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A Woman of the Tudor Age

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CHAPTER XII

Henry's marriage with Anne of Cleves—Suffolk made Great Master of the Household—Suffolk's acquisition of lands and mules—International tournament at Durham House—Suffolk's contribution as a Knight of the Garter—Arrest of Lord Lisle—Divorce of Anne of Cleves—Execution of Cromwell—Inventory of his furniture—Henry's marriage with Katherine Howard—Plight of Lady Lisle—Matters dealt with by the Privy Council.

THE King, meanwhile, had met with two matrimonial disappointments. His marriage with the Duchess of Milan was encouraged by the Emperor only so long as Henry and King Francis were at variance, and directly the two monarchs were reconciled, the marriage project was dropped. Another possible bride, Mary of Guise, the widowed Duchess of Longueville, preferred to marry Henry's nephew, James V of Scotland. Finally, Cromwell's anxiety to bring about a closer union between Henry and the Protestant princes of Germany led to the selection of Anne of Cleves. Holbein was sent to paint her portrait, of which the King approved, and Anne landed at Dover on the twenty-ninth of December 1539 as the King's affianced bride. The Duchess of Suffolk was one of the ladies who were deputed to meet Anne; each lady was attended by a knight or a squire, wearing a chain of gold and dressed in "a coat or gown of velvet or other good stuff."

SUFFOLK and CHEYNE to CROMWELL. *December 29th, 1539.*

The Mayor and citizens of Canterbury received Her Grace with torch light and a good peal of guns. In Her Grace's chamber were forty or fifty gentlewomen, in velvet bonnets, to see her, all which Her Grace took

very joyously, and she was so glad to see His Highness's subjects resort so lovingly to her that she forgot the foul weather, and was very merry at supper.*

Wriothesley relates that the King, attended by five gentlemen, came in disguise to Rochester and stole unawares on the Princess as she stood at a window watching a bull being baited. But whatever the circumstances of their first meeting may have been, his new bride was a terrible disappointment to Henry. He said that her looks reminded him of a Flemish mare, and that, as she was only able to speak Dutch, he could not hope to derive any pleasure from her conversation. Marillac describes the fifteen ladies who accompanied Anne as being even plainer than their mistress. They were so unbecomingly dressed, he says, that they would have been thought ugly even if they had been beautiful.

The official meeting between Henry and Anne of Cleves took place at Blackheath, and the Duke Philip of Bavaria, Count Palatine, who was now the suitor of Princess Mary, was in the King's company.

On the hill shall be "pight" the King's rich pavilion, and others for other noble persons to retire to, after the Princess has been presented to His Highness. Before the King meets with her, all serving men shall depart, and range themselves aloof in the field. The rest of the gentlemen are to ride in two ranges, on either side, that His Highness may only have such as shall be assigned, before and after him.

That same day the marriage took place in the Queen's Closet at Greenwich, and in the afternoon they went in procession, the Queen, as we are told, "being in her haire, with a rich coronet of stones and pearl set with rosemary † on her head."

In the spring of 1540 the Duke of Norfolk was sent on a mission to France, and the Duke of Suffolk was made

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XIV, p. 2, No. 754.

† Rosemary was much used at weddings.

Great Master of the Household, a new office which carried with it a lodging at Hampton Court. All this time the Duke had been busily acquiring land for himself and his relations. In March of this year he writes to Cromwell to beg him to defer the sale of Fountains Abbey "until my coming, which shall be, God willing, within fourteen days after yesterday, and I shall prove it worth the staying." *

A little later we find him expressing the hope that his servant, Edward Hall, may be allowed to buy the lordship of Gretford, part of the King's Augmentation lands, which had formerly belonged to the Monastery of St. Mary's, Winchester.† The Duke seems to have had a taste for acquiring mules as well as land: at the time of Wolsey's disgrace all his mules were assigned to the Duke; as the mules were valued at fifteen pounds a pair and the horses at only one pound, the gift was a handsome one. In 1540 Sampson, Bishop of Chichester, who had been given the custody of Latimer, was himself sent to the Tower; evidently the Duke coveted the Bishop's mule, for Sir Ralph Sadler writes to Cromwell:

Touching Mr. Latimer, His Majesty would have him remain in the Bishop of Chichester's house. I said that you had sent Mr. Pollard to take an inventory of Mr. Latimer's so that nothing should be embezzled. With this the King was well content. Also that Master Suffolk should have the use of the Bishop of Chichester's mule, and if finally, the Bishop's goods are confiscated, that Master Suffolk may have the mule as the King's gift.‡

During the month of May a so-called International Tournament was held in the tilt-yard at Westminster, but only Englishmen seem to have taken part in it, although challenges were sent to all the principal courts in Europe. The principal combatants were the Earl of

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XV, p. 1, No. 346.

† *Ibid.*, No. 296.

‡ *Ibid.*, No. 719.

Surrey,* Lord Clinton (the husband of the King's former mistress, Elizabeth Blount), Sir John Dudley, Sir Thomas Seymour (the two latter had both been knighted by the Duke of Suffolk on the bridge over the Somme during the French expedition of 1523), Sir Thomas Poynings and Cromwell's son Gregory, and his nephew Richard Cromwell. Each day, at the close of the proceedings, the challengers rode to Durham House, where they feasted not only the King and Queen, but every one else that liked to come. Durham House, which stood next to Suffolk House, was originally built by Anthony Beke, Bishop of Durham, but, like most of the ecclesiastical houses in London, it seems seldom to have been occupied by its rightful owners, and in 1538 it had been conveyed to the King by Act of Parliament. The feasts at Durham House during the International Tournament are thus described by Wriothesley :

They had all delicious meats and drinks so plenteously as might be, and such a melody of minstrelry, and were served every meal by their own servants, after the manner of war, their drums warning all the officers of the household against every meal, which was done to the great honour of this realm.†

The jousts lasted six days, and at their conclusion each challenger received a hundred marks from the King and a house to dwell in. These rewards were provided out of the revenues of the Knights Hospitallers who had been dispossessed by Act of Parliament in deference to the King's wishes, because of their fidelity to the Pope.

On May the twenty-fourth it is recorded that ten pounds "contribution money" has been paid by the Duke of Suffolk, as a Knight of the Garter, "for alms, as mending the highways, or such other works of charity, for the souls of certain Knights, lately departed out of this transitory life." ‡

* The poet Surrey, son of the Duke of Norfolk.

† *Wriothesley's Chron.*, Vol. I, pp. 116-17.

‡ *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XV, p. 1, No. 707.

About this time Lord Lisle was arrested. The charge brought against him was that he had been treating to deliver up Calais to Cardinal Pole. Marillac writes :

Two days ago, at night, Lord Lisle, Deputy of Calais, uncle of the King, was led prisoner to the Tower, where previously three of his servants had been sent, and similarly a chaplain of his, who had come in a ship from Flanders. The said Lord is in a very narrow place from which no one escapes except as by a miracle.*

The chaplain and one of Lord Lisle's servants were executed, and Lord Lisle himself was kept in close confinement.

In July the pretext of a pre-contract—a pretext that must so often have proved convenient—enabled Henry to rid himself of Anne of Cleves. The task of informing her of the King's decision was entrusted to Suffolk and Southampton. Anne was staying at the time at Richmond ; though at first she was much distressed, she ended by accepting the situation in a most accommodating spirit ; the promise of a good jointure, and the assurance that infuture the King intended to regard her in the light of an adopted sister seem to have mollified her completely. Suffolk must have felt much more at his ease on his ride home after the interview, than he had felt after his mission of a like nature to Katherine of Aragon. After the repudiation of Anne came the downfall of Cromwell. The Catholic party were now in the ascendant, and a hint of treason—a hint that the King, ever since the northern rebellion, had been quick to credit—led to Cromwell's arrest. As he was about to take his seat at the Council Board on June the tenth, he was checked by the Duke of Norfolk, the captain of the Guard was called in, and an order was given that the Lord Privy Seal should be conveyed to the Tower. Like his master Wolsey, Cromwell had made himself many enemies by his arrogance and ostentation, and by a

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XV, p. 1, No. 697.

summary process that he himself had originated to meet the case of the Countess of Salisbury, he was condemned to death. Only a month or two previously he had been created Earl of Essex on the death of the last Earl of the Bouchier family. A contemporary miniature of Cromwell is one of the few things at Grimsthorpe which may possibly have belonged to the Duke of Suffolk.

The inventories of Cromwell's goods give us some idea of how the houses of the rich were then furnished. According to an inventory of 1528, his hall had "a hanging of red and green saye 'paned,' a gilt cupboard with an old levant carpet, a large table of wainscoat, a pair of trestles, six gilt stools and footstools, a great gilt chair, two chairs of Flanders work, covered in leather, three little gilt chairs for women, three long 'sedylls,' six cushions of verdure with a red rose wrought in them, two carpets, one verdure, the other coarse, a 'portall of wainscoat, joined,' an image of Lucreys Romana on a table, an image of Carolus the Emperor and a table of Our Lord, my Lord Cardinal's arms, gilt in canvas, and a mirror of Flanders work, gilt." The fireplace was furnished with andirons, bellows, and tongs. The Parlour has "painted tables of Our Lord, Our Lady, and Lucreys Romana, a table of my Lord Cardinal's arms, painted and gilt, and a cloth stained with images of a man and woman, lovers." In the window was a carpet and a "great glass." No chairs are mentioned in this room, only two long sedyll, stools, and footstools, and a "pair of playing-tables of wood and bone." These tables were for back-gammon; two tables hinged together form the board. In the Parlour attached to the Kitchen were a "mappa mundi of canvas, an old chest, an image of a 'foli' to hold a towel and a hanging laver with a cock, to wash." In Mr. Prior's chamber were "1 dozen damask napkins, 9 towels and 5 pillow beres with black seams," and "in the Buttery within the Hall, a mould of white plate for candles, an old turned chair, a barber's

basin, and a ewer and a table carved with the King's arms." *

In the inventory taken just before Cromwell's execution "a cloth stayned with the taking of the French King" is mentioned, and "a table with my Lord Marquis's arms," † the latter being no doubt the arms of the Marquis of Exeter. In his will, Cromwell speaks of "my best joined bed of Flanders work."

The inventory of the goods of Sir Adrian Fortescue, another suspected accomplice in the Yorkist plot, mentions a round table of cypress, with "a piece of counterfeit carpet" upon it and "a great standard with divers apparel belonging to the Lady Foskewe."

A somewhat earlier inventory is that of Thomas Dalby, Archdeacon of Richmond. Among his possessions were a chest with broken old-fashioned plate and jewels, "which I have heard my master say, he would cause to be copied," a clock worth £4, a standing bed and a "parver" like a tent and a coffer chequered with bone.

The death of Cromwell had serious consequences for the Protestant party. The Six Articles were now enforced far more rigidly than they had been during his lifetime. In referring to this period, Fuller writes :

A stranger standing by did wonder, as well he might, of what religion the King was, his sword cutting on both sides, Protestants being burnt for heretics and Papists hanged as traitors.‡

But, as a matter of fact, the King's marriage to Katherine Howard § this August was regarded as a definite triumph for the Catholic party. After the marriage, which took place at Oatlands, the King and Queen started on a progress, Ewelme, near Abingdon, a house that Suffolk had been required to surrender, being one of the places to be visited. Katherine Howard was the

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. IX, p. 2, No. 3197.

† *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XIV, p. 1, No. 317.

‡ Fuller's *Church History*, p. 235.

§ Daughter of Lord Edward Howard.

first of the King's wives that exerted herself to retain his affections. She had chosen as her device, "Non autre volonté que la sienne."* "The King," writes Marillac, "is so amorous of her that he cannot treat her well enough." And after describing Katherine, who, he says, was of short stature and graceful rather than beautiful, he speaks of her and her ladies as all being dressed according to the French style.

After the progress, the King and Queen went to Hampton Court, and the Lords of the Council, we are told, "departed home, only assembling from time to time when advertized of affairs by the King." On one such occasion the Privy Council met at Suffolk House near Charing Cross. It seems probable that the Duke of Suffolk had some hand in this arrangement, as one of the matters dealt with by the Council was the following appeal from Francis Hall :

I have had Lady Lisle, and three of her folk, twenty-seven weeks, and I cannot without help longer maintain them.†

The Duke was evidently proving a staunch friend to Lady Lisle, as, though no name is given, the letter which follows must have been addressed to her :

I have forborne to write to you all this while, hoping to have been able to send some other news. I have thought it my duty to visit you with these letters, in order to learn your estate in this your heaviness, praying you to be as plain with me, in stating your condition, and what you lack, as I have in times past been bold to seek redress at your husband's hands. I assure you that though I lack such plenty as I could wish to help you with, I will have no penny in the world that will not always be readily at your service. I have not been slothful on your husband's behalf, and if my letters do not speed soon, I will make the more haste up myself. When we have

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XVI, No. 12.

† *Ibid.*, No. 298.

done what we can, the matter lieth in God's hands, who will order all things for the best.

Signed, [?] SUFFOLK *

fr. Grymsthorpe.

Anxiety on her husband's account so preyed upon Lady Lisle's mind that she finally lost her reason. A charge on her husband's estates was then made to pay for her maintenance at Calais.

At a meeting of the Privy Council at Hampton Court in the spring of 1541 the following items of business are recorded :

Letter sent to Malt, the King's tailor, to make for Lord Lisle, now a prisoner in the Tower, a large gown of damask furred with black coney and nine other items, the bill to be sent to the Council. A like letter sent to Sent, the Queen's tailor, to make for the late Countess of Salisbury, prisoner in the Tower, a nightgown furred, a kirtle of worsted and a petticoat furred and four other items.†

There is irony about these gifts of clothes to Margaret, Countess of Salisbury. She can have had little opportunity for wearing them as, in the following May, she was beheaded on the Green within the Tower. She had been in prison for two years, her only crime being that she was the mother of Cardinal Pole, the hope of the Yorkist party.

On March the thirteenth the Council considered the case of Thomas Chey, late scholar of Eton, "who confessed to a robbery by him, and others, at Eton College." And on the following day, "Nicholas Uvedale, Schoolmaster of Eton, suspected to be of counsel of a robbery by Thomas Chey and John Hoorde pleaded guilty" and was committed to the Marshalsea.‡ Uvedale was soon released. He was allowed to resume his post, and he became Canon of Windsor in Edward VI's reign. He continued to be Master of Eton till 1555, and is described by Walter Haddon as "the best schoolmaster of his time, as well as the greatest beater."

* *Salisbury MSS.*, p. 45.

† *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XVI, No. 581.

‡ *Ibid.*, No. 614.

had been accused of concealing the Queen's misconduct that there was not sufficient room in the ordinary prisons, and special arrangements had to be made for receiving them in the Royal "lodgings." Lord William Howard, the Queen's uncle, was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and the forfeiture of all his goods, and a like fate would probably have overtaken the old Duchess of Norfolk had she not opportunely revealed the sum of eight hundred pounds to Wriothesley. The bill charging Katherine Howard was read a third time on the seventh of February, but before the royal assent was given Suffolk was entrusted with another pitiful mission: with Southampton he was sent to extort a confession from Katherine. What she confessed is not known, but it is recorded that she made two pleas: one being that her crime might not be visited upon her family; the other that the King would permit some of her dresses to be given to the women who had waited upon her during her captivity. On the eleventh of February the royal assent was given in Parliament, after which Suffolk and Southampton rose and disclosed the Queen's confession.

MARILLAC TO KING FRANCIS. *February 15th, 1542.*

The Queen's execution was expected this week, for last night she was brought from Sion to the Tower, but as she weeps, cries, and torments herself without ceasing, it is deferred for two or three days to give her leisure to recover and "penser au fait de sa conscience."*

Southampton, the Lord High Admiral, and other members of the Privy Council, conveyed the Queen from Sion to the Tower in a small covered barge, and in their wake came a large barge filled with soldiers under the command of the Duke of Suffolk. But for some reason the Duke was not present on the scaffold on the day of Katherine's execution. The St. Omer headsman, who had beheaded Anne Boleyn, again officiated, and no

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XVII, No. 1439.

abate the Scots' proud heart. Also to cause your friends, if you have any to show themselves, than an invasion by sea. A sea force could not take Edinburgh, and if the invasion by land is resolved upon, the King should remember to appoint some wise men of experience to counsel Hertford, for the Scots are strange men to meddle with and little to be trusted, and Hertford must take hostages for the performance of their promises.*

The Duchess did not accompany her husband to the North, and on the sixteenth of July 1543 Wriothesley, the Lord Chancellor, writes to the Duke :

Please it your Grace, the same shall herewith receive a letter from my Lady, your wife, which I, because I know not what haste it required, I thought meet to dispatch it unto you. I doubt not but that your Grace kneweth by the same and otherwise, that the King's Majesty was married on Thursday last to my Lady Latimer, a woman, in my judgment, for virtue, wisdom and gentleness, most meet for His Highness, and sure I am that His Highness had never a wife more agreeable to his heart than she is. Our Lord send them joy, and long life together.†

Henry VIII was Katherine Parr's third husband. She was born in 1512 ; her first husband was Sir Edward Burgh, son of Thomas, first Lord Burgh. On his death, she married Lord Latimer,‡ an elderly widower, with children. Lord Latimer died early in 1543, and by the month of June it was an open secret at Court that his widow was destined to become the sixth wife of the King. They were married in the Queen's apartments at Hampton Court on the twelfth of July. Among the few people who were present at the ceremony was the Duchess of Suffolk. According to Collins's *Peerage*, Dorothy Willoughby, the Duchess's aunt, had been married to a Lord Latimer,

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XIX, p. 1, No. 136.

† *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 1, No. 894.

‡ Sir John Nevill, third Baron Latimer, with Lords Lumley, Scrope, and Darcy, was deputed by the insurgents during the Pilgrimage of Grace, to treat with the Duke of Norfolk.

and Katherine Parr and the Duchess were evidently great friends, whether there was any connection between their families or not.

Lord Latimer had identified himself with the people at the time of the Pilgrimage of Grace, and up to the time of her marriage with the King, Katherine had been a strict Catholic; but now, having become interested in the New Learning, she was brought into touch with the Protestant party. A Catholic reaction had just set in, and the Six Articles were being enforced with great severity. The Great Bible had been withdrawn from the churches, and only people above a certain rank were permitted to read the Bible.

In the spring of 1544 the King, in alliance with the Emperor, declared war upon France. The City of London was required to furnish five hundred men for the army, their expenses being born by the different guilds, and Suffolk, who had now relinquished his command on the border, writes from Lincolnshire :

With three hundred of my Lincolnshire tenants, able men, and fit to serve, and with my household servants, I can make a hundred horsemen with demi lances and javelins, either upon good horses, or good geldings, one hundred archers and three hundred billmen.

On the arrival of the English army in France, Norfolk was sent to besiege Montreuil, while Suffolk with the King besieged Boulogne. On the fourteenth of September Boulogne capitulated and the keys of the town were handed to Suffolk. The capitulation aroused much indignation in France against the governor, Jacques de Coucy. He was arrested and executed, but the capture of the town did not bring much advantage to the English. The campaign had proved excessively costly, and although the Emperor had succeeded in taking St. Dizier, he had found himself so hemmed in by the French that he had been obliged to conclude a separate peace.

Barbican, it is clear that mourning at this time did not entail such strict seclusion as it came to do in later years.

A certain John Wilkins writes to Lord Cobham, who was still Deputy of Calais :

I was with Mrs. Elizabeth at Court on Thursday last, and talked with her but a while because the other of the Queen's maids, waited upon my Lady Mary to my Lady of Suffolk's house to the christening of the Lord Admiral's child.*

Van der Delft, the Emperor's Ambassador, had been asked to be godfather, while the two godmothers were Princess Mary and the Duchess of Suffolk. In view of their subsequent enmity, it is interesting to find this entry in the privy purse expenses of Princess Mary :

Delivered by Lady's Grace to play at cards with my Lady of Suffolk, 25/7.

In the Order for the King's Court for the year 1546 the Queen's Ordinary has the following names: "The Lady Mary's Grace, the Lady Elizabeth's Grace, the Ladies Margaret [Douglas], Frances [Marchioness of Dorset], Eleanor [Lady Eleanor Clifford], the Ladies Suffolk and Arundel." ‡ From this it appears that Lady Margaret Douglas still took precedence of her Brandon cousins, in spite of the Act of Succession which had been passed in 1544.

In February 1546, only a little over six months after the Duke of Suffolk's death, Van der Delft writes to the Emperor :

I hesitate to report there are rumours of a new Queen. Some attribute it to the sterility of the present Queen, while others say that there will be no change during the present war. Madame Suffolk is much talked about, and is in great favour ; but the King shows no alteration in his behaviour to the Queen. I can discover nothing

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XX, p. 2, No. 598.

† Madden's *Privy Purse Expenses of Princess Mary*, p. 69.

‡ *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XXI, p. 1, No. 289.

about the Polish Ambassador. It is publicly asserted that he has come about a marriage for his master with Lady Mary, whom the Queen has twitted about it. The King knighted the Ambassador, and placed a golden collar round his neck."*

There has always been a tradition that the King of Poland wished to marry the Duchess of Suffolk, and it seems quite possible that the Polish Ambassador tried for the Duchess when he was unsuccessful in obtaining Mary Tudor as a wife for his master. Sigismund II, Augustus, was now a widower for the second time. His first wife had been a daughter of the German Emperor, and after her death he secretly married Barbara Radziwill. When he finally acknowledged this marriage, Sigismund had some difficulty in prevailing upon the Polish nobility to recognize Barbara; though he managed to carry his point, and though Barbara was crowned, she only survived her coronation six months, and there were strong suspicions that she might have been poisoned by Barbara Sforza,† her mother-in-law.

Van der Delft's hint that the Duchess of Suffolk might become the seventh wife of Henry VIII can only have been malicious gossip, as up to the time of the Queen's death she and the Duchess remained close friends. A far greater danger threatened the Queen this summer. A plot was formed by Gardiner and Wriothesley of which Anne Askew was the victim, in which Katherine Parr only narrowly escaped being implicated. Anne was the daughter of the Sir William Askew who took part in the Lincolnshire Rebellion; as a girl of fifteen, she had been married to Thomas Kyme, a neighbouring Lincolnshire squire, but after a few years her husband repudiated her on the score that she was perpetually "gadding up and down the country, a gospelling and a gossiping" instead of looking after her children. For a

* *Cal. S. P.*, Vol. XXI, p. 1, No. 289.

† Daughter of the Duke of Milan.

CHAPTER XXIII

Birth of Suzan Bertie—Bertie's account in Foxe's *Martyrology*—Gardiner summons Bertie to appear before him in London—Charges brought against the Duchess—Bertie's refutations—His release—Obtains a warrant to travel overseas—Subsequent flight of the Duchess—Joined by Bertie—Arrival at Wesel—Inhospitable reception—Deloney's ballad—Birth of Peregrine Bertie—Commemorative tablet at Wesel.

RIDLEY and Latimer were not burnt until September 1554, but all through the gloomy year that followed Queen Mary's accession, Bertie and the Duchess must have felt anxious about their own position. Early in 1554 the Duchess gave birth to a daughter. Though the child's birthplace is not specified, Suzan Bertie must have been born either at Grimsthorpe or Eresby, and the Duchess had not long recovered when the blow fell that they had been dreading. Stephen Gardiner was now Lord Chancellor, and the Duchess's staunch Protestantism gave him a ready opportunity for venting his personal spite. What she and her husband endured owing to the enmity of Gardiner, is described by Richard Bertie in Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*.

In the summer of 1554 the Sheriff of Lincolnshire was sent to Grimsthorpe with orders to bring Bertie to London for an interview with the Bishop. Gardiner was now living at Winchester House in Southwark, which stood next to St. Mary Overy, on the banks of the river. The first day that Bertie was brought before him the Bishop took a very high tone, and threatened to make him an example to all Lincolnshire. Fortunately though, the interview was a short one, as the Bishop was devoting the

day to prayer, and he was more gracious on the morrow. He had received a good report of Bertie from a certain Serjeant Stamford who had known him in Wriothesley's household, and now, before starting on the subject of religion, Gardiner made what Bertie terms "a false train." He asked him about the money that the Duke of Suffolk had owed King Henry. This was a very simple matter; Bertie had no difficulty in proving that the debt had been settled. Then the Bishop launched his attack:

I hear evil of your religion; yet I can hardly think evil of you, whose mother I know to be as godly and catholic as any within this land; and yourself brought up with a master, whose education, if I should disallow, I might be charged as author of his error. Besides, partly I know of myself, and understand enough of my friends to make me your friends, wherefore I will not doubt of you. But I pray if I may ask the question of my Lady, your wife, if she is as ready now to set up the mass as she was lately to pull it down, when she caused in her progress, a dog in a rochet to be carried, and called by my name.

Next, after quoting the Duchess's taunt when he had "veiled his bonnet" to her, in 1549, during his imprisonment in the Tower, the Bishop related the following incident:

One day, my Lord, her husband, having invited me, and divers ladies to dinner, desired every lady to choose him whom she loved best, and so place themselves. My Lady, your wife, taking me by the hand, for that my Lord would not have her take himself, said that forasmuch as she could not sit down with my Lord, whom she loved best, she had chosen him whom she loved worst!

These charges were answered by Bertie most diplomatically.

Of the devices of the dog, the Duchess was neither the author, nor the allower. The words, though in that season they sounded bitter to your lordship, yet, if it

would please you without offence to know the cause, I am sure the one will purge the other. As touching the setting up of the mass, which she learnt not only by strong persuasions of divers excellent, worthy men, but by universal consent, and order, the whole six years past, inwardly to abhor, if she should outwardly allow, she should both to Christ show herself a false christian, and to her Prince, a masking subject. You know, my lord, one by judgment reformed is more worth than a thousand transformed temporisers. To force a confession of religion by mouth, contrary to that in the heart, worketh damnation, where damnation is pretended!

"Yea, marry," quoth the Bishop, "that deliberation would do well if she were required to come from an old religion to a new. But now she is to return from a new to an ancient religion, wherein, when she made me her gossip, she was as earnest as any!"

"For that, my Lord," said Master Bertie, "not long since, she answered a friend of hers, using your lordship's speech that religion went not by age but by truth; and therefore she was to be turned by persuasion, and not by commandment!"

"I pray you," quoth the Bishop, "think you it be possible to persuade her?"

"Yea, verily," said Master Bertie, "with the truth, for she is reasonable enough."

The Bishop thereunto replying said, "It will be a marvellous grief to the Prince of Spain, and to all the nobility that shall come with him, when they shall find but two noble personages of the Spanish race, within this land, the Queen and my Lady, your wife; and one of them gone from the faith."

Master Bertie answered that he trusted they should find no fruits of infidelity in her. So the Bishop persuaded Master Bertie to travail earnestly for the reformation of her opinion; and offering large friendship, released him of his bond from further appearance.

The Duchess, and her husband, daily more and more by their friends understanding that the Bishop meant to call her to an account of her faith, whereby extremity might follow, devised ways, how by the Queen's licence, they might pass the seas. Master Bertie had a ready

mean ; for there rested great sums of money, due to the old Duke of Suffolk, beyond the seas, the Emperor himself, being one of these debtors. Master Bertie communicated this his purpose, the suit for a licence to pass the seas, and the cause, to the Bishop, adding, that he took this time most meet to deal with the Emperor, by reason of likelihood of marriage between the Queen, and his son.

" I like your device well," quoth the Bishop, " but I think it better you tarry the Prince's coming, and I will proclaim your letters, also to his father."

" Nay," quoth Master Bertie, " under your lordship's correction, and pardon of so liberal a speech, I suppose the time will then be less convenient, for when the marriage is consummate, the Emperor hath his desire ; but till then he will refuse nothing, to win credit with us."

" By St. Mary," quoth the Bishop, smiling, " you guess shrewdly. Well, proceed in your suit to the Queen, and it shall not lack my helping hand."

Master Bertie found so good success that in a few days, he obtained the Queen's licence, not only to pass the seas, but to pass and re-pass them so often as to him seemed good, till he had finished all his business and causes beyond the seas.

Bertie left England in June 1554, and six months later the Duchess set out to join him. The plan for her escape had been carefully arranged : as her principal escort she had a gentleman named Cranwell. This Richard Cranwell is described as having twenty pounds in land and twenty pounds in goods in the Cripplegate assessment of 1523, and as his name follows that of Lady Willoughby, he must have been an official in her household. On Lady Willoughby's death, he may have entered her daughter's household.

There was none of those who went with the Duchess, made privy to her going till the instant but an old gentleman, called Master Cranwell, whom Master Bertie had specially provided for that purpose. The Duchess took

with her her daughter (an infant of one year), and the meanest of her servants, for she doubted the best would not adventure their fortune with her. They were in number four men, one a Greek born, which was a rider of horses, another a joiner, the third a brewer, the fourth a fool, one of the kitchen, one gentlewoman and a laundress.

The gentlewoman mentioned by Bertie was Mrs. Margaret Blakborn; excepting her and Cranwell, the Duchess's attendants sound singularly ill-chosen.

As the Duchess departed from her house, called the Barbican, betwixt four and five of the clock in the morning, with her company, one Atkinson, a herald, keeper of her house, hearing a noise about the house, rose, and came out with a torch in his hands, as the Duchess was yet issuing out of the gate, wherewith, being amazed, she was forced to leave a mail with necessaries for her young daughter and a milk pot with milk in the same gatehouse, commanding all her servants to speed away before to Lion Quay. And taking with her only two women, and her child, so soon as she was forth out of her own house, perceiving the heralds to follow, stept in at the Garter-house, hard by. The herald, coming out of the Duchess's house, and seeing nobody stirring, nor assured (though by the mail suspecting), that she was departed, returned in; and while he stayed ransacking the parcels left in the mail, the Duchess issued into the streets, and proceeded on her journey, she knowing only the place by name where she should take her boat, but not the way thither nor any with her.

It is clear, from this account, that a herald from the neighbouring Garter House had been placed in the Barbican to mount guard over the Duchess, so evidently Queen Mary's Government was suspicious of her. There is an old print in the Ashmolean Museum which depicts the Duchess setting forth. She is walking along the river-bank, her child is being carried by a woman, while a man, intended to represent Cranwell (although Bertie says that the Duchess only kept the two women with her),

has a bundle slung on a stick over his right shoulder, and carries under his left arm a small barrel, such as were then generally carried by workmen. Boats with sails, and a covered barge, are seen plying on the river, while on one side is a railed enclosure, representing Smithfield, inside which is an inner stockade where a bonfire is burning. The bonfire signifies, no doubt, the fate that awaited the Duchess should her flight be unsuccessful. The spire of St. Giles's, Cripplegate, can be seen in the background of the print; in the foreground is the Barbican—a large, square, embattled building, with a cupola surmounted by a cross at each corner and a large flag, bearing the Ufford cross, in the centre of the building. To the left is a low, embattled tower, possibly meant to represent the Garter House, while to the right is the archway, in which the party concealed themselves when surprised by the herald.

So the Duchess appeared like a mean merchant's wife and the rest like mean servants, walking in streets unknown. She took the way to Finsbury-Fields, and the others walked the city streets as they lay open before them, till by chance, more than discretion, they met all suddenly together a little within Moorgate, from whence they passed directly to Lion Quay, and there took a barge in a morning so misty, the bargeman was loth to launch out, but they urged him.

It is a commentary on the incompetence of the Duchess's escort that none but Cranwell knew the way to Lion Quay. By following the city walls they would reach Moorgate, and from there it was almost a direct road to London Bridge, Lion Quay being just below the bridge. When morning came the herald discovered the flight of the Duchess :

So soon as the day permitted, the Council was informed of the Duchess's departure; and some of them came forthwith to her house [the Barbican], to enquire the manner thereof, and took an inventory of her goods,

besides further order devised for search, and watch to apprehend, and stay her.

The fame of the Duchess's departure reached to Leigh, a town at the Land's End,* before her approaching thither. By Leigh dwelt one Gosling, a merchant of London, an old acquaintance of Cranwell's, whither the said Cranwell brought the Duchess, naming her Mistress White, the daughter of Master Gosling; for such a daughter he had, which never was in that country. There the Duchess reposed her, and made new garments for her daughter, having lost her own in the mail at Barbican. When the time came that the Duchess should take ship, being constrained to lay that night in an inn at Leigh (where she was again almost betrayed), yet notwithstanding, by God's good working, the Duchess escaped that hazard. At length, as the tide, and wind did serve, they went abroad, and being carried twice into the seas, almost into the coast of Zealand, by contrary wind, were driven to the place whence they came; and at the last recoil, certain persons came to the shore, suspecting that the Duchess was in the ship; yet, having examined one of her company, that was a-land for fresh achates, and finding by the simplicity of his tale, only the appearance of a mean merchant's wife to be a-shipboard, he ceased any further search. To be short, so soon as the Duchess had landed in Brabant, she and her women were apparelled like the women of the Netherlands with "hukes"; and so she and her husband took their journey towards Cleveland, and being arrived at a town therein, called Santon (Xanten), took a house there, until they might further devise of some sure place where they might settle themselves. About five miles from Santon, is a free town called Wesel, under the said Duke's (Cleves) dominion, and one of the Hans towns, privileged with the steelyard in London, whither divers Walloons were fled for religion. They had for their minister one, Francis Perusell, then called Francis de Rivers, who had received some courtesy in England at the Duchess's hands. Master Bertie, being yet at Santon, practised with Master Perusell to obtain a protection from the magistrates, earnestly bent to show them pleasure.

* Gravesend was then called Land's End.

as I hear, and what I think ; and if not, I shall hold my peace, and pray God to amend it." *

It is evident that the Duchess had kept herself in touch, during her exile abroad, with the different religious controversies that were then being waged, and in this letter to Cecil—probably the first that she had written him for some time—she shows how anxious she was that he should cease prevarication, and declare his faith boldly. The sentiments that she expresses prove that she herself did not shrink from asserting her own religious principles, regardless of the consequences. In *Lives of the Queens of England*, Miss Strickland unjustly contends that the Duchess did not deserve her place in the *Martyrology*, as it was Queen Mary's anger at her marriage with Richard Bertie that caused her flight from England. But if further proof were needed of the sincerity of her faith, it is furnished by the dedication that Augustine Bernher addressed to the Duchess in 1562, when he published more of Latimer's sermons :

" I have set forth these sermons, made by this holy man of God, and dedicated them to your Grace, partly because they were preached in your Grace's house at Grimsthorpe by this reverend father and faithful prophet of God, whom you did nourish, and whose doctrine you did most faithfully embrace, to the praise of God and unspeakable comfort of all Godly hearts, the which did with great admiration, marvel at the excellent gifts of God, bestowed upon your Grace, in giving unto you such a princely spirit, by whose power and virtue, you were able to overcome the world, to forsake your possessions, lands and goods, your worldly friends and native country, your high estate and estimation with which you were adorned and to become an exile for Christ and His Gospel's sake ; to choose rather to suffer adversity with the people of God than to enjoy the pleasures of the world with a wicked conscience, esteeming the rebukes of Christ greater riches than the treasures of England, whereas the worldings are

* The statement of Lutheran Faith that was presented to Charles V. at Augsburg on June 25th, 1530.

Grey, but she was most gracious to the survivors. She permitted the Duchess and Adrian Stokes to stay on at Sheen, while the Duchess's two younger daughters, Lady Katherine and Lady Mary Grey, lived with the Queen at Court, where they were allowed their proper precedence. The advent to the throne of Queen Elizabeth was anything but a blessing to the sisters. Following the example of his father, Edward VI had settled the succession on Mary Tudor's descendants, to the exclusion of the Stuarts, and Elizabeth's vindictive behaviour to the Greys can only be explained by her jealous fears lest they might succeed her. And there was a very unfortunate incident at the outset. A design was formed by the Spaniards to marry Lady Katherine Grey either to the Archduke Ferdinand or to Don Carlos, and they even went so far as to sound Cecil on the subject. A rumour of these negotiations reached the Queen, and, not unnaturally, she was very indignant. In 1559 the Earl of Hertford, the Lord Protector's son, was anxious to marry Lady Katherine, and upon her return from abroad that summer Katherine, Duchess of Suffolk, was consulted. She expressed full approval of the marriage, but advised that the matter should be referred to the Queen before anything definite was settled. A letter was drawn up by the Earl and Adrian Stokes, and submitted to Katherine, Duchess of Suffolk, at the Barbican, Frances, Duchess of Suffolk, being ill at the time. But, unfortunately, when the moment came for the Earl of Hertford to deliver it to the Queen, his courage failed him, and heedless of a warning from Cecil, who had not forgotten the Queen's wrath over the Spanish marriage, the young couple were secretly married at the Earl's house in Channon Row, Whitehall. The secret soon leaked out, and Elizabeth was furious. "It was bad enough," she declared, "to have Lady Katherine to deal with, let alone her brats," and the unfortunate couple were packed off to the Tower. Three children were born to them during

the three years that they spent there, and then, in 1562, Lady Katherine was removed to Norfolk, to the house of Lord John Grey, her uncle, who had been made Lord Grey of Pirgo.

The Council wrote to Lord John :

The removal of Lady Katherine is due to Her Majesty's compassionate desire to place her out of danger of the plague by which the Tower is now environed, which privilege, Her Majesty has, upon much humble suit, also granted to the Earl of Hertford, meaning not that Lady Katherine should be at any further liberty thereby, but only to be free from the place of danger.*

Lady Katherine was to hold intercourse with no one outside Lord John's household without the Council's express permission, " which Her Majesty meaneth Lady Katherine to understand, and observe as some sort of her punishment, and therein Her Majesty meaneth to try her disposition towards patience."

Lady Katherine was, therefore, still a prisoner, and a prisoner she remained up to the time of her death, which occurred six years later. Her husband survived her fifty-one years. In spite of great pressure, he always stoutly refused to repudiate her, and husband and wife now rest together in Salisbury Cathedral, under a huge canopied tomb. The tomb and Lady Katherine's pompous epitaph little reflect her miserable, thwarted existence. Frances, Duchess of Suffolk, died before Lady Katherine's marriage, and consequently she was spared the misery of seeing a second daughter immured in the Tower. She was buried in Westminster Abbey, in St. Edmund's Chapel, where the monument erected to her memory can still be seen. Her funeral service was the first occasion on which the Communion Service was read in English. The life of Lady Mary Grey, the Duchess's youngest daughter, was nearly as unhappy as that of her sisters. In 1565, five years after the Hertford

* *Cal. S. P.*, Dom. Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth, p. 230.

marriage, Lady Mary fell in love with Thomas Keyes, the Serjeant Porter of the Water Gate at Westminster, and at nine o'clock one night she was secretly married to him in his chamber over the Gate. Thomas Keyes, a relation of Sir Francis Knollys, the Treasurer of the Queen's Household, was tall and handsome, but he was twice as old as Lady Mary, and was a widower with several children. Writing of the marriage, Fuller says :

Frightened by the infelicity of her two elder sisters, Lady Mary forgot her honour to remember her safety, and married one whom she could love, and none could fear.

But any marriage on Lady Mary's part was sufficient to arouse the Queen's anger, and the poor bride, who was very small and delicate, was pitilessly attacked.

Cecil writes :

Here is an unhappy chance, and monstrous. The Serjeant Porter, being the biggest gentleman in this Court, hath secretly married Lady Mary Grey, the least of all the Court. They are committed to several prisons. The offence is very great.

An even graver view was taken by Lord Howard of Effingham, who seems to have thought that Lady Mary's ill-advised marriage might be the ruin, not only of the Queen, but also of the country. Thomas Keyes was imprisoned in the Fleet, where he was most rigorously treated. He displayed none of Lord Hertford's fidelity, but Grindall, Bishop of London, maintained that it would not be legal to annul the marriage. The place where Lady Mary was confined first of all is not specified, but it must have been the Tower ; after a brief imprisonment there, she was handed over to the charge of Thomas Hawtrey of Chequers, where the prison-like rooms that she occupied can still be seen. Strict injunctions were given to Hawtrey that Lady Mary was not to go abroad, and that she was not " to hold conference " with any one. She remained with Hawtrey until the summer of 1567. The original

plan was that she should now be given over to the keeping of the Duchess of Somerset, who, in spite of her pride, had demeaned herself by marrying Newdegate, her secretary. But finally it was decided, evidently at very short notice, that Katherine, Duchess of Suffolk, should be the goaler of her step-graughter. Thomas Hawtrey delivered over his charge to the Duchess at The Minories, a house, which by rights, now belonged to Lady Mary's sister, Lady Katherine.

Hawtrey writes :

The Duchess enquired of me where my Lady Mary's furniture was, as she had nothing to dress her chamber with. The Duchess said that she herself, lived in Lincolnshire, and when she came to London, she borrowed stuff of Lady Eleanor [Clifford], consequently, if she was to receive Lady Mary, she would be forced to borrow from her neighbours at the Tower.

The following day, the ninth of August, the Duchess wrote from the Queen's House, at Greenwich, to Cecil, who was then attending the Queen on her progress. The Duchess explains that as Hawtrey brought Lady Mary just as she was leaving London, she was forced to spend the night there, and that now she has brought Lady Mary with her to Greenwich. She then goes on to complain of her lack of furniture in London and at Greenwich.

All that I and my husband had left, when we returned from abroad, scarce sufficed for our houses in Lincolnshire. We had meant at this time, to buy some new, if our purses could afford it. All this, by reason of my trouble with my son's sickness, and other chances of my maid's death,* the one driving me from London, the other making me to have no care, or joy of anything, hath made me the more unprovided. But the special cause is lack of money. I have been obliged to tell Mr. Hawtrey how matters stood, and to beg him that Lady Mary's furniture might be sent before she herself made her appearance,

* Suzan Bertie.

that a chamber might be in readiness for her. But would God you had seen what stuff it was. Lady Mary had nothing but an old livery bed without either bolster, or counterpane, but two old pillows, one longer than the other, and an old quilt of silk so tattered that the cotton comes out, such a piteous little canopy of sarsenet as is scant good enough to cover some secret stool. Then there are two little pieces of hangings, both of them not seven yards broad. Wherefore, I pray, heartily consider of this, and if you shall think it meet, be a mean for her to the Queen's Majesty, that she might have the furniture of one chamber for herself and her maid, and she and I will play the good housewives, and make shift with her old bed for her man. Also, I would, if I durst, beg further some old silver pots to fetch her drink in and two little cups to drink in, one for beer, another for wine. A basin and an ewer, I fear, were too much, but all these things she lacks, and it were meet she had. And truly, if I were able to give it her, she should never trouble Her Majesty for it; but lookye, what it shall please Her Majesty to appoint for her, shall be always ready to be delivered again in as good a case, as by wearing of it, it shall be left, whensoever it shall please Her Majesty to call for it.

At the end of this letter the Duchess refers to Lady Mary's condition. She describes her grief and penitence as being "excessive."

Lady Mary is so ashamed of her fault that I can scarcely get her to eat anything. In the two days she has been with me, she hath not eaten so much as a chicken's leg, and I fear me, she will die of her grief. A little comfort would do her good.

As the Queen was away now, one can only infer that the Duchess had come to Greenwich to see after her son, aged twelve, who was being brought up in Cecil's household. Cecil was now Master of the Queen's wards, who may have remained at Greenwich during Cecil's absence on the progress.

The following entries in the Duchess's Household Accounts give the expenses of one of these expeditions to Greenwich :

June ; Paid for boote hire for my Master, her Grace, and their servants, with carriage of stuff to Greenwich, £3 7s. 4d.

Paid more, with the meate of fifteen persons, at the Corte at Greenwich, by the space of twenty daies, £3 10s. 4d.

And this entry, " Chatterton for his paynes with Her Grace in my Lady Marie Grayes chambre " * (no sum is specified), must refer to Lady Mary's unexpected arrival. In her letter the Duchess speaks of " playing the good housewife." Lady Mary remained with the Duchess for two years, but the only thing recorded of her, during this time, is that she acted as godmother to the daughter of a certain Jane Meyrick, who must certainly have been a member of the Duchess's household, for Lady Mary would scarcely have been permitted to officiate for any one else. And possibly because her step-grandmother's supervision was not considered sufficiently strict, Lady Mary was transferred to the custody of Sir Thomas Gresham in 1569. Lady Katherine was now dead ; in consequence, Lady Mary's position may have now been considered more delicate, though her sister had left children. The right of the Greys to the throne still seems to have been generally recognized ; in 1566, for instance, Sir Robert Bell, afterwards Baron of the Exchequer, maintained the title of Lady Katherine Grey to be regarded as the Queen's successor when urging the Queen's marriage in Parliament. As the Marquis of Dorset had made a contract of marriage with Lady Katherine Fitzalan, daughter of the Earl of Arundel, before his marriage with Lady Frances Brandon, it always seems curious that no charge of illegitimacy was ever preferred against the Grey sisters. But whatever

* *Ancaster MSS.*

the reason was for choosing Sir Thomas Gresham to look after Lady Mary, the task was not at all relished by him. The Queen's habit of selecting prominent subjects to act as goalers to State prisoners was invariably very much resented. The Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury were constantly praying to be relieved of the custody of Mary, Queen of Scots, and Sir Thomas Gresham never wrote to Cecil without referring to the time that Lady Mary had been in his house to his wife's "bondiage, and harte sorrow." Lady Gresham (a former milliner, who still made the Queen's caps) also always spoke of Lady Mary as "the heart sorrow of her life."

In 1571, when Thomas Keyes died, Lady Mary was still leading this miserable existence with the Greshams. The poor thing was very much distressed, and from this time onward her grief gave her courage to sign herself "Mary Keyes." She also begged to be allowed the custody of her husband's children, but not only was this request ignored, but Sir Thomas even thought it necessary to consult Cecil as to whether she was to be permitted to wear mourning. However, the term of her confinement was to come this year. During the summer Cecil's daughter, Anne, became engaged to Edward de Vere, seventeenth Earl of Oxford.

Lord St. John reported the news to the Earl of Rutland, who was then in Paris :

The Earl of Oxford hath gotten him a wife—or at the least, a wife hath caught him ; this is Mistress Anne Cecil, whereunto the Queen hath given her consent, and the which hath caused great weeping, wailing, and sorrowful cheer of those that had hoped to have had that golden day. Thus you may see whilst that some triumph with olive branches, others follow the chariot with willow garlands.*

But though he was esteemed so great a match, the Earl of Oxford was not well off, and Gresham astutely

* *Rutland MSS.*, Vol. I.

utilized this fact to his own ultimate advantage, for he wrote to Cecil :

Whereas I have allowed my Lord of Oxford for his money but after the rate of ten per centum, I shall now be content to allow him after twelve per centum, with any other service I can do for him, or for you.

It was this service that freed Sir Thomas of his unwelcome charge, and by this bribe Lady Mary regained her freedom.

CHAPTER XXVIII

Household accounts in London—Travelling expenses—Lodgings at Westminster—Associations with Holbein—Hans Eeuwouts—Katherine Ashley—The Duchess catches smallpox—The Queen takes the infection—Sir Thomas Smith's letter—The Duchess's removal to the Barbican—History of the Barbican—The Duchess's dealings with goldsmiths—Losses at games of chance—Stores, groceries, coal.

THE next batch of quotations from the Duchess's accounts refer to a visit that she paid to London in the summer of 1561. Writing to Cecil in the month of June, Anthony Kyme refers to a controversy over some land in Lincolnshire, which formerly belonged to a Mr. Fulston, and which was now in question between the Queen and the Duchess of Suffolk. It was this controversy which must have brought the Duchess and her family to London; instead of going to the Barbican, they settled in lodgings at Westminster, probably because they thought it wise to be as near to the Queen's ear as possible. From the following account of the travelling expenses, Bertie must have travelled in advance.

My Master's charges, his trayne and their horses, being the number of eighteen men and horses, besides strangers, £18. 17. 1½.

Her Grace's charges in coming from Grimsthorpe to London with her train. At Huntingdon, supper, and breakfast, 46s. 4d. Drinking at Stilton, 16d. Dinner at Royston with other things, 39s. 11d. Supper and breakfast at Puckeryge, 53s. 1d. Dinner at Waltham, 17s. 1d. For drink at Wanswirth, Ware and Hoddesdon, 2s. 9d. ; total, £8 & 6d.