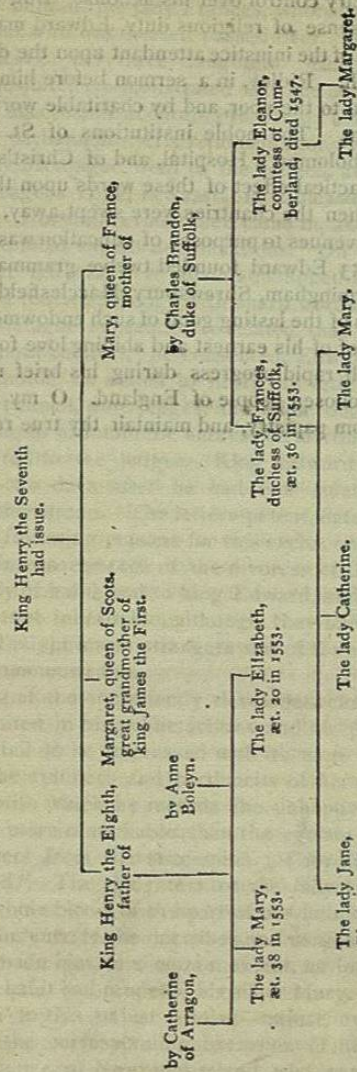


TABLE SHOWING THE HEIRS FEMALE IN REMAINDER TO THE CROWN, NAMED
IN THE WILL OF HENRY VIII. AND THE DEVISE OF EDWARD VI.*



* * * Queen Elizabeth, when she died in 1603, was the survivor of all these ladies.

The descendants of Margaret, queen of Scots, who were passed over by Henry and Edward, were:—Her grand-daughter, Mary, Queen of Scotland, affianced to the Dauphin of France, she being in 1558, eleven years old; Margaret's daughter, the countess of Lennox; and Henry Darnley, the son of the countess.

* We have taken the liberty of extracting this Table from the interesting documents given by Mr. Nichols in the "Chronicle of Queen Jane."

CHAPTER XXX.

The Lady Jane proclaimed Queen.—Northumberland leaves London.—Queen Mary proclaimed in London.—Northumberland and others tried.—Northumberland's execution and apostasy.—Lady Jane Grey in the Tower.—Coronation of Mary.—Her person and qualities.—Parliament.—Sweeping changes in religion.—Proposed marriage with Philip.—Popular hatred of the marriage.—Ambassadors arrive to arrange a treaty.—Insurrection of Wyatt.—Conduct of the Queen.—Wyat's march to London.—The insurrection defeated.

A CONTEMPORARY chronicler of the events that filled the anxious days from the 7th to the 17th of July, 1553, heads his brief account, JANA REGINA.* Edward died on the evening of Thursday, the 6th. It had been intended to keep the event strictly secret till the persons of the princesses Mary and Elizabeth had been secured. Nevertheless, the Council could not shut themselves up within the palace of Greenwich, without some indirect demonstration of the real circumstances. The French ambassador, Noailles, wrote to his government on the 8th, that on the day following the death of the king, being Friday, the marquis of Northampton and others took possession of the Tower at two o'clock in the morning. The princess Mary was at Hunsdon in Hertfordshire, and there were not wanting friends to apprise her of the position of affairs, and of her consequent danger. She hastily took horse for her manor of Kenninghall, from which place she addressed a letter to the Council, dated the 9th, in which she expresses her surprise that information of her brother's death, of which she has received sure advertisement, was not communicated to her; and calls upon them, on their allegiance, immediately to proclaim her right and title to the crown. The Council on the 8th had sent for the lord mayor and six aldermen and other citizens of London, and had read to them the letters-patent, and sworn them to abide by the same. Having answered the letter of Mary, declaring that Jane was invested with the true title to the crown, and recommending to the princess to be "quiet and obedient," the Council caused queen Jane to be proclaimed on the 10th. Some historians have recorded the circumstances of an inter-

* "Chronicle of the Grey Friars," p. 78.

view between Northumberland, Suffolk, and their daughter; her surprise at their unusual homage; her tears; and her scruples to accept the crown. This is the dramatic decoration of a few bare facts. The most charming of all usurpers, was, in all likelihood, an unwilling instrument for the ambition of a few; and the only fact that we certainly know at this point of her story is, that she came by water to the Tower on the day when she was proclaimed. The people in anxious silence saw her pass. It was in every mouth at the young king had been poisoned. "He was poisoned, as every body says."* Northumberland was odious to the people. The ragged bear is glad of the king's death, they said. Gilbert Pot, a vinther's drawer, had his ear cut off in the pillory, "for words speaking at time of proclamation of lady Jane."† Cecil, the secretary of state, and other crafty counsellors, saw the signs of the time; and as we learn from Cecil's own confession of his double dealing, left Northumberland, and his few daring friends, to perform the more obnoxious acts of these nine days. "I eschewed," says Cecil, "the writing of the queen's highness bastard, and therefore the duke wrote the letter himself which was sent abroad in the realm."‡ This letter, in the writing of Northumberland, is in existence; and is signed "Jane the queene."§

On the 12th of July the Council, who surrounded the lady Jane in the Tower, received intelligence that Mary had been joined at Kenninghall by the earl of Bath, and other leading men; and that the earl of Sussex and his son were marching to her aid. It was determined, upon the first receipt of this intelligence, that the duke of Suffolk should set forward, "to fetch her up to London." The forebodings of the lady Jane led to another determination. She, "taking the matter heavily, with weeping tears made request to the whole Council that her father might tarry at home in her company; whereupon the Council persuaded with the duke of Northumberland to take that voyage upon him."|| There is a spirited narrative of the proceedings of this interesting time, in a "Chronicle of Queen Jane," written by a resident in the Tower of London, which was formerly in the possession of Stow, and of which he made liberal use. Holinshed followed Stow, as "from the report of an eyewitness."¶ The setting forth of the duke is minutely described.

* Mostyn's Diary, p. 35. Also "Grey Friars' Chronicle."

† Holinshed.

‡ Landsdowne MS., quoted in Tytler, ii. p. 193

§ "Queen Jane and Queen Mary," Camden Society, p. 103.

|| Stow.

¶ Harl. MS., reprinted by the Camden Society, edited by J. G. Nichols.



QUEEN MARY CALLING GOD TO WITNESS HER PLIGHT OF TROTH TO PHILIP. — Vol. ii. 586.

He made a strong appeal to the fidelity of the Council in these words:—

“Now upon the only trust and faithfulness of your honours, whereof we think ourselves most assured, we do hazard and jeopard our lives; which trust and promise if ye shall violate, hoping thereby of life and promotion, yet shall not God count you innocent of our bloods, neither acquit you of the sacred and holy oath of allegiance made freely by you to this virtuous lady, the Queen's highness, who by your and our enticement is rather of force placed therein than by her own seeking and request. Consider also that God's cause, which is the preferment of His word, and the fear of papists' re-entrance, hath been as ye have herebefore always said, the original ground whereupon ye even at the first motion granted your good wills and consents thereunto, as by your handwriting evidently appeareth. And think not the contrary, but if ye mean deceit, though not forthwith yet hereafter God will revenge the same. I can say no more; but in this troublesome time wish you to use constant hearts, abandoning all malice, envy, and private affections. Therewith-all the first course for the lords came up. Then the duke did knit up his talk with these words: ‘I have not spoken to you on this sort upon any distrust I have of your truth, of the which always I have ever hitherto conceived a trusty confidence; but I have put you in remembrance thereof, what chance of variance soever might grow amongst you in my absence; and this I pray you, wish me no worse good-speed in this journey than ye would have to yourselves.’ ‘My lord (saith one of them) if ye mistrust any of us in this matter, your grace is far deceived; for which of us can wipe his hands clean thereof? And if we should shrink from you as one that were culpable, which of us can excuse himself as guiltless? Therefore herein your doubt is too far cast.’ ‘I pray God it be so (quoth the duke); let us go to dinner. And so they sate down.’”

Northumberland received from queen Jane the commission for the lieutenantship of the army, “sealed.” The earl of Arundel “prayed God to be with his grace; saying, he was very sorry it was not his chance to go with him and bear him company, in whose presence he could find in his heart to spend his blood, even at his foot.” The next morning Northumberland departed, with six hundred men. “And as they went through Shoreditch, sayeth the duke to one that rid by him, the people press to see us, but not one sayeth God speed us.” He was to have received succour

at Northampton, but the promised aid of men and munition never arrived. Meanwhile the cause of Mary was prospering in every quarter. At Yarmouth the crews of six ships that had been sent to intercept her expected flight to the continent, declared that their captains should go to the bottom of the sea unless they would serve queen Mary. "After once the submission of the ships was known in the Tower, each man then begun to pluck in his horns; and, over that, word of a great mischief was brought to the Tower—the noblemen's tenants refused to serve their lords against queen Mary." Suspicion began to prevail amongst the few who remained faithful to the authority they had most imprudently set up. On the 16th, at seven o'clock in the evening, "the gates of the Tower upon a sudden were shut, and the keys carried up to the queen Jane." Her supposed friends were fast deserting her. Cecil was practising with the Lord Privy Seal to cause Windsor Castle to serve the queen Mary. He was opening himself to the lord Arundel. He purposed to have stolen down to the queen's highness. He was ready with what he calls "the pardonable lie."* Arundel, who prayed God to speed Northumberland, desired Cecil and others to remove out of the Tower, for frank speech to be had in council, saying that he liked not the air; and thereupon they went to Baynard's Castle. So the lady Jane was left almost alone with her mock-royalty; and the keys of the Tower-gates were carried to her—a precaution against open force, but none against hidden treachery. Ridley was preaching in her favour at Paul's Cross on that day; but Arundel and Cecil were more effectually conspiring against her at Baynard's Castle.

Framlingham is about twenty miles from Kenninghall, from which house Mary wrote to the Council on the 9th. She determined to move to a place of strength, and was soon in comparative safety within the strong walls and deep moats of Framlingham. This castle of the Howards' had been forfeited to the crown upon the attainder of the duke of Norfolk, who, at this time, was still a prisoner in the Tower. Here Mary remained till the last day of July. She entered the gates of Framlingham after a hurried ride of secrecy and fear. She went forth, surrounded with armed thousands, in the state of a queen. The termination of the march of Northumberland to the eastern counties is a pitiable exhibition of the unhonoured fall of inordinate ambition. He had retreated

* See "A Brief Note of my Submission," the paper which he sent to Queen Mary; *Vtler*, vol. ii. p. 192.

to Cambridge with his small army. Letters of discomfort had reached him. On the 19th, at night, he heard that Queen Mary had been proclaimed at London. "The next morning he called for a herald and proclaimed in her self." A letter of the period describes the proclamation of Mary in London:—

"Great was the triumph here at London; for my part I never saw the like, and by the report of others the like was never seen. The number of caps that were thrown up at the proclamation were not to be told. The earl of Pembroke threw away his cap full of angelletes. I saw myself money was thrown out at windows for joy. The bonfires were without number, and what with shouting and crying of the people, and ringing of the bells, there could no one hear almost what another said, besides banquetings and singing in the street for joy. There was present at the proclamation the earl of Pembroke, the earl of Shrewsbury, the earl of Arundel, my lord warden, my lord mayor, sir John Mason, sir John Cheeke, and divers others; and after the proclamation made in Cheapside, they all went to Paul's to even-song. The duke of Suffolk being at the Tower, at the making of the proclamation, and as some say, did not know of it, but so soon as he heard of it, he came himself out of the Tower, and commanded his men to leave their weapons behind them, saying that he himself was but one man, and himself proclaimed my lady Mary's grace queen on the Tower-hill, and so came into London leaving the lieutenant in the Tower."

Where was the lady Jane? Did she go with her father to some place of refuge? Did she return to her old retirement at Sion? Or did she remain within those walls to gaze upon ghastly sights and shadow out her own fate? For a few weeks history drops her as a forgotten thing; and then takes her up again, "looking through the window" to see Northumberland going to the church within the Tower to perform one more act of dissimulation. His fate was very speedily sealed. The mayor of Cambridge arrested him after the proclamation, but upon his remonstrance let him go free. He stayed at Cambridge one night. Though his son Warwick was "booted," they did not carry out their purpose to ride in the morning.

"Then came the earl of Arundel, who had been with the queen, to the duke into his chamber; and when the duke knew thereof he came out to meet him; and as soon as ever he saw the earl of Arundel, he fell down on his knees and desired him to be good to him, for the love of God. 'And consider (saith he), I have done

nothing but by the consent of you and all the whole council.' My lord (quoth he), I am sent hither by the queen's majesty, and in her name I do arrest you.' 'And I obey it my lord (quoth he), and I beseech you my lord of Arundel (quoth the duke), use mercy towards me, knowing the case as it is.' 'My lord (quoth the earl), ye should have sought for mercy sooner; I must do according to my commandment.' And therewith he committed the charge of him to divers of the guard and gentlemen that stood by."

Queen Mary arrived triumphantly in London, at the head of a great band of friends, on the 3rd of August. Her sister Elizabeth had joined her on her progress, having most wisely determined, from the first, to make common cause against those who sought to set aside their inheritance under the Act of Succession. The queen went to the Tower, where the aged duke of Norfolk, the bishop of Winchester, and the dowager-duchess of Somerset welcomed her to the place of their captivity. Mary raised them from their knees, with the words "These are all my own prisoners;" and they were immediately set free. The prison had soon many new tenants. The duke of Northumberland and his son the earl of Warwick, the earl of Northampton, sir Andrew Dudley, sir John Gates, sir Henry Gates, and sir Thomas Palmer were tried and convicted of high-treason on the 18th and 19th of August. On the 22nd, Northumberland, sir John Gates, and sir Thomas Palmer were executed. An extraordinary scene took place on the 21st, which is thus related by the Resident in the Tower: "Note, on Monday the xxist of August, it was appointed the duke with others should have suffered, and all the guard were at the Tower; but howsoever it chanced he did not; but he desired to hear mass and to receive the sacrament according to the old accustomed manner. So about ix of the clock the altar in the chapel was arranged, and each thing prepared for the purpose; then Mr. Gage went and fetched the duke; and sir John Abridges and Mr. John Abridges did fetch the marquis of Northampton, sir Andrew Dudley, sir Henry Gates, and sir Thomas Palmer to mass, which was said both with elevation over the head, the peace-giving, blessing, and crossing on the crown, breathing, turning about, and all the other rites and incidents of old time appertaining. And when the time came the prisoners should receive the sacrament, the duke turned himself to the people and said first these words, or such like, 'My masters, I let you all to 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 these xvi years past, by the false and erroneous preaching of the new preachers, the which is the only cause of the great plague and vengeance which hath light upon the whole realm of England, and now likewise worthily fallen upon me and others here present for our unfaithfulness. And I do believe the holy sacrament here most assuredly to be our Saviour and Redeemer, Jesus Christ; and this I pray you all to testify, and pray for me.' After which words he kneeled down and asked all men forgiveness, and likewise forgave all men. Amongst others standing by, were the duke of Somerset's sons. Then all the rest confessed the declaration aforesaid, and so received the sacrament most humbly. Note, that a little before mass was begun, there was sent for into London for divers of the best commoners and common-council of the city to come and hear the conversion of the duke, amongst whom one Hartop, a goldsmith, and one Baskerfield were there.—The lady Jane looking through the window saw the duke and the rest going to the church."

A week after the execution of Northumberland we find, in the curious diary from which we have quoted several passages, the following picture of lady Jane Grey in her prison. Her father had been set free, and she herself had some liberty within the Tower precincts. The conversation here recorded not only illustrates her character, but shows what was her own feeling of the attempt at usurpation of which she had been made the unwilling instrument: * "Note, that on Tuesday, the xxixth of August, I dined at Partridge's house with my lady Jane, being there present, she sitting at the board's end, Partridge, his wife, Jacob, my lady's gentleman, and her man. She commanding Partridge and me to put on our caps, amongst our communication at the dinner, this was to be noted: after she had once or twice drunk to me and bade me heartily welcome, saith she, 'The queen's majesty is a merciful princess; I beseech God she may long continue, and send his bountiful grace upon her.' After that we fell in [discourse of] matters of religion; and she asked what he was that preached at Paul's on Sunday before; and so it was told to be one [blank in MS.] 'I pray you,' quoth she, 'have they mass in London?' 'Yea, forsooth,' quoth I, 'in some places.' 'It may be so,' quoth she, 'it is not so strange as the sudden conversion of the late duke;

* This extract was printed by Sir Simonds d'Ewes; but, as the editor of the "Chronicle of Queen Jane" remarks, has been unknown to her biographers. Who the writer of the Diary was, is not ascertained; nor what office Master Partridge held.

tor who would have thought,' said she, 'he would have so done? It was answered her, 'Perchance he thereby hoped to have had his pardon.' 'Pardon?' quoth she; 'woe worth him! He hath brought me and our stock in most miserable calamity and misery by his exceeding ambition. But for the answering that he hoped for life by his turning, though other men be of that opinion, I utterly am not; for what man is there living, I pray you, although he had been innocent, that would hope of life in that case; being in the field against the queen in person as general, and after his taking so hated and evil-spoken of by the commons? and at his coming into prison so wondered at, as the like was never heard by any man's time. Who was judge that he should hope for pardon, whose life was odious to all men? But what will ye more? like as his life was wicked and full of dissimulation, so was his end thereafter. I pray God, I nor no friends of mine die so. Should I, who [am] young and in my few years, forsake my faith for the love of life? Nay, God forbid. Much more he should not, whose fatal course, although he had lived his just number of years, could not have long continued. But life was sweet, it appeared: so he might have lived, you will say, he did [not] care how. Indeed the reason is good; for he that would have lived in chains to have had his life, by like would leave no other means attempted. But God be merciful to us, for he sayeth, Whoso denieth him before men, he will not know him in his Father's kingdom.' With this and much like talk the dinner passed away; which ended, I thanked her ladyship that she would vouchsafe accept me in her company; and she thanked me likewise, and said I was welcome. She thanked Partridge also for bringing me to dinner. 'Madam,' said he, 'we were somewhat bold, not knowing that your ladyship dined below until we found your ladyship there.' And so Partridge and I departed."

THE enthusiasm with which the bloodless revolution in favour of queen Mary was hailed by the people, has been considered as a proof that the majority were Roman Catholic, and would gladly lay aside all the doctrine and discipline of the Church which had been so completely settled in the reign of Edward. We are inclined to receive this notion with considerable doubt. Another theory was set forth in the bitter satire of the Venetian ambassador, Micheli, that the English "would be full as zealous followers of the

Mahometan or Jewish religion did the king profess either of them, or commanded his subjects to do so; that, in short, they will accommodate themselves to any religious persuasion, but most readily to one that promises to minister to licentiousness and profit."* At the accession of Mary the English were neither wholly devoted to Catholicism, nor indifferent to all religion. They accepted Mary with joy because, without entering into the subtleties of the divorce question of her mother, they knew that she was the direct heir to the crown, and that the attempt to set her aside was the unjust act of a few ambitious and unscrupulous men. There were many decided Protestants amongst her first adherents. They could not doubt that she would firmly cleave to the Mass and to the ceremonies of the Church, as in the time of her father; but they could not assume that she would venture to force the papal domination again upon England, or think it possible to take away the Bible from the people which her father had consented to give them. Mary herself saw the necessity of proceeding with great caution. The news of her accession was received in Rome with exultation; and the pope resolved to send cardinal Polé as legate to England. That measure was determined in a consistory as early as the 5th of August. But Pole was too discreet to risk such a demonstration before the temper of the people had been farther tried. Mary herself received a secret agent of Rome, Francis Commendone; and to him she professed her attachment to the Romish Church and her desire to bring back its worship. But she implored him to be cautious; for much was still unsettled. Mary, however, sent letters to the pope by this agent, which were so acceptable to Julius III., that he wept for joy, that his pontificate should be honoured by the restoration of England to its ancient obedience.

The coronation of Mary took place on the 1st of October. The old chroniclers, who are abundantly diffuse in their relations of these pageants, describe her appearance as she passed on the previous day, in procession from Westminster to the Tower, sitting in a chariot of tissue, drawn by six horses. "She sate in a gown of blue velvet, furred with powdered ermine, hanging on her head a cloth of tinsel beset with pearl and stone, and about the same upon her head a round circlet of gold, much like a hooped garland, beset so richly with many precious stones that their value was inestimable; the said caul and circle being so massy and ponderous

* Ellis, second Series, vol. ii.

that she was fain to bear up her head with her hands." The person of this queen and her qualities were described, four years later, by the Venetian ambassador: "She is of short stature, well made, thin and delicate, and moderately pretty; her eyes are so lively, that she inspires reverence and respect, and even fear, wherever she turns them; nevertheless she is very short sighted. Her voice is deep, almost like that of a man. She understands five languages, English, Latin, French, Spanish, and Italian, in which last, however, she does not venture to converse. She is also much skilled in ladies' work,—such as producing all sorts of embroidery with the needle. She has a knowledge of music, chiefly of the lute, on which she plays exceedingly well. As to the qualities of her mind, it may be said of her that she is rash, disdainful, and parsimonious rather than liberal. She is endowed with great humility and patience, but withal high spirited, courageous, and resolute; having during the whole course of her adversity been guiltless of any the least approach to meanness of comportment; she is, moreover, devout and staunch in the defence of her religion. Some personal infirmities under which she labours are the causes to her of both public and private affliction; to remedy these recourse is had to frequent blood-letting, and this is the real cause of her paleness, and the general weakness of her frame." In this coronation procession there was a remarkable memento of the past, in the presence of Anne of Cleves, who rode in a chariot with the princess Elizabeth.

The first parliament of Mary met on the 5th of October, Gardiner being lord chancellor. The first session was a very short one, and the only public Act was that for repealing certain treasons and felonies, and all offences within the case of premunire. The object of this Act was to sweep away the penalties for denying the king's supremacy, and especially to relieve cardinal Pole from his dangers under the laws of Henry VIII. The people might dimly see from this measure how the course of the government was tending; if they could have doubted of it, after Latimer had been committed to the Tower on the 13th of November, and Cranmer on the 14th, and when the deprived bishops were restored to their sees. The second parliamentary session commenced on the 24th of October. The anti-reformers now went more boldly to work. "An Act concerning the queen's highness to have been born in a most just and lawful matrimony, and also repealing all Acts of parliament and sentences of divorce had and made to the contrary,"

might be soothing to the feelings of the queen; but the declaring void so much of the statute of Henry VIII. as illegitimates queen Mary, and indeed the whole tenour of the Act, confirmed the illegitimacy of the princess Elizabeth, as also declared by that statute. That this was a deep offence to Elizabeth, and to those protestants who looked to her as their future hope, was a consequence of this unnecessary insult. Mary had resolved on marriage with Philip, the son of Charles V., and she flattered herself that with a Catholic husband, and with successors to be bred up in the ancient faith, the nation would soon abandon its heresies. The second Act of this session, "for the repeal of certain statutes made in the time of the reign of king Edward the Sixth," deals in a very summary manner with the labours of the preceding six years. The act for administering the Sacrament in two kinds; for the election of bishops; for legalising priests' marriages: for uniformity of service; for putting away divers books and images; and for regulating holy-days and fasting-days, are all annihilated by one comprehensive clause.* But something connected with the Reformation was retained. Divine service is to be performed as in the last year of Henry VIII. This was a concession to the prudence of Gardiner and others, who were not prepared to drive the reformers into open resistance by venturing upon too much in the outset of this ecclesiastical reaction. The queen still retained the title of Supreme Head of the Church; the name of the Pope was carefully kept out of view. Cardinal Pole, who was earnest and conscientious, pointed out the anomaly between the act repealing the Divorce and the retention of the Supremacy. The emperor recommended prudence and moderation.

On the 13th of November, a special commission was held at Guildhall for the trial of prisoners under charges of high-treason. These were the lady Jane Grey, her husband and his two brothers, and archbishop Cranmer. Another Dudley was arraigned in the following January. They all pleaded "guilty,"—Cranmer having originally pleaded "not guilty," and then withdrew the plea. The hope of mercy in thus pleading had probably been held out to all. But there were personal considerations working upon the queen which left the fate of the Dudleys still uncertain. In the Diary of the Resident in the Tower, we find it recorded, on the 18th of December, "the lady Jane had the liberty of the Tower, so that she might walk in the queen's garden and on the hill; and the lord

* *Mariz*, st. 2. c. 2.

Robert and lord Guilford the liberty of the leads in the Bell Tower." But in a very short time the people, who had borne patiently enough the sudden change in the offices of religion, and who had heard the proclamation for the re-establishment of the mass, without any expression of general dislike, began to be stirred about the Spanish marriage. The emperor Charles V. proceeded in this matter with his accustomed caution. His minister, Renard, had hinted to the queen, in September, how desirable an alliance would be with the prince of Spain; and she said that whatever she should do would only be for the public good. It was hinted in the next reign by sir Thomas Smith, that "a certain lady, having the picture sent unto her of one whom she never saw, who should be her husband, was so enamoured thereon and so ravished, that she languished for love, and was in a measure out of her wits for his long tarrying and absence."* Her faithful Commons represented the temper of the people when they resolved upon a petition to the queen that she would marry, but that she would select one of her own nation. The queen manifested most strikingly her own disposition when, on the evening of the 30th of October, she sent for the Spanish ambassador into her chamber, and having repeated the "Veni Creator," she knelt before the host, and gave him her sacred promise that she would marry no other man but the prince of Spain. She dismissed the Commons with a short answer when they came with their petition, saying that she should only look to God for counsel in a matter so important; and the ambassador of Charles soothed many scruples by a liberal distribution of eloquent gold. But the people were not so easily satisfied. They abhorred the notion of a Spanish alliance. "The Spaniards," they said, "were coming into the realm with harness and hand-guns. * * * * This realm should be brought to bondage by them as it was never afore, but should be utterly conquered." So ran the talk at a Kentish farrier's shop. † There was a political instinct in this discontent, which has often guided the English people rightly in difficult cases. An embassy departed from Brussels in December, to make a solemn tender of Philip's hand to the queen. Wotton, our ambassador to France, thus writes at this time to the Council, to communicate the opinion of Montmorency, the constable. The sagacious statesman and the English mob were of the same belief. "Because," quoth the constable, "that I have used to talk ever frankly with you, I cannot

* Strype.

† State Paper, quoted in Tyler, vol. ii. p. 278.

but say unto you as I think, that I do much lament your state of England." "Why so, sir?" quoth I,— "Why so?" quoth the constable. "You are a man that hath travelled abroad, and you know in what state all countries are where Spaniards bear any rule. Sicily, Naples, Lombardy, Sienna when they had it, and all other places where they have had any authority, do you not know how they are oppressed by the Spaniards? in what a bondage and misery they live? Even so must you look to be in England; for at the beginning, as they do everywhere, they will speak fair and genteely unto you, till the time they have made themselves somewhat strong in the realm, and won to them some great men of the realm; and then will they begin to get your ships into their hands, and likewise those few forts which you have, yea, and will build in new places meet for their purpose; and so a little and a little usurp still more and more, till they have all at their commandment."*

The reception of the embassy to arrange the terms of the marriage is quaintly recorded in the Diary of the Resident of the Tower. The ambassador was the famous count of Egmont, the Flemish noble, whose subsequent career has furnished so striking a theme for history and poetry. The count and other personages landed at the Tower-wharf; and "the lord of Devonshire, giving him the right-hand, brought him through Cheapside, and so forth to Westminster; the people, nothing rejoicing, held down their heads sorrowfully. The day before his coming in, as his retinue and harbingers came riding through London, the boys pelted at them with snow-balls; so hateful was the sight of their coming in to them." The "boys" of London who have ever been a peculiar race in intelligence and boldness, made a still more marked demonstration of popular disgust. After the terms of the treaty of marriage had been promulgated by the lord chancellor in a solemn assembly at Westminster, the boys had their games of English and Spaniards, in which one unlucky wight of their number, personating the prince of Spain, was hanged by his comrades, and narrowly escaped with his life.

The terms of the marriage treaty, which were assiduously promulgated, were in some degree calculated to diminish the public jealousy of the Spanish alliance. But few had received the benefit of a share in the million two hundred thousand crowns with which Charles V. had resolved the doubts of the Lords and Commons. The sceptical populace did not believe that all offices would be

* Tyler, Vol. II. p. 269.

conferred upon English-born subjects; that the national laws and privileges would be preserved; that the English language would be used in the direction of English affairs; that the queen should not be taken out of the realm, nor her children: that in the case of the queen's death Philip should take no part in the government of the country; that England, at peace with France, should not be compromised by hostility of the house of Austria to that kingdom. The nation would not be satisfied with elaborate writings. A sturdy member of parliament asked, if the bond be violated, who is to sue upon the bond. The people knew the vast power of the emperor, and they dreaded that England might become a province of Spain. The insurrection of sir Thomas Wyatt was the exposition of the feeling of a great number of the English nation, who felt that their enthusiasm for a legitimate successor to the crown was involving them in evils that could only be redressed by an appeal to arms. The insurrection, although it was deliberately organised and boldly conducted, was a failure. The evil to be resisted was not imminent enough; public opinion was too divided to give an open attack upon the government a chance of success. It is fortunate for the cause of order, that established legal authority has a natural superiority over those who seek its overthrow; and that the remedy of grievances by violence is never obtained till the grievance becomes intolerable and the resistance universal.

In January, 1554, sir Thomas Carew and a band of friends "were up in Devonshire, resisting the prince of Spain's coming." Carew failed in his demonstration, and fled to France. The precipitancy of Carew forced his confederate, sir Thomas Wyatt, to take the field without full preparation. On the news arriving in London on the 25th of January, that Wyatt was up in Kent, the duke of Suffolk fled from his house at Sheen; and in Leicester, and other places, caused proclamation to be made against the queen's match. Those who follow bishop Cooper in the assertion that the duke again proclaimed his daughter as queen are contradicted by Holinshed and Stow. He was betrayed by his own park-keeper at Astley, near Coventry, and conducted to London as a prisoner. The rising of Wyatt was not so easily put down. He was in arms in the neighbourhood of Rochester when the duke of Norfolk, who had been fighting from the day of Flodden in intervals of his long life, was again sent to march against rebels, as he marched in 1536. Norfolk arrived at Rochester-bridge with the queen's guard, and a band of five hundred men hastily raised in

London, of whom one Alexander Brett was the Captain. A herald proclaimed the queen's pardon, which the insurgents refused. Norfolk was about to attack their position, when Brett cried out, "Masters, we go to fight against our native countrymen of England and our friends,"—and then set forth how those against whom they were led were in arms to resist the coming in of the proud Spaniards. The Londoners then cried, "A Wyatt—A Wyatt;" and forthwith the duke, and the earl of Ormond, and the captain of the guards, fled; and Brett and his men, and three-fourths of the duke's retinue, went into the camp of the Kentishmen. Some of the guards came home, their bows without strings, their arrows gone. The cannon and ammunition of Norfolk were left behind in his flight. On the 1st of February, Wyatt reached Deptford; and the same day the queen, who conducted herself with the self-command and determination of her race, went to the Guildhall, and demanded the assistance of the city in a spirited speech, which was sure to produce a stirring effect, coming from a woman's lips: "I am come unto you in mine own person, to tell you that which already you do see and know, that is, how traitorously and seditiously a number of Kentish rebels have assembled themselves together against both us and you. Their pretence, as they said at the first, was only to resist a marriage determined between us and the prince of Spain. To the which pretended quarrel, and to all the rest of their evil contrived articles ye have been made privy. Since which time, we have caused divers of our privy council to resort oftsoons to the said rebels, and to demand of them the cause of their continuance in their seditious enterprise. By whose answers made again to our said council, it appeared that the marriage is found to be the least of their quarrel. For they now swerving from their former articles, have betrayed the inward treason of their hearts, as most arrogantly demanding the possession of our person, the keeping of our Tower, and not only the placing and displacing of our councillors, but also to use them and us at their pleasures. Now, loving subjects, what I am, you right well know. I am your queen, to whom at my coronation when I was wedded to the realm, and to the laws of the same (the spousal ring whereof I have on my finger, which never hitherto was, nor hereafter shall be left off) ye promised your obedience unto me. And that I am the right and true inheritor to the crown of this realm of England, I not only take all christendom to witness, but also your Acts of parliament confirming the same. . . . And

certainly, if I either did know or think, that this marriage should either turn to the danger or loss of any of you my loving subjects, or to the detriment or impairing of any part or parcel of the royal estate of this realm of England, I would never consent thereunto, neither would I ever marry while I lived. And in the word of a queen, I promise and assure you, that if it shall not probably appear before the nobility and commons in the high court of parliament, that this marriage shall be for the singular benefit and commodity of all the whole realm; that then I will abstain, not only from this marriage, but also from any other, whereof peril may ensue to this most noble realm. Wherefore now as good faithful subjects pluck up your hearts, and like true men stand fast with your lawful prince against these rebels, both our enemies and yours, and fear them not."

Of this speech, which Fox has preserved as well as Holinshed, the martyrologist says, it is given "as near out of her own mouth as could be penned." The people of London were strangely moved by her courage and address. Protestant was as ready for her defence as catholic. The day after the queen went to Guildhall, the householders of London were in armour in the streets; "yea," says Stow, "this day and other days, the justices, serjeants-at-the-law, and other lawyers in Westminster-hall, pleaded in harness." On the 3rd of February, Wyatt marched from Deptford with two thousand men, and as they passed on the Surrey side, ordnance was discharged at them out of the White Tower. They passed on without injury from the unskilful cannoners. The gates of London-bridge were closed; its drawbridge cut down: the shops in the city were shut; there was running up and down for weapons and harness; with aged men astonished and women weeping. At Southwark the rebels were favourably received; and bands from the country, raised by lord William Howard, took part with them. Wyatt issued a proclamation that no soldier should take anything without payment, and that he came only to resist the bringing in of the Spanish king. When he heard that it was proclaimed that whoever took him should have a thousand pounds, he set his name of Thomas Wyatt, fair written, on his cap. He lingered in Southwark till Shrove Tuesday, the sixth of February, finding it impossible to gain a passage at London-bridge; and all boats being forbidden to be taken to the Surrey side of the Thames, under pain of death. He then marched to Kingston, which he reached at night-fall. There was then no bridge over the Thames between

London-bridge and Kingston-bridge. That bridge was broken down; but Wyatt dispersed the men who disputed his passage, and crossed in boats. The weary and hungry band kept on their march to Brentford, and halted not till they reached Knightsbridge. Here they were detained by the dismantling of a gun-carriage, and their object of a night attack on Whitehall was defeated. When the news reached Westminster that the rebels had passed Brentford, drums went through the streets at four o'clock in the morning, warning all to arm themselves and repair to Charing-cross. It was broad day when, after this march through a cold February night, the Kentish men reached the west end of what we now call Piccadilly, but which was then known as "The way to Reading"—a highway amidst fields and trees. The first houses of the western suburb were a scattered few about the Mews—now Trafalgar-square—and one or two at the south end of the Haymarket, a country road. St. James's palace stood in St. James's Field, where, on that eventful morning, horse and foot had assembled. The movements of the royal forces and of the rebels are minutely described in the Diary of the Resident in the Tower, from which Stow has copied his narrative. "By ten of the clock, or somewhat later, the earl of Pembroke had set his troop of horsemen on the hill in the highway above the new bridge over against St. James's; his footmen were set in two battalions somewhat lower, and nearer Charing-cross. At the lane turning down by the brick-wall from Islington-ward, he had set also certain other horsemen, and he had planted his ordnance upon the hill-side. In the mean season Wyatt and his company planted his ordnance upon the hill beyond St. James's, almost over against the park corner; and himself, after a few words spoken to his soldiers, came down the old lane on foot, hard by the court gate at St. James's, with four or five ancients, his men marching in good array." This is not difficult to understand if we picture to ourselves that "the hill in the highway above the new bridge over against St. James's," where the earl of Pembroke "had set his troop of horsemen," was the elevated ground of "the way to Reading" at the upper end of the present St. James's-street; and the "new bridge" was over a stream in the Green Park: that "the lane turning down by the brick-wall from Islington-ward" near Charing-cross, where the earl's footmen were, was St. Martin's-lane, and that "the brick-wall" was the wall of the Convent Garden, which was a great inclosure extending from St. Martin's-lane far along the Strand.*

* See the plan of London by Aggas, 1578.

Wyat's men marched by St. James's Palace, by the road called "the old lane." The earl of Pembroke's horsemen hovered about them, but made no bold attempt to stop their march. Great ordnance were fired on both sides with little damage. The rebels passed on to Charing-cross, where was the lord chamberlain with the guard; but onward the rebels went towards the city, by the highway of the Strand. Amidst this little fighting, "the noise of women and children, while the conflict was at Charing-cross, was so great and shrill, that it was heard to the top of the White Tower." The queen seems to have been the only person of the whole court endowed with sense and courage. There was a party of Wyat's force that separated from him by St. James's Palace, and went towards Westminster to attack Whitehall, and when they came suddenly through the gate-house, says another relater of these events, "Sir John Gage, and three of the judges that were meanly armed in old brigantines, were so frightened that they fled in at the gates in such haste that old Gage fell down in the dirt, and was foul arrayed; and so shut the gates, wherewith the rebels shot many arrows."* When "divers timorous and cold-hearted soldiers came to the queen, crying 'all is lost—away, away; a barge, a barge,' her grace never changed her cheer, nor would remove one foot of the house."† Her women were shrieking and hiding in helpless terror. Wyat continued his march, unresisted, though his men were in a disordered condition, on through Temple-bar and Fleet-street, till they came to Ludgate. He knocked at the gate; but was refused admittance by lord William Howard, with the words, "Avaunt, traitor! thou shalt not come in here." He rested awhile at the Bell-Savage gate; and then turned back, purposeless. After a skirmish at Temple-bar, a herald persuaded him to yield; and sir Maurice Berkeley received his submission, and carried him behind him on his horse to court. From Whitehall to the Tower was his last journey.

* Underhill's Narrative. Appendix to "Chronicle of Queen Jane."

† Proctor's Narrative, in Holinshed.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Gardiner's sermon before the queen.—Execution of Lady Jane Grey and her husband.—The gallows in every London street.—Suffolk beheaded.—A acquittal of Throckmorton.—Elizabeth summoned to the Court.—Elizabeth sent to the Tower.—Her letter to Mary.—Her death urged upon the queen.—Her release from the Tower.—Unquiet condition of the country.—Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley at Oxford.—Arrival of Philip.—Marriage of Philip and Mary.—Seditious books.—Protestant exiles.—Cardinal Pole and the Parliament.—Pole's absolution of the kingdom.—All the Statutes against heretics revived.

It was the 7th of February when the insurrection of Wyat thus completely failed. Prisoner after prisoner continued to arrive at the Tower; and on Saturday, the 10th, the duke of Suffolk and lord John Grey were brought thither from Coventry. On Sunday the 11th, Gardiner preached before the queen; and "he asked a boon of the queen's highness," that, like as she had beforetime extended her mercy, particularly and privately, through which lenity and gentleness conspiracy and open rebellion had grown, "she would now be merciful to the body of the commonwealth, and conservation thereof, which could not be unless the rotten and hurtful members thereof were cut off and consumed." From this exhortation, adds the chronicler, "all the audience did gather there should follow sharp and cruel execution."* The audience were not deceived in their belief. On Monday, the 12th, lord Guilford Dudley, the young husband of lady Jane Grey, was led out of his prison walls to die on Tower-hill at ten o'clock. Out of the window of "Partridge's house" did Jane, whose own hour of final release was fast approaching, see him walk to the scaffold; and, long before the bell had again sounded the hour, she saw his body taken out of a cart, with his head in a cloth. On the green against the White Tower had a scaffold been erected, on which the lady Jane was to die. This tragedy was to have been completed on the Friday previous, but was then postponed for some unknown cause. When Gardiner begged his boon of the queen, some desire to spare two persons so young and so innocent—one, so fair, so accomplished,—might have lingered in her breast. The insurrection

* "Queen Jane and Queen Mary," p. 54.