

The Trial of Lady Catherine Grey* and Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford

Harley MS 6286

*Written at the beginning
of the book out of which
this was transcribed.*

*This Book of Acts was delivered by one Master Milles, late Steward of
Household for Sir Henry Unton, unto the Lord Beauchamp.*

*Examined and agreeing with the Original delivered by the Lord Treasurer
to Master Attorney General.*

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* Lady Catherine Grey's name is variously spelled "Katherine" and "Graye" in the original manuscript. For simplicity, the spelling Catherine Grey is used here. Likewise the spelling of the Earl of Hertford's title varies in the manuscript, as do names of most other people. Where clear, modern spellings are used and abbreviations are spelled out.

[†] All page numbers are as given in the hand-written manuscript, however they are not in alignment with the pages of this file. Hyperlinks are provided to the relevant locations.

[‡] #2 is out of order in the hand-written manuscript.

[§] Written as "libell" with an upward flourish through both Ls indicating that some letters have been omitted, usually "us." *Libellus* in Latin has multiple meanings, but "accusation" or "affidavit" seem to be the closest fit, given the content.

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The 19th day of February 1561

Lord Henry Seymour, his examination upon Articles

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page.1-32 **Acta die Sabbat[†] ... Decimo Sexto die February 1561[‡].**

page. 32 **The Personal answers of the Lady Catherine Grey to certain Articles
to her objected:**

The said Lady Catherine being examined what Deed she had or received concerning any assurance of a Jointure for her living of the Earl of Hertford, says that the said Earl delivered her such a Deed being written in parchment of a third[§] by year which she says she put into a coffer and with removing from place to place she says it is lost and she cannot tell where it is become. And this she says she does now on further advice call to her remembrance.

Upon the [Articles](#)^{**} [ad]ministered
of Office unto the said Lady this past
Monday, 16th February 1561 AD.

1. To the first she says that first at Hampton Court she was wooed by the Lady Jane^{††} for marriage to be had between her and the said Earl of Hertford, upon which motion she told her that at the Queen's Majesty's repair to Westminster then next ensuing, she would make him further answer. And afterwards when the Queen's Grace came to Westminster, in the closet

* A jointure is a promise of income in the event of widowhood, pledged by the bridegroom.

[†] Thirty-three pages written in Latin. They seem to detail out the accusations to be answered.

[‡] February 16th, 1561

[§] At a guess, I think this means she received a third of the revenue from those lands.

^{**} The questions are on "page 97."

^{††} Lady Jane Seymour, the sister of Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford

within the Maidens' Chamber, the said Earl himself moved* her for marriage and she declared to him that she bore her good will to have him to her husband, the said Lady Jane being present. Being further examined upon the form and words of the promise with that, the Earl did say to her that he had borne her good will† for a long time, and that because she should not think he intended to mock her, he was content, if she would,‡ to marry her. And she at the same time declared to him that she liked both him and his offer, and thereupon they gave one to the other their hands, and more words there were, but she does not remember them. Then being present the Lady Jane and no other.

2. To the second, she says that from the time of the said motion until the solemnization of Marriage, there were no letters that were sent from the one to the other but Rings nor messages other than by the Lady Jane.

3. To the third, she says that after the agreement passed between the said Earl and her for marriage, they agreed often-times when they met to be married when they could get opportunity by the Queen's Majesty's removing or by Her Grace's going into the Park a-walking or otherwise and that the place of Marriage was appointed to be at the said Earl's house at Cannon Row and that the manner of her repair there was by the Stairs at the Orchard in the Palace and so went along by the sands to the Earl's house and returned by a boat to the said Stairs.

4. To the fourth she says that the said Leigh departed from her Service at Westminster the day before the Queen's Majesty removed to Greenwich after the said solemnization and that the occasion of her departure was by the death of her [Leigh] Father as she said. And where she [Leigh] is now become, she [Catherine] doesn't know and says that the said Leigh was put to her service by the Lady Paston now wife to Master Garrard.

5. To the fifth she says that she met nobody§ between the Court and the Earl's house, nor at her entry that she knew, and that the Earl met her at his chamber door in the said house called the Withdrawing Chamber, as she remembers, and that this was about an hour and a little more after the Queen's Majesty's departure to Eltham, and being interrogated whether the Earl came to her the same morning to put her in remembrance of her former appointment, she says she cannot call it to remembrance.

6. To the sixth, she says that after the solemnization ended, the Lady Jane did offer her confections** and other banqueting meats and beer and wine upon the cupboard, but she drank none, neither saw any person that brought in any.

7. To the seventh, she says that in her return, the said Earl did bring and accompany her unto the Water stairs of his said house, and that he kissed her at their departing and bade her farewell, and

* Set into motion, influence, induce or excite into action

† He liked her

‡ If she was willing to

§ "No Ladies" is stricken out and replaced with "nobody."

** Confections? AKA Snacks

then she and the Lady Jane went to Court to Master Comptroller's Chamber to Dinner by water, whom they found ready to go to dinner, and that the dinner came in shortly after.

8. To the eighth, she says that none of her Gentlewomen were privy* of her said going, nor at her return moved any question unto her being abroad.

9. To the ninth, she says that once after the Earl's departure beyond the Seas,[†] Master Secretary[‡], in talk with her at Greenwich about sewing of her Livery, did advise her to take good heed how she proceeded in familiarities with the said Earl without making the Queen's Majesty privy thereunto, and before the said solemnization, she does not remember any such advice given to her by any man. And says also that after the said solemnization, the Lady Marquesse[§] of Northampton, the Lady Clinton and others did seriously advise her to beware the company** and familiarity with the said Earl. And she says that she denied both unto Master Secretary and others that there was any such matter.

10. To the tenth, she says that in talk with the said Earl and the Lady Jane, he told her of his determination to go beyond the Seas but the time she doesn't remember and knew it first by himself.

11. To the 11th, she says that the said Earl himself told her that he had his passport and showed it to her in the Orchard or Garden at the Court at Westminster as she remembers but the certain time thereof she doesn't remember.

12. To the 12th, she says that the said Earl before his departure beyond the Seas, delivered her a writing in parchment of his own hand^{††}, containing, as he said, an assurance of a third lands by year for her living, which she says is now lost with other writings at the removing in the progress time, being examined who had the custody of the coffer wherein it was, she says that her gentlewoman Catherine Coffyn, being interrogated whether she ever asked her said gentlewoman where the said writing was become, she says that first she asked her for certain other writings which she missed, and then also asked her where the writing was that lay therewith, meaning the said assurance, and she could not tell her. And further she does acknowledge that being examined upon Saturday last before my Lord Bishop of London, Sir William Petre and Sir Edward Warner, upon the contents of this Article, she did then answer according as is contained in a certain writing signed with their three hands and exhibited this day, wherein she says that she did much overshoot herself in affirming so precisely the contents of the same, being also asked what other writings she lost as before she has said, she says that it was a certain account or declaration of the profits of her Lands, which one Newporte being her officer delivered unto her.

* Knew about it

† The English Channel

‡ William Cecil

§ Marchioness

** "Company" seems to have a deeper meaning than today, closer perhaps to "keeping company"

†† Handwriting

13. To the 13th she says that after she heard by the Bruit* in the Court that she should be with child, thereupon the Saturday next before she was committed to the Tower she did disclose to Mistress Saint-Loe† of the Privy Chamber both that she was married to the Earl of Hertford and also that she was with child, and the said Mistress Saint-Loe thereupon wept and declared that she was sorry therefore because that she had not made the Queen's Majesty privy thereunto, and also says that the Sunday following at night, she declared the same to my Lord Robert by his bedside, requiring him to be a means to the Queen's Highness for her.

14. To the 14th she says she received no letters to her remembrance from the said Earl after his departure into the parts beyond the Seas.

15. To the 15th she says that she never sent nor caused to be sent any word of her Imprisonment to the said Earl.

16. To the 16th she says that she never sent message nor letters to the said Earl since her imprisonment nor he unto her, otherwise than that he has sent to know how she did, and also sending of a posy or such-like thing. And being asked who were the messengers to know how she did, she says that his Keepers did inquire of them that were about her how she did, and that the message was done to others and not to herself.

17. To the 17th she says that she cannot call to her remembrance the contents thereof.

18. To the 18th Article, she says that after her coming into the Earl's bedchamber where the marriage was, the Lady Jane went forth. and after tarrying about a quarter of an hour, she returned and brought in with her the Priest or Minister. And what talk or speech was the meantime between the earl and her, she does not remember but such as passes between folk that intend as they then did.

19. To the 19th she says that the said Priest or Minister was about the solemnization until such time as he could accomplish the service required for such solemnization, but the certain time she cannot otherwise now remember. And says that. as she remembers, the said Minister wore no surplice.‡ and also says that the Minister aforesaid charged them both that if they knew any impediment of either of their parts that they should stay§ from proceeding any further. And being questioned nevertheless whether they did stand or kneel at the time of the said solemnization, she says that in the time of marriage they stood, and at the time of the Prayers they knelt, and their backs toward the bed and their faces towards the Windows, as she remembers, and the Minister his back toward the windows, as she remembers, and says that the words of Matrimony they both spoke the one to the other as the said Priest did declare to them by the Book of Service wherein

* Literal: noise; rumor, gossip

† Also spelled Sentlow, Sentlowe, Saintlow and Saintlowe. There is some disagreement whether this is the Elizabeth (Bess) St. Loe who was Catherine's mother's friend, the former Lady Cavendish, or another related woman with the same name.

‡ Wearing a surplice apparently would have indicated to the interrogators that the wedding ceremony had been a Catholic one, instead of Protestant one, a big, bad no-no at the time.

§ Refrain

he read. And says also that the said Earl at the time of the said solemnization, gave her a Ring containing five links of Gold, which presently she showed at this her Examination, which Ring, the said Earl put on her finger the same time by appointment of the same Minister. And she says she has worn it ever since, saving* only when she was sick.

20. To the 20th she says that she wore a cover-chief† on her head which she brought with her in her pocket from the Court.

21. To the 21st she says that she dressed herself without the help of any others.

Being further required to declare the plain and whole truth concerning the said solemnization, she says that there was no other person present or privy thereunto otherwise than she has above declared, nor she intends to allege any other. And says that she is so sure that she has offered the whole truth of this matter, that she does from henceforth renounce all manner of Witnesses of the said solemnization other than she has already named as before, nor can allege any other Witnesses, nor will use any other than she has before declared for that purpose.

Moreover, having showed unto her certain Examinations taken first by Master Warner and afterwards by the Lord Treasurer and others, she confesses that they are subscribed with her own hand, but she says that she was then in such trouble of mind for fear of the Queen's Majesty's displeasure and for absence of her husband and her Imprisonment and being great with Child, that she was not then so well advised in her said answers as she has since considered the same.

Catherine Hertford

page 40

The Personal Answers
of the Lady Catherine Grey to
certain Articles objected to her of Office.

1. To the first Article, she answers that she does acknowledge that the Contents of this Article to be true although as she says for her behalf unworthy.

2. To the second Article, she does confess the contents thereof to be true.

3. To the third Article, she says and confesses that at Westminster, there had been secret talk and meetings together between her and the said Lord Edward, Earl of Hertford, and the Lady Jane his sister always being present concerning a matter of contract of Matrimony, but as she says there was never any such secret talk or meetings between them at Hampton Court or at Greenwich.

4. To the fourth Article, she says and confesses upon her Oath, that upon a certain day happening between All-Hallows-tide‡ and Christmas last was twelve months§ being the same day that the

* Except

† A kind of cap typically worn by married women

‡ November first

§ Not positive, but I think they mean between Halloween and Christmas, not the previous year, but the year before that.

Queen's Majesty departed from her Grace's Palace of Westminster to Eltham and an hour, and a little more after Her Grace was departed, she the said Respondent with the Lady Jane went alone without any other Company by the Sands at a low water to the said Earl's house in Cannon Row at Westminster, and there seeing nobody nor Company at her Entry she went with the said Lady Jane into a Chamber within the said house, and after they were so entered, the said Lady Jane departed thence and soon after brought in there a Priest, which Priest forthwith proceeded to the solemnization of Matrimony between her and the said Lord Edward Earl of Hertford then and there present and married them together, and being examined what was the Priest's name she says that she doesn't know his name nor did ever know him before that time, but she says he was a well complexioned man with an auburn beard of a mean* stature, in a long Gown faced with budge,† the collar thereof turned down, and says that she thinks that if she saw him again, that she could call him to remembrance, and confesses that after the said solemnization, she had Company and Carnal Copulation with the said Earl divers‡ times in the said house at Cannon Row but not elsewhere to her remembrance.

5. To the fifth Article, she says and confesses that after the said solemnization of Matrimony, she was by the said earl gotten with Child and was delivered thereof being a Man-Child about a Seven-night§ before Michaelmas** last.

6. To the sixth Article, she says that she does not know what the common voice and fame is because she has long been and presently is a Close Prisoner in the Tower of London.

7. To the 7th Article, she says that after she was the said Earl's Wife by solemnization of Marriage as before, she did recognize she was by him Carnally known and gotten with child.

8. To the 8th Article, she believes that the Queen's Highness has committed the hearing of this matter to the Judges Delegate named in the Commission, according to the tenor of her Grace's Letters of Commission.

9. To the 9th, she confesses the Jurisdiction.

To the last Article, she says and believes the contents thereof to be true according as she has before confessed.

Catherine Hertford^{††}

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The Personal Answers
of the Lord Edward Seymour, Earl of

* Medium

† Budge is lambskin with the wool still on.

‡ Various, several

§ Week

** September 29th

†† Note in the margin is obscured by the page book-binding gutter, but seems to indicate in both Latin and English that these are the actual "answers of the Lady Catherine made the [illegible date] of February."

Hertford, to the Articles to him objected of Office.

1. To the first Article, he believes the Contents of the said Article to be true.
 2. To the second Article, he does also believe the contents thereof to be true.
 3. To the third Article, he says and confesses that he has had secret talk, treaty and conference divers times with the said Lady Catherine at Westminster, only not for any manner of incontinence, but for Marriage to be had with the said Lady Catherine, as he says.
 4. To the fourth Article, he says that he had Company and Carnal Copulation with the said Lady Catherine first at his house at Cannon Row at Westminster, and after that, in her Chamber at the Court of Westminster, and says that the first time aforesaid was the same day that the Queen's Majesty went from her Palace of Westminster to Eltham more than a year past, but the day or Month he says he doesn't otherwise remember. And his Lordship says that the said Carnal Copulation was first accomplished after solemnization of the Matrimony first had between him and the said Lady Catherine at his said house at Cannon Row aforesaid the selfsame day that the Queen's Majesty removed to Eltham, as before.
 5. To the fifth Article, he confesses that he begat the said Lady Catherine with child, but not unlawfully, and that the same Child was a Man Child, and that she was delivered thereof, as he believes.
 6. To the sixth Article, he confesses that before Contract or Marriage between him and the said Lady Catherine, it was said unto him by Master Secretary Cecil, that it was said that there was good-will between him and the said Lady Catherine, and he made answer that there was no such thing. But since the time of the said Marriage, he doesn't remember that any such question was asked him, and otherwise he believes this Article not to contain truth.
 7. To the 7th Article, he says he believes the contents of the said Article not to be true.
 8. To the 8th Article, he says that he has confessed that he did beget her with Child but he says the same was after Marriage between him and the said Lady Catherine.
 9. To the Ninth Article, he believes the same to be true.
 10. To the Tenth Article, he confesses the same to be true.
- To the 11th/last Article, he says that those things which he has above confessed are true and the rest he does not believe to be true and believes the same to go upon those things whereof he has confessed.

Being Examined upon certain circumstances concerning the premises and first concerning the Priest, he says that he was a man of a mean Stature and of a fair complexion with an Auburn beard, and in a long Gown faced with budge, and turned down after the sort as the Ministers were wont[†] to go at their first coming into the Realm, and that he wore no Surplice at all, but his name, he doesn't know, but if he saw him among a very great Company, he could discern him, as he says.

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The Personal Answers[‡]

of the Lord Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford

1. **T**o the first, he answers that he first determined to be a Suitor to the Lady Catherine in the time of Queen Mary, and as he remembers, the same time that the Lady Jane, his sister, came sick from the Court to Hanworth, the said Lady Catherine then being there under the Government of the Duchess of Somerset, his Mother.
2. To the second, he says that he first moved the said Lady Catherine of his good Will borne to her meaning of Marriage with her at Hanworth aforesaid.
3. To the third, he says that he did use the Lady Jane, his Sister, for the only Instrument or means to further his said purpose, and being questioned with whether he did impart this matter to the Lady, his Mother, he says that he never did, but she, perceiving familiarity and good will between the Lady Catherine and him, did often admonish him to abstain from her Company, whereupon he answered his said Mother that "Young Folks meaning well might well accompany[§] together," and that both in that house and also in the Court, he trusted he might use her Company, being not forbidden by the Queen's Highness express Commandment.
4. To the fourth, he says that he never moved or caused to be moved any of the friends or Kinfolk of the said Lady Catherine touching the said suit that he had to her to his knowledge and so far as he does remember.
5. To the fifth, he says that he did not entreat with the said Lady Frances for Marriage with the said Lady Catherine, and although being much bound, as he says, to the said Lady Frances, who called him most commonly Son, Yet he did not reveal nor disclose his mind of the good Will that he bore unto the said Lady Catherine.
6. To the 6th, he says that he did not break his determination and good Will touching Marriage with the said Lady Catherine to any person or persons so far as he does remember, saving only to the said Lady Jane, his sister.
7. To the 7th, he says that he, lying sick at his house in Cannon Row at Westminster and the Queen's Majesty being then at Hampton Court, and the said Lady Catherine and Lady Jane their waiting upon her Highness, did write unto his said Sister, praying her to solicit and continue his

* Note in the left margin is obscured by the page binding gutter, but seems to indicate in Latin that these are the answers of the Earl of Hertford in 1561.

[†] In the style ministers had the habit of wearing

[‡] The questions are at "page 104."

[§] Keep company

suit unto the said Lady Catherine as she had begun, and to feel her disposition for Marriage with him. Whereupon the said Lady Jane did write unto this examinee that she had accordingly moved the said Lady Catherine whom she found well inclined thereunto, nevertheless she would give no resolute answer touching Marriage with him, until the Queen's Grace came to Westminster, whereupon at her Majesty's next coming to Westminster, and in no other place before that time, he, the said Respondent himself, did first make his Suit for Marriage to the said Lady Catherine in a Closet of his sister's, which she had privately to herself within the Maidens' Chamber of Honor, his said sister and no other being then and there present with them. To the which motion, her answer was that she, weighing his long suit and good Will borne to her, said that she was content to Marry with him the next time that the Queen's Highness should go abroad, and leave the said Lady Catherine and the Lady Jane behind her.

8. To the 8th, he says that the form and manner of the Agreement between them to be married was that after he had declared in the place aforesaid his long and good Will borne unto her and she the like unto him, as is aforesaid, they agreed to be married when the Queen's Majesty should go abroad as aforesaid without any other Ceremonies to his remembrance, except it were kissing and embracing and joining their hands together. And that this was in the Winter time, his said sister only being present with them.

9. To the Ninth Article, he says that the former agreement made between him and the said Lady Catherine was continued from time to time generally, but no special day was appointed for the solemnization of the said marriage, and that he knew not of the day thereof until the said Lady Catherine came unto his house, because it was uncertain when the Queen's Majesty would go abroad, but the place was always agreed to be at his house in Cannon Row. And says further that he gave Order to Fortescue, his Gentleman Usher, in the Morning before the coming of the Lady Catherine and the Lady Jane to his house, to will his Servants that had anything to do for that day to go abroad, and by reason thereof there were none of his Servants at Home that Morning to his knowledge.

10. To the Tenth, he says that the solemnization of the said Marriage was the same day that the Queen's Majesty removed from Westminster to Eltham on hunting, which was between All-Hallows-tide and Christmas last was 12 months, and in his house aforesaid, and being privy to thereat, only his said sister and the Priest or Minister and their meeting there at that time was upon the general appointment continued from day to day as before, without any special word sent either from her to him or from him to her.

11. To the Eleventh, he says that the Priest or Minister that married them was procured and brought in by his sister, Jane, but his name or surname he doesn't know, but whether he was there before the said Lady Catherine and his sister Jane came there, he doesn't know. And he says that he never promised the Lady Catherine to provide a priest to marry them but referred it to his said sister and says that they were married with such words and Ceremonies and in that Order as it is set forth in the book of Common Prayer, which book the said Minister brought with him there. And says that at the time of the said solemnization, the Minister stood sideling* of the Window of the Bed Chamber and he and the said Lady Catherine with their faces toward the said Minister and the Lady Jane did kneel and stand behind or beside them, and that at the said time of Solemnization, they did sometimes stand and sometimes kneel. And moreover, says that the said Minister was a man of mean stature and fair complexion with an auburn beard and of

* Beside

middle age, and was appareled with a plain long Gown of Black Cloth faced, as he remembers, with Budge and a falling Collar to the same such a One as the Ministers used when they came out of Germany. And says that he gave nothing to the said Minister for his pains, but the said Lady Jane, as she afterwards told this Examinee, gave him Ten pounds for his labors, and at his departing this Examinee said nothing to him, but thanked him and bade him farewell.

12. To the 12th, he says that he thinks there were some of his servants the same time in his house, but he saw none, nor knew of any being there, and if any were there, he doesn't know in what place of the said house they were at the same time.

13. To the 13th, he says that he and the said Lady Catherine immediately after the said solemnization, went into naked bed* in the said Chamber where they were so married and the said Lady Catherine remained with this respondent in the said Chamber almost two hours from her first coming there until her departing.

14. To the 14th, he says that he lay with the said Lady Catherine divers times in the Queen's houses, both at Westminster and at Greenwich in the Chamber of the said Lady Catherine, nobody being privy thereunto, but he says he didn't lay[†] with her any night-time; and being questioned nevertheless where the said Lady Catherine's Maidens were during the time that he accompanied with her, he says that the said Maidens, namely Coffyn and Leigh always went out when he came in.

15. To the 15th, he says that the said Lady Catherine neither at the time of this Examinee's departure into the parts beyond the Seas, neither before, did discover to him that she was with Child and he asking her diverse times whether she were with Child or no, she answered him that she could not tell, this Examinee, saying then unto her that if she would precisely say that she was with Child, that he would not depart the Realm, otherwise he would.

16. To the 16th, he says that he did not break[‡] or discover[§] the said Marriage to any person before he went beyond the Seas.

17. To the 17th, he says that after his departure into the parts of beyond the Seas, he wrote two or three letters unto the said Lady Catherine, one from Rome, which he sent in the Common Packet of Letters for Merchant** and the other from Paris in such-like Packet by John Renate^{††}, a Merchant of Paris, and says that he received one or two Letters from the said Lady Catherine during his abode beyond the Seas, whereof one came by the Common Packet and the other came by Glynne, the said Lady Jane's Man, and says that the endorsement and direction of his letters to the said Lady Catherine was thus: "To my Wife" without any other addition, and that the endorsement of her letters to this respondent were in this form: "To my loving Husband" without any other addition, and says that those letters that he sent to her from Paris were sent by the said Jehan Renante dwelling upon the Bridge there, which said Jehan was commended by this Examinee by Madame Desthampes, and says that he gave instructions to the said Merchant to deliver his said letters to the said Lady Catherine.

18. To the 18th, he says that he made no Will or Testament either before or after his departure

* I believe they're saying that Edward and Catherine went to bed naked, not that the bed didn't have any sheets or blankets on it.

† Lie

‡ Discuss

§ Disclose

** Might be "Marchmont," but "Merchant" seems right, given the context.

†† John Renate or Jehan Renante; the spelling varies

beyond the Seas.

19. To the 19th, he says that before his departure into the parts of beyond the Seas, he did, by Commission in writing, under his hand and seal conceived and devised by Master Solicitor and Master Kingsmill with Master Onslow and Master Fleetwood, appoint Sir John Thims, Knight, Anthony Penne and the said Master Kingsmill with others to be his attorneys for the order and survey of his Lands and Revenues during the time of his absence, and says that he did not appoint or assign the said persons to give unto the said Lady Catherine any portion of the said Revenues for maintenance of her Estate, and thinks that the said Commission does remain with the said Attorneys or one of them. And being examined what the said Earl gave unto the said Lady Catherine at his departure beyond the Seas, says that he gave her both then and at other times sums of Money, but how much he doesn't remember, but sometimes a hundred and sometimes two hundred Crowns and sometimes four hundred Crowns and more, but what certain sums he gave her at his departure, he doesn't remember.

20. To the 20th, he says that at the day of the solemnization of the Marriage, he met her not at all until she and the Lady Jane came to his Bed-Chamber, where the said Lady Catherine was never before to his knowledge, and says that he remaining in his Bed-Chamber and looking for their coming all that Morning before, they came suddenly upon him, being in his said Chamber and immediately after their coming, the said Lady Jane went forth and not tarrying half a quarter of an hour brought in the Minister with her, which she did at the request of this examinee as it was agreed before between him and his said sister, and says that in the meantime, while the Minister was in *fehlinge*^{*}, he had no great communication with the said Lady Catherine that he can remember, but welcome. And says that he never went nor sent to the Court that morning to put the said Lady Catherine or his sister in remembrance of the former appointment.

21. To the 21st, he says that the said Minister was about the said solemnization more than half an hour and forthwith departed as soon as he had done, the Lady Jane guiding him out. And says that the said Chamber Door was put to[†] during the solemnization and that at the Minister's departure, the Lady Jane did open the door going out before him and no person remained with this Examinee and the said Lady Catherine until the return of the said Lady Jane which was within less than a quarter of an hour, who then perceiving them ready to go to bed, withdrew herself, leaving them alone.

22. To the 22nd, he says that they went in manner both together to Bed but he somewhat before her as he thinks and he says that he lay sometimes on the one side of the Bed and sometimes on the other and says that they arose nigh about one time.

23. To the 23rd, he says that no person did either help him or her either to un-array them to bed or to make them ready after their arising and that the said Lady Catherine was in attiring and arraying herself about half a quarter of an hour and no more.

24. To the 24th, he says that the said Lady Catherine did put off her hood and had upon her head a Cap, which she wore under it, having no other cover-chief or *frau*'s paste.

25. To the 25th, he says that he neither spoke nor procured any person to get a Minister but committed the charge thereof to his Sister the Lady Jane as before is said.

26. To the 16th, he says that there was no word or knowledge brought unto him of the Minister's

^{*} German: "missing"

[†] Closed

coming at that time, but as the Lady Jane his sister assured him the night before and divers times before that, that whensoever the time would serve, there should be a Minister in readiness for that purpose.

27. To the 27th, he says that he arose upon the said day of solemnization about 6 o'clock in the morning and occupied himself at his book and sometime Walking but who were present with him the same time, he doesn't remember.

28. To the 28th, he says that there were neither bread, Wine nor Beer, but Banqueting Dishes which he was accustomed to have there.

29. To the 29th, he says that he did lie in the same Bed with her that he lay in the night before.

30. To the 30th, he says that the said Bed was made before the coming of the said Lady Catherine by the Grooms of his Chamber.

31. To the 31st, he says that after the arising of this Examinee and the Lady Catherine from Bed, the Grooms of his Chamber whose names be Christopher Barnaby and one Jenkins* did make the same, but how long after the said Lady Catherine's departure he cannot certainly tell, but he says that (as he remembers) they came in about the Evening of the same day.

32. To the 32nd, he says that (to his remembrance) no person did Counsel, advise or comfort him to marry the said Lady Catherine before the Queen's Majesty were made privy thereunto and after to seek her Grace's favor.

33. To the 33rd, he says that the Grooms of his Chamber were Christopher Barnaby and one Jenkins, and that he cannot tell where his Grooms and Servants were at the said time of solemnization but had taken order with Fortescue, his Gentleman Usher, that they might be absent as before he has declared.

34. To the 34th, he says that upon his Arrival from beyond the Seas, he was at the Mayor's house in Dover, and being there at Breakfast, there came into the said house newly arrived also Master Thomas Sackville and one Strange whom he desired to sit down with him, and as they were at Breakfast, Master Crispe, Captain of the Castle there, came to him showing unto him the Queen's Majesty's Commission whereby he was charged to bring this Examinee to the Court, and that he should take order that his Servants that came over with him should not follow him by one day's journey. The which he did and came himself to the Court in the charge and custody of the said Master Crispe without the Company of his said Servants, and says that at Dover, nor from there until his coming to the Court at Hertford, he did not speak with any other person saving with those that did conduct him and one Goddard, his Servant, whom he found and stayed at Dover with whom he had no conference, but only asked him what News, of whom he received no answer, for that the said Master Crispe by virtue of his said Commission did stay[†] there further talk; and says that neither at Hertford nor at Ware nor at any other place between that and the Tower where he now remains, he had no talk with any other person so far as he does remember.

35. To the 35th, he says that he did after the solemnization of Marriage and about 6 days before his departure beyond the Seas, conceive and Devise a writing with his own hand in parchment sealed and signed with his own hand, in which he did signify that his meaning and intent was

* Jenkyne Crispe? Not to be confused with Master Crispe, Captain of the Castle.

† Prevent

that the said Lady Catherine should have and enjoy, after his decease, for the term of her life, so much of his Lands and possessions as should amount to the Yearly value of One Thousand Pounds by the year for the maintenance of her Estate, which said writing he delivered unto her own hands about Six days before his said Departure. And says that nobody was privy thereunto but he himself and the said Lady Catherine. Moreover, the said Earl being Examined upon the exhibits this day concerning his Examination heretofore taken before the Lord Treasurer and others the 12th day of September last, does acknowledge and confess the same to be subscribed with his own hand, and also does acknowledge another Examination exhibited and taken the 14th day of this present month of February taken by my Lord of London and Sir William Petre, to be likewise subscribed with his own hand.

Also being interrogated whether he can or will name any other Witness or use any other proof for declaration of his said pretended Marriage and Solemnization of the same than he has already in his several Examinations mentioned, Does say upon his Oath that he neither can nor will name or use any other Witness nor does know any other Witnesses or kind of Proof concerning his said Marriage or Solemnization thereof, than he has here before in his several Examinations declared.

Hertford

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Interrogatories

[Ad]Ministered to the Lord Henry Seymour

1. Inprimus[†], whether you did Carry any letters, tokens or Messages from the Earl of Hertford your brother to the Lady Catherine Gray or from her to the said Earl? And if you did, when did you so and what were the same Messages and tokens?
2. Item[‡], whether you did receive any Letters from the said Earl your Brother after his departure from here beyond the Seas directed to the said Lady Catherine and to be delivered to her by you? And if you did, what time and by whom did you receive the same?
3. Item, whether there were the same letters enclosed in other Letters directed to you or not; and if they were, where are those your Letters?
4. Item, how were the Letters directed to the Lady Catherine under what form was the superscription and Endorsement thereof?
5. Item, whether you did deliver the said Letters yourself to the said Lady Catherine, and when did you so deliver them, and where and what communication and talk had you with her at the delivery of the said Letters?

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Interrogatories to be [ad]ministered to
Adrian Stokes and Thomas Stukeley,
Esquires

1. Inprimus, whether they or any of them were privy or present at any Motion made by the Earl of Hertford to the Lady Frances Suffolk, deceased, to have her good will to Marry the Lady Catherine, her Daughter. And if they were, when, where, and what other person or persons were present at the said motion and what Answer made the said Lady Frances to the said Earl therein?

* Illegible note in Latin in the bookbinding gutter seems to indicate that this is what Edward Seymour responded

[†] First of all

[‡] Also

2. Item, whether do they or any of them know that the said Lady Frances did determine to move the Queen's Majesty for the obtaining of her Grace's favor to the said Lady Catherine, her Daughter, to marry with the said Earl, and whether she the said Lady Frances did cause a Letter to be rough drawn to be sent to her Highness for that purpose, and who drew or contrived the same, and what is become of the said Draft?
3. Item, whether were the said Letters fair written after[ward] and sent unto her Highness, and if they were not, what was the Cause thereof?
4. Item, how long after died the said Lady Frances the Duchess of Suffolk?

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Interrogatories to be [ad]ministered to
Anthony Penne

1. Inprimus, whether he has been Servant to the Earl of Herford, and if he has, then how long has he so been, and what Office he bore in his service?
2. Item, whether he does remember what day the Queen's Highness went from Westminster to Eltham, and if he does, where was he in the Forenoon* of the same day?
3. Item, if he was in the said Earl's house in Cannon Row that Forenoon, how long did you remain there and what did you the same day?
4. Item, whether did you see the Lady Catherine Gray and the Lady Jane or either of them or any other Strangers in the said Earl's house the same day in the forenoon? And if you did, what time of the day and what did they there the same day?
5. Item, what tokens, Letters, or Messages have you carried between the said Earl and the Lady Catherine either before there Imprisonment or since?
6. Item, what conference or talk has the said Earl had with you since the time of his imprisonment or before concerning any marriage with the Lady Catherine Gray?
7. Item, whether do you know or have been made privy of any jointure or other assurance that the said Earl should make or devise unto the said Lady Catherine for a maintenance of her Estate and if you do, then what was the Tenor or effect thereof and what was done therewith?
8. Item, whether the said Earl did before his departure into the parts of beyond the Seas commit any Trust or gave you any Commission for the doing and ordering of his affairs during his absence and what was the effect thereof?
9. Item, whether the said trust or commission was granted unto you in writing or by word of mouth and if it were in writing, then where is that writing become?
10. Item, whether you were privy or present at any motion made by the Earl of Hertford to the Lady Frances Suffolk, deceased, to give her good Will to marry the lady Catherine her Daughter, and if you were, when, where or what other person or persons were present at the said motion? And what answer made the said Lady Frances to the said Earl therein?
11. Item, whether you knew that the said Lady Frances did determine to move the Queen's Majesty for the obtaining of her Grace's favor to the said Lady Catherine, her Daughter, to marry with the said Earl, and whether she the said

* Morning (literally: before noon)

Lady Frances did cause any Letter to be drawn to be sent to her Highness for that purpose, and who drew or conceived the same, and what is become of the said draft?

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Interrogatories to be [ad]ministered to
Jenkyn Crippes and William Cooke

1. Inprimus, how long have you served the Earl of Hertford, your Master, and in what Office were you?
2. Item, whether do you remember what day the Queen's Highness when from Westminster to Eltham, and if you so do, then where were you in the forenoon if the same day?
3. And if you were in the Lord your Master's house in Cannon Row that forenoon, how long did you remain there and what did you the same forenoon?
4. Item, what time did the Earl your Master arise out of his Bed the same day, who did help to make him ready, and who made his bed?
5. Item, whether did you see the Lady Catherine Grey and the Lady Jane or either of them or any other Strangers in the said Earl's house the same day in the forenoon, and if you did, what time of the day and what did they there the same day?
6. Item, if you were absent in the Forenoon of the same day from the said Earl's house, what time went you away, how long were you absent and what was the cause of your absence?
7. Item, what time returned you home again and what said the Earl unto you at your return?
8. Item, whether did you see any Priest or Minister in the said house, or going or coming to or from the same, the foresaid day in the forenoon?
9. Item, what Letters, tokens or messages have you carried between the said Earl and the Lady Catherine either before their imprisonment or since?
10. Item, what conference or talk had the Earl with you since the time of his Imprisonment or before concerning any marriage?

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Interrogatories to be [ad]ministered to
William Powell

First, how long have you served the Earl of Hertford and in what Office were you?

Other demands to be asked as occasion serves.

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Interrogatories to be [ad]ministered to
Christopher Barnaby

1. Inprimus, how long have you been* the Earl of Hertford's† servant?
2. Item, whether do you remember what day the Queen's Majesty went from Westminster to Eltham, and if you do, where were you in the forenoon of the same day that her Highness so went to Eltham?
3. And if you were in my Lord, your Master's house in Cannon Row that forenoon, how long did you remain there and what did you the same forenoon?

* "Served" is written beneath the word "been."

† "Your master" is written beneath the word "servant."

4. Item, what time did the Earl, your Master, rise out of his bed the same day, who did help to make him ready and who made his bed and how often was it made the same day?
5. Item, if you were absent in the Forenoon of the same day from the Earl's house, your Master, what time went you away? How long were you absent and what was the Cause of your absence?
6. Item, what time returned you home again and what said the Earl to you at your return?
7. Item, whether did you see the Lady Catherine Grey and the Lady Jane or either of them or any other Strangers in the said Earl's house the same day in the forenoon, and if you did, what time of the day and what did they there the said day?
8. Item, whether did you see any Priest or Minister in the said house or going or coming to or from the same the foresaid day in the forenoon?
9. Item, what letters, tokens or Messages have you carried between the said Earl and the Lady Catherine either before their Imprisonment or since?
10. Item, what conference and talk had the Earl with you since the time of his Imprisonment or before concerning any marriage?

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Interrogatories to be [ad]ministered to
John Fortescue, Gentleman Usher to the
Earl of Hertford

1. Inprimus, how long have you served the Earl of Hertford, your Master?
2. Item, whether do you remember what day the Queen's Majesty went from Westminster to Eltham, and if you do, where were you in the forenoon of the same day that her Highness so went to Eltham?
And if you were in my Lord, your Master's house in Cannon Row that forenoon, how long did you remain there, and what did you do the same forenoon, and how long a time of the said day before noon did you remain in the same house, and how many other of the said Earl's household servants and others were in the said house with you the same forenoon, and what Strangers did you see there the same Forenoon?
3. Item, if you were absent from the said Earl's house the same forenoon, what was the occasion thereof, and what hour did you go away, and how long were you absent, and where and what time of the day did you return again to the said Earl's House?
4. Item, at your departing away, where left you the Earl your Master, what did he say unto you, and whom did you leave to attend upon him during your absence, and where were all the rest of the said Earl's Servants the same forenoon?*

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Examinatus *Decimo Mono die February anno 1561 coram
reverendissimo Domino Canto et Condelega suis Apud Lambeth*[†]
The Lord Henry Seymour being examined by virtue of his Oath Upon
certain Interrogatories to him objected says as follows:

* Illegible note in the bookbinding gutter seems to indicate that this is what Barnaby was to be asked.

† Examined on the eleventh day of February 1561 before the most reverend Lord Canterbury and his delegates at Lambeth

1. To the first he says that he carried tokens from the said Earl to the Lady Catherine about half a year before the said Earl's going beyond the Seas and thinks they were rings which he so carried and that not past twice or three times as he remembers, and no special Messages other than Commendations.

To the second, third, fourth and fifth, he says that he received certain letters from the said Earl from beyond the Seas wherein he prayed this Examinee to make his commendations to the said Lady Catherine by the name of the Lady Catherine as he remembers, but as he says he received no letters from him that were directed to the said Lady.

And that he received some of those Letters by the Common Post and some by France's The Post; and being interrogated whether he received any tokens from the said Earl from beyond the Seas to be delivered to the said Lady Catherine, says he is not remembered of any, and that if he shall hereafter remember any, he will open and declare the same.

Henry Seymour

The said Lord Henry Seymour being demanded whether ever he was privy of any Contract or Solemnization of Matrimony between the said Earl of Hertford and Lady Catherine says that he was not privy thereof.

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Examinatus *coram reverendissimo et Collegis suis Apud Lambeth*
*19 die February 1561**

Adrian Stokes Esquire being sworn and interrogated says by virtue of
his Oath as ensues

First he says that about a month before the death of the late Lady Frances, Duchess of Suffolk, his wife, which is about two years ago and somewhat more, the said Lady Frances declared to this Examinee that the Earl of Hertford (as she well did perceive by him) did bear favor and good Will to the Lady Catherine, her Daughter, whom she said in her Opinion, she thought to be a very Fit Husband for her said Daughter if it should so please the Queen's Highness, requiring this Examinee of his opinion therein, who answered her that he thought it good if it should so please the Queen's Highness and her Honorable Council, whereupon he this Examinee talked with the said Earl therein and advised him to make suit to such of the Queen's Majesty's Council as he thought were most his friends to be a means for the Queen's Highness for him for the accomplishment of the said Marriage, which Earl liked this Examinee's advice very well, saying that he would follow the same, but whether he so did or not, this Examinee doesn't know (as he says).

And further he says that he declared to the said Earl that if he would make suit to the Council in this behalf that then the said Duchess would write to the Queen's Majesty for her Grace's favor and good will touching the said Marriage as in very deed she required this Examinee to make a Draft of a Letter to the Queen's Majesty for that purpose, and then forasmuch as the said Earl shortly after came again to this Examinee, declaring to him that he would no further meddle in the matter, and for that also that the said Duchess died immediately the said Letters were not sent to the Queen's Highness; after which

* Examined before the reverend and his colleagues at Lambeth on February 19, 1561

premises, this Examinee never talked further with the said Earl in this matter, nor did hear any more of the same. And further he says that the said motion by the said Duchess to this Examinee as above, was at her house in the Charterhouse where she died. The Effect of the Letter to his remembrance was that the Duchess understanding that such a Noble Man bore good Will to her Daughter, the Lady Catherine, did humbly require the Queen's Highness to be good and gracious Lady unto her, and that it would please her Majesty to assent to the Marriage of her to the said Earl, which was the only thing that she desired before her death, and should be an occasion for her to die more quietly.

A. Stokes

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Examinatus *Apud Lambeth 19 die February 1561 coram
Reverendissimo Domino Canto Collegis suis**

*Thomas Stukeley, Esquire, being examined upon certain Articles by
virtue of his Oath*

To the first and the rest he says that he was not privy of any motion made by the said Earl to the Lady Frances, late Duchess of Suffolk for obtaining of her good Will for the Marriage of the Lady Catherine, her Daughter, but he says that he had heard the said Lady Frances wish that her said Daughter Catherine were well bestowed in her life-time, and that she thought that the said Earl of Herford were a meet marriage for her, if it might stand with the Queen's Highness's pleasure, and that she intended to be a suitor therein to her Majesty, but whether she so did or not, he doesn't know. And says that he never talked with the said Earl nor the Lady Catherine in the said matter of Marriage; and says further that at such times as the Queen's Highness lay at Hampton Court after her return from Portsmouth, the said Examinee, having occasion to go to the Court, fortun'd to speak with the said Earl, then lying at one Penne's[†] House in London, and asked him whether he would command him any service to the Court, and then he delivered this Examinee a Letter, requiring him to deliver it to the said Lady Catherine, which he so did, and at his return from the Court, brought another Letter from the said Lady Catherine to the said Earl, but what were the Contents of either of the said Letters, he says he doesn't know.

Thomas Stukeley

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Examinatus *coram Reverendissimo Domino Canterbury et
Condelegatis ejus apud Lambeth 19 die February 1561[‡]*

*Christopher Barnaby being sworn and examined upon certain Articles
says as follows:*

To the first, he says that he has been servant to the Earl of Herford about two years past.

To the second, third and fourth, he says that he does remember that the time of the Queen's Highness removing from Westminster to Eltham was before Christmas last was 12 months but the certain day of the month he doesn't remember and says that he lay the night before in the said Earl's house at Cannon Row and was there until between Eight and Nine o'clock before noon

* Examined at Lambeth on February 19, 1561, before the Reverend Lord Canterbury and his colleagues

† "Padies" is corrected to "Penne's" beneath the line, but "Padies" is not stricken out.

‡ Examined before the Reverend Lord Canterbury and his Delegates at Lambeth on February 19, 1561

and says that the said Earl arose the same day somewhat before Eight o'clock in the Morning and this Examinee helped to make him ready, and that he alone made my Lord's Bed the same morning, by which time it was half an hour past 8 o'clock, and about nine o'clock, this Examinee went into London to one Dirich, a Goldsmith, by my Lord's Commandment to will the said Dirich to come speak with his Lordship the next day.

To the 5th and 6th, he says that the cause of his going into the City as before was to speak with the said Dirich, if he were at home, or else to speak with one Groillain, a Goldsmith in St. Martins, and it was four o'clock at afternoon the same day before he returned, and then came unto my Lord and did his Message, declaring that neither the said Dirich nor Groillain were at home.

To the 7th and 8th Articles, he says that the same day first above by him deposed, even as he was going down the stairs of the great Chamber of the said Earl's house to go into the City, he met the Lady Jane coming upon the Stairs, and the Lady Catherine following her and going up the said stairs, but from where they came or who came with them there, he says he cannot tell, and says that the said Lady Jane calling him by his name, asked him where he went, and he told her that he went on business of my Lord, and says that he saw no other Strangers nor Minister or Priest there the same day.

To the Ninth, he says that he never carried any Letters nor tokens between the said Earl and the Lady Catherine at any time other than commendations and meats in the Lent time, neither was he privy to any Letters sent from the Earl to her and from her to him during the Earl's absence beyond the Seas.

To the Tenth, he says that he has had no conference nor talk with the said Earl concerning these matters being examined, what Servants of the Earls he left in the said Earl's house at his going into the City as before says that there were none to his knowledge for that the Earl had given warning overnight (as he heard) that if any of his Servants had any business they might be abroad for that day because the said Earl intended not to go from home.

Christopher Barnaby

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Examinatus *apud Lambeth coram Reverendissimo Domino*

*Canterbury Archbishop et Collegis ejus 29 die February 1561**

John Fortescue, Gentleman, being examined upon certain Articles

deposes as follows upon his Oath:

To the first Article, he says that he has been servant to the said Earl ever since the death of the late Cardinal Poole.

To the second and third, he says that her Grace removed from Westminster to Eltham before Christmas was twelve months, but the certain date he doesn't remember, but it was in November to his remembrance, and says that the same day of her Highness's removing aforesaid this Examinee about ten o'clock before noon, and after ten came into the said Earl's house in Cannon Row, and within a very little while after his Coming in, one Jenkyn Crispe, one of the said Earl's Grooms of his Chamber, came to this Examinee, declaring that the said Earl's pleasure was that he this Examinee should command all the said Earl's

* Examined at Lambeth before the Most Reverend Lord Archbishop of Canterbury and his colleagues on February 29, 1561

Servants to avoid his Great Chamber, whereupon he forthwith avoided them, and himself went down with them, and left the said Groom remaining above. And says that upon this warning, he and the most part of the rest of the Servants remained beneath in the house until it was Dinner time, and then certain of them went abroad to Dinner, and for himself, he doesn't remember whether he went abroad to Dinner that day or not or tarried there; and being interrogated what Strangers he saw there the same, says that he himself saw none, but William, the said Earl's Cook, told him that he saw the Lady Catherine and the Lady Jane Land at the Watergate of the said house, and the said Jenkyn Crispe, the Groom, told him that the Earl his Master had Strangers with him, whereby this Examinee did conjecture that they were the said Ladies. But other Strangers he saw none nor heard of any there that day. And says that as he heard, the said Ladies were come in there before the coming of this Examinee, and says that all the time of his being there the said day, he didn't see the said Ladies come abroad or depart from the house there, nor any of their Servants, or other Strangers to his Remembrance.

To the rest of the Articles, he says as above.

John Fortescue

And being Interrogated whether the said Earl did use to command his Servants to avoid the said Chamber as he did the same day, he says that the said Earl did so oftentimes to do the like. And further says upon his Oath that he was not privy of any solemnization of matrimony between the said Earl and the said Lady Catherine, but as he and the rest of his fellows did sometimes say and report that they thought that there was good will between the said Earl and Lady Catherine, but to what end, he doesn't know.

John Fortescue

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Sworn and examined the 21st day of February 1561 coram

*Reverendissimo Domino Canterbury et Collegis suis apud Lambeth**

Anthony Penne, Gentleman, sworn and examined says as follows:

To the first Article, he says that he has been servant to the Earl of Hertford above these nine years and that since the said Earl came to his lands, he has been put in trust with the receipts of such Money as was brought by his receivers and with the laying out thereof upon his commandment and warrant.

To the second, third and fourth, he says that he doesn't remember what day the Queen's Highness removed from Westminster to Eltham but as he remembers, it was before Christmas was Twelve months and says that he was not the same day in the said Earl's house to his remembrance.

To the fifth, he says that he never carried letters, tokens or Messages between the said Earl and the Lady Catherine, although he was with the said Earl Six weeks' space the last summer in France, yet at his departure from his Lordship he did neither send letter, message nor token or commendation by him to the said Lady Catherine.

To the 6th, he says that he had never conference nor talk with the said Earl concerning any Marriage with the said Lady Catherine.

* Sworn and examined the 21st day of February before the Most Reverend Lord Canterbury and his colleagues at Lambeth

To the 7th, he says that he was not privy of any Jointure or other assurance of any Lands or possessions of the said Earl to the said Lady Catherine nor gifts of Money unto her.

To the 8th and Ninth, he says that the said Earl before his departure beyond the Seas made two Commissions in writing the one to Master Thyme, Master Kingsmill and others, and that was to survey and let* his lands, and the other Commission was to this Examinee and one Thomas Hawe to receive and defray such money as should come to his hands and to send Money over the Seas to the said Earl as he should send for it and to pay his debts; but he says that he had no special instructions to deliver or pay any Money to any special person and says that he has the said last Commission in his custody.

To the Tenth and Eleventh Articles, he says that he never was privy of any such motion may by the said Earl of Hertford to the said Lady Frances concerning the contents of the said Articles.

Anthony Penne

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Examinatus *die Sabbi 21 February coram Reverendissimo Dno
Archbishop Canterbury Canto et Condelegatis suis apud Lambeth†
Jonathan Jenkyn Cripps being sworn and examined upon certain
Articles or Interrogatories*

To the first Article, he says that he is Servant to the Earl of Hertford, and has been these two years, and was Groom of his Chamber.

To the Second, third and fourth, he says that the said Examinee was at the Court the same morning that it was reported that the Queen's Highness removed to Eltham, which was in the Winter-time about a Twelve Month past and more, and that he came there about 8 o'clock in the morning about his own business to speak with Master Lichfield, and he returned home again soon after to the Lord his Master's house, and went up and found him not full ready, and then he tarried there in the house until Dinner-time, and dined in the said house with the rest of his fellows in a Parlor below, but who were with him then at Dinner, he doesn't remember, and says that during the time, he so waited upon the said Earl about nine o'clock, as he remembers, he commanded this Examinee to warn his Servants that none should come up to the Great Chamber, whereupon this Examinee did give the said commandment to Master Fortescue his Gentleman Usher.

To the 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th, he says that he saw no Strangers in the said Earl's house the said day, howbeit he says that he heard among his fellows that Lady Jane and the Lady Catherine Grey were there that day but he didn't see them, as he says, nor does remember who told him so.

To the 9th, he says that he never carried Messages nor Letters nor tokens between the said Earl and the Lady Catherine.

To the Tenth, he says that he never had talk or conference with the said Earl concerning the contents of the said Article.

John Crippes

* Lease

† Examined on Saturday, February 21, before the Most Reverend Lord Archbishop of Canterbury and his delegates at Lambeth; however February 21st in 1561 was not known to be a Saturday by either the Gregorian or Julian calendars.

Juratus et examinatus ut supra 21 February*
William Powell being sworn and examined upon certain Articles and demands

To the first, he says that he is the Earl of Herford's Servant and is his Cook and has been in his service about a year and a half. And being examined whether he has seen the Lady Catherine Grey come to the said Earl his Master's house in Cannon Row, says that he has seen her there twice or three times, as he remembers, and says that the last time that he saw her there was about a Month before Christmas last was twelve months, at which time between Ten and Eleven o'clock in the morning as he was in the Kitchen with Jenkyn, one of the Grooms of my Lord's Chamber, he saw the Lady Jane and the said Lady Catherine coming in at the Watergate of the said house, and as he remembers, they landed from the Water and they went along by the Kitchen Door, but where they went he doesn't know nor what certain day this was.

Casus†

Commissionary ex Officio conveniunt stupri dua. Solutas personas Ille examine fatentur Carnalem copulam et ex ea susceptam prolem sed per viam defensionis affirmant sape secreta colloquia inter eos habita de matrimonio inter eos contrahendo. Deinde etiam affirmant intoriessisse sponsalia de futuro. Sed interrogate de forma verborum sponsaliorum in ea non conveniunt. Postra subsequuntio fuisse matrimonion solemnization quibusdam forma loco et tempore, ac deinde pedente Carnalem Copulam et prolis susceptionem intervenisse. Sed in hac confessione partum quedam sunt varia quedam contraria quedam minus verisimilia aliquid etiam extra iudicium prins ab eis negation. Queritur quid in hoc negocio Commissionary pronuntiare debent.

Case

The Commissioner from the Office met with the two adulterers. After examining them, they admit the carnal coupling and the child conceived from it, but by way of defense, they affirm that secret conversations were held between them about contracting a marriage between them. Then, they also affirm there had been a betrothal. But asked about the form of the words of marriage, they do not agree. The next step was the solemnization of the marriage according to some form, place and time, and then the carnal copulation took place, resulting in the birth of the child. But in this confession, there are some differences, some similar things, some things less likely, and something even outside the judgment caught by denial.

It is asked what the Commissioners should pronounce in this business.

Questiones

Utrum sponsalia sequuta carnali copula excusant a peccato fornicationis

Utrum si sponsalia vel matrimonium probentur

Questions

Whether betrothal followed by a carnal copulation excuses them from sin

Whether the betrothal or the marriage is proved by the confession and others

* Sworn and examined as above 21 February

† The case

confessione reonord et alijs exhibiti
consideratis circumstantijs da
confessionis

Utrumo si expre deam confessione
sponsalia et subsequenta copula non
matrimonium probentur expresse
pronuntiari pro enis validitate debent
exordine institue inquisitionis.

presented, considering the circum-
stances of the confession

Either way, if by express confession
the betrothal and the following couple
do not prove that the marriage is
expressly valid, the first order of
inquiry must be established

The beginning and manner of proceeding of the love between the Earl of Hertford and the Lady Catherine Gray declared by the said Lady Catherine, the 22nd day of August in the third year of the reign of our Sovereign Lady Queen Elizabeth, to Sir Edward Warner, Knight Lieutenant of the Tower. and taken by him by virtue of the Queen's Majesty's Commandment signified unto him by her Letters bearing date the 22nd of August and the year aforesaid.

The said Lady Catherine does say that there began some good Will between the Earl of Hertford and her in the time of Queen Mary, when she was sent from the Court and was in house with the Duchess of Somerset. She says that in the first year of the Queen Majesty's Reign that now is, when her Majesty made her progress into Kent, the love did again renew between them, insomuch then when the Queen's Majesty came to Hampton Court. The Earl rode to the Lady Frances Suffolk, mother to the Lady Catherine, who lay at that time at the Charterhouse near London and there he moved the said Lady Frances to grant her good Will that he might marry the Lady Catherine, her Daughter. Whereupon the said Lady Frances sent to the Court, willing the Lady Catherine, her Daughter, to desire leave of the Queen's Majesty to come and speak with her, and so she did, and at her coming to her mother, she broke the matter to her Daughter as it had been moved by the Earl of Hertford, saying now she had provided a Husband for her (meaning the Earl of Hertford), if she could like well of it, willing her to frame her fancy and goodwill that way, whereunto the Lady Catherine was very willing, with her Mother perceiving immediately, by the advice of Master Stokes, devised a letter to be rough-drawn for herself to write to the Queen's Majesty for her good will and consent to the said Marriage, but the said Lady Frances was so sick that she never wrote the Letter, for she departed very soon after. There was privy to this motion and to the Letter Master Stokes, Master Bertus, Master Stukeley and one Gilgett, a Servant of the Earl of Hertford, and the Lady Catherine remembers no more. She says further that by the death of her Mother, the motion to be made to the Queen's Majesty was laid apart, nevertheless the Love did continue or rather increase between the Earl and her, with sundry Meetings and talks between them as time might serve, and as folks of those years and of that sort will do, without making any Creature living of their counsel, saving the Lady Jane Seymour and one Glynne, a servant to the said Lady Jane, and all such tokens or Messages as were sent between the Earl and the Lady Catherine were born and delivered either by the Lady Jane or the said Glynne.

The love thus continuing between them, the Queen's Majesty came to Hampton Court which was about Michaelmas* last past, whereupon a time the Lady Jane Seymour told the Lady Catherine that her Brother had to speak with her, who was very willing to hear that motion, for she desired nothing more, for she supposed there had some promise passed between them before that time. It had happened a little before that time that the Lady Catherine had quarreled with the Earl, hearing said that he bore good will to a Daughter of Sir Peter Mewtas, and the Earl when he came, told her that to avoid all such Suspicion, he would, if she would, marry her out of hand, even as soon as the Queen's Majesty should come next to London, if [a] convenient time might be found for the purpose, and then should she be sure and out of all doubt, all which speech and promise was done in the hearing of the Lady Jane, and after this when the Queen's Majesty was come to London, she chanced to make a Journey to Greenwich for three or four days, and left the Lady Catherine behind because she had a Swelling in her face, and left also the other Maids behind, and one night, while they thus remained, the Earl of Hertford and the Lady Catherine did agree that the said Lady Catherine and the Lady Jane should come the next morning following to the Earl's house in Cannon Row, and there he would have a Priest ready, and be married unto her, whereunto she did agree, and went in the morning accordingly where the marriage was made and finished between them as follows:

The priest did marry them together as in the book of Service it is appointed, saving there was nobody to give the Bride as the manner is. But the Earl did give her a Ring, which she presently wears on her finger which is made of five pieces and has these Verses written in it:

*As Circles Five, by art compact, show but one ring in sight,
So trust unites faithful minds, with knot of secret might,
Whose force to break, but greedy death, no wight[†] possesses power,
As time and sequels well shall prove. My ring can say no more.*

This marriage being thus ended, they remained in the house till towards Dinner-time and then came to the Court and dined with Master Comptroller.

The Lady Catherine does constantly affirm that to her knowledge, there was no Creature living privy to this Marriage but only those persons recited, affirming assuredly that she never saw the Priest before nor since, nor knows not if she should see him again. So continued the Lady Catherine from that time till the death of the Lady Jane, using herself with the Earl as his Wife in her own Heart, getting his Company sundry times alone by the means of the Lady Jane, who did use sundry times to go with her to the Earl in Cannon Row. And after the death of the Lady Jane, she had sometimes secret Company with the Earl by means of a Woman of her own whose name is Leigh and is now gone from her. She says that the said Woman was never procured unto it, but would of herself,

* September 29th

† A "wight" is a spirit, ghost or other supernatural being.

when she saw my Lord and she* whisper together, withdrew herself out of sight and leave them alone.

The Lady Catherine says she suspected herself to be with Child before the death of the Lady Jane and told her thereof who answered that then there was no remedy but to be a known how the matter stood, and the Earl himself said the like and that they must abide it and trust to the Queen's mercy. The Lady Catherine does say that the Earl made means to have License to depart the Realm before she suspected herself to be with Child as she learned by the Lady Jane, but the Earl would in no wise be acknowne† unto her of it but would deny it, saying that she might be sure he should get no leave, though he were so minded. But after this, when she saw a Passport signed for his departure (as it was her chance to, though) though it was no small grief and trouble unto her. Yet still affirming that neither she nor he (to her knowledge) made anybody privy of their marriage or of any other matter between them. And that the first Creature that ever the Lady Catherine broke the matter unto was Mistress St. Loe which was upon the Saturday before her coming to the Tower, at which day she told her both of her marriage and being with Child. Whereupon she says that Mistress St. Loe fell into a great weeping, saying that she was very sorry that she had so done without the consent or knowledge of the Queen's Majesty or any other of her friends, upon the morrow after being Sunday, the Tenth of August, the Lady Catherine, suspecting by the secret talk that she saw both amongst men and women that her being with Child was known and espied out, and that the time came so fast on that it could no longer be kept secret, determined with herself to break the matter that night with the Lord Robert Dudley and following that mind, when late in the Evening unto his lodging and broke the matter with him as she had already declared, and this does she conclude, [stead]fastly affirming that she has said the truth in all this matter and does not hide, nor will hide anything from the Queen's Majesty herein as she desires mercy or favor at her Majesty's hands for the Testimony whereof she has to every side of this writing set to her Hand.

Catherine Hertford
Edward Warner

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The Examination of the Earl of Hertford taken at the Tower the 12th day of September in the third year of the reign of our Sovereign Lady Queen Elizabeth, 1561 A.D.‡ by William, Marquess of Winchester, Lord Treasurer of England, Sir Richard Sackville, Knight on her Majesty's Privy Council, Sir Edward Warner, Knight Lieutenant of the Tower and William Rosewell, her Majesty's Solicitor General upon certain Articles hereunto annexed by virtue of her Highness Letters directed to the said Lord Treasurer bearing date the Eighth day of this present Month of September under her Majesty's Privy Signet.

1. Inprimis: to the first Article the said Earl says and confesses that he is married unto the Lady Catherine Grey and that the first agreement between them upon

* Grammatically, that should be when Mistress Leigh saw "my Lord and her" whisper together (*Mistress Leigh saw ... her whisper*), but it seems this modern grammar boo-boo (incorrectly using *she* the subject instead of *her* the object) has been around for several hundred years.

† Acknowledge it

‡ 1561 AD

the said Marriage was at Westminster in the Queen's Majesty's house, in a little Closet belonging to the Chamber of the Lady Jane, Sister of the said Earl, the said Lady Jane being then present at it and none other, and that it was in the daytime, but what time of the day, he doesn't remember. And further confesses that immediately after the said agreement of marriage, that he and the said Lady Catherine agreed together that as soon as her Highness should take any Journey and leave the said Ladies Catherine and Jane behind her, that they would be married. And further says that the said first consent of a marriage was about six or seven weeks next before the said marriage, as he remembers.

2. To the second Article, he says that he and the said Lady Catherine were married at his own house of Cannon Row of Westminster in his bed chamber on the same day that the Queen's Majesty rode from Westminster to Greenwich and Eltham in the month of November last, about two hours next after her Majesty's departure from Westminster, but what day that was of the said month, he doesn't remember.
3. To the third Article, he says that they were married by a Minister (as he took him) whom he then didn't know neither yet does if he should see him again for he says that his said sister procured him there for that purpose and says that the same Minister did there wear no surplice nor other Ornament of the Church nor [ad]ministered not the Communion, but had the book of Common Service in his hand and the Prayers therein set forth for marriage he said and used and none other. And that at the time of the said marriage this Examinee and the said Lady Catherine stood together near the Window of the said Chamber and that the said Minister before the said marriage did ask the banns* three times, the Lady Jane standing nearby this Examinee and that no other persons were present at the same Marriage but only the Lady Jane and the Minister. But what Apparel this Examinee Earl or the said Lady Catherine and Jane or any of them wore, he doesn't remember, nor what manner of Man the said Minister was. And also says that they which were at the said Marriage nor any of them did not Dine that day to his knowledge nor had any meat other than certain Banqueting meats such as he always had in his Chamber.
4. To the fourth Article, he says that immediately after the Marriage [was] done, he and the Lady Catherine unarrayed† themselves and went to bed, nobody helping them but themselves.
5. To the 5th Article, he says that the said Lady Jane during that time was [away] from them in the said house.‡
6. To the 6th Article, he says that nobody did help the said Lady Catherine to array her again but only herself.
7. To the 7th and last Article, he says that he didn't Dine that day otherwise than with the said Banqueting Meats, and that the said Minister tarried not there after the Marriage [was] done, but forthwith departed out of the said Chamber with the said Lady Jane, and had at the hands of the said Lady Jane for his pains (as the said Lady Jane told this Examinee) ten pounds which she laid out of such

* A notice previously required in the church, announcing the upcoming intended marriage, presumably to allow anyone knowing of an objection to the wedding could raise it. Usually the banns were called weekly for the three weeks before the ceremony.

† Undressed

‡ Jane waited somewhere else in the house while they were busy.

Money as this Examinee used to give her towards her apparel and other expenses. And concerning the Wedding Ring, he says that a little before the Marriage, he caused a Ring of Gold to be made of four or five links written upon every link with certain English Meter* of his own making, containing matter of good Will, but the certainty of the words, he doesn't remember which ring at that time he put on the finger of the said lady Catherine being made for that purpose.

And, being further examined when he first began to desire to Marry with the said Lady Catherine, says it was when his said Sister was brought sick from the Court in Queen Mary's time in a Horse-Litter by the Mother of the Maids to my Lady, his Mother's house, at Hanworth for then he first procured his said sister to break with the said Lady Catherine touching marriage at their next meeting which she did accordingly and since that time, good Will has increased between them from time to time and especially he does remember that the Queen's Highness being at Hampton Court this last year, he being sick at London, wrote a Letter to his said Sister, to move the said lady Catherine soon afterward for Marriage, which said Lady Jane so did and by her letters, sent this Examinee word that the answer of the said Lady Catherine was favorable, and to be liked of this Examinee, and that the said Lady Catherine would not therein make him full answer until the Queen's Majesty's then next coming to London.

Hertford, Winchester, R.
Sackville, Edward Warner,
William Rosewell

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The Examination of the Lady Catherine Grey, taken at the Tower the 12th day of September in the third year of the reign of our Sovereign Lady, Queen Elizabeth, and 1561 A.D. by William, Marquess of Winchester, Lord Treasurer of England, Sir Richard Sackville, Knight, one of her Majesty's privy Council, Sir Edward Warner, Knight Lieutenant of the said Tower and William Rosewell, her Majesty's Solicitor general upon certain Articles hereunto annexed by virtue of her Highness' Letters directed to the said Lord Treasurer, bearing date the 8th day of this present Month of September under her Majesty's Privy Signet.

The said Lady Catherine to the first Article says and confesses that she is married to the Earl of Hertford and, that the Queen's Highness being at Hampton Court at the order of her Majesty's Progress in the second year of her Reign, the Lady Jane, Sister of the said Earl, came to this Examinee, being in her Chamber there, and broke with[†] this Examinee there touching Marriage between the said Earl and her, at which time this Examinee gave her first consent to the said Lady Jane to marry with the said Earl, the said Earl not being then present, and that the said motion made by the said Lady Jane was but a little before the Queen Majesty's removing from Hampton Court, but to my said Lord himself, she gave her first consent in my said Lady Jane's Closet in

* Poetry

† Opened formal discussions

the Queen's House at Westminster at her Majesty's then next coming to London.

To the second Article she says that they were married in the House of the said Earl at Cannon Row at Westminster the same day in the morning, in which the Queen's Majesty rode from Westminster to Greenwich and Eltham or shortly after in the absence of her Highness but the day certainly she doesn't remember. To the third Article, she says that they were married by a Minister (as she took him) whom she didn't know, neither does she now know him if she should see him again and that there was no Communion there [ad]ministered, but the said Minister had a Book of Common Service in his hand, and such Prayers as concerned marriage he read and no other, but what manner of Man the Minister was or whether he did wear a Surplice or no, she doesn't remember. And further she says that the said Marriage was in a Chamber wherein stood a Bed (as she remembers), but in what part of the said Chamber the said Lady Jane stood, she doesn't remember, but present she was in the Chamber at the same Marriage, but what apparel the said Earl, this Examinee or the said Lady Jane or any of them did then wear, she doesn't remember.

To the fourth Article, she says that immediately after the said Marriage, the said Earl and this Examinee unarrayed* themselves and went to bed and there continued more than one hour and a half.

To the 5th Article, she says that immediately after the said Marriage, the said Lady Jane absented herself and went forth of that Chamber with the Minister.

To the 6th Article, she says none did help to unarray her or the said Earl but themselves or to array them again.

To the 7th Article, she says that she and the said Lady Jane dined that day at the Court at Master Comptroller's table for they had neither dinner or Banquet at the said Earl's house. Certain banqueting meats the said Lady Jane offered her then to eat but she did eat none. And further she says that they used a Gold Ring at the said Marriage of five links without any Stone, being written upon with English meter† which the said Earl gave her that Morning, but whether it were made for that purpose or not, she cannot tell which Ring she showed to the said Examinee. And further she says that the said Minister did ask no Banns, neither did any person give her in marriage after the accustomed manner, only the Minister asked them such question as are in the same Book concerning marriage and so proceeded. And immediately after the said Marriage, the Minister departed with the Lady Jane but what reward he had she doesn't know. And finally she says that there were never any more persons privy to the said Marriage than are before by her named and expressed.

*Catherine Hertford
Winchester, R. Sackville,
Edward Warner, Wi. Rosewell*

* Undressed
† Poetry

1. In what place and time did you first agree upon Marriage?
2. Where were you married and upon what day and in what time of the day?
3. What manner of person was the Priest or Minister? Had he a Surplice or no? What book did he use? Was there any Communion that day or no? Were there any prayers said or no? In what place of the Chamber stood the Lady Jane at that Marriage? What apparel did the Earl wear and the Lady Catherine? What apparel had the Lady Jane that day?
4. What did you when you were married and whether did you unarray* yourselves and go to bed or no? At what time did you go to bed?
5. What did the Lady Jane in the mean† season?
6. Who did help my Lady to make her ready‡ again?
7. Where did you Dine that day? How long tarried the Priest after you were married? Was there any Wedding Ring used at the Marriage?

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The Examination of the Lady Catherine Gray taken at the Tower the 14th day of February 1561 before the right reverend Father in God, the Bishop of London, Sir William Peter and Sir Edward Warner, Knights.

The said Lady being examined whether she had received of the Earl of Hertford or from him before his late going over the Seas or since, any writing under his Seal for any assurance of living, answers directly that the said Earl never delivered, gave or sent any such writing to her, and that she neither has, nor at any time had, any such writing of or from the said Earl.

She says also that at the said Earl's departing hence over the Seas, she told him that she mistrusted herself to be with Child. And the said Earl's Answer to her was that if she send him word of the certainty thereof, he would not long tarry from her. The said Lady further says that after the Earl's departing, she wrote one Letter to him which was delivered at the Charterhouse near London at the beginning of the Progress to one Glynne, late Servant to the Lady Jane, to be carried to the said Earl, and in those Letters she sent word to the said Earl that for truth she was quick with Child. Other Letters she affirms she sent none during the time of his being beyond the Seas nor received any Letters from him during that time nor token, but only one pair of bracelets which were delivered to her at Havering by the Lord Henry Seymour, at which time, she says, the said Earl sent divers§ other tokens to divers Ladies and Gentlewomen of the Court, and since the delivery of those letters, she says she never saw the said Glynne nor knows where he now is or has been since that time.

*Edm: London, William Petre, Edward Warner
Decimo Quarto die** February 1561*

Edward Earl of Hertford being soon afterward examined by us whose names be underwritten whether he be certainly remembered of the assurance for living to the Lady Catherine, mentioned in his last Examinations at Lambeth,

* Undress

† Meanwhile, what was Jane doing?

‡ Who helped Catherine get dressed again?

§ Assorted, various

** On the fourteenth day

answers that he is well advised and certain that he himself without advice, counsel or knowledge of any other, did write the said Assurance with his own hand and Sealed and subscribed it.

Which Assurance so written and sealed, he affirms was by himself delivered to the said Lady Catherine's own hands five or six days before the said Earl's departing from the Court towards France, and the said Assurance was written, as he remembers, in Parchment and delivered at Greenwich as he thinks, but well he is assured that it was delivered at Greenwich or Westminster. The said Earl being also examined what letters by whom and how many he received from the said Lady Catherine during his being in France, answered that about one Month before that he was sent for by the Queen's Majesty, he received one Letter from her by one Glynne, late Servant to his late sister, the Lady Jane, by which letters the said Lady Catherine signified to him that she was with child, and therefore prayed him to return and declare how the matter stood between them.

Being further asked where the said Glynne is, he answers that he doesn't know, for as he says he tarried not past four or five days in this Examinee's house after the delivery of the said Letters, and told this Examinee that he was come into France to make search for a Kinsman of his that was fled from his Master with certain money, and since that time, this Examinee never saw the said Glynne, saving that about three or four days before his coming there, he saw the said Glynne once again in his house at Paris and asked of him the cause of his tarrying, who told him that he tarried there for the cause first by him declared and since that time, he neither has seen or heard from the said Glynne.

Hertford

Edm: London William Petre

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In Dei nomine* [*Latin text; list of 10 items*]

Interrogatories to be [ad]ministered to the Lady Catherine Grey concerning her pretended Marriage with the Lord Edward, Earl of Hertford.

1. Inprimis: how long before the pretended[†] solemnization of Marriage the said Earl and Lady Catherine did agree upon Marriage, in what place and who were present, and under what sort and fortune was the said Agreement made?
2. Item: whether any special Messages or letters were sent from the said Earl to you, the said Lady Catherine or from you to him before the said pretended Solemnization, how often such letters and Messages were sent, by whom, and what the effect[‡] of the said Messages or Letters were, and whether any of those Letters do remain[§]?
3. Item: whether any special agreements were made before your pretended solemnization of Marriage for the certain time or for the place, or upon the matter of your going or returning, or any other circumstance concerning the same pretended solemnization of Marriage, at what place and time the said

* In the name of God

† Before the trial concluded (or began?), they had already decided the marriage between Hertford and Catherine was "pretended."

‡ Content

§ In other words, were the letters destroyed or lost or are there any of them left, presumably so they could be admitted into evidence?

Agreement was made, and who were present and privy thereof?

4. Item: What time and place *[gap in the text (for her name?)]* Leigh your Gentlewoman departed from you, and for what cause, and where she does presently remain?
5. Item: whether in the day and time of the said pretended solemnization, in your going to the said Earl's house in Cannon Row, you saw or met any Man or Woman, either at your Entry or any other place thereof, and when and in what part of the said house the said Earl met with you at your first coming that time?
6. Item: whether you or the said Earl were served with any banqueting Dishes or drink the day of the said pretended solemnization of Marriage, and by whom you were so served?
7. Item: whether the said Earl did accompany you from his Chamber in your return backward, and how far, and what were his words when he departed from you?
8. Item: whether any of your Gentlewomen were privy to your going to the said Earl's house in the day of your pretended Marriage, or after your return, asked you where you had been and what was your answer thereunto?
9. Item: whether anything was said unto you before the said Earl's departure beyond the Seas of the familiarity between the said Earl and you? What was said to you by whom and what your answer was?
10. Item: who first told you of the Earl's going beyond the Seas, and what time it was told you, and whether did you at any time ask the said Earl whether he minded* to depart or not, and what answer he made?
11. Item: who first showed you the said Earl's Passport, upon what occasion it was showed, when and where?
12. Item: whether the said Earl before his departure into the parts beyond the Seas did assure you of any living, and whether any writing was delivered [to] you for that purpose, and where the same now remains?
13. Item: to whom did you first disclose that you were with Child, and with how many had you talk thereof, and what was [the content of] your talks?
14. Item: how many letters did you receive from the said Earl after his departure into the parts beyond the Seas, and by whom†, and what were the contents thereof, and where they do now remain?
15. Item: whether did you send the said Earl any word of your Imprisonment before his return into England, by whom, and what you wrote or caused to be signified unto him thereof?
16. Item: how many times have you sent any Messages or Letters unto the Earl since his Imprisonment, and by whom, and what answer or other Messages have you received from him?
17. Item: how often have you lied‡ with the Earl in any of the Queen Majesty's Houses, and in what Chambers and places there, and who was privy thereunto?
18. Item: how long after your coming to the Earl's Chamber was the Minister brought there, who brought him there and what communication had you and the

* Was of a mind to, intended to

† As in who delivered them, not who wrote them

‡ As in the past tense of "lay"; in other words, how often did they have sex in the royal palaces?

Earl in the meantime?

19. Item: how long was the said Minister at the said pretended solemnization, and how long did he tarry in the Earl's Chamber after he had made an end thereof, and who brought him out of the Earl's house, at what door when he out, and who opened him the Door, and who was left in the Chamber with you and the Earl?
20. Item: what did you wear upon your head at the time you lay in bed with the said Earl?
21. Item: what help had you after you rose out of bed to dress you and how long were you in Dressing and attiring yourself?

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In Dei* [\[Latin text; list of 11 items\]](#)

Interrogatories to be [\[ad\]](#)ministered to the Lord Edward Seymour, Earl of Herford concerting his pretended Marriage with the Lady Catherine Grey

1. Inprimus: how long since did you determine to be a suitor to the said Lady Catherine to have her in Marriage?
2. Item: where you moved her first of your good Will borne unto her for the purpose?
3. Item: whom did you use as an Instrument or means to advance and further your said Suit?
4. Item: whether did you move this Suit to any of the friends or kinfolk of the said Lady Catherine, and if you did, to whom and in what place and time, and what answered her said friends or kinfolk made unto you?
5. Item: whether you did entreat with the Lady Frances for marriage of the said Lady Catherine, in what sort you entreated and who were privy thereunto?
6. Item: whether did you break your determination and good will touching marriage with the said Lady Catherine to any other person or persons and, if you did so, to whom and where, and what answer received you of such as you imparted that matter unto?
7. Item: in what place and what time you first moved the said lady Catherine touching marriage and what answer made she thereunto?
8. Item: where and in whose Chamber, and how long since is it that one of you made promise to the other to marry together, and in what sort and forms the said promise was made, and what time of the year, and who were present thereat, and what they said thereunto?
9. Item: when and where you agreed first to marry together after the said promise [\[was\]](#) made and what place you appointed for the solemnization of the said Pretended Marriage?
10. Item: if you were married, what day the said marriage was, and who were present thereat, and how the said Lady Catherine and you met at the place where the said pretended Marriage was?
11. Item: what Priest or Minister married you together, and by whom was he procured to do it, and who brought him to the place where you were married, and with what words and Ceremonies and in what order did he do it, and what

* In God

manner of Man was he, and what was his name or surname, and how was he appareled, and what reward had he for his labor, and who paid him, and whether you or any other willed him to keep the said matter secret or no?

12. How many of your Servants were with you in your house at the time of the said pretended Marriage and whether any of them were present thereat or no, or where they remained during the time of the said Marriage?
13. Item: whether you went to bed with the said Lady Catherine before the said pretended Marriage, and how long she tarried with you in the house where you so married her?
14. Item: how often did you lie with her in any of the Queen's Houses, and in what Chambers and places there, and who were privy thereunto?
15. Item: whether did the said Lady Catherine make you privy that she suspected herself to be with child at your going beyond the Seas, and what answer made you thereupon unto her?
16. Item: whether did you, before your departure into the parts of beyond the Seas, secretly break with any person or persons touching the marriage with the said Lady Catherine, and to whom did you communicate the same?
17. Item: how often did you write unto the said Lady Catherine after your departure from the parts of beyond the Seas, or she to you, and whether did you term her in your said letters to be your Wife, and she in hers to you to be her Husband, or directed the same unto her as to your Wife, or she to you as to her Husband, and if you or she so did, by whom you or she did send the said Letters, and who delivered the same?
18. Item: whether you made your Will and Testament before your departure beyond the Seas, and if you so did, whether you did by the said Testament appoint unto the said Lady Catherine any Legacies or gift as to your Wife, and with whom you left your said Testament?
19. Item: whether did you before your departure into the parts beyond the Seas appoint any person or persons to have the Order and Rule of your Revenues and possessions during your absence, and if you did, who they were and in what form and manner you did appoint them, and whether it was by writing or no, and whether you did assign and appoint those persons that you committed that trust unto to give unto the said Lady Catherine any portion of your said revenues for the maintenance of her estate and charge, and what it was, and where that Instrument and Devise is?
20. Item: where you met the Lady Catherine at her coming to your house, and how long after the coming of the Lady Catherine to your Chamber the day of the pretended solemnization of Matrimony the Minister or Priest came there, who came with him, and what communication you and the said Lady had in the meantime, and whether you were at the Court the same morning to will her to come to your house for solemnization of the said marriage?
21. Item: how long [a] time the said Minister or Priest was at the pretended solemnization, and how long he tarried in your Chamber after he had made an end thereof, and who went with him out of your house, and at what Door he went out, and who opened to him the Door, and who remained with you and the said Lady Catherine in the same Chamber after the departure of the said

Minister?

22. Item: whether you or my Lady Catherine went first to bed, and [on] which side of the bed did you lay, and who first rose out of the Bed?
23. Item: who did help you and the said Lady on and off with your clothes, and to drape you, and either of you, and how long the said Lady was in [at]tiring and trimming herself?
24. Item: what did the said Lady Catherine wear upon her head while she lay in bed with you, and who brought her the same, or where she had it?
25. Item: whether you did speak before the time of the pretended solemnization of matrimony to some of your servants or friends to help to prepare a Minister to marry the Lady Catherine and you together, to whom you so spoke, when, where and what was your communication in that behalf?
26. Item: whether you had word brought [to] you before the coming of the Lady Catherine unto you, that there was a Minister prepared for that purpose, and where the said Minister was, and who brought you that word, and what communication had you with that person?
27. Item: what time in the Morning did you rise that day, what did you [do] between that and the coming of the Lady Catherine to your Chamber, what persons were with you in the meantime and what communication you had with them?
28. Item: how long before the Lady Catherine's coming to your Chamber did you Cause the banqueting Dishes, Wine, Beer or other things to be brought and prepared into your Chamber and by whom?
29. Item: whether you did lie the night next before in the same bed in the which the Lady Catherine and you lay together in the day of the said pretended solemnization?
30. Item: whether that your bed were not made that Morning before the Lady Catherine came into your Chamber, and who made the same?
31. Item: which of your Servants made the said bed wherein you and the said Lady Catherine lay together, and which of them did take and carry away the banqueting dishes that were left, the bowls, cups and other things used there at that Banquet, and how long that was after the departing from there of the Lady Catherine, and what Communication you had then or after with your servants touching the same?
32. Item: whether any person or persons before the said pretended solemnization of Marriage did at any time counsel, advise, exhort or comfort you to marry the said Lady Catherine before you did make the Queen's Majesty privy thereof. and then after to seek her Grace's favor in that behalf. and who that was, how many, when, and how often, and where?
33. Item: who were Grooms of your Chamber at the time of the pretended solemnization of matrimony, where your servants were at that time, and how and by what means they were removed out of the way?
34. Item: whether upon your arrival from beyond the Seas, did any person speak with you at Dover or between that and Lond or between that and Hertford, who it was and what communication you had together?
35. Item: what order or Devise did you make or take to provide for the said Lady

Catherine some Honorable portion for Living to maintain her Estate, and in what form was the same made, and did who was privy thereunto, and if it were by writing, by whom it was written, and to whom did you deliver the same Writing?

Page 111

Sententia contra Domina Catherinam*

In Dei Nomine Amen† [several pages of Latin]‡

Page 115

Sententia contra Dominus Comitem Hertfordie§

In Dei Nomine Amen** [several pages of Latin]

Per me†† Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Per me Edmund Grindal, Bishop of London

William Petre, William Cordell, Richard Weston, Walter Haddon, David Lewes, Robert Weston, Thomas Hewick

Sectalata et promulgata erat hae Sententia Diffini tua in Palatio Eurpiah London die Martis Duodecimo viz die Mensis Maij Anno Domino 1562 et regni Domina nre Elizabeth Regina et Anno Quarto in prasentia nostromis William Saye et Johannes Incent. Nocio Publicorum et Scribarum in dicta Causa actestin de quibus in actis huius Cause habetur mentio.‡‡

W. Saye, Jo. Incent

This transcription of Harleian MS 6286 is provided free of charge to everyone as a public service. The preceding text was transcribed from a photocopy of an official hand-written copy of the original document. Where reasonable, modern spellings and grammar are provided to enhance clarity. Because this was originally written down in a contemporaneous form of "shorthand," there are archaic words, obsolete letters (ðo, surplifse) and spellings (Ffebruarie) and various abbreviations and flourishes (Ptaine, determinacon, yo^e) whose meanings were obscure to the transcriber. Unclear text has been so noted. If it was partly legible, the transcription tries to convey what was legible. Though every effort was made to be correct, due to abbreviations and shorthand, the accuracy of this transcription is not guaranteed since the transcriber is not a professional expert on Elizabethan manuscripts.

Extensive sections of the original document are in Latin. Most of it has not been transcribed or translated. Any Latin translations provided here were obtained from Google Translate and may not be accurate.

* Judgment against Lady Catherine

† In God's Name, Amen

‡ Although the text is long-winded, in Latin and much abbreviated in Renaissance short-hand, history indicates that the judgment against Lady Catherine Grey and Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, was that they were not legally married (obvious from the number of questions that refer to a "pretended" marriage), which means that when they went to bed together it was considered to be criminal promiscuity, therefore their son was not considered to be lawfully begotten and was not eligible to be an heir to the English throne. After Queen Elizabeth I died, the mysterious unknown minister who performed the ceremony was found. He admitted performing the wedding, therefore the marriage was then declared legal and Catherine's two sons made legitimate — too late to claim the throne.

§ Judgment against the Lord Earl of Hertford

** In God's Name, Amen

†† Through me

‡‡ This Sentence was set down and promulgated in the European Palace of London on Tuesday the twelfth day, in other words, of the month of May in the year 1562 A.D. and in the Fourth Year of the reign of our Lady Queen Elizabeth in the presence of our Masters, William Saye and John Incent. In the Notice to the Public and clerks in the said Cause of which mention is made in the records of this Cause.