

Lady Jane Grey: A Tudor Mystery

Eric Ives

WILEY-BLACKWELL

‘A highly ingenious solution to the mystery of Jane Grey’s thirteen-day usurpation of the throne. Ives’s research skills are formidable and will make this book essential, if provocative reading.’

John Guy

‘Eric Ives has provided the first full-scale account of one of the most surprising sequences of events in the politics of Tudor England. It is an engrossing tale, here presented in incisive style by a scholar who has an instinctive grasp of how to bring the surprises back to life.’

Diarmaid MacCulloch,
author of *Reformation, Europe’s House Divided*, and
A History of Christianity: The First Three Thousand Years

‘A Tudor mystery is brilliantly solved, and the story of one of England’s most dangerous crises is thrillingly told . . . This book, which takes us as close to the truth of these events as is possible, will convince scholars who thought that they knew the story already, and delight general readers.’

Susan Brigden,
Lincoln College, Oxford

To my many friends who have grappled with
The Reign of Edward VI

LADY
JANE GREY
A Tudor Mystery

ERIC IVES

 **WILEY-BLACKWELL**
A John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., Publication

This edition first published 2009

© 2009 Eric Ives

Blackwell Publishing was acquired by John Wiley & Sons in February 2007. Blackwell's publishing programme has been merged with Wiley's global Scientific, Technical, and Medical business to form Wiley-Blackwell.

Registered Office

John Wiley & Sons Ltd, The Atrium, Southern Gate, Chichester, West Sussex, PO19 8SQ, United Kingdom

Editorial Offices

350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148-5020, USA

9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ, UK

The Atrium, Southern Gate, Chichester, West Sussex, PO19 8SQ, UK

For details of our global editorial offices, for customer services, and for information about how to apply for permission to reuse the copyright material in this book please see our website at www.wiley.com/wiley-blackwell.

The right of Eric Ives to be identified as the author of this work has been asserted in accordance with the UK Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, except as permitted by the UK Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, without the prior permission of the publisher.

Wiley also publishes its books in a variety of electronic formats. Some content that appears in print may not be available in electronic books.

Designations used by companies to distinguish their products are often claimed as trademarks. All brand names and product names used in this book are trade names, service marks, trademarks or registered trademarks of their respective owners. The publisher is not associated with any product or vendor mentioned in this book. This publication is designed to provide accurate and authoritative information in regard to the subject matter covered. It is sold on the understanding that the publisher is not engaged in rendering professional services. If professional advice or other expert assistance is required, the services of a competent professional should be sought.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Ives, E. W. (Eric William), 1931–

Lady Jane Grey : a Tudor mystery / Eric Ives.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-4051-9413-6 (hardcover : alk. paper)

1. Grey, Jane, Lady, 1537–1554. 2. Great Britain–Kings and rulers–Succession–History–16th century. 3. Queens–Great Britain–Biography. I. Title.

DA345.1.D9I94 2009

942.05'3092–dc22

[B]

2009005159

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Set in 10.75/13.5pt Galliard by SPi Publisher Services, Pondicherry, India

Printed in Singapore

I 2009

CONTENTS

List of Illustrations	vii
List of Figures	ix
Preface	x
Titles and Offices	xii
Figures	xv
Map	xx
Prologue	1
Part I The Scene	5
1 The Year of Three Sovereigns	7
2 In Search of Jane Grey	14
3 Jane Grey in Context	24
Part II The Protagonists	31
<i>Jane Grey</i>	
4 A Damnable Inheritance	33
5 Jane the Person	42
6 Family Priorities	56
7 A Godly Upbringing	68
<i>Mary Tudor</i>	
8 Father and Daughter	77
9 Sister and Brother	86
<i>John Dudley</i>	
10 John Dudley: The Career	96
11 John Dudley: The Black Legend	107
12 John Dudley: Motives	114

Edward

13	The Young King	127
14	'My Deuise for the Succession'	137
15	King and Minister	150
16	The Will of a King	159

Part III Thirteen Days 169

17	Preparations	171
18	Jane the Queen	183
19	The Council in London	191
20	The March on Framlingham	202
21	A Second Front	213
22	The Rebellion of Mary Tudor	225

Part IV Consequences 239

23	Every Man for Himself	241
24	The Tower	248
25	Nemesis	261
26	The River of Jordan	271
27	Afterlife	278
28	Envoi	293

Notes	294
Bibliographical Abbreviations	343
Index	354

ILLUSTRATIONS

(Between pages 236 and 237)

- 1 Anon., *Jane Grey* (c.1590) [the ‘Houghton Jane’]. © reserved; collection unknown – previously in the collection of Houghton Hall
- 2 Anon., *Lady conjectured to be ‘The Lady Jane Graye executed’* [the ‘Northwick Park Jane’]. From Roy Strong, *Tudor and Jacobean Portraits* (NPG, 1969)
- 3 Marcus Gheeraerts (attrib.), *Katherine Grey*. From H. Chapman, *Two Tudor Portraits* (1960)
- 4 Hans Eworth, *Mary Grey*. By kind permission of the trustees of the Chequers estate/Mark Fiennes/Bridgeman Art Library
- 5 Willem and Magdalena de Passe, *Jane Grey* (engr. c.1620). © National Portrait Gallery, London
- 6 Levina Teerlinck, *Lady conjectured to be Jane Grey*. © Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection/Bridgeman Art Library
- 7 George Vertue, *Jane Grey* (engr. J. Basire). Nichols, *Leicester*
- 8 Anon., *Lady conjectured to be Jane Grey* [the ‘Wrest Park Jane’]. Private Collection
- 9 Hans Eworth, *Portrait of a Lady*. © Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge/The Bridgeman Art Library
- 10 *Bradgate Park*, engr. Johannes Kip (c.1715). Nichols, *Leicester*
- 11 John Throsby, *Bradgate Park*, engr. Walker (1777–8). Nichols, *Leicester*
- 12 Anon., *Henry Grey, marquis of Dorset, duke of Suffolk* (engraving of lost portrait 1826). Heritage Image Partnership/Imagestate
- 13 Hans Holbein the younger, *The Dutchess of Suffolk* (1532–43). The Royal Collection © 2009, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II
- 14 Anon., *Katherine Parr* (1545). © National Portrait Gallery, London

- 15 Hans Eworth, *Mary I*. © National Portrait Gallery, London
- 16 Anon., *Edward VI and the Pope* (c.1570). © National Portrait Gallery, London
- 17 Anon., *John Dudley, earl of Warwick, duke of Northumberland*. Penshurst Place, by kind permission of Viscount De L'Isle
- 18 Hans Eworth, *Henry Fitzalan, earl of Arundel*. © The Berger Collection at the Denver Art Museum, USA/The Bridgeman Art Library
- 19 Sudeley Castle. © The author
- 20 Edward VI, 'A summary of matters to be concluded'. BL Lansdowne MS 1236 fo. 19
- 21 William Theed the Younger, *Lady Jane Grey at her studies* (relief from the Prince's Chamber, Palace of Westminster). © Palace of Westminster Collection
- 22 The Tower of London (enr. 1742). The Society of Antiquaries of London
- 23 Jane Grey, letter to Thomas Seymour (1548). National Archives SP10/5 no. 5
- 24 Jane Grey, letter to Henry Bullinger (7 July, 1552). © Zentralbibliothek Zürich, RP18
- 25 M. Florio, copy of *Regole de la lingua thoscana* dedicated and presented to Jane Grey (original binding). BL Sloane MS 3011
- 26 Jane Grey's Prayer book, inscribed to Sir John Brydges. BL Harleian MS 2342 fos. 74^v, 75
- 27 Edward VI, 'My deuse for the succession'. Inner Temple, Petyt MS 47 fo. 317 by kind permission of the Masters of the Bench
- 28 Paul Delaroche, *The Execution of Lady Jane Grey* (1833). © The National Gallery/The Bridgeman Art Library

FIGURES

1	The Tudor family in June 1536	xv
2	The succession according to Henry VIII's will	xvi
3	Edward VI's 'deuise', VERSION ONE	xvii
4	Edward VI's 'deuise', VERSION TWO	xviii
5	Edward VI's 'declaracion', 21 June 1553	xix

Map

	The movement of forces, July 1553	xx
--	-----------------------------------	----

PREFACE

JANE Grey, the rightful queen of England, was deposed on 19 July 1553 and beheaded on 12 February 1554. This may not be what the text books say, but it is the conclusion offered by this study. The book is not a conventional biography. Jane Grey did not live to see seventeen and the successive crises which destroyed her lasted, each of them, for only a fortnight. It is, rather, ‘a mystery’, a detective story, in English parlance, ‘a whodunnit’. It asks how it was that in 1553 England came suddenly and desperately close to civil war and why those involved behaved as they did. It surveys the facts, discusses the options, suggests where the evidence leads, and weaves the discussion around as much as can be known of the remarkable girl who in right was the fourth of the Tudor monarchs and the first of the Dudley line. As with the solutions offered to every ‘mystery’, it is for the jury of readers to be persuaded or otherwise.

The notion of ‘a mystery’ determines the structure of the book. It looks first at the available evidence and then assesses each of the protagonists in turn. Next the complexities of the key decisions are unravelled. The narrative of Jane’s thirteen-day reign follows and finally the focus switches back to the sixteen-year-old and the last six months which elevated her to martyrdom.

In the course of what has been a tortuous investigation I owe a debt of gratitude to many archivists and librarians, notably Philippa Bassett (University of Birmingham), Andrea Clarke (British Library), Bridget Clifford (Royal Armouries), Tanya Cooper (National Portrait Gallery), Michael Frost (Inner Temple Library), Wayne Hammond (Williams College, Mass.), Sonje Marie Isaacs (the Lady Jane Internet Museum), Alexandra Kess-Hall (University of Zurich), Sheila O’Connell (British Museum), Michael Page (Surrey History Centre), Jayne Ringrose (University of Cambridge), Susan Tomkins (Beaulieu), Naomi van Loo (New College,

Oxford University) and Martin Killeen (University of Birmingham). I am also indebted to discussions with and generous help from Diarmaid MacCulloch and many other scholars and critics, particularly Benjamin S. Baum, Dermot Fenlon, Christopher Foley, Meg Harper, Susan Ives, Leanda de Lisle, Nicholas Orme, Inga Walton and Barry Young. Not least, this book owes much to Tessa Harvey and her colleagues at Wiley-Blackwell. Finally the dedication bears tribute to the students who, over the years, have joined me in wrestling with ‘the mystery’ of 1553.

TITLES AND OFFICES

IN the years covered by this study, titles and office-holders changed. What follows lists the principal identifications; see also the index.

<i>Admiral</i>		<i>see</i> : Dudley, John [I]; Seymour, Thomas; Fiennes, Edward
<i>Brandon, Charles</i>	1514–45	duke of Suffolk
	1539–45	lord great master and president of the council
<i>Brandon, Frances</i>	1533	marchioness of Dorset
	1551–9	duchess of Suffolk
	1555–9	Lady Stokes
<i>Canterbury, Archbishop of</i>	1533–55	<i>see</i> : Cranmer, Thomas
<i>Chancellor</i>	1544–7	Thomas Wriothesley
	1547–52	Richard Rich
	1552–3	Thomas Goodrich
<i>Clinton, Lord</i>		<i>see</i> : Fiennes, Edward
<i>Cranmer, Thomas</i>	1533–55	archbishop of Canterbury
<i>Darcy, Thomas</i>	1550–1	vice-chamberlain of the household
	1551	Lord Darcy of Chiche
	1551–3	lord chamberlain of the household
<i>Dorset, marchioness of</i>		<i>see</i> : Brandon, Frances
<i>Dorset, marquis of</i>		<i>see</i> : Grey, Henry
<i>Dudley, John [I]</i>	1542	Viscount Lisle
	1543–7, 1549–50	admiral
	1547	earl of Warwick
	1547–50	lord great chamberlain
	1550–3	lord great master and president of the council
	1551	duke of Northumberland

<i>Dudley, John [II]</i>	1553–4	earl of Warwick
<i>Durham, bishop of</i>	1530–52, 1554–9	Cuthbert Tunstal
<i>Ely, bishop of</i>	1534–54	<i>see</i> : Goodrich, Thomas
<i>Fiennes, Edward</i>	1515–85	Lord Clinton
	1550–4	admiral
<i>French Ambassadors</i>	1551–3	René de Laval de Boisdauphin
	1553–6	Antoine de Noailles
<i>Goodrich, Thomas</i>	1534–54	bishop of Ely
	1552–3	chancellor
<i>Grey, Henry</i>	1533	marquis of Dorset
	1551–4	duke of Suffolk
<i>Hastings, Francis</i>	1529	Lord Hastings
	1544–60	earl of Huntingdon
<i>Hastings, Henry</i>	1544	Lord Hastings
	1560–95	earl of Huntingdon
<i>Herbert, William [I]</i>	1551	Lord Herbert
	1551–70	earl of Pembroke
<i>Herbert, William [II]</i>	1551	Lord Herbert
	1570–1601	earl of Pembroke
<i>Hertford, earl of</i>		<i>see</i> : Seymour
<i>Huntingdon, earl of</i>		<i>see</i> : Hastings
<i>Imperial Ambassadors</i>	1529–45	Eustace Chapuys
	1544–1550	François Van der Delft
	1550–3	Jehan Scheyfve
	1553–5	Simon Renard
<i>Lisle, Viscount</i>		<i>see</i> : Dudley, John [I]
<i>Lord chamberlain</i>	1551–3	Thomas lord Darcy of Chiche
<i>Lord great chamberlain</i>		<i>see</i> : Parr; Dudley, John [I]
<i>Lord great master and president of the council</i>		<i>see</i> : Brandon, Charles; Paulet; Dudley, John [I]
<i>Lord privy seal</i>		<i>see</i> : Russell, John
<i>Lord protector</i>		<i>see</i> : Seymour, Edward [I]
<i>Lord treasurer</i>		<i>see</i> : Paulet
<i>Northampton, marquis of</i>		<i>see</i> : Parr
<i>Parr, William</i>	1543–53	earl of Essex
	1547–53	marquis of Northampton
	1559–71	marquis of Northampton
	1550–3	lord great chamberlain

<i>Paulet, William</i>	1539	Lord St John
	1546–50	lord great master and president of the council
	1550	earl of Wiltshire
	1550–72	lord treasurer
	1551–72	marquis of Winchester
<i>Protector</i>		<i>see</i> : Seymour, Edward [I]
<i>Radcliffe, Henry</i>	1542–57	earl of Sussex
<i>Radcliffe, Thomas</i>	1542	Lord Fitzwalter
	1557–93	earl of Sussex
<i>Russell, John</i>	1539	Lord Russell
	1542–55	lord privy seal
	1550–5	earl of Bedford
<i>Russell, Francis</i>	1550–5	Lord Russell
	1555–85	earl of Bedford
<i>Salisbury, countess of</i>	1514–39	Margaret Pole
<i>Secretaries of state</i>	1543–7	William Paget
	1544–57	William Petre
	1550–3	William Cecil
	1553	John Cheke
<i>Seymour, Edward [I]</i>	1536	Viscount Beauchamp
	1537	earl of Hertford
	1547–9	lord protector
	1547–52	duke of Somerset
<i>Seymour, Edward [II]</i>	1547–52	earl of Hertford
<i>Seymour, Thomas</i>	1547–9	Lord Seymour
	1547–9	admiral
<i>Southampton, earl of</i>		<i>see</i> : Wriothesley, Thomas
<i>Suffolk, duke of</i>		<i>see</i> : Brandon, Charles; Grey, Henry
<i>Sussex, earl of</i>		<i>see</i> : Radcliffe
<i>Vice-chamberlain of the household</i>		<i>see</i> : Darcy
	1551–3	John Gates
<i>Winchester, bishop of</i>	1531–51, 1553–5	Stephen Gardiner
<i>Winchester, marquis of</i>		<i>see</i> : Paulet
<i>Wriothesley, Thomas</i>	1544–7	chancellor
	1544	Lord Wriothesley
	1547–50	earl of Southampton

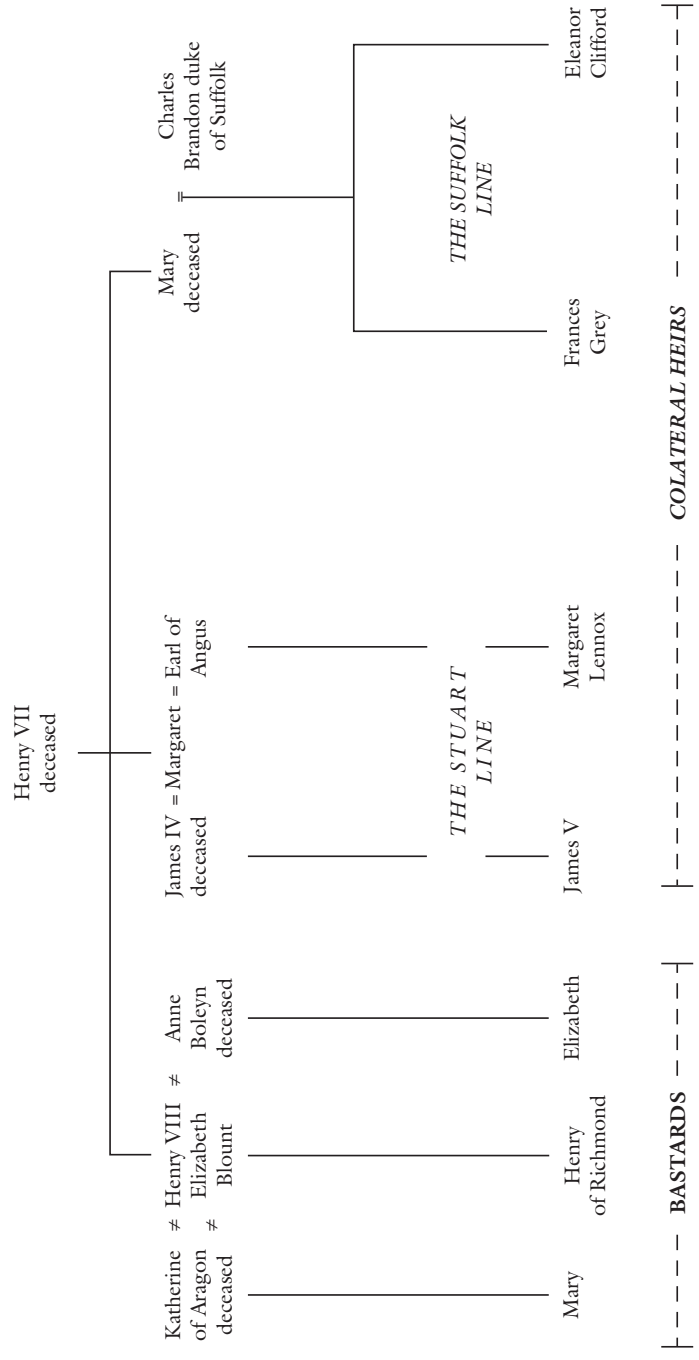


Figure 1 The Tudor family in June 1536

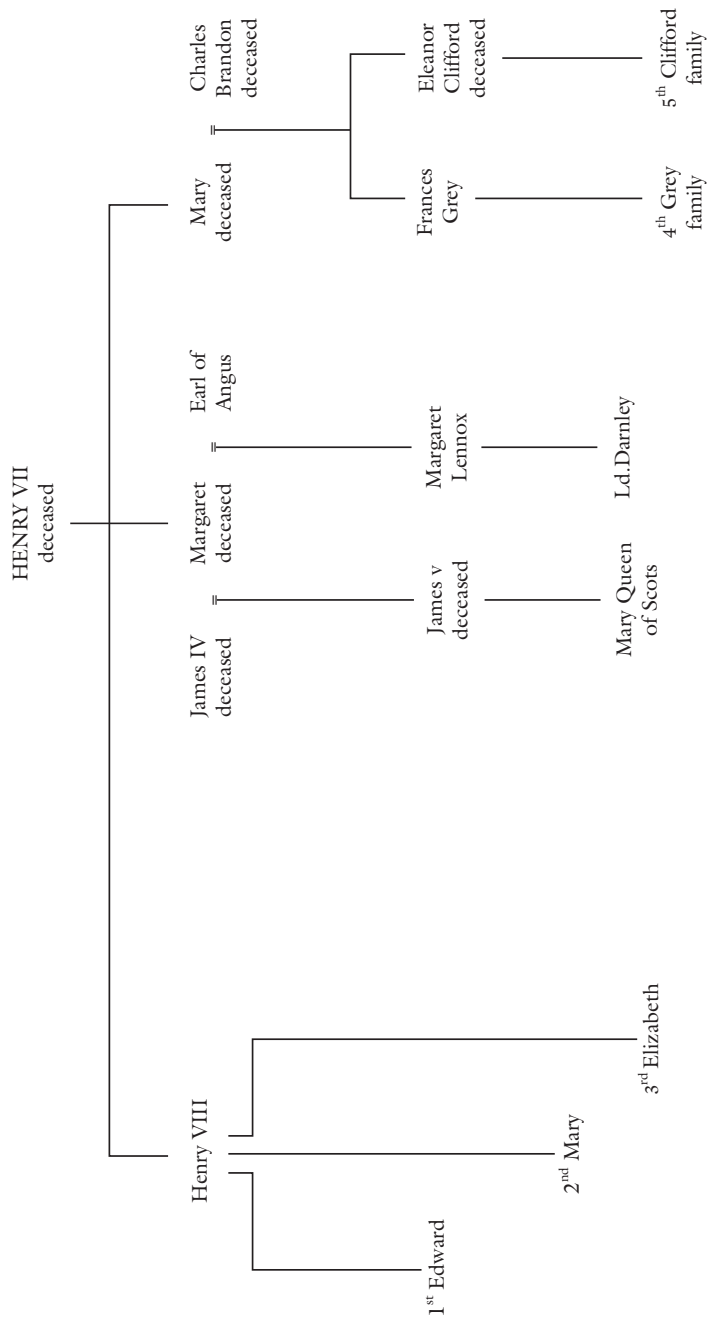
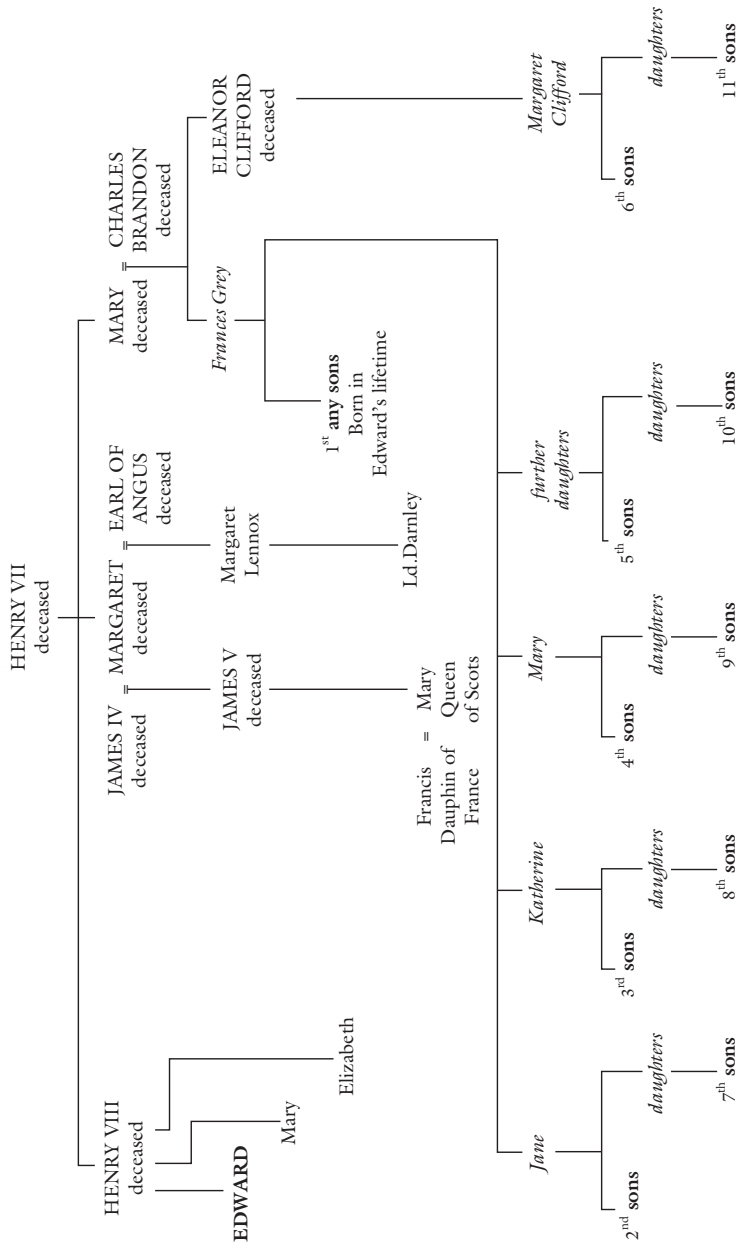
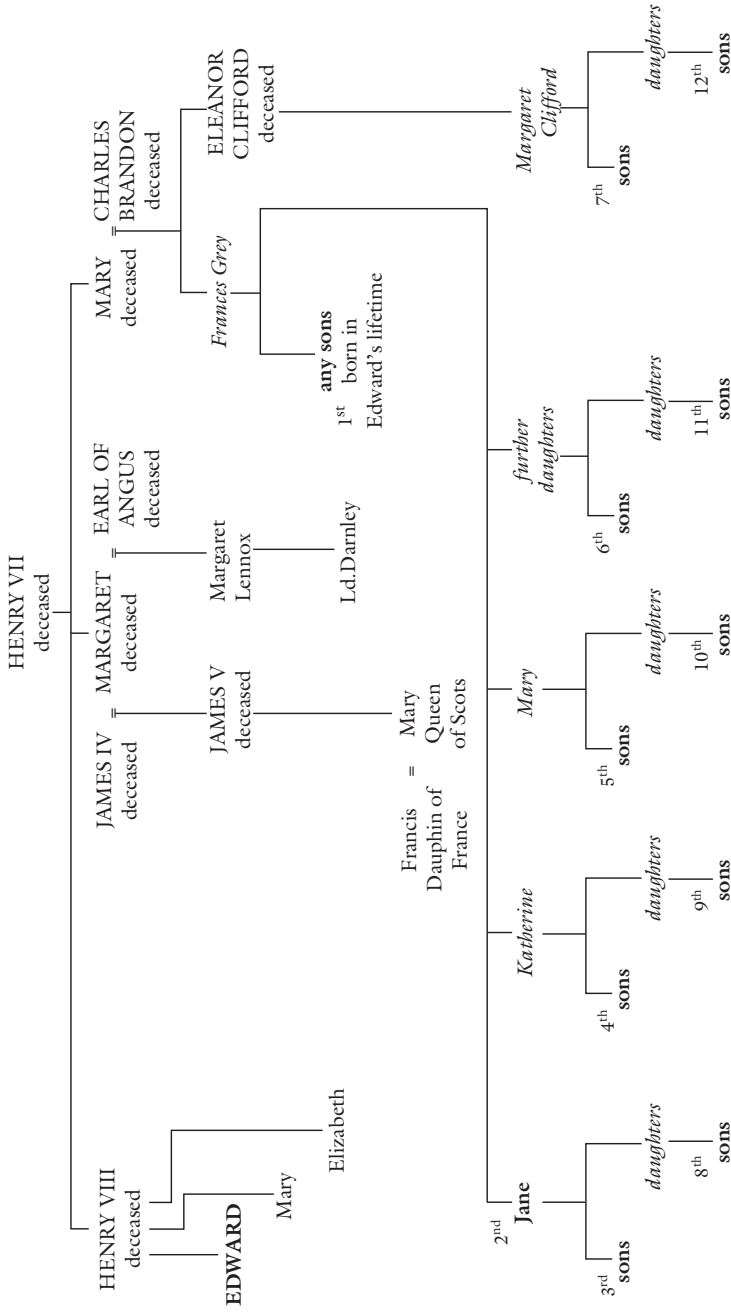


Figure 2 The succession according to Henry VIII's will



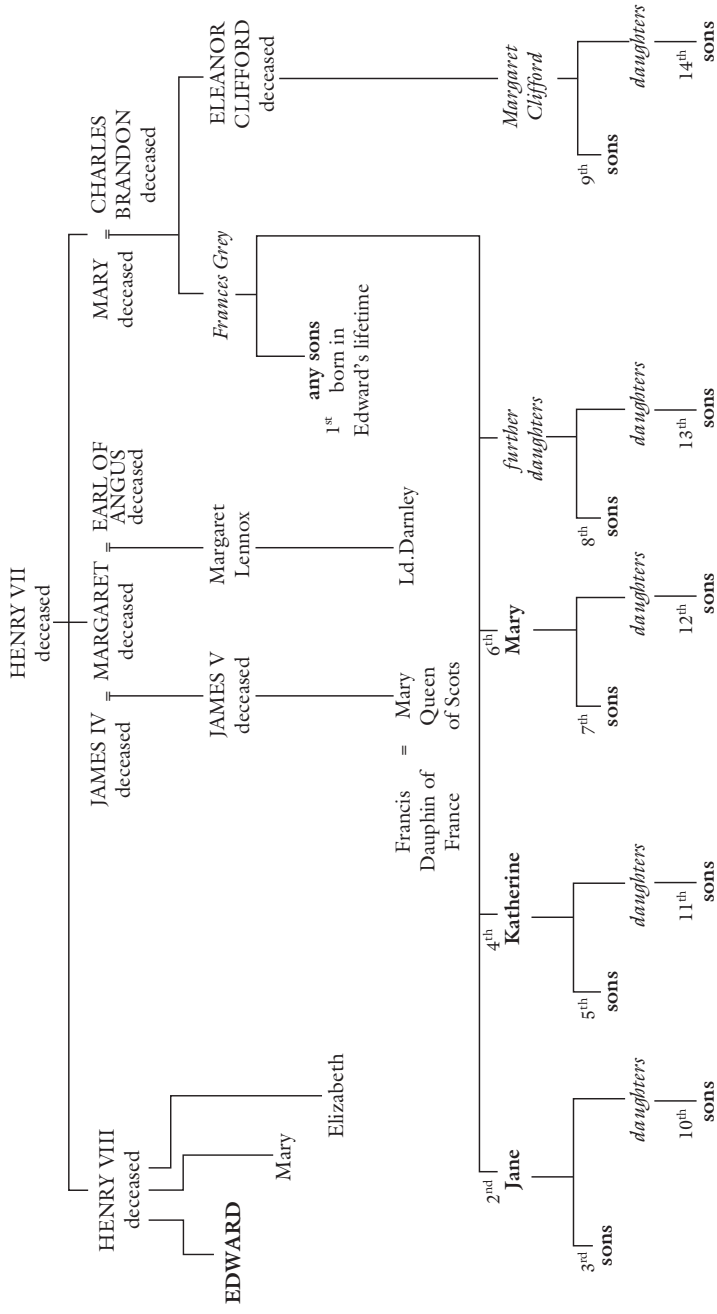
Women who do not inherit but whose sons can Mary and Elizabeth are debarred by illegitimacy

Figure 3 Edward VI's 'deuise', VERSION ONE



Jane inherits
 Women who do not inherit but whose sons can
 inherit are debarré by illegitimacy
 Mary and Elizabeth

Figure 4 Edward VI's 'deuise', VERSION TWO



Jane, Katherine and Mary inherit, their daughters do not
 Women who do not inherit but whose sons can
 Mary and Elizabeth are debarred by illegitimacy

Figure 5 Edward VI's 'declaracion', 21 June 1553



The movement of forces, July 1553

PROLOGUE

ON the evening of Sunday 11 February 1554 Jane Grey sat writing in the gentleman-gaoler's house in the Tower of London. She was sixteen. Slightly built, 'prettily shaped and graceful' but short enough to require platform shoes, Jane had brown eyes, hair nearly red, and a fair complexion with freckles.¹ She was also frighteningly precocious; her scholarly reputation was talked of as far away as Zurich. But that evening she was not composing one of her elegant Latin missives to a foreign scholar. Jane was saying farewell. In twelve hours she would be dead, beheaded on the scaffold she had watched being built on the other side of Tower Green. Except for its horrifying finality, her death would be a piece with the whole of Jane's previous life. From birth she had been treated as an object to be passed around to the advantage of first one Svengali and then another. Now she was to be disposed of finally at the behest of her cousin, the ageing Queen Mary I, the daughter of Henry VIII and Katherine of Aragon.

Jane had by then been in the Tower for seven months, but not originally on Mary's instructions. On Monday 10 June 1553 Jane had been escorted to the royal apartments next to the White Tower with pomp and ceremony as, following the death of her cousin Edward VI the previous Thursday, leading magnates of the realm united to proclaim her queen. Taking over the fortress was a symbolic act of possession required of all incoming English monarchs. All that remained was Jane's coronation. But ten days later the Tower changed into a prison, ten days which had seen Mary displace her in a wholly unexpected political coup.

That, of course, is not the way in which the events of 1553 have been remembered. Over the centuries there has been almost a tacit agreement to play down Jane Grey's revolt as 'not quite English', a piece of naked

self-seeking in contrast to morally acceptable rebellions which are driven by principle, by genuine grievances or by loyalty to a 'king over the water'. The name by which Jane Grey is universally remembered says it all: 'the nine days queen' – not so much because she ruled for nine days (the more correct figure is thirteen), but because her reign was a proverbial 'nine days wonder'. Yet when Edward died, Jane's succession had looked secure. Nobody in the know gave Mary any chance at all; even the envoys of her cousin and supporter, the emperor Charles V, had concluded that 'her promotion to the crown will be so difficult as to be well-nigh impossible'.² Jane's backers held all the cards. They controlled the machinery of government; the whole of the political establishment was sworn to her, so too the royal guard; the Tower (the nation's armoury) was held in her name, the navy similarly. We have to turn tradition on its head and recognize that it was not Mary but Jane who was the reigning queen; her so-called 'rebellion' against Queen Mary was, in reality, the 'rebellion of Lady Mary' against Queen Jane. Mary's achievement was unique in the century and a half which separates the fifteenth-century wars of York and Lancaster from the seventeenth-century Civil War of king and parliament. It was the single occasion when the power of the English crown was successfully flouted. She alone of all the challengers succeeded in taking over government, capital and country, and in so doing ousted an incumbent ruler who had all the state's resources behind her. Had Mary failed as was expected, Jane Grey would have been the fourth monarch of the Tudor line and her rival, yet one more illegitimate contestant in the competition for the English throne which had been going on since 1399.

Of course, no sooner had Mary won than the country became unanimous that she was and always had been the legitimate heir to her brother. History is always written by the winners. In popular memory, the story of Lady Jane Grey and the rebellion of 1553 has become one of the great mythic dramas of English history. When the curtain rises, Edward VI is centre stage, two months short of his sixteenth birthday, coughing away his life, tortured in equal portions by disease and Tudor medicine. Who is to succeed him? Enter Edward's half-sister Mary, Henry VIII's elder daughter and the young king's 'rightful' heir. Also enter Mephistopheles, John Dudley, duke of Northumberland, Edward's chief minister, dragging with him the teenage Jane Grey whom he has forced to marry his son Guildford. Determined to oust Mary in favour of this daughter-in-law and his son her husband, the duke is willing to endanger everything the Tudor kings have achieved in rescuing England from the lawlessness and political collapse of the Wars of the Roses. Around the duke is a gaggle of noble

- [*read online Postmodern Winemaking: Rethinking the Modern Science of an Ancient Craft*](#)
- [**Giraffe \(Animal\) online**](#)
- [**Raw Organic Goodness online**](#)
- [*High Price: A Neuroscientist's Journey of Self-Discovery That Challenges Everything You Know About Drugs and Society here*](#)
- [download online M Train](#)
- [*read A Killing Frost*](#)

- <http://qolorea.com/library/Making-Things-Talk--Practical-Methods-for-Connecting-Physical-Objects.pdf>
- <http://www.freightunlocked.co.uk/lib/Two-Rings--A-Story-of-Love-and-War.pdf>
- <http://diy-chirol.com/lib/Raw-Organic-Goodness.pdf>
- <http://interactmg.com/ebooks/Sailing-a-Serious-Ocean--Sailboats--Storms--Stories-and-Lessons-Learned-from-30-Years-at-Sea.pdf>
- <http://hasanetmekci.com/ebooks/Purgatory--Galactic-Comedy--Book-2-.pdf>
- <http://metromekanik.com/ebooks/Psychology-and-Religion--West-and-East--The-Collected-Works-of-C--G--Jung--Volume-11-.pdf>