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GENEALOGY COLLECTION

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THE HOUSE OF HOWARD

From a photograph by H. Walter Barnett

Henry FitzAlan-Howard, Fifteenth Duke of Norfolk, K.G.

THE HOUSE OF HOWARD

BY THE LATE

GERALD BRENAN

AUTHOR OF "A HISTORY OF THE HOUSE OF PERCY," ETC.

AND

EDWARD PHILLIPS STATHAM

(RETIRED COMMANDER, R.N.)

AUTHOR OF "THE STORY OF THE 'BRITANNIA'"

WITH 32 FULL-PAGE ILLUSTRATIONS
AND 2 PHOTOGRAVURE PLATES

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME II

LONDON
HUTCHINSON & CO.
PATERNOSTER ROW
1907

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I

The Poet Earl of Surrey, and his Times

HOWEVER we may regard the character of Thomas, third Duke of Norfolk, it is impossible to deny to him the attributes of extraordinary resourcefulness, coolness, and energy in the face of danger. His was the plan which turned defeat into victory on Flodden Field; he alone saved England from religious civil war, when opposed and outnumbered by the forces of the Pilgrimage of Grace; and he was now destined to confound his own and his house's foes by the triumphant manner in which he rose superior to the catastrophe just described—not only saving the apparently doomed Howards from the fate which, in the past, had befallen the kindred of other disgraced Queens, such as the Boleyns and the Woodvills, but actually establishing himself in royal favour more firmly than ever by his conduct throughout the crisis, and rearing new honours for his name and race upon the very scaffold of the unfortunate Katharine.

Hertford and Audley had hoped to see him in the Tower, with his son Surrey and all his generation; instead of that, they beheld him in the King's Chamber, entrusted with state secrets and honoured by secret councils from which they themselves, and the assiduous Cranmer, were debarred. Surrey, who was to have languished in chains, was loaded instead with the splendid insignia of the Garter; Lord William Howard and the old Duchess, his mother (cause of all the mischief), were released scathless after a brief confinement, and even the dead Queen's brothers were permitted to retain the estates granted to them, and, after a time, again employed in the King's service. All this was due to the steely heart and cunning brain of Duke Thomas; without him the Howard oak, deep-rooted as it was, must have perished root and branch. In reflecting upon the career of this Ulysses among men, one cannot help picturing what a king he would have made; for he had the qualities of a great king—profound statecraft, military skill of a very high order, that rare ability to make himself agreeable to all classes of society which now goes by the name of tact, love of learning as well as of venerie, wit, generosity, personal courage, and above all, a shrewd knowledge of men, their foibles and their uses. Selfishness and dissimulation too were his, as we are aware; but who shall deny that these, in the past at least, were kingly characteristics.

Had the Pilgrimage of Grace succeeded, Norfolk might have sat upon the English throne, and revived the proud traditions of the great Plantagenet monarchs, his ancestors. At the worst, he would have ruled the land far better than did the half-bestial, perhaps half-crazy, despot whom fate had made his master, and whom he served so well. But instead of matching his powers against the monarchs of Europe, Norfolk was compelled to strive with his successive rivals at the British Court; and although the odds were nearly always on the side of the enemy, he succeeded again and again in turning the tables upon them, and died unconquered at the last, the first and greatest noble of the realm.

Certainly never was political manœuvre more dexterously executed than that by which he extricated his house from deadly peril, and upset the hopes of those who had for months been anticipating the rich plunder of the Howard estates. On February 13th, 1542, Queen Katharine perished miserably on Tower Green. Norfolk was then discreetly absent at Kenninghall; but twelve days later, on February 25th, we find Chapuys conveying to the Emperor the intelligence that negotiations had been resumed between England and France for the marriage of the Princess Mary to the Duke of Orleans, and that Henry had entrusted the entire conduct of the affair to Norfolk.[1] So assured, indeed, was the latter that he had the King behind him, and such was the latitude allowed him in negotiation, that, according to Chapuys, he even ventured "to improve upon his instructions" (*enrricher les affaires*) in treating with M. de Marillac, the ambassador of France.[2] Henry was reported to be well pleased with the Lord Treasurer's diplomacy, and frequent meetings took place between Norfolk and Marillac, which were duly reported by the Spanish ambassador's spy. Unusual secrecy seems to have been observed, however, and very little leaked out, save that the prospects of the French match were good. It will be remembered that Norfolk had a great admiration for Marguerite de Valois, who helped him with sympathy and shrewd counsel during his mission to France in 1539. His liking for the witty Queen extended to her daughter, Jeanne d'Albret, Queen of Navarre, at this period banished from her inheritance; and we find him speaking of that

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[1] *State Papers, Spanish.*

[2] *Ibid.*

Huguenot sovereign in terms curiously warm for a Catholic. The spy at the French embassy informed Chapuys that "the Duc de Norphoc, during the aforesaid negotiations (concerning the marriage of the Princess Mary) begged the ambassador to remember him to Madame Dallebrecht, whom he (Norfolk) called his mistress, and to let her know from him that he was willing to advance ten thousand crowns, and to raise another ten thousand if he could find the means, the whole to be spent and employed, besides his own person, in the recovery of her kingdom of Navarre."[1] The ambassador, however, is very doubtful of Norfolk's sincerity, and concludes his report with the opinion: "But let him say what he will, I do not believe that he would spend a single tournois on the scheme."[2] Very probably this judgment was correct, and the Duke's words were mere expressions of empty gallantry. Alluring as such chivalrous enterprises might appear to his son Surrey, he himself had long passed the age when he was prepared to adventure life and fortune in the service of a princess, however charming.

One effect of the serious dangers through which both had passed was to draw the Duke and his heir, Lord Surrey, closer together. Hitherto Surrey had not been on the friendliest terms with his father, chiefly owing to the objectionable presence of Bess Holland at Kenninghall; but the threatened overthrow of the house, consequent upon Queen Katharine's discovery and death, united them once more. Norfolk made over to his son the family mansion at Norwich, and obtained licence for him to return to Court, with a full pardon for the offence of brawling committed by him at Hampton Court. The young Earl reappeared in his former haunts, more splendid, more reckless, and more contemptuous of the Seymours than ever; and a few weeks after the execution of his cousin Katharine, *i.e.* on April 23rd, 1542, he was installed a Knight of the Garter, with all the pomps and ceremony then customary on such occasions. Henceforward Norfolk and Surrey lived on terms of the warmest affection, until the final catastrophe which ended the life of the poet Earl.

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[1] *State Papers, Spanish;* Chapuys to the Emperor, March 5th, 1542.

[2] *Ibid.*

It was largely owing to the Duke's influence that his step-mother, his half-brother, Lord William Howard, the latter's wife, and most of the other persons imprisoned for complicity in the so-called "crimes" of poor Queen Katharine, received free pardons. For his step-mother, the Duchess Dowager, he had little love, as might be guessed from his letter to Henry of December, 1541, already quoted. He blamed her for all that had occurred; and, moreover, found her seriously in the way, for while she enjoyed her life interest in Norfolk House, Lambeth, he had no town residence, and was put to constant expense in providing lodgings near the Court for himself and his retainers. Towards Lord William, however, he seems to have cherished considerable brotherly affection, although he fell into the prevalent mistake of regarding that young man as little more than a good-natured, agreeable person of slender attainments, much such another as the deceased Lord Edmund had been. Nevertheless, he made William Howard's peace with the King, and presently procured him fresh employment. The brothers of Queen Katharine, too, owed their immunity from persecution to him. The eldest, Henry "of Lambeth," as he is styled, seems to have been a witless person, whom no amount of influence could push forward in the world. After 1542 he sank into a safe obscurity, with his wife Ann, sometime waiting-woman to the Queen.

Lilly, and Mr. Howard, of Corby, assert that Henry of Lambeth died *sine prôle*, but as the latter authority adds to this the mistaken opinion that his namesake "probably died very young,"[1] it will be seen how little reliance need be placed upon their speculations as to the fate of this member of the family. The offshoots of great families at this period were frequently passed over and forgotten, so that an extraordinary confusion reigns in the genealogical records of the very noblest houses. In the case of the Percy family, for instance, although it was known that numerous legitimate branches existed, nobody seems to have taken the trouble to set down the exact relationship to the parent stock, the result being that the present-day genealogist finds himself groping in a maze of doubt and uncertainty as to the derivation of the lines of Beverley, Cambridge, etc., not to speak of that represented by the famous "Trunk-maker," claimant to the earldom of Northumberland. Scions of noble families were only recognised when by chance, or their own exertions, they attained to rank or fame. It is very doubtful if the "Wizard Earl" of Northumberland knew the precise relationship in which Thomas Percy, of "Gunpowder Plot" notoriety, stood to him; indeed, the unravelling of that tangled skein has been left to present-day research. So, too, with the Talbots. Students of the famous Shrewsbury peerage case of some fifty years back will recall the extraordinary difficulty which the Earls Talbot (descended from a by no means decayed branch) had in proving their

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[1] *Memorials:* "Descendants of L. Edmund Howard and Joyce Culpepper."

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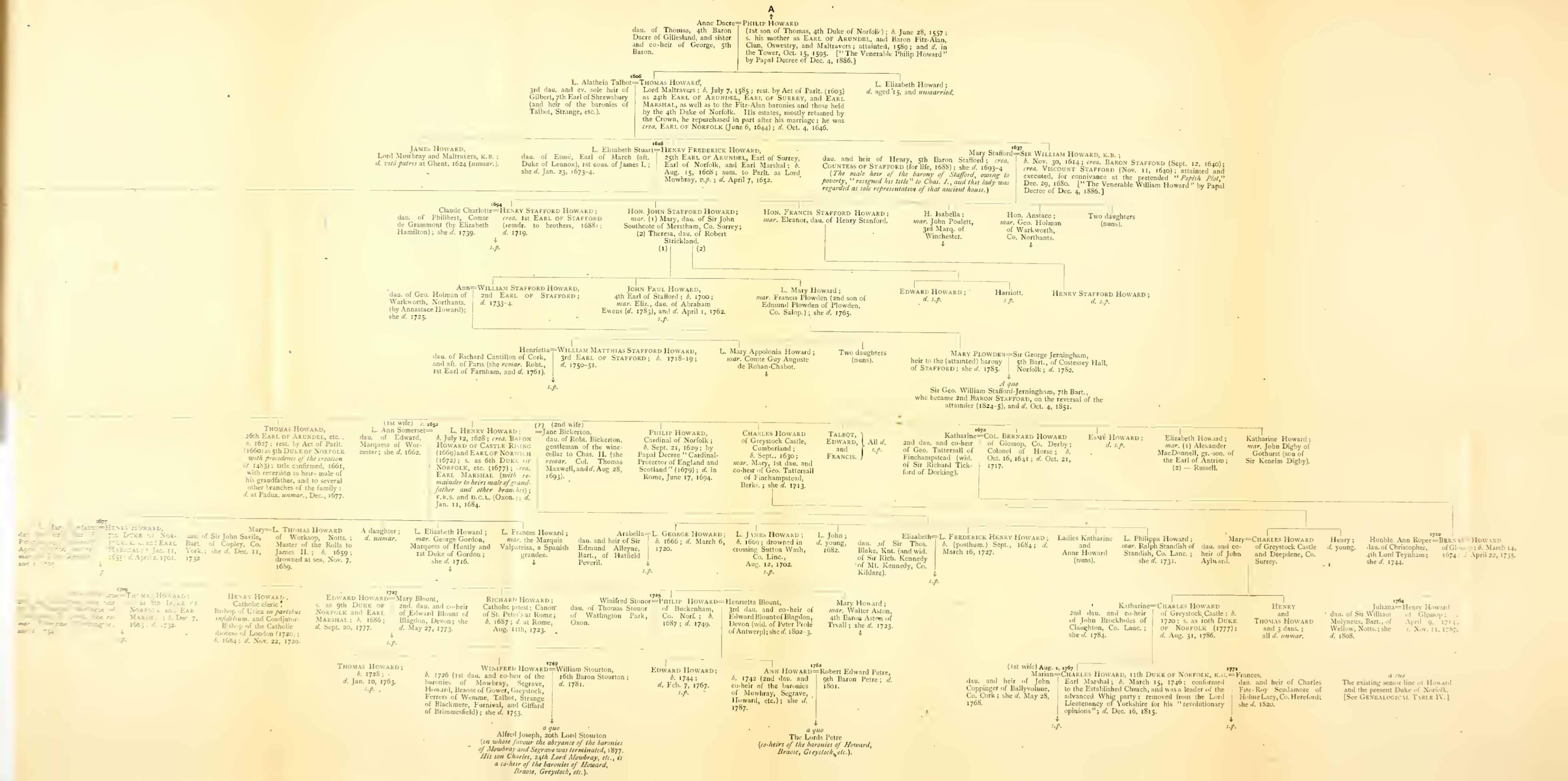
GENEALOGICAL TABLE V

HOWARD SENIOR LINE, A.D. 1572–1815

[SEE TABLE III]



A

Anne Dacre=PHILIP HOWARD

dau. of Thomas, 4th Baron Dacre of Gillesland, and sister and co-heir of George, 5th Baron.

(1st son of Thomas, 4th Duke of Norfolk); *b.* June 28, 1557; s. his mother as EARL OF ARUNDEL, and Baron Fitz-Alan, Clun, Oswestry, and Maltravers; attainted, 1589; and *d.* in the Tower, Oct. 15, 1595. ["The Venerable Philip Howard" by Papal Decree of Dec. 4, 1886.]

1606 L. Alatheia Talbot=THOMAS HOWARD,

3rd dau. and ev. sole heir of Gilbert, 7th Earl of Shrewsbury (and heir of the baronies of Talbot, Strange, etc.).

Lord Maltravers; *b.* July 7, 1585; rest. by Act of Parlt. (1603) as 24th EARL OF ARUNDEL, EARL OF SURREY, and EARL MARSHAL, as well as to the Fitz-Alan baronies and those held by the 4th Duke of Norfolk. His estates, mostly retained by the Crown, he repurchased in part after his marriage; he was *crea.* EARL OF NORFOLK (June 6, 1644); *d.* Oct. 4, 1646.

L. Elizabeth Howard; *d.* aged 15, and *unmarried.*

JAMES HOWARD, Lord Mowbray and Maltravers, K.B.; *d. vitâ patris* at Ghent, 1624 (*unmar.*).

1626 L. Elizabeth Stuart=HENRY FREDERICK HOWARD,

dau. of Esmé, Earl of March (aft. Duke of Lennox), 1st cous. of James I.; she *d.* Jan. 23, 1673–4.

25th EARL OF ARUNDEL, Earl of Surrey, Earl of Norfolk, and Earl Marshal; *b.* Aug. 15, 1608; sum. to Parlt. as Lord Mowbray, *v.p.*; *d.* April 7, 1652.

1637 Mary Stafford=SIR WILLIAM HOWARD, K.B.;

dau. and heir of Henry, 5th Baron Stafford; *crea.* COUNTESS OF STAFFORD (for life, 1688); she *d.* 1693–4 (*The male heir of the barony of Stafford, owing to poverty, "resigned his title" to Chas. I., and this lady was regarded as sole representative of that ancient house.*)

b. Nov. 30, 1614; *crea.* BARON STAFFORD (Sept. 12, 1640); *crea.* VISCOUNT STAFFORD (Nov. 11, 1640); attainted and executed, for connivance at the pretended "*Popish Plot,*" Dec. 29, 1680. ["The Venerable William Howard" by Papal Decree of Dec. 4, 1886.]

1694 Claude Charlotte=HENRY STAFFORD HOWARD;

dau. of Philibert, Comte de Grammont (by Elizabeth Hamilton); she *d.* 1739.

crea. 1st EARL OF STAFFORD (remdr. to brothers, 1688); *d.* 1719. *s.p.*

HON. JOHN STAFFORD HOWARD; *mar.* (1) Mary, dau. of Sir John Southcote of Merstham, Co. Surrey; (2) Theresa, dau. of Robert Strickland. (1) (2)

HON. FRANCIS STAFFORD HOWARD; *mar.* Eleanor, dau. of Henry Stanford.

H. Isabella; *mar.* John Poulett, 3rd Marq. of Winchester.

Hon. Anstace; *mar.* Geo. Holman of Warkworth, Co. Northants.

Two daughters (nuns).

Ann=WILLIAM STAFFORD HOWARD,

dau. of Geo. Holman of Warkworth, Northants. (by Annastace Howard); she *d.* 1725.

2nd EARL OF STAFFORD; *d.* 1733–4.

JOHN PAUL HOWARD, 4th Earl of Stafford; *b.* 1700; *mar.* Eliz., dau. of Abraham Ewens (*d.* 1783), and *d.* April 1, 1762. *s.p.*

L. Mary Howard; *mar.* Francis Plowden (2nd son of Edmund Plowden of Plowden, Co. Salop.); she *d.* 1765.

EDWARD HOWARD; *d. s.p.*

Harriott. *s.p.*

HENRY STAFFORD HOWARD; *d. s.p.*

Henrietta=WILLIAM MATTHIAS STAFFORD HOWARD,

dau. of Richard Cantillon of Cork, and aft. of Paris (she *remar.* Robt., 1st Earl of Farnham, and *d.* 1761).

3rd EARL OF STAFFORD; *b.* 1718–19; *d.* 1750–51. *s.p.*

L. Mary Appolonia Howard; *mar.* Comte Guy Auguste de Rohan-Chabot.

Two daughters (nuns).

MARY PLOWDEN=Sir George Jerningham,

heir to the (attainted) barony of STAFFORD; she *d.* 1785.

5th Bart., of Costessey Hall, Norfolk; *d.* 1782.

A quo

Sir Geo. William Stafford-Jerningham, 7th Bart., who became 2nd BARON STAFFORD, on the reversal of the attainder (1824–5), and *d.* Oct. 4, 1851.

THOMAS HOWARD, 26th EARL OF ARUNDEL, etc.; *b.* 1627; rest. by Act of Parlt. (1660) as 5th DUKE OF NORFOLK *with precedence of the creation of 1483*; title confirmed, 1661, with reversion to heirs male of his grandfather, and to several other branches of the family; *d.* at Padua, *unmar.*, Dec., 1677.

(1st wife) *c.* 1652 L. Ann Somerset=

dau. of Edward, Marquess of Worcester; she *d.* 1662.

L. HENRY HOWARD; *b.* July 12, 1628; *crea.* BARON HOWARD OF CASTLE RISING (1669) and EARL OF NORWICH (1672); s. as 6th DUKE OF NORFOLK, etc. (1677); *crea.* EARL MARSHAL (*with remainder to heirs male of grandfather and other branches*); F.R.S. and D.C.L. (Oxon.); *d.* Jan. 11, 1684.

(?) (2nd wife) =Jane Bickerton,

dau. of Robt. Bickerton, gentleman of the wine-cellar to Chas. II. (she *remar.* Col. Thomas Maxwell, and *d.* Aug 28, 1693).

PHILIP HOWARD, Cardinal of Norfolk; *b.* Sept. 21, 1629; by Papal Decree "Cardinal-Protector of England and Scotland" (1679); *d.* in Rome, June 17, 1694.

CHARLES HOWARD of Greystock Castle, Cumberland; *b.* Sept., 1630; *mar.* Mary, 1st dau. and co-heir of Geo. Tattersall of Finchampstead, Berks.; she *d.* 1713.

TALBOT, EDWARD, and FRANCIS. All *d. s.p.*

1672 Katharine=COL. BERNARD HOWARD

2nd dau. and co-heir of Geo. Tattersall of Finchampstead (wid. of Sir Richard Tickford of Dorking).

of Glossop, Co. Derby; Colonel of Horse; *b.* Oct. 16, 1641; *d.* Oct. 21, 1717.

ESMÉ HOWARD; *d. s.p.*

Elizabeth Howard; *mar.* (1) Alexander MacDonnell, gr.-son. of the Earl of Antrim; (2) — Russell.

Katharine Howard; *mar.* John Digby of Gothurst (son of Sir Kenelm Digby).

1677 L. Ma[illegible]daunt=HENRY HOWARD,

[illegible]

7th DUKE OF NORFOLK, K.G. and EARL MARSHAL; *b.* Jan. 11, 1655; *d.* April 2, 1701.

Mary=L. THOMAS HOWARD

[illegible] of Sir John Savile, Bart. of Copley, Co. York.; she *d.* Dec. 11, 1732

of Worksop, Notts.; Master of the Rolls to James II.; *b.* 1659; drowned at sea, Nov. 7, 1689.

A daughter; *d. unmar.*

L. Elizabeth Howard; *mar.* George Gordon, Marquess of Huntly and 1st Duke of Gordon; she *d.* 1716.

L. Frances Howard; *mar.* the Marquis Valpareisa, a Spanish grandee.

Arabella=L. GEORGE HOWARD;

dau. and heir of Sir Edmund Alleyne, Bart., of Hatfield Peveril.

b. 1666; *d.* March 6, 1720. *s.p.*

L. JAMES HOWARD; *b.* 1669; drowned in crossing Sutton Wash, Co. Linc., Aug. 12, 1702. *s.p.*

L. John; *d.* young, 1682.

Elizabeth=L. FREDERICK HENRY HOWARD;

dau. of Sir Thos. Blake, Knt. (and wid. of Sir Rich. Kennedy of Mt. Kennedy, Co. Kildare).

b. (posthum.) Sept., 1684; *d.* March 16, 1727. *s.p.*

Ladies Katharine and Anne Howard (nuns).

L. Philippa Howard; *mar.* Ralph Standish of Standish, Co. Lanc.; she *d.* 1731.

Mary=CHARLES HOWARD

dau. and co-heir of John Aylward.

of Greystock Castle and Deepdene, Co. Surrey.

Henry; *d.* young.

1710 Honble. Ann Roper=BERNARD HOWARD

dau. of Christopher, 4th Lord Teynham; she *d.* 1744.

of Glossop; *b.* March 14, 1674; *d.* April 22, 1735.

1709 [illegible]=THOMAS HOWARD;

[illegible]

s. as 8th DUKE OF NORFOLK and EARL MARSHAL; *b.* Dec. 7, 1683; *d.* 1732.

HENRY HOWARD, Catholic cleric; Bishop of Utica *in partibus infidelium*, and Coadjutor-Bishop of the Catholic diocese of London (1720); *b.* 1684; *d.* Nov. 22, 1720.

1727 EDWARD HOWARD=Mary Blount,

s. as 9th DUKE OF NORFOLK and EARL MARSHAL; *b.* 1686; *d.* Sept. 20, 1777.

2nd. dau. and co-heir of Edward Blount of Blagdon, Devon; she *d.* May 27, 1773. *s.p.*

RICHARD HOWARD; Catholic priest; Canon of St. Peter's at Rome; *b.* 1687; *d.* at Rome, Aug. 11th, 1723.

1725 Winifred Stonor=PHILIP HOWARD=Henrietta Blount,

dau. of Thomas Stonor of Watlington Park, Oxon.

of Buckenham, Co. Norf.; *b.* 1687; *d.* 1749.

3rd dau. and co-heir of Edward Blount of Blagdon, Devon (wid. of Peter Prole of Antwerp); she *d.* 1802–3.

Mary Howard; *mar.* Walter Aston, 4th Baron Aston of Tixall; she *d.* 1723.

Katharine=CHARLES HOWARD

2nd dau. and co-heir of John Brockholes of Claughton, Co. Lanc.; she *d.* 1784.

of Greystock Castle; *b.* 1720; s. as 10th DUKE OF NORFOLK (1777); *d.* Aug. 31, 1786.

HENRY and THOMAS HOWARD and 3 daus.; all *d. unmar.*

1764 Juliana=Henry Howard

dau. of Sir William Molyneux, Bart., of Wellow, Notts.; she *d.* 1808.

of Glossop; *b.* April 9, 1713; *d.* Nov. 11, 1787.

THOMAS HOWARD; *b.* 1728; *d.* Jan. 10, 1763. *s.p.*

1749 WINIFRED HOWARD=William Stourton,

b. 1726 (1st dau. and co-heir of the baronies of Mowbray, Segrave, Howard, Braose of Gower, Greystock, Ferrers of Wemme, Talbot, Strange of Blackmere, Furnival, and Giffard of Brimmesfield); she *d.* 1753.

16th Baron Stourton; *d.* 1781.

a quo

Alfred Joseph, 20th Lord Stourton (*in whose favour the abeyance of the baronies of Mowbray and Segrave was terminated, 1877. His son Charles, 24th Lord Mowbray, etc., is a co-heir of the baronies of Howard, Braose, Greystock, etc.*).

EDWARD HOWARD; *b.* 1744; *d.* Feb. 7, 1767. *s.p.*

1762 ANN HOWARD=Robert Edward Petre,

b. 1742 (2nd dau. and co-heir of the baronies of Mowbray, Segrave, Howard, etc.); she *d.* 1787.

9th Baron Petre; *d.* 1801.

a quo

The Lords Petre (*co-heirs of the baronies of Howard, Braose, Greystock, etc.*).

(1st wife) Aug. 1, 1767 Marian=CHARLES HOWARD, 11th DUKE OF NORFOLK, K.G.=1771 Frances,

dau. and heir of John Coppinger of Ballyvolune, Co. Cork; she *d.* May 28, 1768. *s.p.*

Earl Marshal; *b.* March 15, 1746; conformed to the Established Church, and was a leader of the advanced Whig party; removed from the Lord Lieutenancy of Yorkshire for his "revolutionary opinions"; *d.* Dec. 16, 1815.

dau. and heir of Charles Fitz-Roy Scudamore of Holme Lacy, Co. Hereford; she *d.* 1820. *s.p.*

a quo

The existing senior line of Howard and the present Duke of Norfolk. [See GENEALOGICAL TABLE IV.]

right to the older title. What is true of the Percys and Talbots may be equally true of the Howards; and although the House of Norfolk kept its family records with more care than did most of the Tudor nobility, yet it cannot be said with certainty that all three brothers of Queen Katharine Howard died without male issue. A Henry Howard, "gentleman," settled on one of the Duke of Norfolk's estates at North Ellingham, on the borders of Norfolk and Suffolk, *temp.* Elizabeth, and left a daughter, Rose, who married John Humberstone of Yarmouth;[1] and at the time of the Norfolk Inquisitions we find several persons of the name of Howard in various parts of Norfolk and Suffolk, nearly all holding lands under the head of the family. It is understood that investigations on an extensive scale are even now being made which will throw some light upon the curious subject of these scattered Howards, whose existence cannot in every case be explained away by the vague allegation of "illegitimacy."

There is no record of marriage on the part of Sir Charles Howard, second brother of the Queen; and he too is described in the family records as having died *sine prôle.* That the third brother, Sir George Howard, did actually leave no issue seems probable, as he did not sink into obscurity like his elder brother Henry, but occupied a fairly prominent position throughout the reigns of Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth. Even in his case, however, we cannot be certain. The exact date and place of his death are unknown. He was probably married; his wife being, it is said, Margaret Mundy, widow of one Nicholas Jennyngs, and daughter of Sir John Mundy, knight, goldsmith, and Lord Mayor of London (1522–3).

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[1] Inquis. Norf., Harl. MSS., 1552.

The last-named worthy died in 1537, and in his will[1] mentions Margaret Howard, his daughter, requesting "my lorde of Norffolk to be overseer" to the said Margaret, whose husband's name, however, is not given in the document.

Sir George Howard was taken into the service of his uncle of Norfolk after Katharine's execution, and thanks to the Duke's protection was not deprived of the Wiltshire manors granted to him in May, 1541. In 1547 he was licensed to sell these manors to Sir William Herbert for the sum of £800,[2] and they still continue in the Herbert family. The pension of one hundred marks was not taken from him, and we find it still paid in the reign of Elizabeth. In the autumn of 1547, he accompanied his cousin Lord Thomas Howard (afterwards Viscount Howard of Bindon) to Scotland, and fought under the standard of Somerset at the battle of Pinkey. For his gallantry on this occasion he received the honour of knighthood outside Roxburgh,[3] together with Lord Thomas. An original letter from him to the future Lord Protector, dated 1548, is preserved in the British Museum, Additional MSS.;[4] and it appears that at the fall of his uncle Norfolk he had abandoned his old friends, to follow the rising star. In 1551, Sir George was one of the lords and gentlemen sent to France to carry the Garter to Henry II., among the other members of the mission being the Marquess of Northampton, Lord Hertford, the Bishop of Ely, Sir John Perrott (that bluff bastard of Henry VIII.), and Sir Peter Carew.[1] Howard and the other knights received a fee of £50 apiece.

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[1] Proved 1537. Margaret Mundy was first married to Nicholas Jennyngs in 1526. She was the only child of Lord Mayor Mundy by his first wife, and, if remarried to Sir George Howard, must have been well advanced in years. It is possible that her husband may have been one of the two bastard sons of the gallant Lord Admiral Edward Howard.

[2] *State Papers.*

[3] Metcalfe's *Book of Knights.*

[4] Add., 32, 657, f. 12.

Following this mission, Howard was appointed by Somerset Warden of the Henchmen "for the space of one year,"[2] and was subsequently retained at Court, either in this post or some other of a similar nature, which brought him into frequent contact with the young King. Edward showed his favour toward him by grants of land, and of certain houses in the city of London, to be held in soccage.[3] But this good fortune (coupled, no doubt, with the temporary renunciation of Catholicism), cost him the goodwill of his uncle and former patron, the Duke of Norfolk, then in the Tower. Shortly after the accession of Mary, on July 23rd, 1553, "Sir George Hawarde" is ordered to be "dismyssede, upon proove to be maid of hys gode service herafter, with farther order that he shal not come within three myles of the Court."[4] He was not employed during the new reign; but we find him once more professing the old religion, and attending the obsequies of his uncle the Duke in St. Mary Overies, as one of the principal mourners, on October 5th, 1554.[5] On the accession of Elizabeth, Sir George was, like the rest of the Howards, at first taken into high favour, the new Queen being his first cousin once removed.[6] Grants of lands were made to him, and he was appointed to the lucrative post of Master of the Armoury. On May 8th, 1562, the Queen issued a warrant to him for the conversion of "certaine olde armour into plates for the manufacture of 6,500 jackes for the use of the Navye."[1] His name appears, with those of Lord Robert Dudley (Leicester) and Sir H. Norreys, attached to a curious document dated September 29th, 1562, and specifying the charges of one Martin Almayne for "dressing the Queen's coursers from Christmas 1559 to Michaelmas 1562,"[2] in which are given several of the names of the horses. On June 30th, 1564, he was commanded to make a complete suit of armour for Her Majesty's new favourite, "Christopher Hatton, gentleman."[3] He had ceased to be Master of the Armoury in 1575, when Sir Robert Southwell exercised the duties of the office. At various times he took part in military expeditions abroad, and was Camp-master-General to the forces in 1562.[4] He was also for a short time Usher of the Privy Chamber to Queen Elizabeth.

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[1] Acts of the Council, Edw. VI.

[2] Strype, *Memor.*, ii. 539.

[3] *S.P.* (Dom.), Edw. VI.; Dec. 14, 1552.

[4] *S.P.* (Dom.), Mary.

[5] *Diary of H. Machyn* (ed. J. Gough Nichols).

[6] Through her mother, Ann Boleyn, who was his first cousin.

The old Duchess Agnes did not long survive her trial and imprisonment. She died early in October, 1545, at Norfolk House, Lambeth, and was buried by her own wish in the parish church there. It is curious to find several careful chroniclers and genealogists, such as Lilly and the late Mr. Courthorpe, stating that her body was first interred at Thetford, and subsequently transferred to Lambeth. The parish registers of the latter place contain the following laconic and indisputable entry: "Oct. 13 1545 my Lady Agnes, Old Dutchesse Norf., buried"; while the Duchess's will shows what her own desires were on this point. The document in question, executed March 12th, 1542 (while she was still a prisoner under sentence of death), and proved November 9th, 1545, is as follows:—

"I, Agnes, Duchess of Norffolke, widdowe, of late the wiffe of the most noble Prince, Thomas Duke of Norffolke deceased, make my will XII daye of Marche, 1542. My bodye to be buried within the parishe churche of Lambithe, County Surrey, in suche place whereas I have prepared my Tomb. To my Chapple of Lambith, my best challice of silver and gilte withe the patten. I will that my sonne, Lord William howarde have iij partes of all my goodes, both household stuffe, Juells, and Plate. I give to my lady bridgewater my daughter, the fourth part of all my goodds, and four parts of all my rayment. To Sir John Rabon, chauntry priste of Lambithe, 2 silver spones. To my nephewe, Tinlay (Tilney),[1] a goblett of silver and gilte without a cover. Executors of my will, my sonne Lord William Hawarde, and my nephewe, Tynlay. "AGNES HOWARD."

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[1] *S. P.* (Dom.), Eliz. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.*

Immediately after his step-mother's death, Norfolk took up his abode at Lambeth House, from the occupation of which she had kept him for twenty years.

We now revert to the Earl of Surrey. Much has already been conveyed in these pages regarding that young nobleman, his early training, his virtues and his faults, and some mention must now be made of a famous episode in his life, to which a romantic, but wholly disproportionate interest attaches, and around which a war of criticism has raged for nearly a century. The allusion is, of course, to the pleasant legend of Surrey's love for "the Faire Geraldine." In this dispute, as in many similar ones, there have been extremists upon both sides. Some would have us believe too much, some too little. Dr. G. F. Nott, Surrey's first real biographer,[2] is all for the existence of a "Faire Geraldine," and goes to extreme trouble to twist and turn the greater part of his hero's poems into a long series of impassioned addresses to his mistress. On the other hand, the most recent, and perhaps the most careful, chronicler of the poet Earl's life, M. Bapst, is inclined to regard "Geraldine" as a mere creature of the singer's imagination. The true facts of the case appear to be that there actually was a "Faire Geraldine," that Surrey did address two of his best sonnets to her, but that his love for her was, for a variety of reasons, of the most platonic kind.

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[1] This was Thomas Tilney of Shelley, Co. Suffolk, son and heir of Sir Philip Tilney, the Duchess's brother. His great-grandson, Charles Tilney of Shelley, gentleman pensioner to Queen Elizabeth, was hanged for conspiracy in the "Babington treason." Other descendants were Edmund Tilney, Master of the Revels to James I., and Sir George Buc, the historian and defender of Richard III.

[2] Nott's collected poems of Surrey and Wyatt, with elaborate lives of both, first appeared in 1815.

The sonnet designated in the principal editions of Surrey's Poems as *A Description and Praise of His Love, Geraldine*, is as follows :—

> "From Tuscane came my Lady's worthy race ;
> Fair Florence was sometime her ancient seat ;
> The western isle whose pleasant shore doth face
> Wild Camber's cliffs, did give her lively heat :
> Fostered she was with milk of Irish breast :
> Her sire an Earl ; her dam of Princes' blood.
> From tender years in Britain she doth rest
> With Kinges child ; where she tasteth costly food.
> Hunsdon did first present her to mine eyen :
> Bright is her hue, and Geraldine she hight.
> Hampton me taught to wish her first for mine ;
> And Windsor, alas ! doth chase me from her sight.
> Her beauty is of kind ; her virtues from above ;
> Happy is he that can obtain her love."

Now if these lines referred to a real personage at all (and it is difficult to perceive why the poet should have entered into such particulars otherwise), that personage could only have been a daughter of Gerald Fitz-Gerald, ninth Earl of Kildare, by his second wife, the Lady Elizabeth Grey. The description might possibly have fitted a child of one of the numerous Earls of Desmond, who succeeded each other so rapidly during this period as chiefs of that other branch of the great Norman-Irish house of Geraldine, but for the fact that none of the contemporary Desmonds boasted of a Countess whom Surrey, at any rate, would have been likely to describe as "of princes' blood."

On the other hand, Kildare's wife, Elizabeth Grey, was, as the grandchild of Queen Elizabeth Woodvill, and the cousin of the reigning monarch, undoubtedly of such blood. Moreover, the Fitz-Geralds were popularly and alternatively known as "the Geraldines" for ages in Ireland, and are so known to this day. Fitz-Gerald clerics invariably latinised their patronymic, "Geraldinus"; the chiefs of the rival branches of Desmond and Kildare each claimed to be "The Geraldine"; and it is still a proud boast in Ireland that a person, or family, is "of Geraldine blood." Elizabeth Fitz-Gerald resided in England "from tender years," since she was first brought to this country from Ireland about 1527–8, when her father, newly liberated from the Tower, went to reside at Newington, near London, a seat lent to him by the Duke of Norfolk.[1] Not long afterwards she was placed in the household of the Princess Mary at Hunsdon;[2] and it was at Hunsdon that Surrey first saw her, while on a visit to that place with the young Duke of Richmond. She was at Hampton in 1537, when Surrey's quarrel with one of the Seymours within the bounds of the Court led to his being placed under close restraint at Windsor (where the sonnet in question, and several others, were written to wile away the lagging hours). Lastly, Elizabeth Fitz-Gerald was "bright of hue," if we may believe the portrait of her preserved at Woburn, which shows us a young woman of sanguine complexion and auburn hair. It is, in fact, safe to say that the Lady Elizabeth answered the minute description given by Surrey in all respects; and, furthermore, that there was living at the time no other person to whom the description, in its entirety, could possibly apply.

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[1] *Trans. Arch. and Hist. Soc. of Ireland*, 1873 (article on "The Fair Geraldine," by Rev. James Graves, M.A.). Leinster's *Earls of Kildare*.

[2] *Ibid.*

This brings us to one of two conclusions: either that Surrey addressed the sonnet to Elizabeth Geraldine, with whom he was intimately acquainted; or that he wrote it to an imaginary person, at the same time going to great trouble to bestow upon his heroine, not only the family name, but many other attributes peculiar to the Lady Elizabeth. The latter assumption appears absurd on the face of it; and we are driven, therefore (while rejecting alike the pretty tale of a passionate love affair between the Earl and the maiden, and the contention of Dr. Nott, that *all*, or nearly all, the sonnets and other poems were dedicated to this "one dear flower of Irishrie"), to admit that there was a real "Faire Geraldine," that Surrey did actually compose verses upon her charms, and that she was none other than the Lady Elizabeth Fitz-Gerald, maid of honour to two Queens, and grandchild of the Irish Barbarossa, that grim Earl Gerald *Mor*, who is said to sleep to-day, with his knights, kernes, and gallo-glasses around him, in the caverns under Kilkee Castle, watching for the signal which is to summon him back to battle.[1]

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[1] This is a famous Leinster legend.

There is another sonnet in which Surrey addresses Elizabeth Fitz-Gerald by name. This is the one entitled "Request to his Love to join Bounty with Beauty," and runs thus:—

"The golden gift that Nature did thee give,
To fasten friendes, and feed them at thy will,
With form and favour, taught me to believe,
How thou art made to shew her greatest skill.
Whose hidden virtues are not so unknown,
But lively domes might gather at the first
Where beauty so her perfect seed has sown,
Of other graces follow needs there must.
Now certes, Garret, since all this is true,
That from above thy gifts are thus elect,
Do not deface them then with fancies new;
Nor change of minds, let not thy mind infect:
But mercy him thy friend that doth thee serve,
Who seeks alway thine honour to preserve."

In identifying the "Garret" thus apostrophised as Elizabeth Fitz-Gerald, Dr. Nott says:—

"The Fitz-Gerald family almost always wrote their name Garret. The Fair Geraldine, when attending on the Princess Mary, was always called Garret: and she herself in her Will designates her sister, the Lady Margaret Fitz-Gerald, 'the Lady Margaret Garret.'"

This is almost, but not quite correct. "Garret" was one, perhaps at this period the commonest form, in which the Fitz-Geralds wrote their name. We generally find them in the *State Papers* referred to as "Fitz-Gerald *alias* Garret," or "Geraldine *alias* Garret," or even as "Fitz-Gerald *alias* Mac-Garret." "Garret" is, in fact, the phonetic English spelling of the Gaelic name *Gearoidh*[1] and as the Irish experienced difficulty in pronouncing the

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[1] Compare the Cymric "Gareth" in Arthurian legend.

Norman prefix "Fitz," it came to be the popular rendering of the family name, particularly when (as in the present case), the person referred to happened to be not only a Fitz-Gerald by descent, but the child of an individual named Gerald, or *Gearoidh*. Elizabeth Fitz-Gerald probably did not appreciate the sonnets very highly at the time, save in so far as they made her the pet of the great Court ladies. She remained with the Princess Mary, who was greatly attached to her, until in 1543 (at the age of fifteen; perhaps she had ripened thus early in the sun of Surrey's compliments), she was married to the elderly widower,[1] Sir Anthony Browne. He died five years later, and in 1552 she took as her second husband the Lord Admiral, Edward Fiennes Clinton, Earl of Lincoln, with whom she lived very happily for over thirty years. Her death occurred in March, 1589. Mention has been made of the fine portrait of the Countess "Garret" at Woburn Abbey.[2] It is by C. Ketel, and depicts a graceful lady, with blue-grey eyes, light auburn hair, and a pleasant and comely, if not a beautiful face.

We possess a fairly truthful, and withal amusing, summary of how Surrey was regarded in this, his lusty prime, by the graver personages of the Court. This occurs in a conversation reported between George Constantine and Barlow, Dean of Westbury, at the time when the negotiations for Henry's marriage to Ann of Cleves were afoot, and is given as follows in *Archæologia*, xxiii. 62:—

"*George.* If there should be any pledges sent unto Cleves, in good faith I would the Earl of Surrey should be one of them.

"*Dean.* It is the most proud, foolish boy that is in England.

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[1] He was at least sixty years of age.

[2] There is a good copy at Carton, the seat of the Duke of Leinster.

"*George.* What, man, he hath a wife and a child, and you call him boy?

"*Dean.* By God's mercy methink he exceedeth.

"*George.* What then? He is wise for all that, as I hear. As for pride, experience will correct well enough. No marvel though a young man, so noble a man's son and heir apparent be proud, for we be too proud ourselves without those qualities. But I would wish that he should be one to be sent thither, for that he should be fully instructed in God's word and of experience. For if the Duke of Norfolk were as fully persuaded in it as he is in the contrary, he should do much good, for he is an earnest man, a bold man, and witty, in all his matters.

"*Dean.* It is true, and ye say well in that."

As a matter of fact, Surrey was now the father of two sons, his second, Henry Howard, afterwards Earl of Northampton, having been born in the spring of 1539. We have seen how he rode with Norfolk and the rest of the gorgeously apparelled cavaliers to meet Ann of Cleves on Rainham Down, outside Rochester; and on the 1st of May following "he behaved with admirable courage, and great skill in the use of his arms" (says Dugdale[1]) at the jousts which took place in honour of the marriage in the courtyard of Durham House. Later on in the same year he went to see some military service in France, and accompanied the forces to Guisnes. With his cousin, Queen Katharine Howard, he does not seem to have been a favourite, nor does his name appear prominently in the records of the Court at this period, save in one instance —that of the quarrel between his friend and servant, Thomas Cleere, and Sir Edmund Knyvett, one of Surrey's numerous cousins, a country gentleman whose anxiety to sit as knight of the shire for Norfolk had caused serious trouble a few years before. At that time Knyvett had been placed under bonds to keep the peace by his uncle, the Duke of Norfolk, and even summoned before the Star Chamber; but his temper remained as ungovernable as ever, and he now once more committed himself, this time within the precincts of the Court itself, which (as Surrey had already found) was an ill place to brawl in, and very different in that respect from Norwich courthouse.

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[1] *Baronage*, ii. 275.

It was apparently at Whitehall that the quarrel occurred, Knyvett being the aggressor, and striking Cleere. He was condemned to the loss of his right hand, but at the moment of execution begged that his left hand might be taken instead, so that the right should survive "to render future service to the King."[1] This gallant speech was carried to Henry by Surrey (to whose intercession Dr. Nott[2] gives the whole credit of the culprit's pardon), and Knyvett was dismissed with a nominal fine.

In September, 1541, the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Surrey were appointed joint stewards of the University of Cambridge; and on St. George's Day, 1542, the Earl was, as already narrated, installed a Knight of the Garter. But for all these dignities, and his twenty-four years of experience, Surrey was still, as Dr. Barlow had justly called him, "a boy"—brave, honourable, and brilliant, but none the less a mere boy at heart, with all a boy's rashness and love of madcap frolic. He may well have sympathised with his cousin Kynvett, and interceded for that swaggering blade, for his own temper was to the full as choleric as Sir Edmund's, and as little under control. This is evident from the challenge which he sent to John à Leigh in July, 1542.

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[1] Holinshed.

[2] *Life of Surrey.*

Hitherto historians have left the furious dispute between Leigh and Surrey unexplained; although Dr. Nott, without advancing a shred of evidence, insists on dragging the "Fair Geraldine" into the trouble, and maintains that Surrey, jealous of Leigh's attentions to the maid-of-honour, sent him a cartel of defiance.[1] Another complexion is placed upon the affair when we learn that that John à Leigh whom the Earl challenged was none other than John Leigh of Stockwell, the brother of Queen Katharine Howard, and of the Ladies Baynton and Arundell.[2] From this it seems likely that the difficulty was a family matter. Leigh was a much older man than Surrey. He was returned as over twenty-one years of age in November, 1523, when he succeeded his uncle, Sir John Leigh, as lord of the manor of Stockwell. His life, so far as can be ascertained, had hitherto been that of a ruffler at Court, and, like his elder sister, Lady Baynton, he had become a Protestant. The insult which Surrey resented may possibly have been levelled at the Duke of Norfolk for the attitude which he had taken up towards Katharine Howard, after the discovery of that poor soul's early frailty, or at Surrey for having, in obedience to the King's command, been present at his cousin's execution. The Court was at Esher at the time, and Surrey sent an angry challenge to Leigh, requiring the latter to meet him in duello. Whether Leigh himself gave the information or not, Surrey was at once arrested and lodged in the Fleet prison. The order of Council, dated "from Asher, the 13th of July, 1542," simply orders that the Earl is to be allowed two servants to attend him, but that none were to be "suffered to resort to banquet with him"[1]—it being the custom of young gentlemen consigned to the Fleet for offences of this kind to pass the time in entertaining such of their friends as came to visit them. At best the Fleet was a noisome and wretched place of confinement; but to a young man of Surrey's temperament, thus debarred from association with the outside world, residence there must have been a continuous nightmare. He was, as Dean Barlow told Constantine, proud to a fault, and to sue for grace was not his way; but even pride such as his could not long endure the foul atmosphere and enforced seclusion of the Fleet. It is probable that he first appealed to his father to assist him in obtaining some mitigation of his punishment, and that the Duke advised him to address a dutiful letter to the Council. This, at first, Surrey was loath to do, contenting himself with sending one of his servants to the members of Council individually, but without avail, the King having given orders that nothing but a formal letter praying for pardon should be entertained from this headstrong and haughty young noble. The hand of old Norfolk is discernible here and there in the epistle which his son was at length induced to send, and which (modernised as regards spelling) may be quoted in full, as follows:—

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[1] *Life of Surrey.*

[2] See *ante*, chap. vi.

"To the Lords of the Council.

"My Very Good Lords:—After my humble commendations to your Lordships; these presents shall be to advertise you, that albeit I have of late severally required each of you, by my servant Pickering, of your favour; from whom as yet I have received no other comfort than my passed folly hath deserved; I have yet thought it my duty again, as well to renew my suit as humbly to require you rather to impute this error to the fury of reckless youth, than to a will not conformable and contented, with the quiet learning of the just reward of my folly; for as much as I did so suddenly and quickly procure and attempt to seek for friendship, and entreat for my deliverance: as then not sufficiently pondering or debating with myself, that a prince offended hath none redress upon his subject but condign punishment, without respect of person: (although, for lack of strength, it yield not itself wholly to his gentle chastisement,) whilst the heart is resolved in patience to pass over the same, in satisfaction of mine errors.

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[1] *Privy Council Proceedings, Henry VIII.*

"And, my Lords, if it were lawful to persuade by the precedent of other young men reconciled, I would affirm that this might sound to me a happy fault: by so gentle a warning to learn how to bridle my heady will: which in youth is rarely attained without adversity. Where, might I without vaunt lay before you the quiet conversation of my passed life; which (unstained with any unhonest touch, unseeming in such a man as it hath pleased God and the King to make me,) might perfectly promise new amendment of mine offence. Whereof, if you doubt in any point, I shall humbly desire you, that during mine affliction, (in which time malice is most ready to slander the innocent) there may be made an whole examination of my life: wishing, for the better trial thereof, to have the time of my durance redoubled; and so (declared as well tried, and unsuspected) by your mediations to be restored to the King's favour; than condemned in your grave heads, without answer or further examination to be quickly delivered: this heinous offence always unexcused, whereupon I was committed to this noisome prison; whose pestilent airs are not unlike to bring some alteration of health.

"Wherefore, if your good Lordships judge me not a member rather to be clean cut away, than reformed; it may please you to be suitors to the King's Majesty on my behalf; as well for his favour, as for my liberty: or else, at the least, if his pleasure be to punish this oversight with the forbearing his presence, (which unto every loving subject, specially unto me, from a Prince cannot be less counted than a living death,) yet it would please him to command me into the country, to some place of open air, with like restraint of liberty, there to abide his Grace's pleasure.

"Finally, albeit no part of this my trespass in any way to do me good, I should judge me happy if it should please the King's Majesty to think, that this simple body rashly adventured in the revenge of his own quarrel, shall be without respect always ready to be employed in his service; trusting once so to redouble this error, which may be well repeated but not revoked. Desiring your good Lordships that like as my offence hath not been, my submission may likewise appear: which is all the recompense that I may well think my doings answer not. Your grave heads should yet consider, that neither am I the first young man that hath enterprised such things as he hath afterwards repented.

"(signed) H. SURREY.

"From the Fleete, July 25th."[1]

A few days after having humbled himself in this fashion, Surrey was, on August 1st, removed from the Fleet, and conveyed to his old lodgings at Windsor. There he remained until the 5th of the same month, when he was finally liberated, being held under bail, however, to the amount of 10,000 marks, not to injure John Leigh of Stockwell either personally or by deputy.

As for Master Leigh, he had wisely determined not to tempt his late adversary into forfeiting his bail, and had set forth for the Scottish borders, where he obtained a command under Sir Thomas Wharton. On September 28th, 1543, we find him, in conjunction with Wharton, Sir Rauf Euer, Sir John Lowther, and three others, drawing up a long opinion, to be sent to the King, "anempst the invasione of tene thouesande men, or above that nombre, to bee made in Scotland this Wynter."[1] Whether he ever again encountered Surrey or not it is impossible to say; but it is curious to find that he eventually found his way in turn to the Fleet prison, for the same offence of challenging a fellow-courtier to a duel.

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[1] From original MS., Privy Council Books. Partially quoted by Nott, vol. i. p. 641, m. 3.

During Surrey's imprisonment war had been declared between England and Scotland, and no sooner was the Earl set free than he hastened to Newcastle-on-Tyne, where his father was busily massing forces and accumulating arms and stores. Despite his seventy years, Norfolk still stood forth, by reason of his peculiar gifts, as the man best fitted to command the projected invasion. England possessed many captains, perhaps equally skilful, certainly more unscrupulous and more eager (ostensibly for religious reasons) to break the power of the Scottish King. But in all England there was no commander so wise and reliable in diplomacy, no diplomatist so able in the conduct of armies. The combination rendered him as superior to the Hertfords, Dudleys, and Mountjoys on the one hand, as it did to the Audleys, Wriothesleys, and Sadleirs on the other, when such a game was to be played as that now meditated against the distracted northern monarchy. Henry, in sending the Duke to the Borders, hailed him as " Scourge of the Scots," but he was expected to be Cozener of the Scots as well, should the hoped-for opportunity arise, and the treasonous party beyond Tweed succeed in sacrificing both prince and country to the clamours of Calvinism. Norfolk despised these gentry cordially, nor could he feel the slightest sympathy with the motives which prompted them. He himself, Catholic though he was, and zealously as he had laboured, both openly and in secret, for the maintenance of the old faith and the suppression of the new doctrines in England, had ever (like Gardiner) set his face sternly against entangling foreign alliances as a means to those ends. He held that religious disabilities, and even persecution, must be endured, rather than that the national independence should suffer. Consequently, he looked with contempt upon those Scottish nobles and ministers who were prepared to betray a sovereign, gallant and patriotic, however unstable in character, and to make their country little more than an English tributary state. But scorn them as he might, he had his own King and his own nation to think of, and was too much of an Englishman to neglect the great advantage which their treacherous policy gave to him as the chief agent and representative of the southern kingdom.

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[1] *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.*, vol. v.

Accordingly he followed carefully, and even improved upon Henry's instructions in encouraging faction and treason beyond the border. When all was ready for the advance, Norfolk, attended by the Earls of Shrewsbury, Cumberland, Hertford, and Rutland, as well as by his brother-in-law the Earl of Derby, his brother Lord William Howard, his sons the Earl of Surrey and Lord Thomas Howard, his nephews Charles and George Howard, and followed by the flower of the Marches, with an army of over 20,000 men, crossed the Tweed at Berwick, and marched along the northern bank, wasting the country as he went, up to the walls of Kelso. This place was speedily taken and burned, whereupon the Duke recrossed the Tweed, hoping to draw James into pursuit, and took up a favourable position previously chosen. The King of Scots, with unwonted energy, had mustered a force considerably greater in numbers than those of his enemy,[1] and was all for following and giving battle; but whether from disaffection caused by the secret influences at work, or from fear of a second Flodden, the majority of his followers mutinied and threatened to draw off their men if the attempt at counter-invasion were made. James thereupon despatched some 10,000 picked men, with orders to enter England by the shores of the Solway and take Norfolk in flank.

But the wary Duke was not to be caught thus. Divining, from past Border experience, that a movement of this kind would be made, he had commissioned the Warden of the Western Marches (Sir Thomas Wharton) to keep close watch at that point. Froude, whose unfairness to the Catholic leader betrays itself in almost every chapter of his *History of England*, would have us believe that the Scots were permitted to invade Cumberland without opposition, that the Duke's lack of foresight had left the western side of the Borders unprotected, and that, but for the unpremeditated rising of a few half-armed peasants, Carlisle must have fallen and the country been overrun.[2] Nay, he goes so far as to state that a great part of Cumberland actually was ravaged by the invaders, and imaginatively pictures the "lines of cornstacks smoking" from Eskside to the gates of Carlisle, while the Scots spread "unresisted over the country, wasting at their pleasure." There were, he continues, "no men-at-arms at hand," and a terrible catastrophe was only averted by the "farmers and farm-servants," who heroically rose against the foe, and by mere accident succeeded in surprising and routing that great host. The leaders of these hurriedly raised peasants were, he tells us, Sir Thomas Wharton, with "the Lord Dacres and the Lord Musgrave."

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[1] Buchanan gives the numbers of the Scottish army as 30,000 men.

[2] Froude, *Hist. of England*, book iii. p. 329 *et seq.*

This version is directly contrary to the facts as submitted to Henry by Wharton in his official report,[1] as well as to the best and most thorough account of Solway Moss yet published, that by Mr. W. Nanson, F.S.A.[2] The truth was that Wharton, as Warden of the Western Marches, was necessarily acting directly under the Lord Warden and Commander-in-Chief beyond Trent, *i.e.* the Duke of Norfolk. His own reports show us, not only that he was in constant communication with Norfolk, but also (which gives the lie to tales of unpreparedness) that he had been looking forward for some time to an invasion, and that he was "hourly informed by his spies" of the movements of the Scots.[3] It is true that Wharton had not a large force under him, but he was able to leave Carlisle stoutly garrisoned, while leading 500 men to the attack, and these latter were so well armed and accoutred as to be mistaken by the Scots for the van of Norfolk's army. Froude seemingly based his story of Solway Moss upon that of Knox, while ignoring or wilfully rejecting the official statement of Norfolk's Deputy Warden, Wharton. Even Scottish historians like Buchanan, and, in later days, Hume, make no mention of the burning and ravaging to which Cumberland is supposed to have been subjected, thanks to the pretended negligence (criminal had it existed) of the

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[1] Published in the *Hamilton Papers.*

[2] In *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorelaad Historical Society,* vol. viii. p. 257 *et seq.*

[3] Biography of Wharton, in *Dict. of Nat. Biog.;* compare his own Report and *State Papers.*

English general and his representative on the Western Marches. The fact of the matter is that the "invaders" had no time to ravage or to burn. Hardly had they crossed Esk before the watchful Wharton was upon them, his advance guard being commanded by two leaders whom Froude fictitiously ennobles[1] under the titles of the Lords Dacres and Musgrave. These staunch captains were really Thomas Dacre, styled "the Bastard of Lanercost," and Jock Musgrave of Bewcastle.[2] The Scottish troops were forming on the hither side of Esk, when Dacre and Musgrave suddenly appeared, during the late afternoon of November 24th, having timed their onslaught to a nicety. At sight of the advancing spears and pennons, and deeming themselves attacked by the full might of England, the Scots (whose leader, Lord Maxwell, James had just deposed in favour of his friend, Oliver Sinclair) were thrown into sudden panic, and retreated over the Esk, many being drowned in the waters, then in flood.[3] Sinclair attempted to make a stand, but (whether there was treason at work or not) all his efforts failed, and the retreat became a headlong rout, the army flying, almost without striking a blow, into the treacherous depths of Solway Moss.

The Bastard of Lanercost and Jock Musgrave (who, like "William of Deloraine," could have crossed those paths blindfold) led their troopers in hot chase, with the result that they utterly routed the enemy, capturing a great number of prisoners, including Oliver Sinclair himself, the Earls of Cassilis and Glencairn, Lords Maxwell and Oliphant, and many nobles and gentlemen of ancient names, besides great quantity of arms, horses, and stores. A defeat so humiliating was too much for the already sorely tried King James, who fell into a hopeless melancholy, and expired little more than a fortnight later, uttering those words of woeful prophecy concerning his infant daughter and the Scottish crown, familiar to most readers of history. The army which he had assembled melted away, and Norfolk was left to harry the Borderside as he listed, having first sent the principal prisoners taken at Solway Moss to London (where some of them were well enough known already, if all were told). In the intrigues and negotiations which followed the cessation of hostilities, the Duke acted as Henry's mouthpiece to the Scots, once more fixing his headquarters at Newcastle. He did not return to Court until the outbreak of the war with France in 1544, and consequently had no means of keeping in repression the reckless spirits of his son, Surrey, who finding the tameness of garrison life, or the duties of burning undefended Border peels and escorting furtive-eyed, scripture-quoting "agents" to and fro between Eyemouth and Newcastle very little to his taste, succeeded in getting himself chosen as one of the custodians of the Scottish prisoners to London, where he behaved with such indiscretion as to incur, once again, the grave displeasure of the authorities, and, incidentally, to place in the hands of his enemies a weapon which was yet to be turned against him with deadly effect.

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[1] Still following Knox.

[2] *Vide* Mr. W. Nanson, F.S.A., *in Cumb. and West. Hist. Soc. Trans.*, vol. viii. p. 257.

[3] "The Esk river, where fords there are none."—*Young Lochinvar.*

Surrey was probably no better and no worse than most full-blooded young men of his day and rank, who, newly returned from the restraints and privations of a campaign, and supplied with liberal means wherewith to procure amusement, were wont to plunge riotously into the pleasures of the capital, and to enjoy to the full what he himself styled:

> "The joly woes, the hatelesse, short debate,
> The rake-hell lyfe, that 'longes to love disporte."

Such mad pranks as those in which he and his fellow-gallants, fresh from chevying the Scottish foes, so frequently indulged, were regarded as the inevitable folly of lusty youth, and continued to be so regarded down to comparatively recent times. Nay, even in the present polite days, we are accustomed to look with none too reproving eyes upon the light-hearted revelry of lads of mettle returned from the wars.[1] It is likely that little notice would have been taken of the madcap conduct of Surrey and his friends, but for the fact that the Earl of Hertford happened at that very time to be the leading spirit in the Council, and that Hertford cherished a two-fold grudge against the Howards, firstly because Norfolk had supplanted him in the North, and secondly because of Surrey's quarrel with his brother, Sir Thomas Seymour. Even Hertford, and his allies, Audley, Wriothesley, and Russell, however, despite their best endeavours, could have wrought little harm to Surrey on the strength of a mere charge of ruffling it in the streets with boon companions; a sharp fine, or brief imprisonment in the Fleet, with the consequent humiliation of receiving such punishments at his enemies' hands, would sum up all the annoyance they could hope to inflict upon the young Earl for his folly. Nor did the allegation subsequently brought against him of eating flesh meat in Lent (a grievous offence in the King's pious opinion) serve any better; for the accused and his brother fast-breakers were ready with their "licences," or dispensations, such as soldiers fresh from a campaign customarily claimed, and were allowed. The entire matter, in truth, seemed likely to prove of scant profit for the foes of Surrey. But malice has a keen eye; and one fact came to light at the very close of the investigation, which, trivial as it might seem, meant much to the legally trained minds of men like Audley and Wriothesley. The silly chatter of a lodging-house keeper and her maid-servants suggested to the anti-Catholic party in the Council the dastardly means by which they eventually succeeded in inflaming the King's mind against Surrey, and in bringing that brave and brilliant gentleman to the block four years later (by a grim coincidence, *on the actual anniversary* of the boyish exploit which caused all the trouble).[1]

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[1] Numerous instances of this indulgence to the returned soldiers followed the recent South African War; and indeed we need not drag in war and its hardships at all, while apologising for Surrey's pranks, since he and his companions were little, if any, more to blame than the participators in modern "Town and Gown rows" at the Universities.

Briefly, a certain woman, impressed by the Earl's great name and gentle manners, thoughtlessly bragged to her servants of the lofty station which he was destined to fill, spoke of him as a "prince," and even hinted that the throne itself was none too good for him. An awed serving-wench noised this chatter abroad among some tradesfolk, and an important point was made of it at the investigation into Surrey's midnight frolic. Close inquiry failed to show that the Earl himself had ever

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[1] Surrey's midnight adventure among the London streets occurred upon January 21st, $154\frac{2}{3}$. He was beheaded on Tower Hill on January 21st, $154\frac{6}{7}$.

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given the slightest cause for such senseless bragging, and the case was about to be closed when yet another serving-maid innocently dropped the remark that she and her fellow-wench had noticed the similarity of the armorial bearings on the Earl's bed with the royal arms of Henry VIII. The paltry piece of kitchen gossip, which came thus by chance to the surface, gave inspiration to Surrey's watchful enemies (none knowing better than they the fury with which Henry VIII. regarded any encroachment upon the power and privileges of the Crown); and upon this flimsy foundation, by dint of quibble and patient contriving, they reared in time the scaffold of Lord Surrey.

The sequel of this narrative will show how the evil work was done. But, before going further, attention must be drawn to the fact that nowhere in the official reports of the witnesses' statements at the investigation of the Earl's riotous conduct is it alleged, or even implied, that Surrey himself, or his friends, claimed for him any princely rank, or suggested in the vaguest manner that there was any prospect of the House of Howard attaining to the more august dignities in consequence of the King's death. It is plain to all who read fairly that the only persons responsible for such idle gossip were the woman with whom Surrey and his comrades temporarily lodged, and one or two of her maids. The women themselves solemnly swore before the Council (with all that body's attendant terrors) that they had never "heard any other persons speak of such matters." Yet Mr. Froude, in his anxiety to justify the relentless enemies of Surrey and the Howards, insists on making the Earl and his party the originators of all this ridiculous gabble.[3] While labouring to prove that Surrey was really guilty of the charges of treason for which he suffered four years later, the historian of Henry VIII. accuses him of plotting against the King and the probable Regent, Hertford; and continues in the following strain :—

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[3] *Hist. of England*, iv. 252 *et seq.*

> "The young Lord Surrey especially found the prospect [of Hertford's becoming Regent on Henry's decease] unpleasant to him; and although the full extent of his imaginations remained for three years longer concealed, an accident in the present winter [154$\frac{2}{3}$] made it known that he was encouraging perilous expectations."

The "accident," Froude goes on to explain, was the evidence brought out in the course of Surrey's trial for disorderly behaviour; thus clearly maintaining, in the face of the very evidence in question (which he professes to have read, but from which he quotes but a single paragraph—and that inaccurately) that the Earl was the real originator of the stupid boasts made by Mistress Arundell to her serving-girls, and conveyed by the latter to their gossip, the butcher in St. Nicholas' shambles.

And now to the all too merry prologue of a dismal tragedy—to the roaring, roystering night upon which "lusty Juventus," in the persons of Surrey and his friends, celebrated a joyous return to the delights of London town, after months of harsh fare and hard riding upon the Scottish Border. There was living at this period in St. Lawrence Lane,[1] off Cheapside, a certain Mistress Millicent

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[1] Froude and other writers err in making the locality wherein Mrs. Arundell resided St. Lawrence (Pulteney) Lane, probably because it lay nearer the river. It is clear, however, from the fact that Surrey and his friends began their riotous revelry by breaking the windows of Sir Richard Gresham and Alderman Birch, who resided respectively in Milk Street and Lad Lane, that St. Lawrence (Jewry) Lane was the place mentioned in the depositions.

Arundell,[1] wife of a gentleman of good descent, but impoverished fortune; and this dame, having rented one of the "many fair houses" for which (according to Stowe) this lane was noted, established a species of private inn or lodging-house for young gentlemen attached to the Court. Here it was that Surrey took up his quarters as soon as he had despatched the business which brought him from the North; and he appears to have found among his fellow-lodgers a number of congenial spirits, not a few of them old cronies from boyhood days in Norfolk.

Among the number were Sir John Clere and his brother Thomas Clere (the latter the Earl's faithful squire); Hussey, treasurer to the Duke of Norfolk; George Blage, another of Surrey's squires, himself subsequently knighted; Thomas Wyndham, of the famous old Norfolk family;[2] young Pickering, also of Norfolk blood; Thomas Wyatt the younger, son of Surrey's master in the poetic art, and

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Milk Street was the next street to St. Lawrence (Jewry) Lane off Cheapside, and Milk Street, in turn, ran into Lad Lane. Moreover, while St. Lawrence (Pulteney) Lane was even then a business thoroughfare, the St. Lawrence (Jewry) Lane was, and continued to be, noted for its numerous public and private houses for the entertainment of travellers. The largest of these establishments was the famous Blossoms Inn (corrupted first into "Bosom's," and eventually into "Besom's" Inn), which was one of the city houses set apart for the reception of Charles V.'s suite in 1522, twenty beds and stabling being provided. The lane took its name from the church of St. Lawrence Jewry, so called to distinguish it from the other church of St. Lawrence Pulteney, hard by East Cheap.

[1] The Christian name of Mistress Arundell's husband is not mentioned, but from the character of the young men frequenting his house, he probably belonged to the Catholic (or Lanherne and Wardour) branch of the great West Country family, rather than to the Protestant branch of Trerice.

[2] He was Surrey's near relative, being grandson of Sir Thomas Wyndham of Fellbrigg, by his marriage with Lady Margaret Howard, daughter of the first Duke of Norfolk.

himself as hot-blooded as his bosom friend the Earl;[1] and Captain Thomas Shelley, of Sussex stock, destined to fall soon after, fighting under Surrey's banner outside Boulogne.

We may be sure that there was no lack of feasting and merriment when such choice spirits met together under the same roof; and though some of the older and graver ones, like George Blage and Sir John Clere, may have endeavoured to keep alive a sense of decorum,[2] there were times when the warm tide of youth, inflamed to fever-heat by wine-cup and chorus, burst irresistibly through every restraint. On such an occasion—it was the 21st of January, 154⅔—Surrey and a few of his more particular allies had spent an unusually merry afternoon; and about nine of the clock, feeling a desire for fresh air and adventure, they sallied forth from Mistress Arundell's house, armed with "four stone bows,"[3] and ready, perhaps quite willing, to chastise any impudent citizen who ventured to bar their passage. Now the London 'prentice had ever a reputation for truculence; and at this period, the feeling of the City inclining towards Protestantism, the 'prentices were overwhelmingly anti-Catholic. Mistress Arundell's house was well known in the neighbourhood as "a nest of Papists," and all its occupants were marked men. Consequently, when Surrey, Thomas Wyatt, young Pickering, Shelley, and Thomas Clere came swaggering down

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[1] The younger Thomas Wyatt was then a Catholic, and would probably have continued so had his *fidus Achates*, Surrey, lived. His father, Sir Thomas Wyatt the elder, had died of a fever during the previous year, and Surrey had written an exquisite elegy upon him, beginning "Wyatt resteth here, that quick could never rest."

[2] Blage, as the evidence will show, did actually reprove his master, Surrey, for his folly.

[3] Crossbows, with stones for missiles.

St. Lawrence Lane into Cheapside, armed with crossbows and followed by their servants carrying cudgels, it was not long before serious trouble was afoot. From the evidence, it would appear as though the first rioting occurred in Cheapside, and that Surrey and his merry men, furious at being mocked at or interfered with, charged upon the citizens and 'prentices, shooting at them with their bows, and pursuing them along Cheapside and up Milk Street. Here stood the city mansion of Sir Richard Gresham, a known friend to the new religion, and holder of huge grants of monastic lands. The glass windows of the rich merchant were promptly shattered by a shower of stones, and with "Whoop!" and "Halloo!" the madcap party sped onward, smashing the windows of Alderman Birch's house, and those of Gresham's business premises in Lad Lane.

It was even asserted in the evidence that they were mad enough, in their hatred of the doctrines preached therein, to break the windows of sundry churches, but this is extremely doubtful, and no particular churches are specified in the statement as made by Mistress Arundell. A number of persons, however, were hurt by pebbles and stones from the crossbows; and the young rufflers having successfully "cleared the causeway," and cooled to some extent their heated passions, made for the river and took boat, probably at Queenhythe or Paul's Wharf. It was chilly on the river, no doubt, at so late an hour of a January night, wherefore there may have been further refreshments at some of the taverns on the Bankside (as the opposite shore was termed), after which the lawless crew once more embarked, and rowing up and down, amused themselves by exchanging pleasantries, and even volleys of stones, with the "queans" and bullies who haunted the Bankside nightly. At length this pastime palled, and the jaded roysterers turned their prow to the City bank, and made the best of their way back to Mrs. Arundell's house in St. Lawrence Lane, the friendly portals of which they did not reach until about two o'clock in the morning.

Next morning, throughout the parish of St. Lawrence Jewry there was "great clamour of the breaking of glass windows, both of houses and churches, and shooting of men in the streets; and the voice was that these hurts were done by my Lord and his company."[1] There were angry gatherings in the streets, and many neighbours came to Millicent Arundell's house to spy out, if possible, the names of the culprits, for the pranks of the preceding evening had been played under cover of darkness, and although everyone suspected Lord Surrey and Wyatt, there was no certain proof that either had taken part in the shooting and window-breaking. But Mistress Arundell was staunch enough, so long as she did not suffer personally, and to all prying inquiries she denied that her lodgers had had any share in the wanton work of the previous night. At the same time she "commanded her household to say nothing of the going out." It is difficult, however, to bridle the tongues of serving-maids; and on that very morning (January 22nd) a wench in Mistress Arundell's employ, Alys Flaner by name, while "buying and chepyng victuals" at the butcher's shop kept by one Castell in St. Nicholas' Shambles,[2] revealed the whole story to the butcher and his friend the tailor. Not satisfied with this, and being of an exceptionally gossiping disposition, she added a great deal more concerning the principal member of the peace-disturbing band, the Earl of Surrey, enlarged upon his princely birth, and quoted her mistress to the effect that "if oughts other than good become of the King, he is like to be King." In this manner was the match set to the train, which in the end was destined to bring destruction and death to the Earl, and temporary ruin to his noble house.

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[1] Mistress Millicent Arundell's evidence before the Council (see later).

[2] Probably in St. Nicholas Lane, off Lombard Street.

As for Surrey, he already regretted the leading part he had played in the disorder: and on the night after, Mistress Arundell heard him say to his good friend and squire, George Blage, who rebuked him for entering recklessly upon such an outrageous affair, "that he had liever that all the good in the world it were undone, for he was sure it should come before the King and Council, but 'we shall have a madding time in our youth; and therefore I am very sorry for it.'"[1]

It was now known, through the instrumentality of Castell the butcher, that Surrey and Wyatt had been the ringleaders in the disturbance of January 21st; and, at the instance, no doubt, of Sir Richard Gresham and other aggrieved citizens of importance,[2] the Lord Mayor[3] held an inquiry at the Guildhall, sitting with him being "the Recorder,[4] Sir Martin Bowes,[5] one Wyllforthe, and the town clerk of London, and the Mayor's clerk who wrote the examinations, the sword bearer Smarte, and another substantial man that I (the Mayor's clerk) know not his name."[1] The same intelligent clerk describes the two witnesses summoned, Castle and Bourne, thus:—"First and foremost ij butchers,[2] honest substantial men, duly examined and sworn upon a book, and one of them worth £500, and the other worth 300 mark." Andrew Castell butcher of St. Nicholas Shalmelles (Shambles), then deposed that "on 22 Jan^{y} a maid servant of —— Arundell in St. Laurens Lane while 'buying and chepyng' victuals in his shop, said that the night before certain gentlemen which were in her master's house went out after 9 oclock at night 'and had stone bows with them,' and it was 2 of the morning before they came in again." Richard Bourne, merchant tailor, deposed that "on 19 Jan^{y} he was at the house of Andrew Castell, butcher . . . when a maid servant of —— Arundell in St. Lawrence Lane came to complain that Castell had deceived her with a knuckle of veal, and desired in future to have of the best, for 'peers of the realm should thereof eat, and besides that a prince. Asked 'What prince?' She answered 'the Earl of Surrey.' Said 'he was no prince, but a man of honor, and of more honor like to be.' To which she said 'Yes, and if oughts other than good should become of the King, he is like to be King.' Answered 'It is not so,' and she said 'It is said so.'" Both tailor and butcher signed their evidence with crosses.

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[1] Evidence of Millicent Arundell (see later).

[2] Gresham had been Lord Mayor in 1537.

[3] Sir William Bowyer. He had been M.P. for the City in 1542.

[4] Sir Roger Cholmley, sergeant-at-law, Recorder since 1536.

[5] A famous goldsmith who represented London in six Parliaments, and was Lord Mayor in 1545.

After this the civic authorities seem to have approached the Council and laid their complaints against Surrey before that body, who commenced a private investigation

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[1] *State Papers (Dom.), Privy Council Books* (34 Hen. VIII., 1543). From the same source all the evidence quoted, during the succeeding account of the Surrey investigation, is taken.

[2] One of them was a tailor, however.

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GENEALOGICAL TABLE VI.

THE HOWARDS OF EFFINGHAM.

[SEE TABLE III]

A

(1st wife) *ante* 1531 Katherine = LORD WILLIAM HOWARD (1st son by 2nd marriage of Thomas, 2nd Duke of Norfolk) = *ante* 1536 (2nd wife) Margaret,

Katherine, dau. of Sir John Broughton, Knt., and sister and co-heir of John Broughton, of Tuddington, Co. Beds; she *d.* April 23, 1533.

LORD WILLIAM HOWARD, *b. circa* 1509–10; Ambassador to Scotland and France under Henry VIII., and to France, Muscovy, etc., under Edward VI.; *crea.* by Q. Mary Baron Howard of Effingham in Co. Surrey (Mar. 11, 1553–4); Lord High Admiral of England (Mar. 20, 1553–4) and K.G.; under Q. Elizabeth Lord Chamberlain of the Household and Lord Privy Seal; *d.* Jan. 12, 1572–3 (buried at Reigate).

Margaret, dau. of Sir Thomas Gamage, Knt., of Coity, Co. Glamorgan; she *d.* May 1, 1581 (buried at Reigate).

Agnes Howard (otherwise "Ann"), *mar.* Wm. Paulet, 3rd Marquess of Winchester; she *d.* 1598.
↓
The Marquesses of Winchester and Dukes of Bolton.

(1st wife) July, 1563 Katharine = CHARLES HOWARD, 2nd Baron = Sept., 1603 (2nd wife) L. Margaret Stuart,

Katharine, dau. of Henry Carey, 1st Baron Hunsdon; she *d.* Feb., 1602–3.

CHARLES HOWARD, 2nd Baron Howard of Effingham, K.G.; *b.* 1536; *crea.* Lord High Admiral; chief in command at the defeat of the Spanish Armada, *crea.* EARL OF NOTTINGHAM Oct. 22, 1596; *d.* Dec. 14, 1624.

L. Margaret Stuart, dau. of James, 2nd Earl of Moray; she *remar.* Wm., Visc. Monson, and *d.* 1639.

Edward and Henry Howard; both *d.* young, and *s.p.*

Frances = Sir William Howard, Knt., M.P.,

Frances, dau. of Wm. Gouldwell, of Gouldwell, Co. Kent; she *d.* 1600.

Sir William Howard, Knt., M.P., of Lingfield, Co. Surrey; M.P. for Reigate in several Parliaments; *b. circa* 1540; *d.* Sept. 1, 1600.

L. Douglas; *mar.*
(1st) John, Lord Sheffield.
(2nd) May, 1573, Robt. Dudley, Earl of Leicester (which marriage was illegally repudiated by Leicester).
(3rd) Sir Ed. Stafford, Knt., of Grafton.

L. Mary; *mar.*
(1st) Ed. Sutton, Lord Dudley.
(2nd) Richd. Mompesson.
She *d.* Aug. 21, 1600.

L. Katharine; *d. unmar.* Sept. 22, 1598.

L. Frances; *mar.* Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford; she *d.* aged 44, May 14, 1598. *s.p.*

L. Martha; *mar.* Sir George Bourchier, Knt. (3rd son of John, Earl of Bath).

1597 [illegible] = WILLIAM HOWARD, LORD HOWARD OF EFFINGHAM; *b. circa* 1565; *d. vitâ patris* 1615.

(1st wife) 1597 Charity = CHARLES HOWARD = 1620 (2nd wife) Mary,

Charity, dau. of Robert White and widow of William Lechel.

CHARLES HOWARD, 2nd EARL OF NOTTINGHAM, 1597; *d.* Oct. 8, 1642. *s.p.*

Mary, sister of Viscount Cullen; she *d.* Feb., 1650–1. *s.p.*

L. Elizabeth, *mar.*
(1st) Sir Robert Southwell;
(2nd) John Stuart, Earl of Carrick.

L. Frances; *mar.*
(1st) Hen. Fitzgerald, 12th Earl of Kildare; *d.* 1597.
(2nd) Henry Brooke, 11th and last Lord Cobham.

L. Margaret; *mar.* Sir Richard Leveson, Knt., of Trentham, Co. Stafford, Vice-Admiral of England.

James Howard; *d.* young, 1610.

Arabella = SIR CHARLES HOWARD,

Arabella, dau. of Sir Ed. Smith, Knt.; she *d.* Jan. 16, 1681–2.

SIR CHARLES HOWARD, 3rd EARL OF NOTTINGHAM; *b.* Dec. 25, 1610; *d.* April 26, 1681. *s.p.*

L. Ann; *b.* 1612.

Other children; *d.* in infancy.

Sir Edward Howard, Knt., of Great Bookham and Lingfield; M.P. for Reigate; Cupbearer to James I.; *b.* 1580; *d.* 1620. *s.p.*

Jane = Sir Francis Howard, Knt.,

Jane, dau. of Sir Wm. Monson, Knt., of Kimmersley, Co. Surrey.

Sir Francis Howard, Knt., of Great Bookham and Lingfield; *d.* 1654.

Sir Charles Howard, Knt.; *d.* 1652.

Elizabeth Howard, dau. and heir; *mar.* John Mordaunt, 1st Earl of Peterborough.

Frances = Sir Charles Howard, Knt.,

Frances, dau. of Sir George Courthope, Knt., of Wyleigh, Co. Sussex; she *d.* 1681.

Sir Charles Howard, Knt., of Eastwick, Gt. Bookham; *b.* 1615; *d.* March, 1672.

William Howard. Henry Howard. Thomas Howard. Edward Howard. Ludovick Howard. John Howard. Mary.

All these children of Sir Francis Howard were baptised at Great Bookham or Lingfield between 1615 and 1626.

(1st wife) Philadelphia = FRANCIS HOWARD = (2nd wife) Susan,

Philadelphia, dau. of Sir Thos. Pelham, Bart., of Stanmere Park, Co. Sussex; she *d.* 1685.

FRANCIS HOWARD, of Gt. Bookham; suc. as 5th BARON HOWARD OF EFFINGHAM; Governor of Virginia; *d.* March, 1695.

Susan, dau. of Sir Henry Felton, Bart. (and widow of Philip Harbord, of Stanninghall, Co. Norfolk); she *d.* 1726. *s.p.*

Ann = George Howard,

Ann, dau. of Thomas Kidder, of Lewes, Co. Sussex.

George Howard, of Gt. Bookham; *d.* 1684.

Jane; *mar.* Thomas Methwold, of Hale House, Kensington, Middlesex.

(1st wife) Mary = THOMAS HOWARD = 1722 (2nd wife) Elizabeth,

Mary, dau. and heir of Ruish Wentworth; she *d.* 1718.

THOMAS HOWARD, 6th BARON HOWARD OF EFFINGHAM; *bap.* 1682; *d.* July 13, 1725. *s.p.*

Elizabeth, Lady Napier, dau. of John Rotherham, and widow of Sir Theophilus Napier, Bart.

(1st wife) 1713 Diana = GEN. THE HONBLE FRANCIS HOWARD = 1728 (2nd wife) Ann,

Diana, dau. of Major-Gen. Fergus O'Farrell.

GEN. THE HONBLE FRANCIS HOWARD, 7th BARON HOWARD OF EFFINGHAM; *crea.* 1st Earl of Effingham Dec. 8, 1731; and Dep. Earl Marshal.

Ann, sister of Robert Bristow, Commissioner of the Board of Green Cloth; she *d.* 1774.

H. Philadelphia and H. Margaret Howard; both *d.* unmarried.

H. Elizabeth; *mar.*
(1st) Wm. Roberts, Lord of the Manor of Willesden, Middlesex.
(2nd) Wm. Hutcheson, of Willesden.
She *d.* Aug. 22, 1728.

Mary — Lieut.-Gen. Thomas Howard,

Mary, dau. of Right Rev. William Morton, D.D., Bishop of Meath.

Lieut.-Gen. Thomas Howard, of Gt. Bookham; Governor of Berwick; Col. of the Buffs; *d.* Mar. 31, 1753.

Henry Howard, of Lewes.

Charles Howard (said to have *d.* young, *s.p.*).

[illegible]

H. Mary Howard, dau. and co-heir; *mar.* Admiral Sir George Vernon, 1st Baron Vernon.

1744 Elizabeth = GEN. THOMAS HOWARD,

Elizabeth, dau. of Peter Beckford, Speaker of the House of Assembly, Jamaica; she *remar.* F.M. Sir Geo. Howard, cousin of her first husband.

GEN. THOMAS HOWARD, 2ND EARL OF EFFINGHAM, Dep. Earl Marshal; *b.* 1714; *d.* 1763.

(1st wife) L. Lucy Wentworth — Field Marshal Sir George Howard, K.B. = (2nd wife) Elizabeth,

L. Lucy Wentworth, sister and co-heir of William, Earl of Strafford; she *d.* 1771.

Field Marshal Sir George Howard, K.B., M.P. for Stamford, Co. Lincoln; Governor of Chelsea Hospital; *d.* 1796.

Elizabeth, Countess of Effingham (widow of 2nd Earl of Effingham); she *d.* 1791.
↓
s.p.

(1st wife) Katherine = Henry Howard = (2nd wife) H. Maria,

Katherine, dau. of the Rev. John Carleton, D.D.; she *d.* 1762.

Henry Howard of Tower House, Arundel; *d.* Sept. 10, 1811.

H. Maria, 2nd dau. and co-heir of Kenneth Mackenzie, Viscount Fortrose; she *d.* 1826.

Mary; *mar.* Sir Francis Vincent, 7th Bart., of Stoke D'Avernon, Co. Sussex, M.P.; she *d.* 1757.

Katherine; *mar.* Field Marshal Studholme Hodgson, Col. 7th Dragoons.

1765 [illegible] = THOMAS HOWARD, 3rd EARL OF EFFINGHAM, Dep. Earl Marshal; *b.* 1746; *d.* 1791.
↓
s.p.

Harriet — RICHARD HOWARD,

Harriet, dau. of John Marsh; she *d.* May 7, 1827.

RICHARD HOWARD, 4th EARL OF EFFINGHAM; *b.* Feb. 21, 1747; *d.* Dec. 10, 1816.
↓
s.p.

L. Elizabeth; *mar.* the Right Rev. Henry Courtenay, D.D., Bishop of Exeter; she *d.* 1815.
↓
a quo
the Earl of Devon.

L. Ann; *mar.* Lieut.-Colonel Christopher Carleton.

L. Maria; *mar.* Gen. Sir Guy Carleton, 1st Lord Dorchester; she *d.* 1836.
↓
a quo
the Baroness Dorchester.

Gen. Richard Vyse = Ann Howard, dau. and heir; *d.* 1789.

Richd. William Howard Vyse, M.P., of Stoke, Bucks; *d.* 1853.

Katharine; *mar.* the Rev. Robert Blayney, of Garlfold; she *d.* 1830.

Mary; *d.* unmarried.

Mary; *mar.* (1775) Neil Primrose, 3rd Earl of Rosebery; she *d.* 1823.

↓
a quo
Sir William Vincent, 12th Baronet; Col. Sir Howard Vincent, M.P.; Sir Edgar Vincent; etc.

GENERAL KENNETH ALEXANDER HOWARD = May 27, 1800 L. Charlotte Primrose;

GENERAL KENNETH ALEXANDER HOWARD, 11th BARON HOWARD OF EFFINGHAM; *crea.* EARL OF EFFINGHAM Jan. 23, 1837; *b.* Nov. 29, 1767; *d.* Feb. 13, 1845.

L. Charlotte Primrose; she *remar.* in 1858 Thos. Holmes, and *d.* Sept. 17, 1864

↓
a quo
the Earl of Rosebery.

Aug. 18, 1832 Eliza — HENRY HOWARD,

Eliza, dau. of General Sir Gordon Drummond, G.C.B.; she *d.* Feb. 22, 1894.

HENRY HOWARD, 2nd EARL OF EFFINGHAM; *b.* Aug. 23, 1806; *d.* Feb. 5, 1889.

H. Charles Howard, 2nd Foot Guards; *b.* Dec. 6, 1807; *d.* Mar. 8, 1882.

Hon. and Rev. William Howard, M.A., Hon. Canon of York, Rector of Whiston, Yorks, Rural Dean; *b.* April 23, 1815; *mar.* Barbara Frances, dau. of Lieut.-Gen. John Chester, R.A., of Ashtead, Surrey; *d.* May 12, 1881.

L. Charlotte Howard; *d. unmar.* March 8, 1886, aged 82.

L. Arabella Georgina; *mar.* 1841 (as his 2nd wife) Sir Francis Thornhill Baring, Bart., M.P.; *crea.* 1st Baron Northbrook 1860.

Oct. 31, 1865 Victoria Francesca — HENRY HOWARD,

Victoria Francesca, dau. of M. Alexandre Boyer; *d.* June 20, 1899.

HENRY HOWARD, 3rd EARL OF EFFINGHAM; *b.* Feb. 7, 1837; *d.* May 4, 1898.

L. Constance Eleanor Finch Hatton = June 3, 1871 Hon. Frederick Charles Howard,

L. Constance Eleanor Finch Hatton, eld. dau. of 12th Earl of Winchilsea and Nottingham.

Hon. Frederick Charles Howard, Captain Coldstream Guards; *b.* June 21, 1840; *d.* Oct. 26, 1893.

H. Kenneth Howard; *b.* June 14, 1845.

H. Blanche Eliza Howard; *d. unmar.* 1845.

L. Maria Howard.

L. Alice Howard.

HENRY ALEXANDER GORDON HOWARD, 4th EARL OF EFFINGHAM, and 14th BARON HOWARD OF EFFINGHAM *b.* Aug. 15, 1866. (PRESENT EARL.)

Gordon Frederick Henry Howard; *b.* May 18, 1873.

Algernon George Mowbray Howard; *b.* Sept. 15, 1874.

on Easter Eve, March 24. The first witness was Alice Flaner, the same gossiping wench who had told her story in the butcher's shop. She now deposed that "the Earl of Surrey and Pickering his man and others went out one night after 9 at night, and came not in till she was abed. They, and Clere, have 'eaten flesh meat this Lent in her master's house; also her mistress ate flesh.' Examined when she heard that, if anything happened to the King, my lord of Surrey should be King;[1] she says that once when my Lord was deceived in buying certain linen, her mistress said, 'I marvel they will thus deceive a Prince.' 'Why mistress' quoth this deponent, 'is he a Prince?' 'Yea Mary!' quoth she, 'and ought should come at the King but good his father should stand for King.'" At the next examination Alys Flaner (now indeed an important personage in her own estimation) complained to the Council that, upon leaving the Court, Pickering, Clere, and her mistress had summoned her, and compelled her to tell them what had been said to her by the Council—a very natural proceeding on their part surely.

On March 28th, Mistress Millicent Arundell was examined. Wriothesley had prepared for her a list of questions, which still survives in his handwriting among the Domestic State Papers. The document runs as follows:—

"For Millicent Arundell.—Who useth to lodge at her house? How often A. B. C. hath lodged there within this half year? What diet they kept, what pastime they used after supper, whether they had stone bows, whether they went out late in the evening and returned the same night, where they went and what she heard of it; whether she has been charged to say nothing of the matter, or has commanded anyone to say nothing, and who have been messengers between her and A. B. C.?"

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[1] This section of the written evidence, beginning at the words "Examined when she heard" and ending at "stand for King," is in Wriothesley's writing.

Mistress Arundell, duly brought before the Council, deposed thus:—

"My lo. of Surrey, Sir John Clere, Thomas Clere, Surrey's servant, young Pekering, Hussey treasurer to my lo. of Norfolk, Davy Semer and she have eaten flesh in her house last Lenten season." [Inserted in the margin, "*Idem*, Thomas Wyndam."] "Her husband and young Wiat, Clere and Pikering have also eaten flesh on Fridays and fast days, but her husband only ate it in Lent. About Candlemas last my lo. of Surrey, Thomas Clere, young Wiat, Shelley, my lo. of Surrey's servant, and young Pickering, with their servants, went out of her house at nine at night with four stone bows, and tarried forth till after midnight. Next day was great clamour of the breaking of glass windows, both of houses and churches, and shooting of men in the streets, and the voice was that those hurts were done by my Lord and his company; so she commanded her household to say nothing of the going out, and when her neighbours asked her she denied it. She heard my lo. of Surrey say the night after, when Mr. Blage rebuked him for it, that he had liever than all the good in the world it were undone, for he was sure it should come before the King and his Council, 'but we shall have a madding time in our youthe; and therefore I am very sorry for it.' Has heard that Birche had most harm with these stone bows, also Sir Richard Gresham's windows. That night or the night before they used the same, rowing on the Thamys, and Thomas Clere told her how they shot at the queanes at the Banke."

Clearly Mistress Arundell was frightened, and told all she knew. Nothing further could be discovered unless the principal culprits were summoned; and so the investigation became a public one, and on March 31st the Lord

Mayor and Recorder of the city of London, attended by certain aldermen, came in state before the Privy Council, and lodged a formal complaint against Surrey, Wyatt, and Pickering.

Next day (the 1st of April) the three friends appeared before a large gathering of the Council, of which body there were present the Lord Chancellor (Audley), Hertford, the Bishop of Winchester (Gardiner), Russell, Wriothesley, St. John, Sir Anthony Browne, and others. This was the first time that Gardiner had taken any part in the investigation, but, judging by the manner in which the preliminaries to the denunciation of Katharine Howard had been conducted, it is more than likely that he had been kept in ignorance of what was afoot until the last possible moment. His presence was, at least, a guarantee that no high-handed injustice would be done. The Earl of Surrey was charged with (1) eating flesh meat in Lent; (2) in a lewd and unseemly manner walking the streets at night; and (3) breaking with stone bows of certain windows within the city of London. To the first charge he replied that he had a licence or dispensation to eat flesh meat in Lent. The second charge he ignored. With regard to the allegation as to window-breaking, he frankly admitted his fault, adding that he "had very evil done therein." He was committed to the Fleet until further notice. The gloomy old prison was no unfamiliar place of confinement for Surrey. It will be remembered that he spent some weary weeks there in 1542 for challenging Queen Katharine Howard's brother to the *duello*. Wyatt and Pickering followed the earl's example in pleading guilty as to the misuse of stone bows and destruction of worshipful windows, and were duly committed, Wyatt to the

Compter and Pickering to the Porter's Lodge. The following day, however, they were both removed upon a special warrant to the Tower. Why was this ominous measure taken? In the light of after events the answer is obvious enough. It was hoped that they might be terrorised into revealing what the inner circle of the Council most wished to discover, viz. that the foolish speeches of Mistress Arundell and her maid concerning Surrey's or Norfolk's "standing for King" in the event of Henry's decease rested upon some solid foundation—in other words, that Surrey had actually discussed such dangerous topics or permitted their discussion. Clearly, however, nothing was revealed by either of the prisoners in the Tower, for the excellent reason, no doubt, that neither had anything to reveal. Both were presently set at liberty.

A second examination of Millicent Arundell (undertaken, perhaps, at Gardiner's instance) took place at Westminster on August 2nd. She related

> "That once when my lo. of Surrey was displeased about buying of cloth she told her maids in the kitchen how he fumed; and added 'I marvel they will thus mock a Prince.' 'Why,' quoth Alys her maid, 'is he a Prince?' 'Yea, Mary, is he' quoth this deponent, 'and if aught should come at the King but good, his father should stand for King.' Upon farther examination, she cannot recollect speaking the last words, 'and if aught' &c."

Another maid employed in the house at St. Lawrence Lane, one Joan Whetnall, was then called, and it was her statement (made at the very close of the proceedings) which kindled an idea in the mind of one of Surrey's enemies present—an idea that developed into one of the principal indictments against the earl at his fatal trial in 1547. The girl Whetnall confessed "that talking with her fellow touching my lo. of Surrey's bed, she said *the arms were very like the King's*, and she thought that if aught came at the King and my lo. Prince, he would be King after his father."

All three women—Mistress Arundell, Joan Whetnall, and Alys Flaner—under oath denied "that they heard any other person speak of such matters." This clearly exculpated Surrey and his friends, and it was with feelings of satisfaction, no doubt, that Gardiner signed this, the final examination into Surrey's escapade. The Bishop little guessed that the apparently harmless remark of the servant girl concerning the resemblance of Surrey's arms to those of the King was the germ of the principal charge afterwards preferred against Surrey at his trial for high treason.

It was in no agreeable mood that the Earl surrendered himself once more to the warden of the Fleet, and again found himself mewed up in that foul and fever-breeding prison. He was allowed a certain amount of liberty, and one of his squires, Clere or Blage, was permitted to attend him; but visitors from the outside world were debarred from cheering his confinement. The consolations of verse were his, however, and, as on previous occasions, the enforced leisure acted as an incentive to his muse. One curious piece of rhyming can certainly be traced to this period, the *Satire Upon the Citizens of London*, in which he vents his contempt for the traffickers in "greedy lucre," to whose complaints he attributed his imprisonment. The *Satire* ironically depicts Surrey as a species of avenging spirit sent to punish the hypocritical and moneygrubbing merchants of the City, and to awaken them to the knowledge of their iniquities, by the simple expedients of smashing their windows and trouncing their 'prentices. Thus run the verses:—[1]

> "London! hast thou accused me
> Of breach of laws? The root of strife!
> Within whose breast did boil to see,
> So fervent hot, thy dissolute life;
> That even the hate of sins, that grow
> Within thy wicked walls so rife,
> For to break forth did convert so,
> That terror could it not repress.
> The which, by words, since preachers know
> What hope is left for to redress,
> By unknown means it liked me
> My hidden burthen to express.
> Whereby it might appear to thee
> That secret sin hath secret spite;
> From justice' rod no fault is free
> But that all such that work unright
> In most quiet, are next ill rest.
> In secret silence of the night
> This made me with a rechless breast
> To wake thy sluggards with my bow:
> A figure of the Lord's behest;
> Whose scourge for sin the Scripture's show.
> That as the fearful thunder's clap
> By sudden flame at hand we know;
> Of pebble stones the soundless rap,
> The dreadful Plague might make thee see
> Of God's wrath, that doth thee enwrap.
> That pride might know from conscience free,
> How lofty works may her defend;
> And envy find, as he hath sought,
> How other seek him to offend:
> And wrath taste of each cruel thought,
> The just shape higher in the end:

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[1] The *Satire*, although well known to the curious for centuries, was first published by Mr. Park from a copy of the original MS. in his possession. The version subsequently printed by Doctor Nott was collated from Park's copy and Dr. Harrington's MS.

And idle sloth, that never wrought
To heaven his spirit lift may begin:
And greedy lucre live in dread,
To see what hate ill-got goods win.
The letchers,—ye that lusts do feed,
Perceive what secrecy is in sin:
And gluttons' hearts for sorrow bleed,
Awaked, when their fault they find,
In loathsome vice each drunken wight,
To stir to God this was my mind.
Thy windows had done me no spight;
But proud people that dread no fall,
Clothed with falsehood, and unright
Bred in the closures of thy wall.
But wrested to wrath in fervent zeal
Thou hast to strife, my secret call.
Indured hearts no warning feel.
O! shameless whore! is dread then gone?
Be such thy foes, as meant thy weal?"

These amusing verses, we may be sure, found their way to Court; and it is not unlikely that Henry, who relished such jests when not (as were those of his witty brother of France) levelled at himself, was moved, after perusing the *Satire,* to restore its author to liberty. One can picture old Norfolk, astute as ever, choosing an auspicious moment —when the King had slain a lordly buck, or enjoyed some new and succulent dish—to present His Highness with the latest rhyme of "that graceless, but most loyal lad," Henry of Surrey; nor is it difficult to see the burly Tudor, smiting his great thigh, as he compared the Earl to his old favourite Skelton, and readily granting a father's request that this self-styled "scourge for sin" should find freedom, on condition that he foreswore stone bows save when directed against his sovereign's enemies. Surrey's name, at all events, disappears from the Fleet books early in July, 1543, and as the King's marriage to Katharine Parr occurred on July 12th in that year, it is possible that the Earl's freedom was set forth as a royal act of grace in connection with the wedding festivities. In these the newly released poet took no part. Of London, we may be sure, he was heartily weary ; and it was not long before he left the capital, its pains, pleasures, and pitfalls, behind him, and set forth, in company with his younger brother, Lord Thomas Howard, and his friends, Clere and Pickering (the latter had been set free from the Tower in May), for the country which all four loved best, their native land in fact, East Anglia. The first halting-place was at Layer Marney, in Essex, which now belonged (with Bindon Abbey, Lulworth Castle, and many rich possessions in Dorset) to the boy Thomas Howard,[1] in right of his wife, the heiress of the Marneys. Framlingham came next, then in the height of its splendour, and the chief castle of the House of Howards, as Arundel is to-day. But Framlingham was ever more of a stronghold than a home, and it was at pleasant Kenninghall, "beyond the river of Waveney," that Surrey most desired to be. This mansion, however, was closed to him, because of his sullen sister, the Duchess of Richmond, and her friend, Bess Holland.

Accordingly he hastened on to Norwich, where his wife (whom he had not seen since before the Scottish campaign) patiently awaited him. The town house of the Howards in Norwich was not then the splendid and capacious mansion which it afterwards became, but a somewhat tumble-down, half-timber structure, dating from the days of the Mowbrays. Disgusted with the accommodation he found there, and possibly desirous of escaping town life altogether, Surrey resolved to build a new house close to, but at some distance from Norwich, wherein he could reside during his father's lifetime, and which, when he himself became Duke of Norfolk, might remain the home of the new Lord Surrey. With this idea in view, he obtained from his father a grant of land at St. Leonard's, near Norwich. This small estate, although actually part of Mousehold Heath, was not, and had never been common lands, since before the Dissolution it had belonged to the Benedictine monks. In after years, however, when Kett and his fellows rebelled, and one of their grievances was the enclosure of common lands, they believed that Surrey had sinned against the rights of the people, like many another nobleman of those days, in filching from them the pasturage which had ever been theirs; and under this wholly unjust and erroneous notion would have pillaged and burned the noble residence which the Earl had reared. Blomefield, indeed, asserts that they actually carried out their intentions, and that the destruction of Mount Surrey (as it was called) was due to them;[1] but this seems to be an error, for as late as 1578 Queen Elizabeth visited the Earl of Arundel "in his house on the border of Mousehold Heath,"[2] which can only mean Mount Surrey. From all that can be gathered concerning it, the mansion stood upon a lofty hill overlooking Norwich, and was an exquisite specimen of Mid-Tudor architecture. The work had been in progress some time, when news of the war in France made Surrey restive, so that he petitioned the King, through his father, to be allowed to join the English forces under Sir John Wallop at the siege of Landrecy, hard by Boulogne.

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[1] He was but nineteen years of age at this period.

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[1] Blomefield, *Hist. of Norfolk*, vol. iv. p. 427.

[2] W. A. Dutt, *Norfolk*, p. 27.

It will be readily remembered by students of history that Henry had broken with his old ally, the King of France, and, in conjunction with the Emperor, declared war against that monarch. Charles V., with an army of over 40,000 men (of whom 6,000 were English, commanded by Sir John Wallop), now besieged the important town of Landrecy; while Francis I. was known to be advancing to the relief of the fortress with forces scarcely inferior. A great campaign seemed imminent; and, agreeable as were country pursuits, and the building of fair mansions, and the cheering wind that blows always on Mousehold Heath, it must be remembered that the poet Earl of Surrey was a soldier before everything. The prospect of coming fight, wherein he might win such glory as his father and his grandfather had won, summoned him irresistibly from peaceful East Anglia. It was galling to one of his nature to learn that, while he was holding aloof, another of his race, a younger scion, was left to uphold the honour of the name in France. This was his cousin, Charles Howard, brother of the unhappy Queen Katharine, who had been mentioned more than once by Wallop for his gallantry in the field.[1] The fact that Charles Howard was an old comrade of the Kenninghall days did not make Surrey any less jealous of his present fame; and so earnest were his appeals to the King and Council that the Earl was given permission to take service under Sir John Wallop. Further than this, he found himself very graciously received at Court, the affair of the stone bows was apparently forgotten, and the King gave him an autograph letter of recommendation to present to the Emperor, when the latter should arrive before Landrecy. At this time fickle fortune seemed to be smiling in her serenest fashion upon the Howards. The Duke of Norfolk, as is clear from his despatches in the State Papers, was practically first minister of the realm, and fulfilled the office which we should now term the Secretaryship of Foreign Affairs.[1] Lord William Howard, too, had been forgiven, and taken into favour anew; and even a brother of the dead Queen Katharine was honoured with a knighthood and a command in Picardy.

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[1] On one occasion, Wallop, writing to the Privy Council, describes a formal duel which took place outside Terouenne, between six English gentlemen and six Frenchmen, all proved lances. It was on July 31st, 1543; and Wallop picked as representatives of England (in the order named) Charles Howard, Peter Carew, Markham, Shelley (Surrey's fellow-lodger at Mistress Arundell's), Calverley, and Hall (the latter two Wallop's own squires). The onset took place at 9 a.m. "As for Mr. Howard," reported Wallop, "at his first course, he brake his staff in the myddes of the Frencheman's curayse gallierdly; Markham strake an other upon his hedpiece, like to have overthrowen him; Peter Carew also brake his staff very well, and had another broken on him." The English came off victorious, the only one of them who fell being Calverley, and that through the shying of his adversary's horse. It was shortly after this episode that Charles Howard received the honour of knighthood.

Surrey reached the camp before Landrecy in October, before the Emperor's arrival, and was warmly welcomed by Sir John Wallop, who had served his apprenticeship in arms under the Duke of Norfolk. With the Earl were his two squires, George Blage and Thomas Clere. Writing to the King, Wallop describes how the new-comer made the round of the besieging trenches, receiving due, although uncomfortable recognition from the garrison:—

"Yesterday Blage, who arrived here with my Lord of Surrey, went with Mr. Carew to see the trench, and escaped very hardly from a piece of ordnance that was shot towards him. My said Lord I brought about a great part of the town to view the same, and in his return was somewhat saluted. Their powder and shot they do bestow among us plentifully, and sometime doth hurt. My said Lord's coming into this camp was very agreeable unto the Duke, and Great Master,[1] declaring a great amity and friendship that Your Majesty beareth to the Emperor. I was very glad that my said Lord intended to go into Fernando's camp, informing him, as they offered him sufficient conduct, and the Great Master himself to bring him half way there."[2]

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[1] His name alone appears at the foot of the most important international documents, such as the formal declaration of war sent to Francis I, and the complaint as to the delays placed in the way of the English and German heralds, Garter and Toison d'Or, on their way to deliver that defiance.

Presently the Emperor himself made his triumphant entry into camp, and, learning that Surrey was with the allied forces, sent for him forthwith. Charles V. was peculiarly gracious towards the heir of his old acquaintance, Norfolk; if he had heard aught of the persistent rumours touching a projected union between the Princess Mary and the Earl, he did nothing, as that lady's nearest maternal relation, to discredit such a plan, by keeping Surrey at a distance. On the contrary, he treated him almost as a prince of the blood royal, and went out of his way to commend his good qualities, especially the energy which he showed in pushing on the siege, to the English monarch. In the very first letter which he wrote to Henry after reaching Landrecy, Charles pays a warm compliment both to Surrey and Norfolk. It will be noticed that in this, and in another letter to be quoted later, the Emperor refers to the Earl's *gentil cueur* ("noble heart,"—the word *gentil* being used in its older and incomparably finer sense). This quality of rare, unaffected chivalry it was which particularly impressed all who came into contact with

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[1] The Grand Master of Flanders.

[2] Wallop to the King: *S.P.*, Hen. VIII., Oct., 1543.

Surrey, and which has clung traditionally to his memory through the centuries. The Emperor having cordially recommended "le Comte de Sorey" to the notice of Henry, goes on as follows in the quaint French used by himself or by his secretary Baue:—

> "Et quant a ce que Nous avez escript en recommenation du filz de nostre cousin le Duc de Norphocq, pour lendresser es choses de la guerre, il a si bon exemple de voz gens, quil ne pourra faillir d'en estre instruict; et tous le nostres le respecterint comme merite la valeur du pére, et le gentil cueur du filz."[1]

Francis I, by no means anxious for a new Pavia, disappointed the besieging forces of their longed-for battle by a skilfully executed *ruse de guerre.* While pretending to advance with his full forces towards Landrecy, he contrived to throw into the town a great quantity of provisions and ammunition, thus rendering the fortress practically impregnable for months to come. This accomplished, he beat a retreat without further bloodshed, leaving the allied forces to rage impotently outside Landrecy, with every prospect of a hard winter and great scarcity of supplies. Under these circumstances, Charles wisely decided that the best policy was to abandon the siege for the time being, and go into winter quarters. Many of the English contingent returned home, Surrey among the number. Before his departure he was accorded a special audience by the

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[1] Charles V. to Henry VIII., from Avesnes, October 21st, 1543 (*S.P.*, Hen. VIII.). The paragraph, which refers to a previous appreciation of Surrey's energy and courage, may be roughly translated: "And as to what We have written in commendation of the son of our cousin the Duke of Norfolk, for his eagerness in learning the arts of war, he is shown such an excellent example by your men that he cannot fail to profit thereby; while all of our side respect in his person, and deservedly so, the courage of the father, and the noble nature of the son."

Emperor, who presented him with a golden chain and entrusted him with a verbal account of the conclusion of the siege to be delivered to Henry. Writing to the King from Valenciennes on November 19th, Sir Francis Bryan says:—

"My Lord of Surrey, not havnge had accesse to thEmperour synce the departynge of Mr. Wallapp, this same Sondaye after thEmperour had dynyd, came to his lodgynge, ther takynge his leave. ThEmperour handelyd hym aftir a veary gentil sort: ho (he) can reaport it better than I can whrit."[1]

Charles V. himself had addressed a letter to Henry on the preceding day, couched in these very complimentary terms as regards the Earl:—

"Treshault, Tresexcellent et Trespuissant Prince, notre treschier et tresaime bon Frere et Cousin. Tant et si affectueussement que pouvons a Vous Nous Nous recommandons.

"Retournant nostre cousin le Conte de Sorey pardela, Nous serons releve de faire longue lettre pource quil Vous pourra dire les occurans de a constel. Et seullement adjousterons, que il a baille bons tesmoingnage en larmee de quil il est filz, et quil ne veult deffaillir densuyr le pere et ses predecesseurs, et avec si gentil cueur et telle dexterité, quil na este besoing de luy en riens apprendu, et que Vous ne luy commanderez riens, quil ne saiche bien executer. Et atant Treshault, Tresexcellent et Trespuissant Prince, notre treschier et tresaime bon Frere et Cousin, Nous prions le Createur Vous donner voz desirs.

"De Valenciennes ce 18^e^ de Novembre
"1543. V^re^ bon frere et cousin "CHARLES.
"(contresigné) BAUE."[2]

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[1] Sir F. Bryan to the King, *State Papers*, Henry VIII., November 19th, 1543.

[2] *S.P.*, Hen. VIII. The letter may be roughly rendered thus: "Since our cousin the Earl of Surrey is on the point of returning home, we need not write you a long letter; he will be able to give you an account of the happenings in the camp. And we will merely add that he has borne good

Such high praise of Surrey had its effect upon this side of the Channel. Henry VIII., who was anxious to stand well with the Emperor, for the time being, and believed that since Surrey had made so favourable an impression upon Charles, he might be useful in further negotiations, welcomed him warmly, and created him by letters patent Cupbearer Royal. It does not appear, however, that the Earl remained long at Court, for before the end of November he was back again in East Anglia, directing the work upon Mount Surrey.

Thomas Clere and George Blage were still Surrey's squires and constant companions; so that he did not lack associates both martial and scholarly in his pleasant retirement. But if he hoped to live for long without "charge of rule or governance," he was sorely deceived. Henry VIII. had not forgotten that the young nobleman at Kenninghall stood high in the Emperor's favour, and when in February, 1544, the Duke of Najera, one of Charles's generals, arrived with letters to the Court, the King commanded Surrey to entertain this visiting grandee; a behest which was obeyed, we may be certain, with all hospitality on the Earl's part. He was still permitted to remain in Norfolk, however, superintending the growth of Mount Surrey and the planting of the hillsides about St.

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witness in the army as to whose son he is, and that he will not fail to follow the example of his father and his forbears; showing withal so noble a heart and such skill [in warlike arts] that he has no need to learn anything more thereof, and that there is nothing you can bid him do that he does not know how to carry out. And in conclusion, Most High, Most Excellent and Most Puissant Prince, our very dear and well-beloved good Brother and Cousin, We pray the Creator to give you what you desire. From Valenciennes the 18th of November, 1543. Your Good brother and cousin

"CHARLES.
"(countersigned) BAUE."

Leonard's, until, in July of the same year, Henry, incited by the Emperor, conceived the idea of invading France in person, at the head of a large army. As one who had seen service overseas, Surrey was peremptorily summoned from his peaceful pursuits, and appointed Marshal of the host, a position of high trust, rarely conferred (in foreign wars at least) upon so young a man. The vanguard was commanded by the Duke of Norfolk, who might without the slightest reproach have taken advantage of his years[1] to choose a less perilous post nearer to the King's person, but who, with that indomitable courage which his worst enemies have never denied him, chose rather to lead the array and bear the blunt of battle. With him were Surrey's brother-in-law, the Earl of Oxford,[2] the Earl of Arundel (another ancestor of present-day Howards), Sir Francis Bryan, Norfolk's nephew, Lord William Howard, and other kinsmen and friends.

The Emperor was already in the field, when the English set out from Calais, but the stubborn resistance offered him by several French towns, notably St. Dizier,[3] kept him so employed that he could not effect a junction with Henry, as had been planned. This gave rise to suspicions of treachery on the part of Charles. Henry feared a trap,[4] and instead of marching upon Paris, divided his army into two parts; the one, commanded by himself, investing Boulogne, while the other, with Norfolk at its head, laid siege to Montreuil. As was only to be expected, the forces before Montreuil came in for but niggardly treatment, all available resources in the natter of ammunition, pay, and provisions being lavished upon the troops who fought under the King's eye at Boulogne. Norfolk complained sorely of the manner in which his men were allowed to lack even the necessaries of life; but his complaints brought little or no fruit. But the stout old Duke was not one to give way, even under the bitter privations caused by his own countrymen's neglect. His energy and courage inspired his soldiers, notwithstanding their empty stomachs, and the knowledge that the garrison of Montreuil was better supplied with ammunition than were they themselves.

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[1] He was now in his seventy-second year.

[2] John de Vere, sixteenth Earl of Oxford, whose sister was Surrey's devoted wife.

[3] This small, ill-fortified town on the Marne, under the directions of the Comte de Saucerre, held at bay the forces of the Emperor for months, and was thus the means of saving Paris, and rendering the campaign useless to the allies.

[4] The fear was quite unfounded, and the decision of Henry to abandon the original plan of campaign a serious mistake for England and her ally. While Henry was wasting time outside Boulogne, Charles succeeded in taking St. Dizier, only to find that the English, instead of being ready to join him,

The defenders were allowed no rest by night or day; nay, not content with the ordinary operations of a siege, Norfolk, under whom his son Surrey was now fighting, swept the country for leagues around, even attacking and burning the northern part of Abbeville. The Duke in his despatches to the King and Privy Council does not seek to push into prominence the doings of his son; but it is easy to read through the lines of the old general's concise reports that he was proud, and with good reason, of Surrey. Lord Willlam Howard also plied a ready sword in this campaign. In a letter written to the Council, the Duke says:—

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were too fully occupied to co-operate with him for that season at least. Henry sent word that he could not "honourably" raise the siege of Boulogne. He eventually won the town by bribing the governor, Vervin, and Charles, utterly disgusted by so futile an ally, at once concluded a treaty of peace with France, in which England was not even mentioned.

"This shall be to aduertise your good Lordships that this evening Monsieur de Bewers with his band, and my son of Surrey, my Lord of Sussex, my Lord Mountjoy, my brother William, my Lord Latimer, Mr. Treasurer, and all the rest of the noblemen whom I sent further on Saturday at ten at night, returned hither to this camp this night at seven o'clock, without loss of any man slain, and have made a very honest journey, and have burned the towns of St. Riquier and Riew, both walled towns, and also the fauxbourg of Abbeville on this side of the town, where the English horsemen had a right hot skirmish, and after the coming of the whole army retired without loss, and burnt all the country; and they of Crotey fearing our men would have laid siege of the castle, burnt their own town. Our men have brought a very great booty of all sorts of cattle: the noblemen and gentlemen kept their footmen in such order that they borrowed nothing of the Burgonians,[1] and finally have made such an excourse, that the like hath not been made since these wars began."

On September 19th, a general assault was made upon Montreuil, in which the Earl of Surrey all but lost his life, and must, indeed, have died in the breach but for the devoted friendship of his squire, Thomas Clere. Surrey, at the head of a storming-party, had secured an entry within the gates, when he was suddenly struck down, whether by sword or missile is not stated. According to his own account he was left for dead, and must have perished but for Clere, who came to the rescue in the nick of time. Surrey would have had his friend save himself, and handed him his will, which, presumably, he carried about him when going into battle; but the East Anglian squire bravely refused to abandon his master, and actually succeeded in carrying him off under a heavy fire. But in performing this heroic deed Clere himself received a wound, from which he died after a lingering illness of several months. The Earl's grief for his old comrade—a grief rendered doubly poignant from the fact that it was in rescuing him that Clere received the injury from which he was never to recover—found utterance in the epitaph which he wrote in memory of the dead soldier. Years later, Surrey's grandson, the famous "Belted Will" Howard, caused the lines to be engraved upon a tablet placed over Clere's last resting-place in Lambeth Church. The epitaph, prefaced by Lord William Howard's explanation in Latin, ran as follows :—

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[1] A handful of the Emperor's Burgundian subjects, who had been sent with De Bures's Flemish to fight with the English, but who were presently to be withdrawn and disbanded by the Emperor. The "de Bewers" referred to was their leader, De Bures.

"Epitaphium Thomae Clere, qui fato functus est 1545, auctore Henrico Howard, Comite Surrey. In cujus faelicis ingenii specimen, et singularis facundiae argumentum, appensa faut haec Tabula per W. Howard, filium Thomae Nuper Ducis Norfolciensis, filii ejusdem Henrici Comitis.

"Norfolk sprung thee, Lambeth holds thee dead :
Clere, of the Count of Clerémont,[1] thou hight !
Within the womb of Ormond's race thou bred,[2]
And saw'st thy cousin crownéd in thy sight.[3]

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[1] Surrey, in tracing his dead friend's ancestry to the Counts of Clermont, was over-anxious to shed a lustre upon the name of one he loved. This has been sufficiently proved by the distinguished Norfolk antiquary, Mr. Walter Rye, who shows that the Cleres or Cleeres, while a good old East Anglian house, had no such splendid origin as the epitaph would have us believe. There was probably, however, some old legend to that effect, just as legends of illustrious Norman blood were built up around Scottish families of origin palpably Gaelic.

[2] The allusion is to the maternal descent of Thomas Clere. He was son Sir Robert Clere of Ormesby, in Norfolk, by Alice, daughter of Sir William Boleyn by Margaret Butler, daughter and co-heir of Thomas, eleventh Earl of Ormond.

[3] Queen Ann Boleyn was Thomas Clere's first cousin, her father having been brother of Alice, wife of Sir Robert Clere.

Shelton for love,[1] Surrey for Lord thou chose;
(Aye, me! while life did last that league was tender!)
Tracing whose steps thou sawest Kelsal blaze,[2]
Landrecy burnt, and battered Boulogne render.
At Montreuil gates, hopeless of all recure,[3]
Thine Earl, half dead, gave in thy hand his will;
Which cause did thee this pining death[4] procure,
Ere summers four times seven thou could'st fulfull.
    Ah, Clere! if love had booted care or cost,
    Heaven had not won, nor earth so timely lost!"

The allusion to "Landrecy burnt" in the epitaph shows that this town, which so successfully resisted the combined might of the allies, under the Emperor himself, during the previous campaign of 1543, had now fallen before the impetuous onslaughts of Norfolk's hard-riding men, and that Surrey, together with his favourite squire, had taken part in the capture of the stronghold and witnessed its burning.

This fact is generally unnoticed by historians, for the reason that Henry's flatterers desired that the surrender of Boulogne should stand out as the chief, if not the only feature of the campaign. Yet the taking of a place like Landrecy, which had defied Charles V. and his 40,000 allied troops, by the comparatively small force which Norfolk could spare from the concurrent siege of Montreuil, was unquestionably a far more notable exploit than the tame occupation of Boulogne through the treasonous surrender of its governor.[1]

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[1] It is supposed that "Shelton" was one of the daughters of Sir John Shelton of Shelton, in Norfolk. If so, she also was Clere's near relative through the Boleyns.

[2] Clere was with Surrey when the Duke of Norfolk invaded Scotland in 1542, and "Kelsal" (*i.e.* Kelso) was one of the strongholds destroyed.

[3] "Recure," recovery.

[4] The allusion is probably to the long illness which intervened between the wounding of Clere and his death. He did not die until April 14th, 1545, and was buried with the Howards in Lambeth.

Henry made his triumphal entry "amid the acclamations of the populace," as the historians inform us; and this is probably true, for a victory, real or imaginary, over the French was always popular in England. But nothing was said of Norfolk's far worthier deeds; and the Duke was left to command the garrison at Boulogne until the middle of December. Nay, he might not even then have obtained leave to return home, had not his long experience and shrewd advice been needed to cope with the threatening state of affairs upon the Scottish Border. Surrey, now recovered from his wound, probably accompanied his father back to England, as both of them attended a Chapter of the Garter at Hampton Court on Christmas Day. No doubt both hoped to be sent against the Scots. The keeping of the Borders in time of peril had, since Flodden, come to be looked upon almost as the hereditary prerogative of the Howards. But no such fortune awaited the ever-ready veteran or his son. During their absence intrigue had been busy against them. Queen Katharine Parr, whose influence over Henry was steadily increasing, had been completely won over to the side of the Seymours, and added her quiet, but none the less powerful voice, to the chorus of calumny which had been raised anew against the Howards. At the Council, Norfolk's advice was listened to and taken advantage of; but he did not receive the post which he coveted. The rash and boastful Lord Eure was continued in command against the

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[1] Vervin, the governor of Boulogne, was afterwards beheaded by the French for surrendering the city to Henry, there being strong proof that he had accepted bribes.

Scots, and even when his folly had brought about his own death, and the crushing defeat of his army at the battle of Ancrum, February 17th, 1545, Norfolk was not the person chosen to succeed. In his stead, his enemy Hertford was sent against the foe, now flushed with a victory which had not fallen to Scotland's share for many a long year. The result was a strange species of warfare (if warfare it can be termed at all), in which Hertford's efforts seemed to be directed towards keeping out of the way of the Scots. If the latter invaded the east marches, the English general discreetly retired to the west, and valorously attacked undefended castles and farmsteads left unguarded, only to fall back in haste on the approach of any considerable body of his opponents, and betake himself eastward with undignified speed. Nothing was accomplished save cattle-liftings and burnings, and all the while Hertford amused the King with specious dispatches. Little wonder that the stout-hearted men of the northern counties sighed for a few weeks of the Duke of Norfolk.

Meantime Surrey, unwilling to serve under Hertford, had betaken himself once more to Kenninghall and resumed the building of Mount Surrey, which had been for a time suspended. His heart was bitter against the King's counsellors (though not, as yet, against the King), and he had been greatly saddened by the death of Thomas Clere, whose body he had caused to be buried in Lambeth, among his own ancestors; so that this return to the quiet joys of East Anglia was far from solacing him as the last had done. Still, among these cherished surroundings, time alone was needed to restore him to his natural cheerfulness; and it was indeed a cruel fate which, denying him that measure of happy time, lured him once more into the meshes of his enemies, roused up his haughty spirit by unmerited rebuffs, and so brought about his doom. Mount Surrey was almost completed, when, in July of 1545, word reached him from the Privy Council that a new campaign against France was afoot, and that he had been given the command of the English vanguard, to consist of eight thousand men. The bait was enough to entice any man of the Earl's years[1] and disposition; and he set off without delay, enlisting East Anglian and Essex veterans by scores, who had served under his father in past campaigns. These levies were very largely augmented in London, so that the Earl sailed for Calais with five thousand men, the remaining three thousand being supplied by drafts from various garrisons.

On August 26th, Surrey was named Governor and Commander of Guisnes; and on September 3rd following he was promoted to the Governorship of Boulogne, and constituted "Lieutenant-General of the King's forces on the Continent."[2] Boulogne, after all the time expended upon its "conquest," and the flatteries lavished upon Henry for bringing it beneath his sway, had proved rather an embarrassment to England than an acquisition. Already many of the wisest upon the Privy Council, irrespective of party, were of the opinion that, if a profitable bargain could be made with France, the town might be given up without loss of honour, and greatly to the advantage of England. Among those who held this was Norfolk himself, although he agreed with Secretary Paget[1] and others, who shared his sentiments, that it was well to proceed slowly in bringing the matter before the King.

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[1] He was barely twenty-eight years of age when this important command fell to his share.

[2] Rymer. *The Dict. of Nat. Biog.* falls into a curious error when it states in the life of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland (by the Rev. Canon R. W. Dixon) that Northumberland, then Lord Lisle, was Governor of Boulogne from September 30th, 1544, "to the end of the war in 1546." This is, of course, absurd, as Surrey was the one and only Governor during this period. Dudley's son, Henry, however, was one of those serving under Surrey.

Henry, so lately hailed as the victor of Boulogne, would almost certainly hesitate before he allowed this trophy of his generalship to revert to its former owners, no matter how costly and valueless its possession might be. The well-meaning conspirators therefore contented themselves, for the time being, with allowing Henry to gather, piece by piece, and apparently wholly through his own powers of observation, the many disadvantages connected with the retention of the place. Almost they thought themselves successful in converting him by these insidious means to their views, when their plans were well-nigh wrecked from without. A certain person, injudicious, impetuous, and confident with the sublime confidence of brilliant but inexperienced youth, had, it was discovered, made such eloquent representations to the King as to the desirability of holding Boulogne at all hazards, and the cowardliness of giving it back to the French for a price, that the careful diplomacy of months seemed in danger of going for naught, as it certainly would go if this rash meddler succeeded in arousing Henry's immovable Tudor obstinacy. Who then was this marplot from without that, ignorant of their efforts for the common weal, had gained the King's ear, and threatened to make Boulogne a lasting incubus upon the realm of England? It was from Henry himself that they learned the culprit's identity; and what was the surprise and mortification of Norfolk when he discovered that it was his own son, the Earl of Surrey, who, fired at once by a soldier's ardour, and what he deemed to be the truest loyalty and patriotism, had been urging the King not to render back his recent conquest, and painting the rare features of Boulogne—its fine harbour, its new fortifications, its superiority to Calais as a war-base, and so forth—in the most glowing colours. The Council dared not show their anger at this bolt from over the sea. Well they knew their master, who stood upon the very brink of conviction to Surrey's views. A single word in a contrary direction might be sufficient to ruin their schemes, and set the unreasoning tyrant against them once and for all.

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[1] Sir William, afterwards first Lord Paget (1505–63), a shrewd statesman, who, although a Catholic, managed to hold office and keep his head on his shoulders under Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth. His son, Charles Paget, was the famous Catholic secret agent and bitter enemy of Cecil, whose adventures might furnish forth a volume.

What was to be done in this emergency? Clearly the only hope lay in humouring Henry—in letting him have his way; and then, by means of every secret device in their power, of endeavouring to avert the threatened danger. Accordingly Norfolk, Paget, and the rest of those in the secret made no open attempts to throw cold water upon the arguments of Surrey. On the contrary, they apparently shared the King's opinion in regarding these arguments as forcible and most worthy of investigation. But His Majesty knew the value of caution, being renowned as the most far-seeing, as well as the bravest of European sovereigns—a very Ulysses among Kings. Therefore let the Earl of Surrey be further questioned as to the strength, resources, and general value of Boulogne, before the momentous question was decided. Henry was graciously pleased to hearken to his ministers' advice, and a long letter was drawn up to the Earl demanding fuller particulars, and even hinting that His Majesty had been greatly moved by the previous reports of his young lieutenant.

But Norfolk and Paget had not the remotest intention of allowing this document to reach Surrey without something to counteract its influence upon the fiery brain of the soldier-poet. It was secretly resolved that Norfolk himself should write to his heir in terms of warning and remonstrance. Sons were then bred up in sentiments of exaggerated duty towards their fathers; and such had been the Earl's training since childhood. Add to this that he cherished (as we have seen) a deep-rooted love and regard for the Duke, and it will be realised that advice or reproaches reaching him from such a source could not fail to exercise an effect extraordinarily powerful. But Norfolk was over-wise to employ reproaches. He knew his son's independence of mind and character, and that he was capable of defying all conventions, when moved by anger, or by what he deemed a just cause. It was safer therefore, even for a father, to handle him gently. Diplomatically, he began by defending himself against a charge which Surrey had made. Some time before, the Earl had sent one of his subordinates, Richard Cavendish, to England with despatches. Cavendish, in order to curry favour with the Council, had deliberately run counter to Surrey's instructions, and volunteered to bring before the King certain matters highly prejudicial to the retention of Boulogne. It is probably quite true that he insisted upon Norfolk laying this information before the King; but we may take it that the Duke was a willing instrument. Consequently the letter is distinctly disingenuous; although the assertion that the writer was acting in what he conceived to be his son's best interests is, no doubt, absolutely correct. Although Cavendish had served the turn of the Council, Norfolk shows his contempt for one who would thus disobey orders, when he declares that Surrey's false lieutenant was thought at Court "not of the best sort." This then is the missive which was sent in all haste to the rash young Commander of the King's continental forces:—

"To my son of Surrey.

"With this ye shall receive your letter sent to me by this bearer; by the which I perceive ye find yourself grieved for that I declared to the King such things as Cavendish shewed to me: which I did by his desire; shewing the same of his behalf without speaking of you. And if he will say he desired not me to shew the King thereof, ye may [declare] he sayeth untruly. For the King hawking for a pheasant, he desired me as he went homeward to declare the same to his Highness. This is true, and he (Cavendish) taken here not of the best sort. Ye may be sure I do not use my doings of any sort that may turn you to any displeasure.

"Have yourself in await, that ye animate not the King too much for the keeping of Boulogne; *for who so doth, at length shall get small thanks.* I have so handled the matter, that if any adventure be given to win the new fortress at Boulogne,[1] ye shall have the charge thereof; and therefore *look well to what answer ye make to the letter from us of the Council. Confirm not the enterprises contained in them.*

"Having written the premises, Mr. Paget desired me to write to you in no way to animate the King to keep Boulogne. Upon what grounds he spoke it I know not; but *I fear ye wrote something too much therein to somebody.* And thus with God's blessing and mine, Fare ye well. From Windsor, the 27th of September at night.

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[1] The blockading fortress erected by Francis to command the harbour, and which Surrey yearned to attack.

"Your loving father,
"T. NORFOLK."[1]

Proof is lacking as to whether Surrey took his father's very broad hints to heart, and desisted from further communications to the King in praise of Boulogne, or not. Certain it is that the bargain which finally lost Boulogne to England was not made while he remained the King's lieutenant in France.[2] Neither did he relax his efforts to keep the enemy at bay, at once by sea and land; and the success which attended his generalship is testified by the fact that Francis I., although besieging the Boulognais with a fleet of 200 sail (the same victorious fleet which had already descended upon the Isle of Wight, forced the English sea-forces to retreat, and sunk the famous *Marie Rose* in St. Helens roadstead) on the one side, and on the other an army of nearly 40,000 men, was unable to force an entrance into the territory commanded by Surrey. Most historians are strangely silent as to the gallant defence made by this general of twenty-eight and his 8,000 men-at-arms; they only dwell upon the single reverse which Surrey sustained, and that through no fault of his own. In fact, the very name of the man who commanded the King's forces, and held Boulogne and Calais throughout that trying year of 1545–6, is usually omitted by modern chroniclers. Why, it would be difficult to say. Yet the facts are indisputable. Surrey was unquestionably in sole command. All he had to depend upon was his little force of 8,000, mostly tried men, however, and accustomed to follow the name of Howard to victory. Henry, it is true, had levied 14,000 German mercenaries, intending to send them to the aid of his Lieutenant-General; but these having marched as far as the neighbourhood of Liége, were prevented by the Emperor from advancing further through his dominions, and thereupon mutinied, seized their English leaders as hostages for their pay, and retreated to their own country. Thus Surrey and his men fought unsupported the great army of 40,000 men which Francis now led in person against Boulogne.

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[1] *S.P.*, Hen. VIII., French Corr., vi. 88.

[2] The bargain in question was one of the provisions of the Treaty of Campe, June, 1546, after Hertford had superseded Surrey.

Norfolk, in his letter quoted above, alludes to the "new fortress at Boulogne" and the chances of an assault upon it. This fort was built at great cost by Francis for the purpose of blocking up the harbour, and preventing the entrance and egress of those swift English vessels which, under cover of darkness, brought food, ammunition, and despatches to the garrison. Against it Surrey directed his unwearying energies, so that the soldiers whom Francis had placed there never felt safe from attack or bombardment by day or night. So steadfastly did the Earl pursue his object, that, after months of resistance, the fortress was so battered and insecure that Francis found himself compelled to send heavy reinforcements in order to save evacuating the position altogether. It was to prevent these reinforcements, with their supplies of victuals and ammunition, from reaching the blockading fort, that Surrey undertook the daring project of sallying forth from Boulogne and attacking the advancing French. He had with him but 4,000 men (the rest being at Calais and elsewhere), and could only spare 2,000 and a handful of horse from the defence of Boulogne. The advancing French had about 4,000 foot and 500 horse; Surrey's whole force, except for a troop of mounted gentlemen, consisting of footmen.

He has been harshly criticised for attacking at all against such heavy odds, and the result of the battle which followed was considered in his own day, and has since been described, as a reverse to the English arms. Indeed, the encounter, and the alleged foolhardiness of the Earl in intercepting a force more than double his own, were used by his enemies to inflame the mind of Henry against him, and led, no doubt, to his subsequent recall. Yet a little reflection should convince us that the attack, even against such odds, was, so far from being a mistake, the very best course open to Surrey, if he wished to save Boulogne; and that, instead of a reverse, the apparently reckless enterprise was a great tactical success. So long as the French King's ramparts covered the entrance to Boulogne harbour the town was in danger, and if the reinforcements sent by Francis, with their overwhelming supplies of food and ammunition, succeeded in reaching the fortress, then the English garrison would find itself cut off from all succour, and the only alternatives would be surrender or death. Surrey realised that the relieving troops and their supply train must be cut off, or stayed, at all hazards. The fate of Boulogne depended upon such bold measures, and, with the full cognisance of his Council, he took the risk. The result was that, although the battle itself was a drawn one, the object for which the Earl fought was attained. The French troops, having lost most of their cavalry, and witnessed the destruction of many wagons filled with stores, were obliged to fall back upon Montreuil. Out of the long train of supplies "not twenty carts entered into the fortress; and that biscuit"; as Surrey and the Boulogne Council report. The enemy was almost in as bad a state as ever, and very shortly afterwards, as we shall see, Francis was compelled to abandon it and withdraw his men.

But Surrey's so-called "foolhardy attack" came within an ace of proving a great victory instead of merely accomplishing the purpose for which it was planned. Had not the English foot soldiers of the second rank been overtaken by one of those inexplicable panics which sometimes attack the bravest (we have witnessed amazing instances in the wars of our own time), and fled in confusion, resisting all the efforts of Surrey to rally them, the French foot must have been routed as well as the horse, and this battle of St. Etienne ranked high among English deeds of glory. As it was, the first rank, consisting mainly of gentlemen, stood fast and held the enemy at bay, hoping that the victorious cavalry would come to their aid. But the cavalry, believing the battle won, had returned to the entrenchments of Boulogne, and the English foot were forced to retire, fighting step by step, in the same direction.

Surrey's report of the affair to the King is frank and manly, giving full credit to the prowess of his followers who had distinguished themselves, while entirely suppressing his own exploits. Naturally he emphasises the facts that, although he did not win the battle, neither did the other side, and that the advantage was really his, since he had prevented the enemy from remanning and revictualling the new fortress, thus keeping the harbour open, and leading up to the abandonment of the French stronghold. He writes :—

"It may like your most excellent Majesty, that having certain espial that Mon^s du Biez was set fort of Montreuil with six hundred horse and three thousand footmen to relieve the great necessity of the fortress, mentioned in our former letters, we took yesterday before day the trenches at St. Etienne with six hundred footmen, and sent out Mr. Ellerkar[1] with all the horsemen of this town, and Mr. Pollard[2] with two hundred that he brought the night before from Guisnes, to discover whither their camp marched, which he had discovered by their fires at Nouclier overnight; six miles on this side Montreuil. And as they passed by Hardelot, Mr. Pollard was hurt with a culverin in the knee, and died thereof the night following; of whom your Majesty had a notable loss.

"Our horsemen discovered their march beyond Hardelot, whereupon I, the Earl of Surrey, being advertised, according to the order agreed upon amongst us, issued out with Mr. Bridges, Sir Henry Palmer, Sir Thomas Palmer,[3] Sir Thomas Wyatt,[4] and two thousand footmen; leaving within your Majesty's pieces two thousand footmen, and the rest of the Council here, divided in the pieces. And by that time that we had set our horsemen and footmen in order of battle, without the trench of St. Etienne, the enemy was also in order of battle on this side Hardelot, and had put on their carriages by the sea side, towards the fortress. Whereupon, having discovered their horsemen not above five hundred, and footmen about four thousand, pondering the weight of the service, which might have imported no less succees than the winning of the fortress, and the courage and good will that seemed in our men (the surety of your Majesty's pieces being provided for) upon a consultacion we presented them the fight, with a squadre of pikes and bills about threescore in file, and two wings of harquebussiers, and one of bows, and our horsemen on the right wing. Many of the captains and gentlemen were in the first rank by their desire, for because they were well armed in corselets. The battle of the Almains came towards us likewise with two wings of harquebussiers and two troops of horsemen.

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[1] This was Ralph Ellerker (afterwards knighted) of Risly. His father, Sir Ralph Ellerker, who had fallen fighting under Surrey in 1545, had won renown during the previous siege of Boulogne by shearing off the crest from the helmet of the Dauphin of France. The second Ralph was chosen by Surrey to carry the above despatch to Henry VIII., by whom he was knighted.

[2] One of the eleven sons of the judge, Sir Lewis Pollard (*d.* 1540), and brother of Sir George Pollard, marshal of Boulogne in 1548.

[3] These Palmers were brothers, and came of a family of lusty soldiers. Sir Henry was of Wingham, in Kent (he died 1599), and at this time Master of the Ordnance in Boulogne. Sir Thomas, a boon companion of Henry VIII., with whom he played at dice, became a follower of Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, and was beheaded for his share in Lady Jane Grey's rebellion in 1553.

[4] The younger Wyatt, Surrey's bosom friend.

"Mr. Marshall, Mr. Bellingham,[1] Mr. Porter, Mr. Shelley,[2] and Mr. Granado, with all the horsemen of this town and Guisnes, gave the charge upon their right flank, and brake their harquebussiers. Their horsemen fled, and ours followed the victory, and killed and slew till they came to the carriages, where they brake four score and ten, accompted by tale this morning. Our squadre then joyned with the Almains, with a cry of as great courage and in as good order as we could wish. And by that time our first rank and the second were come to the push of the pike, there grew a disorder in our men, and without cause fled; at which time many of our gentlemen were slain, which gave as hardy an onset as hath yet been seen, and could but have had good success had they been followed. So stinted they never for any device which we could use, till they came to the trenches; and being well settled there, which is such a place as may be kept against all their camp, they forsook that and took the river, which gave the enemy courage to follow them; albeit, the night coming on, they followed not far beyond. Assuring your Majesty that the fury of their flight was such that it booted little the travail that was taken upon every strait to stay them. And so, seeing it not possible to stop them, we suffered them to retire to the town. In this meanwhile, our horsemen thinking all won, finding the disorder, were fain to pass over at a passage a mile beneath Pont de Brique without any loss, having slain a great number of the enemies.

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[1] Afterwards Sir Edward Bellingham (*d.* 1549), Lord Deputy of Ireland. He belonged to a Sussex family, and had been brought up as page and squire in the household of the Duke of Norfolk.

[2] The same Shelley who had been involved with the Earl of Surrey in his notorious midnight frolics in 1543 (see *ante*). He belonged to the Sussex family, from which sprang the poet, Percy Bysshe Shelley; and this was his last battle.

"Thus was there loss and victory on both sides. And this morning we sent before day to number the dead. There was slain of our side two hundred and five; whereof captains, Mr. Edward Poynings,[1] Captain Story, Captain Jones, Spencer, Roberts, Basford, Wourth, Wynchcombe,[2] Mr. Vawse, and a man at arms called Harvy, Captain Crayford and Mr. John Palmer, and Captain Shelley and Captain Cobham, missed but not found. All these were slain in the first rank. Other there were that escaped; among whom Mr. Wyatt was one; assuring your Majestie that there were never gentlemen served more hardily, saving the disorder of our footmen that fled without cause when all things almost seemed won. The enemy took more loss than we, but for the gentlemen, whose loss was much to be lamented. And this day we have kept the field from the break of day; and the enemy retired to Montreuil immediately after the fight, and left their carriages distressed behind them. And not twenty carts entered into the fortress; and that biscuit.

"Beseeching your Majesty, though the success hath not been such as we wished, to accept the good intent of us all; considering that it seemed to us, in a matter of such importance, a necessary thing to present the fight. And that Mr. Ellerkar may know we have humbly recommended his good service unto your Highness, which was such as if all the rest had answered to the same, the enemy had been utterly discomforted; and that it may please your Majesty to give him credit for the declaration thereof more at large. Further, whereas Mr. Henry Dudley[1] was one of those of the first rank that gave the onset upon the enemy, and is a man for his knowledge, heart, and good service, it may like your Highness to be his good and gracious Lord: that whereas Mr. Poynings, late captain of your Majesty's guard here is deceased, if your Highness shall think him able to succeed him in that room, at our humble intercession to admit him thereto.

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[1] Edward Poynings was one of the seven illegitimate sons of the famous Sir Edward Poynings, Lord Deputy of Ireland (author of *Poynings' Law*). His elder brother, Sir Thomas, was created Lord Poynings.

[2] Son of the renowned "Jack of Newbury."

"And thus beseeching your Highness to accept our poor service, albeit the success in all things was not such as we wished, yet was the enemy's enterprise disappointed, (which could not have been otherwise done) and more of their part slain than of ours; and the fortress in as great a misery as before, and a sudden flight the let of a full victory. And if any disorder there were, we assure your Majesty there was no default in the rulers, nor lack of courage to be given them, *but a humour that sometime reigneth in Englishmen:* most humbly thanking your Majesty that it hath pleased the same to consider their payment; which shall much revive their hearts to adventure most willingly their lives, according to their most bounden duty, in your Majesty's service, to make recompense for the disorder that now they have made.

"And thus we pray to God to preserve your most excellent Majesty. From your Highness's town of Boulogne, this 8th of January, 1546.

"Your Majesty's most humble,
and obedient Servants and Subjects,
H. SURREY.
HUGH POULET. HENRY PALMER.
RICHARD CAVENDISH. JOHN BYRGGYS.
RICHARD WYNDEBANCKE.

"P.S.—Whereas we think that this victual can serve for no long time, that they have put into the fortress; wherefore it is to be thought the enemy will attempt the like again shortly; it may please your Majesty to resolve what is further to be done by us; and for the declaration of our poor opinions therein, we have sent Mr. Ellerkar to your Majesty, to whom may it please your Highness to give credit in that behalf: and the present tempest being such, we have thought it meet to send these before, and stay him for a better passage. H. SURREY."[1]

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[1] It speaks well for Surrey's impartiality that he so praises Henry Dudley, who was son of one of his father's bitterest enemies, John Dudley, Viscount Lisle, afterwards Earl of Warwick and Duke of Northumberland. Henry Dudley was the fifth son, and was subsequently slain at the battle of St. Quentin in 1555.

But in spite of this statement, in spite of that "proof of the pudding"—the prompt evacuation of the new fortress of the French for lack of the supplies intercepted or driven back by Surrey, the busy efforts of the Earl's enemies to turn the affair of St. Etienne into a defeat in the King's eyes had a certain amount of success. Henry was, at all events, gradually persuaded into the belief that Surrey was too young, and somewhat too rash as yet, for a post of such grave responsibility as that of Lieutenant-General of the Forces in France. Some of Surrey's own friends, indeed, actually held this view, regarding the Earl as the chief stop-gap in the way of their plans for disposing of Boulogne. As yet, however, Henry gave no outward manifestation of his intention to supersede the Earl. Indeed he wrote him, on January 18th, 1545-6, a letter couched in kindly terms, giving him credit for what he had accomplished, and admitting that he was in no wise responsible for the fact that he had not routed the French at St. Etienne. Encouraged by what he considered the royal favour, Surrey applied himself with additional vigour towards forcing the enemy out of the new fortress. Within a space of six weeks his persistence and the effects of his action at St. Etienne had the effect desired. The garrison of the fortress applied in vain to Montreuil for further help; Francis, for all his 40,000 men, would send no further assistance.

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[1] *S.P.*, Hen. VIII., French Corr., iv. 2.

By this time Surrey's bombardment had riddled the enemies' walls; they were almost starving; and nothing remained for them to do but to abandon their untenable defences and leave the entrance to Boulogne free. Their retreat was closely followed up by the English; and the excuse given by Francis was that the builders responsible for the erection of the fortress had cheated him with inferior materials.

Believing that this notable success, and vindication of the fight at St. Etienne entitled him to some reward, Surrey wrote about the beginning of March to the King, asking that his wife, then at Lambeth, might be permitted to join him. He was surprised to receive a positive refusal, the King ungallantly asserting that "time of service which will bring some trouble and disquietness unmeet for women's imbecilities, approacheth." In spite of this rebuff, the Earl still believed that he stood well in the royal opinion, and accepting the harsh denial in the spirit of a loyal soldier, set his wits to work upon plans for crushing the French. Some of these plans he reduced to writing and sent to his sovereign. The reply which he received was wide indeed of that for which he had looked. Briefly, it contained nothing more nor less than a notice from Secretary Paget to the effect that he was about to be superseded in his Lieutenant-Generalship, and superseded ("unkindest cut of all!") by his arch-foe, the Earl of Hertford.

Paget (who was a friend of both Norfolk and Surrey, as much as his cold, crafty nature would permit him to be friend of anyone) endeavoured to soften the blow, and gave the young Earl sound advice as to the desirability of submitting to the inevitable gracefully, and the folly of knocking so promising a head against stone walls, if not of losing it altogether. He advised Surrey to accept some subordinate post, such as that of commander of the vanguard, which no Englishman, however proudly sprung, should scorn to occupy. Finally he offered to use all his own great influence with the King towards the Earl's advancement. The letter, written about March 14th, is as follows :—

"My Lord, the latter part of your letter,[1] touching the intended enterprise of the enemy, giveth me occasion to write unto you frankly my poor opinion; trusting your Lordship will take the same in no worse part than I mean it. As your Lordship wisheth, so his Majesty mindeth to do somewhat for the endommaging of the enemy: and for that purpose hath appointed to send over an army shortly, and that my Lord of Hertford shall be his Highness's Lieutenant General at his being in Boulonnais. Whereby I fear your authority of Lieutenant shall be touched: for I believe that the later ordering of a Lieutenant taketh away the commission of him that was there before. Now, my Lord, because you have been pleased I should write mine advice to your Lordship in things concerning your honour and benefit, I could no less do than put you in remembrance how much in mine opinion this shall touch your honour, if you should pass the thing over in silence until the very time of my lord of Hertford's coming over thither; for so should both your authority be taken away, as I fear is Boulonnois, and also it should fortune ye to come abroad without any place of estimation in the field; which the world would much muse at, and, though there be no such matter, think you were rejected upon some occasion of some either negligence, inexperience, or such like fault; for so many heads, so many judgments. Wherefore, my

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[1] The report sent in as to plans of campaign against the French.

gave the young Earl sound advice as to the desirability of submitting to the inevitable gracefully, and the folly of knocking so promising a head against stone walls, if not of losing it altogether. He advised Surrey to accept some subordinate post, such as that of commander of the vanguard, which no Englishman, however proudly sprung, should scorn to occupy. Finally he offered to use all his own great influence with the King towards the Earl's advancement. The letter, written about March 14th, is as follows :—

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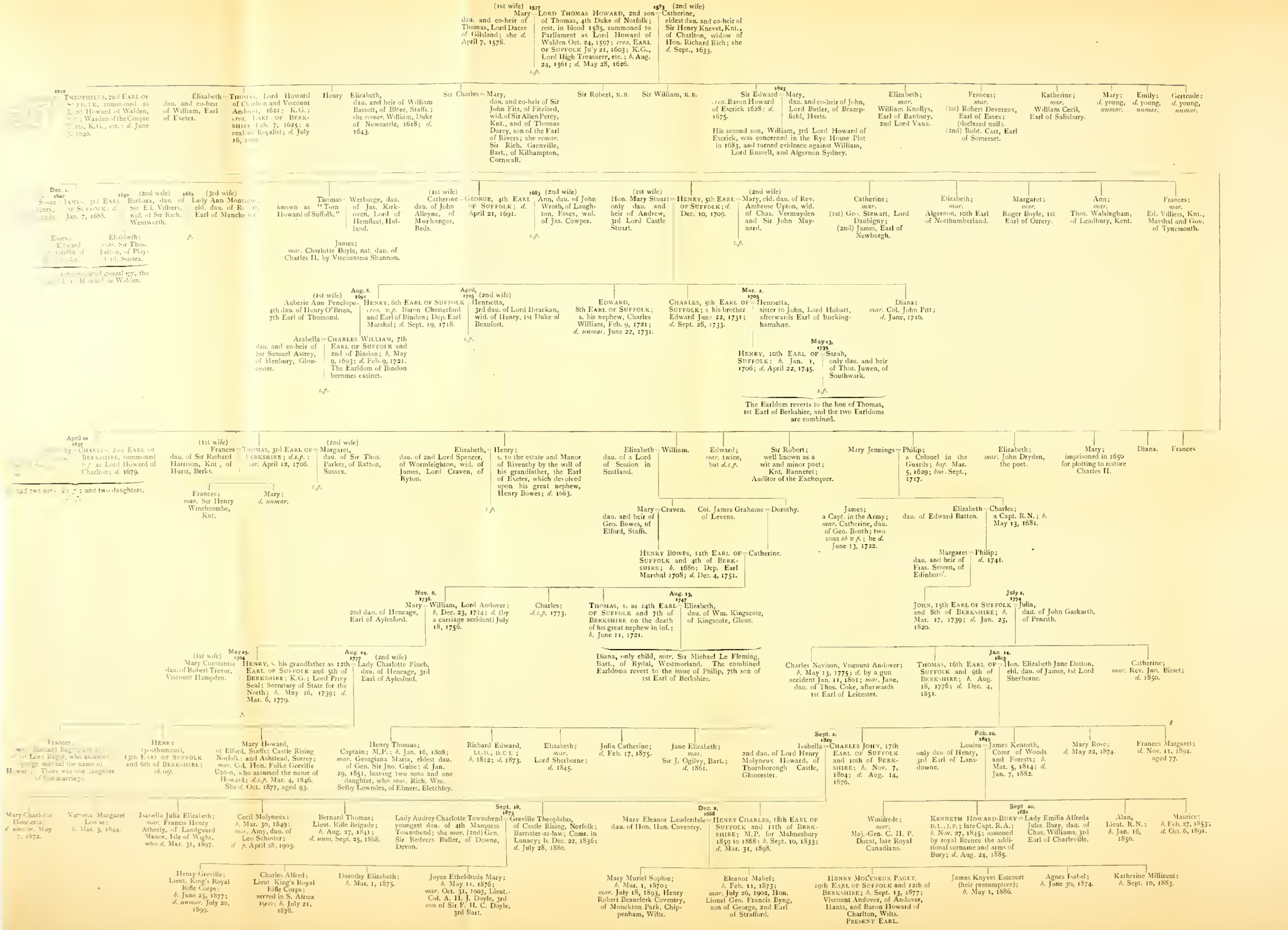
[1] The report sent in as to plans of campaign against the French.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE VII.

THE EARLS OF SUFFOLK AND BERKSHIRE.



(1st wife) 1577 Mary = Lord Thomas Howard, 2nd son = 1583 (2nd wife) Catherine,

Mary, dau. and co-heir of Thomas, Lord Dacre of Gilsland; she *d.* April 7, 1578. *s.p.*

Lord Thomas Howard, 2nd son of Thomas, 4th Duke of Norfolk; rest. in blood 1585, summoned to Parliament as Lord Howard of Walden Oct. 24, 1597; *crea.* Earl of Suffolk July 21, 1603; K.G., Lord High Treasurer, etc.; *b.* Aug. 24, 1561; *d.* May 28, 1626.

Catherine, eldest dau. and co-heir of Sir Henry Knevet, Knt., of Charlton, widow of Hon. Richard Rich; she *d.* Sept., 1633.

1626 Theophilus, 2nd Earl of Suffolk, summoned as Lord Howard of Walden, . . . ; Warden of the Cinque Ports, K.G., etc.; *d.* June . 1640.

Elizabeth = Thomas, Lord Howard of Charlton and Viscount Andover, 1621; K.G.; *crea.* Earl of Berkshire Feb. 7, 1625; a zealous Royalist; *d.* July 16, 1669. Elizabeth, dau. and co-heir of William, Earl of Exeter.

Henry = Elizabeth, dau. and heir of William Bassett, of Blore, Staffs.; she *remar.* William, Duke of Newcastle, 1618; *d.* 1643.

Sir Charles = Mary, dau. and co-heir of Sir John Fitz, of Fitzford, wid. of Sir Allen Percy, Knt., and of Thomas Darcy, son of the Earl of Rivers; she *remar.* Sir Rich. Grenville, Bart., of Kilhampton, Cornwall.

Sir Robert, K.B.

Sir William, K.B.

Sir Edward = 1623 Mary, Sir Edward, *crea.* Baron Howard of Escrick 1628; *d.* 1675. Mary, dau. and co-heir of John, Lord Butler, of Brampfield, Herts.

His second son, William, 3rd Lord Howard of Escrick, was concerned in the Rye House Plot in 1683, and turned evidence against William, Lord Russell, and Algernon Sydney.

Elizabeth; *mar.* William Knollys, Earl of Banbury, 2nd Lord Vaux.

Frances; *mar.* (1st) Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex; (declared null). (2nd) Robt. Carr, Earl of Somerset.

Katherine; *mar.* William Cecil, Earl of Salisbury.

Mary; *d.* young, *unmar.*

Emily; *d.* young, *unmar.*

Gertrude; *d.* young, *unmar.*

Dec. 1, 1642 Susan . . . = James, 3rd Earl of Suffolk; *d.* Jan. 7, 1688. = 1650 (2nd wife) Barbara, dau. of Sir Ed. Villiers, wid. of Sir Rich. Wentworth. = 1682 (3rd wife) Lady Ann Montague, eld. dau. of Robert, Earl of Manchester. *s.p.*

Essex; *mar.* Edward . . . Griffin of . . .

Elizabeth; *mar.* Sir Thos. Felton, of Playford, Sussex.

. . . ated genealogy, the . . . Lord Howard de Walden.

Thomas = Werburge, dau. of Jas. Kirkoven, Lord of Hemfleet, Holland. Thomas, known as "Tom Howard of Suffolk."

James; *mar.* Charlotte Boyle, nat. dau. of Charles II. by Viscountess Shannon.

(1st wife) Catherine = George, 4th Earl of Suffolk; *d.* April 21, 1691. = 1683 (2nd wife) Ann, dau. of John Wroth, of Laughton, Essex, wid. of Jas. Cowper. *s.p.* Catherine, dau. of John Alleyne, of Morhanger, Beds.

(1st wife) Hon. Mary Stuart = Henry, 5th Earl of Suffolk; *d.* Dec. 10, 1709. = (2nd wife) Mary, eld. dau. of Rev. Ambrose Upton, wid. of Chas. Vermuyden and Sir John Maynard. *s.p.* Hon. Mary Stuart, only dau. and heir of Andrew, 3rd Lord Castle Stuart.

Catherine; *mar.* (1st) Geo. Stewart, Lord Daubigny; (2nd) James, Earl of Newburgh.

Elizabeth; *mar.* Algernon, 10th Earl of Northumberland.

Margaret; *mar.* Roger Boyle, 1st Earl of Orrery.

Ann; *mar.* Thos. Walsingham, of Leadbury, Kent.

Frances; *mar.* Ed. Villiers, Knt., Marshal and Gov. of Tynemouth.

(1st wife) Auberie Ann Penelope = Aug. 6, 1691 Henry, 6th Earl of Suffolk = April, 1705 (2nd wife) Henrietta,

Auberie Ann Penelope, 4th dau. of Henry O'Brien, 7th Earl of Thomond.

Henry, 6th Earl of Suffolk, *crea. v.p.* Baron Chesterford and Earl of Bindon; Dep. Earl Marshal; *d.* Sept. 19, 1718.

Henrietta, 3rd dau. of Lord Brackan, wid. of Henry, 1st Duke of Beaufort. *s.p.*

Arabella = Charles William, 7th Earl of Suffolk and 2nd of Bindon; *b.* May 9, 1693; *d.* Feb. 9, 1721. The Earldom of Bindon becomes extinct. *s.p.* Arabella, dau. and co-heir of Sir Samuel Astrey, of Henbury, Gloucester.

Edward, 8th Earl of Suffolk; s. his nephew, Charles William, Feb. 9, 1721; *d. unmar.* June 22, 1731.

Charles, 9th Earl of Suffolk; s. his brother Edward June 22, 1731; *d.* Sept. 28, 1733. = Mar. 2, 1705 Henrietta, sister to John, Lord Hobart, afterwards Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Henry, 10th Earl of Suffolk; *b.* Jan. 1, 1706; *d.* April 22, 1745. = May 13, 1735 Sarah, only dau. and heir of Thos. Juwen, of Southwark. *s.p.*

The Earldom reverts to the line of Thomas, 1st Earl of Berkshire, and the two Earldoms are combined.

Diana; *mar.* Col. John Pitt; *d.* June, 1710.

April 10, 1637 . . . by = Charles, 2nd Earl of Berkshire, summoned *v.p.* as Lord Howard of Charlton; *d.* 1679.

. . . had two sons . . . ; and two daughters, . . .

(1st wife) Frances = Thomas, 3rd Earl of Berkshire; *d.s.p.*; *mar.* April 12, 1706. = (2nd wife) Margaret, dau. of Sir Thos. Parker, of Ratton, Sussex. *s.p.* Frances, dau. of Sir Richard Harrison, Knt., of Hurst, Berks.

Frances; *mar.* Sir Henry Winchcombe, Knt.

Mary; *d. unmar.*

Elizabeth, = Henry; s. to the estate and Manor of Rivensby by the will of his grandfather, the Earl of Exeter, which devolved upon his great nephew, Henry Bowes; *d.* 1663. *s.p.* Elizabeth, dau. of 2nd Lord Spencer, of Wormleighton, wid. of James, Lord Craven, of Ryton.

Elizabeth = William. Elizabeth, dau. of a Lord of Session in Scotland.

Edward; *mar.* twice, but *d.s.p.*

Sir Robert; well known as a wit and minor poet; Knt. Banneret; Auditor of the Exchequer.

Mary Jennings = Philip; a Colonel in the Guards; *bap.* Mar. 5, 1629; *bur.* Sept., 1717.

Elizabeth; *mar.* John Dryden, the poet.

Mary; imprisoned in 1650 for plotting to restore Charles II.

Diana.

Frances

Mary = Craven. Mary, dau. and heir of Geo. Bowes, of Elford, Staffs.

Col. James Grahame = Dorothy. Col. James Grahame, of Levens.

Henry Bowes, 11th Earl of Suffolk and 4th of Berkshire; *b.* 1680; Dep. Earl Marshal 1708; *d.* Dec. 4, 1751. = Catherine.

James; a Capt. in the Army; *mar.* Catherine, dau. of Geo. Booth; two sons *ob v p.*; he *d.* June 13, 1722.

Elizabeth = Charles; a Capt. R.N.; *b.* May 13, 1681. Elizabeth, dau. of Edward Batten.

Margaret = Philip; *d.* 1741. Margaret, dau. and heir of Fras. Sereen, of Edinboro'.

Nov. 6, 1736 Mary = William, Lord Andover; *b.* Dec. 23, 1714; *d.* (by a carriage accident) July 18, 1756. Mary, 2nd dau. of Heneage, Earl of Aylesford.

Charles; *d.s.p.* 1773.

Thomas, s. as 14th Earl of Suffolk and 7th of Berkshire on the death of his great nephew in inf.; *b.* June 11, 1721. = Aug. 13, 1747 Elizabeth, dau. of Wm. Kingscote, of Kingscote, Glouc.

Diana, only child, *mar.* Sir Michael Le Fleming, Bart., of Rydal, Westmorland. The combined Earldoms revert to the issue of Philip, 7th son of 1st Earl of Berkshire.

John, 15th Earl of Suffolk and 8th of Berkshire; *b.* Mar. 17, 1739; *d.* Jan. 23, 1820. = July 2, 1774 Julia, dau. of John Gaskarth, of Penrith.

(1st wife) Mary Constantia = May 25, 1764 Henry, s. his grandfather as 12th Earl of Suffolk and 5th of Berkshire; K.G.; Lord Privy Seal; Secretary of State for the North; *b.* May 16, 1739; *d.* Mar. 6, 1779. = Aug. 14, 1777 (2nd wife) Lady Charlotte Finch, dau. of Heneage, 3rd Earl of Aylesford.

Mary Constantia, dau. of Robert Trevor, Viscount Hampden. *p.*

Charles Nevison, Viscount Andover; *b.* May 13, 1775; *d.* by a gun accident Jan. 11, 1801; *mar.* Jane, dau. of Thos. Coke, afterwards 1st Earl of Leicester.

Thomas, 16th Earl of Suffolk and 9th of Berkshire; *b.* Aug. 18, 1776; *d.* Dec. 4, 1851. = Jan. 14, 1803 Hon. Elizabeth Jane Dutton, eld. dau. of James, 1st Lord Sherborne.

Catherine; *mar.* Rev. Jno. Bisset; *d.* 1850.

Frances; *mar.* Richard Bagot, . . . Lord Bagot, who assumed . . . marriage the name of Howard. There was one daughter of this marriage.

Henry (posthumous), 13th Earl of Suffolk and 6th of Berkshire; *ob. inf.*

Mary Howard, of Elford, Staffs; Castle Rising Norfolk; and Ashstead, Surrey; *mar.* Col. Hon. Fulke Greville Upton, who assumed the name of Howard; *d.s.p.* Mar. 4, 1846. She *d.* Oct. 1877, aged 93.

Henry Thomas; Captain; M.P.; *b.* Jan. 16, 1808; *mar.* Georgiana Maria, eldest dau. of Gen. Sir Jno. Guise; *d.* Jan. 29, 1851, leaving two sons and one daughter, who *mar.* Rich. Wm. Selby Lowndes, of Elmers, Bletchley.

Richard Edward, LL.D., D.C.L.; *b.* 1812; *d.* 1873.

Elizabeth; *mar.* Lord Sherborne; *d.* 1845.

Julia Catherine; *d.* Feb. 17, 1875.

Jane Elizabeth; *mar.* Sir J. Ogilvy, Bart.; *d.* 1861.

Sept. 2, 1829 Isabella = Charles John, 17th Earl of Suffolk and 10th of Berkshire; *b.* Nov. 7, 1804; *d.* Aug. 14, 1876. Isabella, 2nd dau. of Lord Henry Molyneux Howard, of Thornborough Castle, Gloucester.

Feb. 10, 1845 Louisa = James Kenneth, Comr of Woods and Forests; *b.* Mar. 5, 1814; *d.* Jan. 7, 1882. Louisa, only dau. of Henry, 3rd Earl of Lansdowne.

Mary Rose; *d.* May 22, 1874.

Frances Margaret; *d.* Nov. 11, 1894, aged 77.

Mary Charlotte Henrietta; *d. unmar.* May 7, 1872.

Victoria Margaret Louise; *b.* Mar. 3, 1844.

Isabella Julia Elizabeth; *mar.* Francis Henry Atherly, of Landguard Manor, Isle of Wight, who *d.* Mar. 31, 1897.

Cecil Molyneux; *b.* Mar. 30, 1849; *mar.* Amy, dau. of Leo Schuster; *d.* *p.* April 28, 1903.

Bernard Thomas; Lieut. Rifle Brigade; *b.* Aug. 27, 1841; *d. unm.* Sept. 25, 1868.

Lady Audrey Charlotte Townshend = Sept. 18, 1873 Greville Theophilus, of Castle Rising, Norfolk; Barrister-at-law; Comr. in Lunacy; b. Dec. 22, 1836; *d.* July 28, 1880. Lady Audrey Charlotte Townshend, youngest dau. of 4th Marquess Townshend; she *mar.* (2nd) Gen. Sir Redvers Buller, of Downe, Devon.

Mary Eleanor Lauderdale = Dec. 2, 1868 Henry Charles, 18th Earl of Suffolk and 11th of Berkshire; M.P. for Malmesbury 1859 to 1868; *b.* Sept. 10, 1833; *d.* Mar. 31, 1898. Mary Eleanor Lauderdale, dau. of Hon. Hen. Coventry.

Winifrede; *mar.* Maj.-Gen. C. H. P. Ducat, late Royal Canadians.

Kenneth Howard-Bury, D.L., J.P.; late Capt. R.A.; *b.* Nov. 27, 1845; assumed by royal licence the additional surname and arms of Bury; *d.* Aug. 24, 1885. = Sept. 20, 1881 Lady Emilia Alfreda Julia Bury, dau. of Chas. Williams, 3rd Earl of Charleville.

Alan, Lieut. R.N.; *b.* Jan. 16, 1850.

Maurice; *b.* Feb. 27, 1853; *d.* Oct. 6, 1891.

Henry Greville; Lieut. King's Royal Rifle Corps; *b.* June 25, 1877; *d. unmar.* July 20, 1899.

Charles Alfred; Lieut. King's Royal Rifle Corps; served in S. Africa 1900; *b.* July 21, 1878.

Dorothy Elizabeth; *b.* Mar. 1, 1875.

Joyce Etheldreda Mary; *b.* May 11, 1876; *mar.* Oct. 31, 1903, Lieut.-Col. A. H. J. Doyle, 3rd son of Sir F. H. C. Doyle, 3rd Bart.

Mary Muriel Sophie; *b.* Mar. 1, 1870; *mar.* July 18, 1893, Henry Robert Beauclerk Coventry, of Monckton Park, Chippenham, Wilts.

Eleanor Mabel; *b.* Feb. 11, 1873; *mar.* July 26, 1902, Hon. Lionel Geo. Francis Byng, son of George, 2nd Earl of Strafford.

Henry Molyneux Paget, 19th Earl of Suffolk and 12th of Berkshire; *b.* Sept. 13, 1877; Viscount Andover, of Andover, Hants, and Baron Howard of Charlton, Wilts. Present Earl.

James Knyvet Estcourt (heir presumptive); *b.* May 1, 1886.

Agnes Isabel; *b.* June 30, 1874.

Katherine Millicent; *b.* Sept. 10, 1883.

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Lord, in my opinion, you should do well to make sure by times to his Majesty to appoint you to some place in the Army; as to the Captainship of the Foreward, or Rearward; or to such other place of honour as should be meet for you; for so should you be where knowledge and experience may be gotten. Whereby you should the better be able hereafter to serve, and also to have peradventure occasion to do some notable service in revenge of your men, at the last encounter with the enemies,[1] which should be to your reputation in the world. Whereas, being hitherto noted as you are, a man of noble courage, and of a desire to show the same to the face of your enemies, if you should now tarry at home within a wall, having I doubt a show of your authority touched, it would be thought abroad, I fear, that either you were desirous to tarry in a sure place of rest, or else that the credit of your courage and forwardness to serve were diminished; and that you were taken here for a man of [scant] activity or service.

"Wherefore, in my opinion, ye shall do well, and provide wisely for the conservation of your reputation, to sue to his Majestye for a place of service in the field. Wherein if it shall please you to use me as a mean to his Majestye, I trust so to set forth the matter to his Majestye, as he shall take the same in gracious part, and be content to appoint you to such a place as may best stand with your honour. And this counsel I write unto you as one that would you well; trusting that your Lordshipp will even so interpret the same, and let me know your mind herein betimes."[2]

Unquestionably this was the soundest advice that could have been given to Surrey under the circumstances, and he had done well, from a material point of view, to have followed it more closely. Still, we must make allowances for the cruel disappointment and wounded pride of so young a man, suddenly removed from a post which he had filled with zeal and success, and required to act as the subordinate, where he had wielded the chief command. Especially bitter must have been the fact that his future superior officer was a personal enemy, and one very unlikely to show much consideration or magnanimity in dealing with this discomfited rival. In point of fact, Hertford and his lieutenant, Lord Grey,[1] showed from the first that Surrey was to be made to pay, if possible, for his many sallies against the Seymour faction. He had laughingly accused the future Lord Protector of creeping into favour under his sister's petticoats. He had scoffed at the Seymour claims of long descent, and incited his father's heralds to disprove them. He had staved off a match between Hertford's brother and the Duchess of Richmond; nay, he had even ventured to strike a Seymour within the precincts of the Court. These things were not forgotten; and there can be little doubt, from the sequel, that Hertford went to France resolved to humiliate Surrey in every possible manner. The latter's inborn loyalty at first overcame the disgust which he felt at his sudden supersession, and at the prospect of serving under such a leader. Like it as little as he might, he seems to have decided to take Paget's counsel, and ask for a subordinate command. But the policy of irritation pursued by Hertford and Grey, the treatment of the veteran soldiers who had fought under his own banner so sturdily, and especially the wanton insinuations made against his personal integrity, were too much for any young Knight, however well disposed, to endure. As we shall see, the Seymours had their own way. They succeeded in insulting this high-spirited Hotspur past all control, so that he cast his chance of preferment to the winds, shook the dust of Picardy from his feet, and so played his enemies' game, by setting himself in a false position before King and country.

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[1] Alluding to the panic and flight of the English foot-soldiers.

[2] *S.P.*, Hen. VIII., French Corr., vi., 9.

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[1] William, Lord Grey of Wilton (*d.* 1562). Grey treasured a grudge against Surrey because the latter had been promoted over his head in 1545. Paget accused Hertford of keeping the two at variance.

But, in the beginning, Surrey's friends had reason to entertain hope that all would be well, and that once his natural resentment had time to cool, he would cheerfully accept the inevitable, and take a foremost place in the coming campaign. In order to prevent any friction, and to allow Hertford a peaceful entry into his lieutenancy (where considerable discontent was rife in consequence of the change), Surrey was summoned to the King's presence "to advise on the best means of fortifying Boulogne." In London, his father, Paget, and Bishop Gardiner united in counselling forbearance; and the Earl went back to France fully prepared to draw sword if called upon. It is uncertain whether he actually applied to the King for the command of the vanguard, as Paget had recommended, but the probabilities are that he did so. At any rate, his return to the front was a sufficient sign of his readiness to accept Hertford's leadership. It was in Calais that he took up his quarters, not caring, as one may suppose, to return to Boulogne so soon after laying down the governorship. He waited for over a month, expecting a summons from Hertford, but nothing of the kind reached him, and it soon became apparent that unless he was prepared to humble himself, and abjectly sue for employment, he might make up his mind to remain inactive, or cross Channel once more. He chose the latter alternative, and arrived in London in June 1546, only to learn that all the labour which he had expended upon Boulogne, and all the blood which had been shed in defence of that city, was destined to be wasted. Hertford had signed a treaty with King Francis, by the terms of which Boulogne was only to be retained until the pension due from France to Henry VIII. was paid up in full, after which the English were to be withdrawn.

This was, no doubt, extremely galling to Surrey, and he had further cause of annoyance in connection with some of those who had served under him in France, and were very shabbily treated by his successors. On this subject he writes to Paget on July 14th, relating how he had made up the pay of some Burgundian mercenaries out of his own pocket, they having, for some reason, been granted only half of the stipulated amount; and also mentions two men, faithful servants of his, to whom he had given certain posts in Boulogne, and who were immediately dismissed by Lord Grey; Surrey indignantly repudiates an insinuation that the emoluments of one of these men went in reality into his own pocket, and begs Paget to use his influence to obtain some recompense for them. With regard to the Burgundians, Surrey's choice of words was scarcely judicious, seeing how eager his enemies were to catch him tripping. He writes:—

> "Whereas yesternight I perceived by you that the King's majesty thinketh his liberality sufficiently extended to the strangers that have served him, I have with fair words done my best so to satisfy them accordingly; assuring you on my faith, that their necessity seemed to me such, as it cost me an hundred ducats of mine own purse, and somewhat else."[1]

It is easy to imagine how these words may have been subsequently twisted to Surrey's disadvantage; the King's majesty, it would be said, considers that these men have been adequately remunerated, but my lord Surrey, forsooth, presumes to put the King right, and offer him a tacit reproof, by paying them out of his own pocket.

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[1] Cotton MSS., Titus B, ii, 58.

Whatever may have been the designs of his enemies at the moment, however, it became speedily apparent that Surrey and his father stood high in favour at Court. Upon the occasion of the reception of the French Ambassadors, in August, the Duke of Norfolk shared with Cranmer the foremost part in the ceremonies, while Surrey was placed, between the two Royal Princesses, next the throne; and during the ensuing fêtes he had the satisfaction, as the eldest son of a duke, of taking precedence of Hertford, though the latter, by virtue of his position as Grand Chamberlain of the ceremonies, took precedence of all other earls who were present.

This state of affairs, however, was not destined to last very long: the tragic sequel must be reserved for another chapter.

II

The Howard Tragedies

NO historian has yet succeeded in accounting satisfactorily for the sudden and savage resentment displayed by Henry VIII. against the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Surrey towards the close of the year 1546, when his own life was also nearing its end. They had shown themselves to be exceptionally able and zealous in the service of their sovereign; the Duke, now in his seventy-fourth year, had spent the greater half of his life in sedulously executing the commands of his royal master, even at the sacrifice, on some occasions, we cannot help believing, of his principles and conscience: a sacrifice which, if it detracts from our estimation of his character, certainly was not, with any justice, to be cavilled at by Henry. The younger man had displayed extraordinary ability as a soldier for his years, together with a spirit of loyalty in which he was second to his father only insomuch that he held his principles in higher esteem, and displayed far greater independence of mind. This, to be sure, was not a characteristic very highly valued by the tyrannical monarch, and Surrey probably owed his downfall in some degree to its possession.

The favour in which the father and son were held at the end of the summer was undoubtedly well merited, both from their exalted rank and their valuable services; and yet, in a few weeks, we find Henry madly embittered against them, and thirsting for their blood. This is no mere *façon de parler*, for Herbert states positively that "it was notorious how the King had not only withdrawn much of his wonted favour, but promised impunity to such as could discover anything concerning him" (the Earl of Surrey).[1] The phrase is significant, indeed; and it is scarcely surprising that, actuated either by the desire of royal favour, or by the negative but equally strong incentive of fear lest they should incur the penalty of lukewarmness, his accusers literally tumbled over one another in their eagerness to prefer some charge against him; nor was personal enmity wanting to add fire to their zeal.

Discretion was certainly not one of Surrey's attributes; and he had on many occasions permitted his tongue far too much licence. It was, of course, well known at this time that the King had not many months to live, and the question of the Protectorship naturally occupied the minds of those who imagined themselves eligible for the post. The choice really lay between the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Hertford, and Surrey, in his eagerness to claim precedence for his father, was loud in his denunciation of Hertford, even going the length of boasting what he would do to this or that one when his father was in power; the Seymours, we may be sure, were not destined in his programme to any great display of favour. This was extremely indiscreet, and in very bad taste; but it could not, even in those times, be reckoned as a high offence against the King; and it was therefore necessary, in obedience to the royal edict, to find some definite ground of impeachment.

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[1] Herbert, *Life of Henry VIII.*, p. 562.

As to the actual cause of Henry's sudden change of front, we are, as has been said, in the dark; it is not inconceivable that, in the existing conditions of his mind and body, he may suddenly have entertained an illogical craving to humiliate and destroy those upon whom he had so recently showered favours; despotic power, associated with an unbalanced mind, might readily produce such results; and though Henry's position was not, theoretically, that of a despot, it is too sadly true that the subservience of those about him practically placed within his reach the absolute performance of his desires.

The first shot in the attack was fired by Sir Richard Southwell, who volunteered to the Privy Council some information of a serious nature against the Earl of Surrey. Sir Richard, during the Norfolk elections of 1539, had a bitter quarrel with Sir Edmund Knyvett, his opponent; and when the Duke of Norfolk and others intervened, they found that, while Southwell declared himself ready to adopt a conciliatory attitude, Knyvett was implacable, and denounced Southwell as a "false gentleman, a knave, and other approbrious words." Very strong expressions, these, and scarcely to be justified by any ordinary electioneering interludes, however rough.

Southwell had been, in earlier days, a very intimate friend of Surrey, and his conduct in volunteering his testimony against the latter appears to warrant in a great degree this unflattering estimate of his character; though Sir Edmund Knyvett, as we shall see, did not hesitate to come forward with some evidence against Surrey which was almost ludicrous in its triviality. Whatever Southwell may have known or imagined, one would think that he could at least have held his tongue until he was called upon to speak; but the opportunity of currying favour with the King and his Council was apparently too strong a temptation to be resisted; such tampering with honour and generosity, either through fear or ambition, was unhappily characteristic of the times.

There does not appear to be any detailed account of the charge made by Southwell. Herbert, who must be held to have had access to some sources of information no longer available, simply states that Southwell "said that he knew certain things of the Earl, that touched his fidelity to the King";[1] M. Bapst, however, distinctly sets forth that the accusation was that Surrey had had painted, at Kenninghall, a shield which constituted an undoubted act of conspiracy and *lèse-majesté*. The authority for this statement is not given, but M. Bapst is usually very precise and careful, so it may be presumed that he has some warrant for it; and certainly it is extremely probable,[2] as this formed the gravamen of the ultimate indictment, which will be dealt with later on.

No sooner was the Council in possession of this information than it summoned the Earl to appear before it. He was then at Kenninghall, and most probably he had not the least idea what the summons portended; he duly presented himself, however, before the Council on December 2nd, and was then confronted with Southwell, who repeated the charge in his presence. Surrey, astonished and indignant alike at the nature of the accusation and the treachery of his friend, vehemently traversed his statement, and treated Southwell, in common parlance, to a piece of his mind, declaring himself to be a true man, and finally, requesting to be permitted the ordeal of single combat, he offered to fight him "in his shirt," *i.e.* without his armour—a contemptuous belittling of his adversary's prowess, and also a strong expression of confidence in the justice of his own cause. This, however, was not permitted, and both accuser and accused were remanded in custody, pending further developments.

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[1] Herbert, p. 562.

[2] Bapst, p. 346.

A day or two later the Duke, having got wind of the matter, wrote to Gardiner, asking for further particulars; his letter got into the hands of the Council, and he was immediately summoned to London; upon his arrival, on December 12th, he was, after an examination before Wriothesley, promptly despatched to the Tower, by way of the Fleet and the Thames. What passed at this interview we do not know; but, as M. Bapst tersely puts it, "quoi qu'il pût dire, son sort était fixé d'avance"; and his son, of whom the words are equally true, was on the same day sent to the Tower, passing through the city with a publicity which was spared the Duke, and which was probably inflicted in Surrey's case as a humiliation; he was however, an object of popular affection and admiration, and his progress was attended by a demonstration of sympathy and lamentation.

Thus were father and son, in mutual ignorance of each other's fate, safely ensconced within those grim precincts, whence it was already predetermined by their relentless foes, and the sovereign whom they had so faithfully served, that they should not come forth, save for the farce of a mock trial and inevitable condemnation.

Even a mock trial, however, demands some show of judicial procedure, some hearing of evidence, and other appropriate accessories, and accordingly the Privy Council set to work to supply these details. On this same day, December 12th, a commission was despatched to Kenninghall, with powers to institute a thorough search and subject to close examination the several persons there residing; and the chief member of this impartial Commission was Sir Richard Southwell, the others being one Wymond Carew and John Gate, a secretary of the King.

The preliminary report of the Commission states that they arrived at Kenninghall at daybreak on December 14th, and were themselves the bearers of the first news of the Duke's arrest. The Duchess of Richmond, as soon as she was dressed, presented herself in a great state of consternation, nearly fainting at first; she recovered herself, however, in a short time, and expressed her readiness to comply with every request, including the giving of evidence against her father and brother. The Duchess of Norfolk, it will be recollected, had for some years been separated from her husband, and Bess Holland, to all intents and purposes, reigned in her stead. The Countess of Surrey, poor lady, was occupied with the affairs of her nursery, to which she was expecting an addition in a couple of months, and the Commission decided not to trouble her, as she would be a prejudiced witness—a thing, of course, abhorrent in the eyes of the King and his Council—and was scarcely in a fit condition to travel. The Duchess and Bess Holland were, however, to be despatched to London in twenty-four hours, there to appear before the Privy Council. The Commissioners report that they found the Duchess of Richmond very poorly equipped, having disposed of most of her valuables to pay her debts; Bess Holland, however, was far better provided, and was extremely anxious to give evidence in demonstration of her goodwill and loyalty. The papers of the Duke were impounded; no mention is made of any search for or discovery of the delinquent coat of arms, which was ostensibly the cause of the two arrests and the domiciliary visit. The Commission promises diligence in further research and a prompt report.[1] This further report does not appear among the State Papers; all matters of detail in which Sir Richard Southwell was concerned seem to have mysteriously disappeared; of which more anon.

Mistress Holland, when she appeared before the Privy Council, cut rather a sorry figure, in spite of her eagerness, telling a somewhat rambling and incoherent story, made up of various items which she imagined would be most acceptable. The greater part of her evidence was evidently accounted as worthless; she said, however, regarding the armorial bearings, that she had heard the Duke speak disapprovingly of his son's arms, saying that the latter had gathered them he knew not where, and that she was not to work them with her needle in the house. The witness also acknowledged that the Earl of Surrey loved her not, but that she was on the most intimate terms with his sister the Duchess.

Sir Gawin Carew—who M. Bapst says had great facilities of being acquainted with the affairs of the household at Kenninghall—had already given evidence before the Council; he deposed that My Lady of Richmond had discovered unto him as strange a practice of her brother as ever he had heard of, which was that the aforesaid Earl, pretending the force of a marriage to have succeeded between Sir Thomas Seymour and the said lady, did will and advise her that what time the King's Majesty should send for her (as it should be brought about that the King's Highness should move her in that behalf), she should so order herself as that neither she should seem to grant nor to deny that which His Majesty did will her unto, but rather so to temper her tale as His Highness might thereby have occasion to send for her again, and so possibly that His Majesty might cast some love unto her, whereby in process she should bear as great a stroke about him as Madame d'Estampes did about the French King.

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[1] *State Papers*, Record Office, vol. i., part ii., No. 264.

This very damaging statement the Duchess of Richmond—very possibly in connivance with Sir Gawin Carew—repeated in substance when called upon to give evidence; saying, moreover that the Duke wished her brother's son to marry the Earl of Hertford's daughter, a proposal which had incensed Surrey against his father, and caused him to use very strong language against the Earl of Hertford. With regard to the armorial bearings, the Duchess said, that instead of the Duke's coronet, the Earl had placed on his arms—as a crest—a purple cap of maintenance, with powdered fur, and with a crown, to her judgment, much like to a close (or royal) crown, and underneath the arms a cipher, which she took to be the King's cipher, H.R.

This unsupported statement does not appear to have gained credence with the Council; at any rate, no further reference is made to it, and the Duchess probably caused her other evidence to be more or less discredited by what was an obviously absurd assertion.

With regard to Surrey's alleged suggestion that his sister should contrive to be the King's mistress, the very enormity of the charge goes a long way towards refuting it. Such a disgraceful proposal is entirely out of keeping with all that is known of Surrey's character. Probably the true explanation of the matter is that given by M. Bapst, who says that, upon hearing the suggestion of his father, already mentioned, that an alliance should be arranged between his son and Hertford's daughter, Surrey had flown into a rage, declaring that no son of his, while he lived, should so marry; and then, turning to his sister, with characteristic impetuosity and very questionable taste, he exclaimed ironically, "You can conclude your farce of a marriage; your future husband is in high favour, and you had better let the King make love to you, so that you can play the same part in England that Madame d'Estampes does in France!" Very cruel words, no doubt, even making some allowance for the freedom of speech which characterised the times; but that they were intended to be taken seriously cannot be entertained for a moment; and this, after all, was evidently the view taken by the Council; otherwise why was not so grave a charge included in the indictment?

The Duchess, no doubt, bitterly resented her brother's speech, which may account for her animosity and readiness to give evidence against him; but she was not, indeed, an individual for whom one can entertain sentiments of very deep respect: the fact that she was on terms of the closest intimacy with her father's mistress is sufficient in itself to prejudice the mind against her; and anxious as the Earl's enemies were to obtain testimony against him, it is impossible to doubt that the evidence of this lady was discounted from the first by her easy acquiescence in such immorality, for the most unscrupulous men exact a higher standard from a woman than from a man. The slippery tactics of Sir Richard Southwell and others were greedily utilised, but Bess Holland and the Duchess, for all their testimony was worth, might as well have remained with the unhappy Countess at Kenninghall.

Sir Edmund Knyvett, a relative of Surrey's—his first cousin, indeed, for he was the son of the Duke's sister, Lady Muriel, by her second marriage—and one whom the latter had, by his influence, saved from the severe penalty to which he was condemned for brawling within royal precincts, came forward to testify that Surrey exhibited a preference for the company of foreigners; that he had attached to him an Italian buffoon, who was very probably a spy; that he affected a foreign style in his dress; all of which appeared, in the judgment of Sir Edmund, to savour of "dissimulation and vanity"! Can one imagine a body of responsible statesmen listening with any patience to such a rigmarole? Furthermore, the witness stated that Surrey had taken into his service a former servant of Cardinal Pole.

It was, however, with the question of the alleged improper assumption of the royal arms that the Council was chiefly concerned, and it will be recollected that, nearly four years previously, when Surrey and his companions were called to account for a midnight brawl in the city, his landlady and her gossiping maids had some story to tell about his quarterings, which they alleged bore a close resemblance to those of royalty. It was not stated by any single witness that Surrey had boasted of being entitled to such quarterings; but the incident was not likely to be passed over by his enemies.

Christopher Barker, Garter King at Arms, deposed to a conversation which he had had with Surrey on August 7th, 1545:—

> "Concerning the Earl of Surrey, a little before he went to Boulogne, Richmond Herald wrote a letter to me to come with all speed to speak with the said Earl in a morning; and thither I ran, and tarried the same morning by the space of an hour, or I spake with him; and at the last he sent for me into a gallery at his house at Lambeth, and there showed me a scutcheon of the arms of Brotherton, and St. Edward, and Amory, and Mowbray quartered; and said he would bear it; and I asked him by what title; and he said that Brotherton bore it so; and I showed him that it was not in his pedigree; and he said he found it in an house in Norfolk, in stone graven so, and he would bear it; and I told him it was not for his honour so to do; and so, at the last, he said he would bear it, and that he might lawfully bear it; and after that I saw him so wilful, I spoke to Mr. Warner, in St. Paul's, to tell him that he might not do it."[1]

This conversation was apparently written down at the time, nearly eighteen months before Surrey's impeachment; it is not easy to see why, unless the officials of the Heralds' College were in league with the enemies of the Earl. Barker's remarks were most disingenuous, for, as Garter, he must have been perfectly well aware that it was no new thing for the Dukes of Norfolk to quarter the arms of Brotherton and St. Edward the Confessor. Nott, in his *Life of Surrey*, assumes that this conversation never took place in reality, but was invented by Barker to give colour to his accusation. The probability is, however, that it did take place, but that there is something in the background, possibly some trap laid for Surrey, which does not appear. At any rate, the statement of Barker, that

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[1] MS., Heralds' College, L. 14.

"it was not in his pedigree," is significant of the humour of a tribunal which would permit such evidence to be given before it; for it must have been well known to some of its members, at least, that Surrey's great-grandfather, John, first Duke of Norfolk in the Howard line, was directly descended, on his mother's side, from Thomas de Brotherton, son of Edward I.; and if they did not know, or chose to ignore the fact, it was the duty of an official in the Heralds' College to have enlightened them, instead of committing himself to a deliberate misstatement, which was ridiculously easy of disproof. Barker, however, knew his men; and he was rewarded for his false evidence by knighthood, within a month of Surrey's execution.

Meanwhile the Chancellor, Wriothesley, had drawn up, with the assistance of the King himself, a sort of condemnatory interrogatory regarding Surrey and his father, in which they gratuitously assumed, without a particle of evidence, that they had deliberately conspired to gain, not merely the Protectorship, but the succession; and even went so as far to notify the fact, through the ambassadors, to foreign Courts.

In the depositions against Surrey it had been definitely stated that he had, on October 7th, had painted at Kenninghall the shield which was alluded to by the Duchess of Richmond, Sir Richard Southwell, and others. This was more than a year after the conversation detailed by Barker, and whether or not the quarterings were precisely the same as those alluded to by him there is not sufficient evidence to show; but there is in the British Museum, in the Harleain MSS, (No. 1453) a pen-and-ink drawing of a shield, with twelve quarters, over which is inscribed "The Earl of Surrey, for which he was attainted."

This is reproduced by Mr. Henry Howard in his *Memorials*, and he states that the reference in the index of the collection in which it appears is in the handwriting of Sir William Dethyke, son of Sir Gilbert Dethyke, who was the Richmond herald alluded to in Barker's recorded conversation. The handwriting over the shield is probably of later date, but there is considerable ground for the assumption that the statement contained therein is correct, as it goes back to a period only one generation after the trial of Surrey. The quarterings are named successively as follows: Howard, Brotherton, Warren, Mowbray; Edward the Confessor, Hamlin Plantagenet, Marshall, Breuse (Braose); Arundel, Ranulf Gernon Earl of Chester, Ranulf Meschines Earl of Chester, Segrave. The arms of Edward the Confessor thus appear in the fifth quarter, and Brotherton in the second; but the label of three points, which usually appears on the Brotherton device—as on the shield of the present Duke of Norfolk—is transferred to that of Edward the Confessor.

Mr. Howard remarks that the placing of the label with the arms of the Confessor, and the position of the Howard device preceding the former, takes away all pretence of Surrey having used the shield personally as a kingly device. This, however, is putting it very mildly, for to anyone acquainted with the laws of heraldry, the whole thing, shield, supporters, and all, is an absurdity, a kind of freak which Surrey might indeed have put together by way of passing an idle hour or two, but which, from an heraldic point of view, is absolutely unmeaning.

And yet it is alleged, upon almost contemporary authority, that this shield formed the ground of the indictment against the Earl of Surrey; and there is, unhappily, no impossibility or even incongruity about the suggestion; it constitutes merely a sad illustration of the depths of dishonest malignity to which men in high authority may sink, under the encouragement and practical example of such a man as Henry VIII. There is no need to adduce instances in support of such an estimate of Henry; history has recorded its verdict concerning him, and our dealings with him are merely incidental in these pages; the situation may be tersely summed up in the phrase, "like master, like man."

It was necessary to find Surrey guilty of something which could be construed as high treason, since it had been predetermined that he should suffer the penalty of death; and to this end it was easy to find witnesses—relatives, state officials, judges, experts in heraldry, or any others who might be necessary—to declare that a travesty of an armorial shield, composed as a joke or for the momentary gratification of a little vanity, contained the elements of such condemnation.

Miss Strickland, in her *Lives of the Queens of England*, states, in a passing reference, that "the gallant Earl of Surrey was put to death for a supposed difference in the painting of the tail of the lion in his crest."[1] Whatever authority there may be for this statement, the grounds upon which he was condemned were certainly not less trivial than is therein alleged.

The depositions taken before the Privy Council were sent to Norwich, where the King's judges then were, for consideration by them and the grand jury; but they were carefully edited by Wriothesley beforehand, and there can be no doubt that the judges had plain instructions on the subject, for no mention is made in the indictment of any offence other than that of bearing the arms of Edward the Confessor, with three labels of silver, which is alleged to be the exclusive right of the heir apparent. This was a deliberate invention, perpetrated solely for the purpose of condemning the Earl of Surrey and his father. Permission had been granted by Richard II. to Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, to bear the arms of St. Edward—"et dedit eidem Thomæ ad portandum in sigillo et vexillo suo arma Sancti Edwardi" (Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. ii. p. 194); and Surrey was as much within his right in using the Confessor's arms by virtue of the royal grant, as he was in bearing those of Brotherton through his royal descent.

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[1] Vol. iii. p. 496.

However, the judges were duly amenable, and a true bill was returned against him on January 7th, 1547. The alleged offence having been committed in Norfolk, a jury of Norfolk men was summoned for the trial, and the rule was that they should be elected *by lot*; but this would not meet the exigencies of the case. It was essential that the jury should be packed, and *selection* was therefore substituted for the drawing of lots, for the Howards were very popular in Norfolk, and the ordinary procedure might have resulted in the wrong kind of packing: to give the devil his due, Henry and his myrmidons were quite admirable in their attention to detail! The sheriff even ventured to indulge in a picturesque exhibition of conscience, for he wrote to ask the judges whether they thought it was *quite* right that Sir Edmund Knyvett and two other persons, who were known to be extremely hostile to Surrey, should be included, and the judges

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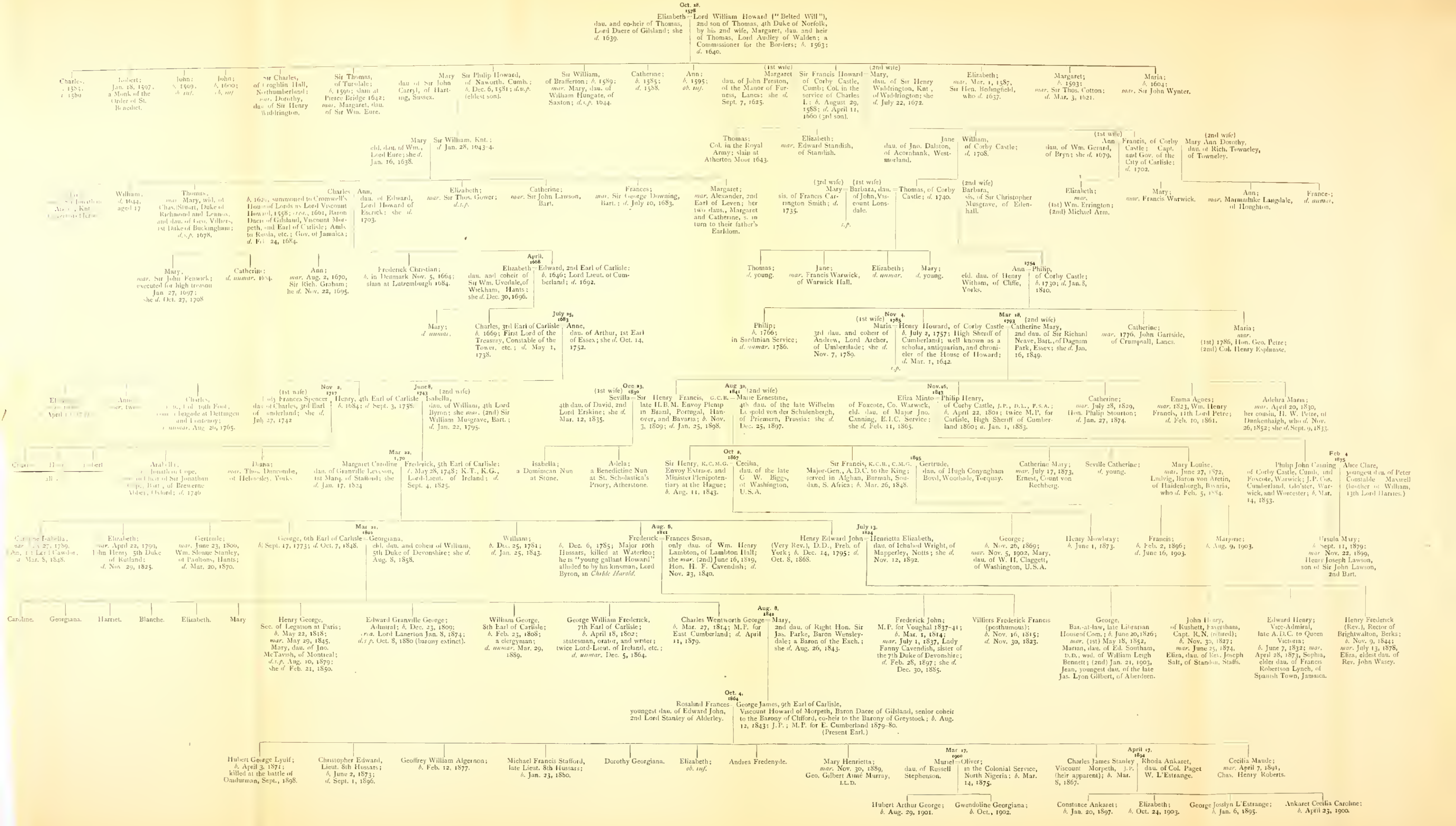
GENEALOGICAL TABLE VIII.

THE EARLS OF CARLISLE AND THE HOWARDS OF CORBY.



Elizabeth = (Oct. 28, 1578) Lord William Howard ("Belted Will"), 2nd son of Thomas, 4th Duke of Norfolk, by his 2nd wife, Margaret, dau. and heir of Thomas, Lord Audley of Walden; a Commissioner for the Borders; *b.* 1563; *d.* 1640.

Elizabeth, dau. and co-heir of Thomas, Lord Dacre of Gilsland; she *d.* 1639.

Charles, *b.* 1583; *d.* 1589.

Robert; Jan. 18, 1597, a Monk of the Order of St. Benedict.

John; *b.* 1599; *ob. inf.*

John; *b.* 1600; *ob. inf.*

Sir Charles, of Croglin Hall, Northumberland; *mar.* Dorothy, dau. of Sir Henry Widdrington.

Sir Thomas, of Tursdale; *b.* 1590; slain at Pierce Bridge 1642; *mar.* Margaret, dau. of Sir Wm. Eure.

Mary, dau. of Sir John Carryl, of Harting, Sussex = Sir Philip Howard, of Naworth, Cumb.; *b.* Dec. 6, 1581; *d.v.p.* (eldest son).

Sir William, of Brafferton; *b.* 1589; *mar.* Mary, dau. of William Hungate, of Saxton; *d.s.p.* 1644.

Catherine; *b.* 1585; *d.* 1588.

Ann; *b.* 1595; *ob. inf.*

(1st wife) Margaret, dau. of John Preston, of the Manor of Furness, Lancs; she *d.* Sept. 7, 1625 = Sir Francis Howard, of Corby Castle, Cumb; Col. in the service of Charles I.; *b.* August 29, 1588; *d.* April 11, 1660 (3rd son) = (2nd wife) Mary, dau. of Sir Henry Widdrington, Knt., of Widdrington; she *d.* July 22, 1672.

Elizabeth; *mar.* Mar. 1, 1587, Sir Hen. Bedingfield, who *d.* 1637.

Margaret; *b.* 1593; *mar.* Sir Thos. Cotton; *d.* Mar. 3, 1621.

Maria; *b.* 1604; *mar.* Sir John Wynter.

Mary, eld. dau. of Wm., Lord Eure; she *d.* Jan. 16, 1638 = Sir William, Knt.; *d.* Jan. 28, 1643-4.

Thomas; Col. in the Royal Army; slain at Atherton Moor 1643.

Elizabeth; *mar.* Edward Standish, of Standish.

Jane, dau. of Jno. Dalston, of Acornbank, Westmorland = William, of Corby Castle; *d.* 1708.

(1st wife) Ann, dau. of Wm. Gerard, of Bryn; she *d.* 1679 = Francis, of Corby Castle; Capt. and Gov. of the City of Carlisle; *d.* 1702 = (2nd wife) Mary Ann Dorothy, dau. of Rich. Towneley, of Towneley.

[illegible] Jonathan Atkins, Knt. [illegible]

William, *d.* 1644, aged 17

Thomas, *mar.* Mary, wid. of Chas. Stuart, Duke of Richmond and Lennox, and dau. of Geo. Villiers, 1st Duke of Buckingham; *d.s.p.* 1678.

Charles, *b.* 1629, summoned to Cromwell's House of Lords as Lord Viscount Howard, 1558; *cre.*, 1661, Baron Dacre of Gilsland, Viscount Morpeth, and Earl of Carlisle; Amb. to Russia, etc.; Gov. of Jamaica; *d.* Feb. 24, 1684 = Ann, dau. of Edward, Lord Howard of Escrick; she *d.* 1703.

Elizabeth; *mar.* Sir Thos. Gower; *d.s.p.*

Catherine; *mar.* Sir John Lawson, Bart.

Frances; *mar.* Sir George Downing, Bart.; *d.* July 10, 1683.

Margaret; *mar.* Alexander, 2nd Earl of Leven; her two daus., Margaret and Catherine, s. in turn to their father's Earldom.

(3rd wife) Mary, sis. of Francis Carrington Smith; *d.* 1735 = (1st wife) Barbara, dau. of John, Viscount Lonsdale (*s.p.*) = Thomas, of Corby Castle; *d.* 1740 = (2nd wife) Barbara, sis. of Sir Christopher Musgrave, of Edenhall.

Elizabeth; *mar.* (1st) Wm. Errington; (2nd) Michael Arm.

Mary; *mar.* Francis Warwick.

Ann; *mar.* Marmaduke Langdale, of Houghton.

Frances; *d. unmar.*

Mary, *mar.* Sir John Fenwick; executed for high treason Jan. 27, 1697; she *d.* Oct. 27, 1708

Catherine; *d. unmar.* 1684.

Ann; *mar.* Aug. 2, 1670, Sir Rich. Graham; he *d.* Nov. 22, 1695.

Frederick Christian; *b.* in Denmark Nov. 5, 1664; slain at Lutzemburgh 1684.

Elizabeth, dau. and coheir of Sir Wm. Uvedale, of Wickham, Hants; she *d.* Dec. 30, 1696 = (April, 1668) Edward, 2nd Earl of Carlisle; *b.* 1646; Lord Lieut. of Cumberland; *d.* 1692.

Thomas; *d.* young.

Jane; *mar.* Francis Warwick, of Warwick Hall.

Elizabeth; *d. unmar.*

Mary; *d.* young.

Ann, eld. dau. of Henry Witham, of Cliffe, Yorks = (1754) Philip, of Corby Castle; *b.* 1730; *d.* Jan. 8, 1810.

Mary; *d. unmar.*

Charles, 3rd Earl of Carlisle; *b.* 1669; First Lord of the Treasury, Constable of the Tower, etc.; *d.* May 1, 1738 = (July 25, 1683) Anne, dau. of Arthur, 1st Earl of Essex; she *d.* Oct. 14, 1752.

Philip; *b.* 1766; in Sardinian Service; *d. unmar.* 1786.

(1st wife) Maria, 3rd dau. and coheir of Andrew, Lord Archer, of Umberslade; she *d.* Nov. 7, 1789 (*s.p.*) = (Nov. 4, 1785) Henry Howard, of Corby Castle; *b.* July 2, 1757; High Sheriff of Cumberland; well known as a scholar, antiquarian, and chronicler of the House of Howard; *d.* Mar. 1, 1842 = (Mar. 18, 1793) (2nd wife) Catherine Mary, 2nd dau. of Sir Richard Neave, Bart., of Dagnam Park, Essex; she *d.* Jan. 16, 1849.

Catherine; *mar.* 1776, John Gartside, of Crumpsall, Lancs.

Maria; *mar.* (1st) 1786, Hon. Geo. Petre; (2nd) Col. Henry Espinasse.

El[illegible] April [illegible]

Ann[illegible] *mar.* twi[illegible]

Charles, [illegible] Col. 19th Foot, com. brigade at Dettingen and Fontenoy; *d. unmar.* Aug. 26, 1765.

(1st wife) Lady Frances Spencer, dau. of Charles, 3rd Earl of Sunderland; she *d.* July 27, 1742 = (Nov. 2, 1717) Henry, 4th Earl of Carlisle; *b.* 1694; *d.* Sept. 3, 1758 = (June 8, 1743) (2nd wife) Isabella, dau. of William, 4th Lord Byron; she *mar.* (2nd) Sir William Musgrave, Bart.; *d.* Jan. 22, 1795.

(1st wife) Sevilla, 4th dau. of David, 2nd Lord Erskine; she *d.* Mar. 12, 1835 = (Oct. 23, 1830) Sir Henry Francis, G.C.B., late H.B.M. Envoy Plenip. in Brazil, Portugal, Hanover, and Bavaria; *b.* Nov. 3, 1809; *d.* Jan. 25, 1898 = (Aug. 30, 1841) (2nd wife) Marie Ernestine, 4th dau. of the late Wilhelm Leopold von der Schulenbergh, of Priemern, Prussia; she *d.* Dec. 25, 1897.

Eliza Minto, of Foxcote, Co. Warwick, eld. dau. of Major Jno. Canning, E.I.C. Service; she *d.* Feb. 11, 1865 = (Nov. 16, 1843) Philip Henry, of Corby Castle, J.P., D.L., F.S.A.; *b.* April 22, 1801; twice M.P. for Carlisle, High Sheriff of Cumberland 1860; *d.* Jan. 1, 1883.

Catherine; *mar.* July 28, 1829, Hon. Philip Stourton; *d.* Jan. 27, 1874.

Emma Agnes; *mar.* 1823, Wm. Henry Francis, 11th Lord Petre; *d.* Feb. 10, 1861.

Adeliza Maria; *mar.* April 20, 1830, her cousin, H. W. Petre, of Dunkenhaigh, who *d.* Nov. 26, 1852; she *d.* Sept. 9, 1835.

Cha[illegible] Hen[illegible] Robert [illegible]

Arabella, [illegible] Jonathan Cope, [illegible] heir of Sir Jonathan Cope, Bart., of Brewerne Abbey, Oxford; *d.* 1746

Diana; *mar.* Thos. Duncombe, of Helmesley, Yorks

Margaret Caroline, dau. of Granville Leveson, 1st Marq. of Stafford; she *d.* Jan. 17, 1824 = (Mar. 22, 1770) Frederick, 5th Earl of Carlisle; *b.* May 28, 1748; K.T., K.G., Lord-Lieut. of Ireland; *d.* Sept. 4, 1825.

Isabella; a Dominican Nun at Stone.

Adela; a Benedictine Nun at St. Scholastica's Priory, Atherstone.

Sir Henry, K.C.M.G., Envoy Extraor. and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Hague; *b.* Aug. 11, 1843 = (Oct. 2, 1867) Cecilia, dau. of the late G. W. Biggs, of Washington, U.S.A.

Sir Francis, K.C.B., C.M.G., Major-Gen., A.D.C. to the King; served in Afghan, Burmah, Soudan, S. Africa; *b.* Mar. 26, 1848 = (1895) Gertrude, dau. of Hugh Conyngham Boyd, Woodside, Torquay.

Catherine Mary; *mar.* July 17, 1873, Ernest, Count von Rechberg.

Sevilla Catherine; *d.* young.

Mary Louise, *mar.* June 27, 1872, Ludvig, Baron von Aretin, of Haidenburgh, Bavaria, who *d.* Feb. 5, 1884.

Philip John Canning, of Corby Castle, Cumb. and Foxcote, Warwick; J.P. Cos. Cumberland, Glo'ster, Warwick, and Worcester; *b.* Mar. 14, 1853 = (Feb. 4, 1875) Alice Clare, youngest dau. of Peter Constable Maxwell (brother of William, 13th Lord Harries.)

Caroline Isabella, *mar.* [illegible] 27, 1789, John, 1st Lord Cawdor, *d.* Mar. 8, 1848.

Elizabeth; *mar.* April 22, 1799, John Henry, 5th Duke of Rutland; *d.* Nov. 29, 1825.

Gertrude; *mar.* June 23, 1800, Wm. Sloane Stanley, of Paultons, Hants; *d.* Mar. 20, 1870.

George, 6th Earl of Carlisle; *b.* Sept. 17, 1773; *d.* Oct. 7, 1848 = (Mar. 21, 1801) Georgiana, eld. dau. and coheir of William, 5th Duke of Devonshire; she *d.* Aug. 8, 1858.

William; *b.* Dec. 25, 1781; *d.* Jan. 25, 1843.

Frederick, *b.* Dec. 6, 1785; Major 10th Hussars, killed at Waterloo; he is "young gallant Howard" alluded to by his kinsman, Lord Byron, in *Childe Harold* = (Aug. 6, 1811) Frances Susan, only dau. of Wm. Henry Lambton, of Lambton Hall; she *mar.* (2nd) June 16, 1819, Hon. H. F. Cavendish; *d.* Nov. 23, 1840.

Henry Edward John (Very Rev.), D.D., Preb. of York; *b.* Dec. 14, 1795; *d.* Oct. 8, 1868 = (July 13, 1824) Henrietta Elizabeth, dau. of Ichabod Wright, of Mapperley, Notts; she *d.* Nov. 12, 1892.

George; *b.* Nov. 26, 1869; *mar.* Nov. 5, 1902, Mary, dau. of W. H. Claggett, of Washington, U.S.A.

Henry Mowbray; *b.* June 1, 1873.

Francis; *b.* Feb. 2, 1896; *d.* June 16, 1903.

Marjorie; *b.* Aug. 9, 1903.

Ursula Mary; *b.* Sept. 11, 1879; *mar.* Nov. 22, 1899, Henry Joseph Lawson, son of Sir John Lawson, 2nd Bart.

Caroline. Georgiana. Harriet. Blanche. Elizabeth. Mary

Henry George, Sec. of Legation at Paris; *b.* May 22, 1818; *mar.* May 29, 1845, Mary, dau. of Jno. McTavish, of Montreal; *d.s.p.* Aug. 10, 1879; she *d.* Feb. 21, 1850.

Edward Granville George; Admiral; *b.* Dec. 23, 1809; *cre.* Lord Lanerton Jan. 8, 1874; *d.s.p.* Oct. 8, 1880 (barony extinct).

William George, 8th Earl of Carlisle; *b.* Feb. 23, 1808; a clergyman; *d. unmar.* Mar. 29, 1889.

George William Frederick, 7th Earl of Carlisle; *b.* April 18, 1802; statesman, orator, and writer; twice Lord-Lieut. of Ireland, etc.; *d. unmar.* Dec. 5, 1864.

Charles Wentworth George; *b.* Mar. 27, 1814; M.P. for East Cumberland; *d.* April 11, 1879 = (Aug. 8, 1842) Mary, 2nd dau. of Right Hon. Sir Jas. Parke, Baron Wensleydale; a Baron of the Exch.; she *d.* Aug. 26, 1843.

Frederick John; M.P. for Youghal 1837-41; *b.* Mar. 1, 1814; *mar.* July 1, 1837, Lady Fanny Cavendish, sister of the 7th Duke of Devonshire; *d.* Feb. 28, 1897; she *d.* Dec. 30, 1885.

Villiers Frederick Francis (posthumous); *b.* Nov. 16, 1815; *d.* Nov. 30, 1823.

George, Bar.-at-law, late Librarian House of Com.; *b.* June 20, 1826; *mar.* (1st) May 18, 1852, Marian, dau. of Ed. Southam, D.D., wid. of William Leigh Bennett; (2nd) Jan. 21, 1903, Jean, youngest dau. of the late Jas. Lyon Gilbert, of Aberdeen.

John Henry, of Rushett, Faversham, Capt. R.N. (retired); *b.* Nov. 30, 1827; *mar.* June 25, 1874, Eliza, dau. of Rev. Joseph Salt, of Standon, Staffs.

Edward Henry; Vice-Admiral, late A.D.C. to Queen Victoria; *b.* June 7, 1832; *mar.* April 28, 1873, Sophia, elder dau. of Francis Robertson Lynch, of Spanish Town, Jamaica.

Henry Frederick (Rev.), Rector of Brightwalton, Berks; *b.* Nov. 9, 1844; *mar.* July 13, 1878, Eliza, eldest dau. of Rev. John Wasey.

Rosalind Frances, youngest dau. of Edward John, 2nd Lord Stanley of Alderley = (Oct. 4, 1864) George James, 9th Earl of Carlisle, Viscount Howard of Morpeth, Baron Dacre of Gilsland, senior coheir to the Barony of Clifford, co-heir to the Barony of Greystock; *b.* Aug. 12, 1843; J.P.; M.P. for E. Cumberland 1879-80. (Present Earl.)

Hubert George Lyulf; *b.* April 3, 1871; killed at the battle of Omdurman, Sept., 1898.

Christopher Edward, Lieut. 8th Hussars; *b.* June 2, 1873; *d.* Sept. 1, 1896.

Geoffrey William Algernon; *b.* Feb. 12, 1877.

Michael Francis Stafford, late Lieut. 8th Hussars; *b.* Jan. 23, 1880.

Dorothy Georgiana.

Elizabeth; *ob. inf.*

Andrea Fredenyde.

Mary Henrietta; *mar.* Nov. 30, 1889, Geo. Gilbert Aimé Murray, LL.D.

Muriel, dau. of Russell Stephenson = (Mar. 17, 1900) Oliver; in the Colonial Service, North Nigeria; *b.* Mar. 14, 1875.

Charles James Stanley, Viscount Morpeth, J.P. (heir apparent); *b.* Mar. 8, 1867 = (April 17, 1894) Rhoda Ankaret, dau. of Col. Paget W. L'Estrange.

Cecilia Maude; *mar.* April 7, 1891, Chas. Henry Roberts.

Hubert Arthur George; *b.* Aug. 29, 1901.

Gwendoline Georgiana; *b.* Oct., 1902.

Constance Ankaret; *b.* Jan. 20, 1897.

Elizabeth; *b.* Oct. 24, 1903.

George Josslyn L'Estrange; *b.* Jan. 6, 1895.

Ankaret Cecilia Caroline; *b.* April 23, 1900.

agreed to the removal of their names from the list, being well aware that the jury could be made quite safe in any event.

The names of these twelve gentlemen who obediently declared guilty a man who would have scorned to act such a part towards the humblest of the King's subjects —a man who was their superior in every point, and whom they knew in their hearts to be innocent—are as follows :—

Sir William Paston
Sir James Bulleyn
Sir Francis Lovell
Sir Richard Gresham
Sir John Gresham
Sir John Clere
Thomas Clere
William Wodehouse
Christopher Hayden
Nicholas Le Strange
Philip Hubbert
Henry Bedingfield

All being arranged, the trial was fixed for January 13th. It was possible in Surrey's case to proceed with promptitude, since he was technically only a commoner; the arraignment of the Duke necessitated a far more cumbrous process, a fact which probably saved his life.

The tribunal before which the Earl appeared was as carefully selected for the end in view as was the jury: the Lord Mayor, Henry Hoverthorn, was supported by Wriothesley, Hertford, St. John, Paget, and other members of the Privy Council, in whose eyes Surrey was already condemned, and whose former decision must on no account be stultified by a favourable verdict.

At nine o'clock the prisoner was escorted to the Guildhall. Well he knew, we may be sure, that he would return to the Tower with the keen edge of the gleaming axe turned towards him, but he also knew that he was an innocent man, and the prospect of certain condemnation and death failed to shake his fortitude, or draw forth any admission of guilt. Admirably attired in dark clothes, self-possessed and fearless of mien, he presented himself before his judges. One cannot help wondering what kind of figure they cut, these men who were met to perpetrate a deliberate official murder. Unfortunately, we have not the testimony of any eye-witnesses; indeed, the proceedings are not anywhere to be found described in detail; only the vaguest reports are available. From these we learn that the Earl, "as he was of a deep understanding, sharp wit, and deep courage, defended himself many ways; sometimes denying their accusations as false, and together weakening the credit of his adversaries; sometimes interpreting the words he said in a far other sense than in that in which they were represented. For the point of bearing his arms (among which those of Edward the Confessor are related) alleging that he had the opinion of Heralds therein."[1]

It appears to be pretty certain, from the above, that although the bearing of the arms of Edward was the only count on the indictment, there were other matters treated of at the trial, no doubt in the hope that Surrey might be trapped into some admission which would constitute a separate crime against the King.

We do not know whether the shield upon which the main charge was laid was produced at the trial; certainly it should have been, but if it were, as we have reason to suppose, from that which has already been described, it is more than likely that it was kept carefully out of sight, for it was, in the eyes of all men conversant with heraldry—

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[1] Herbert, p. 565.

as we may reckon the members of the Privy Council to have been—an obvious travesty.

During eight hours Surrey stoutly defended himself, rebuking, cross-examining, and even ridiculing witnesses. To one, who was boastfully relating some insolent reply which he claimed to have made to the Earl—availing himself, as do some at the present day, of the "privilege" of sworn evidence—the latter disdained a reply, but turning to the jury he asked, "Do you think it probable, gentlemen, that this man should so have addressed the Earl of Surrey, and he should not have struck him?" And, indeed, the gentlemen of the jury, as they regarded the fearless and self-confident prisoner, renowned for his skill in arms, and no mere empty boaster, as they well knew, must have felt that there was but one reply to such a question. At another time, when Sir William Paget was pressing him with questions, he rallied him with some pleasantries upon his ancestry, Paget's father having been a bailiff. This was not at all politic, of course; but being well aware that no policy could save him, Surrey maintained to the last his dauntless demeanour; and the servile jury having performed their part, he was condemned to that form of execution which was the usual lot of traitors in those days. This sentence, however, was modified, and he was instead beheaded on Tower Hill on January 21st. The details of his execution have not come down to us; who was present, and what Surrey said, or whether he said anything, we do not know. The final act of the tragedy was performed with as much privacy as possible, for the public execution of a man so universally admired might have led to some undesirable demonstration of popular feeling.

In such fashion was this brilliant scholar, soldier, and gentleman done to death; no historian has endeavoured to present him in any other light than that of an innocent victim to the rage of the implacable and dying monarch, and the hatred and jealousy of his enemies; excepting Mr. Froude, the apologist of the cruellest of the Tudors, who has essayed the ungracious task of whitewashing a bloodthirsty and licentious monster at the expense of his latest victim—a task which would have been unenviable indeed, even had it been necessary from the standpoint of historical truth, or possible of achievement.

Surrey was buried at the church of All Hallows Barking, Tower Street; but his remains were removed to the church at Framlingham by his son Henry, who caused a beautiful monument to be erected there in 1614, and left money for its preservation. Some doubt had been cast upon this removal, but it was set at rest by the discovery of Surrey's remains beneath the monument in 1835.

As a poet, Surrey is held, by contemporary as well as by more modern critics, to have occupied a distinguished and in some respects an unique position. All are agreed that he was possessed of the genuine poetic temperament, combined with considerable facility of expression, and he appears to have had recourse to poetry as an outlet for his feelings even in the intervals of active warfare, as well as during those periods when he was confined under the King's displeasure. That he commanded no little power of satire is evident from the lines, already quoted, which he wrote on the occasion of his imprisonment after those nocturnal exploits in 1543; and in those entitled "Of Sardanapalus, his Dishonourable Life and Miserable Death," the picture of Henry VIII. is so forcible as to suggest the idea that Surrey in this instance had selected his sovereign as the object of his shaft:—

> "Th' Assyrian king, in peace, with foul desire,
> And filthy lusts that stain'd his regal heart;
> In war, that should set princely hearts on fire,
> Did yield, vanquisht for want of martial art.
> The dint of swords, from kisses seeméd strange;
> And harder than his lady's side, his targe:
> From glutton feasts to soldier's fare, a change;
> His helmet, far above a garland's charge:
> Who scarce the name of manhood did retain,
> Drenchéd in sloth and womanish delight:
> Feeble of spirit, impatient of pain,
> When he had lost his honour and his right,
> Proud time of wealth, in storms appalled with dread,
> Murder'd himself, to shew some manful deed."

This suggestion, of course, involves the assumption that the lines were composed about the time of Surrey's impeachment, or immediately before it. If this is so, it might well be imagined that Henry's sudden and savage rancour was the outcome of the revelation to him, by some treacherous friend such as Southwell, of this effusion. Such a charge could not, of course, be set forth in the indictment, as it would expose the English King to the ridicule of Europe, and the exploit would require, to be sure, considerable caution on the part of the informer, lest the too-ready recognition of the similitude of the portrait should cost him his head! The incident, however, appears possible.

Mention has already been made of the remarkable dearth of detailed accounts of Surrey's trial and condemnation: the further reports of the Commission to Kenninghall; the actual deposition of Sir Richard Southwell and of all the witnesses at the trial; the production of the incriminating escutcheon—if it was produced—all these matters are left to a great extent in obscurity. Herbert speaks of "records" which he had evidently seen, but which no one is now able to lay hands upon.

There is, however, an entry in the Acts of the Privy Council, dated July 5th, 1547—six months after the trial—which runs as follows:—

> "Item, this day Sir Robert Southwell, Master of the Rolles, deliverde uppe a bag of bokes sealed with his seale, wherein were conteigned writinges concerning the attaindre of the Duke of Norfolk and therle of Surrey his sonne, to the saide Sir Robert and other lerned men heretofore deliverid to peruse, which bag it was hereupon ordred to be bestowed in the studie at Westminster Palays, where other recordes do lye."[1]

Sir Robert Southwell was younger brother to Sir Richard; and it is remarkable that the books or papers here referred to do not appear to be now extant. The question naturally presents itself, when were they submitted for the perusal of the Master of the Rolls and the other learned men? It may have been since the accession of young King Edward, possibly with the object of deciding as to whether the Duke of Norfolk should be kept in the Tower or not, though there is no independent evidence of any such deliberation having taken place, and it is highly improbable that the release of the Duke was contemplated for a moment; they might spare his life, but having him safely locked up in the Tower, no one would be disposed to suggest his liberation. There could be no other object in submitting the papers to legal experts, since Surrey could not be brought back to life again; so it is quite possible that these were the papers sent to the judges in Norfolk before the trial of Surrey, or otherwise the evidence taken at his trial, which was passed over to the Master of the Rolls, ostensibly for some consideration, but in reality in order that it might be safely disposed of. A bag of papers sealed by the Master of the Rolls would be secure against access except by his desire, and no one would ask many questions in case of its disappearance. Sir Robert, as well as his brother, shared in the spoils, the former obtaining the estate of Badlesmere, in Kent.

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[1] *Acts of P.C.*, new series, vol. ii.

We must now see what became of the Duke of Norfolk, after he was committed to the Tower on December 12th; and unhappily we are at once confronted with the marked contrast which his conduct presents to that of his son in the attitude which he assumed. Physical cowardice is one of the last shortcomings which could be attributed to this shrewd and gallant old soldier; had he been brought to the scaffold, it cannot be doubted that he would have faced the executioner's axe with that fortitude which appears to have characterised nearly every man—and woman—who was condemned to death in these times; a courage born of pride, or conscious innocence, which served to overcome the natural fear of death. Norfolk was no coward; but he was, before all else, a courtier; to him, the favour of the most exalted in the realm, the "sweet aspect of princes," had, during the whole of his long life, been the chief object of his desire. We have seen already where it landed him at the time of the Pilgrimage of Grace, when he became the King's instrument in that monstrous breach of faith and most cruel slaughter; and now that he was under the royal displeasure we find him, instead of boldly facing the charges made against him, after the fashion of Surrey, and maintaining his innocence in the presence of his accusers, ready to regain the King's favour by a gratuitous confession of crimes which were no crimes at all; a confession, too, which he must have been very well aware would not avail to save his life.

First, however, he wrote from the Tower a letter in another spirit:—

"Most gracious and mercifull Soveraign Lord, I your most humble Subject prostitute at your foot, do most humbly beseech your Highness to be my good and gracious Lord. I am sure some great enemy of mine hath informed your Majestie of some untrue matter against me. Sir, God doth know, in all my life I never thought one untrue thought against you, or your succession, nor can no more judge or cast in my mind what should be laid to my charge, than the childe that was born this night. And certainly, if I knew that I had offended your Majestie in any point of untruth, I would declare the same to your Highnesse. But (as God help me) I cannot accuse myself so much as in thought. Most noble and merciful Soveraign Lord, for all the old Service I have done you in my life, be so good and gracious a lord unto me, that either my accusers and I together may be brought before your Royall Majestie; or if your pleasure shall not be to take that pains, then before your Council; then if I shall not make it apparent that I am wrongfully accused, let me, without more respite, have punishment according to my deserts. Alas, most mercifull Prince, I have no refuge but onely at your hands, and therefore at the reverence of Christ's passion have pity of me, and let me not be cast away by false enemies informations. Undoubtedly, I know not that I have offended any man, or that any man was offended with me, unlesse it were such as are angry with me for being quick against such as have been accused for Sacramentaries. And as for all causes of Religion, I say now, and have said to your Majesty and many others, I do know you to be a Prince of such vertue and knowledge, that whatsoever laws you have in past times made, or hereafter shall make, I shall to the extremity of my power stick unto them as long as my life shall last. So that if any men be angry with me for these causes, they do mee wrong. Other cause I know not why any man should bear me any ill will; and for this cause I know divers have done, as doth appear by casting libels abroad against me. Finally (most gracious Soveraign Lord) I most humbly beseech your Majestie to have pity of me, and let me recover your gracious favour, with taking of me all the lands and goods I have, or as much thereof as pleaseth your Highnesse to take, leaving me what it shall please you to appoint: and that according as is before written, I may know what is laid to my charge, and that I may hear some comfortable word from your Majestie. And I shall during my life pray for your prosperous estate long to endure.

"Your most sorrowful subject,
"THO. NORFOLK."

This appeal did not produce any result; it was far from the intention of the Privy Council that Norfolk should be confronted with his accusers, either before it or in the King's presence, for, truth to tell, nothing had as yet been discovered or invented against him which could by any twisting be converted into a capital offence.

In a letter to the Council, the Duke, after begging for some privileges, such as books to read, a priest to administer the sacraments, and, if permissible, to say Mass in the adjoining chamber, adds the following characteristically politic sentence:—

"I would gladly have licence to send to London to buy one book of St. Austins, De Civitate Dei; and of Josephus, De Antiquitatibus; and another of Sabellicus; who doth declare most of any book that I have read, how the Bishop of Rome from time to time hath usurped his power against all princes, by their unwise Sufferance."

This communication affords a striking instance of the confusion of doctrine, even among persons of standing and education, during those troublous times, the exceptions being such men as Sir Thomas More, Bishop Fisher, and others. Norfolk tacitly expresses his belief in certain tenets of the Catholic Church, by his request for Mass, Confession, and the Holy Eucharist; he then proceeds implicitly to extol Henry's wisdom in assuming supremacy over the Church, which he was as entirely bound in conscience to deny as he was to accept these other doctrines.

And then follow those deplorable confessions, extorted from him in the hope of regaining the King's favour; a hope which he could not, in his heart, have entertained sincerely, for he knew Henry all too well. It was not possible that he could have forgotten the fate of those miserable victims of misplaced reliance upon the King's honour and clemency at the time of the Pilgrimage of Grace, to say nothing of incidents which came into the domestic life of the tyrant; how could he expect any different treatment, in spite of his long and all too faithful service? He was induced, however, by his insidious enemies, to submit himself, in the following effusions, which, as has been remarked by more than one historian, actually constituted a declaration of his innocence:—

"I Thomas Duke of Norfolk, do confesse and acknowledge myself most untruly, and contrary to my oath and allegeance, to have offended the King's most excellent Majestie, in the disclosing and opening of his privie and secret Counsel at divers and sundry times, to divers and sundry persons, to the great peril of his Highness, and disappointing of his most prudent and regal affairs. T. N."

"Also, I likewise confess, that I have concealed high Treason, in keeping secret the false and traiterous act, most presumptuously committed by my son Henry Howard Earl of Surrey, against the King's Majestie and his laws, in the putting and using of the Arms of St. Edward the Confessor, King of the Realm of England before the Conquest, in his Scutchion or Arms; which said Arms of St. Edward appertain onely to the King of this Realm, and to none other person or persons: whereunto the said Earl by no means or way could make any claim or title, by me, or any of mine or his Ancestors. T. N."

"Also, I likewise confess, that to the peril, slander, and disinherison of the King's Majestie, and his noble son Prince Edward, his Son and Heir apparant, I have against all right, unjustly, and without authority, born in the first quarter of mine arms, ever since the death of my father, the arms of England, with a difference of the Labels of Silver, which are the proper arms of my said Prince, to be born for this Realm of England only; whereby I have not only done prejudice to the King's Majestie and the said Lord the Prince, but also given occasion that his Highness might be disturbed or interrupted of the Crown of this Realm, and my said Lord Prince be destroyed, disturbed, and interrupted in fame, body and title, of the inheritance to the Crown of this Realm. Which I know and confess by the laws of the Realm to be High Treason. T. N."

"For the which my said hainous offences, I have worthily deserved by the Laws of the Realm to be attainted of High Treason, and to suffer the punishment, losses, and forfeitures that appertain thereunto."

Then follows a plea for clemency, and the usual statement at the conclusion of such confessions—even when they had been extorted by means of the rack:—

"Without compulsion, without force, without advice or counsel, I have and do subscribe the premisses, submitting me only to the King's most gracious pity and mercy, most humbly beseeching his Highness to extend the same unto me his most sorrowful Subject.

By me THO. NORFOLK."[1]

The upshot of this submission was the introduction of a Bill into Parliament for the Duke's attainder: a mode of procedure initiated during the reign of Henry VIII. in order to expedite the summary condemnation of state prisoners, who were by this means deprived even of the scant opportunity they would otherwise have had of making some reply to their accusers. There was not likely to be found anyone who would have the temerity to oppose the Bill, which was accordingly passed at once; but the King was in a dying condition, and incapable of ratifying it in person; so a commission was deputed for the purpose, and Norfolk would undoubtedly have been beheaded, but that, on the very night of January 27th, on which the royal assent was vicariously accorded, the King died, and the order for the Duke's execution was withheld—or rescinded, as some say, having been already issued—from motives, apparently of policy, it not being considered wise to commence the new reign with an act of useless bloodshed; useless, because Norfolk being already an attainted prisoner, his name struck off the list of Henry's executors, and his son executed, it was obvious that the Council would gain their desired end by simply keeping him shut up in the Tower. The King, had he survived, would have been satisfied with nothing short of Norfolk's death; and it was probably the intention of the Council that he should die in the Tower, as he was then seventy-three years of age.

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[1] Herbert, 565, *et seq.*

Surrey left two sons and two daughters, and a third daughter was born some three weeks after his death. The custody of the children was left with Mary, Duchess of Richmond; the two boys, Thomas, then of the age of ten, and Henry, aged six, together with the eldest daughter, were lodged at Reigate Castle, which had come to the Howards through the Mowbrays, but was forfeited to the King on the attainder of the Duke of Norfolk; and there they had for their tutor Foxe, the author of the *Book of Martyrs*, whom the lads appear to have held in considerable respect and esteem. The Duchess of Richmond was allowed, by patent 6, Edward VI., one hundred pounds per annum for the keep of the children, to be paid quarterly by the Treasurer of the Household.

We do not hear much of the Howards during the reign of Edward. The Duke of Norfolk is permitted some privileges in the matter of exercise during his imprisonment, his requests being submitted to the Council through the Lieutenant of the Tower; his grandchildren, of course, are under attainder; and Lord William Howard, his half-brother, is the only prominent member of the family who is not under a cloud.

With the death of Edward, however, came a change. Queen Mary, making her triumphant entry into London, after disposing of Northumberland and his accomplices, rode, accompanied by her sister the Princess Elizabeth, into the Tower: and there she found the Duke of Norfolk, now an old man of eighty; Courtney, son of the late Marquess of Exeter; Gardiner, late Bishop of Winchester; and other state prisoners, kneeling on the Green to receive her. According to Mr. Froude (who quotes a letter of Scheypre to Charles V. as his authority), these three prisoners, Norfolk, Gardiner, and Courtney, had, on the proclamation of the Lady Jane Grey as Queen, been warned to prepare for death within three days; and no doubt, in the case of Norfolk, this could have been achieved without more ado, as he was nominally under sentence of death, and had been for seven years. Mary's undaunted front, however, and the promptitude of her action, annulled this warning; and it is said that, upon Gardiner offering her a congratulatory speech on her accession, she wept, bidding them rise, declaring that they were *her* prisoners, and as such she forthwith embraced and released them. Norfolk was speedily restored to his position; and in his petition for reinstatement he pleads, not for the removal of the attainder, but for a declaration that it was null and void, not having received the King's sanction and signature in due form. As to his coat of arms he says:—

> "Most Gracious Sovereign Lady, as the offence with which your said subject and supplicant was charged, and whereof he was indicted, was for bearing of arms, which he and his ancestors had heretofore of long time and continuance borne, as well within this realm as out, and as well also in the presence of the said late King, as in the presence of divers of his noble progenitors, Kings of England," etc.

A different story, indeed, from those gruesome "Confessions" we have been reading. The Duke had, with characteristic shrewdness, offered, at the time of his attainder, to settle his lands upon the young Prince Edward—an offer which the King was graciously pleased to accept; and by the Act which was signed by Mary these lands were for the most part restored to him, the stigma of attainder was removed, and the right of the Howards to bear the arms of St. Edward and Brotherton was confirmed. The young Thomas Howard was granted the dignity and title of Earl of Surrey, and being now about eighteen years of age, was summoned at Court as page of honour to the Queen.

One more service of a military character was yet to be exacted of the octogenarian Duke: for the year after Mary's accession came the Wyatt rebellion, and Norfolk was despatched with a small force to Rochester, where Wyatt then was. This attempt at dealing with the rebels turned out, however, a mere fiasco, for on reaching Rochester bridge, where Wyatt and his men were drawn up, Brett, who commanded the London levy, turned with all his men against the Duke, shouting, "A Wyatt! A Wyatt! We are all Englishmen!" There was nothing left for Norfolk but flight, and apparently he took no further part in the quelling of the rebellion. Lord William Howard, however, was very much in the front, and it was his voice which, as Wyatt approached Ludgate, expecting to find the way made clear for him, greeted the rebel with a thundering denial: "Avaunt, traitor! Thou shalt not come in here!"

Norfolk died at Kenninghall, August 25th, 1554, and was buried at Framlingham. He was a good servant to his sovereign, and had he lived in better times he would probably have been a more admirable man; under Henry VIII., no courtier, unless of heroic moral fibre, could remain untainted.

Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk, thus entered upon the honours and responsibilities of his high position at the age of eighteen ; and naturally there is not much to be heard of him during the first year or two of Mary's reign. He had, however, already demonstrated his loyalty by appearing at Framlingham when the Queen first hoisted her standard there ; and both he and his grandfather were present at the reception of Philip of Spain. The Queen, upon the death of the old Duke, ordered court mourning to be worn for him and interrupted her marriage festivities, retiring with her husband to Hampton Court for a time ; and such a strong mark of regard for his predecessor was a sure indcation that the young Duke would not long be suffered to remain in obscurity.

Following abundant precedent, Norfolk married, at the early age of twenty, Lady Mary Fitzalan, daughter and heiress of Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel ; a union of great importance to the Howards, as will be seen. His wife, herself little more than a child, gave birth to a son on August 25th, 1557, and died eight weeks later, being only sixteen years of age : her son survived, however, to continue the line of the Howards, and to shed eternal lustre on the name by his heroic confession of faith. At his baptism Philip of Spain stood godfather, and the ceremony was carried out with great splendour in the Queen's presence ; the helpless infant as unconscious of these resplendent honours as of the very different part which another Queen was to play at his death.

Early in 1558 Norfolk was required to raise levies in his own county, probably as reinforcements on the border in case of need. Apparently their assistance was not required, as the Queen, after acknowledging his report of progress on January 17th, writes again to reduce them on the 19th, on the 27th again to be ready, and finally on the 30th to dismiss the men. In the autumn he was summoned to her death-bed.[1]

The young Duke was a favourite at Court; he appears to have been universally beloved by those with whom he came in contact, and generally popular. He was not possessed, however, of those qualities which go to make either a soldier or a statesman. Had he been permitted to remain quietly at home in Norfolk, attending at the Court when required, he would, no doubt, have made a very admirable squire and courtier; but the atmosphere of action and intrigue in which his position landed him was absolutely fatal. He had neither the subtlety to become a successful schemer, nor the strength of character to maintain a straightforward course; and though Queen Elizabeth, at the commencement of her reign, regarded him with considerable favour, he eventually contrived, by a series of egregious blunders, if no stronger word be applicable, entirely to alienate her regard.

The year after his wife's death, in 1558, he married again, his second wife being Margaret, daughter of Thomas, Lord Audley of Walden; and in the summer of 1559, young as he was, he was apparently placed in a position of responsibility as Lieutenant of the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk and the city of Norwich; for on October 26th the Queen writes to him as follows:

"Right trustie and right intirely beloved Cousin: wee greete you well. Whereas you have had the charge committed unto you of the Lieutenancy of our Countys of Norff. Suff. and the cittye of Norwich, and have therein by your good wisdom and labour conserved both the same in good quiett and order all this somer tyme, for the which we give you hearty thanks, considering now the somer season is ended and the wynter come on, wherein is nothing to be doubted any like insolence of disordered people as before: and that also wee know it shall be gratefull unto you to be disburdened of the care thereof: wee have thought meet by these our letters to signify unto you the same our contentacion that from the tyme of the receipt of these our letters your former commission of Lieutenancy shall cease and take end; praying you notwithstanding as you shall heare of any occasion arrising within the same Countys and Cittye that shall more nearlye require your direction, you will give regard thereto, and either by the ordinary authoritye which you have to redresse the same, or to informe us in such parte as the same may not be neglected for lacke of power or authoritye; and these our letters shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge in this behalfe. Given under our Signett at our Pallace of Westminster the 26th of October the first yeare of our Reigne."[1]

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[1] *Cal. State Papers*, xii., xiv.

The Duke's respite from such duties was, however, very brief; for in the following month he was appointed Lieutenant-General of the North, when the Queen resolved to expel the French troops from Scotland. This post he unwillingly undertook; but he did not go to the front, remaining at Berwick to organise the defence of that town and conduct diplomatic business. He signed the agreement at Berwick on February 27th, 1560, with the Scotch representatives; but the arrangement of the treaty of Edinburgh was not left in his hands. He was probably glad to be relieved of his post in the North, where, though nominally in command, he was compelled to defer to the opinions of experienced men such as Sir Ralph Sadlier and Sir James Croft, and was also in the receipt of constant communications from the Privy

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[1] Autograph letter in the possession of the Duke of Norfolk: *Original papers relating to the Howard family.*

Council; and he was not called upon again for any military service.

During the ensuing years Norfolk appears to have done nothing in particular: we do not find him prominent in State affairs, though he was sworn of the Privy Council in 1562. He went to Cambridge with the Queen in 1564, and is said to have given a sum of money towards the completion of Magdalen College. Meanwhile he had lost his second wife (by whom he had two sons and three daughters) in 1563.

He appears at this time to have been dissatisfied at not being placed in a prominent position suitable to his rank: he was exceedingly jealous of Leicester, and of his aspiration to marry Elizabeth. On one occasion, indeed, in 1565, he went so far as to rebuke and even to strike Leicester in the Queen's presence. The latter commanded the two noblemen to be reconciled, and some kind of peace was made up between them; but Leicester never forgot the affront, and Norfolk had subsequently to pay dearly for it: he was no match for the subtle and arrogant royal favourite.

All the other events of the Duke's life are, however, completely overshadowed by his dealings with Mary Queen of Scots, and his persistent attempts to marry her, in the course of which he became hopelessly embroiled in conspiracies which eventually cost him his life. There does not appear to have been any good reason against such a marriage; indeed, from many points of view it was decidedly desirable, and would probably have prevented a great deal of the evil which was perpetrated during the interminable intrigues which ensued. The initial and fatal error consisted, of course, in concealing his design from

Elizabeth. Whether she would ever have consented is extremely doubtful; she occupied herself for years with a kind of dog-in-the-manger game, playing fast and loose with various suitors, while the prospect of having an heir became more and more remote; and denying to Mary the status of the heir, which she undoubtedly was, failing any children of Elizabeth. An alliance with Norfolk, accompanied by a definite provision with regard to the succession, by which Elizabeth might have satisfied her own vanity and at the same time confirmed Mary's position, would appear to have offered a far more satisfactory solution than was eventually arrived at. Norfolk's desire for Mary's hand was prompted entirely by motives of policy and self-exaltation: he had probably never known her, or so slightly that it is difficult to conceive any element of passion in his suit; while the pretension of his father-in-law, the Earl of Arundel, to a marriage with Elizabeth was an additional incentive; though it is not certain that the idea was entertained by Norfolk until after Arundel had been dismissed and had gone abroad. Camden, however, asserts positively that while the marriage with Darnley was being discussed, or rather earlier, Maitland of Lethington had suggested in turn to Leicester and Norfolk that one or the other should marry the Queen of Scots, but that Norfolk "at that time put it off with a modest refusall."[1]

The Duke was then for the second time a widower; and the marriage of Mary with Darnley being celebrated shortly afterwards, he married for his third wife Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Francis Leybourne, of Cunswick Hall, Cumberland, and widow of Thomas, Lord Dacre of

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[1] Camden's *History of Elizabeth*, 3rd ed., p. 62.

Gilsland. This lady, however, died a few months later, leaving a son and three daughters by her first husband. The Duke became the guardian of these children, and conceived the idea of arranging marriages between them and his own, in order to combine the estates. The boy was accidentally killed in 1569; and Leonard Dacre, his father's brother, claimed the title as heir male. It was decided against him, however, a commission being specially appointed, as Norfolk, who was Earl Marshal, and would in the ordinary course have presided, was a suitor in the case.

Once more a widower, exceedingly wealthy and popular, Norfolk appears to have been the object of some suspicion and jealousy on the part of Sir William Cecil, to whom he wrote, November 15th, 1567, that he was in favour of the Queen's marriage with Duke Charles of Austria, but considered the religion of the latter the only obstacle; and he denies that he himself is a Catholic. On the 24th of the same month he writes again, expressing his great vexation at sundry devices now being seen abroad, and declaring that he can justify anything he has written.[1]

The escape of Mary Queen of Scots to England in 1568 proved to be for the Duke the beginning of sorrows. He was appointed, with the Earl of Sussex and Sir Ralph Sadleir, to a commission, to meet at York the representatives of Mary, with the object of inquiring into the differences between Mary and her subjects. There is not space here to enter in detail into the proceedings at York. No satisfactory conclusion could be arrived at; and the discovery of some papers which apparently implicated Mary in her husband's murder placed for the time a different complexion upon the whole matter. Norfolk, while he appeared to be convinced of her guilt, nevertheless, at the instigation of Maitland of Lethington—for the second time, according to Camden—entered upon the scheme of marrying her; possibly he had spontaneously suggested the project to Maitland.

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[1] *Cal. State Papers, Elizabeth*, xliv. 42, 46.

Starting from this obviously false position, Norfolk soon found himself in a nest of intrigue. Murray, affecting to approve of the scheme, offered to arrange that Maitland should be sent from Scotland as a special envoy to propose the marriage to Elizabeth; but months passed, and no more was heard about it. Leicester also pretended to forward it, and in conjunction with Pembroke and the Earl of Arundel put the matter before Mary. She was by that time at Tutbury, under the care of the Earl of Shrewsbury, having been removed thither from Castle Bolton, Lord Scrope's seat. His wife, it will be recollected, was Norfolk's sister; and already it had been noticed apparently that the Duke's man was very frequently there, under cover of conveying messages to the lady of the castle. Mary signified her consent: she saw in this proposal, no doubt, a prospect of speedy release from captivity. Her letters to the Duke at a subsequent period are exceedingly affectionate: she addresses him "mine own dear lord," and subscribes herself "yours faithful unto death."

The nobles who were aware of the scheme qualified their promises of assistance by the condition that it should be submitted for the Queen's approval. Norfolk had not the courage to broach the subject to her in person. Leicester undertook to do so, and assumed an air of great friendship; but he kept on putting it off: and the Northern lords meanwhile concocted a plan for liberating Mary by force. On August 27th, 1569, the Council actually voted for the marriage of Mary with an English nobleman. Elizabeth soon got wind of Norfolk's intentions, and he, coming upon her and Leicester in conference one day, the latter took him aside and told him that he was then dealing with the matter for him, but he found Her Majesty "indifferently well disposed" towards it. Subsequently the Queen, after he had dined with her, "gave him a nip, bidding him take heed to his pillow"—a significant warning indeed from such a woman as Elizabeth. Then Leicester, feigning grievous sickness at Titchfield, wrote to the Queen that he could not die in peace unless he first confessed his faults to her. She came to her favourite's bedside, and there heard the whole story, put in such a form as to implicate Norfolk in all that was going on. The Queen took an opportunity of speaking to the Duke, rebuking him sharply for his presumption in entering upon such a scheme without her knowledge, and requiring from him an undertaking that he would not persist in it. The Duke, still playing a double game, gave her his promise, and added that "his estate in England was worth little less than the whole realm of Scotland, in the ill state to which the wars had reduced it; and that when he was in his own tennis court at Norwich, he thought himself as great as a king."

However, he was so seriously disturbed in mind that on September 15th he took his departure to Kenninghall, whence he wrote on the 24th excusing his conduct; the Queen summoned him peremptorily to Court, and after some delay, which he attributed to sickness, he started on his return; but his submission came too late.

He was ordered into detention at Burnham, and on October 8th was removed to the Tower. When the rising occurred in the North he wrote to Elizabeth from the Tower, disclaiming any connection with it; but he continued to correspond with Mary, though he repeated in writing to Elizabeth his promise to "deal no more in the matter."

He was kept in the Tower, however, until August 3rd, 1570, when he was removed to his own house on account of the plague. He there remained under detention for many months, for in April, 1571, he writes to the Council asking them to obtain more freedom for him, as his health is suffering from prolonged confinement and lack of exercise.[1]

All might yet have gone well with him had he kept his word to Elizabeth; but his unstable character was fatal to him, and, renewing his intercourse with the Queen of Scots, he became involved in the plot which her supporters had formed for effecting her release and restoration by means of a foreign invasion. Probably, as he himself persisted in maintaining to the last, he had no intention at first of taking part in any such conspiracy, but he had not the clearness of head to perceive whither he was being hurried, or the strength of mind to withdraw before it was too late, and when the plot in which Ridolfi was concerned was brought to light, evidence was at the same time discovered which very clearly implicated Norfolk. He undertook to forward some money which the French ambassador had furnished for the assistance of Mary's friends in the North; but the messenger, one Brown, to whom it was entrusted for delivery to the

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[1] *Cal. State Papers, Elizabeth*, lxxvii.

Duke's steward, having his suspicions aroused, took it instead to the Council, who discovered in the bag some letters in cipher. The Duke's steward, Banister, and Barker, another servant of his, made very damaging revelations, and when Norfolk, after repeated denials of his complicity, was confronted with their evidence, he exclaimed, "I am betrayed and undone by mine own, whilst I knew not how to mistrust, which is the strength of wisdom!"[1] This sentence constitutes in itself a terse and very apt commentary upon the Duke's own character, and the atmosphere of the times in which he lived.

He was sent to the Tower on September 5th, 1571. From there he wrote a confession to the Queen, in which he acknowledged that he had attempted to marry the Queen of Scots without Elizabeth's permission, and had renewed his endeavour after his promise to the contrary; that he was aware of the contents of certain letters treating of Ridolfi's mission, but gave no consent thereto, though he undutifully concealed them. Also that he read and concealed letters brought from the Pope and from Ridolfi, though he was angry with the bearer for bringing them to him; that he sent letters to Scotland, and both letters and money from the French ambassador to Lord Herries, in Mary's cause, "in doing whereof I did too much forget myself." But he denies any part in the rebellious intrigues, inciting of foreign princes to invade England, or any harm whatsoever to the Queen.

This was practically his defence at his trial, January 16th, 1572, but the proceedings were so conducted, according to the unfair and arbitrary practice of that time in cases of treason, that it was obvious from the first that he had no prospect of clearing himself. He was condemned to death, but the consummation of the sentence was deferred owing to Elizabeth's hesitation. More than once she ordered his execution, and countermanded it at the last moment; but finally she yielded to the pressure of her Council, and Norfolk was beheaded on Tower Hill on June 2nd, 1572.

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[1] Camden, p. 140.

During his trial and at his execution the Duke conducted himself with the dignity suitable to his high rank. In his speech from the scaffold—where he was attended by Dr. Nowell, dean of St. Paul's, and also by Foxe, his former tutor—he stated that he "had not been Popish from the time he had any taste of religion,"[1] and reiterated his assertion that he was innocent of any treasonable practices.

Most historians agree in the verdict that Norfolk was not deliberately guilty of any act which, even according to the rigorous laws—or rather the distorted interpretation of the law—existing at that time, was worthy of the extreme sentence pronounced upon him. Guilty he certainly was of some double dealing, and of abstention from revealing to the Queen certain matters which came within his knowledge; but his downfall was brought about chiefly by reason of his over-sanguine and, as he himself acknowledged, too-confiding temperament. Ridolfi and the others concerned in the conspiracy chose to assume that the Duke, on the strength of his engagement to Mary, would be prepared to go to any extreme, and not having the courage to declare himself in the first instance, he was irretrievably compromised before he realised the fact.

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[1] Camden, 153.

"Incredible it is," says Camden, "how dearly the people loved him; which he had purchased through his bounty and singular courtesie, not unbeseeming so great a Prince."[1]

Norfolk wrote from the Tower, shortly after his condemnation, a very beautiful letter to his children, which is too long to transcribe here. Nott, in his *Life of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey*, gives it in full.

Thus were the Howard tragedies completed by the Tudors, and not yet in their full tale, for there remains to be told the fate of Philip, Norfolk's eldest son—a tragedy which, however, bears a significance altogether different from the others, in that he voluntarily offered his life for his faith.

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[1] p. 154.

III

The Venerable Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel

WITH the attainder and death of Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk, the ducal title disappears from the House of Howard for close upon a century; there remained, however, another of high descent and honourable repute, which was not affected by the sentence passed upon the late Duke. He married, it will be recollected, Lady Mary Fitzalan, daughter and heiress of Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel; and though this lady did not long survive the birth of her son, she bequeathed to him, by right of descent, her father's title, which became thenceforth associated with the dukedom of Norfolk and the earldom of Surrey.

Henry Fitzalan was a worthy representative of his illustrious line, which traces its descent to the time of the Conqueror; there is not space here to enter in detail upon the history of this house previous to its connection with the Howards, but the genealogical table constitutes a summary of it, and to this the reader is referred. The Earl was a man of great wealth and influence, and at one time it appeared far from improbable that he would, by an alliance with Queen Elizabeth, become the possible progenitor of future sovereigns of England. The Queen undoubtedly showed great favour towards him, and he was for a while sanguine about the success of his suit; but Elizabeth treated him, in the end, as she did all the aspirants to her hand, and after a characteristic display of caprice, of favours granted and withheld at her imperious will, Arundel finally became disgusted with her, and in 1566 he obtained leave, on the plea of ill-health, to reside abroad for a time, and went to Padua. This change produced the desired result: he returned to England in 1568, and such was his influence and popularity, that we are told that he was met at Canterbury by an assembly of more than six hundred gentlemen of Kent and the adjacent counties, who escorted him to London. At Blackheath this imposing bodyguard was augmented by the Recorder, the aldermen, and many merchants; and nearer London the Lord Chancellor, the Earls of Pembroke, Huntingdon, Sussex, Warwick, and Leicester, with a huge cavalcade numbering some two thousand persons, came forth to welcome him. The bells were set ringing, and the populace of London hailed with loud acclamations the return of their favourite. Such a demonstration, under circumstances not otherwise demanding so great a display of enthusiasm, constitutes in itself an overwhelming proof of the remarkable personality of the Earl.

The Queen, restoring him for a while to favour, placed him upon the second commission appointed, in 1569, for the investigation of Scottish affairs and the inquiry, at Westminster, into the conduct of Mary. Convinced of her innocence of the heinous accusations brought against her, he set himself to further the project of her marriage with Norfolk; but he soon received a reminder of the danger of participating in such a design. He had incurred the enmity of Cecil, and when the Duke of Norfolk was, for the first time, committed to the Tower, his father-in-law was also arrested and detained in his own house; thence he was removed in succession to Eton College and Nonsuch. Long confinement produced a return of his old ailment; and though he was, after many months, released, it was only to be once more arrested, at the time of Norfolk's second committal. During his confinement the tragedy of the Duke's trial and death was consummated; no cause could be discovered against Arundel, and he finally regained his liberty, and some sort of restoration to the favour of the fickle and tyrannical Queen. But he had had enough of Court life and intrigue; he retired to his home, where he enjoyed the society of his elder daughter, and only surviving child, Lady Lumley, to whom he was devotedly attached. She died in 1576, and four years later he followed her. He was buried at Arundel, where we shall have occasion in another chapter to notice his monument.

So passed away this great nobleman; we must now return to his grandson, Philip Howard, who was to succeed him in his title, and whose misfortunes commenced at an early age indeed, with the loss of his young mother only eight weeks after his birth. His father, after nursery days were over, appears to have made a wise choice in appointing as his tutor Mr. Gregory Martin, Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, a man of the highest character, and a scholar of no mean attainments. This connection, however, which might have had, and indeed did, to a certain degree, have a beneficial effect upon his pupil, was severed in a fashion which was a forecast of the latter's own future. The Duke of Norfolk, who, as we know, had been under the guardianship of his very protestant aunt, Mary, Duchess of Richmond, and the tutorship of Foxe, thought fit, from motives of policy, to direct that his household should listen to the discourses of certain ministers of the new religion ; and Martin, who had strong religious convictions entirely opposed to their doctrine, found that he could not conscientiously continue in his post ; he accordingly threw it up and retired to the Continent, where he eventually became a priest and an able writer in defence of the Catholic faith.

At the early age of twelve, Philip, in furtherance of his father's designs, already alluded to, was betrothed to Ann Dacre, daughter of the Duke's third wife ; and two years later, by an urgent order of the Duke, who was then a second time prisoner in the Tower, this betrothal was confirmed by marriage, the bride being almost precisely of the same age as her youthful husband. This step Norfolk, not without some reason, considered of the first importance, lest the Queen should peremptorily annul the betrothal and forbid their union.

After his father's death, Philip, then about fifteen years of age, was sent to Cambridge ; it is stated in the MS. life that his two brothers also went there, but scarcely as students, one would imagine, Thomas being then only eleven and William nine : their father had placed them under Philip's care, but he was too young for any such responsibility. However, he went through some studies at Cambridge, and was granted his M.A. degree in 1576 ; probably no more than a complimentary honour, bestowed by reason of his rank : he was known at that time as Earl of Surrey. Whatever he may have acquired in the way of learning at Cambridge, it is certain that he was under very evil moral influences there ; flattered and toadied by vicious associates, and permitted almost unrestricted liberty, he rapidly developed a taste for the most licentious indulgences; and when, at the age of eighteen, he went to Court, we may be sure that in the atmosphere which prevailed there he found ample encouragement in this respect. He neglected his wife, and was even heard sometimes to say that he did not know whether she were his wife or not. Elizabeth did not encourage the presence, or any hint of the existence of the wives of her courtiers, and Philip conceived it to be to his interest to fall in with Her Majesty's whims in every respect; not excepting undutiful and irritating behaviour towards his grandfather, the Earl of Arundel, and his aunt, Lady Lumley, both of whom were deeply hurt by his conduct.

In short, Philip Howard presents at this period of his life the unpleasing picture of a dissipated, selfish, and prodigal spendthrift, seeking renown merely in lavish display and questionable amusements; entertaining ambassadors and persons of the highest rank, not excluding the Queen herself, with an ostentatious splendour which quickly made sad havoc with even his ample resources, and involved him so deeply in debt that it cost him the sacrifice of much of his property in later years to discharge it.

In 1580 his grandfather's death placed him in possession of his title as Earl of Arundel; and Lord Lumley, his uncle by marriage, at once made over to him his life interest, which he had through his wife, in the castle and honour of Arundel. Some doubt which was thrown upon his claim was decided in his favour by the Council; he was not, however, fully restored in blood until March, 1581; and it was during this year that he was greatly impressed by the arguments and heroic example of the Jesuit martyr, Campion, and others whom he heard in controversy with some Protestant ministers. He came away profoundly dissatisfied with his own position; his mind reverted to those earlier days, when he had been under the excellent guidance of Gregory Martin, who had made such a practical confession of his faith; the life which he had been leading at Court presented itself to him in its true and ghastly colouring; and it was not long before his resolution was taken—a resolution which he was well aware might lead to the scaffold, and would certainly involve deprivation and persecution; but once resolved he was not to be shaken. For over a year, however, he kept secret, even from his wife, his intention of being reconciled to the Catholic Church; his brother, Lord William Howard, for whom he had a great affection, was the first recipient of his confidence, in 1583, and with him he "dealt so efficaciously" that he also declared for the old faith.

Such a resolve was no light matter in those days; these two brothers realised that their action would land them at once in secret contrivances, and they determined to go abroad, be quietly received into the Church on the Continent, and remain there until times should be more propitious at home. Arundel's secretary, John Momford, already a Catholic, and eager to facilitate his master's designs, was despatched to Hull with instructions to sail for Flanders and there make preparation for Arundel's coming; and then came the realisation of the close and jealous watch which was kept upon them, even before they had declared themselves—the very air was full of spies and enemies, anxious to secure the royal favour. Momford was not permitted to embark, but was arrested and compelled to return to London, where he found his master preparing for a visit from the Queen at his house in town; she having apparently invited herself thither in order to inflict upon her subject a more telling humiliation; for, after having been entertained in sumptuous fashion, she sent him a message that he was to consider himself a prisoner in his own house.

Meanwhile the Countess of Arundel, who had rejoiced during the last year or so in being reconciled to her husband, and was, in fact, then with child, conceived similar doubts as to her faith, and secretly, for fear of her husband's displeasure, was received into the Church. The advent of a minister, who announced that he was sent by her husband to preach to her, alarmed her greatly; but upon the Earl's arrival a few days later—having put off the preacher with some excuse—she found to her joy that he made no allusion to the matter; and further learned that his half-sister, Lady Margaret Sackville, who was a great favourite of his, had become a Catholic. The Countess by this means accounted for Arundel's abstention from any questioning of herself; but the real explanation was, as we know, that he had already himself resolved to take the same course.

Though her husband might be complaisant, the Countess soon discovered that the Queen was not. She was ordered to be conveyed to Wiston, in Sussex, and placed under strict surveillance, in the care of Sir Thomas Shirley. There her daughter Elizabeth was born, and was, the writer of the MS. life declares, "by the Earl's appointment baptised according to the Protestant manner, much against her will"—rather a strange proceeding, seeing that Arundel was then on the point of becoming a Catholic, or had at least fully made up his mind ; it can only be assumed that he deemed it impolitic and dangerous at this juncture to risk the conflict with his wife's custodian which would probably be involved if a priest was sent for ; indeed, we may well believe that he would not have been admitted.

Arundel, after receiving the Queen's intimation, was subjected to an inquisition concerning his religion at the hands of Lord Hunsdon, who had been his father's page, and had for some reason conceived a bitter animosity against him. Hunsdon, however, obtained little satisfaction for his pains ; the Earl was clever, wideawake, and by this time well equipped for controversy, and he readily silenced his interrogator, without committing himself to any speech which could be effectually used against him.

Then ensued the cruel and unjustifiable proceeding usually resorted to in such cases. Failing to find occasion in the Earl, his faithful secretary, Momford, was sent for, and every possible means resorted to in order to wring from him some compromising admission concerning his master. Four times was he called before various persons, bullied, questioned, threatened, and cajoled ; upon one occasion the Queen, itching with brutal curiosity and rancour, suddenly appeared upon the scene, accompanied by Leicester and other members of the Council, eager to hear whether some ground of action had not been discovered. Momford was confined for some months in the Gatehouse, and was then brought for a final examination to Whitehall, before Leicester, Hunsdon, Walsingham, and others ; and upon this occasion it was deemed advisable to have Norton, the rack master, in attendance. It is not stated that Momford was subjected to the ordeal of the rack ; but

Norton was permitted to make sundry unfounded accusations against him, as also against Arundel and the Countess; and was very eager, no doubt, to obtain some verification by means of torture. Here again, however, the inquisition entirely failed of its purpose, and eventually, after some months, the Earl and all connected with him were released. One cannot avoid a feeling of some satisfaction in learning that Norton was shortly afterwards committed to the Tower for some misdeeds, and there perished miserably.

Thus far Arundel had come off scatheless; but he felt that he could no longer defer the important step upon which he had long been so fully resolved; and, indeed, it was obviously a false and dangerous position in which he was placed, being threatened with the penalties attaching to the profession of the Catholic faith, while not yet fortified by a final and practical acquiescence in the dictates of his conscience. Accordingly he arranged as soon as possible for a meeting with Father Weston, a Jesuit, who was known in England by the pseudonym of Edmunds, and who had already suffered, like others of his newly founded order, for his religious zeal. It is said that, when he was confined in the "clink," the Countess of Arundel visited him in disguise, offering by means of bribes to secure his release upon the condition of banishment from England; but the Jesuit was a man of heroic mould, and replied that as he was not committed to prison for money, neither was he going to be liberated for money.

In due course the Earl of Arundel was by this brave man, in the year 1584, received into the Church; the final step was taken, the gage thrown down in the cause of conscientious conviction; and taking advantage of the facilities afforded by his wealth and position, he had a priest constantly in his house to say Mass and administer the sacraments.

Such a condition of affairs, however, could not long exist. The very fact of his altered life, his grave and earnest mien, his abstention from frivolities and worse, were in themselves—with unconscious irony—accounted evidences of his conversion: the devotees of the new religion were not, at least at Court, distinguished by any such characteristics. Arundel found his duties ever more in conflict with his convictions; he was driven to invent excuses for not attending the Queen at church, and soon began to hear rumours of approaching persecution of a more rigorous kind.

Under these circumstances, in order to practise his religion in peace and quiet, and escape from the sordid atmosphere of the Court, he resolved once more to attempt flight abroad. It is said that Father Weston strongly dissuaded him from this course, but Arundel persisted in his purpose, and began secretly to make his arrangements, concealing his intention even from his wife, who, however, discovered it, and pleaded to be permitted to accompany him. This he discountenanced, partly perhaps because she was again expecting a child, but promised to arrange for her to follow him later on.

In order that his departure might not be misconstrued by his enemies, he determined to leave with his sister, Lady Margaret Sackville, a letter addressed to the Queen, to be delivered after his safe arrival in France.

This letter is a very long one, and cannot here be transcribed *in extenso;* the writer was so anxious to place every point clearly before the Queen, that he was betrayed into an unnecessarily prolix and laboured production, which Elizabeth—if it ever reached her—probably had not the patience to read through. It is, however, a straightforward and manly account of his reasons for wishing to leave England, and he unhesitatingly places his religion in the forefront. He points out how misfortune and disgrace have overtaken his ancestors, and expresses a very natural dread lest, having taken their place, he should also share their fate, which he does not hesitate to denounce as unmerited, relating by the way a little incident in connection with the Earl of Surrey's trial which throws a fresh gleam of baleful light upon the proceedings. One of the jury, Sir Christopher Hayden, was, he states, urged by the Earl of Southampton, in case the evidence should be inadequate, to bring him in guilty merely "as an unmeet person to dwell in a Commonwealth."

Arundel, after pointing out to the Queen how many bitter enemies he has at Court, and how he has apparently lost her favour, and is moreover of that religion which she detests, puts his case tersely thus: "I began to consider that either I could not serve God in such sort as I had professed, or else I must incur the hazard of greater punishment than I was willing to endure"; he says further on, frankly, that he expects, like his grandfather, to be made away with, as "an unmeet man to dwell in a Commonwealth"; and this is a fate which he intends, if possible, without violation of his conscience, to avoid. Who can blame him? or who can say that his fears were not well founded? No man is compelled by any obligation of conscience to remain where his life is almost certain to be taken, and Arundel was perfectly justified in his determination to live abroad, however humbly, and devote himself to the practice of his religion. Such a peaceful solution of the difficulty was not, however, to be permitted: he was reserved for a higher destiny.

Having arranged, as he imagined, in all secrecy for a vessel to be at Littlehampton—only four miles from Arundel Castle—in readiness when the wind should serve, he encountered unexpected delays from the unwillingness of the master to put to sea; he pleaded contrary winds, but other vessels were successfully putting out from adjacent ports, while Arundel chafed in vain at the helplessness of his position, being entirely in the hands of this extremely cautious captain. At length he received word that all was ready, and embarking late on an evening in April, 1585, with a fair wind, should have reached in a few hours the French coast.

Then came the explanation of the captain's conduct: he was in the pay of the Council. Arundel's every movement was known, the delay in sailing was to ensure the due development of the scheme for his capture. During the night, by a preconcerted signal, a small vessel of war bore down, hailed, and boarded Arundel's ship. The captain, a man named Kelloway, pretended to be a pirate, and offered to allow Arundel and his two attendants to proceed unmolested, on condition that he would give someone authority to pay him one hundred pounds. This Arundel immediately did; but the captain, having by these means identified the Earl, proceeded to declare himself: he had orders to seize Arundel and send him to London, and thither he was conducted accordingly, in the custody of Sir George Carey, the son of his enemy, Lord Hunsdon, and on April 25th committed to the Tower.

The prisoner was "nothing at all daunted" by this unexpected reversal of fortune, bearing himself not only with patience and courage, but even with a joyful demeanour. Well was it for him that he could not then foresee the years of protracted agony which lay before him—the "milde severitie" of Queen Elizabeth, as Camden, her panegyrist, terms it. He faced the commissioners, despatched by the Council to question him, with dignity and self-control; there were no fresh charges against him in reality, save a second attempt to leave the realm. The letter which he had written to the Queen had never been delivered to her; but it had, through the instrumentality of one Bridges, alias Grateley, been distributed among Catholics soon after his arrest. This Grateley Tierney states to have been a spy in the employ of Walsingham, and the very individual who betrayed Arundel at the time of his attempted departure; it was through him that Lady Margaret was, by request of her brother, to pay the money to Kelloway. He is said to have taken orders as a priest, and in this guise to have associated with Catholics and revealed their conversations; this story, however, appears very doubtful, as Bridges is alluded to at Arundel's trial as a traitor. The letter, straightforward and sound in reasoning as it was, contained some sentences which might well, and in fact did, form the ground of new accusations; a reasonable and ingenuous attitude was, indeed, the very last thing to find favour or even comprehension among the servile myrmidons who surrounded the Queen. Arundel had presumed to profess that religion which was—entirely from motives of policy—condemned by the Queen; his constancy was a tacit reproach to her, and his determination to absent himself entirely from

Court was a blow to her vanity: she liked to indulge in the fancy that every courtier who had ever approached her was enamoured of her personal charms; those who had the audacity and duplicity to express such admiration were never rebuked, and in several instances were taken into high favour. The Earl of Arundel had chosen to adopt an independent course; he was to be shown that it would not be tolerated.

He was several times examined, both by members of the Council in the Tower, and later in the Starchamber. Sir Christopher Hatton appears to have endeavoured to befriend him, but to little purpose. The charges brought against him were that he had been in communication with Dr. Allen, the declared enemy of the Queen, that he had been reconciled to the Church of Rome, and that he had endeavoured to leave the realm without the Queen's permission. To all these charges Arundel replied moderately and wisely, not committing himself to any decisive expression of opinion where it could be avoided. A scandalous attempt was made by Walsingham to palm off a forged letter as having been written by the Earl; it appears to have consisted of three or four sheets, but it was, as it were, shaken in Arundel's face, so that he saw only the first few lines, which ran: "Sir, this letter containeth such matter as is fitter for the fire to consume, than to be laid up in your study." The handwriting was a poor imitation of his own, and it purported to be addressed to William Dyx, his steward in Norfolk, telling a boastful and marvellous tale of how he would return from the Continent with a large force, land in Norfolk, and "trouble both the Queen and the State."

Arundel promptly denounced it as a forgery, and asked some questions concerning it which Walsingham and the others found considerable difficulty in answering; finally, after this precious production had been confidently produced, flourished before the prisoner, and held up as the means by which his guilt was to be firmly established, it was quietly dropped; it was not even produced or alluded to in the Star-chamber. Where was the moral sense of those men who could acquiesce in such a shameful device? The Star-chamber would have given short shrift to any ordinary forger; what about these state forgers, or accessories and instigators of forgery? Did the Queen ever see this letter? Did she compare it with that authentic one, that manly and straightforward one addressed to herself? Oh no; it is not by such means that an innocent man is to be condemned; and even by the exercise of all their ingenuity the Council did not succeed in proving the whole of their case. The sentence, however, was heavy enough: Arundel was fined ten thousand pounds, and was imprisoned "during the Queen's pleasure."

He had already been more than a year in confinement, during which he had not been permitted to have a servant to attend upon him. The apartment which was appropriated to him was damp and noxious, in close proximity to a filthy cesspit, or some such place, from which there emanated an odour so unbearable that the Earl's gaolers were glad enough to escape from his room. Such an atmosphere necessarily affected the health of the prisoner, and he was several times very ill, with no one to attend upon him. After the sentence, however, he was permitted to have two attendants, but on such conditions that it was very difficult to induce any to remain; they were treated practically as prisoners, not being allowed to leave the building, or even to take exercise in the garden, without permission from the authorities, under strict surveillance. Arundel was not for many months permitted to converse alone with anyone ; in addition to the ordinary watch kept upon a prisoner, the Queen caused some special person to constantly in his company ; and no doubt there were often ears listening of which he was entirely unsuspecting. Nor was he exempt from the venom of gossiping and slanderous tongues. An accusation of a disgraceful character was made against him in connection with some woman who was alleged to have had access to him in the Tower ; and the wife of one of Walsingham's spies was despatched to the Countess, advising her to take some means to hush the matter up. The messenger, however, received a very short answer ; the Countess's indignant reply set her and others thinking, and it was realised that under the circumstances the offence was impossible. But some of the mud no doubt found lodgment ; and this was supplemented by a story of inebriety which was equally groundless. One calumny after another was started, and endless were the snares laid in conversation to entrap the prisoner, and bring about his final condemnation and death ; but Arundel, while true and staunch to his principles and his religion, was not disposed to throw away his life needlessly ; and he took such good heed to his words and actions that for a time his enemies were entirely baffled.

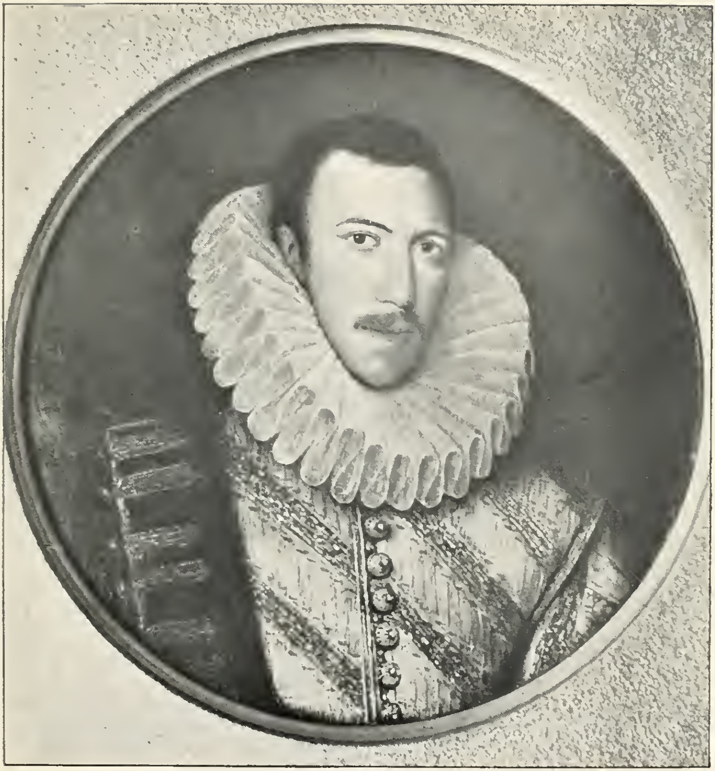
And so passed away two more years of weary imprisonment in noisome surroundings ; of hope deferred, of separation from his wife and his little son, whom he had not seen and was destined never to see. In order to excite the Queen's anger against him, a story was promulgated that Arundel was a Catholic not by conviction, but solely from contumacy and out of opposition to her commands; and apparently a man was deputed to salute him from a neighbouring tower with profound obeisances, when he walked with his keeper in a certain gallery; and then the story was carried to the Queen that people were bowing to him and capping him, and that he returned their salutes.

His estates, which his father had secured as far as possible from interference, were tampered with, and it is said that his brother, Lord Thomas Howard, availed himself of his imprisonment to benefit by them. The repeated entreaties of the Countess to be allowed access to her husband were refused with brutal harshness, though this favour was granted in the case of other persons; and when she begged that the birth of his son should be announced to the Earl, this also was withheld; and some time afterwards he was informed that she was confined of a daughter. No means, however petty, was spared by which to offer him affronts or harass his mind; so that one is led to marvel, in reading of these things, why this young man was held by the Queen and her courtiers—with few exceptions—in such detestation; and there is only one reply possible—it was simply and solely upon account of his religion. He had, indeed, more than hinted, in his letter to the Queen, that some of her Council, in spite of their sanctimonious condemnation of Popery, were no better than atheists; and probably the cap was too good a fit in some instances to be pleasant. Some biographers point out that Arundel and his wife were reckoned upon as assistants by foreign plotters against Elizabeth, and maintain that, had he succeeded in reaching the Continent, the Earl would have been a dangerous centre for the enemies of England; but beyond his enthusiasm in the Catholic cause, and his anxiety to practise and promote his religion, there is no good ground for such accusation as is here implied: a man who suffers, and practically offers his life, solely for conscience sake, is entitled at least to be taken at his word; and Arundel's letter to the Queen, together with his replies to the Council, must be accepted as ingenuous, in face of any deductions which might be drawn from the letters of others.

Arundel's enemies, however, were destined at last to have their opportunity, and it came about in this wise. About the beginning of the year 1588, when he was permitted a good deal more liberty than at first, there were committed to the Tower William Bennet, a priest, who, having first conformed, had since returned to his own faith; Sir Thomas Gerard, a knight of Lancashire; and Shelley, a gentleman of Sussex. Arundel, by means of a bribe of £30 which the Countess gave to the Lieutenant's daughter, obtained opportunities of conversing with the priest, and presently contrived to smuggle in all the requisites for saying Mass, which was not unfrequently celebrated, the other two prisoners also being present thereat. There appears to be little doubt that they were deliberately permitted greater liberty, in order that Arundel might become less wary and in some way compromise himself. In that year came the rumours of the Spanish invasion, and a story was spread abroad, which very soon reached the prisoners in the Tower, that if the Spaniards landed, the Catholics in London and the neighbourhood would immediately be massacred. It was really not at all an improbable event; it would be taken for granted, however unreasonably, that the Catholics would wish to join the invaders, and a wholesale slaughter would be a good preventive measure. Arundel evidently deemed it quite possible; and he proposed to his companions that they should all join in certain prayers, at given times throughout the twenty-four hours, for protection from such danger and good preparation for death, and asked Father Bennet to say Mass also for that intention.

The plan was no sooner formed than it was known to the keepers, and the purport of it was immediately distorted to suit the ends of the Council. Philip Howard and his companions were alleged to have prayed and offered the Mass *for the success of the Spanish Armada.* Father Bennet and Sir Thomas Gerrard, being privately threatened, consented to bear witness against their fellow-prisoner.

The scare of invasion having been dispelled by the rout of the Armada—through the prowess of Arundel's relative, Charles Howard, Lord Effingham—a commission was sent to the Tower to question him concerning these accusations, the Council being represented by Burghley, Sir Christopher Hatton, and Sir Thomas Heneage. But little progress was made on the first occasion. On the second Lord Hunsdon was, by special command of the Queen, included. The renegade knight and the miserable old priest were put forward to save their lives by lying; this done, they were hurried off, no cross-examination being permitted, and Arundel, cool and alert, declined to discuss their evidence in their absence. Some traps were laid for him in further interrogations, but he skilfully avoided committing himself, until Hunsdon was so enraged by his ready wit and calm demeanour that he indulged in



THE VENERABLE PHILIP HOWARD

First Earl of Arundel of his name; twenty-third in sequence

(1557–1595)

scurrilous abuse, reviling the Earl as a beast and a traitor, and declaring that, rather than that he should escape, he would himself perform the hangman's office. This undignified outbreak was rebuked by the prisoner's calm reply, "The sooner the better, if it please God."

Sufficient evidence having been collected, the 14th of April, 1589, was named for the trial of the Earl at Westminster. The Earl of Derby was Lord High Steward, and some of his bitterest enemies, such as Burghley and Hunsdon, were, *more suo*, included by the Council among his judges.

Meanwhile Father Bennet, horrified at his own perfidy, had written and despatched from his separate place of confinement a letter of abject apology and self-abasement to Arundel, declaring his readiness to contradict his former evidence, which he acknowledged had been extorted by fear of torture and death. This was sent, with an anonymous covering letter, to the Countess of Arundel, and was duly available for production at Westminster Hall.

Like his grandfather, Arundel presented himself before his peers in handsome and becoming attire; and though his face bore traces of the effects of his long and unwholesome confinement, his tall figure was erect, and his manner self-possessed and dignified. Upon being required, as usual, to raise his hand before the indictment was read, he held it up to the fullest extent, saying, "Here is as true a man's heart and hand as ever came into this hall."

The indictment runs as follows:—

> "That whereas divers traiterous persons, in the parts beyond the seas, being natural Englishmen, viz. Dr. Allen, Parsons, Champion, Mote, and divers others, have heretofore, divers and sundry times, with sundry persons, as well Englishmen, as of

other countries, practised to accomplish and bring to pass several dangerous and unnatural treasons against the Queen's Majesty, her Royal person, Crown and dignity, viz. to subvert the state, invade the Realm, to set up Catholick Religion, to raise insurrections, &c.; amongst which number of unnatural traitors, the Earl of Arundel was well acquainted with that notorious traitor, Dr. Allen, by means of Bridges, Weston, Ithelo, and other popish priests, with whom divers times, sithence the 20th year of Her Majestie's reign, he hath had private and secret conference, and communication of several treasons; insomuch, that the Earl of Arundel did presently dispatch his several letters by Bridges aforesaid, to Dr. Allen, to wish him at any hand to do something concerning the Cause Catholick; wherein he promised to perform anything that Dr. Allen should think fit for him to do. And whereas the 24th day of April, in the 27th year of the Queen's reign, he was flying by sea to Dr. Allen, that arch-traitor, and that the Bishop of Rome and the King of Spain were thereupon solicited by Allen aforesaid, to raise war against this realm. And whereas also the Earl of Arundel had understanding of a Bull that Sixtus the fifth, Pope of that name, had sent into England for the excommunication of Her Majesty, and for the invading of the realm, &c.: and that at the Tower, the 21st of July in the 30th year of Her Majestie's reign, he did imagine, with other traiterous persons, that the Queen was an Heretick, and not worthy to govern the realm; and that he did move and procure one William Bennet, a seminary priest, to say Mass for the happy success of the Spanish Fleet; whereupon he had Mass, and did help to say Mass himself, to that purpose; and having news of the conflict at sea, betwixt the Spanish Fleet and the English, he procured Sir Thomas Gerrard, and divers others, then prisoners in the Tower, to say Mass with him for the fortunate success of Spain; and that he made a prayer specially for that purpose, to be daily used and exercised amongst them."

Not one single clause of this elaborate indictment was substantiated, except from the standpoint of the axiom laid down by the Court: "It was *defined*, that the Catholic

Cause was mere Treason"; and the prisoner had no desire to clear himself on this head. Sir Thomas Gerrard and Father Bennet were again brought forward, and Arundel did not on this occasion maintain silence. As the first named took his stand at the witness table, he turned towards him: "I warn you, in the name of the living God, in whose presence you stand, to remember that you are some day to be called to account before Him, and not to suffer either hope or fear to draw from you falsehood!" This tremendous adjuration was not without effect; the witness trembled and hesitated; but he summoned up courage, with the kind assistance of the court, to aver that he stuck to his former statement, which apparently he was not called upon to repeat.

Upon the appearance of the priest—who, alas! had again succumbed to his fears—the letter was produced which he had written to Arundel; and one would imagine that such an obviously unreliable witness would be immediately discredited. He excused himself by a statement that the letter was written in his name by one Randall, another prisoner. Randall, however, was not called; and although some of the peers showed pretty plainly their opinion of such testimony, it was allowed to stand. One must not be too hard upon these two men: they lived in a time when human life was held so cheaply that their refusal to bear such testimony would certainly have involved death. No man holds his own life cheap; it is against nature; and few are of that heroic courage which rises superior to its claims. To blame these men too deeply would be equivalent to detracting from the merit of Philip Howard's self-sacrifice.

He was, of course, condemned: that was the object with which the tribunal was ordered—condemnation, not trial; and when sentence of death was pronounced he uttered but three words: "Fiat voluntas Dei!" He had repeatedly assured his friend and spiritual director, Father Southwell, that nothing should induce him to save his life by any admission not strictly in conformity with his faith; and in a letter addressed to the Queen he boldly asserted his innocence, and challenged the justice of his condemnation. This letter never reached Elizabeth, but she learned very shortly, through some of her Council, that Arundel intended from the scaffold to declare his innocence. He had, in fact, prepared copies of a written statement to be scattered among the people, in case speech should not be permitted to him.

The Queen and her Council were afraid to face that declaration. This is the literal truth: there is no other way of accounting for Arundel's reprieve. Reprieve? He was *not* reprieved in any proper form. The Queen and her advisers had neither the moral courage openly to revoke an unjust sentence nor the common humanity to inform their prisoner of their covert decision. He was left for six years under sentence of death, never knowing whether the dawning day might not see him, ere its close, a headless corpse. The short, sharp pang of martyrdom, which he was fully prepared to face, was to be replaced by years of lingering death in life, confined in this noisome dungeon, and treated by his gaoler with brutal inhumanity. In a letter written about a year before his death, he says, referring to Sir Michael Blount, Lieutenant of the Tower: "His injuries to me, both by himself and his trusty Roger, are intollerable, infinite, dayly multiply'd, and, to those who know them not, incredible: and the most that you can imagin will be far inferior, I think, to the truth, when you shall hear it."

The Earl, however, not only endured these afflictions with unfailing patience, but, as time went on and he realized that death by the axe was indefinitely postponed, he imposed upon himself increasing austerities both in the matter of food and of prolonged prayers and meditations, kneeling upon the stone floor for hours together, until his knees became black and misshapen.

The room in which he was confined is octagonal in form, measuring about twenty-two feet across in the clear. There are two doors and a chimney breast, and five recesses, in which are small loopholes shaped like a cross, and admitting very little light. One of these, when the chamber was converted into a mess-room for the officers early in the last century, was replaced by a large window. The recesses are each large enough to hold a small bed, though very much confined for a tall man such as Philip Howard. Over the fireplace may still be seen an inscription in Latin as follows:—

> "Quanto plus afflictionis pro Christo in hoc
> sæculo, tanto plus gloriæ cum Christo in
> futuro. Arundell. June 22, 1587."[1]

There was formerly another sentence, cut in the stone embrasure of a loophole just outside the door, but it has been erased. It ran as follows:—

> "Sicut peccati causa vinciri
> opprobrium est, ita e contra pro
> Cristo custodiæ vincula sustinere
> maxima gloria est. Ambro:
> Arundell. 26 of May 1587."[2]

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[1] "The more suffering for Christ in this life, the more glory with Christ hereafter."

[2] "As in the cause of sin to be bound is dishonour, so, on the other hand, to suffer the bonds of prison for Christ is the greatest glory."

These and similar maxims Arundel kept constantly in his mind during these years of weary confinement, which, for all he knew, might have been doubled or trebled, or might have ended suddenly with the stern summons to that spot, perhaps, which he had passed as he returned with the axe edge towards him, where his grandfather and his father had suffered, as well as his unhappy relatives, Ann Boleyn and Katharine Howard. He was only thirty-two years of age when he was condemned. Many a captive has survived to old age in prison, crippled and half idiotic before death brings a not unwelcome release, and this was the fate to which the Earl of Arundel had good cause to look forward. His wife and children he was never permitted to see; he had, at the time of his condemnation, petitioned that he might be allowed an interview before his death, but to this request he received no reply.

In August, 1595, having dined off roast teal, Arundel was immediately taken ill, with symptoms which appeared to indicate poison. By some historians he is stated to have been deliberately poisoned, with the connivance of the cook, but there does not appear to be sufficient ground for this assertion, though there is no inherent improbability about it. Whatever the cause, it proved to be no mere passing ailment. Severe dysentery set in, and his rapidly wasting body soon proclaimed the serious state of affairs. The doctor could hold out no hope of recovery. As the days and weeks passed he became weaker and more emaciated, and in this extremity he resolved to make a last appeal to the Queen. His friends had given him to understand that she had made some kind of promise that he should see his wife and children before he died. His letter was conveyed to Elizabeth by the Lieutenant of the Tower, who was now beginning, too late, to realise what manner of man he had been ill-treating and bullying.

The Earl awaited his return. He was fully prepared to die; the years spent in patient fortitude had schooled his soul, and death had no terrors for him. Still, his human heart cried out for this last sweet consolation: to realise once more, by touch and vision, the closest and holiest ties of affection; to hold his wife once more in his arms, to see his little son, who was to succeed him. One can but faintly picture how his whole being, after all those years of suffering and humiliation, yearned for that meeting; how he lay there listening; listening for every sound on the staircase, counting the minutes until his envoy should return.

At last he hears him—hears the footsteps, with the jingle of spurs, on the stone; he almost holds his breath in suspense. The lieutenant enters. What does he bring in response to that touching letter from a dying subject? A few lines, hastily written by the Queen herself, granting his request? He is dying; she is a woman and a queen, and surely she can do no less than this, even though she has hated him in life.

No. A verbal message that if he will but once go to the church—abjure his faith—he shall not only see his wife and children, but shall be restored to his honour and estates, with every mark of favour; otherwise, no.

Inhuman cruelty! Far worse than any bodily torture must be the anguish of the mind at such a moment! It is too much—too much for frail humanity. He bows his head, his thin hands covering his face, his wasted frame trembling under the shock, while all the forces of hell gather round his soul for one last effort, one grand assault against his weakened defences. But not in vain have been those years of self-restraint, of penance, of continual prayer. A moment or two and he raises his head, a new light in his sunken eyes, a light which sends those hellish legions flying headlong, mad with rage and fear, while all heaven listens in rapt attention for his confession. "Tell Her Majesty," he says, "that I cannot on such condition accept her offers; and if that be the cause in which I am to perish, sorry am I that I have but one life to lose."

This was the cause for which he gave up all, and it is due to Elizabeth, relentless tigress though she was, that this fact is proved beyond all doubt; by her last cruel action she afforded the final evidence of Arundel's confession of faith, and it is of no avail for her apologists to plead any other cause of offence against him than that he was a Catholic.

By the middle of October he felt that he had only a day or two to live, and begged the doctors to trouble him no more. And then there came in the Lieutenant of the Tower; no longer in the guise of a brutal gaoler or hectoring bully; he came to crave pardon humbly of his prisoner for past offences. There was no reason why he should do so; no reason, that is, of the nature which one would expect, such as restoration to royal favour and influential position; and therefore we may assume that Sir Michael Blount was sincere in his expressions of regret. Philip Howard met him more than half-way, expressing, in a most touching speech, his hearty forgiveness, begging pardon for any faults of his own, and finally dismissing him with a plea for kindness to those who in future might be committed to his keeping, and a wholesome but kindly expressed warning against the oppression of them, and its possible consequences to himself. "The Lieutenant then," says the MS. Life, "humbly took his leave, and went out of the chamber weeping."

The Earl of Arundel died on October 19th, 1595; he was buried in the Tower, but in 1624 his remains were removed to the vault at Arundel, in an iron coffin, with an inscription as follows:—

> "Philippi Comitis olim Arund. et Sur. ossa veneranda hoc loculo condita, impetratâ a Jacobo Rege veniâ, Annæ uxoris dilectissimæ cura, Thomæ Filii insigni pietate a Turri Londinensi in hinc locum translata sunt anno 1624. Qui 1mo ob fidei Catho. professionem sub Elizabetha carceri mancipatus, deinde pœnâ pecuniaria 10000 lib. mulctatus, tandem capitis iniquissime condemnatus, post vitam in arctissima costodia in eadem Turri an. 10. mens. 6. sanctissimi transactam piissime, 19 Oct. 1595 non absque veneni suspitione in Domino obdormivit."[1]

Nearly three hundred years later, his noble confession of faith, with that of many other Englishmen, being constantly had in remembrance, the evidence concerning the lives and deaths of over three hundred men and women, having been carefully collated, was despatched to Rome, with a petition from the bishops and many others that their claims for beatification might be considered, and on December 4th, 1886, a decree was issued for the introduction of the cause of two hundred and sixty-one "Venerable Servants of God," among whom were included Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, and William Howard, Viscount Stafford (of whom we shall hear something later on). This decree entitles the Earl to be styled "Venerable Philip Howard," and is only a stepping-stone to the higher and more glorious title of "Blessed," which no doubt will eventually be conferred upon him.

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[1] "The venerable remains of Philip, formerly Earl of Arundel and Surrey, collected in this coffin, by favour obtained of King James, the care of his beloved wife Ann, the singular love of his son Thomas, were removed from the Tower of London to this place in the year 1624. Who in the first instance, on account of his profession of the Catholic Faith, was committed to prison under Elizabeth, then fined in the sum of £10,000, and finally most wickedly sentenced to death; after leading a most holy life for ten years and six months in closest confinement in the said Tower, on the 19th October, 1595, not without suspicion of poison, slept in the Lord."

The Countess was treated by Elizabeth with great harshness, and it was not until after the Queen's death that she was, in 1604, restored to her proper position, and her son permitted to assume his title as Earl of Arundel. The picture presented of her, in the MS. Life in the possession of the Duke of Norfolk—which is probably written by her chaplain and confessor—is that of a woman of the highest type: loyal, courageous, and blameless in life, and deeply permeated by her religion. The persecutions which she endured at the hands of Elizabeth, and the agony of mind induced by her cruel treatment of her husband, appear to have served, like the smith's hammer upon fine steel, only to temper and ennoble her character; she survived her husband many years, dying on April 19th, 1630, at the age of seventy-three.

IV

Arundel Castle and Chapel

THE Castle of Arundel is a very conspicuous object from the railway, and is familiar to all who travel by this route. It stands on a splendid site, overlooking the valley of the River Arun, which winds picturesquely through beautiful country, and is first viewed by the traveller speeding townwards from near Barnham Station, then intermittently until Ford is reached, when the whole structure stands out very clearly: the castle proper, with its two huge towers to the right, then the round keep, the tall flagstaff rising above it, and finally the long line of the ramparts, many-turreted, enclosing the tilting ground. The railway curves sharply towards the town, and in a few minutes the south front of the castle presents itself, backed and flanked by the woods on the higher part of the park, with a charming double bend of the river in the middle distance; truly a noble object, and worthy of the great part which it has played in the destinies of the House of Howard, and of which the history must now be briefly traced, chiefly from the records so elaborately collected by the Rev. M. A. Tierney, who was chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk in the early part of last century, and whose diligent and intelligent research fully entitles him to the position which he holds as the most reliable chronicler of the castle and town of Arundel.

The derivation of the name has been the subject of much conjecture at various periods; some folks have attempted to establish it upon an imagined similarity between *Arundel* and *Hirondelle.* Whether the adoption of a swallow as the crest of the borough is the cause or effect of this flight of fancy does not appear to be certainly known; but a more feasible origin is surely to be found in the name of the river, with the addition of "dell," or valley; this, at any rate, will probably satisfy the reader, without going further afield in search of more abstruse derivations; and the suggestion is put forward by the present writer, for what it is worth, that the Latin *arundo*, a reed, may have had a good deal more to do with the evolution of the name than the corporation swallow; you may still hear the reeds rustling on any fine day as you row up the Arun, as they did, no doubt, in Roman times.[1]

A far more important point in this history than the origin of the name is its potent significance with regard to the Howard family. We have seen how Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk, married Mary, the daughter and co-heiress with her sister of Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel; it is now to be explained how Philip Howard, son of the fourth Duke, acquired the title.

Henry Fitzalan, the last Earl of his name, had, in 1570, settled the castle upon Lord Lumley and his wife, who was Fitzalan's elder daughter, Jane, or Joan, for the term of their separate lives; remainder to the lawful heirs of the body of the said Joan; remainder to Philip, son of Mary, Duchess of Norfolk, and his heirs. Joan however, died before her father, and on his death, in 1580, Lord Lumley, as has been stated, immediately conveyed his life interest in Arundel Castle to Philip Howard, upon consideration of a payment of £274 18*s.* 4*d.* per annum.

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[1] In the *History of the House of Arundel*, by J. Pym Yeatman, it is stated that the meaning of the word Arundel in ancient Gaelic is the Dale or Valley of Waters; if this is so, the title is very appropriate, as many acres of the valley are still frequently under water during the winter and spring. This appears, in fact, to be the most probable origin of the name.

Howard, by virtue of this conveyance, claimed his right to the title of Earl of Arundel; but the Queen's Council were not too ready to concede his claim, and an investigation was ordered, with the result that certain facts were definitely established, viz.—First, that the earldom of Arundel was by prescription, the beginning of which could not be traced; and that it was attached to the castle. Secondly, that Roger Montgomery was Earl of Arundel by virtue of his possession of the castle in the reign of William the Conqueror; that Robert, his son, had forfeited his possession, which had been bestowed by Henry I. upon Adeliza, afterwards queen. And lastly, that Queen Adeliza being subsequently married to William de Albini, the castle and earldom had descended from their offspring to Henry Fitzalan, the last of his name, and so to Philip Howard, as his heir. It was objected, however, that Henry Fitzalan had conveyed the castle to Lord Lumley, and that Howard, not possessing the castle, could not claim the earldom; upon which there was produced the deed of conveyance, which settled the matter, Philip Howard becoming Earl of Arundel solely in virtue of the ownership of Arundel Castle, even although he had practically purchased it. This fact may well give rise to speculation as to the possibility of some spendthrift Earl parting with his castle, title and all, to the highest bidder, who would forthwith become Earl of Arundel: this danger, however, was obviated by an Act passed in 1627, at the instigation of Thomas Howard, son of Philip, which, although extremely complicated in some respects, sets forth clearly enough that the castle and other possessions therein named are not to be alienated from the rightful representative of the family.[1]

Now this was not the first time that the possession of Arundel Castle had been authoritatively declared to confer the earldom upon its owner. By an entail created by Richard, Earl of Arundel, in 1347, the castle and honour of Arundel, upon the decease of his grandson, Thomas, without issue in 1415, passed to the second cousin of the latter, John, Lord Maltravers, who in the following year was summoned to Parliament by the title of Earl of Arundel. The late Earl's eldest sister, however, was married to Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, who immediately laid claim to the castle and earldom; and then ensued a very long period of intermittent litigation, during which John Fitzalan was not again summoned to Parliament. He died in 1421, and during the minority of his successor the proceedings remained in suspense. Upon resumption of the consideration of the cause, on the petition of John, the new Earl, the young Duke of Norfolk, then a minor, reiterated his father's plea; and John Fitzalan, under the title of Earl of Arundel, was directed to hand in a precise statement of his claim, which he did, repeating his former statement that his ancestors, the Earls of Arundel, had held the title through their possession of the castle and honour of Arundel. This contention, after a long discussion, was upheld by the King's Council and the judges, who gave their decision in 1433, in the reign of Henry VI., as follows:—

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[1] It is true that the successors of Earl Thomas Howard, including the present Duke, have held the Earldom by virtue of this Act of Settlement; but the ancient privilege is not necessarily invalidated thereby, and the title may thus be said to be doubly secured.

"Considering that Richard Fitzalan, cousin and one of the heirs of Hugh de Albini, formerly Earl of Arundel, was seized of the Castle, Honour, and Lordship in fee; that by reason of his possession thereof he was, without other reason or creation, Earl of Arundel, and held the name, dignity, and honour, together with the place and seat in parliament and in council, of Earl of Arundel; that he held the same during his life, and enjoyed it without opposition, reclamation, or impediment: therefore the King, influenced by these and other considerations, contemplating the person of the present claimant, now Earl of Arundel, to whom the aforesaid Castle, Honour, and Lordship have descended by special hereditary right, weighing the distinguished merits of the man, whose wisdom in council and bravery in the field have called forth the repeated solicitations of the regency of France in behalf of his present suit, and willing moreover to accord to his high deserts that measure of speedy justice which might be safely administered without injury to the rights of others, has, with the advice and assent of the Prelates, Dukes, Earls, and Barons, in this present parliament assembled, admitted John, now Earl of Arundel, to the place and seat anciently belonging to the Earls of Arundel in parliament and council, and has decreed that he is henceforth to be admitted to the same, to hold them in the same manner and with the same privileges as his ancestors, Earls of Arundel, have heretofore possessed them. Provided, however, that in this respect no prejudice shall arise to any title, right, or interest, either of the King, or of the Duke of Norfolk, or of any other person; but that the title, right, and interest in the premises, as well of the King as of the Duke of Norfolk and every other person, shall remain safe and untouched, the present ordinance, will, and decree, in any thing notwithstanding."[1]

These two pronouncements, with an interval of nearly one hundred and fifty years between them, anyone would imagine to place the fact beyond dispute; such, however, is not the case. The title of the Earls of Arundel, and their succession, is questioned in the report of the Lord's Committee on the Dignity of a Peer, which sat in 1820 and the following years. Mr. Tierney, who writes subsequently, disposes apparently of their objections, but later authorities raise fresh difficulties and employ new arguments in endless array. These cannot be set forth in this book; they are wearisome, and they are not conclusive, so that it appears that the question as to whether or not the possession of Arundel Castle did or does confer the earldom will never be finally settled. Someone is always discovering some hitherto unknown document bearing upon the matter. It is interesting to note, however, that Mr. Tierney discovered that the roll which contains the summons of John, Earl of Arundel, to Parliament in 1416, had been tampered with, the word "Arundell" having been clumsily erased, with the exception of the initial letter, so that it reads as though addressed "Johanni Comiti A . . .", while in the margin are inserted, in ink and handwriting differing from the body of the summons, the words "non habuit breve" (he had not a summons); which is suggestive.[2]

All contentions and opinions notwithstanding, the fact remains that Philip Howard assumed the title of Earl of

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[1] See Tierney's *History of Arundel*, pp. 101 *et seq.* He gives all the authorities.

[2] *History of Arundel*, pp. 101–2.

Arundel solely by virtue of his possession of the castle; but the Act of 1627—to be referred to later—supersedes this decision, the Howards subsequently holding the earldom by virtue of the entail created by this Act, though it would probably be not incorrect to say that they hold it also by possession of the castle. The difference of opinion upon this point naturally affects the question of the continuity of the earldom; but in view of the decisions of 1433 and 1580, and the conflicting nature of the various arguments pro and con, it is considered justifiable to reckon the title as having been held continuously from the period of the Conquest; Henry Fitzalan, the last of his name, was, by this reckoning, twenty-second Earl of Arundel, and the present Duke of Norfolk is therefore the thirty-sixth.

Roger Montgomery, a relative of William the Conqueror, was rewarded by the latter for his services at the battle of Hastings and upon other occasions by the title of Earl of Arundel and Earl of Shrewsbury, with large possessions accruing thereto. The honour of Arundel comprehended the city of Chichester and the Castle of Arundel; ten hundreds, with the forests, woods, and chases of the same; three lordships, eighteen parks, and seventy-seven manors—57,460 acres in all; and the title has been held successively by three Montgomerys, five Albinis, fourteen Fitzalans, and fourteen Howards.[1]

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[1] Two other claimants, according to the decision of 1433, are however mentioned in the *Complete Peerage*, by G. E. C., to wit, Edmund Plantagenet, Earl of Kent, who, after the beheading of Edmund Fitzalan, twelfth Earl, in 1326, received the Castle and honour of Arundel, but was beheaded in 1330: and John Holand, Duke of Exeter, who also had a grant of the Castle after the death of Richard, fifteenth Earl, in 1397: he was degraded in 1399 and beheaded in 1400. It is not stated that either of these noblemen claimed or was known by the title of Earl of Arundel.

So much for the long line of owners. Let us now return to the castle from which they take their title—a title which, though now merged in that of the dukedom, holds precedence over all other earldoms.

The keep, which was the only portion standing at the time of the Conquest, was almost certainly built in the reign of Alfred. Raised upon a circular artificial mount, it occupied the centre of an enclosure of some five and a half acres, surrounded by a strong defensive wall; the site was admirably selected, the ground falling away precipitously on two sides, while the remainder was protected by artificial works, further assisted by the natural contours of the ground. The walls were probably eight or ten feet in thickness, and the interior of the nearly circular space which they enclosed was partially occupied by apartments, built out upon corbels from the walls, and leaving an open space in the centre. Roger Montgomery, upon coming into possession in the year 1070, set to work to repair and improve the structure, casing the outer flints of the Saxons with square blocks of Caen stone, and cutting a great semicircular archway, of typical Norman design, on the south-east side, and a smaller one, apparently for access to the well, on the south side.

The most solid and conspicuous of Montgomery's work, however, is the great gateway, forming the approach to the large enclosed space round the keep—a mighty Norman arch, surmounted by a squat square tower, the whole constructed of large blocks of stone. This gateway still forms the principal approach to the courtyard, and its solidity and sharply defined angles speak well for the efficiency of the Normans' work. The upper part of the gateway, together with the western portion, next the draw-bridge, is of thirteenth-century work; as is also the square projection built on the south side of the keep for the protection of the well.

There is said to be some Norman work in Bevis's Tower, at one corner of the ramparts, on the north-west side of the keep, and also in the south-east angle of the castle. The dungeons on the south front are undoubtedly of Norman origin, and were used as a prison for all delinquents convicted within the extensive domains of the Earl, as well as for military prisoners. They have been for many years used as wine and beer cellars, brick partitions having been erected for convenience of subdivision; the great stone ribs and circular-arched entrance are still strongly in evidence; and in the south-east corner there is a small chamber partitioned off from the main dungeon, which is only accessible by a hatch in the floor of what is now the small drawing-room. Though not an *oubliette* in the strict sense, this is an unpleasant little corner, into which a prisoner might have been lowered and left to starve.

There are evidences in the character of the masonry at this point, and in a double round-headed window still visible in the wall, of Norman work existing, as indeed was most probable, above these dungeons; and thus the castle may be reckoned as having been completed up to a certain point by Roger Montgomery and his immediate successors. It consisted of the keep, the enclosing defensible wall, the huge gateway, and the large tower at the south-east angle, with prisons underneath. There is an opening in the floor in the centre of the keep, which was at one time supposed to give access to a subterranean passage, extending, some imaginative and not very practical folks asserted, as far as Amberly—some three or four miles—and indeed there are still not wanting those who are willing to credit this story. A careful examination of this hole in the ground, with steps leading down, shows plainly that it was never more than a small chamber, probably designed for the reception of garrison stores.

So far as is known, the first Earl to make any substantial additions was Richard Fitzalan, the third of his family. Towards the end of the thirteenth century he built the outer gateway, and another story over the Norman arch—or perhaps he merely rebuilt it; the small windows are in thirteenth-century style. He also added the well tower on the south side of the keep, and built the entrance where it now remains, at the same time adding to the small chapel, dedicated to St. Martin, which stood over the entrance, and a window of which still looks down on the courtyard. The towers, with the exception of the barbican, or Bevis's Tower, before alluded to, round the rampart wall were also built by him; his grandson and namesake, in the fourteenth century, built a great hall on the south-west side of the large enclosure, with some supplementary structures; and it was probably Henry Fitzalan, the last of his name, who added a wing on the north-east side. The castle thus began by this time—about the middle of the sixteenth century—to assume a form more nearly approaching that of a residential building, with three sides enclosing a large courtyard, as distinguished from a mere circular stronghold in the centre of an enclosure; the keep standing to the northward and westward of the courtyard, while the remainder of the ancient enclosure, with its towered ramparts, extended beyond it. An inventory, taken on July 20th, 1580, immediately after Philip Howard obtained possession, shows that his predecessors had not been neglectful in the matter of plenishings, many rich hangings, tapestries, carpets, cushions, etc., being mentioned, which, from the description, must have represented a large outlay.

Meanwhile, the castle had at different times played its little part in history. As early as 1097 William Rufus kept Eastertide there on his return from Normandy; and in 1102 Robert, son of Roger, the first Earl, who appears to have been a restless and truculent person, fortified this and his other strongholds in order to try conclusions with King Henry I., with the result that he was compelled eventually to yield, and, as already stated, forfeited all his possessions to the Crown, and put an end to the succession of the earldom in his own family. Luckily, Arundel Castle, though closely invested by the King's forces, was not materially damaged.

Upon the arrival in England of the Empress Matilda, in 1139, her step-mother being then in possession of the castle, she went straight to Arundel, and the two royal ladies, anticipating trouble, proceeded to make ready for defending the place. They were not far wrong in their surmises, for Stephen promptly appeared upon the scene, and pushed his attack with such vigour that the Queen deemed it more prudent to adopt conciliatory tactics, assuring him that the empress was there merely as her guest and her stepdaughter; and suggesting that, in proof of their good faith, Matilda should be allowed to quit the castle and join her friends. This appears, to the modern onlooker, like an ancient version of the "confidence trick." Stephen, however, acquiesced—through chivalry, as some chroniclers say, while others credit him with a deep-laid scheme.

It was during the civil war of the seventeenth century that the castle was destined to destruction; all the care and money bestowed upon it by its various owners was practically spent in vain, for it became the mark alternately for Parliamentary and Royalist cannon, and between them they completed its destruction. The Earl, Thomas Howard, the only son of Philip, was abroad, and the castle, it is not recorded precisely in what manner, got into the hands of the Parliament. In 1643 Hopton, at the instigation of some Sussex gentlemen, determined to assault it, and secured possession upon very easy terms, after three days' investment, with but little damage to the structure. The Royalists were not, however, destined to remain long in possession. Sir William Waller, his troops being in good heart after some successes in Hampshire and Surrey, advanced upon Arundel, and invested the castle in December of the same year. Reinforcements rapidly arriving, Waller had sufficient force to deal with Hopton—who had returned to Winchester, but upon news of the siege hastened back to Arundel—and maintain simultaneously his investment. The castle garrison does not appear to have made a very spirited defence, and we read of numbers of persons being intercepted in attempting to escape from it, and made prisoners. Provisions were scarce, and after several parleys the castle was yielded to Waller on January 6th, 1644. Short as the siege had been, however, it had served to work havoc with the structure; the south-west side, with the great hall, was practically destroyed, and other portions rendered well-nigh uninhabitable; the keep was reduced almost to a ruin; and in this condition the home of the Earls of Arundel was suffered for many years to remain, the elements working their will upon it, the bats and owls flitting and hooting through the dismantled chambers. The season of national tempest passed, the Restoration came, and with it the revival of the superior title of the Howards, dormant since 1572; but no restoring hand was laid upon the castle. Such rooms as were not roofless and windowless were used at intervals; but ducal state or hospitality there was none.

At length, about the year 1720, Thomas, eighth Duke of Norfolk, came to the rescue; the bats and owls were evicted, the shattered roofs replaced, and sundry alterations effected. The Duke was more frequently in residence, and, the matter once taken in hand, his successors at least kept the place in repair, with the exception of the keep, which was permitted to remain as a picturesque ruin. It was not until 1783, however, that the work of complete restoration was seriously contemplated; at that time Charles, tenth Duke, conceived the idea of enlarging by a new enactment the scope of former Acts governing the renewal of leases, by which the increase of fines has to be devoted to the improvement of the entailed estates. In applying for a new Act, upon the expiration of leases in the year above mentioned, a proportion of the fines was definitely set apart for this purpose, viz. "the effectual and substantial repair, support, and improvement of the said castle."

The Duke died in 1786, but his son Charles, the eleventh Duke, set to work in earnest to carry out his father's great scheme. He was to a great extent his own architect, and the total effect not unnaturally suffered in consequence; but the library will always remain to his credit; and the castle, when completed in the year 1815, was far superior to any of the former structures. On the west side was the Barons' Hall, with the chapel at the north end; the library formed, as it still does, the principal part of the east wing; and beyond it there was to have been a chamber called the "Alfred Saloon," which, however, was not completed; a large panel of sculpture outside represented Alfred the Great in the act of instituting trial by jury.

On the 15th of June, 1815, the Duke gave a great entertainment to celebrate the completion of the Barons' Hall, and Canon Tierney states that among the guests there were "no less than twenty-two individuals belonging to the several branches of the Howard family." This, however, was a very moderate muster, according to the Rev. S. Baring-Gould, who, in *Old Country Life*, states that the Duke had intended to invite all the surviving descendants of his ancestor, "Iacke of Norfolk," who fell at Bosworth Field, but gave up the idea upon finding that he would have to entertain about six thousand! The difficulty of arriving at this estimate would appear to be about commensurate with that of the issue of invitations and identification of the guests. Mr. Gould attributes this hospitable but futile notion to "Charles, thirteenth Duke of Norfolk" (who is always spoken of as "Henry Charles"); but he places the incident two generations too late.

Among the improvements and additions in contemplation by Duke Charles was the erection of a great gateway between the chapel and the Norman Gateway, as an approach to the courtyard; this was not completed, however, according to the original design. It was commenced in 1809, and according to Tierney was left unfinished, the towers protected by a temporary wooden covering in 1834, at the time when his book was published: "a fate," he says, "which few persons of taste will be inclined to lament, who reflect that thereby a promise is held out of an ultimate return to the original line of approach through the dungeons and the ancient archway." The Duke had apparently even contemplated the destruction of the Norman Gateway, a terrible piece of vandalism from which he was, by some happy interposition of circumstances, delivered. The new gateway was, however, sufficiently advanced to be made use of as the approach to the courtyard.

During the reign of Bernard, the twelfth Duke, nothing appears to have been done; but his successor demolished the new gateway, which, however, was revived in a different form by Henry Granville, the fourteenth Duke, who also pulled down and rebuilt the chapel adjoining the Barons' Hall.

We must now quit the castle for a time, in order to deal with some other matters which are of considerable interest in the story of the Howards.

The ecclesiastical foundations of Arundel are so closely connected with the history of the castle and of the Earls, that it is necessary to give some account of their origin, and of the manner in which the collegiate chapel and the adjacent building passed into the possession of the Fitzalans.

When Roger Montgomery entered upon possession of Arundel Castle, he found already existing a parochial church, no traces of which now remain. Earl Roger speedily availed himself of his new dignities, and constituted sundry lands, churches, etc., in Sussex appendages of the Benedictine church and abbey of St. Martin de Sais, in Normandy. This necessitated the establishment of a centre, in order that some local authority and management might be exercised over these new acquisitions; and the priory of Arundel was accordingly erected, Earl Roger providing funds for the commencement of the undertaking. After some vicissitudes, which retarded its completion considerably, Arundel, with all its dependencies, having meanwhile, through the rebellion of Earl Robert, passed to the Crown, the little community was duly installed in the year 1102, under the patronage and by permission of Henry I.; and for some seventy-five years Arundel Priory was in the blessed condition implied by having no history.

In 1178, however, William de Albini, the second Earl of his family, brought about the combination of the priory with the parochial church; the priory building was abandoned, and the prior with the other monks took up their abode in the rectory attached to the church. There they and their successors remained by the space of two hundred years, during which they were not free from troubles of various kinds, some of which were brought about by their own contumacy, while others were the results of war and pestilence.

Meanwhile, there had always existed, possibly as far back as the parochial church, the chapel of St. Martin, already alluded to, in the keep, which was served by a chaplain appointed by the Earl, whose annual stipend was reported, at an inquisition taken in 1272, as four pounds; and there was also the chapel of St. George, in the south-east portion of the castle, over Earl Roger's prisons, which was probably established about the commencement of the thirteenth century, and eventually superseded the chapel of St. Martin. About the middle of the fourteenth century Richard Fitzalan, fifth Earl of his name, conceived the project of establishing a chantry for three priests at this chapel within the castle; ten years later he determined to expand it into a college, under a master, but still attached to the castle—a somewhat anomalous arrangement, seeing that the castle was essentially a defensive work, liable to siege in case of war, when it would be impossible to guarantee the immunity of the college and chapel from attack and possible destruction.

This project was not destined to be fulfilled. Earl Richard found other matters to occupy his attention, and during twenty years nothing more was done in the matter. In 1375, the year before his death, he obtained powers to found the college, but died before he could get it started. His son, however, took up the work *con amore;* and the priory, through the taxes levied by Edward III., and the insecurity of its inmates during the war, having been deserted and left to fall into disrepair, the Earl determined to establish his new college on the site of the priory. Some difficulties arose, but Earl Richard was not the man to be readily daunted, and at length, in 1380, he obtained a patent for proceeding with the work, by which the priory was dissolved and the possessions thereof were to be applied to the foundation of the college.

The parochial church had suffered so much from neglect that it was resolved to remove the remains of it and build a new edifice, immediately connected with the chapel of the college.

Thus was the college of the Holy Trinity duly instituted. It was a quadrangular structure, with the collegiate chapel on the north side, forming a continuation or chancel of the newly erected parochial church; and there the church and collegiate chapel still stand, as one building, to this day, though no longer devoted to their original purposes.

The statutes drawn up by the Earl for the conduct of the college were wise and judicious, and received in 1387 the approval and ratification of the Bishop of Chichester; and for over one hundred and fifty years the establishment maintained a good reputation, performing the double duty of a college and parochial church, to the benefit and edification of the neighbourhood. When Henry VIII. commenced his plundering of ecclesiastical establishments it appeared for some time as though the college at Arundel would escape the general fate; the King seemed to regard it with especial favour, and as late as the year 1541 an exchange was effected whereby, in return for the manor and lordship of Bury, he conferred upon it certain other lands and properties. Henry's greed, however, proved too strong for any predilection which he may have entertained for the college; and in the year 1544, on the 12th December, it passed into the hands of the Royal Commissioner. The deed of surrender, signed by the Master, Alan Percy, declared, in the usual ingenuous fashion of such instruments in those days, that he, "the said Master, with the chaplains, or fellows of the college of the Holy Trinity, at Arundel, after serious deliberation, did unanimously, and of their own accord, in consideration of the many weighty and conscientious reasons specially moving them thereto, willingly, freely, and without reserve, for themselves and their successors, assign the said college, with the whole property and possessions of the same, and all right, title, and inheritance thereto, to the King and to his heirs for ever." His Majesty was graciously pleased to accept this "free" gift, so conscientiously conferred (upon the principle "there's no compulsion, but you must"), and forthwith, after plundering it of all its valuables, proceeded to convey it, on the 26th December, to Henry Fitzalan, the last Earl of that name, who had recently succeeded to the title, and who had to pay for this favour one thousand marks down, and an annual rent of £16 16*s*. 0¾*d*. The buildings were speedily dismantled, the chapel, however, escaping for the time; and it is with this chapel that we are principally concerned. It is known at the present day, very appropriately, as the Fitzalan Chapel, seeing that it came to the Howards through Henry Fitzalan. It forms, as has been stated, part of the church to all appearance, though it is in reality separated by a wall; it consists of a nave and choir, and a side chapel, the latter dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and probably, though part of the original design, of slightly later date. Under this Lady Chapel are the vaults, constructed by Thomas Howard, the second Earl of his family, in which were deposited the remains of the venerable Philip in 1624; another vault, of subsequent construction, lies under the choir. The dimensions of the nave and choir are as follows: total length, 82 feet 6 inches; width, 28 feet; height, 35 feet 6 inches (to spring of roof). The Lady Chapel is 54 feet 6 inches by 20 feet.

The chapel passed through many vicissitudes. After it came into the possession of Henry Fitzalan, the Reformation caused it to be disused, and it gradually fell into disrepair, though the vaults appear to have been used as occasion arose. At the period of the siege of Arundel by

Sir William Waller soldiers were quartered there, and did not fail, after their fashion, to deface and destroy it; and for nearly one hundred and fifty years subsequently it was suffered to remain subject to the ravages of time, the castle, as we have seen, being almost as entirely neglected. In 1782 Charles, the tenth Duke, appears to have had the roof removed, and replaced by a common slate one, without parapets, the roof timbers, in the process of demolition, being sawn or hammered away, and suffered to fall upon the tombs and stalls, regardless of consequences; and a few years later the chapel was used as a temporary workshop, with further disastrous results, including the removal of brasses, etc.

It was Charles, the eleventh Duke, who, during the progress of restoration of the castle, which involved the abolition of St. George's Chapel, over the Norman prisons, utilised a portion of the old collegiate buildings to form a public Catholic chapel. It is probable that for many years St. George's Chapel had been the only resource of Catholics in the neighbourhood, since the collegiate chapel was permitted to fall into disrepair.

During the regular existence of the college, monuments had been placed in memory of successive Earls, commencing with Thomas, son of Richard, the founder. This tomb stands in the centre of the choir, the effigies of Earl Thomas and his wife, lying side by side, on the top; it is a very imposing monument, with a quantity of carving and statuary. The monument of John, his successor, and of Eleanor, his wife, stands in the Lady Chapel. Between the choir and the Lady Chapel, in a space cut out of the wall, is seen that of John, the next Earl, his effigy, with folded hands, on the top, while beneath is a representation of his body, greatly emaciated. A very elaborate monument on the south side of the choir commemorates William, brother and successor of this last-named John, and his wife; and on the north side a less pretentious structure is raised to Thomas, his son, and William, his grandson, his immediate successors. A brass plate with an inscription is placed there "for remembrance" by John, Lord Lumley, in 1596; the latter, it will be recollected, married Joan, or Jane, daughter of the last Fitzalan and granddaughter of William above mentioned; and on the south wall, by the altar, he placed a large mural tablet to Henry, his father-in-law, with a very adulatory inscription. There are also the remains of a good many brasses and inscribed tombstones; and a much more recent monument in the Lady Chapel was placed by Bernard Edward, the twelfth Duke, to the memory of his brother, Lord Henry Thomas Howard Molineux Howard, his wife, and daughter.

Such is briefly the history of the castle and the Fitzalan Chapel up to this point. For an exhaustive account of them, and of the Earls of Arundel who preceded the Howards, the reader is referred to that excellent book the *History of Arundel*, by Rev. M. A. Tierney. The sequel will be dealt with later on in this work, when the life of the present Duke is under consideration.

V

Four Howard Earldoms

As the family tree of the Howards puts forth fresh shoots with the lapse of time, it becomes a matter of some difficulty to follow the fortunes and describe the characters of the rapidly increasing collateral members; and indeed, it is not proposed, or held to be possible, within the scope of this work, to enter with any detail into their lives, save only in those instances in which individuals have, through any cause, been brought into more prominent notice. It is considered advisable, however, to devote a chapter at this period to an account of the origin and descent of the four earldoms of Effingham, Northampton, Suffolk, and Carlisle, taking them in order of the actual seniority of those Howards from whom they sprang.

Lord William Howard, son of Thomas, second Duke of Norfolk, by his second wife, is no stranger to us. Born, probably, in 1510, he lived under four monarchs, and we have already seen him figuring in various important parts. He was only one-and-twenty when Henry VIII. despatched him on a special mission to James V. of Scotland, and there is evidence that he was on excellent terms with the capricious and tyrannical Tudor, on one occasion at least winning money from him at the game of shovel-board. He does not appear to have been a showy or brilliant courtier, and Chapuys, ambassador to Charles V., alludes to him in a letter as stupid and indiscreet; but those with whom he was called upon to deal on various occasions found him a very determined, straightforward, and practical person, and reasonable and kindly withal. Wriothesley, the Chancellor, who was so eager, at the time of poor Queen Katharine's disgrace, to involve all her kin in one common ruin, found Lord William very stiff and stern in his denial of complicity and refusal to support the charges against his niece; had he temporised, or displayed any sign of apprehension, who knows what might have befallen him? The disappointed Chancellor vents his spleen in the remark that he "did not much like his fashion"; which indeed one can very well believe—straightforward and plain-spoken people were not in request at Court just then. Lord William, after taking part in the Scottish and French campaigns in 1544 and 1546, was subsequently, under Edward, Lord Deputy and Governor of Calais; in 1553 he was appointed Lord Admiral and placed on the Privy Council; and in the following year was installed as Knight of the Garter.

His loyal disposition and determined character came out strongly upon the occasion of the Wyatt insurrection. Wyatt, with quite an insignificant body of his adherents, was making a sort of progress, the wavering mob—and others besides the mob were wavering in their loyalty—dividing and standing aside to let them pass, uncertain as yet about the ultimate issue. As they came towards Ludgate, Lord William Howard, who had been up all night guarding the approaches, heard some of his men say, "Here be some of Wyatt's ancients" (ensigns), and there was obviously some doubt as to whether they should not follow the example set elsewhere and let the "ancients" through. But the Admiral quickly settled the question, and practically turned the tide of the outbreak. "They won't come in here!" he said, and barred the gates with his own hands. For his services during this crisis he was created Baron Howard of Effingham, after the manor of Effingham, in Surrey, which was granted him in Edward's reign. He was greatly beloved by the seamen, and Hakluyt states that he assisted and promoted the voyage undertaken by Richard Chancellor round the North Cape to Archangel in 1553.[1]

Greatly as Mary appreciated Effingham's loyalty, however, she soon became alarmed lest it should be vicariously displayed in too prominent fashion towards her sister, whom he persistently treated with the utmost deference and consideration, in spite of the Queen's suspicion of her. He contrived, although forbidden, to have an interview with the latter in the Tower, reproved the Lieutenant for his conduct towards her, and when she came as a prisoner to Hampton Court, shortly before Mary's death, he made all the courtiers kneel and kiss her hand. Everyone, indeed, from the Queen downwards, was a little afraid of him; they were not quite sure, when he went with his fleet to escort Philip of Spain to England, that he would not run away with him instead; and the Flemish naval men were not at all pleased when, in his breezy fashion, he rallied them about their little ships—"cockleshells," as he called them—and made them all "douse" their topgallantsails to the English colours.

When he was Governor of Calais the French King sent to offer him reinforcements for his garrison—which was, no doubt, a trap—and Howard replied that the French might come to Calais if they liked, but their reception might not be to their taste.

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[1] *Principal Voyages and Discoveries:* Dedicatory Letter.

In the last year of Mary's reign Effingham was appointed Lord Chamberlain, a post which he continued to occupy under Elizabeth, who treated him, as indeed she had good reason to do, with great consideration. He was employed upon important diplomatic affairs on the Continent, and took the Queen's part during the unhappy intrigues in the North. In 1567 he wrote to the Queen complaining of his poverty, and asking to be allowed £300 a year in land; and in 1572 he was made Lord Privy Seal.[1]

One of Effingham's last official duties was to sit at the trial of his great nephew, Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, for high treason; and he then, in company with the other lords, declared, with his hand upon his heart, that the Duke was guilty—a verdict in which most historians decline to acquiesce, and which was not by any means universally accepted at the time.

Effingham died, either at Hampton Court or at Reigate, in January, 1573, and was buried at Reigate, where there is a monument to him in the parish church. With regard to his daughter Anne, or Agnes, by his first wife, there is a curious passage in the will of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, who bequeathes to his grandson, William Stanley, son and heir of Lord Mounteagle, "the marriage of Mistress Anne Howard, daughter to the Lord William Howard," with certain rents, etc., upon condition that he pays one thousand marks, "which I am bound by obligation or otherwise to pay to the said Lord William Howard for the marriage of the same Mistress Anne Howard, and also to perform all such covenants, promises, and agreements as I have covenanted to perform by one pair of indentures had and made between me the said Duke and the said Lord William Howard concerning the marriage of the said Mistress Anne Howard; and if the said Mistress Anne Howard refuse to marry the said William Stanley, then he is to have all the profit, as the testator himself would have had if this will had not been made."[1]

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[1] *Cal. State Papers.*

Truly a remarkable document. It is dated June, 1544, when the young lady in question was only thirteen years of age. As a matter of fact, she did not marry William Stanley, as will be seen in the genealogical table.

There is a sad story of the cruel treatment of Howard's daughter Douglas by the false and unscrupulous Earl of Leicester. She and her sister Frances were both said to be in love with the Queen's favourite; it was the common talk at Court, and Elizabeth was supposed—and probably correctly supposed—to have set spies to watch them. Leicester appears to have conceived a passion for Douglas—who was the widow of Lord Sheffield—and to have contracted himself to her in the year 1571. There can be little doubt that he took a cowardly advantage of his engagement, and in 1573, at her earnest solicitation, he was secretly married to her. Two days later a son was born (afterwards known as Sir Robert Dudley), but Leicester, fearing the Queen, refused to acknowledge the marriage. He is said to have offered her £700 a year as a bribe to ignore the whole transaction; this she indignantly refused, and subsequently married Sir Edward Stafford of Grafton.

Thus passed away a remarkable figure: a man dis-

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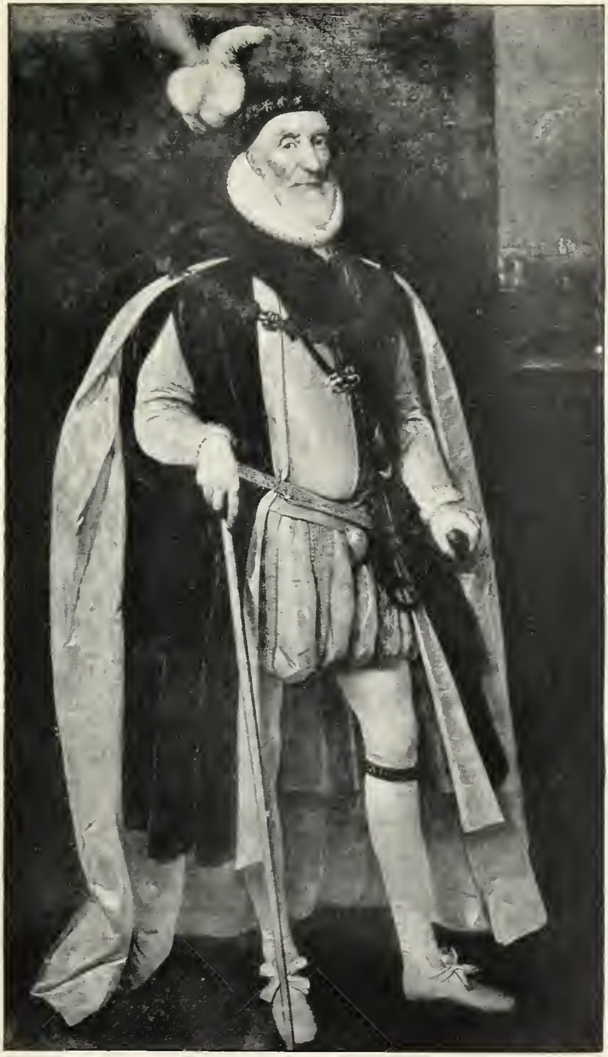
[1] Wills from Doctors' Commons, Camden Soc., ed. Bruce, p. 31.



CHARLES HOWARD, EARL OF NOTTINGHAM

(1536–1624)

The conqueror of the Spanish Armada

tinguished under four monarchs, in times when the heads of the noblest were never very secure upon their shoulders. He left a son who was destined to even higher distinction; whose name has been handed down, familiar as a household word, through all the generations, as the conqueror of the so-called Invincible Armada of Spain. He was eldest son of the first Lord Effingham, by his second wife, and was born in 1536; like his father, he was at an early age entrusted with diplomatic missions of importance, and was throughout his whole life a dominating personality in the counsels of his sovereign, and recognised as the indispensable leader in times of national danger.

In 1570 he was sent with a squadron to escort the Princess Elizabeth, Maximilian's sister, to Spain. She was attended by a vastly superior force of Spanish ships; but Howard, who understood that he was there in something more than a mere complimentary capacity, exacted from the Spaniards a salute to the Queen of England by the lowering of their upper sails before he would pilot them through English waters.

In 1569 he was General of Horse during the northern rebellion; and succeeding his father in the barony in 1573, was installed Knight of the Garter and appointed Lord Chamberlain in the following year.

It was not until 1585, when he was in his fiftieth year, that he was made Lord Admiral. Like his father, he was immensely popular with the seamen, and probably he was universally held to be the man above all others best fitted for the post. His capacity was soon to be put to the test. In the year 1587 it was known that preparations on a gigantic scale were in progress in Spain for the invasion and conquest of England, the deposition of Elizabeth, and the re-establishment of the Catholic religion; and there can be no doubt that the Queen and many of her advisers were fully persuaded of the greatness of the danger, and realised that a supreme effort was necessary in order to avert it. Fresh rumours continued to arrive as to the enormous fleet and army in process of preparation in Spain; and though there were no doubt many exaggerations, the true state of affairs was formidable enough, the number of ships and men which were to be launched against England being far in excess of any force she could hope to equip in time to encounter such an attack. However, Elizabeth pursued the orthodox course so dear to the British official soul to this day; she appointed her "only admiral" to the command, and anticipated that she would "rub through" somehow, though she was by no means willing to disburse the necessary coin.

Effingham was in his element at once: a born leader, he inspired confidence in all his subordinates; and, secure of his position, he did not scruple to speak his mind plainly when occasion demanded. Some of his letters are very entertaining in their phrasing. Writing to Walsingham, January 27th, 1888, he "hopes he may be deceived in the Scotch King, but of him and the French King and the King of Spain he has made a Trinity that he intends never to trust to. Since England was England there never was such a stratagem and mask made to deceive England as this treaty of peace. Hopes we shall not have cause to curse for this a long grey beard with a white head: Walsingham will know who is meant."

Again, on February 1st, he writes strongly deprecating the reduction of the men in the fleet—probably one of Elizabeth's cheeseparing panics, which she was wont to indulge even in the face of the foe—and says, "The enemy now make but little reckoning of us, and know that we are but like bears tied to stakes, and they may come like dogs to offend us"; and on the 11th March, "all who come out of Spain must have agreed to lie, or we shall be stirred very shortly with a 'heave and o.'" Many urgent letters follow: provision ships have not arrived; only three weeks supply remaining; "with the gallantest company of captains, soldiers, and mariners ever seen in England, it were pity they should lack meat!" He implores the Queen not to regard expense at such a crisis; to wake thoroughly, and "trust no more to Judas kisses, but defend herself like a noble and mighty prince, and trust to her sword rather than to the word of her enemies."[1]

Effingham never credited the story that the Spaniards, discouraged by some severe weather which had compelled them to put back to Corunna, had determined to abandon the enterprise; when Elizabeth ordered four of his largest ships to be put out of commission, he replied that he would prefer to pay for their maintenance himself.

His vigilance was rewarded when, on the 20th July, he saw the great fleet, extended in crescent form, their sails bellying out in the fresh summer breeze, flags and streamers flying, in the jaws of the English Channel.

The action which followed is matter of English history, which it is not necessary here to enter upon in detail. The huge Spanish vessels driving up Channel, with the English, like terriers at their heels, disabling them piecemeal, "plucking their feathers by little and little," as Howard describes it; the exploits of Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, of gallant Lord Thomas Howard, Lord Henry Seymour, and Sir William Wynter—the latter upon one occasion in the *Vanguard* charging single-handed into the thick of the enemy; the great fight off Gravelines, the panic caused by the fire-ships off Calais, and the wild flight of the Spaniards through the North Sea, chased by our ships, with their half-starved, thirsty, and fever-stricken crews; the miserable scenes on the Irish coast, where the wretched Spanish crews, scrambling ashore from their stranded and disabled vessels, were met with the ruthless axe of the half-savage galloglass and murdered by hundreds on the beach: all these things may be read elsewhere; they redound to the honour and glory of Effingham and his dauntless subordinates, whose force was far inferior, but whose skill, intrepidity, and overwhelming personality entirely discounted the odds against them.

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[1] *Cal. State Papers.*

And so the remnant of the Armada crept homewards; and the Pope, it is said, caused the following inscription to be appended to the Pasquin statue in Rome: "The Pope from the plenitude of his power will grant indulgences for a thousand years, if anyone will inform him with certainty what is become of the Spanish fleet; where it has gone; whether it be taken up into Heaven, sunk down into Hell, suspended somewhere in the air, or floating upon some sea."[1] However, we need not necessarily credit this or any other story about the Pope, which emanates from prejudiced sources; probably he did not perpetrate any such absurdity; but it is not difficult to understand his chagrin at the colossal failure of the Spanish undertaking, which he had, from what he deemed excellent motives, so zealously promoted.

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[1] From Pine's engravings of the tapestries representing the defeat of the Armada, which were burnt in the House of Lords in 1834.

Effingham's fleet dribbled back in detachments, and in very sorry plight. Their provisions had run short or gone bad; water there was none; and the Lord Admiral himself was living upon a scant ration of beans. Fever of a very malignant type had broken out on board the ships, and the men were dying by hundreds; many of them were sent on shore at Margate, where Effingham laboured at his own expense to provide some accommodation for them: they were actually dying in the streets. This state of affairs may be attributed in great measure to the short-sighted parsimony of the Queen; and she refused at first to reimburse the Lord Admiral for this further outlay.

The expedition to Cadiz in 1596, when Effingham held joint authority with Essex, was the next important service upon which he was despatched. Essex was to take precedence on shore, and Effingham afloat—a curious arrangement, which not unnaturally led to strained relations between the two. However, the object of the expedition, which was to destroy the Spanish navy, was fully attained; and though Essex persisted in landing his troops and sacking the town, Effingham and the other generals decided against further operations, and the force returned to England. Effingham's combined zeal and moderation were very highly lauded by the Queen—though she was not pleased when the "little account" was presented to her—and on the 22nd October he was created Earl of Nottingham, the patent containing the following clause: "That by the Victory obtained, anno 1588, he had secured the Kingdom of England from the invasion of Spain and other impending dangers; and did also, in conjunction with our dear cousin Robert, Earl of Essex, seize by force the isle and strongly fortified city of Cadiz, in the farthest part of Spain; and did likewise rout and defeat another fleet of the King of Spain, prepared in that part against this Kingdom." Essex was by no means pleased with this, contending that he was slighted, and resenting Nottingham's precedence, by virtue of his office of Lord Admiral; his royal mistress made him Earl Marshal by way of compensation, but he still sulked, like a spoiled child.

From this time forward Howard was the most important person in the kingdom. He was twice called upon to prepare for defence against rumoured Spanish invasions, and upon the second occasion—in 1599—having apparently worked up the navy into a somewhat better condition than that of the previous year, he was named by the Queen "Lord Lieutenant General of all England," commanding both the fleet and the army—an office which has never existed before or since. Upon every occasion his advice and assistance was in requisition, from the defence of the kingdom, the suppression of Essex's rebellion, and his trial, down to the selection of a horse for the Queen; and when she was dying the Lord Admiral was summoned to induce her to lie quietly on her bed, all her other ministers and attendants having failed. To him she spoke her mind about her successor, saying that the throne had been held by princes, and she did not want "any rascal" there; and she subsequently made, at his request, an express declaration in favour of James. His forethought placed a squadron in the Downs, in case of any schemes, and by his order James was promptly proclaimed.

Under the new monarch Nottingham was as high in favour as before. He was Ambassador Extraordinary to Spain in 1605, for the ratification of the peace, having previously been on the commission for its negotiation. The splendour of his retinue, together with his admirable conduct of affairs, excited enthusiastic admiration in Spain, though some were afterwards disposed to accuse him of unnecessary extravagance and display; but it was certainly an occasion upon which such display was justifiable.

The last service which was required of him afloat was that of escorting the Princess Elizabeth, upon the occasion of her marriage to the Elector Palatine, to Flushing in 1612; and a few years later, when a commission appointed to inquire into the administration of the navy found that department sadly in need of reform—though no blame was attributed to the Lord Admiral—he felt unequal at his advanced age to undertake the task of purification of such an Augean stable, and so resigned his office in favour of Buckingham in the year 1619, receiving £3,000 and a pension of £1,000 per annum, with precedence, during his life, as Earl of Nottingham of the original creation in the reign of Richard II.

Howard lived five years after his retirement, dying in 1624, at the age of eighty-seven, at Harling, near Croydon. He was buried in the church of St. Mary Magdalene at Reigate, in the family vault. A copy of the inscription upon his coffin is exhibited on a brass plate on the right side of the chancel,[1] but there is not any monument to him in this church; there is one, however, in St. Margaret's, Westminster; and it may occur to the reader that persons of less fame and service to their country have been commemorated in an adjoining edifice.

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[1] "Here lyeth the body of Charles Howarde, Earle of Nottinghame, Lorde High Admyrall of Englande, Generall of Queen Elizabeth's Navy Royall at sea agaynst the Spanyards' invinsable Navy in the yeare of our Lorde 1588; whoe departed this life at Haling Hows the 14 day of December in ye yeare of our Lorde, 1624. Ætatis sue, 87."

Howard was twice married, as the genealogical table will show. His first wife—Catherine, daughter of Lord Hunsdon and sister of the inveterate persecutor of Philip Howard—died in February, 1602; she was a great favourite with Queen Elizabeth, whose end is thought to have been accelerated by grief at her death. The Lord Admiral, though he is described as having been greatly afflicted, married a second time, in June, 1604, Margaret, daughter of James Stuart, Earl of Moray, and therefore nearly related to the King. Howard's friends were disposed to make merry, as is frequently the case, over his remarriage when his seventies were in sight; the Earl of Worcester, Lord Cecil, and others, rally him upon the subject;[1] but the Earl lived for twenty years afterwards, and his son Charles by his second marriage eventually, upon the death of his half-brother, succeeded to the title, which, however, became extinct at his death in 1681, the barony surviving in the line of Sir William Howard of Lingfield, Surrey. In 1731 General Francis Howard, the seventh Baron, was created first Earl of Effingham, but this title became extinct at the death of the fourth Earl in 1816. It was revived in 1837 in the person of General Kenneth Alexander Howard, eleventh Baron, and the present Earl is the fourth of this creation, and fourteenth Baron Howard of Effingham.

Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, was younger son of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, and brother to Thomas,

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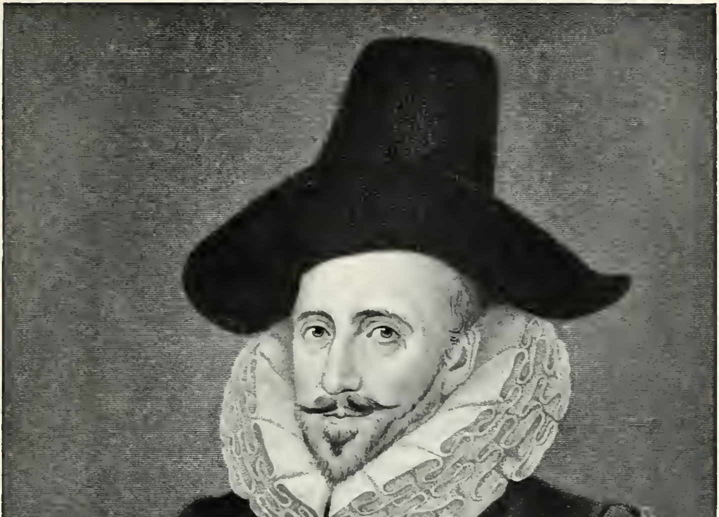
[1] See Lodge's *Illustrations*, vol. iii. 171, etc.



From an engraving by G. H. Robinson after a painting by Zucchero in the Collection of the Earl of Carlisle

HENRY HOWARD, EARL OF NORTHAMPTON

(1540–1614)

fourth Duke of Norfolk, who was beheaded by Elizabeth. He was born in 1540, and was in many respects a remarkable character, and a figure of considerable importance, both socially and politically. Like his brother, he was placed after his father's death under the care of Mary, Duchess of Richmond, and Foxe at Reigate, and subsequently, on Mary's accession, under Dr. White, Bishop of Lincoln, and later of Winchester. White, however, fell into disgrace when Elizabeth came to the throne,[1] and the Queen herself became responsible for Howard's education. He was entered at King's College, Cambridge, and took his degree of Master of Arts in 1564; subsequently he went to Trinity Hall. There appears to be no doubt that Howard was a scholar of exceptional attainments. He was compelled to utilise his scholarship to practical purpose, for the allowance from the royal coffers reached him irregularly, and his brother the Duke does not at this time appear to have assisted him; so he accepted a tutor's place, lecturing upon Rhetoric and Civil Law. It is said that his discourses, delivered in Latin, were very brilliant; but certainly his position was a curious one, as the brother of the highest nobleman in the kingdom, and one can scarcely be surprised if he rebelled against his lot. At one time he appears to have entertained the idea of making a career for himself otherwise than as a courtier, for he is said to have aspired to the position of Archbishop of York, but to have been disqualified on account of being a Catholic. This is a doubtful story; at any rate, he soon abandoned the idea, and came to Court about the year 1570—an unlucky period, as the reader will realise, for a brother of the Duke of Norfolk to put in an appearance. Howard soon found himself in a nest of hornets. His brother, it will be recollected, was released from the Tower in August, 1570, but was still confined in his own house, and carrying on his clandestine correspondence with Mary Stuart. Howard was at once assumed to be in league with him, and was indeed subsequently accused of attempting to marry the Scotch Queen himself. This was stated by the Duke's servant, Banister, in his confession, and it must not therefore be accepted too readily, for this wretched man's "confession"—which he declared to be absolutely "free and voluntary"—was avowedly extorted under the rack, and it only needed an extra turn, and the whisper of Lord Henry Howard's name, to extort some "confession" concerning him to suit the inquisitors' ideas. However this may have been, the Queen was not pleased at his coming to Court; she stopped his allowance, so that he was dependent almost entirely upon his brother's bounty, and afterwards forbade him to appear at Court.

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[1] It is related of him that, in preaching at Mary's funeral, he praised her, and then remarked: "She hath left a sister to succeed her: a lady of great worth, whom we are bound to obey, for a live dog is better than a dead lion!" Elizabeth was not unnaturally annoyed with him.

The accusation of dealing with the Scottish Queen was reiterated in 1574, in 1582, and in 1583; and there can be no doubt that, whatever his motive, he corresponded with her for years, and the marvel is that he continued to do so without detection, which there can be little doubt would have brought upon him a fate similar to that of his brother. Howard, in a letter to one Mr. Morgan, after Mary's death, asserts his motives to have been entirely harmless and loyal to the Queen of England; that he remained about the Court, in spite of the danger, in order that he might give Mary authentic news of all that went on; and that he repeatedly advised caution and moderation upon her part; and in view of the fact that, in spite of repeated arrests and examinations by those who were most eager to convict him of treason, the charge was never proved against him, we cannot but conclude that his declaration of innocence was sincere. This conclusion, however, is not incompatible with a conviction that Howard was by nature an intriguer: he was exceedingly clever, a master of language either with tongue or pen, and naturally very fond of displaying his gifts. To pen long letters of advice to Mary, couched in the most flowery and pedantic language, with elaborate quotations from the classics, would form an irresistible temptation to him, more especially if enhanced by a decided spice of danger, and the necessity of secret and ingenious means of despatch.

It was at the instigation of the Earl of Oxford that Howard was arrested in 1582: there was a quarrel between them, and it is said that the Earl told Howard that "the Queen hated him, and sought to have his head more than that of any person living." This was very probably true; but Howard defended himself with characteristic ability on all points, including that of religion, upon which he writes to the Queen:—

"I grant that by frequenting services not permitted by your laws I have offended. But if it please Your Majesty to weigh that zeal unto my God, and not want of duty to my Prince, hath provoked me to take this way, until I might be better satisfied in sacramentary points, I hope you will the rather pardon my transgressing." This is a fair specimen of his deftly turned sentences; but his excuses on the subject of the Queen of Scots are better still: "If I were so childish as to build upon the figure of such future hopes, it lies not in the talents of so mean a man as I to win her liking, or to find her favour by a merit of more weight than the loss of my brother's head for dealing in her cause."[1]

A book which he soon afterwards wrote, entitled *Preservative against the Poison of supposed Prophecies*, a learned attack upon some abuses of astrology, was held to be in some measure treasonable, and was brought up against him, together with fresh charges in connection with Mary Stuart, in 1583. He was confined in the Fleet, although nothing was actually proved against him, but was eventually liberated. With regard to astrology, it may be mentioned that Howard's nativity was cast at his birth by his father's direction, by an Italian astrologer, who predicted a disastrous period in middle life, "so as even to want a meal's meat," which, however, was to be succeeded by a prosperous old age. This forecast certainly proved to be a very accurate one; misfortune pursued him for years, in one form or another. He appears to have made many enemies, and in spite of the friendship of his relative the Lord Admiral, who was in high favour with the Queen, he spent years in absolute poverty; his offer of service against the Spanish Armada was declined, though he volunteered to serve in any capacity. The committal to his charge of a Spanish prisoner, who was supposed to be of use in affording information, appears to have been the cause of further trouble, and at one time it seemed indeed as though the Italian astrologer's prediction would be fulfilled to the letter, and that he would "want a meal's meat." He did not, however, remit his exertions to regain the Queen's favour: he wrote several books, which he dedicated to her, one of which was a reply to a scurrilous pamphlet denouncing female government.

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[1] Cotton. MSS., Titus, c. VI. fol. 2 *et seq.*

It was not until Howard was nearly sixty years of age that the tide of his affairs displayed a tendency to a more favourable turn: in 1600 he was once more received at Court; he was on friendly terms both with Essex and Sir Robert Cecil; and the Queen—capricious as ever—is said to have regarded him with considerable favour. After the fall and death of Essex he performed the same part towards James of Scotland as he had done towards his mother, writing him endless letters in his usual grandiloquent and somewhat obscure style, which appear not a little to have puzzled the Scotch King, who alludes to them as "Asiatic and endless volumes"; nevertheless, they were not written in vain, for upon the death of Elizabeth Howard found himself in the full glare of royal favour, one honour following rapidly upon another. A Privy Councillor in 1603, the following year saw him Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, Baron Howard of Marnhill, and Earl of Northampton; he was installed Knight of the Garter in February, 1605, and made Lord Privy Seal in 1608, besides being one of the commissioners for executing the office of Earl Marshal. The Universities testified to their estimation of his learning, Oxford appointing him High Steward in 1609, and Cambridge electing him Chancellor in 1612, though the King's son was another proposed candidate; while Lord Bacon chose him to present his work on the Advancement of Learning to the King, saying that he did it "of a kind of congruity: that as the work was dedicated to the learnedest King that had reigned, it might be presented by the learnedest Counsellor in the kingdom." That Northampton well merited this eulogy there can be little doubt; but upon his probity and sincerity much doubt is cast by various writers. He sat as a commissioner upon several State trials, to wit those of Sir Walter Raleigh and Lord Cobham in 1603, of Guy Fawkes in 1605, and of Father Garnett the Jesuit in 1606. Upon each of these occasions he was called upon, in virtue of his oratorical powers, to make a long speech, or more than one; and one somehow gets the impression that under such circumstances Northampton was thoroughly enjoying himself; certainly he spared neither himself nor his audience. The second oration which he delivered at Garnett's trial covers no less than twenty-one pages in Hargrave's *State Trials*;[1] it is a masterpiece in its way, displaying immense resources in rhetoric and learning, and is entirely against the prisoner, vindicating the sovereign's absolute independence of the Pope, and analysing Garnett's defence with marvellous skill. A footnote informs us that the printed report is amplified and enlarged by the Earl, and exceeds the proportion in which it was first uttered.

Dr. Nott, in his biography of the Earl, adduces this speech as a proof that he could not have been a Catholic, while Mr. Sidney Lee, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, states that Northampton was in reality in agreement with Garnett's opinions, that his speech was one of policy, and that he subsequently wrote an apologetic letter to Cardinal Bellarmine, explaining that he was a Catholic at heart; and furthermore asserts that there can be little doubt that he lived and died a Catholic. It appears probable that his convictions were in that direction; but he was, it is to be feared, a very flagrant trimmer in this as in other respects. King James, in a letter approving of Northampton's election to the chancellorship of Cambridge University, speaks of "his continual following of . . . things that tend to the furtherance of learning, or good of the Church"; by which he certainly meant the Established Church. Walpole, on the other hand, speaks of him as "famous for secret insinuation and for cunning flatteries," and says that Lady Bacon warned her sons against him as "a dangerous intelligencing man, and no doubt a subtle papist inwardly," and that he "adapted his religion to his policy." Probably the last sentence sums up the case most truly; and it was equally true of almost every courtier of Tudor and the earlier Stuart times.

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[1] Fourth edition, vol. i. p. 266 *et seq.*

At the close of his life Northampton was concerned in the divorce of his grandniece, Lady Frances, daughter of Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk. This very unpleasing affair will be mentioned again in dealing with that Earl. Northampton did not bear a creditable part in the business, and was certainly instrumental in getting Sir Thomas Overbury committed to the Tower, if not actually cognisant of the plot to poison him; some very incriminating letters from him to the Lieutenant of the Tower were produced at the trial of the latter, after Northampton's death, from which it appears almost impossible to doubt that he was in some degree to blame, though Dr. Nott attempts to explain away this evidence; his whole account of Northampton is in fact couched in unduly laudatory terms, and requires discounting considerably.

Northampton died 15th June, 1614, and, being Warden of the Cinque Ports, was buried at Dover Castle. During the later prosperous years of his life he built and endowed three hospitals, one at Clun, in Shropshire, one at Castle Rising, and the third at Greenwich. He possessed, in addition to his literary accomplishments, considerable knowledge and taste in architecture; Northampton House, afterwards known as Northumberland House, was built under his direction, and he also supervised the erection of the splendid mansion at Audley End for his nephew, the Earl of Suffolk, to whose son, Henry, he left Northampton House.

The Earl was never married, and was the only holder of the title under this creation. Possessed of rare intellectual gifts, he was a man whose life was spoilt by his high birth. Had he been born in a more humble sphere, he might have made an admirable lawyer or a great statesman; but his whole life was frittered away in vain efforts to obtain a footing at Court; and when at length he attained his end, his principles had been sapped and his mind distorted by the practice of intrigue and sycophantism—necessary for his purpose, indeed, in those days, but sadly demoralising, and utterly unworthy of his fine intellect. He is alluded to by a contemporary as "the grossest flatterer in the world"[1]—an expression which the tone of some of his letters fully bears out.

We have now to consider a creation of a younger generation. Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk, it will be recollected, had two sons by his second wife, Margaret, daughter and heiress of Thomas, Lord Audley of Walden; the elder, Thomas, became the ancestor of the Earls of Suffolk. He was born in 1561, and we do not hear much of him at first; he was at St. John's College, Cambridge, and was in 1584 restored in blood as Lord Thomas Howard. His half-brother, Philip, Earl of Arundel, was at this time entering upon the series of persecutions and disasters which eventually culuminated in his death under confinement; Thomas, we may infer, was more worldly-wise, and took pains so to temper his religious convictions —or opinions, perhaps—as to avoid offence to Elizabeth; and it has even been hinted in some quarters that he availed himself of Philip's misfortunes to acquire a hold over some of his sequestrated possessions; we will hope, however, that he may in this have been calumniated.

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[1] Wilson: *Life and Reign of James the First.*

He came into notice at the time of the attack by the Spanish Armada, serving as a volunteer under his relative, Lord Howard of Effingham: and so valiantly did he behave that he was knighted by Effingham after the action off Calais, and subsequently was given a command—the *Lyon*, according to the engravings from Lord Effingham's tapestries, before alluded to, where the portrait of Lord Thomas Howard appears repeatedly in a small medallion. There is also a representation of the bestowal of the honour of knighthood upon Lord Thomas, his name and four others—to wit, Lord Sheffield, R. Townsend, C. J. Hawkins, and C. M. Frobisher—appearing on a scroll at the top of a kind of conventional column.

Having established a reputation as a stubborn sea-fighter, Lord Thomas was despatched in 1591 to the Azores, to intercept and capture the Spanish treasure ships; Sir Richard Grenville went as second in command, and it was upon this occasion that there occurred the historic encounter between Sir Richard's vessel and practically the whole Spanish force, which Tennyson so graphically, but not quite accurately, celebrates in verse. The English vessels had a great deal of sickness on board, and a number of men had been landed; the Spanish fleet suddenly appearing round the point, the men were hurried on board, and Howard, deeming it mere waste of human life to fight against such odds—although, as Tennyson puts it, he "was no coward"—gave orders to retreat. As a matter of fact, there were not above eighteen or twenty vessels of war in the Spanish fleet, but this was odds enough against six far smaller, with sick crews. Grenville, being more delayed than the others in getting his men on board, found himself to a great extent cornered by the Spaniards. He could have made his escape, however, in his smaller and far more handy ship; but, as Camden says, "out of a certaine magnanimitie," he elected to remain and fight; perhaps bravado, or foolhardiness, would be the more applicable word; he wanted to show these "dogs of Seville," these "children of the devil," that a single English vessel was not afraid of the whole crowd of them. The result is well known, and was indeed inevitable; after fighting for many hours, the *Revenge*, a total wreck, with only a score of men fit to fight, and Grenville himself mortally wounded, was compelled to surrender; and the splendid gallantry displayed by him and his ship's company has always been held to have wiped out the blame which otherwise must have been bestowed upon an act of foolhardy disobedience. Howard contrived subsequently to inflict considerable loss upon the Spaniards; and the *Revenge*, with her Spanish prize crew, went down in a breeze.

Howard's next service was in the expedition against Cadiz in 1596, when he commanded the third squadron; and subsequently he accompanied Essex and Raleigh with the fleet to the Azores. This undertaking, whereby Essex hoped entirely to crush the Spanish power afloat, was originally intended to be far more comprehensive in its scope, the proposed operations including an attack upon Ferrol and other Spanish ports, and the seizure of the Azores, an important naval base; but a furious north-westerly gale was encountered, which drove the fleet, scattered and damaged, back to Plymouth—an experience which served effectively to damp the ardour of a number of men of rank and position who had shipped as volunteers. "These men," says Camden, "with their feathers waving, and glittering in their gay clothes (a peculiar vanity of the English when they go to the warres) set saile from Plymouth the 9 of July"; but, like Marmion, they returned "in other plight than forth they yode." Sea-sick, soaked, bedraggled, and short of provisions, they had had enough of it; "some of the more delicate men were growne so feeble with vomiting, and were so afraid of the checks of the furious winde, that they secretly withdrew themselves home."

Howard maintained his reputation in the subsequent operations at the Azores; and when Essex and Raleigh quarrelled bitterly, he intervened and succeeded in effecting at least a temporary reconciliation. His zeal and ability greatly pleased Elizabeth, who alluded to him in a letter to Essex as "her good Thomas"; in 1597 he was installed Knight of the Garter, and summoned to Parliament as Baron Howard de Walden. The conclusion of the century found him advanced—or at least changed—from sailor to courtier, and many honourable and lucrative positions were assigned to him: Constable of the Tower, High Steward of Cambridge University, Lord Lieutenant of Cambridgeshire, acting Lord Chamberlain of the Household; and, upon the accession of James I., Privy Councillor and Lord Chamberlain, a Commissioner for making Knights of the Bath, for executing the office of Earl Marshal, and later for the less honourable task of expelling Jesuits and seminary and other priests from England; perhaps the last named was lucrative, however: a man who could accept such an office would probably not be above taking bribes, though it is said that he refused a Spanish pension about this time. He was created Earl of Suffolk 21st July, 1603; and indeed King James apparently desired to show his appreciation of the devotion of the Howards to his mother's cause by heaping benefits upon them, for Suffolk was endowed with a plurality of offices during succeeding years, culminating, in 1614, in that of Lord High Treasurer of England.

Suffolk had, in accordance with his father's arrangements for his sons, been betrothed and married at an early age to Mary, daughter and co-heiress of Thomas, fourth Lord Dacre of Gilsland; she died, however, in 1578, when he was only seventeen, without issue. He married secondly, five years later, Katherine, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Henry Knevet, Knt., of Charlton, and widow of Richard, eldest son of Lord Rich, a lady who is said to have been possessed of remarkable beauty, but who, while she did not fail to present him with an ample relay of successors in the title, was probably the cause of some very serious trouble which later befell him.

Meanwhile, it was destined that one of his daughters, by all accounts a very beautiful girl of a fascinating personality, should acquire very undesirable notoriety. This sad and unsavoury story cannot be passed over in these chronicles, but there is not space available for more than a summary of it; the details would supply material for an independent volume, and would afford, indeed, an apt illustration of the trite saying that "truth is stranger than fiction." Lady Frances Howard was born in 1590, and partly through the influence, it is said, of Lord Salisbury, together with that of Henry, Earl of Northampton, was, for political reasons, married in her seventeenth year to Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, two years her junior. He was sent abroad until of years more fitted for married life, while she remained with her parents and frequented the Court; and there is no need to enlarge upon the peril of the situation to a beautiful girl, a wife and yet no wife, amid such surroundings. Her mother, it will be said, should surely have taken care of her; but her mother, unhappily, was not a model of wisdom and discretion; she was rather pleased and flattered by the attention bestowed upon her lovely daughter in the highest quarters, and there was just then a rising star upon the horizon of Court favour whose increasing lustre did not fail to dazzle the eyes of the young Countess. This was Robert Carr, a youth of very prepossessing personality, lately sprung into immense favour with the King; he came as a Court page from Scotland in 1605, was knighted and promoted to Gentleman of the Bedchamber in 1607, and created Baron Carr and Viscount Rochester four years later.

The outrageous and effeminate affection displayed by the King for this young man was the talk of the town; but those who were affronted and disgusted by it failed not to curry favour with the royal protegé. Lady Frances, caring not a whit for her absent boy-husband, fell in love with him; Henry Frederick, Duke of Cornwall, and Prince of

Wales in 1610, fell in love with her, thus creating a jealous feud between himself and Rochester; while the Earl of Suffolk and his wife apparently looked on unconcerned, or furthered the efforts of "the dark and mysterious Northampton," who is credited with deliberately stirring up this noisome mess for political ends.

The courtiers whose noses were put out of joint by the young favourite were not likely to be conveniently blind or deaf with regard to his doings: his name was speedily coupled, in no complimentary fashion, with that of the young Countess, and the return of Essex from his travels in quest of maturity was soon succeeded by developments of a frightful nature. The Countess, now imbued with a thorough aversion from the husband to whom she had been compulsorily wedded, sought the aid of a depraved woman named Mrs. Turner, who undertook to supply potions and other means whereby the Earl's affection should be alienated from her, and that of Rochester encouraged; and subsequently, in company with a certain person calling himself Dr. Forman, attempted to poison her husband. Infatuated beyond bounds with Rochester, she threw prudence and modesty to the winds, and was credited by all the onlookers—and probably, it is to be feared, justly credited—with having committed herself with him to the utmost extent. The death of the Prince of Wales, in November, 1612, gave rise to the wildest rumours, though he probably died of typhoid fever; and finally, in the following year, the Countess of Essex, instigated and supported, it is said, by her father and her great uncle, Northampton, applied for a decree of nullity of marriage. Passion craved it, policy demanded it; and when passion and policy are thrown into one scale, a million of scruples in the other will never tilt the beam. The marriage had been a mistake; the Lady Frances must be married to the Lord Rochester, the King's prime favourite; but how, since she already had a husband? The lady herself—whether spontaneously or at the instigation of her eager relations we cannot tell; passion is fruitful in resources—came forward with a pretext, which was speedily submitted to the King; and, the happiness of his favourite being involved, he commissioned a group of learned lawyers and divines to adjudicate upon the evidence to be produced before them, with the assistance of a jury of matrons. Needless to say, the decree was pronounced—when a monarch and his courtiers set to work about a business of this kind in those days they were not to be lightly non-suited—the decree was pronounced; Essex was thrust aside with a humiliating and *absolutely false* stigma attached to him, and was forced to refund his wife's dower. Rochester was advanced, on the 4th November, 1613, to the dignity of Earl of Somerset; and the day after Christmas, St. Stephen's Day, he was united in the Chapel Royal to the newly liberated Lady Frances, who, in compliment to the learned tribunal which had admitted her plea, was married "in her hair"; *i.e.* with her hair—which was splendid—hanging down; an accepted token of maidenhood.

Thus far the marriage scheme; but it was attended by a sordid secret tragedy, which was destined to be ultimately revealed as one of the most scandalous incidents in history. Sir Robert Carr, when he came to James's court, was attended by one Thomas Overbury, a young man of refinement and culture, a poet of some little pretension, and shrewd in business matters. The rapid advancement which Carr received, in spite of his inexperience, afforded the opportunity for Overbury to make himself valuable; and such excellent use did he make of it, that in 1608 he was knighted; and though he went abroad for a time in 1609–10, he ultimately became such an important person that suitors for favours would come to him in the first instance, and Rochester, as he had then become, frequently left everything in his hands, whereby he gained more leisure for his philanderings with Lady Frances.

Overbury, as Rochester's intimate friend, was fully aware of these proceedings; but when he learned the ultimate aim of the Viscount, he discouraged marriage with Lady Frances in the strongest terms which even intimate friendship could justify. He used, in fact, very plain language concerning her; not more plain, however, than what was being used by onlookers behind Rochester's back. The moral aspect of his views may well be questioned: if he knew that his friend had seduced the Countess—and his language leaves no room for doubt on that head—one would imagine that marriage, after her union with Essex was annulled, would commend itself as the most honourable and expedient course; but Overbury took a different view, and urged his point with such insistence that Rochester became annoyed, and Lady Frances furious. The Earl of Northampton and other members of the Howard family were speedily called into conference. What part Suffolk took in the matter does not very clearly appear: one would have liked to have seen him displaying some of that splendid courage and integrity for which he was noted afloat; the lady was very young, she was his daughter, and he surely had the best right to play the leading hand in the game. However, Northampton and others speedily devised a plan for getting Overbury and his obnoxious objections out of the way, at any rate until after the marriage. He was offered a foreign embassy, for which his talents very well fitted him.

Some writers say that Rochester privately dissuaded him from accepting it, with a distinct end in view; however this may be, he declined, and his declining, or the manner of it, was made a pretext for lodging him in the Tower, to which he was sent on April 21st, 1613; and there he was deliberately poisoned at the instigation, and with the active co-operation, of Frances Howard and Rochester. It is not possible to exonerate Northampton from a guilty knowledge of the proceedings, nor is it easy to understand how Suffolk could have been ignorant. The first step was to remove Sir William Wade, Lieutenant of the Tower, who was a man of probity, and appoint Sir Gervase Helwys, who could be depended upon to do what he was told. A scoundrel named Weston was put in as an assistant keeper, with a distinct understanding that he was to be paid a certain sum; the Lieutenant gave him no pay. Mrs. Turner, an apothecary named Franklin, and other suitable persons were enlisted, while the Lady Frances undertook to supply the prisoner with confectionery, which she warned the Lieutenant against using in his own household. The scheme was completely successful: Overbury died 15th September, and was buried in a great hurry. Northampton wrote some very urgent letters to Helwys on the subject of this burial; wrote them with a trembling hand, in spite of his cynicism and *savoir-faire*. He died in the year following, having witnessed the successful accomplishment of the marriage bargain; and in 1615 came the disclosure, which was almost inevitable where so many were concerned. Weston, being taxed with his guilt, confessed: he and the wretched Mrs. Turner, Franklin, and Sir Gervase Helwys were all condemned and executed; the Earl and Countess of Somerset were arraigned. The Countess confessed her guilt: the Earl denied his to the last. Some writers credit him: Mr. Causton, the author of the *Howard Papers*, holds that it was done at his instigation entirely. Both were condemned to death, but were reprieved, and after remaining prisoners for six years in the Tower, were liberated, to live out the remainder of their lives in comparative obscurity; while the King's anxiety to spare his favourite at the time of his condemnation caused a rumour to be spread about that he was in some way concerned in the matter. Such is the wretched history of Lady Frances Howard. Her only child, Lady Ann, married William, fifth Earl, and afterwards Duke of Bedford, and became the mother of William, Lord Russell, who was beheaded in 1683. It is said that Lady Ann only learned her mother's history accidentally, through a pamphlet which she found; and that she was discovered insensible with the book beside her. One can scarcely be surprised; it was a grim warning, indeed.

More troubles were in store for Suffolk. In 1618 grave deficiencies were discovered in the Treasury, for which he was unable satisfactorily to account; he was accused before the Star Chamber of having embezzled large sums in money and jewellery, and extorted money from various persons. His wife, who had accepted some years previously a *quid pro quo* in the form of a Spanish pension of £1,000 a year, was generally credited with having influenced him; and she was officially charged with extorting money from those who had business at the Treasury, by the aid of Sir John Bingley, Remembrancer of the Exchequer. They were heavily fined, ordered to restore all unlawfully acquired money, and to be imprisoned apart in the Tower during the King's pleasure. His Majesty's pleasure, however, brought a release in ten days; and when a Commission was appointed to inquire into Suffolk's alleged inability to discharge his debt, he disingenuously made over a great part of his estate to his son-in-law, the Earl of Salisbury, and his brother, Lord William Howard. However, he eventually made peace, and was received into royal favour again, the King and Buckingham standing sponsors for his son James in 1619. But the story is an unpleasant one, and convicts Suffolk of dishonesty, or weakness as culpable as dishonesty; while his wife was held up to scorn in the Star Chamber by Bacon as a shopwoman, Sir John Bingley, as her assistant, crying, "What d'ye lack?"

Suffolk died in 1626, and was buried at Saffron Walden. It is certainly more pleasing to dwell upon his earlier career, when, in company with Effingham, Drake, and their comrades, he assisted in making the flag of England respected on the seas, than upon his subsequent doings as a courtier. He was instrumental in discovering the Gunpowder Plot, for which some of the credit is due to him which was so obsequiously accorded to King James; but one could have respected him more if he had been more in evidence as his daughter's responsible protector, and had displayed a disposition to suffer some loss—even that of his head, if necessary—rather than permit her beautiful person to be bartered for policies, and her mind depraved by such early association with vile court intrigue.

The eldest son, Theophilus, succeeded to the title: the second, Thomas, who inherited his mother's property at Charlton, Wilts, was created Baron Howard of Charlton in 1621, and Viscount Andover and Earl of Berkshire in 1625; eventually, in 1745, the titles were united in the person of Henry Bowes Howard, eleventh Earl of Suffolk, and fourth of Berkshire. Edward, seventh son of the first Earl, was created in 1628 Baron Howard of Escrick. He pursued a somewhat devious course in the earlier part of the Rebellion; but after the abolition of the House of Lords in 1649 he sat as a commoner in the House for Carlisle. He was subsequently accused of illegal practices, in accepting bribes, and after due consideration was expelled from Parliament and disqualified from sitting again, or holding any office of trust; to this was added a fine of £10,000 and imprisonment in the Tower; but both these penalties were remitted.

His second son, William, who succeeded to the barony in 1678, acquired unenviable notoriety through his connection with the Rye House Plot in 1683. He appears to have been a very unscrupulous man, and he covered himself with ignominy by turning King's evidence against Lord Russell and Algernon Sydney, after having repeatedly declared that he knew of no plot, as was proved at Lord Russell's trial. His evidence was, however, accepted, and undoubtedly contributed to their conviction: an incident which adds one more sad illustration of the flagrant injustice of state trials in those days. Lord Russell's father, the Earl of Bedford, it will be recollected, was married to Lady Ann, daughter of Frances, Countess of Somerset, whose terrible story is narrated above; so that William, Lord Russell, was cousin to Howard of Escrick. As a significant comment upon Lord Howard's evidence and the proceedings at the trial, the Earl of Bedford was subsequently created Duke, "as the father of Lord William Russell, the ornament of his age: to solace his excellent father for so great a loss; and to celebrate the memory of so noble a son."[1]

Sir Robert Howard, sixth son of Thomas, first Earl of Berkshire, was well known as a poet and playwright; the best of his plays was a comedy under the title *Committee*, in which the character of Teague, an Irish man-servant, is said to have been taken from a servant of his own, of whom the Honourable Charles Howard, in his *Historical Anecdotes*, relates that, having been despatched by Sir Robert from Ireland upon an urgent mission to England, to procure the liberation of his son from prison, he executed the business with the greatest despatch; but on his return to Dublin spent several days in rejoicing with friends over the good news he had brought his master, before he became sufficiently sober to impart the glad tidings to the anxious father! A veritable Hibernian, this: no other nationality could have produced such an instance of blundering fidelity.

From the younger brother of Lord Thomas Howard has sprung the earldom of Carlisle, though his great-grandson was the first to hold the title; and from this source also come the Howards of Corby, of whom Mr. Henry Howard is so well known as the chronicler of his House.

Lord William Howard, it will be remembered, brought himself into dangerous prominence in conjunction with his half-brother Philip, Earl of Arundel, by his recognition of the superior claims of the religion of his forefathers, and his design—frustrated by Elizabeth's watchful myrmidons—of leaving the country in order to practise it in peace. His troubles under this Queen commenced early, if we are to believe a statement in one of the numerous accounts of his father's execution, which represents that this poor little fellow of nine was compelled to witness it; it seems an almost incredible piece of cruelty, and as no mention is made of his brothers being present, it appears improbable. Like his brothers, he was betrothed while yet a child to one of the Dacre heiresses, Lady Elizabeth, and they were married in 1577, after which he went to Cambridge, and subsequently lived at Enfield Chase, Middlesex. He was thrice imprisoned on account of his faith, and though he escaped the extremity of persecution which brought Philip Howard to the grave, he was by no means exempt from care. His uncle, Francis Dacre, followed up the tactics of Leonard, already alluded to,[1] and endeavoured to wrest from him the estates which he had acquired through his wife; and though this attempt, like the former, was unsuccessful, a busy neighbour, one Gerard Lowther, by way of currying favour with the Queen, and probably also with an eye to self-aggrandisement, took advantage of Lord William's imprisonment in 1589, at the time of his half-brother's attainder, to set up a claim on behalf of Elizabeth to the baronies of Gilsland and Brough, with disastrous results, for the rapacious and unscrupulous Queen took possession of most of his estates, making him the magnificent allowance of £400 a year. Later, how-

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[1] Pat. 6 W. & M.

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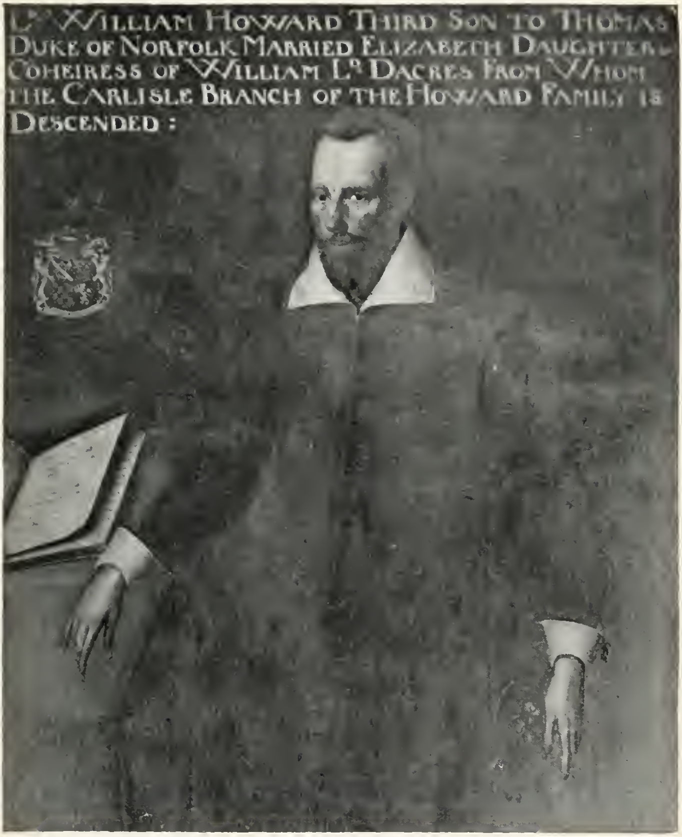
[1] See *ante*, page 451.


LD WILLIAM HOWARD THIRD SON TO THOMAS
DUKE OF NORFOLK MARRIED ELIZABETH DAUGHTER &
COHEIRESS OF WILLIAM LD DACRES FROM WHOM
THE CARLISLE BRANCH OF THE HOWARD FAMILY IS
DESCENDED :

LORD WILLIAM HOWARD OF NAWORTH CASTLE

(1563–1640)

"Belted Will" in "The Lay of the Last Minstrel"

ever, she permitted the estates to be redeemed for a large sum, and on the accession of James in 1603 he took up his abode in the north, at Naworth Castle, which he set to work a few years later to restore, residing chiefly during the process at Thornthwaite, in Westmoreland; though there is evidence that he was occasionally also at Enfield Chase, and in London.

Finally settling at his restored castle of Naworth, he became known as the stern promoter of law and order on the borders, and in this capacity we find him presented as "Belted Will" by Sir Walter Scott, in the *Lay of the Last Minstrel;* though he was not, as there and elsewhere represented, the Warden of the Marches. Scott gives a pleasing picture of his noble and chivalrous personality: a man who was never behindhand when fighting was to the fore, but whose courtesy was equal to his courage. It will be recollected how he is represented as escorting the Dame to the lists, to witness the bloody encounter between Musgrave and the supposed William of Deloraine; an occasion upon which it was customary to appear in suitable bravery of costume:—

"Costly his garb—his Flemish ruff
Fell o'er his doublet, shaped of buff,
With satin slash'd and lined;
Tawny his boot, and gold his spur,
His cloak was all of Poland fur,
His hose with silver twined;
His Bilboa blade, by Marchmen felt,
Hung in a broad and studded belt;
Hence, in rude phrase, the Borderers still
Call'd Noble Howard, Belted Will."

This belt is generally held to be merely a piece of quite legitimate poetical embellishment; probably Lord William wore the same kind of belt as was in vogue among his compeers. His local appellation was not "Belted Will," but "Bauld [Bold] Willie"; while his wife, by reason of her rich possessions, was designated "Bessie o' the braid [broad] apron": both good samples of the terseness and aptitude characteristic of the North Country, while the bestowal of such titles affords the best evidence of the estimation in which the recipients were held.

Howard presents a fine romantic figure, residing in his typical feudal castle, his children and grandchildren growing up about him, with the kindliest domestic relations; his strong band of sturdy retainers, under the guidance of his powerful personality, putting down lawlessness without fear or favour, whether the offenders were roving bands of cattle raiders or more ambitious disturbers of the peace. He was not regarded with great favour by his more important neighbours, who could ill brook such interference in their little schemes; but he had an awkward way of being always technically in the right, and he gradually worked a complete revolution on the border. His enemies were by no means unmindful of the fact of his adherence to the proscribed religion, and many attacks were made upon him in consequence, in the hope of having him dispossessed and fined as a recusant; but Howard held on his way, and was frequently able to bring his accusers before the notice of the Privy Council for breaches of the law. Naworth is a long way from London, and was much farther off in those days, and as he did not parade his religion at Court, and was known to be so good as a local preserver of law and order, he was suffered to remain, in this regard, in peace. Howard has been accused of undue severity, and even cruelty, in his dealings with local offenders. One can well imagine that he had not many soft places about him, but it is necessary, in judging him, to take into consideration the state of the times. He was frequently called upon to exercise extreme severity, by virtue of the law, upon men who, if not suppressed, and if necessary put to death, would in their turn have certainly perpetrated far greater cruelties against the law. Sir William Hutton, agent to the Earl of Cumberland, and a very bitter opponent of Lord William Howard, was compelled, according to a statement of the latter, to acknowledge before the King at Carlisle, in August, 1617, "that there was not a true man in my lord of Cumberland's bounds in Liddale, to make a constable or officer to apprehend a malefactor."

Only a man of tremendous determination and independence of character could deal satisfactorily with such a condition of affairs; and the affectionate remembrance and respect in which his name was held in the north affords in itself sufficient testimony to his character. Though not styled Warden of the Marches, Howard had, in 1618, an official position, in conjunction with a number of other gentlemen in Cumberland and the neighbouring counties, on a commission for putting down lawlessness, and in this capacity he was the means of securing the conviction and punishment of many offenders.

Some officers from Norwich who were in those parts on a survey in 1634 give an enthusiastic account of the noble possessions and courteous conduct of Howard and his wife. Hearing, at Corby, that the visitors had been at Naworth, Lord William invited them to Corby and entertained them hospitably. "Anon appeared a grave and vertuous matron, his honourable lady, who told us indeed we were heartily welcome, and whilst our Anucient [ensign] and myself addressed ourselves to satisfy his lordship in such occurrents of Norfolke, as he pleased to ask and desired to know; we left our modest Captaine to relate to his noble lady what she desired. The noble twaine (as it pleased themselves to tell us themselves) could not make above 25 years togeather, when first they marry'd, that now can make above 140 years, and are very hearty, well, and merry."[1]

This is a delightful picture; the septuagenarian couple, with artless simplicity, taking a pride in their long and happy union, as they pressed their generous hospitality upon their guests; "and long may they continue soe," adds the lieutenant, "for soe have they all just cause to pray that live near them."

Howard was not merely a mighty landholder and energetic upholder of the law; he was also a reader and scholar, a collector of books and manuscripts, a friend and correspondent of contemporary scholars and savants of eminence. Camden speaks of him as "a singular lover of valuable antiquity and learned withal"; his friendship with Sir Robert Cotton, collector of the Cottonian MSS.. led to the marriage of his daughter Margaret with Cotton's son, afterwards Sir Thomas Cotton. Howard died in 1640 at Greystock Castle, whither he had just been removed, in failing health, on account of the commencement of civil strife; his wife having died about a year previously.

They had no fewer than fifteen children, of whom ten were boys; some, however, died in infancy, or only survived a few years. Their names will be found in the genealogical table, from which also it will be seen that

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[1] Lansdown MS. Quoted by Henry Howard of Corby.

Charles Howard, great-grandson of Lord William Howard, was created first Earl of Carlisle; and Francis, Lord William's second son, became known as Sir Francis Howard of Corby, ancestor of the existing branch of that name.

Charles, first Earl of Carlisle, was the second son, and heir of Sir William Howard, his elder brother, William, having died at the age of seventeen. He was born in 1629, and though a mere boy when the Civil War broke out, he appears to have been concerned in it, and to have thrown in his lot with the Parliament; for in the year 1646, when he was only seventeen, he was charged with having borne arms for the King, but was forgiven upon paying a fine of £4,000. He fought for the Commonwealth at Worcester, where he distinguished himself, and was severely wounded. He was placed at an early age in positions of responsibility, being M.P. for Westmoreland and a member of the Council of State in 1653, and member for Cumberland in the two following years. He was entrusted by Cromwell with several important commissions and military commands, and was summoned to the House of Lords, established in 1657, as Viscount Morpeth and Baron Gilsland. In spite of his outward support of the Commonwealth, he appears to have had Royalist leanings, and was more than once imprisoned in consequence. After the Restoration he became Privy Councillor, and on 20th April, 1661, was created Earl of Carlisle, was appointed Vice-Admiral of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Durham soon afterwards, and in 1662 became joint commissioner for the office of Earl Marshal. In 1663 Carlisle was sent to Russia as Ambassador to negotiate for the restoration of the ancient privileges of the English merchants at Archangel. The Czar, according to Evelyn, had withdrawn these privileges in horror at the murder of Charles I., which he accused the merchants of favouring; "But by means of the Czar's ministers the Earl was very ill received, and met with what he deemed affronts, and had no success as to his demands, so that at coming away he refused the presents sent him by the Czar. The Czar sent an Ambassador to England to complain of Lord Carlisle's conduct, but his lordship vindicated himself so well that the King told the Ambassador he saw no reason to condemn his lordship's conduct."[1]

This was certainly a considerable snub for the Czar, who perhaps repented of his display of indignation at the death of Charles I.; and Carlisle's stiff maintenance of the dignity of his sovereign was evidently appreciated, for he was entrusted with further embassies of importance to Sweden and Denmark. He was subsequently Governor of Jamaica from September, 1677, to April, 1681. He died 24th February, 1685, and was buried in York Minster, where there is a monument to him, with a long inscription by his daughter, Lady Mary Fenwick, which, even if it be discounted to some extent by reason of filial preference, is certainly a tribute of which his successors have good cause to be proud.

Of the succeeding Earls of Carlisle some details will be found in the genealogical table, and reference may occasionally occur to them in their proper chronological positions; but space does not permit of a detailed account of their doings.

Another descendant of Lord William Howard must be briefly noticed. Mr. Henry Howard of Corby was born

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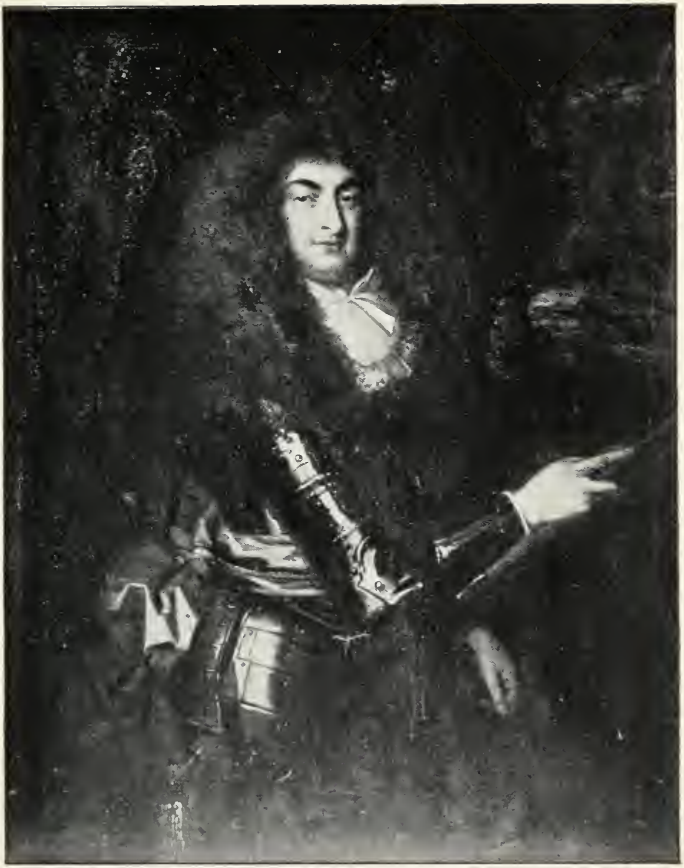
[1] Evelyn, vol. ii., 206.



CHARLES HOWARD, FIRST EARL OF CARLISLE

(1629–1685)

in 1757; he was great-great-grandson of Sir Francis Howard, Lord William's second son, and was a man of very high attainments and great versatility. Soldier, politician, antiquarian, and an able writer, he threw himself with immense energy into everything which he undertook, and was in correspondence with many very eminent persons of his time. He was a very staunch Catholic, and was ever in the front when his religion was threatened from any direction; he was compelled, indeed, to decline a seat in Parliament, owing to his disability on account of his faith.

His chief literary effort was the *Memorials* of the Howard family, well known to all who have taken an interest in the chronicles of his illustrious House. It is quite unique, compiled with immense labour, by dint of untiring research, and in itself bears witness to its author's wide and varied knowledge, historical and general. With the spirit of a true historian, he gives, in genealogical form, with profuse notes and systematic detail, an unprejudiced account of his forbears, not sparing them where they have erred, and the amount of information contained in the volume can only be realised by those whose researches have caused them to have recourse to it.

Mr. Howard lived to the age of eighty-four, universally beloved and respected for his admirable example in every path of life, and equally admired for his many accomplishments; a worthy scion of a great house.

VI

Under the Stuarts

THE conclusion of the sixteenth century found the fortunes of the Howards, at least with regard to the senior line, at a very low ebb. The Earl of Nottingham, it is true, was high in favour, and Lord Thomas Howard—or Lord Howard of Walden, as he had then become—his lieutenant in the attack upon the Armada, and hero of subsequent stubborn sea battles, was also basking in the smiles of his royal mistress; Lord Henry Howard, his uncle, was still struggling, with some prospect of better success, to attain to the position of a courtier; but the widowed Countess of Arundel, after being deprived for years of her husband's society, and denied access to him on his death-bed, was being hunted and harassed by the Queen and her ministers, deprived of her rightful possessions, and left to bring up her son and daughter as best she could. Of the latter death soon deprived her; and Thomas, rightfully Duke of Norfolk, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, and potential possessor of all the honours and possessions accruing to both titles, found himself, at the age of fifteen, known by courtesy as Lord Maltravers, with little immediate prospect of any amelioration of his lot.

The accession of James I., however, brought about a change; and Queen Elizabeth had previously, as has been stated, restored, at a heavy price, his mother's estates. James, who owed so much on his mother's account to the Howards, was lavish enough with his favours in some quarters; and Thomas Howard was, it is true, speedily restored in blood as Earl of Arundel and Surrey, and to the titles of the baronies held by his grandfather; but the possessions pertaining to these titles were bestowed elsewhere, so that he was deprived of a large portion of the wealth which was rightly his, while the dukedom was suffered to remain in abeyance.

Meanwhile his mother, as was to be expected of a woman of so high a type, had spared no pains in his mental and moral training, and he had early developed intellectual powers far above the average.[1] He was sent to Westminster, and subsequently to Trinity College, Cambridge; and in 1605 was introduced at Court, where he soon attracted attention, not on account of the lighter and more superficial attributes which have made so many successful courtiers, for in these he was not as rich as others; but his commanding intellect, precocious self-possession, and severe simplicity of dress marked him out as one who was likely to carve out a path for himself.

His marriage, in 1606, with Alatheia, third daughter, and eventually sole heir, of Gilbert, Earl of Shrewsbury, immediately brought him into greater prominence, and also served in some degree to amend his fortunes. The King stood sponsor, together with the Earl of Suffolk and the Countess of Shrewsbury, at the baptism of James, his first-born, in the following year; and in a letter to his father-in-law, dated 17th November, 1607, he refers in somewhat bitter terms to the price which he had to pay for the recovery of Arundel House, which had been bestowed upon his wealthy and influential relation, the Earl of Nottingham: "Old Southampton, I am sure you heare, is dead, and hath lefte the best of her stuffe to her sonne, and the greatest part to her husband, the most of which I thinke will be solde, and dispersed into the handes of many men, of which number I would be one, if the Admirall were not damned for makinge me pay foure thousand pounde for this house, as well as S^r Thomas Hennege is for that stuffe."[1]

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[1] Walker says that Robert, Earl of Essex, "used to speak of him as a 'winter pear,' and predicted that he would become a great man."—*Historical Discourses*, p. 209.

We find here an indication of that taste for objects of art by which Arundel is most widely known in history; no doubt he was aware that this "stuffe" included some very desirable articles from this point of view—pictures, jewels, hangings, and so forth; and it is not surprising that his resentment should blaze out against Nottingham under such a keen disappointment.

Arundel's influential position as premier Earl, enhanced by his excellent marriage, was, however, considerably discounted by two considerations, his health and his religion. His mother had, of course, trained him most lovingly and carefully in that faith of which his father had made such a noble confession; and though he was not from this cause excluded from Court, he was precluded from all those high offices and diplomatic missions for which he was in other respects so well fitted; while, though he lived to a good age, he never appears to have enjoyed robust health. This did not suffice to prevent him from taking an important part in tournaments, masques, and other entertainments, in which he always shone; and his naturally active mind, and lively interest in all current topics, served no doubt to keep at bay for many years this delicacy, which a short sojourn on the Continent in 1611–12 failed to remove.

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[1] Lodge's *Illustrations*, iii. 331. "Old Southampton" was Mary, daughter of Anthony Browne, first Viscount Montague, who married successively the Earl of Southampton, Sir Thomas Heneage, and Sir William Hervey. Arundel evidently had some reason for assuming that Heneage obtained this "stuffe" in some discreditable fashion, and was "damned" for this, as Nottingham was for his rapacity with regard to Arundel House.

He is presented to us always as a most affectionate and solicitous husband and father, never permitting either his pursuit of art or his public duties to alienate him from the closest domestic ties. His letters to the Countess are full of the most ingenuous expressions of affection and esteem. The opening and concluding sentences of one, written to her in 1608, afford a good specimen:

> "My Deerest Harte, since my thoughtes are withoute intermission fixed on thee, I cannot let any occasion slippe, whereby I may contente the, and please myselfe, by repeatinge the infinite happines and only contentment of my life, which I enjoy by thee. . . . I wish that there were no more dissembling, in any body, then there is betweene thee and mee: then there should neede none of all this adoe, but everybodyes deedes and sayinges should agree wth theyre meaninges, as it is between thee and thy most affectionat loving husband, Arundell. I pray give my little sweete boy very greate thankes for his token, and because I have none heere to requite it, give him twenty kisses frome me, and my deerest blessinge ever."[1]

Arundel was installed Knight of the Garter May 13th, 1611, and in 1613 he and his Countess assisted at the magnificent ceremony on the occasion of the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth; subsequently accompanying the

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[1] Original at Norfolk House, quoted by Tierney, p. 420.

Princess on her journey to join her husband, travelling afterwards to Italy, where they remained for over a year, and the Earl commenced his collection of works of art.

In the year 1615, it will be recollected, the terrible murder was brought to light in which Arundel's cousin, Lady Frances, Countess of Somerset, was so deeply involved, and in a letter to his wife from Royston, October 12th, the Earl writes:

> "I am sure my lo. cheife justice's cominge hither in terme time hath made discourse throughout London. He arrived heere this morninge, aboute 8 of the clocke, and, aboute eleven, my lo. Chamberlayne[1] camehither, whose manor of cominge was observed, both because he came not into London from hence untill late yesternight, and, besides, he came on horsebacke, w^ch^ his Lo^p^ doth not usually doe. What becomes of the matter in question, about Overbury's death, is not yet made knowne, but it is doubted it will not proove well, because the lo. cheife justice hath refused to bayle M^ris^ Turner, notwithstanding soe greate instance hath bin made."[2]

The Lord Chamberlain's nocturnal fifty-mile ride must have been made under trying circumstances, with detection and disgrace looming large in the near future; nor was it, as we know, of any avail to avert disaster.

At the close of this year, 1615, Arundel passed through a crisis in his life which, remembering the cause in which his father suffered, is all too lightly regarded by most of his chroniclers. We are not told how long he had had this step in contemplation, or what particular motive induced him to take it; but in December he deliberately renounced the faith in which he had been so carefully reared, and publicly attended the service of the Established Church in the royal chapel at Whitehall, receiving the Sacrament according to the "reformed rite." This incident, we may be sure, was the occasion of abundant comment: all eyes would be turned towards the premier Earl; there would be shrugging of shoulders, remarks complimentary and otherwise, and the beginning of jealousies among those who had hitherto seen him deprived of advancement by reason of his faith. Seldom does a man acquire respect in the eyes of his fellows by such a step, when it obviously paves the way for worldly greatness and aggrandisement. Great indeed was the contrast between his case and that of his father, who sacrificed all, even liberty and life itself, for the religion which the Earl now deliberately cast away. This momentous event is dismissed by the writer of his life in the *Dictionary of National Biography* in the following words: "Arundel has been accused of becoming a Protestant only from policy, but there is no doubt that he had a natural leaning to a simple and unadorned ritual." This is a good specimen of the inconceivably shallow and inadequate estimate of the importance of such a step, prevalent among many writers: an echo from the times of that worthy Vicar of Bray, who so boldly trumpets his time-serving inconsistencies.

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[1] The Earl of Somerset.

[2] Original at Norfolk House, quoted by Tierney, p. 425.

That Arundel succeeded in gaining the esteem, even of those whose doctrines he espoused, is extremely improbable; nay, it is absolutely asserted by his mother that he did not do so. Her urgent remonstrances at the time failed of effect; but in a letter which she directed should be delivered to him after her death occurs the following passage: "I pray you, for God and your own soul's sake, to think seriously upon your present state, and consider how little you have gained either of honour, wealth, reputation, or true contentment of mind, by the course which, now many years, you have followed, contrary to y^e^ breeding and education I gave you, and y^e^ example y^r^ blessed father left you, and the true judgment of all those that wish best unto you."[1]

By one at least of his contemporaries, Arundel is described as utterly irreligious: "He was," says Clarendon, "rather thought not to be much concerned for religion, than to incline to this or that party"; and further states that he died "under the same doubtful character of religion in which he lived." The Honourable Charles Howard, in his *Historical Anecdotes of the Howard Family*, very strenuously resents this view, and quotes the terms of Arundel's will, dated six years before his death, in refutation thereof.[2] Clarendon was prejudiced, as he disliked Arundel, and availed himself of every opportunity of sneering at him. At this distance of time it is certainly not possible to arrive at an accurate conclusion with respect to his motives; the making of a will is apt to evoke religious sentiment, which may in fact be little more than sentiment; and so we must leave the matter, hoping for the best. Arundel appears, at any rate, to have maintained a high standard of conduct to the last. The reader who has followed thus far the story of the Howards does not need to be told that this is by no means the first instance in which policy has apparently been given preference over religion. It is, however, brought into prominence by the sacrifice of Philip Howard, and we shall see that a son and grandson of Arundel's very decidedly and publicly followed in the footsteps of their heroic ancestor.

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[1] MS. Life, p. 49.

[2] p. 84; ed. 1769.

Whatever may be the judgment arrived at from this point of view, there can be no question as to the almost inevitable results of such a step with regard to political advancement. The month of July following saw Arundel admitted to the Privy Council; in October he was one of six peers commissioned to exercise the office of Earl Marshal, and before another year had elapsed he was in a position of such influence as to bring all applicants for favour or preferment to his feet. Under such conditions the Earl was thoroughly in his element; his fine intellect and inherent sense of justice combined to ensure sound judgment and equitable results; his dignified and somewhat austere demeanour, while it provoked some covert sneers, was recognised nevertheless as becoming his high station; and though it is said that his extreme simplicity of dress was not regarded with favour at Court, he was recognised as one to whom the most weighty embassage could with full confidence be entrusted.

He continued, in the intervals of his official duties, to indulge with avidity his pursuit of all kinds of art, and was indefatigable in searching out and adding to his collection all such objects as he deemed worthy of attention. He was placed upon a commission for the building of Lincoln's Inn Fields, for the repair of St. Paul's Cathedral, and the erection of the banqueting hall in Whitehall[1]; and is said to have been among the first to recognise the genius of Inigo Jones.

In August, 1621, the dignity of Earl Marshal, which had been held jointly for some years by Arundel and five other peers, was vested in him alone, though not without some opposition on the part of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal (Williams), who was not on good terms with Arundel, and thought proper to put forward some fussy objections; in fact, he contrived to delay the obnoxious duty of sealing the patent some three or four months, referring the matter to Buckingham—who was also Arundel's enemy—upon quasi conscientious grounds, and eventually procuring the reduction of the proposed accompanying pension from two thousand to twenty pounds per annum: a substantial token of ill-will! However, the patent was sealed in December, 1621; and in the following year, finding that, on account of the practical abolition of the office of High Constable, an official who held Court conjointly with the Earl Marshal, he could not efficiently discharge the duties of his position, Arundel obtained from the King a patent, in August, 1622, by which these important functions were combined in his own person.[1] He is said to have discharged his duties with great efficiency, as indeed one would expect, but his haughty demeanour and jealousy of his dignity appears not unfrequently to have given offence, both in this and other capacities. It is related of him that, on the occasion of an embassy from Louis XIII. in 1620, he was sent, with other peers of the Privy Chamber—of whom he, by his office as well as the premier Earldom, was the senior—to wait upon the Marquis de Cadenet, Louis' Ambassador, at Gravesend, who received him at the head of the stairs, whereas Arundel held that he should have been received at the hotel entrance. This affront rankled in the breast of the haughty Earl Marshal, and he seized the first

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[1] Now in occupation by the Royal United Service Institution, the Council of which has lately undertaken the renewal of the painted ceiling.

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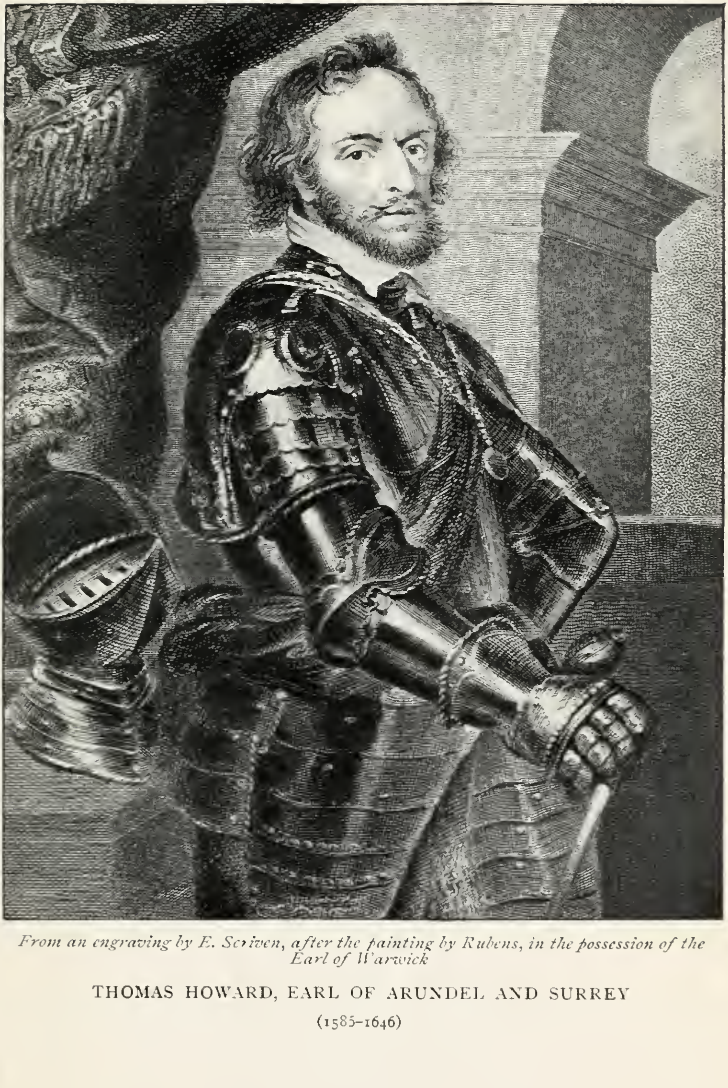
[1] This combination was, however, abolished, together with the powers of the Court, in 1640.



From an engraving by E. Scriven, after the painting by Rubens, in the possession of the Earl of Warwick

THOMAS HOWARD, EARL OF ARUNDEL AND SURREY

(1585–1646)

opportunity of retaliating. The following day he sent a message by the Master of Ceremonies to de Cadenet, saying that the barges were ready, and that, as his Excellency's train was numerous and the accommodation of his lodging small, he would meet him in the street: which he did. Not content with this, on arrival at Denmark House, where the Ambassador was to reside, by the river steps, Arundel conducted him to the first step, and then abruptly took his leave, telling him that the gentlemen there would show him to his lodging. The incident ended in Arundel's favour, the Ambassador taking occasion subsequently to excuse himself for his remissness at Gravesend, pleading his indisposition from his journey. The Earl Marshal certainly, in modern parlance, "scored" off him.

Arundel's overbearing temper also got him into trouble in the House of Lords upon at least one occasion, when the case of Sir Henry Yelverton was being discussed. According to Sir Edward Walker, in his *Historical Discourses*,[1] Lord Spencer, who was maintaining, by reference to ancient precedent and ordinance, the right of Sir Henry to vindicate himself before the Peers, was savagely attacked by Arundel, who exclaimed, "My Lord, when these things you speak of were doing, your ancestors were keeping sheep!" "And yours," retorted Spencer, "were plotting treason!" This little passage of arms resulted in Arundel, who refused to apologise, being committed to the Tower, whence it is said that he was only liberated upon the intervention of the King and the Prince of Wales, the latter undertaking to effect a reconciliation.[2]

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[1] Quoted by Tierney, p. 443.

[2] *Dic. Nat. Bio.* In the Lords' Journals (printed) in the British Museum, no mention is made of this incident, though the case of Sir Henry Yelverton, with his long vindication, is very fully reported.

Mention must here be made of an unpleasant adventure which the Countess of Arundel met with during a sojourn in Venice in the year 1622. It is described in detail in a long letter from her husband to James, Earl of Carlisle, then Ambassador Extraordinary in France.[1] Her salon was the resort of all the most distinguished persons in Venice; and someone spread a report that Foscarini, who was executed for some real or imaginary treason, had made use of her house for his secret purposes. Sir Henry Wotton, the English Ambassador, communicated this intelligence to her by a messenger while she was staying a few miles outside Venice, telling her that the Senate intended to order her out of the country. Neither Sir Henry nor the Senate understood, however, the temper of the high-spirited lady with whom they had to deal: she would have no private hole-and-corner business, as though she had secrets to conceal, but made the Secretary repeat his message in the presence of witnesses, and then drove into Venice, confronted the Ambassador, and demanded to see the Duke; which on the following day she did, and so triumphantly vindicated herself that she was escorted to her house with every demonstration of honour.

Arundel's enmity against Buckingham had done him no good, as we have seen; and upon the accession of Charles I. he soon discovered that this Sovereign was more bitter against him on this account than his father had been, though, chiefly out of respect to his office of Earl Marshal, he was retained in the Privy Council, was made Commissioner for the determination of claims for precedence at the King's coronation, and empowered to appoint Knights of the Bath.

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[1] Quoted by Tierney, p. 445.

Arundel lost his eldest son, James, by small-pox, at Ghent, in 1624. His second son, Henry Frederick, Lord Maltravers, who was born in 1608, was the means, by reason of a rash and precipitate action, of bringing about a very unexpected conflict between Charles and the House of Lords. This lad, in 1626, had formed a very strong attachment to Lady Elizabeth Stuart, daughter of Esmé, Duke of Lennox. The lady, however, was the object of attention in other quarters, having been destined first for Lord Fielding, and afterwards, upon this suit being abandoned, was proposed, by no less a person than the King himself, as a suitable wife for Lord Lorne, eldest son of the Earl of Argyle. While this was actually pending, however, the Earl of Arundel, seeing that his son's happiness was at stake, and warmly seconded by Lady Elizabeth's relatives, made an opportunity of bringing the young people together, and plainly told the lady that "if shee liked his sonne, he did not mislike her." This was equivalent to setting a match to a bundle of straw; the flames leaped up, consuming all considerations of prudence and policy, and the next thing Arundel knew about it was when, two days later, his son, already alarmed at his own imprudence, threw himself on his knees before him and informed him that they were married.

The King was furious, and refused to listen to Arundel's representations of his own freedom from any connivance in the matter, of their youth and mutual affection, and so forth: he was immediately committed to the Tower, his wife ordered to detention at Horseley, the Earl's seat in Sussex, and the young couple to the custody of the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth. Arundel, proud and conscious of his own innocence of any offence, refused to answer questions, and was in danger of more serious consequences. But the King had not reckoned upon the attitude of the House of Lords in the matter; the arrest of a peer who was sitting in the House was a breach of their privileges, and a resolution was speedily carried: "To take the same into consideration, and so to proceed therein as they might give no just offence unto His Majesty, and yet preserve the privilege of Parliament."

Then ensued some characteristic fencing on the King's part. The Earl, he said, was restrained for a misdemeanour which was personal to him, and had no relation to matters of Parliament. A Committee of Privilege was appointed, and after due consideration the claim was reiterated. The King replied that as they had taken some time investigating the matter, it would be rash on his part to give a sudden answer; then he was displeased at the peremptory tone of their next communication. They amended it, and again presented it. He was pleased this time with the tone of it, but could not make up his mind. This went on from March 14th to June 2nd, upon which day the Lords, deeming that they had sufficiently displayed their patience and loyalty, passed a resolution that all business should cease until the Earl was released. He appeared in the House on June 8th, the King merely announcing to the Lords that "the restraint of the Earl of Arundel was removed."[1] He was compelled, however, to pay a heavy fine, which sadly cumbered his resources, and delayed the payment of his debts.

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[1] It is curious that, during the whole time of his confinement, the name of "Comes Arundelli et Surriæ" appears among the Lords stated to be present each day in the House.

Matters improved for the Earl after the death of Buckingham, in 1628. The King, no longer influenced by his favourite, and realising the value of a man of such high attainments in many respects, began to employ Arundel upon various matters, and in 1632 despatched him as special envoy to the Hague, partly to offer a home in England to the recently widowed Princess Elizabeth, and also to negotiate with the States General on the subject of the Palatinate. The widowed Queen declined the King's offer, but was evidently touched and pleased with Arundel's courteous and tactful conduct, and his kindness to her two sons; and the other business was despatched with such success as caused him to be received with unwonted favour upon his return. His letters to the King and Secretary Coke, some of which are given in full by Tierney, are admirable.

In 1636 more ambassadorial work was entrusted to Arundel in connection with the Palatinate, which involved a sojourn of nine months on the Continent, during which, in the intervals of business, he visited many places of special interest to him as centres of art. His mission failed, but the King recognised that this was not through any fault of his envoy; and a couple of years later Arundel was appointed General of the force assembled to deal with the Scottish Covenanters—an unwonted part for him to play, and one for which perhaps he had not many qualifications, though his high rank and strong personality would ensure respect. His natural ability might have atoned in great measure for lack of military training, but he was not destined to be put to the test; the King's mind misgave him as to the expedience and probable success of the enterprise: the delegates met in the General's tent, and the Declaration was signed on June 18th, 1639. Clarendon does not fail to make capital out of the Earl's military appointment. He says that "The King chose to make the Earl of Arundel his General, a man who was thought to be made choice of for his negative qualities. He did not love the Scots; he did not love the Puritans; which qualifications were allayed by another negative—he did not much love anybody else. But he was fit to keep the state of it, and his rank was such that no man would decline the serving under him."[1] One thing may at least be safely assumed: Arundel did not love Clarendon; and "his rank was such" that the latter may have indulged his rancour as a cover for his chagrin.

Arundel presided as High Steward at the trial of the Earl of Strafford in March, 1641, and is said to have evoked universal approbation by his just and dignified conduct of it, attributes which were sadly wanting as a rule upon such occasions; the only person who appeared to be dissatisfied was the King. Arundel, proud as ever, immediately resigned the staff of Lord Steward, and the King pettishly ordered him out of England, ostensibly in attendance upon the Queen-Mother on her journey to Holland, and "to remain beyond the seas during pleasure." He soon returned, however, but not for a lengthened sojourn. He foresaw the upshot of the increasing tension between the tyrannical but vacillating monarch and his subjects, and chose rather to absent himself and live quietly abroad, where he could indulge his tastes and, if possible, amend his health. In February, 1642, he sailed from Dover, never to return.

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[1] *History of the Rebellion*, i. 91.

Meanwhile, the marriage of his second but eldest surviving son, Henry Frederick—now known as Baron Mowbray, by which title he was, in 1640, summoned to the House of Peers—had been very fruitful, and Arundel found his grandchildren rapidly growing up. To them he was always most kind and affectionate, one or other of his grandsons constantly accompanying him on his continental travels.

Intestine troubles rapidly developed at home. Arundel Castle, as we have seen, changed hands more than once between the contending armies, and was finally reduced to a battered ruin. Lord Mowbray actively took part on the King's side, and Arundel performed his full share in contributing money and arms, and procuring intelligence for the assistance of the royal army. He is said to have spent £54,000 in this manner, which Tierney asserts must have been borrowed, as his reduced revenues barely brought in sufficient for the maintenance of himself and his family. He had, in 1641, petitioned the King to restore to him the title and honours of the dukedom, but with no immediate result. In 1644, however, Charles grudgingly bestowed upon him the inferior title of Earl of Norfolk, which had been held by his ancestor Thomas de Brotherton. The patent is dated from Oxford, June 6th, 1644, and there is at Arundel Castle an original draft of the warrant to Sir Edward Herbert, Attorney-General, dated May 4th preceding, to prepare the patent.[1]

Arundel remained abroad in spite of a summons from the House of Peers to return; and after travelling about for a considerable time, he settled at Padua, where his son, Lord Mowbray, with some difficulty joined him. He intended returning to England in 1646, but his health gave way, and the end soon came. Evelyn, who had accompanied him when he left England in 1642, mentions in his *Diary* a visit which he paid to the dying Earl. "It was Easter Monday that I was invited to breakfast at the Earle of Arundel's. I took my leave of him in his bed, where I left that great and excellent man in tears, on some private discourse of crosses that had befallen his illustrious family, particularly the undutifulness of his grandson Philip's turning Dominican friar."[1] This is a sad picture of the formerly proud and self-reliant noble; but one would imagine that the mental derangement of his eldest grandson, Thomas Howard, would have been the heaviest cross he had to bear in this regard. Of the alleged "undutifulness" of Philip, and the grotesquely inaccurate tales of his "seduction" by an unscrupulous friar, something must be said presently.

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[1] Original documents relating to the Howard family.

Arundel died September 24th; his remains were brought to England and consigned to the family vault at Arundel. He left directions in his will for a monument, to be designed by Fanelli, of an elaborate description, and one also for his son James, but these were not carried out; the Latin inscription upon his coffin was written by Francis Junius, his librarian.

Arundel was undoubtedly a man of remarkable personality, whose natural gifts brought him into prominence, in spite of his repellent reserve and proud and uncompromising spirit. Sir Edward Walker, who first became acquainted with him in 1633, and was subsequently advanced by the Earl's influence to the post of Garter King at Arms, thus describes the appearance of his patron:—

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[1] *Diary*, vol. i. p. 346.

"He was tall of stature, and of shape and proportion rather goodly than neat; his countenance was majestical and grave, his visage long, his eyes large, black, and piercing; he had a hooked nose, and some warts or moles on his cheeks: his countenance was brown, his hair thin both on his head and beard; he was of a stately presence and gate, so that any man that saw him, though in never so ordinary habit, could not but conclude him to be a great person, his garb and fashion drawing more observation than did the rich apparel of others; so that it was a common saying of the late Earl of Carlisle, 'Here comes the Earl of Arundel in his plain stuff and trunk hose, and his beard in his teeth, that looks more like a nobleman than any of us.'"

The name of Thomas, Earl of Arundel, will always be remembered as that of a great patron of art, and the first, in fact, of his countrymen to collect systematically objects of artistic interest and merit. Walpole, in his *Anecdotes of Painters*, styles him the "Father of Vertu in England," and says of him: "The Earl was not a mere selfish virtuoso, he was bountiful to men of talent, retaining some in his service, and liberal to all. He was one of the first who discovered the talents of Inigo Jones, and was himself, says Lilly, the first who 'brought over the new way of building with brick in the City, greatly to the safety of the City, and preservation of the wood of this nation.'"[1]

He constantly had agents in Europe on the look out for works of art of every species: paintings, sculpture, hangings, jewellery, armour, books, all were alike fish to his net; and he spent more than he could afford upon this hobby. In connection with this it may be mentioned that there is in the possession of the Duke of Norfolk a very handsome and curious Florentine shield, which tradition—crystallised in the form of an attached label—alleges to have been presented by the Duke of Tuscany to Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, at a grand tournament in 1536. As the Poet Earl was certainly not in Italy at that time—if he was ever there at all—this legend may have had its origin in the adventures of an imaginary person named Jack Wilton, servant to Henry Howard, written in 1593 by Nash, in which Surrey is represented as traversing Italy with the chief object of challenging all who demurred to his extravagant estimate of the beauty of the "fair Geraldine." It is far more probable that this shield is one of the few purchases of Thomas, Earl of Arundel, which have come into the possession of the Duke's immediate ancestors.

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[1] *Anecdotes of Painters*, vol. i., p. 294.

"The collection thus formed by the Earl," says Tierney, "amounted, when entire, to more than four hundred busts, statues, and inscribed stones, exclusive of books, paintings, and the valuable gems since transferred to the possession of the Duke of Marlborough."[1] The greater part of this collection came into the possession of Henry, his grandson, afterwards sixth Duke of Norfolk, who presented a large number to the University of Oxford.

The Earl was also much interested, in 1639–40, in a scheme for colonising Madagascar, for which a considerable sum of money was subscribed. "To this purpose," says Walker, "he had several meetings with merchants and other adventurers . . . and he was so pleased with it, as that I have seen an excellent piece drawn by that famous artist, Sir Anthony Vandike, of this Earl and his Lady sitting with a terrestrial globe between them, he with his Marshall's staff pointing at Madagascar."[2] This

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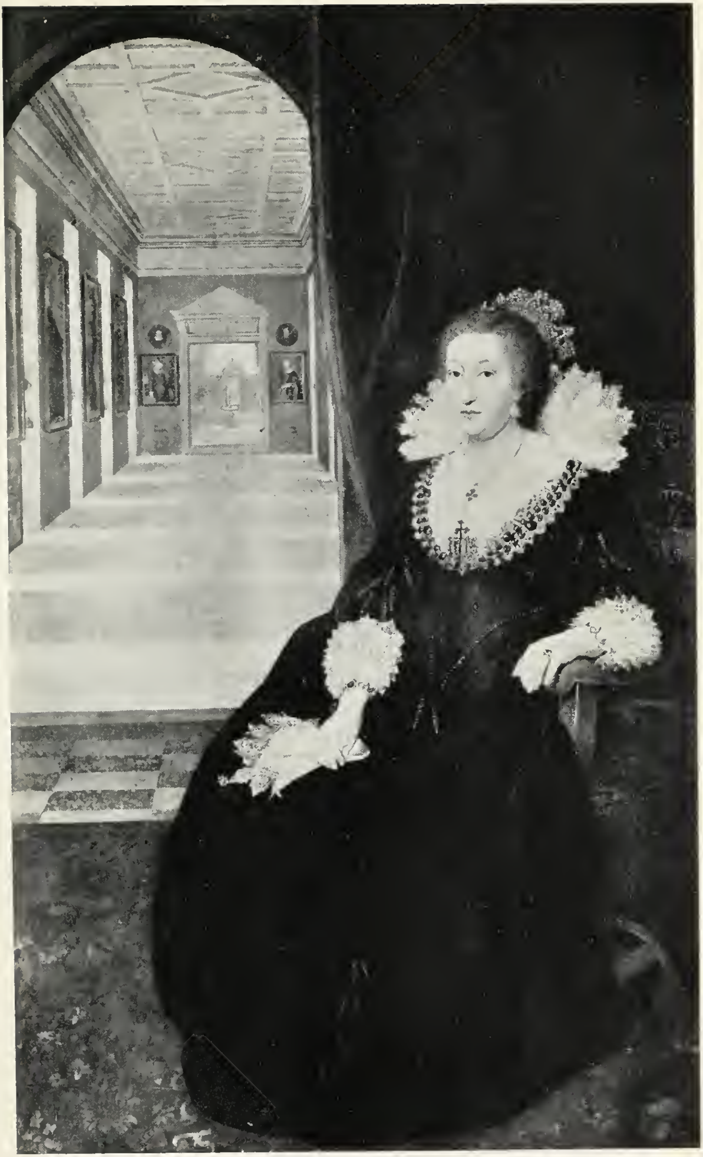
[1] *History of Arundel*, p. 483.

[2] *Historical Discourses*, p. 217.



ALATHEIA TALBOT, COUNTESS OF ARUNDEL AND SURREY

(*d.* 1654)

Through whom came eventually the heirship of the senior line of Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury

"excellent piece," it may be mentioned, now hangs in the ante-room to the library at Arundel Castle. The Earl is, however, pointing with his right forefinger to Madagascar, on the globe; but in other respects the picture agrees with Walker's description, and is ascribed to Vandyck.

Between the somewhat extravagant eulogy of Walker and the probably envious depreciation of Clarendon, an estimate may be formed, more nearly approaching the former, certainly, than the latter, of Arundel's character and attainments. That England owes him much in the matter of art cannot be questioned, while his probity, independence, and consistent loyalty afford a striking contrast to the prevailing attributes of his contemporaries.

Henry Frederick Howard, who succeeded his father in the earldom of Arundel, had already, as we have seen, been summoned to Parliament as Baron Mowbray, having previously been known, after the death of his brother, by the courtesy title of Lord Maltravers. He took his seat in April, 1640, and six months later he came into notice at York, taking an active part in the Scottish negotiations. Though he had been educated as a Catholic, he was among the first to sign the "Protestation" in May, 1641, by which he bound himself to "maintain and defend the Protestant religion expressed in the doctrine of the Church of England"; a belated and futile instrument, which signally failed in its purpose. A few days later, Mowbray had an altercation in the House with the Earl of Pembroke, then Lord Chamberlain, when from hard words they would, but for the intervention of others, have come to blows, with the result that both were committed to the Tower, and Pembroke was deprived of his office. Mowbray was not long kept in detention; and when the final appeal to arms became inevitable, he threw in his lot with the King, continuing to take an active part in all the military operations, and receiving, with others, the distinction of the honorary degree of Master of Arts at Oxford, after the capture of Banbury. In 1646 he contrived, as we have seen, to hasten to Padua in time to be present at his father's death-bed. Returning to England in the following year, he was permitted, after some trouble, to redeem his sequestrated estates for the sum of £6,000, in consideration of the Parliament "having made use of monies to the value of fifteen thousand pounds, assigned by the late Earl of Arundel for payment of his debts."

During the remaining four or five years of his life there is, unhappily, but little good to be told of him; for he devoted all his energies towards setting aside his father's will, and harassing and robbing his mother. The story is a dismal one. He obtained administration of the will by means of one perjury, and attempted to repudiate its provisions by another; he reviled his mother even in the hearing of servants, denounced her as a popish recusant, and accused her of enormous crimes of dishonesty and embezzlement. She maintained a dignified attitude, while endeavouring by all possible means to frustrate his designs, and Tierney reproduces in full a most excellent letter which she wrote to Lord Andover,[1] who was acting for her son, and in which her loyal and affectionate allusions to her late husband are very touching:

"Next, you are pleased to say that I brought a vast addition to the family. I must ever say, that the estate I brought is most inconsiderable, in respect of the person to whom it was brought: else I am no way ashamed of it. . . . This account I have given you in answer to your letter, and because I know the love you beare to the family in general, and in particular the respect you beare to him that is w^th^ God, who, as your Lord^p^ says most truly, hath left no fellow behind him to equall him both in honour and vertue: and I shall dayly pray that all his may make him their example."[1]

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[1] Charles, son of Thomas, first Earl of Berkshire, and therefore Arundel's second cousin.

The validity of the will was declared, after a delay of three years, by the Court of Delegates; but Arundel continued his venomous attacks, hoping that his mother's death might soon remove all obstacles, though she was by no means an old woman.

The inevitable summons came, however, to the son before the mother: he died April 17th, 1652, and she survived him two years, "praying God to forgive him for his unnaturall carrige towards her."

Arundel's marriage, as has been stated, was fruitful: he had nine sons and three daughters. Of the former, Thomas and Henry, the two eldest, succeeded him, the dukedom being restored, as we shall see, in the person of the first named. Philip, the third, became a cardinal; Charles and Bernard, the fourth and eighth, were the ancestors of the late and present dukes; the others died without issue.

Meanwhile, the Civil War had run its course, and some gallant members of the House of Howard had given their services, and in some instances their lives, for the King. Sir Francis, of Corby, had raised a regiment of horse, selling two of his estates for its support, but did not live to see the Restoration, dying in 1659. His brother,

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[1] Tierney, p. 506.

Sir Thomas of Tursdale, and his son Thomas, both holding commands in his regiment, were killed respectively at Pierce Bridge and Atherton Moor; while John and Philip, sons of Sir Philip of Naworth, lost their lives at Rowton Heath; Sir Robert Howard, fifth son of the first Earl of Suffolk, commanded a regiment of dragoons. On the other side was conspicuous Charles Howard, their kinsman of a younger generation, grandson of Sir Philip, who threw in his lot with the Parliament, though he was sometimes accounted to be of doubtful mind, and subsequently took a leading part in the Restoration, for which he was created Earl of Carlisle, having previously been ennobled by Cromwell in 1658, so that he would appear at first sight to have adopted in anticipation the sage advice of Mr. Pickwick, "When there are two crowds, shout with the largest"; but it is not difficult to conceive of a man of innate loyalty being repelled and disgusted by the antics of a monarch at once tyrannical and incapable.

The death of Henry Frederick, Earl of Arundel, found the Commonwealth established. His son Thomas, of course, succeeded to the titles; but he was, unhappily, rapidly developing a hopeless insanity, and though he lingered many years, he was no more than a cipher, and a hindrance to the succession. The active administration of the family affairs consequently devolved upon his brother Henry, and it was at his instigation—to anticipate a little—that, in the first year of Charles II., a petition, in the form of a Bill, was presented by ninety-one peers for the restoration of the dukedom of Norfolk. It was first introduced August 30th, 1660, and received the royal assent December 29th following. This Act was confirmed and more precisely defined by another which passed December 20th, 1661, with the result that the title and honours of the dukedom were restored to Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, with the original precedence of his ancestor, John Howard (who, as we have seen, was created in 1483), with certain remainders, viz.:

Firstly, to Thomas, the existing Earl of Arundel, Surrey, and Norfolk, and the heirs male of his body; in default of these, to the heirs male of the body;

Secondly, of Henry Frederick, Earl of Arundel, Surrey, and Norfolk, the father of the said Thomas;

Thirdly, of Thomas, Earl of Arundel, Surrey, and Norfolk, who died in 1646;

Fourthly, of Philip, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, the father of the last-named Thomas;

Fifthly, of Thomas, Earl of Suffolk, half-brother to Philip;

Sixthly, of Lord William Howard of Naworth, brother to Thomas, Earl of Suffolk;

Seventhly, to Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, and his issue male.

In connection with these provisions, it is advisable to revert for a moment to an Act obtained, in 1627, by Thomas, Earl of Arundel, and before alluded to.[1] This Act, in addition to securing the castle and honour against alienation from the rightful successors, further defined:

> "That the said title, name, and dignity of Earl of Arundel, and castle, honour, and lordship of Arundel, and the titles, names, and dignities of Lord Fitzalan, Lord of Clun and Oswaldestre, and Lord Maltravers, and all places, pre-eminences, arms, ensigns, and dignities to the said Earldom, castle, honour, and

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[1] See *ante*, p. 490,

baronies belonging, and the borough and manor of Arundel, with certain property specified shall for ever stand, be, and remain estated, conveyed, and assured, limited, and settled to him, the said Thomas, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, and the heirs male of his body; and, for default of such issue, to the heirs of his body; and, for default of such issue, to his uncle, the Lord William Howard, and the heirs male of his body; and, for default of such issue, to the heirs of the body of the said Lord William Howard; and, for default of such issue, to the said Thomas, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, and his heirs for ever."[1]

Here, it will be noticed, Lord William Howard is preferred, to the exclusion of his elder brother, Thomas, Earl of Suffolk, whereas in the Act of 1661 the latter is included in his proper precedence. The obvious result is that, in the event of the failure of heirs male to Earl Thomas, the son of Philip, the dukedom and earldom will once more be separated, the former going to the Suffolk branch, descended from Philip Howard's half-brother Thomas, and the latter to the Carlisle branch, descended from William, younger brother to Thomas. There are other contingencies also involved through the curious construction of the Act of 1627, very prejudicial to the good estate of the earldom, which the framer of the Act was so anxious to secure. The reader may readily evolve these if his curiosity and interest prompt such investigation; they are at present happily remote, and may be dismissed with the aspiration *absit omen!*

The exclusion of the Suffolk branch from the earldom in 1627 remains unexplained; that it was accidental cannot for a moment be imagined, and from the apparent absence of any protest on the part of Theophilus, second Earl of

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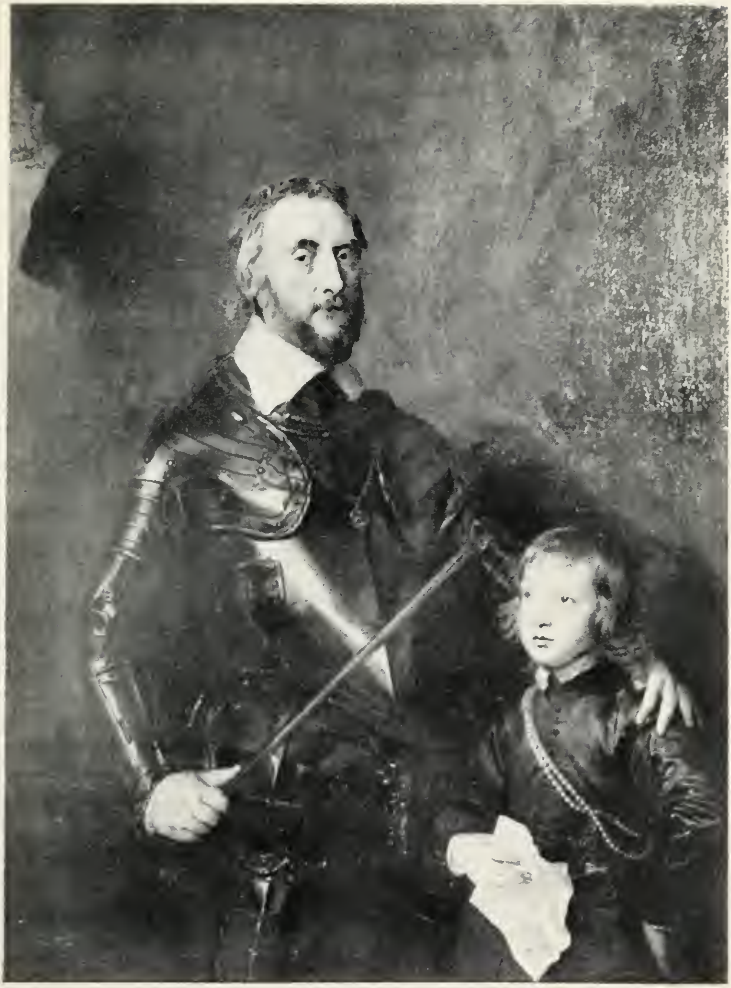
[1] Tierney, p. 133.



HENRY FREDERICK HOWARD, EARL OF ARUNDEL, SURREY, AND NORFOLK (1608–1652)

With his eldest son, Thomas Howard, afterwards restored as fifth Duke of Norfolk (1627–1677)

Suffolk—his father having died in 1626—the natural conclusion is that it was by him accepted as a family arrangement.[1]

To return from speculation to history: Henry Howard, in consequence of his brother's unfortunate condition, found himself in the anomalous position of being practically the representative of his house, while devoid of any title of nobility. He had been educated as a Catholic, and appears to have remained constant to his faith; and on this account, no doubt, as well as his adherence to the King's cause, he found it necessary to abstain from bringing himself into undue prominence, passing a great deal of his time abroad. His character is somewhat diversely described by different writers. Tierney and John Evelyn are perhaps too laudatory—which one would expect from the latter; the writer in the *Dictionary of National Biography* sums him up as good-natured but of rough manners; while St. Evremond, according to the Count Grammont, speaking of the beautiful Miss Hamilton, at a later date, says: "And has she even as much as vouchsafed to look at Henry Howard, who is upon the point of being the first duke in England, and who is already in actual possession of all the estates of the house of Norfolk? I confess that he is a clown; but what other lady is there in England who would not have put up with his stupidity and his disagreeable person, to be the first duchess in the kingdom, with £25,000 a year?"[1]

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[1] Sir Harris Nicholas, in his *Synopsis of the Peerage* (as quoted by Mr. H. K. Staple Causton, *The Howard Papers*, p. 611), remarks: "The cause of this strange omission probably was, that Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk, died several years before the Act of Limitation was passed: whilst his brother (Lord William Howard) survived till 1640." This seems an inadequate explanation. The Suffolk succession was, in 1627, apparently fully secured, and Lord William was already sixty-four years of age, with a numerous family. There does not appear to be any ground for the tacit assumption of Sir H. Nicholas that Theophilus and his children were deliberately excluded on personal grounds.

This was during his widowerhood, his first wife, Lady Anne Somerset, elder daughter of Edward, second Marquis of Worcester, having died in 1662.

Henry Howard comes before us in a somewhat startling fashion in the year 1654, two years after his father's death. It will be recollected that members of the family of Holland—relatives of that Bess Holland who played such a conspicuous and discreditable part in the ménage of Thomas, third Duke—were for some generations stewards or agents of the Howard estates in Norfolk;[2] and one of them appears at this period to have been involved in some business in this connection, his conduct of which aroused the ire of the acting head of the house. What his offence was we do not know; but it must presumably have been of a heinous character, involving a direct insult to his master, for Whitelock, in his *Memorials*, under the date September 27th, 1654, has this terse entry: "Mr. Howard, son to the Earl of Arundel, slew one Mr. Holland in the passage going to the Star Chamber, where a Committee sat."[3] Strange doings, indeed! A duel—was it a duel, or a swift act of vengeance?—perpetrated within the precincts of Parliament, and this in spite of a recent very stringent ordinance of Cromwell, by which duelling was denounced in the strongest terms, and the penalty of murder was to be inflicted in case of death.

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[1] *Memoirs*, by Anthony Hamilton, the lady's brother. Grammont married 'la belle Hamilton."

[2] See *ante*, p. 158.

[3] *Memorials*, p. 606. He was, of course, *brother* to the then Earl of Arundel.

We hear no more of it, however: the members of the committee in the Star Chamber may have heard the clash of steel, or the cry of the ill-fated Holland as he fell mortally wounded; but the slayer appears to have escaped scot free.

Howard accompanied Count Lesley, a friend of his grandfather, on a mission to Constantinople in 1664, and appears to have been everywhere received with the greatest respect and honour. Starting in February, he was many months on his travels. After spending some weeks at Vienna, he and Count Lesley, with a huge train, proceeded in barges down the Danube to Belgrade, and thence overland, by way of Samandria, Nissa, and Philippopolis, to Adrianople. Their entry into this town was a splendid pageant, as described in *A Relation of a Journey of the Rt. Hon. Henry Howard from London to Vienna and thence to Constantinople*, by John Burbury.[1] They arrived at Constantinople in October, and returned to Vienna in March following.

Henry Howard took a leading part in the various efforts which were being made, from 1661 onwards, to procure a relaxation of the severe penal laws against Catholics. Unhappily, owing to conflicting interests which had no real bearing upon the principal object in view, these attempts repeatedly came to nought. Lord Henry, as one of the "Moderates," only demanding the right to practise their religion in peace and quietness, was very strongly against those who, by untimely and irritating demands and jealousy of others, seemed likely to wreck their cause, as indeed they did in a great measure, though it had been entertained at first with attention and moderation. Writing to Father Lesley in August, 1667, Lord Henry condemns severely the intemperate zeal of Dr. Leybourne, President of the English College at Douay, and concludes:

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[1] pp. 144-8.

> "I sweare, in secular matters and things not of faith, but of secular power and interest, should the pope himselfe come with an army to invade us, I dare sweare that n'ere an understanding papist in England but would, upon that Scoare, shoote a bullett in his head; for I am sure I would; for, in all matters abstracting from secular government and our coppyhoulds heere, I'le beleeve as farre as any in spirituall matters."[1]

A perfectly justifiable and sensible attitude, and well adapted for the times in which he lived; though he was not an adaptable man with regard to his religion, beyond a certain point, as we shall see.

After the Great Fire in 1666, Gresham College ceased to be available for the meetings of the Royal Society, and Howard offered the members accommodation for this purpose in Arundel House. The library there contained the valuable collection of books and manuscripts collected by Earl Thomas; but his grandson was not in any sense a bookworm, and Evelyn, who viewed with regret the neglected condition of the collection, suggested its bestowal upon the Royal Society, which Howard agreed to; and he also, by Evelyn's advice, presented the fine collection of marbles, since known as the "Arundel Marbles," to the University of Oxford. The Royal Society was not very appreciative of the handsome gift bestowed upon it, for no one appears to have taken the trouble even to make a catalogue for many years, and the donor had occasion, as late as 1677, to request that the library might be better looked after. Arundel House was pulled down soon afterwards, and the books transferred to Gresham College. The Honourable Charles Howard, in his *Anecdotes*, gives a gruesome account of the unhappy fate of many of the marbles, etc., which remained at Arundel House at this period. It was designed to erect a new family mansion upon some of the ground covered by Arundel House and the gardens, and when the building of Arundel, Norfolk, and Surrey Streets was commenced, a wall was erected to prevent encroachment upon the site reserved for this purpose; but the workmen threw the débris over this wall upon the colonnade under which the marbles had been placed, broke it down, and buried or damaged many of them. We have not space to follow the fortunes of this great collection; it was dispersed in every direction; portions were buried for years under rubbish, then unearthed, bought and sold by various persons. We hear of one portion of a large column which was converted to the very utilitarian purpose of a garden roller.

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[1] Copy at Norfolk House; quoted by Tierney, p. 524.

The donation of the marbles to Oxford University had received recognition in the form of the honorary degree of D.C.L.; and in March, 1669, Lord Henry Howard was raised to the peerage under the title of Baron Howard, of Castle Rising, in the county of Norfolk,[1] and immediately afterwards was entrusted with an embassy to the Emperor of Morocco. For some reason which has not come to light, the actual accomplishment of this mission was placed in other hands; but Lord Howard was not, apparently, deemed to be in fault, for in October, 1672, he was created Earl of Norwich and hereditary Earl Marshal of England;[1] and on the death, in 1677, of his afflicted brother Thomas, at Padua, he succeeded to the title and estates, taking his seat in the House of Lords as Duke of Norfolk in January following.

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[1] Pat. 21, Car. 2.

He was not destined, however, to occupy it for any length of time. The summer of 1678 saw the commencement of the agitation concerning the alleged "Popish Plot," engineered and successfully conducted by that prince of perjured scoundrels, Titus Oates—an historical incident which, but for the cruel sacrifice of innocent lives, and other terrible injustices which it entailed, might surely have been relegated to the position of a Gilbertian burlesque. The time, however, was ripe for the exploits of such an adventurer. Two and a half years previously a proclamation had debarred any Papist, or any individual reported as such, from entering the precincts of the royal palaces on pain of imprisonment; and in November, 1678, the Duke of Norfolk had the alternative presented to him of abandoning his creed or walking out of the House. He chose the latter, with other Catholic peers; and a vote of thanks was accorded to him for the good service he had rendered before his withdrawal. He had, after the death of his first wife in 1662, built for himself a small house near Bruges, close by the Franciscan convent at Princenhoff, and here he had, in fact, spent much of his leisure during the intervening years. To this retreat he now betook himself, and though he returned to England in 1681, he does not appear to have taken much part in public affairs.

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[1] The succession in the office of Earl Marshall is under a settlement practically identical with that of the dukedom, as laid down in the Act of 1661.

He died in London, January 11th, 1684, and was buried at Arundel. His heart, together with that of his infant son, John, was embalmed: two porphyry pots containing them were placed in the chapel at Princenhoff, and remained there until the French Revolution.

We learn, from *Luttrell's Diary*,[1] that Henry, Duke of Norfolk, fought a duel about the commencement of the year 1681 with the Seneschal of Mons, brother to the Prince of Ligny, the quarrel arising out of some disrespectful words of the latter concerning the Duchess of Norfolk. The Duke appears to have had the best of it, but the Seneschal subsequently followed him to England, and more than one attempt—frustrated, however, by the King—was made to fight it out.

The alleged subject of this quarrel is what we are mostly concerned with. The Duke took for his second wife Jane, daughter of Robert Bickerton, gentleman of the wine cellar to Charles II.; and about this marriage there is a certain amount of mystery. John Evelyn, writing in his *Diary* under the date October 17th, 1671, says:

> "My Lord Henry Howard . . . told me that tho' he kept that idle creature Mrs. B——, and would leave £200 a yeare to yᵉ sonne he had by her, he would never marry her, and that the King himself had cautioned him against her. All the world knows how he kept this promise, and I was sorry at heart to heare what he now confessed to me; that a person and a family which I so much honoured for the sake of that noble and illustrious friend of mine, his grandfather, should dishonour and pollute them both with those base and vicious courses he of late had taken since the death of Sir Sam. Tuke and that of his owne virtuous lady (my Lady Anne Somerset, sister to the Marquess);

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[1] Vol. i. p. 156.

> who whilst they lived preserved this gentleman from those many extravagances that impaired both his fortune and reputation."[1]

Subsequently, in January, 1678, he says: "The Duke had now newly declared his marriage with his concubine, whom he promised me he would never marry."

Thus far Evelyn. The writer in the *Dictionary of National Biography* states simply that "in 1678 he married his mistress, Jane Bickerton," but it is not apparent where the date is obtained, unless from Evelyn, who mentions the marriage as then "newly declared"; no date is assigned to it by Collins, or Burke; but the legitimacy of the offspring of the marriage appears to be unquestioned. Tierney quotes a letter from the Duke (then Earl of Norwich) to one Mr. Hay, in June, 1675, in which occurs the following passage:

> "As to his thanks to the He and Shee, etc, I say little till the lieftenant goes, by whom I shall explaine what the Shee is (as you already know). But I will answear that all her life she will be his cordiall faithful servant. And indeed, if ever I have any returne of ought I furnish him, I desire it to be to her and hers, who yet have little or nothing if I dye. And, to avoyd all disputes or discoveries, all for her and them is to be given to Sir James Hayes, and, as I have privately directed him, to dispose of. And this is hint enough, if I dye: Ergo, Sir James Hayes is the sole trustee for the hen and chicks."[2]

The "lieftenant" was his second son, Thomas, by his first marriage; and Tierney assumes, very reasonably, that a message concerning a disreputable connection would not have been entrusted to him. Mr. Causton, in the *Howard Papers*, takes the same view; but there is distinct evidence that some attempt was made after the Duke's death to throw discredit upon him and the Duchess in this regard, which is combatted by Philip, Cardinal Howard.[1] A secret marriage naturally suggests itself in explanation: but how could it be so long kept secret, seeing that the first child was born in 1668? And what a frightful injustice to the lady!

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[1] *Diary*, Vol. ii. 352.

[2] Tierney, p. 536.

The diary of a well-known person, a man of literary distinction, and acquainted with many of the most prominent people of his time, must always be held to be of paramount value as an historical record; Evelyn's *Diary* is undoubtedly so regarded. Are we to assume that he invented this conversation? Or, on the other hand, can we imagine that Howard deliberately alluded to his wife as his mistress—an "idle creature" whom he "kept"? Mr. Causton suggests that he was doing this very thing in order to amuse himself; but the one assumption appears as unlikely as the other. One sentence, however, in the entry gives us pause: "All the world knows how he kept this promise." All the world, according to Evelyn, knew six years later; but a "diary" cannot be anticipatory. Did he edit or "cook" his *Diary* latterly? Moreover, he alludes to Sir Samuel Tuke, in 1671, as already dead, whereas his death is stated by more than one authority to have occurred in 1673. It may well be that Evelyn is correct on this point, for errors of this kind frequently creep into biographical notices of persons long dead; but the other sentence is not so easily put aside, and it tends certainly to discount the value of the *Diary*. The marriage remains, as has been said, something of a mystery: we can only hope that it did take place, secretly, at some earlier date;

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[1] See Tierney, p. 537.

and though this assumption involves the other, that Howard spoke of his wife in this wretched and disgraceful fashion to Evelyn, he in some measure atoned for it in later years by fighting a duel in defence of her good name. She afterwards married Colonel Thomas Maxwell.

Howard was, by some members of his family and others, accused of keeping his elder brother at Padua under the plea of his insanity, while he was in reality in full possession of his faculties; but there does not appear to be any ground for the allegation, which probably had its origin in the ill-feeling created by some disputes between Henry Howard and his brother.

Charles Howard, fourth son of Henry Frederick, Earl of Arundel—though *third* in point of law, Philip having become, through joining a monastic order of the Church of Rome, dead in law—lived at Deepdene, near Dorking. He was a man contemplative and retiring by nature, and being a Catholic, this country retreat suited him in every respect. He spent a great deal of time upon the construction of an elaborate garden, etc., and also dabbled in chemistry. He emerged from his retirement, however, in 1680, in order to contest his right to the manors of Greystoke and Brough, in Cumberland and Westmoreland, by virtue of a settlement made by his father in 1647. This settlement—putting it tersely—placed the property in the hands of four trustees[1] and their heirs, in trust for certain uses, then already fulfilled; and in remainder for a term of two hundred years in trust for the use of Henry

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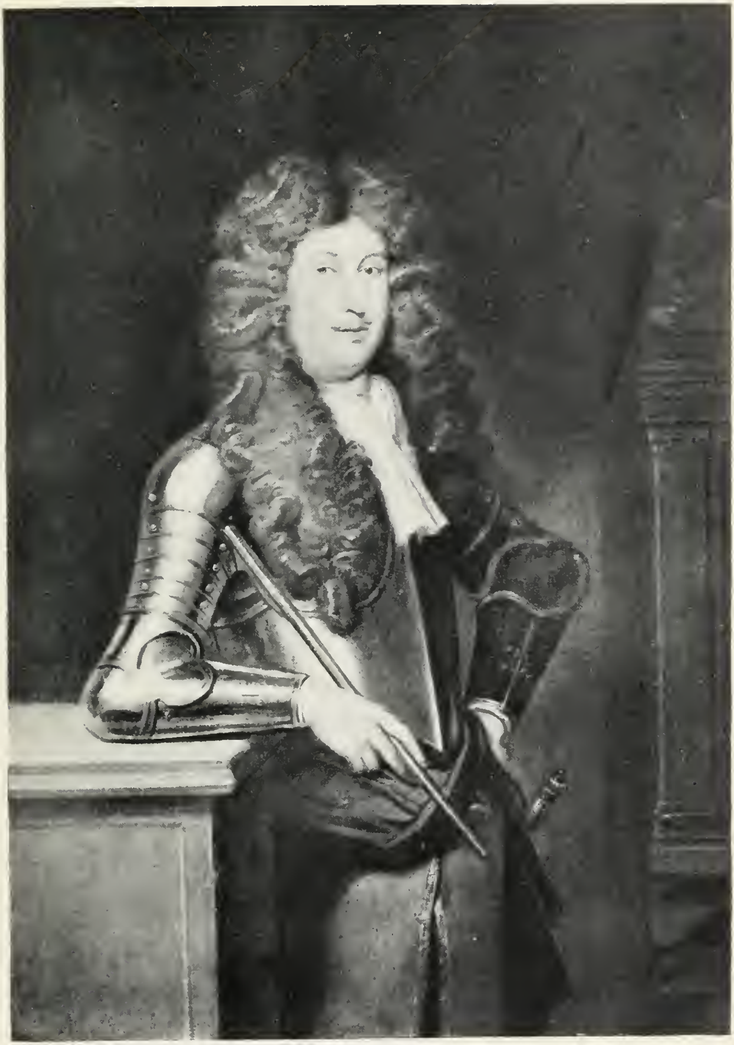
[1] They were: James, Duke of Richmond and Lenox, Edward, Lord Howard of Eserick, Sir Thomas Hatton, and the Marquis of Dorchester; of whom the last named was, in 1680, the only survivor.



HENRY HOWARD, SIXTH DUKE OF NORFOLK, K.G., P.C.
(1628-1684)

(now Duke of Norfolk) during the life of Thomas, his elder brother (the imbecile), or any heirs of his body (which he was obviously not likely to have); remainder, after Henry became Earl of Arundel (the restoration of the dukedom not then being imminent), to the use of Charles Howard and his heirs male. This appears clear enough, and Charles should obviously have had the use in 1677, on the death of Thomas.

His elder brother, however, either doubting in sincerity the legal effectiveness of the settlement, or, as unhappily appears more probable, having recourse to a deliberate trick in order to defraud his brother, had, in 1675, induced the Marquis of Dorchester to resign his trust, while he and Richard Marriott, attorney-at-law, his agent, arranged a conveyance to the latter of his interest in the estate. The result was that, when Charles Howard, after the death of Thomas in 1677, demanded the rents, Henry told him that the interest was conveyed absolutely to Marriott, while the latter replied that he was merely the servant of the lately succeeding Duke, and must do as he was bid. Charles Howard obtained leave to proceed in Chancery against his brother, and the decision was given in his favour, June 17th, 1682; but this decision was reversed by Lord Chief Justice North when he was raised to the Woolsack in 1683, the Duke remaining victor for the time. He died in the following year, and Charles Howard renewed the attack against his nephew, the new Duke, with the result that, on June 19th, 1685, the first decision was upheld, and he remained secure as Charles Howard of Greystoke. A shady business, we must admit. There was a legal technicality by which the settlement might be questioned, but the equitable design was apparent enough, and the Duke and his agent came very badly out of it.[1]

Allusion has already been made to the "Popish Plot"; Henry, Duke of Norfolk, as we have seen, was compelled to give up his seat in the House of Lords by reason of the panic which was caused by Oates' outrageous and ridiculous falsehoods, and retired to the privacy of his little house near Bruges. Another member of the Howard family, however, was more disastrously affected. This was William Howard, fifth son of Thomas, Earl of Arundel, and therefore uncle of Duke Henry. He was born in 1614, and married, in 1637, Mary, sister of Henry, fifth and last Baron Stafford, who died in the same year. He was not by rights the last baron; but his cousin, Roger Stafford, was peremptorily deprived of his title in 1639 by reason of his poverty. This gross injustice was perpetrated, it is stated by some authorities, at the instigation of the Howards: possibly it may have been so; at any rate, the title was bestowed September 12th, 1640, upon Sir William Howard, who was made K.B. at the coronation of Charles I., he and his wife becoming Baron and Baroness Stafford, with remainder, in default of male heirs, to their female issue; and in November of the same year, by reason of a question of precedence in the barony, he was created Viscount Stafford. He went to Antwerp when the Civil War broke out, and appears to have spent most of his time on the Continent for some years. At the Restoration his estates were restored to him; he thought, however, "that the King had not rewarded him for his former services as he deserved, so he often voted against the Court, and made great applications always to the Earl of Shaftesbury."[1] Evelyn and Burnet agree that he was not a favourite with his own family, and the general impression conveyed by his contemporaries is that of a weak and unattractive character. He was a Catholic, and was selected by Oates as one of the objects of his attack. Four other Catholic peers—namely, the Earl of Powis, Lord Petre, Lord Arundel of Wardour, and Lord Bellasyse—were impugned at the same time, and they were all committed to the Tower in October, 1678, for high treason, in conspiring against the King's life, etc.

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[1] The summary of these proceedings is taken chiefly from the account given by Mr. Staple Causton, in *The Howard Papers*, pp. 195, 233.

It was alleged that Stafford had been promised the post of Paymaster-General of the Army under the new régime to be arranged (by the Jesuits!), with other circumstantial stories, which were accepted apparently without demur, solely on the word of Oates. The "five Popish lords," as they were termed, remained in the Tower for two years without further proceedings being taken against them. In November, 1680, it was determined to arraign Stafford, as being the least likely to cause trouble by a clever or spirited defence. He was prosecuted by the House of Commons, for whom there appeared Sergeant Maynard, Sir William Jones, Sir Francis Winnington, and George Treby. Heneage, Lord Finch, was Lord High Steward, and he behaved with courtesy and consideration to the prisoner throughout the trial. Stafford defended himself with far more spirit and ability than was anticipated, and made some of the witnesses look very foolish; he denied all acquaintance with Oates and his gang of liars, and insisted that two witnesses were required by law to establish any overt act of treason. This was overruled—after consideration—and the tide flowed strongly against him. It is interesting to read of the impression produced upon John Evelyn — a zealous and bigoted Protestant—who was present at the trial, by the personality and evidence of Oates:

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[1] Burnet, *Hist. of My Own Time*, ii. 256.

> "My Lord spoke in his own defence, denying the charge altogether, and that he had never seen Oates or Turberville at the time and manner affirm'd: in truth, their testimonie did little weigh with me. . . . One thing my Lord said as to Oates, which I confesse did exceedingly affect me; that a person who during his depositions should so vauntingly brag that tho' he went over to the Church of Rome, yet he was never a Papist, nor of their religion, all the time that he seemed to apostatize from the Protestant; but only as a spie, tho' he confessed he took their Sacrament, worshipped images, went thro' all their oathes and discipline of their proselytes, swearing secrecy and to be faithfull, but with intent to come over again and betray them; that such an hypocrite, that had so deeply prevaricated as even to turne idolater (for so we of the Church of England term'd it), attesting God so solemnly that he was intirely theirs and devoted to their interest, and consequently (as he pretended), trusted; I say that the witnesse of such a proflygate wretch should be admitted against the life of a peere, this my Lord look'd upon as a monstrous thing, and such as must needs redound to the dishonour of our religion and nation. And verily I am of his Lordship's opinion; such a man's testimonie should not be taken against the life of a dog. But the merit of something material which he discover'd against Coleman,[1] put him in such esteeme with the Parliament, that now, I fancy, he stuck at nothing, and thought everybody was to take what he said for gospel. The consideration of this and some other circumstances began to stagger me; particularly how 'twas possible that one

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[1] Edward Coleman was convicted and executed for "compassing the death of the King."

who went among the papists on such a designe, and pretended to be intrusted with so many letters and commissions from the Pope and the party, nay, and deliver'd them to so many greate persons, should not reserve one of them to shew, nor so much as one copy of any commission, which he who had such dexterity in opening letters might certainly have done, to the undeniable conviction of those whom he accus'd; but, as I said, he gained credit on Coleman; but as to others whom he so madly flew upon, I am little inclined to believe his testimonie, he being so slight a person, so passionate, ill bred, and of such impudent behaviour; nor is it likely that such piercing politicians as the Jesuits should trust him with so high and so dangerous secrets."

Most true, John Evelyn! even if the Jesuits had any such "high and dangerous" secrets to impart; whatever else they may be held by panic-stricken Protestants to be, they have never been reckoned as fools. No wonder the diarist was "staggered" by what he saw and heard; his remarks really constitute a terse and pithy commentary upon the whole of these proceedings. Dr. Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph, who had it in his power to discredit utterly one of the principal witnesses against Stafford—one Turbervill—discreetly—and discreditably—held his peace. He had expressed doubts as to the guilt of Berry—porter at Somerset House, who was condemned in 1678—and thereby incurred displeasure; and upon the present occasion, says Burnet, "was in great difficulties . . . it was visible that his discovering this against Turbervill would have aggravated those censures, and very much blasted him. In opposition to all this, here was a justice to be done, and a service to truth, toward the saving a man's life; and the question was very hard to be determined. He advised with all his friends, and with myself in particular. The much greater number were of opinion that he ought to be silent."[1]

Stafford was found guilty by fifty-five votes against thirty-three, and was sentenced in the usual terms to a traitor's death, which, however, was by the King commuted to the axe. North, in his *Examen* of Kennett, says that "a brace of ignoramus Sheriffs" questioned the King's right to commute Stafford to beheading upon an impeachment for high treason, and brought the question into the House, and remarks of Kennett: "This pious author is to be recommended, who says 'the wiser members came to apprehend that such a dispute might end in preventing the execution of Lord Stafford; and therefore the House was content that his head should be severed from his body.'"[2]

Burnet says that Stafford, after his condemnation, desired to see him and the Bishop of London, and charged him with a message to Lord Essex, Lord Russell, and Sir William Jones. "He had," says the historian, "a mind to live if it was possible," and though he knew nothing about a plot against the King's life, he could reveal many other matters of great importance. Burnet was commissioned to inform him that he would not be pressed upon the particular charge against himself if he would reveal the Papists' designs. The Earl of Carlisle[3] coming in during their conference, Stafford desired him to convey a message to the House of Lords that he would appear before them whenever they desired, and he was immediately summoned. "He began with a long relation of their first consultations after the Restoration about the methods of bringing in their religion, which they all agreed could only be brought about by a toleration. He told them of the Earl of Bristol's project, and went on to tell who had undertaken to procure the toleration for them; and then he named the Earl of Shaftesbury. When he named him, he was ordered to withdraw, and the Lords would hear no more from him."[1] Poor man! "He had a mind to live, if it was possible";—we all have—and hope, which human nature will never relinquish as long as life remains, prompted him to make a last effort; but he might have known—perhaps, after all, he did know—that it would be in vain.

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[1] In Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, ed. 1823, we are told on the title page that it contains notes by the Earls of Dartmouth and Hardwicke, and Speaker Onslow, hitherto unpublished; to which are added the cursory remarks of Swift. The notes are distinguished by the initial of the writer, and Swift's "cursory" comment at this point is very characteristic: "Damned advice. S." (Vol. ii. p. 258.)

[2] P. 220.

[3] Charles, 1st Earl of Carlisle, Stafford's relative.

On December 29th, 1680, he died on the scaffold, protesting his innocence to the last. Of his own relations among the peers, four out of five pronounced against him, namely, Lord Howard of Escrick, and the Earls of Carlisle, Suffolk, and Berkshire; Lord Mowbray—afterwards seventh Duke of Norfolk—alone was on the side of the minority. Time, as in the case of so many other trials of this nature, has reversed the verdict. Five years after his death a bill was introduced with this object, but was not carried through. In 1688, however, Stafford's widow was created Countess of Stafford during her life, and the eldest son, Henry, was created Earl of Stafford, with remainder to his brothers. The title became extinct in 1762; but the barony was revived in Sir George William Jerningham—a descendant of Stafford's grand-daughter,

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[1] Burnet, Vol. ii. pp. 265-6,

Mary, who married, October, 1699, Edward Plowden, Esq.—July 6th, 1825.

Thus was yet another condemnation of a Howard, after a formal "trial," stultified; the four other "popish lords" were not arraigned, but remained in the Tower until, in February, 1683–4, they were released, having been accused on false evidence—save one, Lord Petre, whom death had already liberated; and the author of all the mischief and misery is designated by historians and biographers to this day by the only title which he had earned—"Titus Oates, *perjurer!*"

Such a terrible wrong as was inflicted upon Stafford cannot be remedied in this world: but his name was not forgotten when, in 1886, that of his grandfather, Philip Howard, and some three hundred others, were sent to Rome;[1] and in view of the undoubted fact that his religion alone procured his condemnation and death, William Howard, Viscount Stafford, is named in the Papal Decree of December 4th in that year, a "Venerable Servant of God."

It will be recollected that John Evelyn, on the occasion of his last visit to Thomas, Earl of Arundel, found the latter in tears over some family afflictions, "particularly the undutifullness of his grandson Philip's turning dominican friar."[2] Of this Philip and his "undutifullness" we must now give some account; and indeed the lamentations of his grandfather were somewhat superfluous, not to say illogical, for he had never raised any obstacle against the education of his children and grandchildren in that faith in which he had himself been so carefully reared, and which he had forsaken for reasons which he would probably have found some difficulty in defining; and it should not have surprised him that one of them found his vocation as a priest and monastic in that religion.

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[1] See *ante*, p. 486.

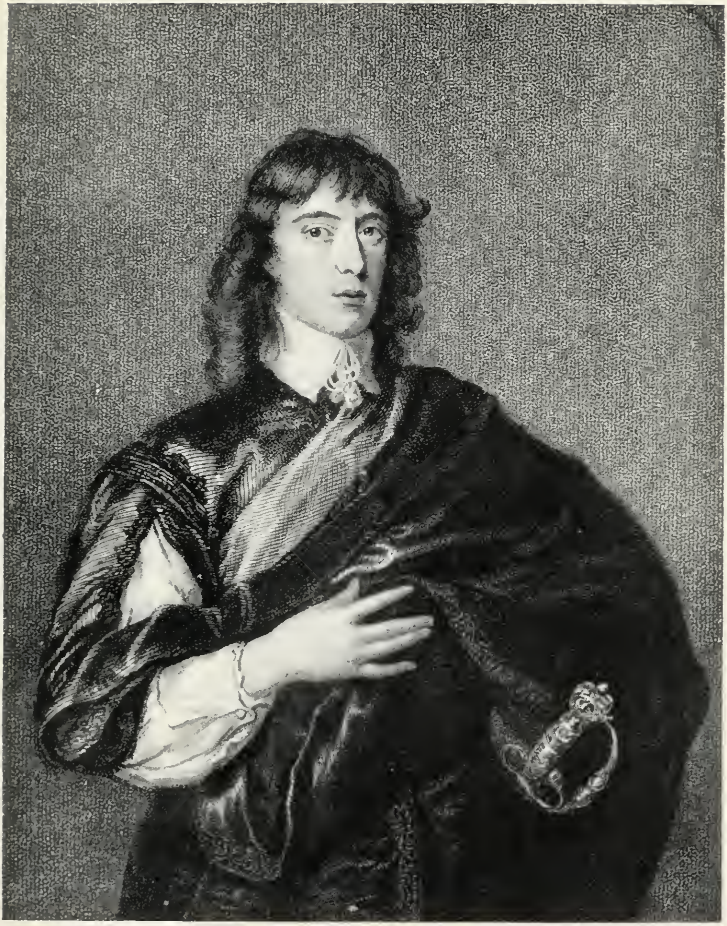
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 566.

Philip Howard was born in 1629, and at an early age he manifested unusual piety, and exercised an influence for good upon those about him, so that his grandfather dubbed him his bishop. Before he was sixteen he became acquainted, at Milan, with an eminent Dominican, Father John Baptist Hackett, to whom he declared his ardent desire to join that order. He is represented, by those who so strongly opposed this desire, as having been "seduced" by an unscrupulous monk, eager to gain a member of so great a family for the ranks of his order, this being, of course, the traditional conduct, in the eyes of the ignorant and prejudiced, of monks in general. So far, however, from this being the case, the young aspirant was strongly advised to consider further before taking any decisive step; but so great was his eagerness and so apparent his sincerity, that on June 28th, 1645, he assumed the religious habit and commenced his novitiate, taking the additional Christian name of Thomas.

Then ensued a tremendous and determined assault, directed by his grandfather, and backed by all the weight of his high rank and enormous influence. By his representations, disingenuous though they were, some of the highest ecclesiastical dignitaries in Rome and elsewhere became practically advocates on the side of the Earl, and stringent measures were taken to ascertain whether the young novice had been unduly influenced. He was ordered hither and thither, admonished, questioned, placed under restraint—which, however, did not bar his brother Henry from access to him, as an ambassador from his grandfather—but all to no purpose; "Brother Thomas" remained firm in his resolution, and finally succeeded in convincing the Pope, who sent for him, of the entire spontaneity of his determination, and his vocation for the monastic life. There was nothing more to be said: the Pope immediately directed that Howard should be admitted to the order, and having professed, as required by regulation, that he took this step of his own free will, he was duly enrolled on October 19th, 1646.

Pursuing his studies at Naples with characteristic zeal, backed by abilities of no ordinary nature, he soon came into prominent notice, and being selected, on the occasion of a general chapter of the order, held in Rome, June 5th, 1650, to deliver a Latin oration to the fathers assembled, he pleaded in eloquent terms for his Catholic fellow-countrymen, representing the immense difficulties and persecutions under which they laboured, and pleading that the resources of the Dominican order might be more efficaciously applied for their benefit and encouragement. Nor did he plead in vain; his fervent zeal and glowing eloquence appear to have greatly impressed his audience, and measures were immediately adopted for facilitating the admission to the order on the Continent of young Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Irishmen, with the object of their ultimate return to spread their faith in their native countries.

By special dispensation, Howard was ordained priest when in his twenty-third year, and devoted himself to the service of his compatriots who fled abroad on account of their religion, and to the establishment of a college and monastery on the Continent for the training of young Englishmen for his order. This he succeeded in accom-



From an engraving by T. Wright, after a picture by Vandyke

THE VENERABLE WILLIAM HOWARD, VISCOUNT STAFFORD

plishing at Bornheim, in East Flanders, capitalising his own small estate in Lincolnshire, and obtaining contributions from other quarters; and on December 15th, 1657, the house was formally accepted by the Master-General of the order, who appointed Philip Howard as the first prior of the newly founded community. He soon found candidates for admission, and facing every difficulty with undaunted courage, he repaired the buildings—which had been built as a Franciscan convent, but were deserted and permitted to decay—and gradually established himself and his colleagues on a firm footing.

When Charles II. was in Brussels, in 1657–8, Philip Howard paid frequent visits to him, and was held in high esteem by the Prince, who, in 1658, after the death of Oliver Cromwell, despatched him on a special mission to England in connection with his restoration to the throne, the rising under Sir George Booth being then imminent. Howard was to be accompanied by Richard Rookwood, a Carthusian monk who had wormed himself into the good graces of the King; but he turned out to be a schemer and a traitor, and, arriving in England by a different route before Howard could accomplish his mission, he denounced him to Richard Cromwell, with the result that he had much difficulty in escaping arrest, disguised as a servant in the train of the Polish Ambassador. Sir George Booth's attempt was suppressed in consequence of Rookwood's information. The Restoration, however was not long delayed; and Howard, following the King to England, became greatly interested in forwarding the proposed Spanish marriage, Charles having repeatedly stated to him in Brussels that if he came to the throne he would marry a Catholic princess; and when he was eventually united with Catharine of Braganza, Howard was appointed Chaplain to the Queen, and eventually, in 1665, on the death of Lord d'Aubigny, he succeeded him as Grand-Almoner, having charge of the Queen's oratory at Whitehall, and receiving emoluments to the extent of £1,000 a year, with £100 in addition to maintain the oratory. He thus became a very important personage, with state apartments, and was addressed as "my lord-almoner." But he did not forget his community at Bornheim; and a few years previously he had succeeded in establishing a convent for English ladies of the Dominican order at Vilvorde, a small town between Brussels and Mechlin. His cousin, Antonia Howard, youngest daughter of Sir Thomas Howard of Tursdale—who had lost his life in the King's service—was one of the first members of this new community, but she did not long survive her admission to the order; one of her companions gives a stirring account of her holy and beautiful death.[1] Another member of the family, Francis Howard, younger brother to Philip, had been admitted to the Dominican order in 1661, but from ill-health and other causes he was prevented from attaining the priesthood, and died in 1683; while Catherine, elder sister to Antonia, became a Dominican nun in 1668, at the age of thirty-two.

The Lord Almoner was on more than one occasion employed upon diplomatic missions, and passed a busy life with his duties at Court and the care of his communities abroad. He removed the nuns from Vilvorde to Brussels, gaining the Governor to his side in spite of the opposition of the magistrates. He was held in high honour at Court, the King habitually addressing him as

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[1] *Life of Cardinal Howard*, p. 120.

"my lord," and his extensive charities earned him the title of "the common father of the poor."

It may well be imagined that Philip Howard was in no favour with the Protestants, and they found at length an opportunity of attacking him. He was the means of converting two young men, one of them a minor Canon of Windsor, to his own faith, and this speedily drew down the storm upon his head. He was accused of various acts which, according to the grossly unjust penal laws, were held to be high treason; and at length he found it necessary, for his personal safety, to ask the King's permission to go abroad, intending to spend the remainder of his days in his convent at Bornheim, and devote his whole energies to the protection of English Catholics, who were entering upon very evil days. He was not, however, permitted to remain in this obscurity: he had not been twelve months at Bornheim ere a messenger arrived from Rome, whence he had been officially despatched, to announce that Father Thomas Howard (for so he was always known) had been created, on May 27th, 1675, Cardinal-Priest. His renunciation of worldly pleasures, and of all the advantages which his noble birth would have secured for him, had resulted in well-merited elevation to the rank of a Prince of the Church. The Cardinal's biretta was publicly placed on his head in Antwerp Cathedral, and the Pope subsequently performed the ceremony of investing him with the hat.

Everyone who had been associated with Father Thomas Howard rejoiced at his elevation, seeing in it a suitable reward bestowed upon one who would make good use of his high position. He took up his residence in Rome, with the title of *S. Cecilia trans Tiberim*, which he changed in 1679 for that of *S. Maria supra Minervam*, and immediately set about establishing an English Dominican house in the Eternal City. He was placed by the Pope in 1676 on four "congregations," namely, of Bishops and Regulars, of the Council of Trent, of the Propaganda, and of Sacred Rites, and subsequently upon that of Relics. He was known as the "Cardinal of Norfolk," or the "Cardinal of England," and devoted himself as before to the interests of English Catholics.

They were sorely in need of help and encouragement. The reader will not have forgotten that at this period the monstrous allegations of Titus Oates were hurrying them in scores to prison and too frequently to death: and it was fortunate for Cardinal Howard that his residence in Rome protected him, for the arch-perjurer included him among his prospective victims, and swore that in a congregation of the Propaganda in December, 1677, the Pope had appointed Cardinal Howard as legate, to *take possession of England in his name!*

The Cardinal's brother Henry (who was Earl of Norwich at the time of his elevation, and succeeded two years later to the dukedom), notwithstanding his early efforts to dissuade him from the religious life, wrote to him most affectionately, offering substantial assistance in the form of money and plate; and it is characteristic of the times that the Cardinal found it advisable to assume in such correspondence the pseudonym of Thomas Grane, by which name his brother alludes to him in his letters in the *third person.*

Inspired by his high example and admonition, five more ladies of the House of Howard entered religion. Catherine, daughter of Henry, Duke of Norfolk, was admitted to an order in Flanders, while Mary Delphina Stafford Howard, daughter of Viscount Stafford, and Elizabeth, Mary, and Catherine, daughters of Colonel Bernard Howard, the Cardinal's younger brother, became inmates of the convent established by him at Brussels.

Such was the outcome of the "undutifullness" of Philip Howard. He was a man esteemed by all who came in contact with him, whether of his own faith or otherwise; his counsel was always for moderation and patience, and he strongly deprecated any violent and irritating measures in the Catholic cause, urging the wisdom and expedience of respecting the prejudices of the English people, however unreasonable, for the moment; but his advice was discarded by James II., and the Revolution of 1688 cut him off in a great measure from intercourse with England, of which the Pope had named him "Cardinal Protector."

Cardinal Howard died at Rome, June 17th, 1694, and was interred, according to his expressed desire, in the choir of the church of his title, S. Maria supra Minervam, under a plain flat slab of white marble. The great work of his life, the restoration of the English Province of the Dominican Order, was practically accomplished, as far as was possible under the circumstances, before his death.[1]

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[1] This account is taken almost entirely from *The Life of Philip Thomas Howard, O.P., Cardinal of Norfolk, etc.*, by Father C. F. Raymund Palmer, O.P., dedicated to the present Duke of Norfolk, "In memory of the faith and virtues of his Father."

VII

The Main Line Fails

AT the time of the death of Henry, sixth Duke of Norfolk, the reign of Charles II. was fast drawing to its close, and the successor to the ducal title was destined in a few years to see the last of the Stuart dynasty, when James II., after his short and turbulent rule, betook himself abroad and left his subjects to shift for themselves as best they could.

Henry Howard, seventh Duke, was born in 1655, and was entered, together with his brother Thomas, at Magdalen College, Oxford, both being very young at the time. When, in appreciation of the handsome gift bestowed upon the University,[1] in 1668, his father was made D.C.L., young Henry, at the age of thirteen, received the degree of M.A., which was supplemented, when he became Duke, by the same honours which his father had held.

We do not hear much of him until 1677, when, upon his father assuming the ducal title and honours, he became known as Earl of Arundel; he was summoned to Parliament, however, in 1679, as Baron Mowbray, and, after considerable discussion, was accorded the precedence of his grandfather, Henry Frederick, and took his seat at the upper end of the barons' bench.

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[1] See *ante*, p. 568.

Mowbray had, as would be expected, been brought up a Catholic; and he was shortly called upon, in company with his father and others,[1] to take his choice between abandoning his religion and quitting the House. He appears to have adopted the latter alternative, perhaps under the influence of his father's example at the moment; he did not long remain of this mind, however. His tutor at Oxford, Dr. Henry Yerbury, was, of course, a Protestant, and probably his religion did not take a strong hold upon him; at any rate, he reappeared in the House a few months later, took the prescribed oaths of allegiance to the Crown and recognition of the Sovereign as the supreme head of the Church, signed the declaration against certain tenets of the old faith, and resumed his seat. This, of course, caused some talk, and Luttrell deems it worthy of mention in his *Diary:* "April, 1679. The Lord Mowbray, son to the Duke of Norfolk, is turned Protestant."[2] Whether his father protested or attempted to restrain him there is no evidence to show; to one who had sacrificed his political career and all claim to any honourable post for his faith the incident must have been a painful one; but Mowbray stuck to his guns throughout the reign of James, and until his death. This step, of course, immediately opened the way to royal favour, and it was not long before his eligibility for public honours was practically recognised, for on the death of Prince Rupert, in 1682, he was appointed Governor and Constable of Windsor Castle, and Lord Lieutenant of Berkshire and Surrey, to which were subsequently added the posts of Warden of Windsor Forest, Lord Lieutenant of Norfolk and the city of Norwich, and *Custos rotulorum* of Berkshire and Norfolk.

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[1] See *ante*, p. 580.

[2] *Diary*, vol. i. p. 9.

In May, 1682, when the Duke was deterred, by the vigilance of the King, from pursuing his duel with the Seneschal of Mons,[1] Mowbray took up the quarrel on behalf of the honour of his father and step-mother; he engaged the Seneschal, and had the misfortune to break his sword; his second, according to Luttrell, conquered the Seneschal's, and he was adjudged to have the best of the encounter;[2] the Seneschal, however, must have given him his life, and thus preserved the direct succession of the dukedom for one generation!

It was about this period that William, Lord Howard of Escrick, came into such notoriety in connection with the Rye House Plot.[3] He appears to have been generally execrated on this account, and Luttrell says of him: "The Lord Howard, ever since his being taken, hath done nothing else but made discoveries, and is said to be the lord that lay behind the curtain all the while, in order to discover, which makes some hesitate at his confession."[4] He also states that it was reported that Lord Howard had said "that he could not have his pardon until *the drudgery of swearing* was over!" North, in his *Examen*, says that he was taken in his house at Knightsbridge, hiding in a cupboard in his shirt. He had been falsely accused by Fitzharris, two years previously, of being the author of a libel entitled *The true Englishman speaking plain English*, advocating the deposition of the King and the exclusion of the Duke of York; and he was exonerated mainly through the exertions of Algernon Sidney, whom he was now chiefly instrumental in putting to death. Evelyn refers to him as "that monster of a man."

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[1] See *ante*, p. 581.

[2] *Diary*, 26th May, 1682.

[3] See *ante*, p. 540.

[4] *Diary*, vol. i. p. 266.

In 1684 Mowbray succeeded his father as seventh Duke of Norfolk, and on the accession of James, which quickly followed, he had no reason to complain of any coldness or neglect on account of his religion; the new King, in fact appeared most anxious to retain his support, and almost immediately caused him to be installed as Knight of the Garter, with other honours. Tierney suggests that James may have been actuated by the wish to obtain credit for sincerity in his desire to promote universal tolerance, in thus bestowing favours upon one who had deliberately thrown over the Catholic religion, or that he even entertained the hope of persuading the Duke to return to it.[1]

Burnet's little anecdote appears at first sight rather to support this view: "One day the King gave the Duke of Norfolk the sword of state to carry before him to the chapel, and he stood at the door, upon which the King said to him, 'My Lord, your father would have gone further'; to which the Duke answered, 'Your Majesty's father was the better man, and he would not have gone so far.'"[2] A pretty bit of repartee, if it was ever delivered; but it was probably merely a piece of gossip current at the time; people must have little tales to circulate about Court doings, and will invent or adapt them when hard put to it. Tierney pretty well disposes of this story, which appears at best improbable.[3]

Norfolk was not to be influenced in any such fashion; and it was not long before the King's violent and headlong measures disgusted the more temperate Catholics—not excluding, as we have seen, the Pope and the Cardinal of Norfolk[4]—and made the Protestants furious. During the early part of 1688 it was clear how matters were tending, but the Duke remained staunch to the King as long as he was able to do so with any show of consistency. It has been stated by more than one writer that he signed the written invitation to William of Orange, dated June 30th, 1688; this, however, is an error; the signatories are given by Dalrymple, in his *Memoirs*, together with the numerical ciphers by which they were known to the Prince, who was supplied by Henry Sidney with a key.[1] Neither did Norfolk, as has been represented, sign the petition to James to summon a free Parliament, though he appears to have favoured it to a certain extent.[2] When, however, the proclamation was issued, November 28th, 1688, that a Parliament was ordered to meet on January 15th following, the Duke, still true to the King, hurried into Norfolk and, as Lord Lieutenant of the county, called a meeting at Norwich, the mayor and corporation attending in state; and he there placed forcibly before his countrymen the advisability of accepting the proclamation in a loyal and sincere spirit, and trusting to the Parliament for the adjustment of their difficulties and the restoration of order and prosperity in the country. This straightforward address, from one in so high a position, and of the Protestant faith,

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[1] *Hist. of Arundel*, p. 546.

[2] *Hist. Own Time*, Oxf. ed., i. 683.

[3] *Hist. of Arundel*, p. 546: note.

[4] See *ante*, p. 599.

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[1] "The original association, for which the Prince long waited, and without which he determined not to go, is in King William's Cabinet. It is dated June 30th, 1688, and is signed by Lord Devonshire, Lord Danby, Lord Shrewsbury, Lord Lumley, the Bishop of London, Admiral Russell, and Mr. Sidney. Immortal seven, to whom Britain owes her perfect liberty and grandeur."—*Memoirs*, vol. ii. 19 (ed. 1790). The numerical ciphers were as follows: Lord Halifax, 21; Lord Nottingham, 23; Lord Devonshire, 24; Lord Shrewsbury, 25; Lord Danby, 27; Lord Lumley, 29; Lord Bath, 30; the Bishop of London, 31; Sidney 33; Russell, 35. The Duke of Norfolk, therefore, is not included either in the correspondents or the "association" which determined the Prince to come over.

[2] See letter quoted by Tierney, p. 548.

PHILIP HOWARD, CARDINAL OF NORFOLK (1629-1694)

had full weight with his audience, who then and there pledged themselves to defend the Parliament, and to support the laws, liberties, and Protestant religion; "and so," concluded the Duke, "God save the King!" "God save the King!" echoed the crowd, and went quietly home until the free Parliament should be convened.[1]

But it was not to be; vain indeed the prayer, "God save the King!" when the King is obstinately determined that nobody shall save him; and while we cannot but admire the Duke of Norfolk's loyal and generous recognition of the royal favours of which he had been the recipient, his manly resolve to stand by his sovereign to the last, neither can we refuse to condone his conduct when, within a week of this meeting, he yielded to the almost universal voice of the country, and called out the militia in defence of the Prince of Orange. We are not to discuss in these pages the question of legitimacy; James was impossible as a king, and Norfolk at length realised the fact, which was very practically recognised by James himself shortly afterwards.

Under William the Duke retained the honours and privileges already conferred upon him, and remained his staunch supporter to the day of his death.[2]

There is, unhappily, a good deal to be said concerning the domestic affairs of the seventh Duke. He had married, in 1677, Lady Mary Mordaunt, daughter of Henry, Earl of Peterborough, and the union was considered at the time to be one of much advantage and happy augury. The Duke's uncle, Cardinal Howard, writing to congratulate him, says: "Our whole familie was concerned to see you well setled in a condition, on which its honor and prosperitie depends. Both these are abundantly provided for, by allying y^{r}selfe to so noble a familie, and marrying so accomplished a lady."[1]

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[1] Echard, quoted by Tierney, p. 549.

[2] It is stated in the Hon. Chas. Howard's *Anecdotes* that there was a sum of £12,000 due to the Duke at his death, arrears of his salary as Governor of Windsor Castle, which was never paid (p. 110, ed. 1769).

Alas! neither the honour nor prosperity of the family was destined to be promoted by the match: the lady not only failed to provide her husband with an heir to the title, but became, a few years after her marriage, involved in an intrigue of the grossest character, which soon grew into a public scandal. Her companion in crime was Sir John Germain, of whom Evelyn speaks as "a Dutch gamester of mean extraction, who had got much by gaming."[2]

In 1685 she was sent to Paris, and placed in a convent, in the hope, perhaps, of reform and reconciliation. Her husband was certainly with her in Paris for a time, and Tierney quotes a letter which was written to the Duke at her instigation by a friend named Conne, in which the latter promises that he will "find her in a more perfect condition, and in a more tractable humour than ever he did see her," and expresses his desire to bring about a reconciliation between him and "his dearest lady, whose affection and behaviour, in times coming, would be more to his satisfaction than in times gone by."[3] This undertaking, however, was not practically ratified by the Duchess, for on her return to England things went on from bad to worse, and in 1692 the Duke applied to the House of Lords for a bill of divorce, with permission to marry again. This was strongly opposed

[1] Orig. at Norfolk House. Quoted by Tierney, p. 551.

[2] Vol. iii. p. 379.

[3] *Hist. of Arundel*, p. 552.

by Lord Monmouth, cousin to the Duchess, and eventually it was resolved that the House could not act in the matter without some proofs obtained in process of common law. The Duke thereupon brought an action against Germain in the Court of King's Bench, laying the damages at £100,000. He obtained a verdict, but the jury awarded only *one hundred marks* damages, which called forth some strong remarks from the judge. Armed with this judgment, the Duke again brought forward his cause in the House, but with no better success. Meanwhile, the Duchess had made recriminatory accusations against her husband—though they were vague in character, and she offered no testimony in proof of them—and there was subsequently a fresh dispute concerning the Duchess's estates. Evidently, there was a good deal of public feeling against the Duke, for we are told by Luttrell that "the Duke of Norfolk was abused in the play at the playhouse; the House of Lords examined the same, and sent for Captain Primrose, who commanded the party of soldiers there, who excused himself therefrom; one of the bishops moved to suppresse the playhouse, it being a nursery of lewdness, but the temporall lords were against it, but directed the Lord Chamberlain to send his warrant to suspend them from acting till further notice; which was done."[1]

Thus matters dragged on; and in January, 1696, when Sir John Fenwick was on his trial, his wife (Lady Mary Howard, sister to Edward, second Earl of Carlisle), who appears to have remained upon friendly terms with the Duchess of Norfolk, produced some papers which she declared she had received from the Duchess. The latter, in her turn, stated that she received them from Monmouth, her cousin; and the statement placed him in the awkward predicament of being discovered to be involved in the crime of the man whom he had denounced. Monmouth was furious, and vehemently denied the Duchess's assertion; upon which the Duke of Norfolk rose in his place and declared that he believed every word she said. "My Lord," he remarked, "thought her good enough to be wife to me; and if she is good enough to be wife to me, I am sure she is good enough to be a witness against him";[1] and the Lords took the same view.

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[1] *Diary*, vol. ii. p. 315.

This sad business came to an end in 1700, when, after much discussion among the Lords spiritual and temporal, with copious allusions among the former to the Scriptures, a bill of divorce was carried, with leave to the Duke to marry again, but stipulating that the Duchess's dowry of £10,000 was to be repaid to her by a certain date, to wit, March 25th, 1701. A few days before this date the Duke presented a petition to the Lords praying for further time, and a bill was ordered to be introduced for the purpose; but before this could be brought about, a short and sudden illness terminated the life of the Duke on April 2nd, in his forty-seventh year. The Duchess afterwards married Sir John Germain, thus pursuing the course of conduct she had adopted to its logical conclusion.

Before entering upon the eighteenth century, it is necessary to gather up some loose threads in the preceding one; there is a very loyal and courageous lady who claims first notice, both by priority of birth and and chivalric consideration of her sex, to wit, Catherine, eldest daughter of Theopilus, second Earl of Suffolk. She married

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[1] Macaulay's *Hist.*, vol. iv. p. 294.

George, Lord Aubigny, younger son of Esmé Stuart, Duke of Richmond and Lennox (and consequently brother to the wife of Henry Frederick, Earl of Arundel).[1] "This lady," says Lord Clarendon, "was a woman of very great wit, and most trusted and conversant in those intrigues which at that time could best be carried on by ladies, who with less jealousy could be seen in all companies; and so she had not been a stranger to the most secret transactions with the Scots." Her courage and address, in addition to her loyalty, were evidently known to King Charles, for after her husband had been killed at the battle of Edgehill, in 1642, and she had been granted a pass by the Parliament to Oxford, to see the King, "about her husband's affairs," Charles, on her departure, entrusted her with a small box, which she was to deliver into the hands of a gentleman who would call for it in London.

With tact which equalled her courage, she undertook the commission without asking any questions, and duly delivered the package as directed, being ignorant of its contents. She did not, however, escape the suspicion of implication in a plot for which two men—Challoner and Tomkins—lost their lives; she was imprisoned for a long time, and only avoided a similar fate by escaping to Oxford. Such is Clarendon's bare statement, but what tremendous issues to herself, what hair-breadth escapes, what thrilling incidents are involved in it! And what deftness and courage in designing and accomplishing such a feat! In 1647 she married James Levingstone, just created Viscount Newburgh, and in the following year, when they were living at Bagshot, having found means of maintaining secret communication with

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[1] See *ante*, p. 561.

Charles, she and her husband devised a plan for his escape, when he was being sent from Hurst Castle to Windsor. Newburgh had a horse which was reputed the swiftest in England, and the King, by previous agreement, prevailed upon Colonel Harrison, who commanded the escort, to permit him to dine with Lord Newburgh, the plan being that he should complain of the horse which he rode, and change it for the "flyer" from the stables at Bagshot. The Colonel, however, was too wary for him; he was informed that Lord Newburgh's horse had been lamed the day before by a kick from a stable companion—a very timely "kick," about which we are entitled to form our own conjectures—and the scheme failed. The King was to have seized an opportunity, set spurs to his horse, and escaped into the forest, where relays of good horses were prepared for him; however, Lady Catherine had done her best for him, and after his execution she and her husband were compelled to fly to the Hague, where she eventually died.[1]

Then we hear of Ned Howard, a son of the first Earl of Berkshire, who, like his brother, Sir Robert, was a playwright,[2] and produced, in the reign of Charles II., a play entitled *The Change of Crowns*, in which he had the temerity to expose, in the mouth of one of the characters, the corruption and jobbery of the Court. The cap fitted too well, and Charles was furious; he interdicted the play, and locked up the actor, Lacy, who had the obnoxious part. Lacy afterwards violently attacked Howard, telling him that his "nonsensical play" had been the cause of his troubles, and they actually came to blows over it;

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[1] Account in Henry Howard's *Memorials;* Clarendon's *Hist. of the Rebellion* quoted by H. H.

[2] See *ante*, p. 541.

upon which the bystanders and others expressed their surprise that Howard had not run him through, "he being too mean a fellow to fight with!"[1] The author, however, failed to avail himself of the sanguinary privilege, which had been used with such fatal effect by his kinsman, Henry Howard, upon the person of the unlucky Holland, some years previously.[2]

Pepys, in his *Diary*, date of January 17th, 1667–8, has the following:

> "Much discourse of the duell yesterday between the Duke of Buckingham, Holmes, and one Jenkins on one side, and my Lord of Shrewsbury, Sir John Talbot, and one Bernard Howard on the other side; and all about my Lady Shrewsbury, who is at this time, and hath for a great while been, a mistress to the Duke of Buckingham; and so her husband challenged him, and they met in a close near Barne-Elmes, and there fought; and my Lord Shrewsbury is run through the body, from the right breast through the shoulder; and Sir John Talbot all along up one of his armes; and Jenkins killed upon the place, and the rest all in a little measure wounded."[3]

The gentleman alluded to as "one Bernard Howard" was eighth son of Henry Frederick, Earl of Arundel, and was related to the Talbots, Earls of Shrewsbury, through his grandmother, Alathea, Countess of Arundel. This bloody encounter—during which, it is said, the Duke's horse was held by Lady Shrewsbury, who looked on while her husband fell mortally wounded—served no doubt to bring Bernard Howard out to some extent from the obscurity which Pepys's allusion indicates; a second's place was no sinecure on these occasions, and Jenkins, whom he killed, was known as a skilled fencer—a fencing-master, in fact. Howard was a racer, and perhaps a breeder of horses, and sold one to the King in 1681 for two hundred guineas.[1] He was in France with his stud in 1682; and on the accession of James II. he became a person of much more importance, receiving command of a troop of horse; and there are records of at least two payments of money in recognition or execution of some services.[2] Unlike his nephew, the Duke of Norfolk, he remained a staunch Jacobite, and was committed to the Tower in 1690 and 1692 for being concerned, or suspected of participation, in Jacobite plots; and again in February, 1695–6; after which he appears to have felt that he had sufficiently vindicated his loyalty to the Stuarts, for he lived quietly, and died in October, 1717.

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[1] Pepys's *Diary*, iii. 196. [2] See *ante*, p. 576. [3] *Diary*, vol. iv. 15.

Strangely enough, the lady for whose husband Bernard Howard was second, in the duel above referred to, had also been the cause of a desperate affair five or six years previously, in which Captain Thomas Howard, brother to the Earl of Carlisle, was a principal. The Countess was a particularly accessible person to advances on the part of any gentleman who was likely to treat her liberally, and prided herself on her conquests; Captain Howard, finding her in this mood, invited her to a little supper at Spring Gardens, and provided entertainment by means of a man of his corps, who played the bagpipes. Henry Jermyn, nephew to the Earl of St. Albans, another admirer, obtruded himself on the scene, and having attracted the attention of the Countess, proceeded to make himself unpleasant in insolent fashion, jeering at the music and ridiculing the supper which the Captain had provided.

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[1] Secret Service Disbursements, quoted in the *Howard Papers.*

[2] *Ibid.*, £300 in 1685, and £500 in 1686.

The latter, who is described by Count Hamilton as one of the bravest and best-bred men in England, and, though of a modest and pacific demeanour, extremely high-spirited and passionate, restrained himself in the lady's presence, and Jermyn, after supper, went off chuckling; but he received a challenge on the following morning, and they fought in old Pall Mall. Howard's second was Mr. Cary Dillon, while Jermyn was accompanied by Colonel Giles Rawlings, an intimate friend of Dillon, whom he was to engage, and who killed him on the spot, while Howard handled his antagonist so severely that he was carried off to his uncle's more dead than alive; however, he survived.[1]

Pepys, in referring to this affair (rather incoherently) as "the duell between Mr. Jermyn, nephew to the Lord St. Albans, and Colonel Giles Rawlins," says "they fought against Captain Thomas Howard, my Lord Carlisle's brother, and another unknown (Dillon), who, they say, had armor on, so that they could not be hurt, so that one of their swords went [broke ?] up to the hilt against it."[2] A sorry story, indeed! Some friend must have been indulging himself at the expense of Pepys, one would imagine, or else Captain Howard's reputation for courage and breeding was a very flimsy pretence.

Yet another duel. Says Luttrell, under date August 1st, 1695: "Sir Richard Atkins, about 3 dayes since, fought the Lord James Howard, brother to the Duke of Norfolk, upon the same account that he cained Mr. Meddicott; and after some few passes, his lordship having the advantage, they friendly drank a glass of wine together, my Lord denying the accusation laid to his charge."[3] *Cher-*

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[1] *Mémoires de Grammont* (nouvelle edition), p. 96, by Antoine Hamilton.

[2] *Diary*, vol. i. p. 300.

[3] *Diary*, vol. ii.

chez la femme ! The hero of this bloodless encountor was *half-brother* to the Duke of Norfolk, being a son of Henry, sixth Duke, by his second wife, Jane Bickerton ; and we hear something of his elder brother George (encroaching a little upon the next century) from the same source: "Jan. 25, 1706–7. This being the first day of the term, the lord George Howard's lady swore the peace against him."[1] Lady George Howard had a sad life ; her first marriage was a miserable one, and her union with Lord George does not appear, by the above statement, to have been any happier. She was brought up a Catholic, and had rather a singular story, which there is not space here to enter upon ; it will be found in "The case of the Lady Arabella Howard," when, in 1716, she petitioned against a bill which would bear with great hardship upon her and her heirs.[2]

Henry, the seventh Duke, dying without issue, the title devolved upon his nephew, Thomas, son of Lord Thomas Howard, of Worksop ; a manor which came into the family through the marriage of Thomas, Earl of Arundel, with Lady Alathea Talbot. As lord of that manor, Lord Thomas performed at the coronation of King James **II.** the service which was his due, of providing a right-hand glove and supporting the King's right arm while he held the sceptre. He was a staunch Catholic, and received favours at the hands of the King, being appointed Master of the Robes and Lord Lieutenant of the West Riding of

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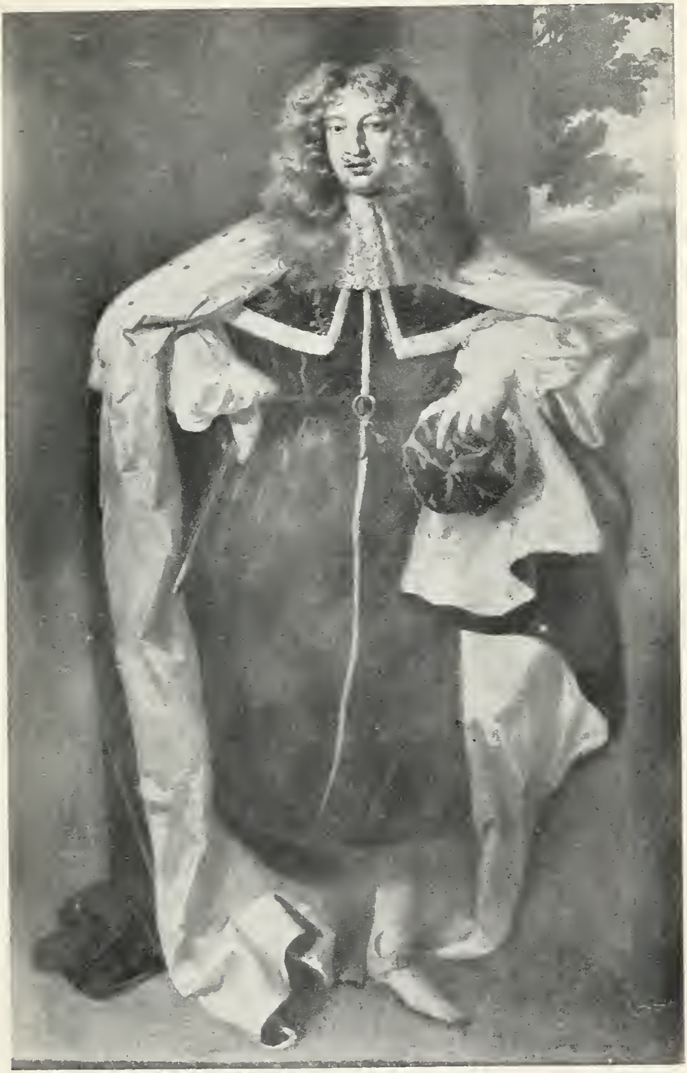
[1] *Diary*, vol. vi., p. 131. It will be observed that they are alluded to as "Lord George" and "Lord James Howard," as though their birth was not questioned ; see Evelyn's story, *ante*, p. 581.

[2] She is alluded to in the *Howard Papers* as the "Lady Arabella Alleyne" before her first marriage ; but she had no claim to such a title, her father being a baronet, and her mother daughter of an esquire.



HENRY HOWARD, SEVENTH DUKE OF NORFOLK
EARL MARSHAL

(1655-1701)

Yorkshire in 1687; and was entrusted, in succession to Lord Castlemaine, with an important mission to Rome, having for its object the reconciliation of the kingdoms of England, Ireland, and Scotland to the Holy See: a commission surely doomed to failure in the circumstances. While he was engaged upon this futile task matters came to a crisis at home; James deserted the country, and Lord Thomas, still retaining his loyalty, joined him in France, and subsequently went to Ireland on the King's service, in which it was ordained that he should lose his life, for in crossing to Brest, at the end of the year 1689, he was wrecked and drowned on the coast of France.

His son Thomas consequently, at the age of eighteen, succeeded as eighth Duke of Norfolk. Evelyn, writing at the time of the last Duke's divorce, remarks: "If he should have children, the dukedom will go from the late Lord Thomas's children, Papists indeed, *but very hopeful and virtuous gentlemen!*"[1] In spite of being Catholics, *mirabile dictu!* One of them, Richard, was afterwards canon of St. Peter's, in Rome; and another, Henry, was bishop and coadjutor elect to Dr. Giffard, Vicar Apostolic of the London district, but died of fever, caught in his ministrations to the poor, before his consecration. "Such charity," wrote Bishop Giffard, "such piety, has not been seen in our land of a long time."[2]

The young Duke being still under age, the Earl of Carlisle was appointed deputy Earl Marshal, and in that capacity officiated at the coronation of Queen Anne; but the termination of his nonage found the Duke still incapacitated from office by his religion, and he exercised his right of appointing a substitute by naming Henry, Lord Walden, son of the Earl of Suffolk. Rumours were abroad of the Duke's adoption of the State religion, but they proved groundless; with him, policy rode light in the scale against his faith and his self-respect; though he found himself exposed to the drastic effects of statutes which, if strictly enforced, would deprive him not only of eligibility for any office, but even of his estates.

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[1] *Diary*, vol. iii. 379.

[2] Gillow's *Bio. Dic. of English Catholics*, vol. iii. p. 427.

By the Acts 10 and 11 of William and Mary, it was provided that all persons refusing or neglecting to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, together with the test, within six months of attaining the age of eighteen, should be disqualified from taking any estate or interest in any species of landed property. It is not easy, in these times of universal tolerance, to realise the exasperating and crushing effect of such unjust and outrageous legislation upon those who were conscious of their sincere desire to live in peace with God and man, and merely claimed the right to do so according to the dictates of their conscience. It may well be questioned whether, at the present day, tolerance is not carried a little too far; there is danger abroad when a so-called minister of religion, accepting a stipend from a body which professes to derive its doctrine solely from the Scriptures, may, for the sake of notoriety, propound theories from the pulpit which would be ridiculous if they were not blasphemous, and which are nevertheless seriously discussed in public journals of respectability and standing, with half-inch capitals to head the column; danger, too, when such a compound of special pleading, wilful misinterpretation, and self-complacent balderdash as is contained in Tolstoi's book, *My Religion*, can be described by a reviewer in a paper of considerable authority as "containing the last word about Christianity!" A contrast, indeed, to the time when Ignatius of Loyola drew his sword upon a man who spoke disrespectfully of the Mother of God. A violent and indefensible proceeding, no doubt; but a thoroughly logical position, notwithstanding.

Well, let us be thankful, at any rate, for the blessings of tolerance, and trust that they may not be abused; and let us at the same time extend our sympathy to Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, and his co-religionists, and try to realise the constant strain of mind and temper under which they existed, the strong temptation to take the easy path of acquiescence, and so preserve their dignities and their inheritance; they are entitled to our respect, at least, even if we are unable to share their convictions. The Duke had already, together with his uncle, Lord George Howard, taken an active part in the Jacobite disturbances in 1690, for we find them both submitting themselves after the defeat of their side at Waterford;[1] and in the Earl of Mar's rebellion, in 1714, Edward Howard, afterwards Duke, was concerned.

It was a futile business, to be sure, and there is more credit due to him for having the courage of his convictions than for his lack of perspicuity and common sense in taking part in it. He was treated with considerable indulgence in the matter, and escaped any severe penalty, thanks partly to the mediation of his brother the Duke.

In the year 1719 George I. and his Ministry commenced to realise that, by imposing upon Catholics such hard and irritating conditions of life, they were sowing the seeds of revolt among some of the most influential families in the land. The previous year had witnessed the introduction of an Act by which the Government acquired the right of appropriating two-thirds of the clear value of all estates belonging to Catholics: a monstrous and almost incredible proceeding, which, we may be wel assured, was not without some palpable results in the shape of growing and obvious disaffection. An olive branch was therefore held out to the Catholics, in the form of a request to Dr. Strickland, afterwards Bishop of Namur, who was then in London, to draw up a requisition for the approval of the Duke of Norfolk and some other prominent Catholics.

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[1] Luttrell, vol. ii. July and August, 1690.

This document set forth that they should send a representative with letters to the Pope and the Emperor: to the former representing their difficulties, and requesting, as the condition upon which they were to obtain some liberty and security for the practice of their religion, that he would publish his former decree about the oath of allegiance, now dormant in the hands of his internuncio at Brussels; that he would dismiss Cardinal Gualterio, the Pretender's agent, from the office of Protector of England, and substitute some person who was not obnoxious to the Government; that he would deprive the Pretender of all influence in the ecclesiastical affairs of England and Ireland; and that he would be ready to withdraw from the English mission any person whose hostility to the Government should be intimated to him; to the Emperor informing him of this mission to the Pope, and requesting his mediation, in accordance with a former promise. It was required that these letters should be signed by the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Stafford, Lord Montague, and Lord Walgrave, for the nobility; and by Sir John Webbe, Mr.

Charles Howard, Mr. Stonor, and Mr. Arundel Bealing for the gentry. The requisition concluded with an intimation that refusal to sign would be taken as proof that they were "persons obstinately disaffected," and could leave no other course open to the Government than the strict enforcement of the penal laws, including the exclusion of Catholics from succession and inheritance and the appropriation of two-thirds of their estates.

These proposals were not signed. Mr. Charles Howard is represented as responsible in a great measure for the failure. After several meetings, the scheme was finally abandoned; but the failure was attributed more to the "wrong-headedness" of Charles Howard, and his influence upon the Duke and others, than to any motives of disaffection; still, the refusal could not but have an evil influence with regard to Catholics, and the Duke had reason subsequently to regret it.[1]

In 1722 a suspected plot caused the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act; and one day in October the Duke of Norfolk was suddenly arrested at Bath, brought before the Privy Council, and committed to the Tower on suspicion of high treason. As Parliament was sitting, the statute demanded the consent of the House of Lords to this proceeding, upon which there was a stormy debate, which, however, ended in the Duke's committal being confirmed. Whatever may have been the real facts of the case—it was generally believed, and has never been disproved, that he had largely contributed money in aid of the Pretender—it was not found possible to establish any serious charge against him, and after a confinement of six months he was released; from which it may be inferred that some little fairness was then being introduced into the proceedings against a man under such a charge, in contrast to the deplorable practice of previous times.

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[1] Account by Tierney, pp. 555-9; he quotes Butler's *Memoirs of English Catholics.*

It was during the time of this Duke that the palace at Norwich, said to have been the largest town residence out of London, which was alluded to by Thomas, the fourth Duke, in his boastful speech to Queen Elizabeth,[1] was demolished. It had been added to by Henry, the sixth Duke; but the eighth Duke is said to have fallen out with the Mayor and Corporation of Norwich on account of the noisy display of some musicians and mountebanks in his pay in the streets of the city. Blomefield states that he pulled down his house owing to the ill behaviour of Thos. Habers (Mayor 1708–9),[2] and on 11 January, 1710, the Court of Mayoralty "ordered that for the future no Stake players [*sic*], Comedys, Mountibanks or Drolls, or other shows or plays shall be allow'd in this Citty but by order of the Court of Mayoralty."[3] This entry appears to corroborate Blomefield's statement; but in a recently published work, *Lady Wortley Montagu and her Times*, there appears a letter written by her younger brother, Lord William Kingston, then an undergraduate at Cambridge, descriptive of a tour round the coast of Norfolk in 1710, in which occurs the following passage: "I saw everything in Norwich worth seeing, which indeed I can't say was very much. The Town stands upon a large extent of ground, but I can't say that the houses are mightily crowded. There stands in the middle of the Town (and in the lowest part of it), a noble shell of a house belonging to the Duke of Norfolk, and built by his grandfather, but certainly the worst contrived business that was ever designed. It would have stood naturally a great deal too low, yet not content with that they dugg a hole to put it in, the rubbidge of which cost a thousand pounds to be removed, so that now 'tis impossible it should be finished, and is entirely useless. Upon the least flood, the water runs into the cellars, and has weaken'd the foundation so much that (except it be pull'd down) it will fall in a year or two's time."[1] This is a sorry account of the wonderful "palace" of the Dukes of Norfolk: probably the writer was mistaken in imagining that it was in process of erection; it was most likely being pulled down at that very time, which would confirm Blomefield's statement.

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[1] See *ante*, p. 453.

[2] *History of Norfolk*, fol., vol. ii. p. 698.

[3] *City Records*, per John C. Tingey, Esq.

The Duke died in London, December 23rd, 1732; and as he left no issue, his brother Edward entered the same day upon his long but not very eventful tenure of the title, his elder brother, Henry, Catholic bishop elect, having died in 1720.[2] He had married, in 1727, Mary, daughter of Edward Blount of Blagdon, Devon, Esq., a lady who might justly be described as a "notable woman." Clever, energetic, cultivated, she was well fitted for her position, and probably took the lead in all domestic and social affairs. She was sought after by people in the front rank of society, though she was, like her husband, a strict Catholic. Philip Howard of Buckenham, brother to the Duke, married a sister of the Duchess as his second wife in 1739.

The Duke and Duchess availed themselves of an opportunity, in 1737, of being of immense service to Frederick, Prince of Wales, son of George II. The Prince, it will be recollected, had, since his marriage in the preceding year with the daughter of the Duke of Saxe-Gotha, been on the worst possible terms with his parents, or rather chiefly with his mother, Queen Caroline, who influenced the King, her husband; and their differences culminated, in September, 1737, in the ejection of the Prince and his wife from St. James's Palace. They were taken in by the Duke at his house in St. James's Square: the old house which stands at the back of the present one, at right angles to the line of front of the latter; access in those days was from Pall Mall, not from the square. Here, in May, 1738, was born a prince, the future George III.; and here the Prince of Wales received the last message from his mother's death-bed; a message of conciliation and forgiveness, though she would not see him.[1]

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[1] *Norfolk Chronicle*, 8 June, 1907.

[2] He did not die in Rome, as stated by Mr. Causton in the *Howard Papers*, but in London. His brother Richard died in Rome.

The Duchess had a decided taste in architecture and decoration, and in 1742 was commenced the erection of the present Norfolk House, which she personally superintended, and perhaps in some degree designed. The house is not, in some respects, a model example of planning, the dining-room and kitchen being as far removed from one another as is possible; but the staircase and reception rooms are very good, and there is a beautiful grate and mantelpiece in the ballroom.

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[1] "As the Catholic party gained little by the motion," says Mr. Causton in the *Howard Papers*, "the Duke and Duchess are entitled to full credit for their civilities and hospitality" (p. 319). A generous admission! But how does he reconcile it with the statement, a few pages back, that "the Howards tolerated the Hanover family and the Protestant succession, at the price of their opinions *and their faith*"? (p. 312). Their opinions, indeed, they were forced by circumstances to keep to themselves; but if Duke Edward had sacrificed his faith, where does the sense of the first quotation come in? To say nothing of a subsequent accusation of having joined in a family conspiracy to oust an imaginary Protestant heir?

The great work of the Duke's life was, however, the enlargement and decoration of Worksop Manor house: an undertaking upon which he embarked in anticipation of its future ownership and occupation by his nephew and heir in the title, Thomas Howard, son of Philip of Buckenham by his first wife; for no offspring had resulted from his own marriage, and he was already advanced in years. This magnificent mansion, when completed in 1761, is said to have contained five hundred rooms, and for several years the wages of workmen alone amounted to some £12,000 per annum. Decorations, furniture, and works of art were all in keeping with the splendour of the building, and it was ready for occupation when, in October, a fire broke out in the library, and quickly obtained such a hold that all efforts to extinguish it were futile. The loss was computed at £100,000, only the chapel and part of the east wing remaining. "When the Duke received the sad account," says the *Annual Register*,[1] "he said 'God's will be done'; and the Duchess, 'How many besides us are sufferers by the like calamity!'"[2]

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[1] Vol. iv. p. 169.

[2] Mr. Causton takes occasion for some moralising. "If pride and vanity had received a check, the Duke acknowledged the intelligence with every appearance of humility and resigned submission: 'God's will be done!' Such are his recorded words. But if he thought the calamity had been the chastening will of the Almighty, did he accept the sign as a check to the vanity of his earthly wishes? Did he submit himself humbly to that decree? No, he set up the will of man in open defiance to it; the old man's wishes had been too ardently excited to submit to a calamity which he had even attributed to the will of God; and nothing daunted by the severity of the loss inflicted, he forthwith determined to erect a palace on the ruins of his former mansion that should be to it as the temple of Solomon to the tent of the wandering Arab" (p. 325). Is this effusion intended to be taken seriously? If not, the

Great as was the catastrophe, the Duke set to work at once to rebuild; and as he had now to commence *de novo*, he resolved to erect an even finer mansion on a different plan, consisting of a large quadrangle, with two interior courts and a circular Egyptian hall. The clearing of the ground and the preparation of plans occupied many months; and before the new building could be commenced, Thomas Howard, for whose benefit all this magnificence was planned, died. There was still, however, another representative left: by his second wife, Philip Howard had a son, Edward, then in his twenty-first year; on him the old Duke's hopes were set, and with him he laid the foundation-stone of the new mansion; but he was again doomed to disappointment. In 1767, when the building was so far advanced that about one-fifth of the design was completed, Edward Howard, taking a chill after playing tennis, contracted a fatal illness, and died in February of that year.

There is something exceedingly pathetic in this picture of the childless old man, thus deprived of two successive heirs, in whom he had taken such affectionate interest. He was now in his eighty-first year, and could not expect to live much longer; his title and estates would pass to a descendant of another branch of the family, of whom perhaps he knew little, and it is not to be wondered at if he lost all interest in the completion of his great mansion at

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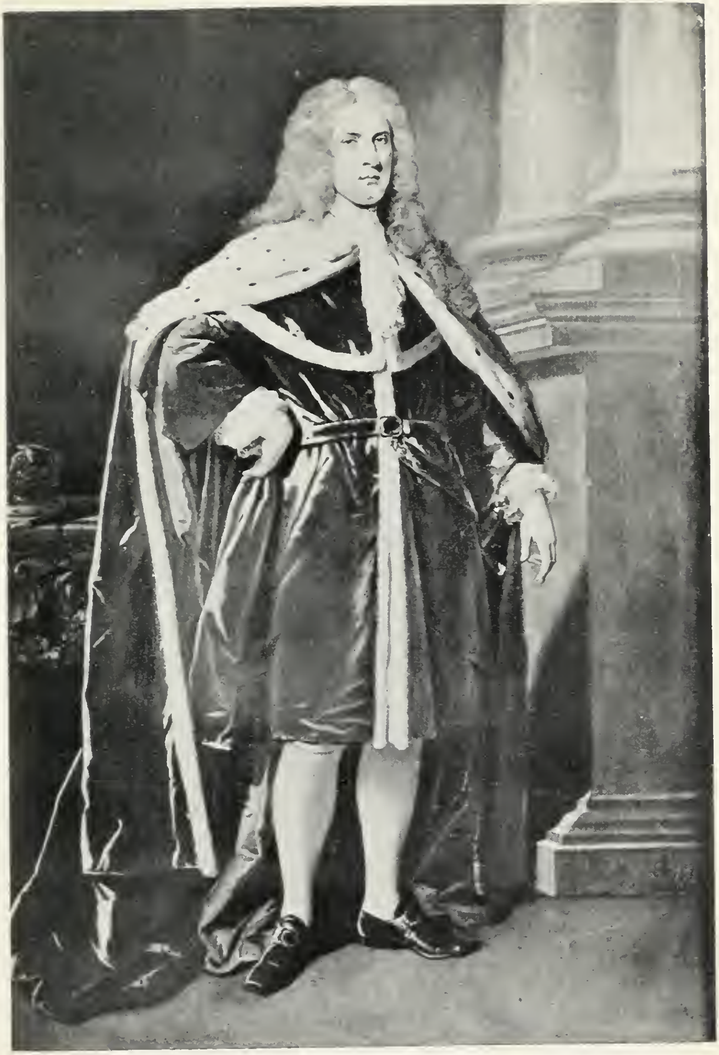
joke is an obscure one; and if it is actually intended as an appropriate comment, it certainly takes high rank as a piece of illogical and ridiculous cant. If a man's house is burnt down, and he exclaims, in all sincerity, "God's will be done!" he should, according to Mr. Causton, in order to be consistent, sit down for the rest of his days amid the charred remains. If, on the other hand, he prefers to curse his luck, he may, it is to be presumed, set to work and rebuild—with a *clear conscience!*



EDWARD HOWARD, NINTH DUKE OF NORFOLK

(1686–1777)

Worksop; the operations were stopped, and the building remained, as it does to the present day, in an incomplete condition—a monument to disappointed hopes. Arthur Young, in his *Tour in the North of England*, in 1768, says:—

> "The front that is finished is 318 feet long, and very light and beautiful; the center of it is a portico, which makes a small projection; six very handsome Corinthian pillars, resting on the rustics, support the tympanum; the whole extremely light and elegant. Upon the points of the triangle are three figures, and a ballustrade crowns the building from the tympanum to the projecting part at the ends, which mark the terminations in the style of wings; upon these are vases which are in proper taste, but the double ones at the corners have the appearance of being crowded. This front, upon the whole, is undoubtedly very beautiful; there is a noble simplicity in it which must please every eye, without raising any idea of a want of ornaments."[1]

The Duke survived his nephew by ten years, and died September 20th, 1777, in his ninety-second year, the Duchess having predeceased him by four years. "Still remembered by a few," says Tierney, writing in 1834, "who are yet lingering on the verge of life, he is ever named among the poor with affection and veneration. Considerate and indulgent towards all, his life would seem to have been prolonged beyond the ordinary term, only to extend the period of his usefulness; and when, at length, the grave closed over him, there was many a heart entombed in the same sepulchre."[2]

The death of Duke Edward without issue involved the reversion of the title to another branch, and also the extinction of the earldom of Norwich and the barony of

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[1] Vol. i. p. 367.

[2] *Hist. of Arundel*, p. 565.

Howard of Castle Rising, which had been bestowed upon his grandfather, Henry; while the baronies of Mowbray, Segrave, Howard, Braose of Gower, and Greystock fell into abeyance between Duke Edward's nieces, Winifrede and Ann, married respectively to William, Baron Stourton, and Robert Edward, Baron Petre.[1]

The successor to the ducal honours must be sought, in the first instance, in the issue of Henry, sixth Duke, by his second wife, Jane Bickerton; failing this, in the line of the next son of Henry Frederick, Earl of Arundel.[2] Philip, his third son, the Cardinal, had, of course, died unmarried; we must therefore seek the heir among the descendants of Charles of Greystock, the fourth son, whose grandson and namesake was at this time fifty-seven years of age.

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[1] The Baronies of Mowbray and Segrave were, however, determined, in 1878, in favour of Lord Stourton, who thereby became Baron Mowbray, Segrave, and Stourton.

[2] See *ante*, p. 573.

VIII

The Greystoke and Glossop Lines

THE new Duke was grandson of that Charles Howard whom we have seen emerging from his rural retreat in order to contest with his brother Henry his claims to the manor of Greystoke;[1] and he appears to have followed in the footsteps of his ancestor in his preference for retirement. Brought up a Catholic, he was sent abroad for his education, and on his return he passed his time chiefly in study, and produced several books, the best known of which is probably *Historical Anecdotes of some of the Howard Family*, published in 1769. It was dedicated to his son Charles, who eventually succeeded him, and who was then three-and-twenty: "To Charles Howard, Esq., of Greystock Castle, in the County of Cumberland, these Historical Anecdotes of some of your Ancestors are inscribed, as patterns worthy of your imitation; and that you may live up to the motto contained in the emblematical plate prefixed to these memoirs (in every sense it may be explained in) is the sincere desire of your very affectionate father, Charles Howard."

The "emblematical plate" alluded to is a small engraving of an old man, on one knee, planting a sapling; a sort of baronial castle is shown at some distance; and above are inscribed the words, *Gratus Posteritati* (dear to posterity). This fanciful little picture and dedication yield a true indication of Howard's eccentric character. His style of writing is pedantic and stilted, though not lacking in occasional glimpses of dry humour; and his statements concerning some members of his family are strangely inaccurate. In writing of Edward, first Lord Howard of Escrick, for example, he says: "I wish I could draw a veil over his turning evidence against his friend John, Lord Russell";[1] confusing him with William, his second son, who succeeded to the barony in 1678, and, as we have seen, turned evidence against *William*, Lord Russell, concerning the Rye House Plot.[2] Also, in relation to the part taken by his father in the futile attempt at establishing a more equitable position for Catholics, in 1719, he says: "When a proposal was made, in the reign of King George I., for tolerating Roman Catholicks, on condition of their taking the oath of allegiance, my father used his utmost influence with the gentlemen of that persuasion to come into it . . . but the unhappy infatuation, which prevailed among the disaffected party in general . . . would not suffer these people to accept of the proposal." The actual fact, as proved by contemporary evidence, was that his father's attitude was the principal cause of the failure of the attempt.[3]

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[1] See *ante*, p. 584.

Debarred by his religion from taking any part in politics, and even from the exercise of the office of Earl Marshal, Duke Charles remained for the most part in retirement.

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[1] p. 114 (ed. 1769).

[2] See *ante*, p. 602. The same error is committed by Mr. Joseph Foster, in his *Pedigree of all the Howards;* two large sheets, published in 1875.

[3] See *ante*, p. 619.

He does not appear to have published anything new after his accession to the title. Mr. Tierney alludes to anecdotes "still related of his eccentric manners and more eccentric habits,"[1] and represents him as grievously oppressed by the prevailing laws against Catholics, which induced a constant melancholy of mind.

As would be expected, he was one of those who signed the petition of the English Catholics to George III. in 1778,[2] resulting in some concessions, which, though dealing very partially with their case, yet afforded a great sense of relief and hope for the future, while it engendered a kindlier feeling towards Catholics on the part of the community in general. "No Catholic," says Mr. Charles Butler, "who recollects the passing of the Bill, will ever forget the general anxiety of the body, while it was in its progress through the Parliament, or the smile and friendly greeting with which his Protestant neighbour met him the day after it had passed into a law."[3]

Towards the end of his life, in 1783, Duke Charles, as we have seen,[4] took advantage of the opportunity afforded by the falling in of certain leases of the London property in the parish of St. Clement Danes to apply for a new Act in connection therewith, which should afford funds for the repair of Arundel Castle, so long neglected, and presenting at that time, in spite of some attention on the part of Thomas, eighth Duke, and his successor, a very ugly and incongruous appearance.

Whether or not the Duke had any definite plans in his mind for its restoration we do not know; he was then in his sixty-third year, and may well have shrunk from an undertaking of which he could not hope to view the completion. No practical steps were taken, at any rate, during his life, which terminated August 31st, 1786. He married, in 1739, Catherine, second daughter of John Brockholes, of Clayton, in Lancashire, Esq., by whom he had a son, Charles, who succeeded him, and a daughter, Mary, who died unmarried.

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[1] *History of Arundel*, p. 569.

[2] Butler, *Mem. of English Catholics*, iii. 288.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 294.

[4] See *ante*, p. 499.

It would not be easy to imagine a greater contrast between two individuals than is apparent between Charles Howard the elder and his son: the one more or less of a recluse, a thinker and moraliser, a writer of stilted style, with his eccentricities growing upon him in his retirement; the other self-asserting and aggressive, jealous of his dignities, but loud and coarse in manner and person; bon-vivant and given to over-indulgence in liquor; little conversant with literature, but possessed of a certain penetration and acuteness which stood him in good stead when he was called upon to speak in public; a man who, with all his coarseness, was known to have performed kind actions, though with a bad grace. He was a prominent figure in his time, both before and after he succeeded to the title; more notorious than famous, it is to be feared. Wraxall, in his memoirs, thus describes him:—

> "Nature, which cast him in her coarsest mould, had not bestowed on him any of the external insignia of high descent. His person, large, muscular, and clumsy, was destitute of grace or dignity, though he possessed much activity. He might indeed have been mistaken for a grazier or a butcher, by his dress and appearance, but intelligence was marked in his features, which were likewise expressive of frankness and sincerity."[1]

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[1] *Posthumous Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 29.

The same writer asserts that drunkenness was hereditary in him, and that his father indulged in it to an equal extent, which, if true, presents the latter rather in the light of a hypocrite.

In the diary of Lady Mary Coke—and what an industrious diarist she was!—there is presented a curious picture of the evil influence of Charles Howard the younger at a dinner party. It was in June, 1767, not many months after the death of young Edward Howard.

> "Went to dine with the Duchess of Norfolk at Hammersmith. I found . . . Mr. Harry Howard[1] and young Mr. Howard, who is the Duke's heir;[2] I can assure you 'twas a terrible scene. I pitied the Duke and Duchess, and him. I don't recollect either of them spoke to him, and he was as silent. At dinner something that was said (but I have forgot what it was) overcome the Duchess, and she burst out in tears. He did not stay long after dinner, and I thought him much in the right to leave a place where his presence gave so much uneasiness."[3]

What was the particular cause of this aversion to a young man of one-and-twenty we are not told; possibly he was even then displaying that tendency to licentious courses by which he was so unhappily conspicuous later on; or perhaps it was merely his presence, in the character of the successor to the rights of young Edward, which so overcame the Duchess.

Upon the death of Duke Edward, Charles assumed the courtesy title of Earl of Surrey; and in the following year he signed the petition of the Catholics, as did his father;

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[1] Son of Bernard Howard of Glossop, and father of Bernard Edward, who succeeded as twelfth Duke.

[2] His father was, of course, the immediate heir to Duke Edward.

[3] *Diary and Letters of Lady Mary Coke*, vol. ii. p. 39.

but in 1780—the year of the riots caused by the reckless and criminal fanaticism of Lord George Gordon—he apparently came to the conclusion that a life of compulsory inaction would not be to his taste and advantage, for he renounced his religion and became a Protestant. This action was probably not unexpected, as Surrey had already manifested a very keen interest in politics and current events, from any participation in which he would of course be debarred by remaining a Catholic; and no one imagined him to be the type of man to make any sacrifice for his religion. He lived in his younger days chiefly at Greystoke Castle—as witness the dedication of his father's book, above alluded to—and was extremely popular in Cumberland.

At the time of the dinner just mentioned he had just been elected F.R.S. He was always in the front, and never for a moment permitted himself to be overlooked or forgotten. He was busy at the Carlisle election in 1774, endeavouring to undermine the Lowther interest, in which he was not unsuccessful, though that family had been locally very powerful for generations,[1] for in 1780, after his change of religion, which coincided significantly with the period of the election, he was himself returned for Carlisle. Taking advantage of his religious views, he got his father, in August, 1782, to appoint him Deputy Earl Marshal, and further honours and offices rapidly succeeded. He was already Deputy Lieutenant of Sussex, and in 1782 was given the same position in the West Riding of Yorkshire, was Lord of the Treasury in 1783, and Colonel of the West Yorks Militia in 1784, in which year he was again returned for Carlisle. Long before he succeeded to the ducal honours, in 1786, he had been twice married: first in August, 1767, to Marian, daughter and heiress of John Coppinger, of Ballyvoolane, County Cork, who died in the following May; and again in April, 1771, to Frances, daughter and heiress of Charles Fitzroy Scudamore, of Holme Lacey, Hereford. The last-named lady unhappily became insane, and lived for many years in retirement at Holme Lacey, where she died in 1820.

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[1] See *ante*, p. 542.

This unfortunate outcome of his matrimonial affairs may have conduced in some degree to the increasing recklessness of conduct in which he indulged. Henry Howard of Corby is fain to find this excuse for his "friend and patron"; indeed, he has many good things to say of him, which will bear transcribing, in contrast to the prevailing testimony:—

> "There was no one in mind or feeling better suited or more disposed for the full enjoyment of domestic happiness, and no one, I am convinced, had he been spared these misfortunes, would have been more regular. Though all who had intercourse with him could not avoid doing justice to his superior qualifications, yet there were not many who, like myself, had the same opportunity of appreciating the high value of his head and heart, of his command of temper, fairness, and indulgence to others. Too much warmth, even impetuosity, are the faults I have to lay to my own charge; but with him I could think aloud, and when I ventured to oppose his fancies, his wishes, his objects, and what he thought his personal interests, I was certain never to experience any coldness or alteration towards me. His active zeal for the rights and liberties of the country, and his eagerness for a reform in our representation, are well known; and though he, by much exertion and expense, sought for parliamentary influence and weight, yet he constantly and unhesitatingly declared and proved that his object in this was to obtain the Reform which we have now acquired; and he would, I feel quite

certain, have willingly relinquished every part of that influence, in as noble and disinterested manner as his truly valued successor, the present Duke of Norfolk,[1] has made that sacrifice. Like Edward, Duke of Norfolk, who did not hesitate in cramping his own enjoyments by leaving to his successors, though not nearly connected with him, such noble mansions as Norfolk House and Worksop Manor—so he, in providing for them a proper residence as Earls of Arundel, willingly sacrificed many luxuries and enjoyments which his income would otherwise have secured to him"[2]

Thus far Henry Howard, a very loyal, and perhaps too indulgent friend, whose testimony, however, must be accepted as sincere. To the world at large the Duke was known, indeed, as a keen politician and a pronounced Whig, with democratic leanings which sat oddly upon one of his rank, and which were destined to bring him into trouble. His manner of declaring his views, whether in the House or at other gatherings, was aggressive and unconciliatory, but he had a certain rough eloquence which carried considerable weight.

He was known to his associates—among whom the Prince Regent was included—as "Jockey of Norfolk," or more briefly as "The Jockey." He habitually disregarded the fashion of dress in vogue at the time, always appearing in a plain blue coat of a peculiar dye, approaching purple—which, according to Wraxall, was said to be imposed upon him by his confessor as a penance—and wearing his hair cut short and without powder. He had an inveterate dislike to soap and water, and was never more thoroughly in his element than when presiding at an uproarious election dinner, or joining in a drunken orgie at the Beefsteak Club, where he would see his companions under the

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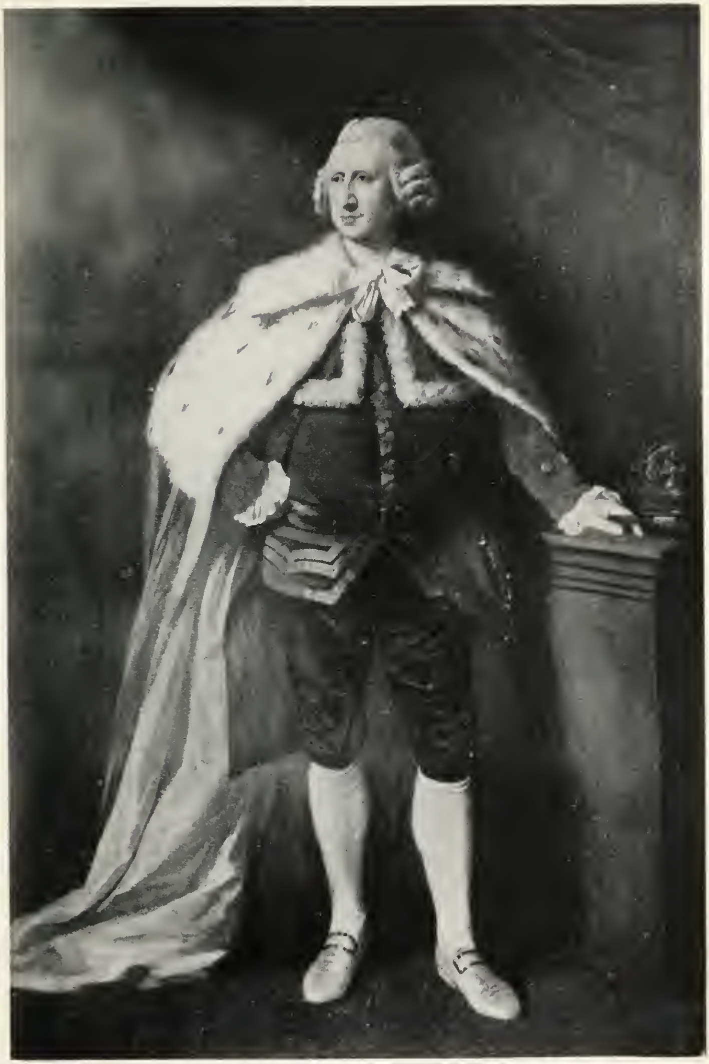
[1] Bernard Edward, twelfth Duke.

[2] Memorials, f. 48.



CHARLES HOWARD, TENTH DUKE OF NORFOLK

(1720-1786)

table, and then betake himself to some other scene of revel to finish the night.

On one occasion, at Carlisle, after dining with some boon companions—among others the brothers John and James Losh, the last named of whom afterwards became Recorder of Newcastle—they were making merry over the hackneyed proceedings of the Corporation, their display of their "baubles" and pomposity; and sallying forth, fully primed, they found their way to the neighbouring village of Wreay, where some annual sports, cock-fighting, etc., were in progress, it being Shrove Tuesday. Norfolk (this was about 1790) and his friends resolved to enliven the village carnival with a novel display, and entering the Plough Inn, they presently emerged in fantastic garb, imitative of the trappings of the Carlisle magnates; the Duke was elected "Mayor of Wreay," and chaired through the village, John Losh assuming the office of Sword-bearer, and James that of Recorder, while one Liddell was Town Clerk. This was highly delightful to the villagers, and so tickled their fancy that the election of a sham "Mayor of Wreay" became an annual institution at the sports, and was kept up for nearly one hundred years, not being finally abandoned until the year 1881.

At a great political dinner and gathering held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, January 24th, 1798, on the anniversary of Fox's birthday, the Duke's democratic notions came out in unexpected fashion: he gave a toast, "Our sovereign's health: the majesty of the people!"[1] The King's majesty was not unnaturally annoyed at such a sentiment, and Norfolk, a few days later, waited upon the Duke of York in order to explain and excuse himself;

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[1] *Annual Register* of that date.

requesting, as a proof of his loyalty, that in case of invasion his regiment of militia might be assigned the post of danger. The Duke heard him out, and then asked, "Apropos, my Lord, have you seen *Bluebeard*?" (a favourite play at the time). Two days later the Duke was deprived of the command of his regiment and the Lord Lieutenancy of the West Riding. The Prince of Wales was dining with him when the despatch containing these evil tidings was handed to him; seeing the Duke change colour, the Prince inquired, "What's up?" "Read it," replied the Duke; and they both burst out laughing.[1]

Later on we find Norfolk alluded to in *The Creevey Papers*, frequently under the nickname of "The Jockey," while Bernard Howard, his successor, is spoken of as "Barny," "Twitch," or "Scroop." The latter was very intimate with Creevey at this time, and was instrumental in getting him returned for Thetford in 1812; one seat there being in the hands of the Duke of Grafton and the other of the Duke of Norfolk.

> "Our neighbour, Marchioness Cornwallis, was passing in her barouche, and calls Howard to the carriage, who was alone in the road.
>
> "'And so,' says she, 'the Duke of Grafton turns Mr. Creevey out of Thetford at last!'
>
> "'Upon your soul!' says Barny, 'then there's a volley for you, for Mr. Creevey is now at my house, and is to be member for Thetford next Thursday, and for Liverpool the week after.'[2] . . .
>
> "Howard is very good to me, and I amuse him very much. He is confidential about young Harry[3] and the dukedom, which

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[1] Wraxall, *Posthumous Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 35. Lonsdale's *Cumberland Worthies*.

[2] Creevey, however, came out at the bottom of the poll.

[3] Henry Charles, afterwards thirteenth Duke.

he evidently expects to be in possession of before long. I see he never means to sell his seats. Jockey does."[1]

Creevey, with all his slang talk and nicknames, was evidently somewhat of a toady. The Duke's life was now drawing near its close. Thackeray tells a gruesome story of an adventure at Brighton, when he (the Duke) was the guest of the Prince of Wales, with whom he had previously quarrelled; a sort of reconciliation had been patched up, but the Prince and his brothers, Clarence and York, had resolved to humiliate their guest.

> "Every person at table was enjoined to drink wine with the Duke—a challenge which the old toper did not refuse. He soon began to see that there was a conspiracy against him; he drank glass for glass; he overthrew many of the brave. At last the First Gentleman of Europe proposed bumpers of brandy. One of the royal brothers filled a great glass for the Duke. He stood up and tossed off the drink. 'Now,' says he, 'I will have any carriage, and go home.' . . . The carriage was called, and came; but in the half-hour's interval the liquor had proved too much for the old man; his host's generous purpose was answered, and the Duke's old grey head lay stupefied on the table. Nevertheless, when his post-chaise was announced, he staggered to it as well as he could, and stumbling in, bade the postillions drive to Arundel. They drove him for half an hour round and round the Pavilion lawn; the poor old man fancied he was going home. When he awoke that morning he was in bed at the Prince's hideous house at Brighton."[2]

A noble exploit, truly, on the part of the First Gentleman of Europe!

The rebuilding of Arundel Castle, which had been in progress for many years, was now approaching completion. The popular notion—reiterated in public journals at various periods, and set forth in most circumstantial fashion in the *Annual Register*, October, 1797—that the Dukes of Norfolk are compelled, by Act of Parliament, to appropriate the rentals of certain London estates to the improvement of Arundel Castle, is devoid of truth. Probably the idea had its origin in the enactment, already alluded to, of 1783,[1] but the funds appropriated by this Act had long since been consumed. Duke Charles expended enormous sums over his hobby of rebuilding, with the result which may be seen in the two illustrations of the castle at this period. The architecture is, no doubt, open to considerable criticism from an expert's point of view; but Duke Charles certainly deserves credit for the pride which he evinced in the completion of the ancestral dwelling of the Earls of Arundel, which had never previously presented an appearance at all worthy of its importance, or of the splendid site upon which it stands. The library, which still remains as he left it, is a very beautiful piece of work; the vista from the corridor, through the ante-room and library to the billiard-room, is most charming, and not likely to be surpassed, one would imagine, in any great house in England.

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[1] *The Creevey Papers*, vol. i. p. 168.

[2] *The Four Georges*, by W. M. Thackeray, p. 117.

The great European crisis was at hand, and at Arundel Castle, as at Brussels, on the 15th of June, 1815, "there was a sound of revelry by night"; for so do mortals, all through the ages, continue to emulate the nonchalance of Nero. While the two great generals were marshalling their hosts for the final struggle at Waterloo, Duke Charles was receiving his guests for the celebration, in the newly completed Barons' Hall, of the six hundredth anniversary of the bloodless triumph of constitutionalism over autocracy in the signing of Magna Charta.

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[1] See *ante*, p. 499.

Whether the Duke had revived and once more abandoned the idea of inviting all the descendants of Duke John appears questionable. Wraxall places its first inception in 1781;[1] and as the proposed entertainment in 1783 did not take place, probably the notion has been erroneously attributed to the period of this display in 1815, which caused a good deal of talk. However this may be, there was a goodly company of seventy-six at dinner, and three hundred at the ball which ensued; some five-and-twenty or thirty important members of the Howard family were present, and the stained-glass windows were enriched with portraits of living Howards, representing twelve of the champions of liberty. The Duke, according to contemporary accounts, did not toast the King; he gave precedence to the ladies, the Duke of Wellington, very appropriately, coming next, to be followed by the "pious memory of the *twelve* Barons who compelled King John to sign Magna Charta."

If the Duke's history was somewhat shaky, however, his hospitality was magnificent, nor was he altogether out of place as the eulogiser of the pioneers of national liberty, having, as we have seen, incurred some odium on account of his pronounced estimate of the claims of the people; it was rather a happy expression, the "majesty of the people," though unsavoury in the ears of kings, and dangerous if accorded too wide an interpretation.

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[1] In 1781, when he was Earl of Surrey, he told Wraxall that it was his intention, in 1783, to celebrate the anniversary of the creation of the dukedom by inviting all the individuals of both sexes who were descended from John, first Duke of Norfolk, to a great entertainment; but that he had abandoned the idea, having already discovered about six thousand of such descendants, and believing that there might be as many more. (*Posthumous Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 33.)

The festivities were prolonged over several days; ere they concluded, Waterloo had been fought and won, and a member of an important branch of the House of Howard had given his life for his king and country. This was Major Frederick Howard, of the 10th Hussars, third son of Frederick, fifth Earl of Carlisle; "young, gallant Howard," as Byron calls him in *Childe Harold.* Howard's grandmother, Isabella, wife of the fourth Earl of Carlisle, was a Byron, and great-aunt to the poet, who was therefore second cousin to the gallant Major. The fifth Earl of Carlisle was Byron's guardian, and heartily disliked his ward, who in return lampooned him in some of his verses; but having visited Waterloo, and seen his cousin's grave, he relented, and introduced the well-known and touching allusion above referred to; but it is said that no one ventured to call the Earl's attention to this tribute, so virulent was his feeling against its author.[1] Major Howard's story has its parallel in that of George Osborne, in *Vanity Fair;* like that brave but boastful captain, he departed for the front, leaving a young wife to await, in sickening suspense, the tidings from the field of action; and she, like poor Amelia, bowing her head to the cruel blast, was solaced later by the advent of a little son.

Duke Charles did not long survive the festivities at Arundel; during the ensuing autumn his health gave way completely, and he died at Norfolk House on December 16th following. His obsequies were celebrated at Dorking with great magnificence, the final act being the proclamation by Deputy Garter King of Arms of his titles over the open grave, into which he then threw the broken fragments of the Earl Marshal's staves, the badges of his high office.

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[1] *My Reminiscences*, by Lord Ronald Gower, vol. i, p. 103.

A sad record of the life of a man of lofty station and more than average capacity. It is said that latterly, at least, he was by no means easy in his mind as to his change of religion, and kept a priest constantly in attendance, while, with characteristic dalliance, he also maintained his mistress in the house; nay, there is a story, credited by many, that when, on his death-bed, he sent for the priest, who was anxiously awaiting the summons in his room, the messenger and the confessor *failed to see each other*, and the Duke died without the too tardily desired administrations. The incident, if true, is no fit subject for comment in these pages. It is certain that the Duke displayed no bitterness against Catholics, for both at Arundel and Greystoke Castle, when he destroyed or converted to other uses the Catholic chapel, he provided in each instance a substitute for it, which, at Arundel, remained in use as the public Catholic church until the present Duke erected the splendid Gothic building which now forms such a conspicuous feature of the town.

Probably it is not generally known that Duke Charles became an intermediary between Shelley the poet and his father, who was bitterly angry on account of his son's marriage. The Duke failed to effect a reconciliation, but it was an act of disinterested kindness on his part, which we should not fail to place to his credit.[1]

Dying without issue, the Duke was succeeded by his third cousin, Bernard Edward Howard, descended from Bernard, eighth son of Earl Henry Frederick. By his will, Greystoke Castle passed from the senior line to Henry

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[1] *Notes and Queries*, 2nd series, vi. 405.

Thomas Howard, younger brother of Bernard Edward, who assumed in 1812 the additional surname of Molyneux, and in 1817 that of Howard, after Howard Molyneux. There is a monument to him, his wife, and his daughter Juliana, erected by Duke Bernard, in the Fitzalan chapel. Mr. Henry Charles Howard, grandson to Henry Thomas Howard Molyneux Howard, is the present owner of Greystoke Castle.

The twelfth Duke entered upon his tenure of the title under disabilities which his predecessor, as we have seen, had avoided. He was born in 1765, and was therefore just fifty years of age when he succeeded. Brought up as a Catholic, he remained staunch to his faith, consistently striving to obtain the removal of disabilities in preference to compromising his religion. The question of Catholic emancipation was already being warmly discussed, though it was not until fourteen years later that it became an accomplished fact; and Duke Bernard, immediately after his accession, appointed his brother, Henry Thomas Howard-Molyneux, who was a Protestant, his deputy in the office of Earl Marshal.

The Duke had married, in April, 1789, Lady Elizabeth Bellasyse, third daughter of Henry, last Earl of Fauconberg, by whom he had a son, Henry Charles, born August 12th, 1791. The union, however, turned out most unhappily; the lady is said to have been very beautiful, and all too soon permitted the advances of the Honourable Richard Bingham, son of Charles, first Earl of Lucan, who unscrupulously pursued his passion to a guilty conclusion, too obvious to be tolerated or ignored. Howard took steps, in 1794, to obtain an Act of Divorce, which was granted. It was alleged at the hearing of the cause that Lady Elizabeth had been forced into the marriage against her will, having already a strong predilection for Bingham, and that she had from the first protested to her husband that she never wished to marry him, and that they could never be happy together; she told her maid, immediately after marriage, that "she would rather go to Newgate than live with him," and used other hyperbolical expressions, which need not perhaps be accepted in their literal significance, but are sufficiently indicative of a most wretched state of affairs. Howard took occasion to declare, through his counsel, that he did not question the legitimacy of his son, born only two years and four months after his marriage. What a sad necessity was such a declaration! As a Catholic, he would not feel at liberty to marry again during the lifetime of Lady Elizabeth; and his brother, Henry Thomas, but one year his junior, was not then married, nor was the younger brother, Edward.

Three years after his assumption of the title, Duke Bernard considered it advisable to remove Mr. Creevey—who had been a frequent absentee—from the representation of Thetford, a proceeding which called forth a long letter from the facile pen of that gentleman, in which he accused the Duke of putting in a man to whom he was in debt: "How long do you think the constitution and liberties of the country would survive the loss of public character in the aristocracy?" The Duke replied with a brevity in great contrast to his correspondent's lengthy effusion, declining to acknowledge "the right he had thought proper to exercise of reproaching him [the Duke] with imaginary injustice," and attributing Mr. Creevey's "extraordinary and unmerited asperity to some temporary irritation proceeding from misconceptions."[1]

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[1] *The Creevey Papers*, vol. i. p. 275.

Norfolk was, of course, excluded at this time, by reason of his religion, from taking his seat in the House of Lords; and in the year 1820 he writes to Creevey, concerning the very unsavoury subject of the Bill of Divorce against Queen Caroline, then in process of discussion:—

"Dear Creevey, are you really become the champion of the H. of Lds., and suppose there is any atrocity they are not ready to vote for? For my own part, if they do pass this horrible Bill, I shall no longer consider it a disgrace or a hardship to be excluded from a seat in their House; but, on the contrary, rejoice that I have not been implicated in so foul a crime. Is it possible that the slight evidence they have for the tent scene alone can establish their whole case?"[1]

On the death of his brother, Deputy Earl Marshal, June 17th, 1824, Duke Bernard considered that the times were ripe for some practical step in the direction of the public recognition of Catholics; he accordingly applied for an Act permitting him to exercise his hereditary office. Creevey, under date June 22nd, writes:—

"We are all full of a battle that is to take place in the H. of Lords between the Duke of York and our Scroop. Lord Holland has brought in a Bill to enable Scroop, though a Catholic, to officiate in future as Earl Marshal. It was read a second time on Saturday, tho' the Duke of York and old Eldon were in the minority; but since then the D. of York has become perfectly furious, and has written to every peer he knows, calling upon him to come and protect the Crown against the insidious Scroop."[2]

It was beginning to be realised by this time that Catholics did not conceal a barbed tail and split hooves inside their boots and breeches, and the Bill was passed

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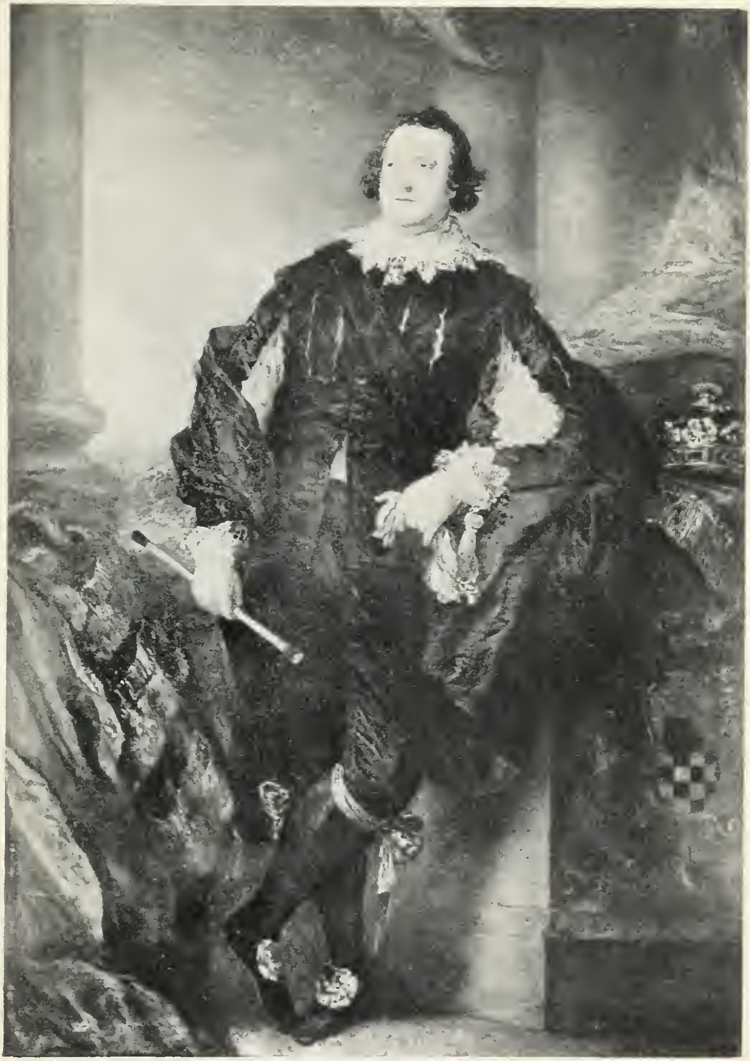
[1] *The Creevey Papers*, vol. i. p. 325. The Bill was finally abandoned.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 78.



CHARLES HOWARD, ELEVENTH DUKE OF NORFOLK, K.G., P.C.
EARL MARSHAL OF ENGLAND (1746-1815)

which dispensed thenceforward with the necessity of a Deputy Earl Marshal, save during the nonage of the hereditary holder of the office, an occasion which arose in the case of the present Duke. A year or two later, in 1827, Creevey writes, under date February 10th :—

> "As Scroop was very gracious, I said I must ask him if what I heard was true, that the Duke of Clarence said to him at the Duke of York's funeral that he hoped before long to see him in the House of Lords. He said it was not at the funeral, but when the King was last in the House of Lords, when Clarence did say so to him in the hearing of Lord Gwydir, and shaking his hand most heartily at the same time. 'But,' said the Duke, 'I ought to add that he said precisely the same thing to me at the Coronation, and then voted against us on the very first opportunity!'"[1]

The Duke appears to have incurred the anger of the Liberator during the following year by some outspoken expression concerning the Catholic question, for Creevey writes, from Dublin, November 15th, 1828: "I trust you see our Dan. O'Connell has denounced poor Barny, altho' he is Duke of Norfolk, for presuming to say *he* would give any securities as the price of settling the Catholic question."[2]

Three months later the subject was getting hot, and we find the following: "Here is little Twitch, *alias* Scroop, *alias* Premier Duke, Hereditary Earl Marshal, who is sitting by my side, and who reckons himself sure of franking a letter for you[3] before the session closes."[4]

The forecast was correct; on April 13th, 1829, after a great display of oratorical pyrotechnics, the legislative assemblies decided that Catholics were entitled—with some reservations—to be treated as loyal subjects and ordinary citizens; on April 28th the Duke of Norfolk took his seat in the House of Lords; and immediately afterwards his son, Henry Charles, under the title of Earl of Arundel and Surrey, was returned for Horsham, the sitting member having resigned, in order to afford him the opportunity; he was the first Catholic since the Reformation to take his seat in the House of Commons.

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[1] *The Creevey Papers*, vol. ii. p. 104.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 188.

[3] As a sitting member of the House of Lords.

[4] *The Creevey Papers*, vol. ii. p. 195.

Here, then, was an epoch in the history of the House of Howard, no less than in that of the British realm; a sweeping away of the dire temptation to trifle with vital truths, and truckle to monstrously unjust enactments at the cost of conscience, which had proved too strong for many a Howard, as we have seen. Duke Bernard deserves all praise for his consistent attitude, and we may tender him our hearty retrospective congratulations upon being permitted at length to reap the reward of his constancy, in taking his rightful position as a member of the House of Peers, and holding his hereditary estates without fear of confiscation. Religion has had more to do with making history, in England and elsewhere, than any other influence, and the penal laws will ever remain as a monument of legislation which would have been grotesque if it had not been so tragic in its results.

Duke Bernard does not appear to have been much interested in Arundel Castle; indeed, he permitted the structure to get considerably out of repair, though the grounds were maintained in good order, and he obtained an Act, in 1825, by which he was permitted to enclose a considerable addition to the park on the north-west boundary, taking in the old London road, which he diverted to the present one, skirting the park wall on that side. Creevey gives us his views about the castle, as rebuilt by Duke Charles. He writes, August 11th, 1828: "A delightful drive to Arundel (from Chichester), the outside of which, grounds, etc., have been made perfect by our Barny (who was not there); but the devil himself could make nothing of the interior. Anything so horrid and dark and frightful in all things I never beheld."[1]

Of the Duke's personality we get a glimpse in the following: "I dine at the Hollands' again on Christmas Day—again to meet that lively man, the Duke of Devonshire! But we shall have no want of vivacity on that jolly day, as the Duke of Norfolk dines there likewise."[2]

Meanwhile, Duke Bernard had long since become a grandfather, his son, Henry Charles, having, in 1814, married Lady Charlotte Leveson-Gower, eldest daughter of George Granville, first Duke of Sutherland, a lady of very charming personality; there is a delightful portrait of her, by Sir Thomas Lawrence, at Arundel Castle. Of this marriage was born, in the following year, Henry Granville, father of the present Duke.

The Duke, as was pointed out by Mr. Henry Howard of Corby, was a strong supporter of the Reform Bill of 1832, though its provisions deprived him of the parliamentary patronage, which was highly valued by those who held it—and was frequently grossly abused. "Pocket-boroughs" will certainly never be heard of again, and dukes have now-a-days to be very careful of what they say and do on the eve of an election, lest their rash utterances or actions should render the votes of the constituents abortive; it remains to be seen how far the opposite extreme, which perhaps has not yet been reached, is an unmixed blessing.

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[1] *The Creevey Papers*, vol. ii. p. 162.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 303.

Duke Bernard, during his tenure of the title, was destined to see three coronations. At that of George IV. he was disqualified by his faith from exercising his important office of Earl Marshal, and we find him, as a peer who is not a Privy Councillor, summoned by his brother and deputy to attend at the "solemnity."[1] He claimed the right, however, as Lord of the Manor of Worksop, to provide a right-hand glove, and support the King's arm while he held the sceptre, which was duly authorised. He also claimed, as pertaining to the earldom of Arundel, to exercise the office of chief butler, and to take for his fee

"The gold bason and ewer, the best cup in which His Majesty shall be served at his dinner; and also the vessels with the wine on the day of the Coronation remaining and being under the Bar; and also all the pots and cups, not being of gold or silver, which shall be in the wine cellar after dinner on the same day; with all other fees, profits, and prehemineces due on the said day of the Coronation to the Principal Butler of England; and the rather, that your petitioner holds the manor of Kenninghall, or Kinninghall, in the County of Norfolk, by tenure of Grand Serjeantry, namely, to be Principal Chief Butler of England."[1]

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[1] The Deputy Earl Marshal was, however, prevented by illness from acting further, and Lord Howard of Effingham was permitted to take his place. It was his duty, when the Champion—the Rev. John Dymoke, of Scrivelsby, represented by William Reader the younger—rode up Westminister Hall and threw down the gauntlet to all who should challenge the King's right of succession, to escort him on one side, the High Constable—the Duke of Wellington—supporting him on the other. These three equestrians were expected, after this ceremony, to back their horses from the royal presence; and it is said that Effingham's horse, which had been hired from Astley's Circus for the occasion, persisted in rearing instead of backing, and was eventually ignominiously *pulled out by its tail.* Effingham was a general in the army, and the story of the hiring of a circus steed appears apochryphal; but another account gives the Astley "trick-horse" to the Iron Duke, and states furthermore that, having been exercised at backing amid a loud clamour in preparation for this occasion, when the plaudits broke forth upon the entrance of the "Dauntless Three," it immediately "slewed" round and approached the King *stern first!* Yet another story attributes the humours of the occasion to the steed ridden by the Champion himself; so the only certainty appears to be that there was some equine humour to the fore to divert the onlookers. The picture presented to the imagination of the hero of Waterloo, with his grim eagle countenance, being carried, *nolens volens*, stern first by a circus-horse, is irresistibly comic. See *Diary of Lord Colchester*, vol. iii. p. 233; Sir W. Fraser's *Wellington*, p. 41; *Notes and Queries*, seventh series, vol. iii. p. 113.

A similar claim was set up by the Hon. and Rev. George Herbert, Lord of the Manor of Buckenham, but it was not admitted, the Duke's plea being granted, with the fee of the "bason and ewer" only.

At the coronation of William IV., and also at that of Queen Victoria, the Duke exercised his right, as pertaining to the manor of Worksop, of providing the glove and supporting the sovereign's arm; but this was the last occasion upon which it was held by the House of Howard, for he sold Worksop soon afterwards to the Duke of Newcastle, with whom the right still remains, though the estate has since passed into other hands.

Duke Bernard died March 16th, 1842, at the age of seventy-seven; his son and grandson having married young, he was already a great-grandfather, and his great-grandson, the present Duke, was born only five years after his death. No mention is made in the peerages of a second marriage, and certainly he had no further issue; but in the *Annual Register* for 1823, in the month of March, there appears the following: "Lately, His Grace the Duke of Norfolk, to Lady Mary Ann Gage, relict of Sir Thomas Gage, Bart." The vagueness of the announcement is curious, especially when considered in conjunction with the statement in the obituary notice, in the same publication, March, 1842: "The Duke of Norfolk did not marry again." It is worth noting, likewise, that there was published in 1822 a work entitled *The History and Antiquities of Hengrave, in Suffolk,* by John Gage, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, which is dedicated by the author to Duke Bernard; apparently John Gage was brother-in-law to the lady above mentioned, whose husband died about the time of publication. There does not appear to be any explanation of this curious statement in 1823; the inquisitive and garrulous Thomas Creevey makes no mention of any such rumour, which surely could scarcely have escaped him; but, if not true, why and by whom was it inserted?

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[1] See the "Coronation Book" of George IV.

Subsequent to the Catholic emancipation, Duke Bernard was, in 1830, made a Privy Councillor, and four years later was elected a Knight of the Garter; he had also been elected F.R.S. in 1799, and F.S.A. in 1812.

His son, Henry Charles Howard, was fifty-one years of age when he succeeded to the title; unlike his predecessor, he was disposed to treat his religion lightly, and there is a forecast of this as far back as 1815, just before the death of Duke Charles, when Henry Brougham writes to Creevey:—

> "What chiefly moves me to write is some conversation that Ossulston[1] and I have had concerning the state of the Party in one material point. The Jockey is gone—you may lay that down. It is a question between days and weeks, and he cannot possibly see the meeting of Parlt. . . . Now upon your friend Bernard Howard's succession to this most important publick trust (for so I consider it), it is plain beyond all doubt that old Mother

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[1] Afterwards fifth Earl of Tankerville.

Stafford[1] will be working by every means to touch him—at all events to neutralize him. She will make the young one turn Protestant—a most improper thing in his station; for surely his feeling should be—'I *will* be in Parlt., but it shall be by force of the Catholic emancipation'; and, viewing this as a personal matter to himself, he should shape his political conduct mainly with reference to it. But I fear that is past praying for, and all we can hope is that the excellent father should remain as steady in his politics as he is sure to be in his adherence to his sect."[2]

The Earl of Arundel, however, did not, as we have seen, sacrifice his religion for politics at that time, entering Parliament, "by force of the Catholic emancipation," in 1829; but later on, when no sacrifice was required of him, he took a wrong-headed view of the matter.

Meanwhile, he was returned in 1832, 1835, and 1837 for the Western Division of Sussex, on the side of the Whigs; and in 1841 was summoned, as Baron Maltravers, to the House of Peers, having been Treasurer of the Queen's household and Privy Councillor during the previous four years.

He lived chiefly at Littlehampton, before he became Duke, and his children used to come over to Arundel Castle sometimes, which, however, could not have been very attractive, for Duke Bernard, while he improved the park and grounds, so neglected the castle that his steward is said to have provided himself with an umbrella in his office, to ward off the leakage in wet weather, which appears to indicate a strain of eccentricity in the Duke, though of a different nature from that of Charles, his predecessor.

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[1] Henry Charles Howard's mother-in-law: she was Countess of Sutherland in her own right, and was married to the second Marquess of Stafford, created Duke of Sutherland in 1833.

[2] *The Creevey Papers*, vol. i. p. 245.

Succeeding to the title in 1842, Norfolk was Master of the house from July, 1846, until February, 1852, was created K.G. in May, 1848, and was Lord Steward of the Household for twelve months, from January, 1853.

The most conspicuous episode in the Duke's career was his support, in 1851, of Lord John Russell's Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, a step which, though not accompanied by any formal renunciation of his faith, or deliberate adoption of Protestant tenets, certainly constituted a practical defection from the former.

This Bill was the outcome of a perfectly unwarrantable scare, derogatory alike to the dignity of the sovereign, the Government, and the nation. The Catholics, gradually finding their feet after three centuries of proscription and ostracism, determined to provide for the proper control of their increasing numbers—largely augmented during the Tractarian movement a few years previously—by the establishment of the Hierarchy in England; the Hierarchy which had existed in one communion all over the world, for centuries before such terms as "Protestant" or "Church of England" were known or heard of. It was a most reasonable proceeding, the logical outcome of the Emancipation Act. Catholic bishops had already been established in Ireland,[1] and a commission appointed for dealing with certain matters in that island included more than one of these, who were designated as "our trusty and well-beloved"; and the jurisdiction of Catholic bishops in the colonies had been recognised in 1847. The Pope's Brief, however, dividing England and Wales into twelve sees, with Wiseman as Archbishop of Westminster, appears to have created a panic; Lord John Russell denounced it as "insolent and insidious . . . inconsistent with the Queen's supremacy, with the rights of our bishops and clergy, and with the spiritual independence of the nation." The Queen's speech, at the opening of Parliament, alluded to the "recent assumption of ecclesiastical titles conferred by a foreign Power," announced the Queen's resolution "to maintain the rights of the Crown and the independence of the nation against all encroachments," and declared that a measure would be introduced into Parliament to maintain, "under God's blessing, *the religious liberty so justly prized by the people*."[1] The framers of this speech, one would imagine, possessed but little sense of humour; to maintain religious liberty by withholding it from a considerable section of the people was certainly a comical enough proposal; and Lord John Russell emphasised the absurdity by introducing a Bill which, in addition to forbidding the assumption of territorial titles by the priests and prelates of the Church of Rome, declared all gifts made to them, and all acts done by them under those titles, null and void, while all property bequeathed to them was to be forfeited to the Crown.[2]

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[1] This was contrary to the provisions of the Act, but no exception was taken to it at the time.

Well, the Bill was debated, amended, derided, and at length passed into law, and then its promoters and supporters were so ashamed of it that it was quietly shelved, and never put into force.

Duke Henry Charles, however, thought proper to support this outrageous and ridiculous measure. The *Annual Register*, in an obituary notice, says that he "was educated in the Roman Catholic Faith, but on the occasion of the 'Papal Aggression' felt so keenly (as did other of the

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[1] Walpole's *History of England*, vol. v. p. 421.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 423.

Roman Catholic nobility) the attack upon the liberties of his country, that he not only voted in support of the Government measures, but quitted the Roman Communion, and conformed to the Established Church"; while the *Record* characteristically rejoices over his adherence to Protestantism to the last.

These last statements are untrue; but it was bad enough that a man of his position should so readily accept the false and absurd allegation as to the "liberties of the people," which, of course, were not in any sense threatened; and he and other Catholic peers who (if the statement be true) publicly adopted such views were sadly wanting in dignity and constancy.

At his death, however, on February 18th, 1856, the Duke made tardy amends for his defection, and received the last administrations at the hands of Canon Tierney, as is testified in the inscription on his coffin-plate: "Qui sacramentaliter absolutus, et unctionis sacræ præsidio munitus, ex hac vita migravit."[1]

Duke Henry Charles left two sons—Henry Granville, who succeeded him, and Edward George, afterwards created Baron Howard of Glossop (the third son, Bernard Thomas, died in 1846); and two daughters—Mary Charlotte, who married Lord Foley, and Adeliza Matilda, married to Lord George Manners.

Henry Granville Howard was educated as a Protestant; his mother being of that persuasion, and his father probably not caring sufficiently about the matter, to object to a course which was perhaps taken at the instigation of the Marchioness of Stafford. After a course of private tuition,

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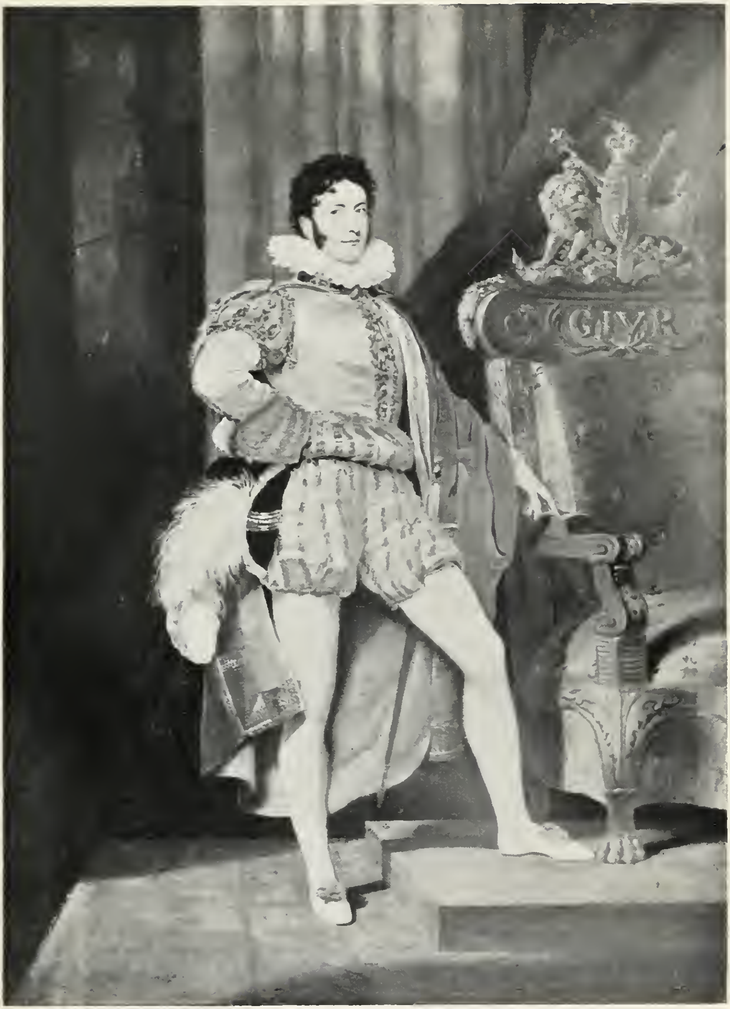
[1] "Who, sacramentally absolved, and fortified by the aid of Holy Unction, departed this life."



HENRY CHARLES HOWARD, THIRTEENTH DUKE OF NORFOLK

(1791–1856)

In the costume he wore as one of the train bearers at the coronation of George IV He was Earl of Surrey at the time

he was entered at Trinity College, Cambridge, and was subsequently a Cornet in the Horse Guards, from which, however, he retired on attaining the rank of captain. He was only two-and-twenty when, in 1837, he was elected M.P. for Arundel, which seat he held for fourteen years. He was at this time known as Lord Fitzalan, and under this title, travelling in Europe during the following year, he visited Athens, where he was detained by a serious illness.

Fitzalan had no cause, however, to regret this unexpected detention, for in the Greek capital he made the acquaintance of that remarkable man, sailor and diplomat, Sir Edmund (afterwards Lord) Lyons, who was then British Minister there.[1] Before he left Athens, Fitzalan was engaged to the Minister's second daughter, Augusta Marie Minna Catherine, whom he married in June, 1839.

On the death of Duke Bernard, Fitzalan assumed the title of Earl of Arundel and Surrey; and on April 26th, 1842, he took, by royal licence, together with his brothers and sisters, the additional surname of Fitzalan, before that of Howard.

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[1] Sir Edmund Lyons, after a brilliant early career in the navy, displayed such an aptitude for diplomatic work that he was appointed British Minister at Athens in 1835. He had been made a post-captain before he was twenty-four years of age, and he now quitted the sea for a period of eighteen years, the greater part of which was spent at Athens, and returned to active service with the navy on the outbreak of the Crimean War, having been promoted to the rank of Rear-Admiral in 1850. Many of his contemporaries considered that, had similar opportunities presented themselves, he would have rivalled Nelson in his exploits. Returning from the Crimea in 1856, he was raised to the peerage as a reward for his signal services in command of the Black Sea Fleet. His last official act was to command a squadron which escorted Queen Victoria and Prince Albert from Cherbourg to Portsmouth, in August, 1858. He died at Arundel Castle in November following, and was buried in the vault in the Fitzalan chapel. (*Life of Vice-Admiral Lord Lyons*, by Captain S. Eardley-Wilmot, R.N.)

It was soon after this that Arundel made the acquaintance, in Paris, of Count Montalembert, and they became intimate friends. It was, perhaps, partly owing to the influence of Montalembert that Arundel made up his mind at this time to become a Catholic.

> "We first came to know one another in those auspicious years of the reign of Louis Philippe, when so numerous and generous a part of the youth of France vindicated their right to public liberty by breaking the yoke of the sophists, braving human respect, setting at defiance the abuse of an impious Press, and securing the emancipation of the religious orders, by grouping themselves in thousands around the pulpit of Notre Dame, where the Père Lacordaire and the Père de Ravignan, turn by turn, electrified an eager and attentive multitude. The young Earl of Arundel mingled in this crowd, and none carried thither a piety more sincere or more fervent. He returned there again and again; and he there had inspired in his heart towards the Père de Ravignan a tender and respectful attachment. May I dare say so? It was there also that we ourselves were drawn more closely together; it was there that began in earnest a friendship which thenceforth knew no diminution, and which secured to me from him so many proofs of the most rare devotion. He came away from these reunions of frank and firm Catholics with his brow erect and his eye sparkling. His happiness was great, but it was not complete. One day—how well I remember it!—it was on Easter Sunday, at the general communion, in the Cathedral of Notre Dame; he had been followed thither by the noble and faithful partner of his life, who, from the gallery of the great fane, watched her husband without being able to imitate him. She was still a Protestant."[1]

This distinction of creed was not, however, destined to be permanent, the Countess eventually following her husband's example.

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[1] Monograph on the fourteenth Duke of Norfolk, by Count Montalembert: translated from *Le Correspondant*, December, 1860.

Arundel was distinguished by his conscientious and punctilious discharge of his duties, public and private. He had no ambition to assume an important part in politics, from which he rather shrank: but when he considered it his duty to speak, he was always accorded a respectful hearing in the House, due to his simplicity, straightforwardness, and sincerity.

When the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill was brought on, he found himself in direct opposition to his father, who, in "another place," supported it. As he owed his seat to the Duke's local influence, it would have been considered natural enough, and some indeed were of opinion that it would have been more seemly, that Arundel should, if he did not resign his seat, at least abstain from taking any active part in opposing the measure. He was, however, a man of quite another kidney; to sit down quietly and see a wrong done, while he had the power, even in the smallest degree, to prevent or oppose it, was impossible to him, more especially where it touched his religion.

After the Queen's speech had been read, on February 4th, 1851, there rose a champion of justice and common sense, in the person of Mr. John Roebuck, a Radical and a member of the Church of England, and slew that Bill; he left it dead on the field, almost before it was born; only, unhappily, bills and their promoters do not always realise when they are slain. It struggled to its feet under the stimulating pricks and pinches of its advocates, only to succumb, later on, to chloroform!

The Earl of Arundel and Surrey probably realised that, if any argument could convince the House of the flagrant disingenuousness and inherent absurdity of the measure, Mr. Roebuck had covered the ground; indeed, no one attempted to reply to him, save by vain presentments, in various forms, of the bogey of "Papal Aggression," which he had effectually laid. Arundel therefore contented himself with observing that "were any attempts made to direct measures of persecution against the Church of Rome, he, and he hoped the other members of that Church in the House, would know how with vigour to oppose, and if unsuccessful, how with dignity to suffer."

Having strenuously opposed the Bill at every stage, when it was passed he resigned his seat; a most proper and dignified course throughout, of which instant appreciation was displayed by Mr. John O'Connell, a son of the Liberator, who resigned his seat at Limerick, Arundel being elected in his stead. After the dissolution in 1852, however, Arundel did not seek re-election; political life was not to his taste; he preferred the joys of domesticity to the roar of electioneering strife and parliamentary polemics.

When, however, he was summoned in 1856, as Duke of Norfolk, to take his seat in the House of Lords, his strong sense of duty impelled him to join in denouncing the maladministration of the funds subscribed in aid of the widows and orphans of those who had fallen in the Crimean War, by which his co-religionists suffered.

The Duke was subsequently, as was of course almost inevitable in one of his rank, offered the distinction of the Garter, which had been conferred upon all his predecessors in the title; but he declined it, as quietly and unostentatiously as possible. The incident, of course, could not long remain unknown, and many conjectures were abroad as to his reasons for such an unusual—probably unprecedented—course of action, while the Catholics of England regretted that he should thus put aside a high distinction which they would have rejoiced to see conferred upon him. To a friendly remonstrance on the part of his friend Montalembert he "answered with an *argumentum ad hominem* which demonstrated that he had wished above all things to give a proof of political independence, in avoiding to receive even the most coveted favour through the intermediary of a minister[1] whose conduct he disapproved."[2] Quixotic, perhaps, and overstrained, in the judgment of the world; but a position unassailable, nevertheless, by virtue of its characteristic consistency.

The Duke did not live long to enjoy the honours of the title which he so eminently adorned: for two years he suffered from a painful and incurable disease, to which he finally succumbed on November 25th, 1860, at the early age of forty-five.

During his tenure of the dukedom, he had devoted himself, at the cost of immense labour and huge disbursements, to the cause of his co-religionists.

> "To form some adequate idea of the life which he marked out for himself," says Montalembert, "it would have been necessary to have seen him in his great library in Arundel Castle, having beside him his wife, who always acted in this regard as his secretary and his coadjutor, giving himself up with her to the labour of keeping pace with the incommensurable correspondence which from every corner of the three kingdoms brought to him a task as painful as it was meritorious, by unrolling before him continually a panorama of all the infirmities, exigencies, and destitution which constitute the habitual lot of the Catholic Community in that country, everywhere indigent, everywhere in a minority, everywhere doomed to struggle for existence against obstacles of every description."[3]

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[1] Lord Palmerston.

[2] *Monograph*, p. 128.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 129.

"There is scarcely a charity," says Cardinal Wiseman in his Pastoral Letter, "which has not, either permanently or on some more pressing occasion, experienced his benevolence. There is not a form of want or a peculiar application of alms which has not received his relief or co-operation. The building of churches, the erection of schools, the institution of orphanage, almshouse, reformatory, training school, or hospital; the foundation of convents, whether for contemplation or for active duties; the education of the clergy at home or abroad; any Catholic interest, whether of the hierarchy or of the oppressed inmates of workhouses or of prisons; whatever, in fine, required assistance for carrying out a good and holy work found ever in him a ready, an ungrudging, and a noble-hearted benefactor. Yet it would be difficult, perhaps, to define the limits to which the exercise of this virtue was carried; because the extent of private and domestic charity which he practised can never be known. Instances have, indeed, come casually to our knowledge which might have been considered sufficient to satisfy all the obligations of a rich and virtuous man for a considerable period, but where the left hand was not intended to know what the right hand had done."[1]

Other tributes of the same tenor were not wanting, and Montalembert gives a beautiful picture of the Duke's deathbed. Those who desired to be hypercritical may have contended that Duke Henry Granville failed to occupy the public position which his rank demanded, and which his high character would have adorned, and perhaps there is something to be said for this point of view, for the obligations of the highest rank next to royalty; but the other verdict remains, a splendid tribute to the character of a man who, placed in a position of extreme eminence, and endowed with great wealth, set so noble an example of simplicity, sincerity, and charity: "*Dispersit, dedit pauperibus ; justitia ejus manet in seculum.*"

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[1] Reprinted in *The Times*, December 4th, 1860.

Duke Henry Granville left a family of two sons—Henry, the present Duke, and Edmund Bernard (now known as Lord Edmund Talbot); the second son, Philip Thomas, died in 1855—and seven daughters, of whom five are now living. The Duchess survived him for many years, dying in 1886. She was held in the highest esteem by all who knew her for her exemplary life and universal charity and kindness; among the poor in Arundel her name is still remembered and venerated, as is also that of her daughter, Lady Margaret Howard, among the humblest in the East End of London, to whom she devoted her life. She died at Arundel in November, 1899.

A contemporary of the late Duke was George William Frederick Howard, seventh Earl of Carlisle; a man of the highest character, and a fine scholar. He was born in 1802, and took a brilliant degree at Oxford in 1823. He entered early upon a political life, and was distinguished, like his noble relative, for his high principle, simplicity, and unswerving integrity. He was a fluent and graceful speaker, taking a prominent part in all important debates in the House of Commons. He was Chief Secretary for Ireland for more than six years, during which he carried through the House the Irish Tithe Bill, the Irish Municipal Reform Bill, and the Irish Poor Law Bill, displaying remarkable tact and ability in dealing with a delicate and difficult situation. Subsequently, after he succeeded to the earldom, he was twice Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and a bronze statue in Phœnix Park testifies to the esteem in which he was held there.

Carlisle's private character is alluded to by Harriet

Martineau in the highest terms. She thus speaks of him during his last illness:—

> "His private life had never been more beautiful and beloved than now. Instead of the irritability and depression which usually accompany the disease, even where the intellect remains unaffected, there was in him a serenity and even cheerfulness, as unmistakable as the clearness of his mind. He was as willing as ever to receive what others said, without manifesting any harassing need to reply. . . . Sad as it was, his decline was so much less grievous and terrible than it must have been in a man of lower moral nature, that it was endurable even to those who loved him best."[1]

Carlisle took a great interest in matters such as public health, education, and the care of juvenile criminals; he also wrote plays and poetry, and lectured upon literature and other subjects.

Both his father and grandfather were very able men, distinguished in their day, with decided literary talent. George, sixth Earl, was an accomplished scholar, and in so far as he took part in public affairs, a very honest politician.

Frederick, fifth Earl of Carlisle, succeeded to the title as a boy of ten, and was distinguished in his early manhood as a man of fashion and a reckless gambler. Having sown his wild oats, he afterwards took seriously to politics, and in 1778 he was appointed chief of a Commission sent to America to arrive at an agreement upon the disorders in the colonies. The Commission jointly expressed a strong opinion upon the conduct of the French, and Lafayette challenged Carlisle to a duel in consequence. The English

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[1] Martineau's Biographical Sketches: quoted in *My Reminiscences*, by Lord Ronald Gower, vol. i. p. 115.

Mary Bridget:
mar. Feb., 1786,
Robert Edward,
10th Lord Petre;
l. May 30, 1843;
d. Mar. 29, 1809.

mar. J
Rob

liana Jane;
5, 1831,
orth Buller,
, Devon;
5. 1855.

Ju th Duke of Norfolk,
ma 12, 1791; M.P. for
Sir John W. Sussex 1832–37;
d hold 1837 to 1841;
he *d* ords as Baron Mal-

Martineau in the highest terms. She thus speaks of him during his last illness:—

> "His private life had never been more beautiful and beloved than now. Instead of the irritability and depression which usually accompany the disease, even where the intellect remains unaffected, there was in him a serenity and even cheerfulness, as unmistakable as the clearness of his mind. He was as willing as ever to receive what others said, without manifesting any harassing need to reply. . . . Sad as it was, his decline was so much less grievous and terrible than it must have been in a man of lower moral nature, that it was endurable even to those who loved him best."[1]

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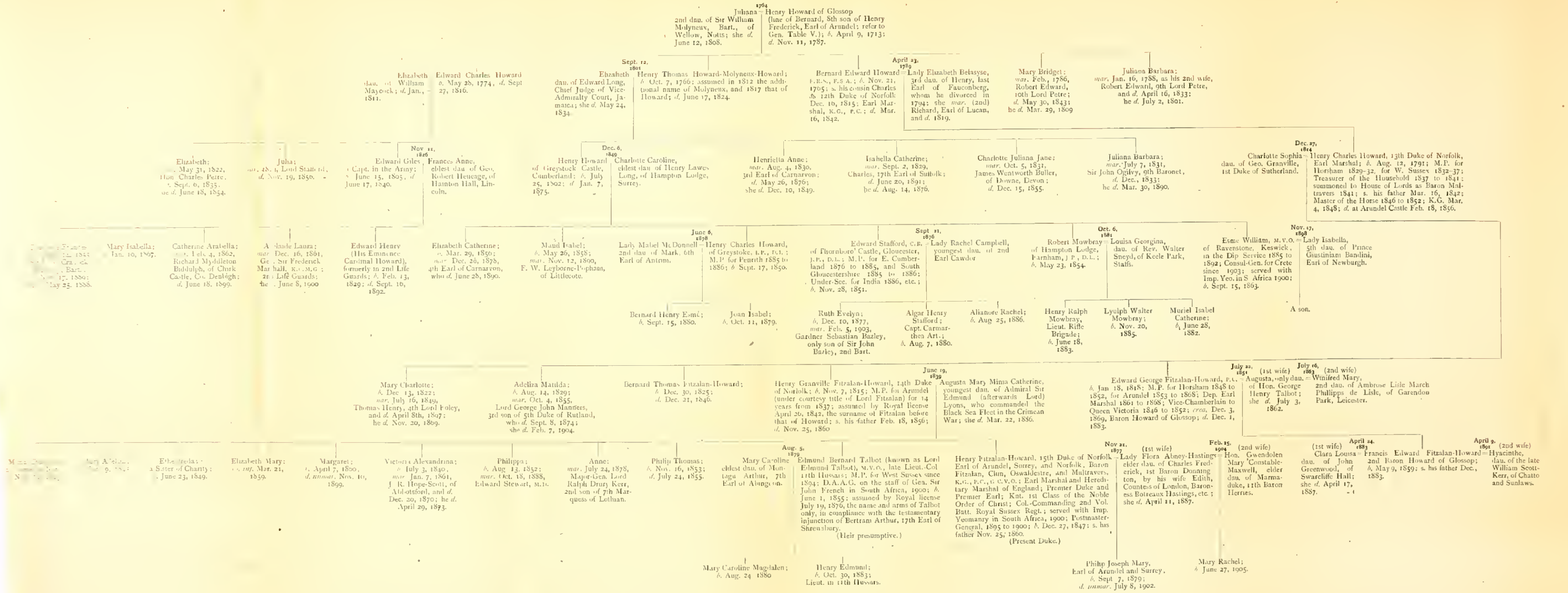
GENEALOGICAL TABLE IX.

THE SENIOR LINE TO THE PRESENT TIME.



1764 Juliana = Henry Howard of Glossop

Juliana, 2nd dau. of Sir William Molyneux, Bart., of Wellow, Notts; she *d.* June 12, 1808.

Henry Howard of Glossop (line of Bernard, 8th son of Henry Frederick, Earl of Arundel; refer to Gen. Table V.); *b.* April 9, 1713; *d.* Nov. 11, 1787.

Elizabeth dau. of William Maycock; *d.* Jan., 1811. = Edward Charles Howard *b.* May 28, 1774; *d.* Sept 27, 1816.

Sept. 12, 1801 Elizabeth dau. of Edward Long, Chief Judge of Vice-Admiralty Court, Jamaica; she *d.* May 24, 1834 = Henry Thomas Howard-Molyneux-Howard; *b.* Oct. 7, 1766; assumed in 1812 the additional name of Molyneux, and 1817 that of Howard; *d.* June 17, 1824.

April 23, 1789 Bernard Edward Howard F.R.S., F.S.A.; *b.* Nov. 21, 1765; s. his cousin Charles as 12th Duke of Norfolk Dec. 16, 1815; Earl Marshal, K.G., P.C.; *d.* Mar. 16, 1842. = Lady Elizabeth Belasyse, 3rd dau. of Henry, last Earl of Fauconberg, whom he divorced in 1794; she *mar.* (2nd) Richard, Earl of Lucan, and *d.* 1819.

Mary Bridget; *mar.* Feb., 1786, Robert Edward, 10th Lord Petre; *d.* May 30, 1843; he *d.* Mar. 29, 1809

Juliana Barbara; *mar.* Jan. 16, 1788, as his 2nd wife, Robert Edward, 9th Lord Petre, and *d.* April 16, 1833; he *d.* July 2, 1801.

Elizabeth; [illegible] May 31, 1822, Hon. Charles Petre. [illegible] Sept. 6, 1835. [illegible] *d.* June 18, 1854.

Julia; *m*[illegible] Lord Stafford, *d.* Nov. 19, 1856.

Nov 11, 1826 Edward Giles Capt. in the Army; [illegible] June 15, 1805; *d.* June 17, 1840. = Frances Anne, eldest dau. of Geo. Robert Heneage, of Hainton Hall, Lincoln.

Dec. 6, 1849 Henry Howard of Greystock Castle, Cumberland; *b.* July 25, 1802; *d.* Jan. 7, 1875. = Charlotte Caroline, eldest dau. of Henry Lawes Long, of Hampton Lodge, Surrey.

Henrietta Anne; *mar.* Aug. 4, 1830, 3rd Earl of Carnarvon; *d.* May 26, 1876; she *d.* Dec. 10, 1849.

Isabella Catherine; *mar.* Sept. 2, 1829, Charles, 17th Earl of Suffolk; *d.* June 20, 1891; he *d.* Aug. 14, 1876.

Charlotte Juliana Jane; *mar.* Oct. 5, 1831, James Wentworth Buller, of Downe, Devon; *d.* Dec. 15, 1855.

Juliana Barbara; *mar.* July 7, 1831, Sir John Ogilvy, 9th Baronet, *d.* Dec., 1833; he *d.* Mar. 30, 1890.

Dec. 27, 1814 Charlotte Sophia dau. of Geo. Granville, 1st Duke of Sutherland. = Henry Charles Howard, 13th Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal; *b.* Aug. 12, 1791; M.P. for Horsham 1829–32, for W. Sussex 1832–37; Treasurer of the Household 1837 to 1841; summoned to House of Lords as Baron Maltravers 1841; s. his father Mar. 16, 1842; Master of the Horse 1846 to 1852; K.G. Mar. 4, 1848; *d.* at Arundel Castle Feb. 18, 1856.

[illegible] [illegible] Cra[illegible] [illegible] Bart. [illegible] 17, 1880; [illegible] May 25, 1888.

Mary Isabella; [illegible] Jan. 10, 1867.

Catherine Arabella; *mar.* Feb. 4, 1862, Richard Myddleton Biddulph, of Chirk Castle, Co. Denbigh; *d.* June 18, 1899.

A[illegible] Laura; *mar.* Dec. 16, 1861, Ge[illegible] Sir Frederick Marshall, K.C.M.G.; 2nd Life Guards; he [illegible] June 8, 1900

Edward Henry (His Eminence Cardinal Howard), formerly in 2nd Life Guards; *b.* Feb. 13, 1829; *d.* Sept. 16, 1892.

Elizabeth Catherine; *b.* Mar. 29, 1856; *mar.* Dec. 26, 1878, 4th Earl of Carnarvon, who *d.* June 28, 1890.

Maud Isabel; *b.* May 26, 1858; *mar.* Nov. 12, 1890, F. W. Leyborne-Popham, of Littlecote.

June 6, 1878 Lady Mabel McDonnell 2nd dau. of Mark, 6th Earl of Antrim. = Henry Charles Howard, of Greystoke, J.P., D.L.; M.P. for Penrith 1885 to 1886; *b.* Sept. 17, 1850.

Bernard Henry Esmé; *b.* Sept. 15, 1880.

Joan Isabel; *b.* Oct. 11, 1879.

Sept. 21, 1876 Edward Stafford, C.B. of Thornboro' Castle, Gloucester, J.P., D.L.; M.P. for E. Cumberland 1876 to 1885, and South Gloucestershire 1885 to 1886; Under-Sec. for India 1886, etc.; *b.* Nov. 28, 1851. = Lady Rachel Campbell, youngest dau. of 2nd Earl Cawdor

Ruth Evelyn; *b.* Dec. 10, 1877, *mar.* Feb. 5, 1903, Gardner Sebastian Bazley, only son of Sir John Bazley, 2nd Bart.

Algar Henry Stafford; Capt. Carmarthen Art.; *b.* Aug. 7, 1880.

Alianore Rachel; *b.* Aug 25, 1886.

Oct. 6, 1881 Robert Mowbray of Hampton Lodge, Farnham, J.P., D.L.; *b.* May 23, 1854. = Louisa Georgina, dau. of Rev. Walter Sneyd, of Keele Park, Staffs.

Henry Ralph Mowbray, Lieut. Rifle Brigade; *b.* June 18, 1883.

Lyulph Walter Mowbray; *b.* Nov. 20, 1885.

Muriel Isabel Catherine; *b.* June 28, 1882.

Nov. 17, 1898 Esme William, M.V.O. of Ravenstone, Keswick, in the Dip Service 1885 to 1892; Consul-Gen. for Crete since 1903; served with Imp. Yeo. in S Africa 1900; *b.* Sept. 15, 1863. = Lady Isabella, 5th dau. of Prince Giustiniani Bandini, Earl of Newburgh.

A son.

Mary Charlotte; *b.* Dec 13, 1822; *mar.* July 16, 1849, Thomas Henry, 4th Lord Foley, and *d.* April 8th, 1897; he *d.* Nov. 20, 1869.

Adeliza Matilda; *b.* Aug. 14, 1829; *mar.* Oct. 4, 1855, Lord George John Manners, 3rd son of 5th Duke of Rutland, who *d.* Sept. 8, 1874; she *d.* Feb. 7, 1904.

Bernard Thomas Fitzalan-Howard; *b.* Dec. 30, 1825; *d.* Dec. 21, 1846.

June 19, 1839 Henry Granville Fitzalan-Howard, 14th Duke of Norfolk; *b.* Nov. 7, 1815; M.P. for Arundel (under courtesy title of Lord Fitzalan) for 14 years from 1837; assumed by Royal license April 26, 1842, the surname of Fitzalan before that of Howard; s. his father Feb. 18, 1856; *d.* Nov. 25, 1860 = Augusta Mary Minna Catherine, youngest dau. of Admiral Sir Edmund (afterwards Lord) Lyons, who commanded the Black Sea Fleet in the Crimean War; she *d.* Mar. 22, 1886.

July 22, 1851 (1st wife) July 16, 1863 (2nd wife) Edward George Fitzalan-Howard, P.C. *b.* Jan 18, 1818; M.P. for Horsham 1848 to 1852, for Arundel 1853 to 1868; Dep. Earl Marshal 1861 to 1868; Vice-Chamberlain to Queen Victoria 1846 to 1852; *crea.* Dec. 3, 1869, Baron Howard of Glossop; *d.* Dec. 1, 1883. = Augusta, only dau. of Hon. George Henry Talbot; she *d.* July 3, 1862. = Winifred Mary, 2nd dau. of Ambrose Lisle March Phillipps de Lisle, of Garendon Park, Leicester.

[illegible]

[illegible] Al[illegible] [illegible] 9, 18[illegible]

Etheldreda; a Sister of Charity; [illegible] June 23, 1849.

Elizabeth Mary; *d. inf.* Mar. 21, 1859.

Margaret; *b.* April 7, 1850, *d. unmar.* Nov. 10, 1899.

Victoria Alexandrina; *b.* July 3, 1840, *mar.* Jan. 7, 1861, J. R. Hope-Scott, of Abbotsford, and *d.* Dec. 20, 1870; he *d.* April 29, 1873.

Philippa; *b.* Aug 13, 1852; *mar.* Oct. 18, 1888, Edward Stewart, M.D.

Anne; *mar.* July 24, 1878, Major-Gen. Lord Ralph Drury Kerr, 2nd son of 7th Marquess of Lothian.

Philip Thomas; *b.* Nov. 16, 1853; *d.* July 24, 1855.

Aug. 5, 1879 Mary Caroline eldest dau. of Montagu Arthur, 7th Earl of Abingdon. = Edmund Bernard Talbot (known as Lord Edmund Talbot), M.V.O., late Lieut.-Col 11th Hussars; M.P. for West Sussex since 1894; D.A.A.G. on the staff of Gen. Sir John French in South Africa, 1900; *b.* June 1, 1855; assumed by Royal license July 19, 1876, the name and arms of Talbot only, in compliance with the testamentary injunction of Bertram Arthur, 17th Earl of Shrewsbury.
(Heir presumptive.)

Mary Caroline Magdalen; *b.* Aug. 24 1880

Henry Edmund; *b.* Oct. 30, 1883; Lieut. in 11th Hussars.

Nov 21, 1877 (1st wife) Feb. 15, 1904 (2nd wife) Henry Fitzalan-Howard, 15th Duke of Norfolk Earl of Arundel, Surrey, and Norfolk, Baron Fitzalan, Clun, Oswaldestre, and Multravers, K.G., P.C., G.C.V.O.; Earl Marshal and Hereditary Marshal of England; Premier Duke and Premier Earl; Knt. 1st Class of the Noble Order of Christ; Col.-Commanding 2nd Vol. Batt. Royal Sussex Regt.; served with Imp. Yeomanry in South Africa, 1900; Postmaster-General, 1895 to 1900; *b.* Dec. 27, 1847; s. his father Nov. 25, 1860.
(Present Duke.)
= Lady Flora Abney-Hastings elder dau. of Charles Frederick, 1st Baron Donnington, by his wife Edith, Countess of London, Baroness Botreaux Hastings, etc.; she *d.* April 11, 1887. = Hon. Gwendolen Mary Constable-Maxwell, elder dau. of Marmaduke, 11th Baron Herries.

Philip Joseph Mary, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, *b.* Sept 7, 1879; *d. unmar.* July 8, 1902.

Mary Rachel; *b.* June 27, 1905.

(1st wife) April 24, 1883 April 9, 1891 (2nd wife) Clara Louisa dau. of John Greenwood, of Swarcliffe Hall; she *d.* April 17, 1887. = Francis Edward Fitzalan-Howard 2nd Baron Howard of Glossop; *b.* May 9, 1859; s. his father Dec., 1883. = Hyacinthe, dau. of the late William Scott-Kerr, of Chatto and Sunlaws.

Earl had the courage to decline, saying that he held himself responsible only to his king and country for his public acts, and not to any individual. Like his grandson, he was a popular and successful Viceroy of Ireland, and received a vote of thanks from the Irish Parliament when he was superseded.

IX

Conclusion

WITH the death of Henry Granville, fourteenth Duke of Norfolk, we reach a point where retrospect, in one sense, ceases; for his son, Henry Fitzalan-Howard, is with us still, having already, if the period of his nonage be included, held the title for nearly forty-seven years—a longer tenure than that of any of his predecessors. The Duke succeeded at the age of thirteen, and his uncle, Edward George Fitzalan Howard, was appointed Deputy Earl Marshal; he was known after the death of Duke Bernard, in 1842, as Lord Edward Howard. He was Member for Horsham and Arundel for twenty years—from 1848 to 1868—and in 1869 was created a peer of the United Kingdom, under the title of Baron Howard of Glossop. He devoted himself to the cause of Catholic education, with brilliant success, securing by his tact and energy the subscription of a very large sum to this end, of which he alone was responsible for £5000.

It not unfrequently falls to the lot of a speaker at a public dinner or meeting to eulogise some person of distinction or prominence, who may or may not be present, conscious the while that his flattering expressions are not wholly merited, and that his audience—and perhaps also the object of his remarks—is equally well aware of the fact. Such a position is eminently distasteful to any man of sincerity of character, and doubtless the office has at times been evaded. For the historian no such refuge is available; he may neither shirk nor unduly flatter, without loss of self-respect and of the confidence of his readers, and he is to be congratulated when the temptation to either course is non-existent.

The present chronicler of the doings of the members of the House of Howard occupies this happy position with regard to its reigning head. Dating back to the year 1868, when he attained his majority, the life of the Duke of Norfolk has already, to a large extent, lapsed into history, and there are probably few public men living of whom so much that is good, and so little that is indifferent, could truthfully be recorded.

So much may be said, and readers will probably agree should be said; but it is not in contemplation to deal with the living precisely as with those who have passed from among us. It is preferable to await the judgment and criticism of those who are to follow, and to whom the perspective of years will admit of a more readily adjustable focus; the writer of some future edition of the *House of Howard* will doubtless find a pleasing task in dwelling in detail upon the life of the fifteenth Duke of Norfolk, without risk of misplacing values or overstepping the delicately traced confines of good taste.

It is therefore only intended to touch lightly upon the more prominent features of the life of the present Duke of Norfolk, and it will scarcely be questioned that his consistent and courageous attitude, as the head of a great Catholic family, takes a foremost place, the more so that it has been necessary to record some sad lapses in this respect among his predecessors, direct and collateral;

lapses which could scarcely be attributed to any lofty motive, inasmuch as they almost invariably paved the way to worldly aggrandisement and royal favour, or, at the best, to immunity from deprivation or danger of persecution and death. The present Duke's lot, it is true, has fallen upon happier times; no longer are Catholics at the mercy of a capricious, tyrannical, and irreligious sovereign, or liable to be impeached and put to death, without any trial worthy of the name, at the instigation of jealous and unscrupulous courtiers. No longer are they subject to deprivation and ruinous fines for attempting to practise their religion; but they remain, nevertheless, more or less strangers in the land, hampered everywhere by lack of means, and compelled continually to have their hands in their pockets in order to ensure the maintenance of their schools and churches. The prominent part which the Duke of Norfolk has taken in the matter of education, and in providing places of worship for his co-religionists, is too well known to require that it should be dwelt upon in detail in these pages. There are numerous monuments to his generosity, which will remain long after he has ceased to live, and his personal efforts on behalf of the schools will not readily be forgotten.

A great and important work of his life has been the rebuilding of Arundel Castle, which has been in progress for more than twenty years, and has but lately been completed. The cost of this huge undertaking must surely have completely dwarfed the sum expended by Duke Charles in the same manner. For years the crowd of workmen trooping in and out of the lodge gates morning and evening reminded one of Portsmouth Dockyard, and their weekly wages must have reached a very large total.

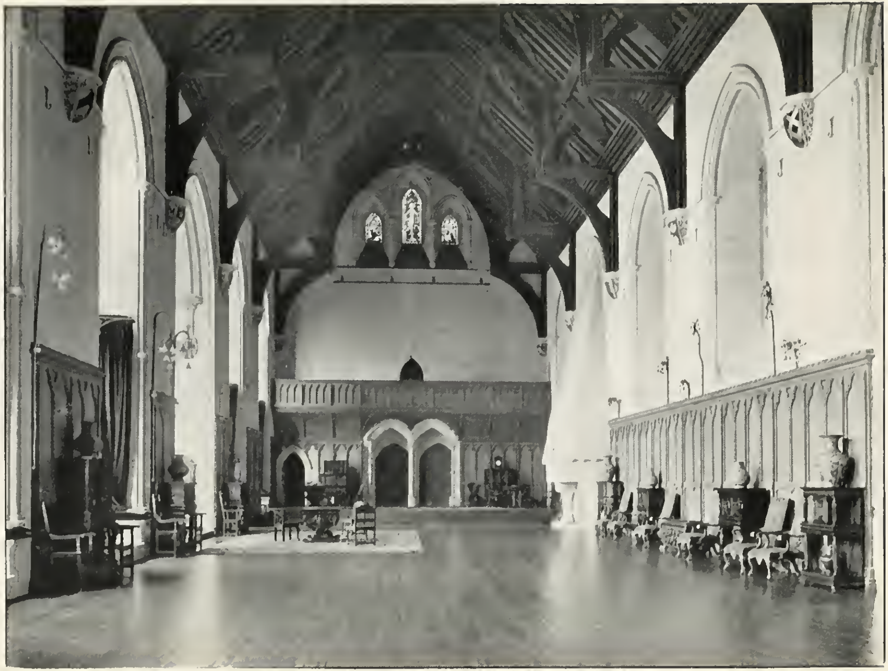


Photo by J. White & Son, Littlehampton

THE GREAT HALL, ARUNDEL CASTLE. (Present day.)

As before mentioned,[1] many persons believe that certain rentals are bound to be used in this manner, and that the Duke was thus compelled to rebuild the castle in order to spend this money; there is, however, no such compulsion. The Duke of Norfolk, though he is not particularly given to building houses, takes a genuine interest in architecture of a more imposing nature. The castle has certainly never presented so fine an appearance as at the present day. The style is severe but consistent; the solid masonry of the walls and towers, rising from well-kept grass borders, is particularly pleasing to the eye at close quarters, and from various points of view the general aspect is most effective. The west wing is composed entirely of the great hall and the chapel, both very delightful interiors; the chapel especially is a gem in its way. This wing, as will be realised on comparing the two illustrations of the courtyard at different periods, formerly stopped short a considerable distance from the Norman gateway, and it was in this gap that Duke Charles essayed to build a great gateway with a causeway approaching it—a most unnecessary proceeding, with Roger Montgomery's great solid arch forming already a magnificent entrance to the courtyard.

The thirteenth and fourteenth Dukes, however, each partially carried out a similar project, and the latter built a new chapel. The present Duke's plans involved a clean sweep of all this, including the chapel which his father had built. Down it all came, to be replaced by the present structure, and few will question but that the castle has gained in dignity and cohesion of style by the exchange. The Duke has also rebuilt the battlements of the keep, and partially restored the interior in accordance with indications of former structures. The main lodge, with defensive wall, which is so conspicuous at the top of High Street, was built by Duke Henry Charles in 1851.

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[1] See *ante*, p. 638.

Early in 1900, when our reverses at Stormberg and Colenso had brought home to the Government the necessity of despatching an overwhelming force to the Cape, the Duke of Norfolk was among those who responded to the call for patriotic aid. He was then in his fifty-third year, and had held the appointment of Postmaster-General since 1895. There was no dearth of younger men, and the home responsibilities of a man in the Duke's position are not light; but he had been a volunteer for thirty years, and he felt that, if he did not come forward at such a time, he would be—at least in his own eyes—in a false position. He therefore offered himself—in any capacity in which the authorities might see fit to accept his services, from a trooper to a colonel—for the yeomanry, and went out, as a captain, with the 69th company. It was a fine example, and everyone admired him for it, while praying at the same time that one so highly esteemed might not fall a victim to a Boer bullet. By the time the Duke got to the front, Pretoria was almost in our hands. On the first occasion of going into action, his horse put its foot in a hole and fell with him; and all his many friends and admirers rejoiced at the news that he had escaped with a dislocated hip. His patriotism was triumphantly vindicated, and the injury kept him out of harm's way until our troops were firmly established, with the British colours flying over Pretoria. The Duke and his brother, Lord Edmund Talbot, returned to England together, and were received at Arundel with an ovation which was quite genuine in its enthusiasm.

Lord Edmund, who had preceded his brother to the front, was on the Staff of General (now Sir John) French, and was among the first to enter Kimberley. He was subsequently offered the command of his regiment, the 11th Hussars. He decided, however, to remain free to pursue the political life in which he could be of service to the Unionist cause and to his co-religionists. He has been member for West Sussex since 1894, and though two attempts have been made to oust him, his opponents found him tighter on his perch on the second than on the first occasion. He was a junior Lord of the Treasury under Mr. Balfour's Government, and has always been a most assiduous and hardworking attendant in the House.

Lord Edmund, though of the House of Howard, bears the surname of Talbot—a change which came about in this wise: Bertram Arthur Talbot, seventeenth Earl of Shrewsbury, who was unmarried, and quite a young man, died August 10th, 1856; he was the last of his line, and believing the earldom to be extinct, he made provision for his estates to pass into Catholic hands, and bequeathed them, with certain remainders, to Edmund Bernard Howard, second son of the most noble Henry Granville Howard, Duke of Norfolk (who had recently succeeded to the title), with the proviso that he should take and use the name and arms of Talbot, and no other. This was all clear enough; but a claim to the earldom of Shrewsbury was set up by Henry John Chetwynd, third Earl Talbot; after much litigation it was allowed, and as the earldom is one of the few in which the estates go with the title, the late Earl's testamentary dispositions became null and void.

There were, however, some portions of the estates which did not come under this category, and of these Lord Edmund Howard became possessed, upon attaining his majority and assuming the surname of Talbot. Unfortunately, he was very heavily handicapped by the fact that these portions which came to him were scattered about, and mixed up in some cases with the Earl's inalienable estates. Obviously, the most proper and sensible course would have been to come to a mutual arrangement, by which an equivalent estate should be passed over to Lord Edmund Talbot in exchange for his scattered possessions; he was willing and anxious for such an arrangement, and propositions have been made at different times, but for some reason the Earls of Shrewsbury have never fallen in with them, and so the anomalous situation remains unaltered; and how anomalous it is may be inferred from the fact that three-fourths of the drive which forms the principal approach to Alton Towers, in Staffordshire, the Earl of Shrewsbury's seat, is Lord Edmund Talbot's property, to which, failing an agreement or purchase by the Earl, he declines to permit access; and that is the story of the change of surname.

The Duke of Norfolk has been concerned in two important causes of litigation—the one, in 1879, having to do with the Fitzalan Chapel, which was claimed by the Vicar of Arundel as part of the parish church; the other, commenced in 1901, a claim on the part of Lord Mowbray, Segrave, and Stourton to the earldom of Norfolk, which, it will be recollected, was bestowed upon Thomas, Earl of Arundel, in 1644,[1] and has since been recognised as one of the titles of the Earls of Arundel and Dukes of Norfolk.

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[1] See *ante*, p. 565.

In both instances the Duke obtained a decision in his favour.[1]

The Fitzalan Chapel, which up to that time had been permitted to remain in a semi-ruinous condition, was taken in hand by the Duke, and restored. It is now a very beautiful chapel, and upon the anniversary of the death of any member of the family whose remains are in the vault beneath, Mass is said there, the Catholics of Arundel being invited to attend.

The coronation of King Edward VII. gave the Duke of Norfolk, as Earl Marshal, plenty to do ; all the more on account of the unprecedented period which had elapsed since the last coronation. The Duke converted the ground floor of his house in St. James's Square into the Earl

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[1] The finding of the judges, in the Norfolk Earldom case, was that Lord Mowbray, Segrave, and Stourton had not made good his claim to the title. In the case of the Fitzalan Chapel, the Duke of Norfolk appeared as plaintiff, alleging that the Vicar of Arundel, the defendant, had, in July, 1877, broken down a partition wall which he (the Duke) had erected between the nave of St. Nicholas Parish Church and the Fitzalan Chapel, and had entered and trespassed upon the chapel, of which he was in possession as tenant in tail male. The Vicar, on the other hand, claimed the Fitzalan Chapel as the chancel of the Parish Church, and that he had always enjoyed the right of ingress and egress, and the benefit of the light and air from the chapel. Lord Chief Justice Coleridge, in giving judgment, after a careful survey of the evidence, declared in the most emphatic terms that the Duke of Norfolk possessed "the most absolute rights of ownership which, regard being had to the nature of the property, were ever proved in a court of justice"; and that there was "scarcely a fact proved by the plaintiff which has been disputed : scarcely anything which can be called a fact proved on the part of the defendant." The Fitzalan Chapel appears, to a casual observer, and is, in fact, architecturally, the great chancel of the church ; it will be recollected that Richard Fitzalan, 14th Earl of Arundel, rebuilt the parish church at the same time as he instituted the College of the Holy Trinity (see *ante*, p. 503) ; but it was proved, beyond all doubt, before Chief Justice Coleridge, that the College Chapel and Lady Chapel were conveyed to King Henry VIII by the master and fellows of the college, and granted by him in identical terms to Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, and that he and his successors had held it by every conceivable interpretation of right ever since.

Marshal's office, while in one of the drawing-rooms on the first floor were displayed sundry stolid waxen-faced effigies clad in gorgeous "regulation" dress for the grand occasion.

Thither came trooping countless claimants for posts of honour and seats of precedence at the ceremony; likewise court dressmakers and tailors to study the models. The Earl Marshal's secretary and his staff had no sinecure in their office, more especially as the records of Queen Victoria's coronation had not been docketed with such care and precision as would appear desirable, and questions were constantly cropping up which could not be readily settled.

The great-grandfather of the Duke of Norfolk had, as will be recollected, sold the manor of Worksop,[1] and so he had no claim to perform the office appertaining to the owner thereof; but he preferred a claim to exercise the office of Chief Butler, which had repeatedly been accorded to his predecessors as Earls of Arundel. This was contested, however, by Lord Mowbray, Segrave, and Stourton in a very long petition, in which he purported to prove that the office of Chief Butler, where it had originally been accorded to the Earls of Arundel, had been so accorded, not by virtue of the earldom, but by descent from William de Albini, who, he contended, was Butler before he became Earl. Lord Mowbray, in the course of this argument, incidentally denies that the possession of Arundel Castle and honour confers the earldom. This question is very fully treated by Mr. Tierney, with special reference to William de Albini, in his remarks upon the report of Lord Redesdale's Committee on the "Dignity of an

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[1] See *ante*, p. 649.

Earl," and he certainly appears to make out his case very clearly.[1]

The ceremony, as all the world knows, after having been deferred until August 9th in consequence of His Majesty's serious illness, went off without a hitch, thanks to the indefatigable exertions of the Earl Marshal and his assistants.

Of the numerous collateral descendants of the Howards, as has already been pointed out in the preface, it is impossible to give any detailed account. That they are numerous may safely be assumed; but from what branch they are severally derived it would probably be quite fruitless to conjecture. The Earls of Wicklow bear the surname of Howard, but they cannot be traced back beyond the year 1636, when one John Howard married Dorothea, daughter and heir of Robert Hasells, who, after her husband's death in 1643, went to Ireland, and married her cousin, Robert Hasells; her son, Ralph Howard, by her first marriage, was brought up in Ireland, and from him the Earls of Wicklow are derived. Who was this John Howard of the reign of Charles I? He may have come from the Effingham branch, though his namesake, son of Sir Francis Howard of Great Bookham, could scarcely have been old enough.

It needs only a glance at the genealogical tables to realise how many collateral Howards remain unaccounted for. Where are they? Effinghams, Suffolks, Carlisles, they are doubtless scattered over the face of the globe; some of them, perhaps, may read these pages, and, having succeeded in tracing their descent, may consider that they should have been included. They can only be referred to the remarks in the preface; perhaps some day a more minute investigation of the Howard branches may furnish material, as it well might do, for another volume.

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[1] *Hist. Arundel Castle*, p. 117, *et seq.*

The Howards of Baltimore, Maryland, in the United States of America, trace their descent very clearly from Joshua Howard, who, in 1699, was granted a large tract of land in Baltimore county; and there was formerly in their possession an armorial shield, painted on copper, and inscribed "Howard, Earl of Arundel." A reproduction of this shield is on the tomb of Cornelius Howard, a son of Joshua; it is, however, a modification of the Howard shield, differing in many respects. It carries the augmentation for Flodden on the bend; and also a crescent for difference, both on the bend and the crest—a lion, *not* crowned. The crescent is the difference for the Suffolk branch, while the motto, "Desir n'a repose," was that adopted by Charles, first Earl of Nottingham, of the Effingham branch; so we are not brought any nearer by this to the derivation of Joshua Howard, though he was, no doubt, descended from some branch of the ducal family.

We have now arrived at the conclusion of this history. It only remains to chronicle that the Duke of Norfolk has been twice married: first, on November 21st, 1877, to Lady Flora Abney-Hastings, elder daughter of Charles Frederick, first Baron Donington, by his wife Edith, Countess of Loudou, Baroness Botreaux Hastings, etc., of which union there was born, September 7th, 1879, a son, Philip Joseph Mary, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, who, though he lived to be nearly twenty-three years of age, was, most unhappily, entirely incapacitated by physical

From a photograph by H. Walter Barnet

GWENDOLEN MARY, DUCHESS OF NORFOLK, 1907

affliction from occupying the position due to his birth; he died July 8th, 1902. Duchess Flora died April 11th, 1887; and the Duke married secondly, February 15th, 1904, the Honourable Gwendolen Mary Constable-Maxwell, elder daughter of Marmaduke, eleventh Baron Herries, of Terregles, in Scotland, Baron Herries, of Carlaverock Castle, Co. Dumfries, in the United Kingdom; the Duchess of Norfolk is heir presumptive to the Scotch barony.[1]

In tracing the career of the various members of this great House through all the generations, we have been called upon at times enthusiastically to admire, and upon other occasions severely to condemn their conduct. It should never be forgotten, when dealing with the story of men who lived in the times of the Tudors and Stuarts, that the circumstances which called forth the exercise of the highest qualities of courage, constancy, and independence form also some excuse for those who have failed. A courtier of those days who would be noble in any true sense had to contend with such difficulties as we cannot easily realise at the present time: The unscrupulous intrigues of jealous rivals, which might at any moment procure the murder of one whose conduct constituted a reproach to themselves; the cheap rate at which human life was held; and, above all, the wickedness in the highest places, which, while setting an example of licence and profligacy, did not hesitate to make use of the passions of courtiers to gain its own ends. The man who, under such conditions, emerges scathless in life and conscience is not without some considerable trace of heroism. Do not let us then judge too harshly those brave men who, under such evil influences, have failed to become heroes.

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[1] An ancester of Lord Herries, John, fourth Baron, it will be remembered, was an active supporter of the claims of Mary, Queen of Scots; one of the points against Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk, at his trial, was that he had been instrumental in forwarding money to Lord Herries on behalf of the Scottish Queen (see *ante*, p. 455).

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