were many people present to greet him, there would be yet more to see him hanged!"

From all East Anglia, from the Midlands, from the North, and from the West, the country gentry and nobility hastened with their retainers to the succour of their lawful Queen. To gain the men of Suffolk, a county already renowned for its strong Protestantism, Mary promised perfect toleration of their religion on her accession to the throne, a promise which she most shamefully broke. Before attacking such a formidable force, Northumberland had to wait the advent of reinforcements from London, but the reinforcements not arriving,* he retreated on Cambridge, which he had made his head-quarters. Here perceiving his men were rapidly deserting him, he saw that the game was up, and publicly proclaimed Mary as Queen, in that town, with bitter tears of mortification running down his cheeks the while (July 19th).

The recreant Council had by this juncture thrown off the mask of hypocrisy, and with the

* "the duke, perceaving howe their succours came not, and also receyving from some of the counsell at the Tower lettres of discomfort, retourned from Bury, and came back again to Cambridge." ("Chronicle of a Resident in the Tower of London.")

perjured Lords Arundel and Pembroke, at their head, had openly gone over to Mary. Arundel even was sent to arrest Northumberland, who had, however, been arrested before his arrival, which circumstance clearly tends to show that he and his intimate colleagues were, during the whole of "ten days' reign," acting their parts in the play with Mary's special approval, their object being merely to allow Northumberland sufficient rope to hang himself, and Mary sufficient time to muster her forces.

Lady Jane, meanwhile, whilst Northumberland was being captured at Cambridge, was herself little better than a prisoner in the Tower. She was now a sovereign not even in name. She was like a May-Queen the day after the *fête* her companions gone, her sovereignty over, her finery cast aside, the flowers and garlands perished, the plaudits of the spectators hushed! Instead of preparing any longer for her coronation, she was now in imminent peril of having to prepare for her execution. The first person to announce that

her reign was finished was her own father, who rushed into her room, and angrily told her to divest herself of her royal robes; her part as a puppet was over, she was once more merely Lady Jane. It is related that she obeyed his commands with joy, but by Mary's express orders she remained on within the Tower, as a State-prisoner. *Sic transit gloria mundi!*

On the third of August, Mary entered London in triumph, amidst the most extravagant demonstrations of joy on the part of all creeds and all classes of her people. No English sovereign ever commenced to rule under brighter auspices, and yet in but five years' time she was herself to die—unmourned by those who had come forward to raise her to the throne, hated and loathed by the Protestants, little liked by the Catholics, the deserted spouse of a detested and perfidious King, childless and worn out with disease, leaving a name behind her that has lived in history, soiled by an epithet that conjures up in the memory naught but the flames and fires where-

with she despatched with the cruelty of a fiend, all that was best and bravest of the reformed religion to the most painful of violent deaths. Her reign was to be in every sense a national calamity. Lady Jane, a Protestant, and acting under Protestant guidance, had failed to establish Protestantism as the popular Faith, yet Mary, the Catholic, was to successfully carry out the work instead, for her detestable cruelties to alienate the hearts of her countrymen, slowly but surely, from all allegiance to the Church of Rome.

CHAPTER V.

Execution of Northumberland.

AS soon as Mary was firmly seated on the throne, great public eagerness was evinced to hear how she would deal with the leaders of the conspiracy that had endeavoured to exclude her from the succession. That the Duke of Northumberland would be singled out for immediate execution was the general opinion, and it was thought probable that Suffolk would share his fate, but it was confidently hoped that Lady Jane, if not Lord Guildford also, would escape the death-penalty.

Northumberland was quickly hurried to his doom. If ever a man had of his own free will committed treason—it was he; whilst, as to there being any genuine excuses to urge in defence of his conduct, there literally were none. By far the ablest Englishman of his day, he had merely employed his talents to suit the

gratification of his ambitious projects. But guilty though he was, he had during the *regimé* of Lady Jane been scarcely more culpable than Suffolk, and it was, therefore, a great surprise when it was officially announced that, although Northumberland was to be brought to trial, his partner in the late proceedings had actually received a pardon. Yet so it was, although the reasons for showing Suffolk such leniency are difficult to discern; and the plea that he obtained his liberty at the Duchess of Suffolk's supplication is insufficient to explain the mystery, for the Duchess, after her support of her daughter's illegal occupation of the throne, was now by no means so powerful as to make her interest felt at Court to much purpose, even allowing for the fact that she had been a personal friend of Mary's. The trial of Northumberland, fixed for August 18th, at Westminster Hall, and conducted with an ostentatious show of law, was in fact a foregone conclusion, as for several days previous it had been whispered in London that his death had

been decided upon.* He was accompanied to the tribunal (presided over by the Duke of Norfolk, lately released from imprisonment), by the Marquis of Northampton, and his eldest son, the Earl of Warwick. Arraigned before the Peers, it was in vain the Duke urged in his self-defence he had not committed treason, on the plea that what he had done on behalf of Lady Jane had been by warrant under the great seal of England. It was in vain that he protested against the unfairness of permitting men like Lords Arundel and Pembroke rank amongst his judges,—all in vain, he was sentenced to death, as were his fellow-prisoners, of whom Lord Warwick behaved with the greatest courage and resolution, refusing not only to sue for mercy, but even to take any advantage of the hint given him that his judges were prepared to accept the plea that owing to his youth he had suffered himself to be seduced into treason

* "I hard saye this daye that the Duke of Northumberland, the Marques of Northampton, the Earle of Huntingdon, Sir John Gates, and Mr. Palmer were alredie condemned to dye." (August 5th. "Chronicle of a Resident in the Tower.")

by his father. But the death-sentence was carried out on Northumberland alone. Northampton received a free pardon, and Warwick, after some further imprisonment in the Tower, died in October, 1554, a few days after his release, at Penshurst, in Kent, the seat of his brother-in-law, Sir Henry Sidney.

On August 22nd, Northumberland, Sir John Gates, and Thomas Palmer were beheaded on Tower-Hill, in presence of an immense crowd of people.

Thus perished the Duke of Northumberland, the most ambitious and unscrupulous statesman that has ever held office in England. A man of great natural genius, the foremost general of his day, of great courage, fine presence, and winning manners. He had, after by sheer perseverance and ability raising himself up to high office in the State, suffered himself to be tempted into the commission of an atrocious crime. It is hard to find his parallel in history, but in many points his career may be said to resemble that of King Richard III., for like the

murderer of the little Princes, he fought his way to the supreme power by cruelly removing all those who stood between him and the goal of his ambition. Like Richard he was skilled in all the arts of war and politics. Like Richard he held strong men bound under his thumb; and like Richard he died a violent death.

The story of his brief imprisonment and hasty execution would afford little special interest, except for the fact that during the few days allowed him to prepare for death, he showed the most extraordinary change in regard to his religious principles. From posing as the champion of English Protestantism he became converted to an ardent Catholic. On the scaffold he addressed the spectators most strongly in favour of the Catholic religion, in which he declared himself to be proud to die, utterly abhorring the heresies of his Protestant life, and exhorting all who had wavered to return to the one fold of Christ. On the 20th of August he had been formerly re-admitted into

the Roman Church, had heard Mass said, and received the Sacrament, when he had thus addressed the congregation:—"My Masters, I let you all understand that I do most faithfully believe this is the very right and true way, out of the which true religion you and I have been seduced this sixteen years past, by the false and eronyous preaching of the new preachers, the which is the onely cause of the great plagues and vengeance which hath lighted upon the whole realm of England, and now fallen likewise upon me and others here present for our unfaithfulness. And I do believe this Holy Sacrament here most assuredly to be our Saviour and Redeemer, Jesus Christ; and this I pray you all to testify, and to pray for me."*

But Northumberland was not alone in his apostasy, Lords Northampton and Warwick, Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir Henry Gates, and Thomas Palmer also embracing the opportunity offered them to return to the Catholic faith.

* "Chronicle of a Resident in the Tower."

That Northumberland may have been sincere in his rapid return to the faith of his fathers is quite possible, though scarcely probable. He had, at any rate, never been either a devout or sincere Protestant. Like his old master, Henry VIII., it was hatred of the political pretensions of the Papacy which led him, in the first instance, to give ear to the doctrines of the Reform. With the Protestant clergy, too, he had been sadly disappointed. Ridley had basely betrayed him. Knox had repaid many kindnesses with ingratitude and insolence. During the reign of Edward religious anarchy had prevailed. A man, dying as he was to die, could at that juncture discover but little food for consolation in the new doctrines. The old church, with all her faults, was ever a *consolatrix afflictorum* to her children *in extremis*. There would have been nothing extraordinary in his conversion, therefore, but for the fact that interior evidence points strongly to the truth of Foxe, the martyrologist's information, that his sudden change of front was purchased

by a promise from Mary that if he would only make a public recantation of his errors and return to the Roman Catholic religion, his life should be spared. In fact, there seems no other way of accounting for such an exceptionally sudden change of front, and there can be little doubt but that he even threw out hints that he would be not unwilling, if not to purchase his life, at any rate obtain a reprieve by seeking reconciliation with the creed of his youth. That he was willing to purchase life on almost any terms we know by the contents of the piteous appeal contained in a letter by him to Arundel, imploring his old colleague to save him from the block. It is not surprising then that Mary's Catholic advisers should have snapped at the opportunity of endeavouring to secure his conversion. The one redeeming feature of Northumberland's character and career had, in the eyes of many, been his preference for the reformed religion. To deliver England from the power of the Pope, and the extortions of the Papal Curia

had been the one available excuse for promoting Lady Jane to the throne. If, therefore, Northumberland were to publicly abjure Protestantism it would, so the advisers of Mary argued, put the finishing touch to the triumph of Catholicism, achieved by her accession to the throne.

Internal evidence of a stamp beyond suspicion proves beyond all doubt that overtures were made to Northumberland to recant, coupled with promises of pardon if he would do so. He did do so, but, as we have seen, to no purpose. From what can be clearly gathered from the methods employed to assist him to recant, a pardon was promised him, provided he would confess his errors on the scaffold, a confession which was to be followed by the arrival of a royal messenger bearing the Queen's pardon. But the messenger, at all events, never appeared, and Northumberland underwent his death-stroke. If this was the true story, namely, that the Duke was really deceived into perjuring himself in his last moments to save his body at

the expense of his soul, it furnishes one more dark stain on the character of Mary and her ministers. But, black as such treachery was, it was in full accord with the policy of the Roman priesthood, which has never in the whole course of its history hesitated at adopting any unjustifiable means when the importance of the end in view justified their adoption. The very fact of Arundel being employed as an intermediary by Northumberland renders the case against Mary's advisers all the blacker, for a few additional lies to such a man as he had proved himself would be nothing. In justice to Mary, it must be stated that she personally was anxious not to mar the commencement of her reign with the shedding of blood, and that she was strongly inclined, in the first instance, of her own accord, to pardon Northumberland—as she had already pardoned, and was yet to pardon, the Duke of Suffolk, Lords Grey of Wilton, Robert Dudley, Warwick, Ambrose Dudley, Huntingdon, Fitzwarren, Ormond, Sir Henry Sidney, Sir James Crofts,

and Sir Andrew Dudley—but was overruled by Renard, the Ambassador of Charles V., who asserted that his master would never consent to Northumberland's life being spared, for so long as such a daring traitor was allowed to live, she could never hope to wear her crown in safety. Mary, therefore, gradually gave way to the demands of Renard, and refrained from granting the Duke his life. What, on the whole, then is the most probable course, is that Mary originally intended to honestly give the Duke his life after he had recanted his errors, but was at the last moment cajoled into leaving him to his fate by the counsel of the cruel and crafty legate of the Emperor.

Before taking a final leave of Northumberland, it is interesting to note to what extent Lady Jane commiserated his fate, and what was her private opinion of his character, which we are enabled to from the following extract from the "Chronicle of a Resident in the Tower of London," viz. :—

"On Tuesday, the 29th of Auguste, I dyned at

Partrige's house with my Lady Jane, being ther present, she sitting at the lorde's ende, Partrige, his wife, Jacob my ladye's gentill woman, and hir man. She commanding Partrige and me to put on our cappes, emongest our communycacion at the dyner, this was to be noted: after she had once or twice droncke to me and bad me hartellie welcome, saithe she, 'The Quene's majesty is a mercifull princes; I beseche God she may long contynue, and sende his bountefull grace upon hir.'

"After that, we fell in discourse of mattiers of religion; and she axed what he was that preched at Polles* on Sonday beefore, and so it was told hir.

"'I praie you,' quoth she, 'have they masse in London?'

"'Yay, for suthe,' quoth I, 'in some places.'

"'Yt may so be,' quoth she, 'Yt is not so strange as the sodden convertyon of the late

* (Old) St. Paul's Cathedral.

Duke ; for who wolde have thought,' saide she, 'he would have so don ?'

"Yt was answerd her, 'Perchance he thereby hoped to have had his pardon.'*

"'Pardon ?' quoth she, 'wo worthe him ! he hathe brought me and our stock in most miserable callamyty and mysery by his exceeding ambicion. But for th' aunswering that he hoped for his life by his tourning, though other men be of that opinyon, I am utterly not ; for what man is ther lyving, I pray you, although he had been innocent, that wolde hope of life in that case ; being in the felde against the Quene in person as generall, and after his taking so hated and so evell spoken of by the Comons ? and at his coming into pryson so wonderyed at as the like was never harde by any man's tyme. Who was judge that he should hope for pardon, whose life was odyous to all men ? But what will ye more ? like as his life was wickid and full of dissimulacion, so

* This illustration of the public opinion may be taken as a strong proof in support of the theory that Northumberland's conversion was not sincere.

was his ende therafter. I pray God, I, nor no frende of mine, dye so. Shoulde I, who am yonge and in my fewers,* forsake my faythe for the love of lyfe? Nay, God forbed! moche more he should not, whose fatall course, althoughe he had lyved his just number of yeres, could not have long contynued. But life was swete, it appeered, so he might have lywed, you will saye, he did not care howe. Indede the reason is goode; for he that would have lyved in chaynes to have had his lyfe, by like would leave no other meane attempted. But God be mercifull to us, for he sayeth, 'Whoso denyeth him before men, he will not knowe him in his Father's kingdome.'

"With this and moche like talke the dinner passyd away; which ended, I thanked her ladyship that she would witsafe accept me in hir companye; and she thanked me likewise, and sayd I was wellcome. She thanked Patrige also for bringing me to dyner. 'Madam,' saide he, 'wee were somewhat

* Either "few years," or standing for "flower of years."

bolde, not knowing your ladyship dyned below untyll we fonde your ladyship ther.'"*

* Miss Strickland, in her Memoir of Lady Jane (Tudor Princesses), has stated that no such person as Partrige lived in the Tower, and that the person so named was Thomas Brydges, brother to the Lieutenant. There is not, however, the faintest possible proof to warrant this assertion. Moreover it is clear that Partrige and Thomas Brydges were two distinct persons by perusing the subsequent pages of the Chronicle, whence the above account is taken. As a matter of fact, Partrige, or Partridge, occupied the important post of Gentleman Gaoler, and lodged in a house adjoining that of the Lieutenant. Miss Strickland's error has been freely adopted by other writers.

CHAPTER VI.

Captivity and Death.

I.

IT was a general hope amongst all political parties that Mary would commence her reign by worthily extending the prerogative of mercy towards Lady Jane. The puppet of a designing minister, the prey of a perfidious council, the "ten days' Queen" had made no enemies during her brief sovereignty, and had won many friends. For the pretty little* maiden, who had torn away from her beloved literary pursuits to unwillingly occupy a throne, and who had been taken almost by force into the bosom of a family which she cordially detested, there was felt nought but pity. That Mary would pardon her was generally expected, considering that both her father and mother

* Lady Jane was of short stature, and even wore specially prepared soles to her shoes to elevate her in height.—(D'Israeli the Elder). Her sister, Lady Mary, is described as a dwarf by her contemporaries.

had so far escaped scot-free, whilst her counsellors, Arundel and Pembroke, who had connived at her treason, had actually been raised into the royal favour. That she should, at the same time, remain a prisoner, *pro tem.*, was only thought fit and proper, until all disturbance created by the late troubles had satisfactorily subsided. She remained on, therefore, as a prisoner in the Tower, where she had so recently been the ruler, confined in the apartments of Nathaniel Partridge. From Lord Guildford she was separated, as he was sent with other prisoners to the Beauchamp Tower.*

The first move of the Government in her direction, was a formal demand to restore the Crown jewels, which had been taken possession of at the instance of her father-in-law. But on the restoration of the regalia to the Treasurer, Lord Winchester, it was found that many of the items were missing, and although it was well known that their loss was in no wise due

* *Vide* Notes: "Inscriptions in the Beauchamp Tower."

to Lady Jane, she was immediately, in order to make good their value, deprived of all her money and valuables, as was Lord Guildford for the same reason.

Unfortunately for the hapless captive, there was yet one man who had ranged himself against her, and with all the cunning peculiar to his astute intellect and lying tongue, was striving his utmost to consign her to the block, and that was Simon Renard, the Ambassador, who had treated her with the utmost deference and respect so long as she had held the reins of power. Mary, however, was proof against his entreaties, and refused to send her, as he ruthlessly desired, to immediate execution, before at any rate she had, at a decent interval, been placed before her judges.

On the 13th of November, accordingly, both she and her husband were tried for high treason at the Guildhall;* both pleaded guilty to the

* "The Lady Jane was in a blacke goune of cloth, tourned doune; the cappe lyned with fese velvett, and edged about with the same, in a French hoode, all black, with a black lyllyment, a black velvet boke hanging before hir, and another book in her hand open."—"Chronicle of a Resident in the Tower."

indictment, were sentenced to death with the usual horrible formula, and returned to the Tower. It was not originally intended that the death-sentence should be carried out on Lady Jane, and perhaps not on her husband, but for an event that cost them both their heads she might have been released, once more to seek fresh pleasures amongst the pleasant shades of Bradgate.

This tragic event, which was to cause Mary to retract her intentions of clemency towards not only Lady Jane, but many others of those engaged in the conspiracy of Northumberland, was the rebellion headed by Sir Thomas Wyatt, wherein the Duke of Suffolk was so foolish as to participate. The reasons which, however, led the Duke to engage in this insurrection were very different to those actuating Wyatt, who seems to have been influenced solely with the idea of forcing Mary to renounce her intended alliance with Philip of Spain,—for with atrocious ingratitude to the Queen, who had so generously forgiven him, and with a

cruel disregard for the feelings and welfare of his daughter, he again intended to place the latter on the throne. But he was not destined to play the same formidable part as Wyatt, Brett, Knyvet, Cobham, of the insurgent leaders, for he was speedily captured by Lord Huntingdon, whose soldiers discovered him hiding in a large hollow tree on his estate of Astley, in Leicestershire, whither he had fled with his brothers, Lords Thomas and John Grey, after having failed in an abortive attempt to raise the Midlands.*

So thoroughly alarmed were Mary, Gardiner, and the leaders of the Government by the brilliant temporary success which had attended Wyatt's efforts, that so soon as the insurrection was crushed, little time was lost before the fate of Lady Jane and her husband was determined. Urged on by the renewed entreaties of Renard, Mary at length consented to sign

* He was betrayed by one of his game-keepers, and had left his tree when the soldiers came, being unable to remain longer in the trunk owing to cold and want of food, and was found warming himself by a cottage fire. Lord John Grey was found buried beneath some hay.

the death warrants for the unfortunate young couple, imprisoned in the Tower. The day fixed for the double execution was the 9th of February.

But before the arrival of the fatal day, Mary, anxious for the safety of Lady Jane's soul, determined to secure her conversion to the Roman Church just as she had Northumberland. But in this case there is no direct evidence to justify the story that life was offered her in exchange for her creed. Moreover, the most gentle and generous of priests was selected to attempt her conversion, Feckenham,* Abbot of Westminster, who obtained the Queen's sanction to a reprieve for Lady Jane until the 12th of February, in order to allow him more time for the precious work on hand. Once admitted into her prison-chamber, Feckenham spared no pains by every inducement conceivable in his power to convert Lady Jane to the Church of Rome. But her case was very different to that of her father-in-

* *Vide* Notes: "The last Abbot of Westminster."

law, for whereas Northumberland had been born and bred a Catholic, and had forsaken the tenets of that faith most probably for reasons political, Lady Jane had been born and educated a Protestant of Protestants, inheriting a most profound detestation for the most ancient and oppressive of the Christian creeds. Yet Feckenham was confident of conquering her scruples. To him, it seemed absurd that a young lady who had received her religious principles at the feet of a country parson should be sufficiently proficient in the Scriptures, and in theology to cope with one of the most learned of English priests, a member of the then greatest literary* order of the Catholic Church. But he quickly found out his error, for although Lady Jane, wishing only to spend her last hours in peace, refused at first to argue with him, stung at last by his contemptuous attacks, she consented to accept a challenge offered her to enter into a theological controversy respecting the sacraments of her

* Benedictine.

creed. The following is an account of this amicable duel, in which Lady Jane, according to her opponent's confession, conducted and defended her case with such rare ability as to excite his warmest admiration :—

FECKENHAM. "I am here come to you at this present, sent from the Queen and her Council, to instruct you in the true doctrine of the right faith: although I have so great confidence in you, that I shall have, I trust, little need to travail with you much therein."

LADY JANE. "I heartily thank the Queen's Highness, which is not unmindful of her humble subject, and I hope, likewise, that you no less will do your duty therein both truly and faithfully, according to that you were sent for."

FECKENHAM. "What then is required of a Christian man?"

LADY JANE. "That he should believe in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God."

FECKENHAM. "What? Is there nothing

else to be required or looked for in a Christian, but to believe in him?"

LADY JANE. "Yes, we must love him with all our heart, with all our soul, and with all our mind, and our neighbour as ourself."

FECKENHAM. "Why? then faith justifieth not, nor saveth not."

LADY JANE. "Yes, verily, faith, as Paul saith, only justifieth."

FECKENHAM. "Why? St. Paul saith, 'If I have all faith without love, it is nothing.'"

LADY JANE. "True it is; for how can I love him who I trust not, or how can I trust him whom I love not? Faith and love go both together, and yet love is comprehended in faith."

FECKENHAM. "How should we love our neighbour?"

LADY JANE. "To love our neighbour is to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, and to give drink to the thirsty, and to do to him as we would to ourselves."

FECKENHAM. "Why? then it is necessary

unto salvation, to do good works also, and it is not sufficient only to believe."

LADY JANE. "I deny that, and I affirm that faith only saveth: but it is meet for a Christian, in token that he followeth his master Christ, to do good works; yet may we not say that they profit to our salvation. For when we have done all, yet we be unprofitable servants, and faith only in Christ's blood saveth us."

FECKENHAM. "How many Sacraments are there?"

LADY JANE. "Two: the one the Sacrament of baptism, and the other the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper."

FECKENHAM. "No, there are seven."

LADY JANE. "By what Scripture find you that?"

FECKENHAM. "Well, we will talk of that hereafter. But what is signified by your two Sacraments?"

LADY JANE. "By the Sacrament of baptism, I am washed with water and regenerated by the spirit, and that washing is a token to me that I

am the child of God. The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, offered unto me, is a sure seal of testimony that I am by the blood of Christ, which he shed for me on the Cross, made partaker of his everlasting kingdom."

FECKENHAM. "Why? what do you receive in that Sacrament. Do you not receive the very body and blood of Christ?"

LADY JANE. "No surely, I do not so believe. I think that at the supper I neither receive flesh nor blood, but bread and wine: which bread when it is broken, and the wine when it is drunken, put me in remembrance how that for my sins the body of Christ was broken, and his blood shed on the Cross; and with that bread and wine I receive the benefits that come by the breaking of his body, and shedding of his blood, for our sins on the Cross."

FECKENHAM. "Why, doth not Christ speak these words, 'Take, eat, this is my body? Require you any plainer words? Doth he not say it is his body?"

LADY JANE. "I grant, he saith so; and so

he saith, 'I am the vine, I am the door,' but he is never the more for that, the vine or the door. Doth not Paul say, 'He calleth things that are not, as though they were?' God forbid that I should say that I eat the very natural body and blood of Christ: for then either I should pluck away my redemption, or else there were two bodies or two Christs. One body was tormented on the Cross, if they did eat another body, then had he two bodies: or if his body were eaten, then was it not broken upon the Cross; or if it were broken upon the Cross, it was not eaten of his disciples."

FECKENHAM. "Why, is it not as possible that Christ, by his power, could make his body both to be eaten and broken, and to be born of a Virgin, as to walk upon the sea, having a body, and other such like miracles as he wrought by his power only?"

LADY JANE. "Yes, verily, if God would have done at his supper any miracle, he might have done so: but, I say, that then he minded no work nor miracle, but only to break his

body, and his blood on the Cross for our sins. But I pray you to answer me to this one question: Where was Christ when he said, 'take, eat, this is my body?' Was he not at the table when he said so? He was at that time alive, and suffered not till the next day. What took he but bread? What brake he but bread? and what gave he but bread? Look, what he took, he brake; and look, what he brake, he gave: and look, what he gave they did eat: and yet all this while he himself was alive and at supper before his disciples, or else they were deceived."

FECKENHAM. "You ground your faith upon such authors as say and unsay both in a breath; and not upon the church, to whom ye ought to give credit."

LADY JANE. "No, I ground my faith on God's word, and not upon the church. For if the church be a good church, the faith of the church must be tried by God's word; and not God's word by the church, neither yet my faith. Shall I believe the church because of antiquity,

or shall I give credit to the church that taketh away from me the half part of the Lord's Supper, and will not let any man receive it in both kinds? which things, if they deny to us, then deny to us part of our salvation. And I say that it is an evil church, and not the spouse of Christ, but the spouse of the devil, that altereth the Lord's Supper, and both taketh from it, and addeth to it. To that church, say I, God will add plagues; and from that church will he take their part out of the book of life. Do they learn that of Paul, when he ministered to the Corinthians in both kinds? Shall I believe this church? God forbid!"

Feckenham. "That was done for a good intent of the church, to avoid a heresy that sprang on it."

Lady Jane. "Why shall the church alter God's will and ordinance for good intent? How did King Saul? The Lord defend?"

Such is Foxe's account of the major portion of the conversation between the eloquent monk and Lady Jane, an account that must, in some

of its details, be swallowed with an extra large pinch of salt. That Lady Jane, however, no matter what were her actual words, defended her case brilliantly there can be no doubt, for Feckenham himself has testified* to her wonderful knowledge of theology and the scriptures. Feckenham throughout the whole course of his relations with Lady Jane conducted himself with the utmost kindness and generosity, and Foxe, ever ready without scruple to vilify a Catholic priest, has, it seems, wilfully suppressed the truth and distorted the facts when he accuses him of having lost his temper and insulted Lady Jane at the close of their discussion. The good monk might have been called the "prisoner's friend," for he exerted all his influence to mitigate the punishment or obtain the release of many others of the political prisoners confined for participation in either Northumberland's or Wyat's schemes,

* "Found himself in all holy gifts so short of her excellence, that he acknowledged himself fitter to be her disciple than teacher." ("Life of Lady Jane Grey," London, 1615).

and in many cases his intercession was entirely successful.

II.

Queen Mary, finding that all Feckenham's arts and eloquence were lost upon Lady Jane, hesitated no longer to take her life, and gave orders accordingly that the execution was to proceed on Monday, February 12th, that date being the limit of the reprieve already granted. Still tenacious, in her hopes that she might yet be cajoled into accepting conversion to Catholicism, Mary arranged, at the same time, that divers priests were to worry Lady Jane, without cessation, with their arguments and casuistry until the last. Lord Guildford was also to be similarly assailed, but he remained firm as a rock against entreaties from the priests, and utterly refused all advice and consolation from them, in striking contrast to the wretched weakness displayed by his father when placed in the same terrible situation.

The Sunday intervening before her execution and that of her husband, the last that Lady

Jane was to ever spend on earth, was passed by her alternately in prayer and correspondence, that is to say whenever she was freed from the unwelcome presence and solicitations of the priests. During the Sabbath evening, she was occupied in writing the following beautiful letter to her sister, Catherine, inscribed on a few spare leaves of her Greek Testament, the companion of so many weary hours, which she bequeathed to its recipient as a legacy :—

"I have here sent you, my dear sister Catherine, a book, which although it be not outwardly trimmed with gold, or the curious embroidery of the artfullest needles, yet inwardly it is more worth than all the precious mines which the vast world can boast of: it is the book, my only best, and best loved sister, of the law of the Lord: it is the Testament, and last will, which he bequeathed unto us wretches and wretched sinners, which shall lead you to the path of eternal joy: and if you with a good mind read it, and with an earnest desire follow it, no doubt it shall bring you to an immortal and everlasting life: it will teach you to live, and learn you to die: it shall win you more, and endow you with greater felicity, than you should have gained possession of our woeful father's lands: for as if God had prospered him, you should have inherited his honours and manors, so if you apply diligently this book, seeking to direct your life

according to the rule of the same, you shall be an inheritor of such riches, as neither the covetous shall withdraw from you, neither the thief shall steal, neither yet the moths corrupt: desire with David, my best sister, to understand the law of the Lord your God, live still to die, that you by death may purchase life eternal, and trust not that the tenderness of your age shall lengthen your life: for unto God, when he calleth, all hours, times, and seasons are alike, and blessed are they whose lamps are furnished when he cometh, for as soon will the Lord be glorified in the young as in the old.

My good sister, once more again let me entreat thee to learn to die; deny the world, defy the devil, and despise the flesh, and delight yourself only in the Lord: be penitent for your sins, and yet despair not; be strong in faith, yet presume not; and desire with St. Paul to be dissolved and to be with Christ, with whom, even in death, there is life.

Be like the good servant, and even at midnight be waking, lest when death cometh and stealeth upon you, like a thief in the night, you be with the servants of darkness found sleeping; and lest for lack of oil you be found like the five foolish virgins, or like him that had not on the wedding garment, and then you be cast into darkness, or banished from the marriage: rejoice in Christ as I trust you do, and seeing you have the name of a Christian, as near as you can follow the steps and be a true imitator of your master, Christ Jesus, and take up your cross, lay your sins on his back, and always embrace him.

Now, as touching my death, rejoice as I do, my dearest sister, that I shall be delivered of this corruption, and put

on incorruption: for I am assured that I shall, for losing of a mortal life, win one that is immortal, joyful, and everlasting: the which I pray God grant you in his most blessed hour, and send you his all-saving grace to live in his fear, and to die in the true Christian faith: from which, in God's name, I exhort that you never swerve, neither through hope of life nor fear of death: for if you will deny his truth, to give length to a weary and corrupt breath, God himself will deny you, and by vengeance make short what you by your soul's loss would prolong: but if you will cleave to him, he will stretch forth your days to an uncircumscribed comfort, and to his own glory: to the which glory, God bring me now, and you hereafter, when it shall please him to call you.

Farewell, once again, my beloved sister, and put your only trust in God, who only must help you. Amen.

Your loving sister,

JANE DUDDELEY."

To her father, she also wrote,* plainly acknowledging that he was the cause of her trouble, but not in the least blaming him for it, but even thanking him for having expressed his contrition—tardy though it was—at having so

* Lady Jane is stated to have written to her father, on the same evening or day she wrote to her sister, but this is most unlikely, for time would not have allowed it. No date is attached to the letter, which in all probability she had composed—or at any rate the greater part of it—several days previously, and hearing of Suffolk's arrival in the Tower on the Saturday, had it sent to him on Sunday.

deeply wronged her, and finally imploring him never to forsake his religion.

III.

The dawn of the fatal twelfth of February was not long in following upon the conclusion of Lady Jane's moribund epistolary efforts. Thinking that it was but just the young couple should snatch one last fleeting farewell before parting for their respective scaffolds, the iron-hearted Mary granted the husband's petition that he might meet and embrace his wife. But Lady Jane, calm and self-possessed in the hour of peril, resolutely refused this favour of the Queen, saying that "it would but disturb the holy tranquility with which they had prepared themselves for death." To Lord Guildford she sent a message "that it was to be feared her presence would rather weaken than strengthen him; that he ought to take courage from this reason, and derive constancy from his heart; that if his soul were not firm and settled, she could not settle it by her eyes, nor confirm it by her words, and that he would do well to remit

this interview till they met in a better world, where friendships were happy and unions indissoluble, and their's, she hoped, would be eternal." (Heylyn.) She never, in consequence of this heroic resolve, saw Lord Guildford again alive.

It was decided by the authorities that the ill-fated pair were to die on different scaffolds, and before different audiences, the husband's execution to be public, his wife's—if it could be properly so called—private.

Lord Guildford's was to take place, first, on Tower-Hill, Lady Jane's, subsequently, on the green close to the white Tower.* The sympathies of all except the most bigoted Catholics were excited on behalf of Lord Guildford and Lady Jane, the youth and good looks† of the former winning for him almost as

* "A scaffolde made upon the grene over agynst the white tower, for the saide Lady Jane to die apon." ("Chronicle of a Resident in the Tower") This was the same site upon which the scaffolds were erected for the executions of Queens Anne Boleyn and Catherine Howard

† He was considered the best-looking, as he was the tallest of all Northumberland's large family, and was his parents' special favourite, "that comely, vertuous, and goodly gentleman the lorde gylford

much pity as her good looks, talents, youth, innocence and sex for Lady Jane. For their steadfast adherence to their religion they carried with them to the block the warmest admiration of the Protestants, who had been fearful lest they should succumb to the artful offers held out to them by the priests of purchasing their lives at the cost of selling their faith.

Details of Lord Guildford's death are best obtained by quoting our old friend, the anonymous keeper of the diary or chronicle of two years residence in the Tower under Queens Jane and Mary. Describing the closing scene of the handsome Dudley's life, he says :—

"The monday, being the twelth of Februarie, about ten of the clocke, ther went out of the Tower to the scaffolde on Tower hill, the lorde Guilforde Dudley, sone to the late Duke of Northumberland, husbande to the Lady Jane Grey, daughter to the Duke of Suffolke, who at his going out toke by the hande Sir Anthony Duddeley most innocently was executed, whom God had endowed with suche vertues, that even those that never before the tyme of his execution saw him, did with lementable tears bewayle his death." (Grafton.)

Broune, maister John Throgmorton, and many other gentyllmen, praying him to praie for him; and without the bullwarke offeley the sheryve receywed him and brought him to the scaffolde, where, after a small declaration, having no ghostlye fatter with him" (he was refused the attendance of a Protestant clergyman), "he kneeled doune and said his praiers; then holding upp his eyes and handes to God many tymes; and at last, after he had desyred the people to pray for him, he laide himselfe along, and his hedd upon the block, which was at one stroke of the axe taken from him.

"Note, the lorde marques* stode upon the Devyl's Toure, and sawe the executyon."

For Lord Guildford's† untimely fate it is impossible not to feel pity. Like his wife, he was sacrificed to suit the devices of the lawless Northumberland. Of his character little is really, it seems, accurately known. It is,

* Northampton, his father's friend.

† Lord Guildford was christened after his mother's maiden name, thus forming one of the first instances (in England) of a surname being converted into a Christian name.

indeed, by no means to his credit that during the reign of Lady Jane, he constantly demanded the privilege of sharing her throne, but still against this it must be remembered he was but a mere boy, the spoilt child of his mother, and his head was evidently turned by such a sudden accession to power. It at any rate speaks well in his favour that he behaved with the most manly fortitude and courage when led out to die.

Having waved a mournful farewell to her husband, whom she saw from her prison window passing to his execution, Lady Jane was left with but a few more fleeting minutes to prepare for following him. Her serene courage and urbanity in this awful hour won the hearts of the hardest of the officials of the Tower. Even the stalwart Sir John Brydges, the Lieutenant, was touched at her situation, and unbent so far as to beseech her to grant him a souvenir to keep in memory of her, whereupon she told his brother Thomas to give him a little manuscript manual of prayers, and

notwithstanding the short space of time permitting for the composition of an original theme, wrote in it :—

"Foreasmuch as you have desired so simple a woman to write in so worthy a book, good master Lieutenant, therefore I shall as a friend desire you, and as a Christian require you, to call upon God to incline your heart to his laws, to quicken you in his ways, and not to take the word of truth utterly out of your mouth. Live still to die, that by death you may purchase eternal life; and remember how the end of Methusael, who we read in Scripture was the longest liver that was of a man, died at the last: for, as the preacher says, that there is a time to be born and a time to die; and the day of death is better than the day of our birth.

Your's as the Lord knoweth as a friend,

JANE DUDDELEY."

In this same precious gift she had previously put a written prayer for her father, as follows :—

"The Lord comfort Your Grace, and that in His Word, wherein all creatures only are to be comforted. And though it hath pleased God to take away two of your children, yet think not, I most humbly beseech Your Grace, that you have lost them, but tried, that we, by losing this

mortal life, have won an immortal life. And I, for my part, as I have honoured Your Grace in this life, will pray for you in another.

Your Grace's humble daughter,

JANE DUDDELEY."

Lord Guildford Dudley had also an inscription in the book, to his father-in-law, but written under happier circumstances in happier times. Lady Jane is also understood to have penned three sentences* in Greek, Latin, and English, and given them likewise to Sir John Brydges, the purport of which was that, although terrestial justice had slain her husband's body, God's mercy would pardon his soul; whilst as regards herself, "If my fault deserved punishment, my youth, at least, and my imprudence, were worthy of excuse. God and posterity will show me favour."

As soon as Lord Guildford's decapitation was completed, it was arranged that the mournful

* Sir N. H. Nicolas, in his excellent volume on Lady Jane's "Literary Remains and Life," warmly disputes the genuineness of these sentences, which he contends that Lady Jane could never have written. But the evidence in favour of her authorship seems, notwithstanding his criticisms, quite satisfactory and conclusive.

procession which was to accompany his widow to the scaffold should set out. It would have been better for Lady Jane had it started ere it did, for by the delay she was made the unwilling witness of an appalling sight, sufficiently harrowing and gruesome to have broken the spirits and the courage of the stoutest of men, much less those of a lonely girl. This was no less than the bleeding, quivering corpse of her husband, freshly come from the scaffold, thrown on to a small car or trolley, his head wrapped in a cloth. Well, indeed, might the Tower chronicler declare this to have been "A sight to her no less than death."*

By what incomparable folly, or by what slovenly arrangement was it made possible for the poor hapless Jane to have seen this fearful thing it is difficult to comprehend. Perhaps it may have been intentional. If so, our history fails to record an act more shocking in brutality. Precise details are, however, wanting, and we

* Miss Strickland, in her "Memoir of Lady Jane," has made use of this sentence, without any mark or acknowledgment to point the source whence she derived it.

do not know for certain how or exactly where she saw the body, some authorities stating she perceived it from her window, others that she actually encountered it on her way to the scaffold.

Crushed by this heart-rending scene, Lady Jane, striving her utmost to regain her composure,* at length set forth on the short journey that was to take her from this world into the next. Accompanied, despite her protests, by the ubiquitous Feckenham, still worrying her with his solicitations, and followed by two of her attendants, Elizabeth Tylney and Eleyn, both weeping bitterly, with a prayer-book in her hand, Lady Jane, arrayed in black as befitted the sombre occasion, reached the footsteps of the fatal stairway to the platform of death. Ascending its steps, without betraying any sign of discomfiture, she thus addressed the audience surrounding her :—

"Good people, I am come hither to die, and

* Contemporary writers state that, to add to the pathos of her position, she was at her execution several months gone in pregnancy.

by a law am condemned to the same. The fact, indeed, against the Queen's Highness was unlawful, and the consenting thereunto by me; but touching the procurement and the desire thereof by me or on my behalf. I do wash my hands thereof in innocency, before God, and the face of you good Christain people, this day" (here she wrung her hands), "and, I pray you all, to bear me witness that I die a true Christian woman, and that I look to be saved by no other means, but only by the mercy of God in the merits of the blood of his only son Jesus Christ: and I confess, when I did know the word of God I neglected the same, loved myself and the world, and therefore this plague or punishment is happily and worthily happened unto me for my sins; and I thank God of his goodness that he hath thus given me a time and respite to repent. And now people, while I am alive, I pray you to assist me with your prayers."*

* I have here followed exclusively the rendering of her speech conveyed in the "Chronicle of a Resident in the Tower." Several other more elaborate and lengthy details are recorded by other authorities,

Kneeling down, she asked Feckenham's leave to repeat a psalm, and he assenting, she devoutedly repeated the fifty-first, in English. When she had ended, she rose and courteously thanked the monk for his kindness, gave her gloves and handkerchief to Elizabeth Tylney, her book to Thomas Brydges, and permitted her women to arrange her dress and pin a white scarf over her eyes.

The headsman, a hideous figure swathed in black, prayed her pardon on his knees, and she kindly answered him, beseeching him, at the same time, to kill her quickly. Only at this moment did she show any agitation, when with her eyes bound, she failed to grope her way to the block, until one of those near her guided her, and until which she in the agony of the moment piteously exclaimed, "Where is it? Where is it? Oh, what shall I do?"

but their authenticity is more than doubtful. In many accounts, by far too commonly quoted, Lady Jane is made to talk like an orator addressing a political meeting, or a preacher in the pulpit. Surely the above plain, simple account of one of her hearers is more likely to be correct than the interpellated records of writers who were not present, or even alive at that date.

Her head once recumbent, the executioner made no long delay. The axe swung, her slender neck with one stroke was cut clean through, and Lady Jane, the tool of a politician's base ambition, the too faithful child of a worthless parent, the victim of the malign cruelty of a remorseless Queen, had passed away from her sorrows, and her stainless soul had sped to its eternal rest.

Her remains, with those, of her slaughtered husband, were interred* in the historic chapel of St. Peter ad Vincula in the Tower, of which ancient building it has been recorded† :—"In truth there is no sadder spot on earth than that little cemetery. Death is there associated, not as in Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's, with genius and virtue, with public veneration and imperishable renown ; not as in our humblest churches and churchyards with everything that is most endearing in social and

* The locality of Lady Jane's tomb has remained a mystery to all of her biographers. There exists a remote tradition that her corpse was afterwards removed to Bradgate and buried in the chapel.

† Macaulay's "History of England."

domestic charities; but whatever is darkest in human nature and human destiny, with the savage triumph of implacable enemies, with the inconstancy, the ingratitude, the cowardice of friends, with all the miseries of fallen greatness and blighted fame. Thither have been carried, through successive ages, by the rude hand of gaolers, without one mourner following, the bleeding relics of men who had been the captains of armies, the leaders of parties, the oracles of senates, and the ornaments of courts. Thither was borne, before the window where Lady Jane was praying, the mangled corpse of Guildford Dudley. Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, and Protector of the Realm, reposes there by the brother whom he murdered. There has mouldered away the headless trunk of John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester and Cardinal of St. Vitalis, a man worthy to have lived in a better age, and to have died in a better cause. There are laid John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, Lord High Admiral, and Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, Lord

High Treasurer. There, too, is another Essex, on whom nature and fortune had lavished all their bounties in vain, and whom valour, grace, genius, royal favour, popular applause, conducted to an early and ignominious doom. Not far off sleep two chiefs of the great house of Howard, Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk, and Philip, eleventh Earl of Arundel. Here and there, among the thick graves of unquiet and aspiring statesmen, lie more delicate sufferers; Margaret of Salisbury, the last of the proud name of Plantagenet, and those two fair Queens who perished by the jealous rage of Henry."

CHAPTER VII.

Character and Literary Remains.

WHEN Lady Jane wrote in the little book which she carried to the scaffold a hope to the effect that her posterity would do her justice, she was expressing a desire that has amply been fulfilled. Her memory has indeed received an honourable place in history, whilst the sum total of her virtues and accomplishments has, if anything, received a too exalted measure of praise. In endeavouring to analyse the true character of Lady Jane, it must be borne in mind that it is dangerous to rely too much on the evidence of her contemporaries, who were apt to permit their judgments to be warped by religious circumstances and considerations. Thus, the Catholic writers have hinted that Lady Jane's literary efforts were by no means unaided compositions on her part,*

* *Vide* Lingard: "History of England."

and that her religious opinions were the result of the teachings of the tutors of her youth. Thus, Protestant* writers have, on the other hand, allowed their anti-Roman tendencies to overrun the impartiality necessary to historical narrative, and have heaped upon Lady Jane the most flattering encomiums, just as Ascham and others were wont to address her in their epistles in terms so ridiculously eulogistic as to be little less than fulsome in the extreme. Between these two dangerous limits, therefore, the truth must lie.

The "real" Lady Jane is neither the Lady Jane of the Catholic writers, nor the Lady Jane of the Protestant, neither the Lady Jane of Lingard, nor the Lady Jane of Foxe. She was, so far as impartial evidence can direct us, of a high-spirited, firm, determined nature, quite equal to holding her own in any company and under the most trying situations. Her religion was purely that of her own heart and choice. The excellence of her education and the depth

* Foxe, for example.

of her erudition had exposed to her the shallowness of Romish dogmas. Although accustomed in childhood to be snubbed and otherwise checked by her parents, the very severity of her training only tended to increase her independence as she grew older. She was never the poor, weak, forlorn maiden—a lamb amongst wolves—that certain authors would have us believe. She had a will of her own, opinions of her own, and, what is more, a temper of her own, to fall back upon in the hour of need. The child who scornfully told Mary's attendant that the Host was only baker's bread was no timid little girl, inclined to hide her light under a bushel. She was in truth, *ab initio*, old beyond her years.

In person she was small, of beautiful, regular, and pleasant features, and possessed of a most neat and exceedingly well-formed figure. Her capacious forehead and intelligent eyes gave true indication to the intellect contained by that shapely head. With a better title, and under better auspices, she would have made an

excellent Queen: less cruel and more capable as she was than her cousin Mary, more straightforward, honest, and less double-dealing than her cousin Elizabeth.

Severely pious and religious though she was, she by no means disliked the good things of this wicked world. She possessed the vanity of her sex, coupled with even more perhaps than her sex's usual love of finery and jewels. An agreeable and entertaining companion, her somewhat Puritan ideas did not prevent her reaping to the full the enjoyment of good company, or the proper pleasures of the table. Trained to shine in smart society at quite a tender age, she cut a grand figure at society functions and amongst persons of rank as exalted as her own.

Inheriting the blood of the Tudors, she inherited the imperiousness of the Tudor temper. The young lady who refused to reside at the house of her husband's parents* who

* So bitter was her dislike of the Duke and Duchess of Northumberland, that she even accused them of having poisoned, or tried to poison her.

refused to grant Lord Guildford the crown matrimonial, who rebuffed and rebuked Feckenham, who went unfaltering to the scaffold after first undergoing the most conceivably terrible of ordeals* was as much a Tudor as the fierce and haughty Mary, or the autocratic Elizabeth.

In one important respect, Lady Jane's reputation has most certainly benefited at the hands of her posterity, namely, with regard to her position in the world of letters. Her reputation as an author and a scholar has, in truth, been cheaply earned. Tradition has her name down in history as a marvel of learning and erudition, as a profound theologian, and specially as a linguist of the first rank. Amongst the many clever women of her age, and of all the clever women who lived in England during the epoch of the Tudors, she has been placed the highest. As a matter of fact, her period produced many ladies of rank who were her superiors in general knowledge,

* The sight of Lord Guildford's corpse.

and in both ancient and modern languages in particular. Queen Elizabeth was undoubtedly the better versed in the classics, and more proficient in modern languages, whilst beside so learned a lady as her relative Mary, the poetical Countess of Pembroke—the famous sister of Sir Philip Sidney—she would have appeared ignorant, in comparison. A board-school maiden of ten years of age—of our day—could have put her to shame. The ridiculous rhapsodies of Ascham, Ullmer, and Bullinger are mainly responsible for the absurdity of the fables relating to her attainments. She has even been very frequently described by modern writers—who evidently have believed all the legends they have read of her genius—that she could speak fluently French, Latin, German, Spanish, and Italian, and had Hebrew, Arabic, and Greek at her fingers' ends before she had reached the age of sixteen! Young ladies of that age in days when the means of learning were rare and difficult, were not the prodigies that such silly statements as these would have us believe.

The genuine literary remains of Lady Jane that have come down to us are by no means extensive, but are, nevertheless, extremely interesting, and it is easy to trace in the tone of all her writings the strong, sturdy, conscientious, independent spirit which stamped the character of the author. The list of her works generally considered to have been beyond doubt by her pen may be comprised as follows :—

1. Letters written in Greek and Latin to Ascham, Ullmer, and Bullinger.

2. Letter to a "friend newly fallen from the faith."

3. Account of her conference with Father Feckenham.

4. Prayer written during her captivity.

5. Letter to her father, written in captivity.

6. Letter to Lady Katharine Grey, written in captivity.

7. Inscriptions in her Manual of Prayers.*

8. Proclamations during her reign.

Of these eight separate collections, her letters

* *Vide* Notes : "Lady Jane's Prayer-book."

to Ullmer, Ascham, and Bullinger have been mentioned above, and are of insufficient general interest to demand repetition here, although we may remark, *en passant*, that it is certainly ridiculous to believe these letters were the original composition of a child of thirteen or fourteen, and the kindly corrective hand of Aylmer may be rightly discerned to have guided the pen of his dear pupil in these several juvenile compositions.

Of numbers 5, 6, 7, and 8 of the above, we have also already treated.

But it is the second item in the list that deserves the more complete consideration. As to who was the actual friend "newly fallen from the faith," we are really ignorant, and it is quite clear that it was not the Reverend Dr. Harding, once the Duke of Suffolk's Chaplain, to whom the letter is usually considered to have been inscribed, since he did not become a Catholic until after the writer's death. The letter was not, moreover, written, as has been declared, during her imprisonment in the Tower,

because it was signed with her maiden name. Exception is also taken to this letter that it could not have been Lady Jane's own composition by reason of the nature of some expressions used therein, which are hardly what one expects to read in a theme of pious advice to a friend by a gentle and moral young lady. But there is not the least reason to doubt the authenticity of the epistle, and the nature of these sentences to which objection has been framed does not tend to minimise the probability that Lady Jane wrote them, or that we ought to think any the worse of her because of them. The critics, in this case, have utterly failed to make sufficient allowance for the difference between the language of her time and ours. In Lady Jane's time, expressions and illustrations of speech were in common use which could not now be used in polite society. But in the use of such expressions there was nothing vulgar or improper. People merely were wont then to express themselves more bluntly and with less restraint than we do, and they were probably

none the worse for so doing. To object to, or erase these much abused sentences, is as silly as to applaud the publication of the Bowdlerized Shakespeare.

The letter in question is, in truth, a very fine composition, betraying like the rest of Lady Jane's works, the masculine spirit of the author; every line breathing the powerful, natural, unrestrained Protestant spirit peculiar to her.*

To endeavour, as have many authorities, to paint Lady Jane as a meek, unassuming, timid, helpless maiden is, as we have seen, to run directly counter to all historical evidence and truth demonstrating the contrary. Lady Jane was possessed of the same firm, dauntless, dominant, manly, and imperious will as her cousin Elizabeth. If we are to reject this long letter to her apostate friend as being a forgery, simply because of the forcible language it

* The following are some specimens of the terms of expression used by Lady Jane, to which exception has thus been taken by carping critics :—"deformed imp of the devil;" "stinking and filthy kennel of Satan;" "unshamefast paramour of Antichrist;" "the whore of Babylon;" "sink of sin;" "white-livered milk sop;" and "bloody hands of cruel tyrants."

contains, hardly a line contained in any other of her remains would be safe.

Of her dialogue with Feckenham, Lady Jane has left her own account, which differs somewhat slightly but not materially from that transcribed from it by Foxe.

The prayer written and composed during her captivity, shortly before her execution, is as follows :—

"O Lord, thou God and Father of my life, hear me, poor and desolate woman, which flyeth unto thee only, in all troubles and miseries! Thou, O Lord, art the only defender and deliverer of those that put their trust in thee; and, therefore, I being defiled with sin, encumbered with affliction, unquieted with troubles, wrapped in cares, overwhelmed with miseries, vexed with temptations, and grievously tormented with the long imprisonment of this vile mass of clay, my sinful body do come unto thee, O merciful Saviour, craving thy mercy and help, without the which so little hope of deliverance is left, that I may utterly despair of

my liberty. Albeit, it is expedient, that seeing our life standeth upon trying, we should be visited some time or other with some adversity, whereby we might both be tried whether we be of thy flock or no, and also know thee and ourselves the better; yet thou that saidst thou wouldst not suffer us to be tempted above our power, be merciful unto me, now a miserable wretch, I beseech thee; which, with Solomon, do cry unto thee, humbly desiring thee, that I may be neither too much puffed up with prosperity, neither too much depressed with adversity; lest I being too full, should deny thee, my God; or being too low brought, should despair and blaspheme thee, my Lord and Saviour.

"O Merciful God, consider my misery, best known unto thee; and be thou unto me a strong tower of defence, I humbly require thee. Suffer me not to be tempted above my power, but either be thou a deliverer unto me out of this great misery, or else give me grace patiently to bear thy heavy hand and sharp correction. It was thy right hand that delivered the people

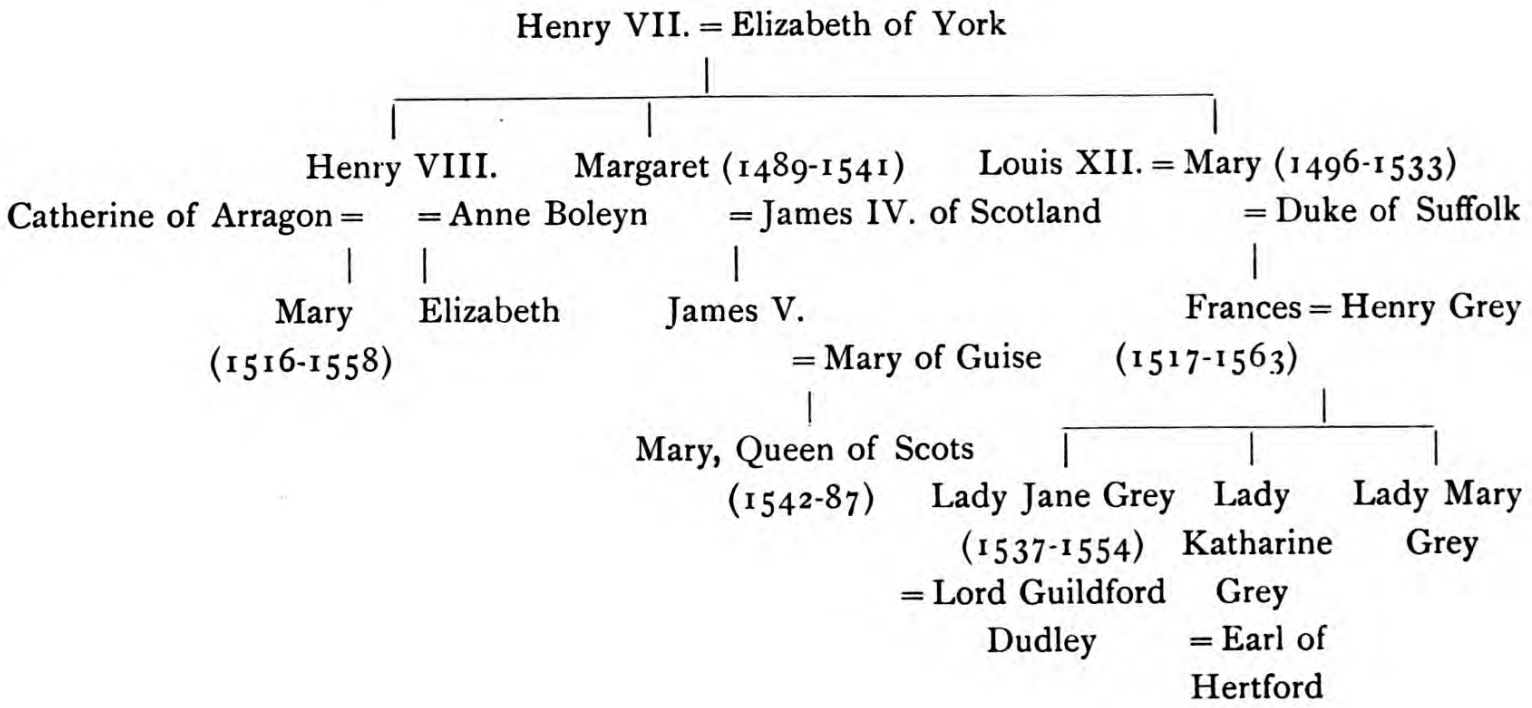
of Israel out of the hands of Pharaoh, which for the space of 400 years did oppress and keep them in bondage; let it, therefore, seem good likewise to thy fatherly goodness, to deliver me, sorrowful wretch, for whom thy son Christ shed his precious blood on the cross, out of this miserable captivity and bondage, wherein I am now.

"How long will thou be absent? For ever? O Lord! hast thou forgotten to be gracious, and hast thou shut up thy loving kindness in displeasure? Wilt thou be no more entreated? Is thy mercy clean gone for ever, and thy promise come utterly to an end for evermore? Why dost thou make so long tarrying? shall I despair of thy mercy? Oh God! far be that from me; I am thy workmanship created in Christ Jesus; give me grace, therefore, to tarry thy leisure, and to patiently bear thy works, assuredly knowing that as thou canst, so thou wilt deliver me, when it shall please thee, neither doubting nor mistrusting thy goodness towards me; for thou knowest better what is good for me than I do; therefore

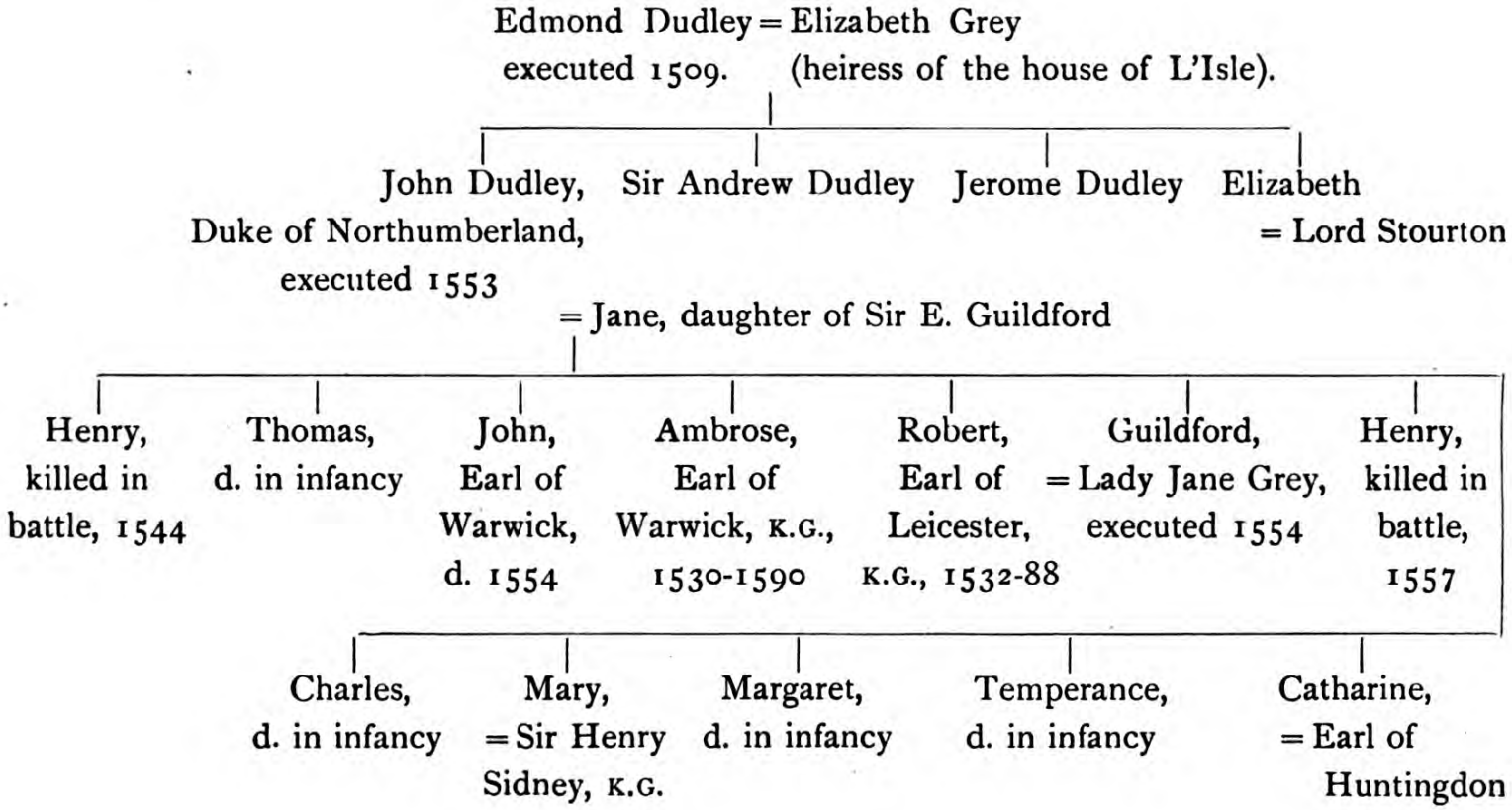
do with me in all things what thou wilt, and plague me what way thou wilt. Only, in the meantime, arm me, I beseech thee, with thy armour, that I may stand fast, my loins being girded about with verity, having on the breast-plate of righteousness, and shod with the shoes prepared by the gospel of peace; above all things, taking to me the shield of faith, where-with I may be able to quench the fiery darts of the wicked; and taking the helmet of salvation, and the sword of thy spirit which is thy most holy word; praying always, with all manner of prayer and supplication that I may refer myself wholly to thy will, abiding thy pleasure, and comforting myself in those troubles that it shall please thee to send me; seeing such troubles be profitable for me, and seeing I am assuredly persuaded that it cannot be but well all thou doest.

"Hear me, O merciful father, for his sake whom thou didst offer to be a sacrifice for my sins; to whom with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory. Amen!"

Rough Genealogical Table showing Lady Jane's right of succession to the throne, at death of Edward the Sixth.



Rough Genealogical Sketch of the Dudleys mentioned in this Memoir.



Bishop Aylmer.

JOHN Aylmer, or Alemer, was born in the year 1521, his parents being descended of a family long resident in Norfolk. By the generosity of Lady Jane's father he was sent to Queen's College, Cambridge, for his education, where he graduated. On leaving the University, his patron installed him as private chaplain to the household at Bradgate, and placed the Ladies Jane and Katharine Grey under his especial care for the purpose of receiving their education from him. Of the great success that attended his efforts with Lady Jane we have already seen, and it was entirely owing to his help that she was enabled to compose those wonderful letters to the scholars, Bullinger and Ullmer, that were to render her so famous.

On the accession of Queen Mary, Aylmer's sturdy Protestantism got him into trouble with

the authorities, and he was obliged to take refuge from his persecutors by flying to the Continent,* where he resided during his exile, principally at Zurich and Strasbourg, and assisted Foxe in compiling his Martyrology. In 1558 he returned home, was made archdeacon of Lincoln, and was chosen as one of the select band of Protestant divines appointed to dispute with an equal number of Catholic priests in the Conference held at Westminster, where one of his principal opponents proved to be Feckenham, who had been connected with his old pupil, Lady Jane, but under less happy circumstances. In the spring of the year 1566 Aylmer was consecrated Bishop of London.

Aylmer's episcopal career was, however, not destined to be very smooth or happy, and he speedily became unpopular with the multitude. Like so many of his cloth, on receiving substantial promotion, he was no longer content to

* Fuller relates that the ship in which he embarked was searched at his departure, whereupon he hid himself in a large wine cask, with a secret partition, in which he sat whilst his pursuers drank out of another portion of it.

adhere to the more humble Evangelicism of his early days, and strained his authority to the utmost to oppress the Puritans, whom he persecuted with the greatest bitterness, and whose celebrated leader, Cartwright, he put in prison. This uncompromising attitude towards what may be aptly termed the Low-church party, earned him an unflattering notice in the satires of "Martin Marprelate." So unpopular at last did he become that even Elizabeth, who seems to have secretly approved of his rigid discipline, consented to the general wish that he should be removed to another see, but he died (June 3rd, 1594) before this arrangement could be carried out, and was buried in Old St. Paul's.

It is strange that a man who was so warmly praised by Lady Jane for his mildness of temper and kind behaviour should in the prime of life have blossomed into a tyrant. As a bishop, his mode of government strongly resembled that of Laud, who followed closely in his footsteps in many respects, for he behaved with equal severity to the Puritans whom he so cordially

detested. In his own home, Aylmer, who married a Suffolk lady, Judith Bures, by whom he had ten children, lived a life of much splendour, entertaining his friends with profuse hospitality, and employing a large retinue of servants. But just as he went to an extreme in opposing Puritan doctrines, so he went also to a similar extreme in opposing Puritan habits, and he gave rise to much scandal by his manner of passing the Sabbath, when he was wont to indulge himself in a game at bowls.

As a scholar, Aylmer stood amongst the learned of his day, being equally well versed in Hebrew as he was in Latin and Greek. As a writer, his most famous work was his calm and erudite reply to John Knox's "Monstrous Regiment of Women," entitled "an Harborowe for faithfull and trewe subjects against the late bloune Blaste, concerning the Government of Women," which was published in 1559, at Strasbourg.

Henry and Charles Brandon.

THESE two brothers, the last Dukes of Suffolk of their line, were the sons of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, by his last wife, Catharine Willoughby. Henry, the elder, was born in September, 1535, and Charles some eighteen months later.

On the death of Duke Charles, Henry succeeded to the family honours in 1545. In 1550, both he and his brother proceeded to St. John's College, Cambridge, where they were still studying, when the town was, during the summer of the following year, attacked by a terrible outbreak of the "sweating sickness." Forced, therefore, to quit the university in order to escape the ravages of the disease, the brothers removed to Buckden, in the county of Huntingdon; but even there they were not safe, both falling ill on the evening of the fifteenth of July, and dying the next day

(within a few hours from the advent of the first symptoms). Charles died but a few minutes after his elder brother, thus living long enough to possess a title that he was never destined to enjoy.

That such a painfully sad and sudden fatality as this tragic ending to the dukedom of Suffolk —so far as the house of Brandon was concerned —history fails to record. The circumstances of this extraordinary case are, moreover, rendered all the more regrettable by the fact that both brothers seem to have been gifted with rare talents and accomplishments, and had undoubtedly received—under the care of the celebrated Sir Thomas Wilson—an excellent education.

Lady Jane's Sisters.

THE Duke and Duchess of Suffolk had, in all, five children, four girls and a boy, but the latter and one of the girls died in infancy, thus leaving Lady Jane, who was the third born, the eldest of the surviving trio.

Of these, Lady Katharine Grey came next in age, and was born towards the end of the year 1538, the exact date being unknown, and was educated by John Aylmer at Bradgate. On Whit-Sunday, May 21st, 1553, she was married to the Lord Herbert, eldest son* of the time-serving Earl of Pembroke, but this crafty nobleman seized the opportunity of divorcing her on the accession of Queen Mary, whose "maid of honour" she, however, became, notwithstanding the fate of her sister, Lady Jane. After Mary's death, Elizabeth retained

* He succeeded his father as Earl of Pembroke, and married as his third wife, Mary, sister to Sir Philip Sidney.

her at Court until her secret marriage in 1560 with an old admirer, Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford. For several months her marriage remained a profound secret, until at last she was unable to conceal the fact that she was likely to soon become a mother, when in the agony of her distress she communicated the whole story to the Earl of Leicester, who informed Elizabeth, by whom she was sent immediately to the Tower, where she was joined, as a fellow-prisoner, by her husband. Fearful that she would bear a son—who would then become, according to the will of Henry VIII., heir presumptive to the Crown—the Queen's anger against the hapless Countess was eventually rendered furious in the extreme by the realization of her fears, September 24th, 1561.

On the convalescence of the captive Countess, a commission was appointed to examine into all the circumstances attending the marriage, and the identity of the priest who had performed it remaining undiscovered, the commissioners, directed by Cecil, declared that no legal

marriage had taken place, and that the child was illegitimate. The Earl and his Countess (who had yet without doubt been legally married),* remained on as prisoners in the Tower, under strict orders that they were not to visit one another. But the kindness of the officers in charge, softened by the mutual affection of the young couple, led them to disregard the royal mandate, with the result that a second son was born in February, 1562. The Countess was then removed to the custody of her uncle, Lord John Grey, but she and her husband were again committed to the Tower on a rumour reaching Elizabeth that a scheme was in operation to carry her off to Spain, where King Philip intended placing her under his protection and proclaiming her the *de jure* Queen of England.

For the rest of her life, therefore, this poor lady, through no fault whatsoever of her own, but merely because she had honourably married

* The legitimacy of the marriage was proved beyond all doubt after the death of Queen Elizabeth had removed the obstacles in the way of publicly announcing the fact.

the man of her heart, remained a prisoner, dying of a decline at Cockfield Hall, Suffolk, January 27th, 1568. Her husband survived her until 1621, and lived to marry two more wives.

Sad indeed as was the history of Lady Jane Grey, it cannot compare in point of pathos with that of the persecuted Lady Katharine, who had never committed any political offence, and was nevertheless literally hounded to death, simply because she was her mother's daughter, and for no other reason.

Lady Mary, the youngest of the sisters Grey, was born probably in 1542, some authorities placing her birth as early as 1540, in which year it most certainly could not have taken place, and others as late as 1545. Although not fated to undergo such a terribly sorrowful and persecuted career as her sisters, Lady Mary's history is hardly less romantic, and it may be questioned whether any little family has ever existed furnishing more extraordinary reading to students of history than the story

of these luckless heiresses of the Tudor blood.

Small as was Lady Jane in stature, Lady Mary was even smaller. In fact, she was quite a dwarf, and Elizabeth had no fear that she would emulate the fortune of Lady Katharine by making a brilliant marriage, or, perhaps, any marriage at all. Married, however, she was, and that, *mirabile dictu*, to a husband her antithesis in every respect, for he was of ordinary birth, of no education, of twice her age, and, curiously enough, in height, the tallest man at Court, having on that account been selected to fill the office of serjeant-porter* to the Queen. The name of this giant, who was a widower with several children, was Thomas Keyes. Elizabeth, on hearing of the match, sent Keyes to the Fleet prison, and his bride to a mansion in Buckinghamshire, whence she was afterwards removed from house to house, until her husband's death in 1571, when

* "Who was a judge at Court," says Fuller ("but only of doubtful casts at dice, being Serjeant-Porter").

she was liberated, but died herself without issue in London, seven years later.* An attempt to prove her marriage invalid had been effected, but the Bishop of London pronounced the nuptials to have been valid.

* April 20th, 1578.

The Last Abbot of Westminster.

THIS learned Benedictine was the last Abbot of that Order established at Westminster, where the "black monks" administered the services at the Abbey as their monastic church, prior to the final fall of Roman Catholicism in England with the joint deaths of Queen Mary and Cardinal Pole. His name has been variously spelt as Fecknam, Feckenham, and de Feckenham, although his proper surname was really that of Howman. He was, however, called after the locality of his birthplace, Feckenham Forest, Worcestershire, where his parents, who were of the yeoman class, resided.

Born in 1516, he was, at the instance of his confessor, sent when still a mere boy to study in a Benedictine house at Evesham, whence he proceeded, at the age of nineteen, to Oxford, where he was entered on the books of Gloucester

Hall, now known as Worcester College. Taking his degree as a bachelor of divinity in the summer term of 1539, he returned to Evesham, but was forced to leave with his brethren on the subsequent dissolution of the monastery. From this period till 1549, when he was sent to the Tower for having disobeyed Archbishop Cranmer—with whose religious principles he could naturally not agree—he filled various minor ecclesiastical posts in his native county.

On the accession of Mary, he received preferment from his old friend Bonner, and quickly set the zeal to his reputation as one of the brilliant preachers and controversialists of his day. It was owing to the strength of his controversial powers that he was selected by Mary's advisers to argue with the leading Protestants who were imprisoned for their participation in the conspiracies of Northumberland and Wyat. It is quite clear, notwithstanding the *ex parte* statements of Foxe, that he behaved with the greatest kind-

ness to all the prisoners whom he was directed to visit, and if he was often unsuccessful in his efforts to effect their conversion, he was still sufficiently charitable to do all he could, either to render their *durance vile* less irksome, or even to endeavour to obtain their complete liberation. During the course of these ministrations in the Tower, he made the acquaintance, and at the same obtained the friendship of the Princess Elizabeth.

With his attendance on Lady Jane we have already dealt, but as some consolation for not effecting her conversion, he was successful in afterwards obtaining Sir John Cheke to renounce Protestantism and conform to Catholicism. Given his degree as Doctor of Divinity at Oxford in 1556, he was in the autumn of that year created by Pole, Abbot of Westminster, in which office he was installed with all the magnificence of ceremonial adopted at the consecration of the mitred abbots of the old foundation. No sooner had he entered on this important office, than he determined to restore

the ancient glories of both the abbey-church and the community which served it. The abbey-church he found in a deplorably neglected condition. Tombs had been mutilated, statues and monuments destroyed, and the shrine of the Confessor despoiled of its precious stones and relics. But he quickly set things to rights, restored the Confessor's shrine, repaired the mutilated monuments, and attracted all London to witness the splendid services. An enthusiastic antiquarian and ardent student of ecclesiastical history, he took a pride in reviving all the former customs and profuse hospitality of the monastery, and after a sharp struggle with the law officers of the Crown, succeeded in restoring the privileges of sanctuary, so that, until the death of Mary, criminals of all kinds were enabled to find within its precincts under his jurisdiction a safe refuge from pursuit of the police.

On the accession of Elizabeth he was offered a bishopric if he would but renounce his allegiance to the Pope, but he not only

declined but inveighed in Parliament, where as a mitred Abbot he sat with the Bishops, against the triumph of the Reformers. In 1559 he and his monks were expelled from Westminster, but he was allowed a pension. Previous to his retirement, he had taken the leading part among the divines of his faith in their celebrated public conference with certain of the Protestant clergy held at Westminster (1559).

Tenacious in his resolve to protest against the "new doctrines," he was, in 1560, sent to the Tower, where he remained three years, when he was surrendered into the friendly custody of Dr. Horne, Bishop of Winchester. But Horne finding it impossible to effect a change in his anti-Protestant principles, he was sent back to the Tower in 1564, whence, after further imprisonment, he was removed to the Marshalsea prison. In 1574 he was released on bail, and went to reside in Holborn, but was again moved, two or three years later, to the palace of the Bishop of Ely, whence he was

finally sent to Wisbeach Castle, where he died in 1584.*

The character and disposition of the last Abbot of Westminster seems to have been excellent in many respects, and it is evident that he was very far from being the coarse and cruel man described in Foxe's Martyrology. He was ever extemely charitable, never failing to strain his resources to the utmost for the benefit of the poor; his manners were jovial and agreeable; and his love of hospitality was of that grand and generous nature that seems to have become extinct in England with the downfall of the monasteries. A restless controversialist, he never ceased till the time of his death in arguing with Protestant divines on points of doctrine and clerical discipline, and although from the year 1559 till 1584 he was a close prisoner, he cannot be said, considering the bold manner in which he opposed the Anglican establishment, to have been harshly treated by Elizabeth, when we compare his

* He was buried at Wisbeach, October 16th, 1584.

treatment at her hands with that of many of his colleagues inferior to him in genius and ability,* and, therefore, far less dangerous to the safety of the new-born Church.

* By far the most complete, as it is the most correct as well as interesting, biography of Feckenham, is that published in Father E. L. Taunton's "English Black Monks of St. Benedict," in which book the whole story of his life is told in chapter ix. of the first volume. This account corrects the numerous incorrest data, and other erroneous details, supplied by previous biographers.

Inscriptions in the Beauchamp Tower.

AMONGST the most interesting reminiscences of celebrated prisoners confined in the chief apartment of the Beauchamp Tower, in the form of quaint inscriptions carved on the wall, occurs that of

"IANE . IANE."

By several writers—apparently quite ignorant of the fact that Lady Jane was never incarcerated in this ward—this inscription is said to have been cut by Lady Jane herself. It is most probable, however, as has been pointed out by more than one antiquary, that the words were cut by Lord Guildford Dudley, when confined in the Tower, or cut, at any rate, at his request.

The walls of this same room are covered with several other extremely interesting inscriptions, such as a bear and lion, with a ragguled staff (the Dudley badge), surrounded

by a border of roses and acorns, and, underneath the figures of the animals, the words,

"IOHN DVDLI,"

and beneath this, again, the words,

"Yow that these beasts do wel beholde & se,
May deme with ease wherefore here made they be
With borders eke wherein
A brother's names who list to serche the ground."

As it is invariably asserted that these inscriptions in the Beauchamp Tower were cut by the prisoners themselves, I cannot help remarking, *en passant*, that I cannot see that this should have always been the case. For example, if the Duke of Northumberland's son, John, Earl of Warwick, carved the above inscription, then he must have been a most skilled workman, for the carving is a perfect work of art. With regard to other of these inscriptions, in this and other parts of the Tower, this remark may also be aptly applied. Were, therefore, all these aristocratic captives naturally gifted with all the cunning of his art latent in the hand of a professional carver? It is absurd to suppose such to have been the case.

My opinion of the matter is that it was considered, by unwritten tradition, an honour for a prisoner of rank both to be imprisoned in the Tower, and to record his name in his cell, just as it is considered the proper thing for a pupil at some of our most famous public-schools to carve his name upon a desk or wall. What is more likely, therefore, than that a prisoner should have called into requisition the services of some workman or other employed in the Tower, to carefully cut an inscription to his order for a permanent memorial of his imprisonment?

The following lines were said to have been scratched by Lady Jane on the walls of her apartment in the Tower with a pin, but no trace of them remains:—

"Non aliena putes homini quae obtingere possunt,
Sors hodierna mihi, cras erat illa tibi,"

and

"Deo juvante, nil nocet livor malus;
Et non juvante, nil juvat labor gravis.
Post tenebras, spero lucem."

Lady Jane's Prayer-book.

THIS book is still in existence, being preserved in the Harleian collection, at the British Museum. It is a volume of about four inches in length, and about two in thickness, and is said to have originally belonged to the Protector Somerset. It was, in all probability, given to Lady Jane by her husband.

It contains the following prayers, all in manuscript:—

"For patience in tribulation as Christ was patient;" "Conserninge the love of my neighbour;" "For forgiveness of sins;" "For our Enemyse;" "For pacyens in tribulation;" "For true wisdom;" "Confession of Sins;" "To our Lorde Jeshu Christ;" "Praier of Quene Ester for help agaynst her enymyes;" "Praër of Sara, the daughter of Raguell;" "Praier of Judith for the Victorie of Olyfernes;" "Praier of Jesus the sonne of Sirake;" "Praier

of the three children;" "Praier of Manasseth, King of Juda;" "For grace;" "For assistance against infirmities;" "To the Blessed Trenyte;" "To God for delyuerance from enemyes;" "Against the temptations of the flesshe, the worlde, and the deuylle;" "Peticyon against all the evylles of paynes;" "Deuote praier to Criste;" "Peticyon to our Lorde;" "Ejaculations from the Psalms;" "Songe of Austeyn and Ambrose;" "Saynt Jerom's deuocion oute of Dauyd's Saulter;" "To the Father;" "To the Holy Ghoste;" "To the Trenyte;" "To Jesu Christe;" "Lord's Prayer;" "Prayer in trobil;" "For the lyghtenyng of the Holye Ghoste;" "Prayer in aduersitte;" "For strength of mynde;" "Praier of the faythful person."

Lady Jane's Captivity.

WHEN confined as a prisoner in the Tower of London, Lady Jane was lodged in the house of Nathaniel Partridge. The vast majority of writers, however, on this subject have, *mirabile dictu*, stated that she inhabited the house of Sir John Brydges, the Lieutenant of the Tower, and that there was, at that period, no official in the Tower of the name of Partridge. Both these statements are utterly untrue. Partridge, as a matter of fact, occupied the important post of Gentleman Gaoler, and lived next door to Sir John Brydges. He died in February, 1587, and was buried in the Chapel of St. Peter ad Vincula.

During her imprisonment, the Privy Council allowed ninety-three shillings a week in defrayment of the cost of Lady Jane's maintenance, and twenty shillings for each of her servants.

From the "Acts of the Privy Council" of December 17th, 1553, we find the following note with reference to the liberty to be accorded to the prisoners engaged in the late political conspiracy, viz. :—

"Lettre to the Lieut. of the Toure, willing hym at convenient tymes by his discreation to suffer the late Duke of Northumbrelande's children to have the libertie of walke within the gardeyn of the Toure, and also to minister the like favour to the Ladye Jane and Doctour Cranmer, uppon suggestion that diverse of them be and have byn evill at ease in their bodies for want of ayre."

Lady Jane and Lord Guildford Dudley were probably buried on the north side of the chancel of St. Peter ad Vincula.

Penshurst.

IT will be but proper to furnish some account of this famous ancient manor-house, considering that it has been more than once referred to in the above. Penshurst was at the accession of Queen Mary the property of Sir Henry Sidney, the husband of Lady Mary, daughter of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland. Lady Mary Sidney, it will be remembered, was chosen by her father to convey to Lady Jane the news of King Edward's death. It was at Penshurst that Northumberland's eldest son, Lord Warwick, died, in the month of October, 1554, shortly after his release from the Tower of London.

The Crown-manor of Penshurst, in Kent, was granted to Sir William Sidney, Knight-Banneret, in reward for his distinguished naval and military services. Sir William was already a landowner in the immediate neighbourhood,

so that his new possessions proved familiar ground to him.

The manor of Penshurst, with its magnificent old house, takes its name from the Norman family of Penchester, its first landlords after the Conquest, and the tomb of the most renowned scion of that family—Sir Stephen de Penchester—is still one of the striking monuments to be seen in the ancient church. After the decease of the last of the Penchesters, the estate passed through the hands of various proprietors, the most important of whom were Sir John de Poulteney (who obtained permission to fortify his house), the Duke of Buckingham, and Sir Ralph Fane, on whose attainder it was presented to Sir William Sidney. In possession of the male line of Sir William's descendants Penshurst Place remained until the year 1743, when on the death of Jocelyne, Earl of Leicester, it passed to his niece, Mrs. Perry, whose daughter and heiress Elizabeth, married Sir John Shelley, whose son and heir, after unsuccessfully laying claim—on the strength of his maternal descent

JOHN DUDLEY, DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND.
(From an Engraving of Holbein's Portrait, at Penshurst.)

from the Dudleys and Sidneys—to the Barony of Lisle, was created by his father-in-law, King William IV., a Peer, under the compound title of Lord De L'Isle and Dudley.

Of all the "stately homes of England" none is more time-honoured, more classical, or more richly endowed with rare historical associations than the "great Kentish shrine" of Penshurst, the birth-place of Sir Philip and Algernon Sidney, the home of "Sacharissa." The architecture of the place, as may be imagined from the age of a building in whose grand old feudal hall (the finest extant in Great Britain) the Black Prince and the Fair Maid of Kent are said to have kept Christmas, belongs to various periods, the oldest portions of which date from the time of the third Edward. The greatest contributor, however, to its present shape was Sir Henry Sidney, who received Queen Elizabeth and Leicester within its hospitable walls. But the first of the Sidneys to make full use of Penshurst as his family-seat was Robert, Earl of Leicester, who entertained—so Ben Jonson

tells us—James I. and his Queen on a surprise visit. From the very short tenure of its possession held by Sir William Sidney, owing to his death within a few months of obtaining the property, and from the fact that Sir Henry Sidney was obliged to use Ludlow Castle as his official residence (when not employed in Ireland), it is quite clear that Penshurst was not very much frequented by the Sidneys until the reign of James I., Robert Sidney, on the death of Sir Philip, having lived chiefly at Flushing before the accession of that monarch. The pretty legends, therefore, so widely printed in histories and romances relating to Penshurst of the many happy days spent there throughout their lives by Sir Philip and his talented sister, Lady Pembroke, are unfortunately untrue.

Penshurst Place is a large house, few homes in our country occupy more ground. It stands in its own beautiful—but now much diminished—park adjoining the village, and close to the church, in the Sidney Chapel of which are buried Sir William, Sir Henry, and Algernon

Sidney, with many other illustrious representatives of the race. The crowning glory of Penshurst is its baronial hall, which exists in a wonderfully fine state of preservation. It is a perfect specimen—an immense specimen—of an English gentleman's dining-hall at the epoch of the later Plantagenets. Its minstrels' gallery, central hearth, and chimney, old fire-dogs, oaken table-boards, and unbroken daïs, all remain almost unimpaired by the ravages of Father Time.

Above the hall, run in one long suite the state apartments, including the ball-room, picture gallery, china-closet, tapestry-room, and Queen Elizabeth's drawing-room (furnished with the same chairs and tables as were used by the Queen when staying at Penshurst). With the exception of the picture gallery, these have been restored with the very happiest result and in the very happiest taste, and than which no set of rooms in England contains treasures more interesting or precious. *Inter alia*, we here see on the pannelled walls choice specimens

from the brush of Van Dyck, Lely, Titian, N. Poussin, Zucchero, Gainsborough, and Holbein. Here are portraits of Sir Philip, Sacharissa, Lady Pembroke, and the stalwart Algernon. Here are unique cabinets, richly carved, of inestimable value, presented by James I. to his faithful Robert Sidney. Here hang the first glass-cut chandeliers used in England, and here are shown, in a sweet little closet, examples of priceless antique china. But the most fascinating of all the relics is perhaps the glass case containing locks of hair of the most famous of the Sidneys, from Sir Philip downwards.

CORRIGENDA.

In Chapter I., for "Sudely" read "Sudeley."

In Note on "Bishop Aylmer," the more correct title of John Knox's work should be "The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women."