

# **Lady Jane Grey: A Tudor Mystery**

*Eric Ives*

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

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LADY  
JANE GREY  
*A Tudor Mystery*

ERIC IVES

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

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## 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.

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# TITLES AND OFFICES

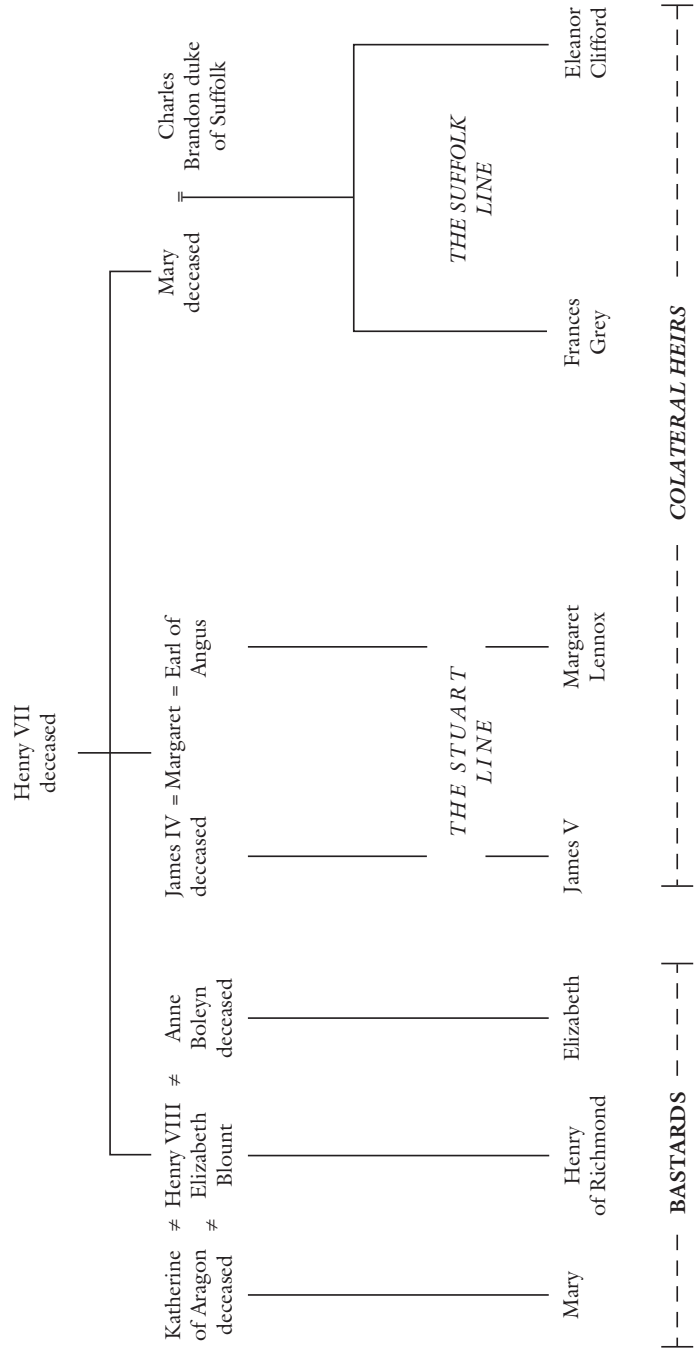
**I**N the years covered by this study, titles and office-holders changed. What follows lists the principal identifications; see also the index.

|                                  |                 |   |
|----------------------------------|-----------------|---|
| <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  |

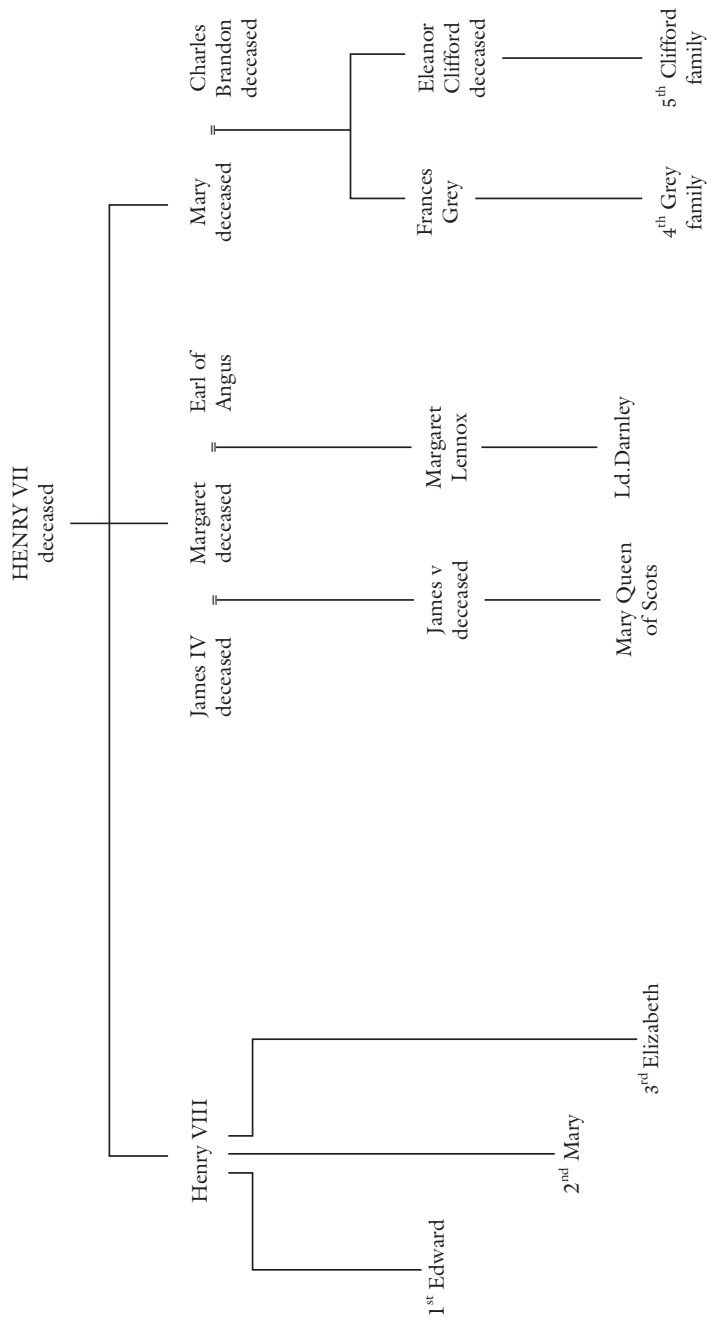
|   |                 |   |
|---|-----------------|---|
| <i>Dudley, John [II]</i>                              | 1553–4          | earl of Warwick   |
| <i>Durham, bishop of</i>                              | 1530–52, 1554–9 | Cuthbert Tunstal  |
| <i>Ely, bishop of</i>                                 | 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<br>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,<br>Henry      |
| <i>Sussex, earl of</i>                       |                 | <i>see:</i> Radcliffe                             |
| <i>Vice-chamberlain<br/>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                               |

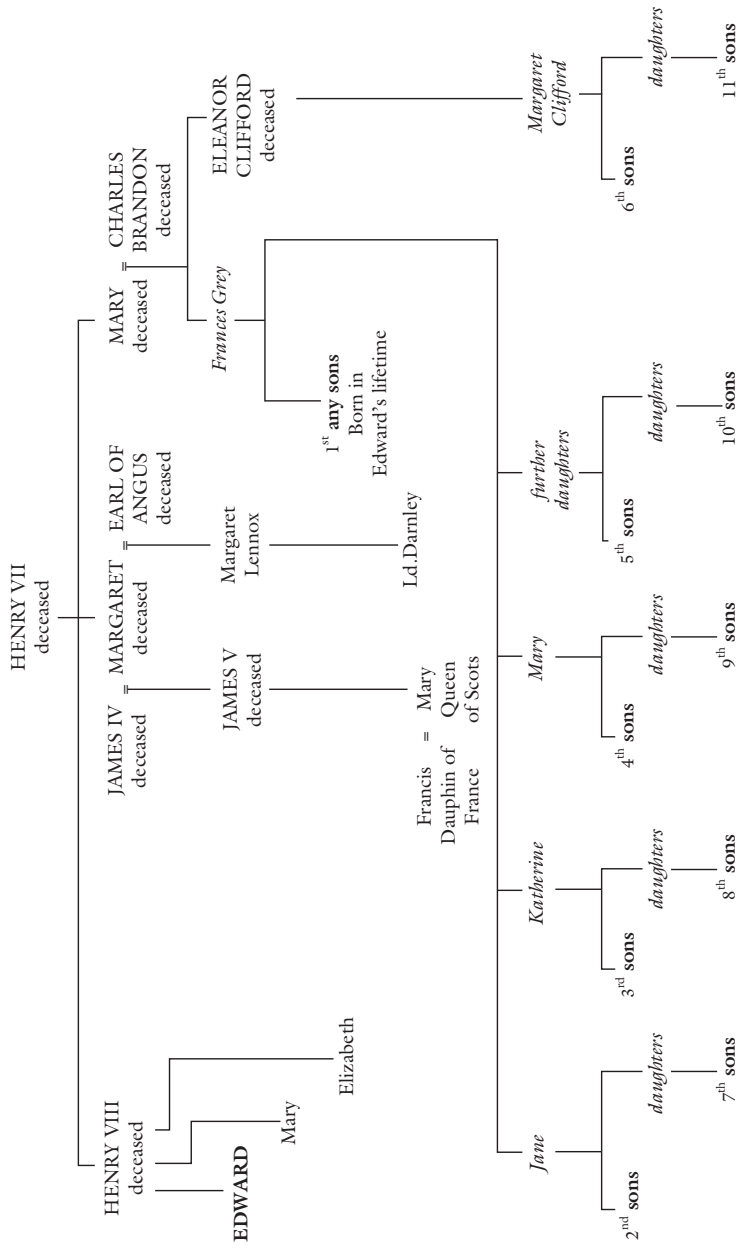




**Figure 1** The Tudor family in June 1536

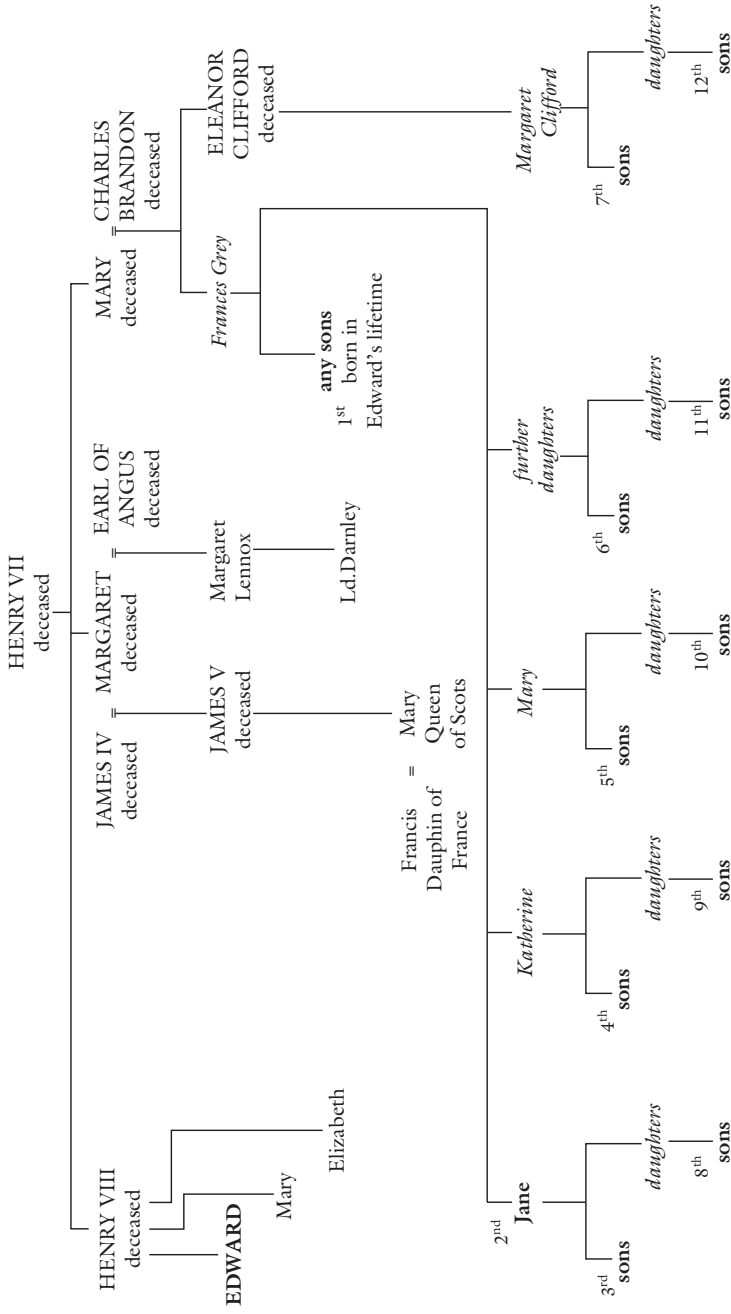


**Figure 2** The succession according to Henry VIII's will



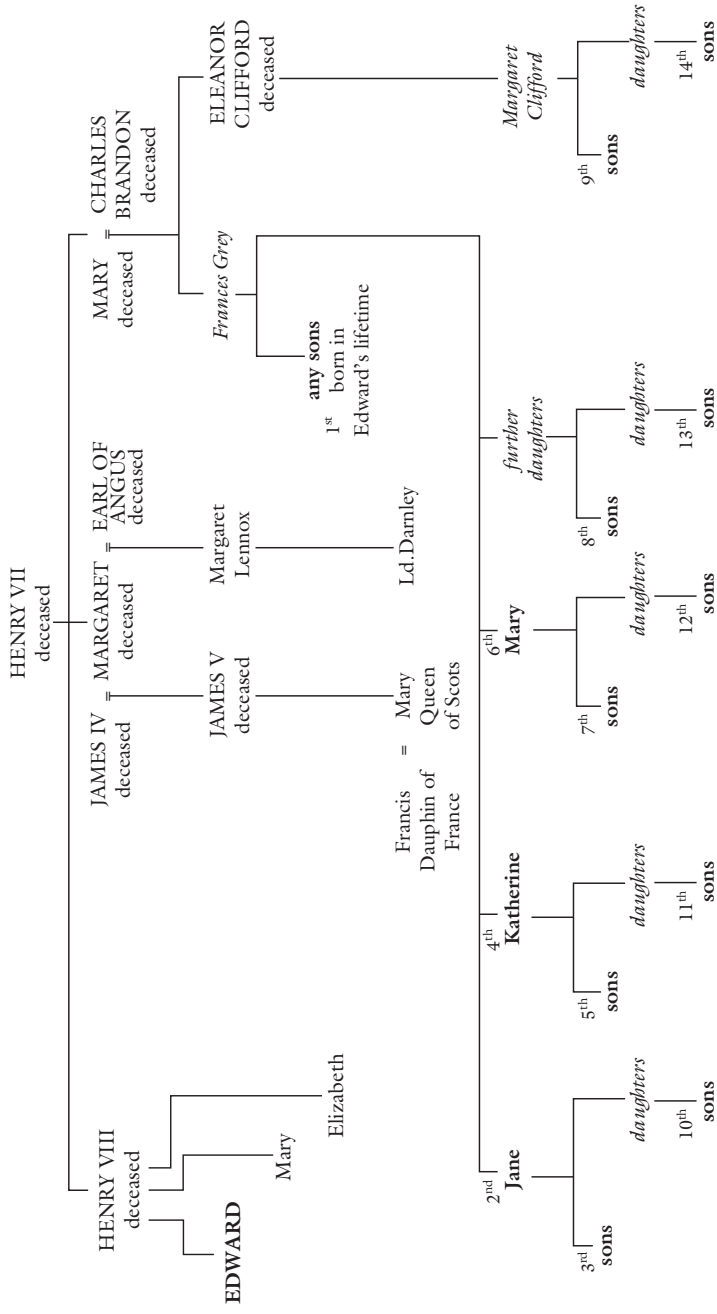
Women who do not inherit but whose sons can Mary and Elizabeth are debarred by illegitimacy

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



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

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

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## 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.<sup>1</sup> 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'.<sup>2</sup> 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



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