

XXX. *Notices of the Tower of London temp. Elizabeth, and the Horse Armoury temp. Charles I. In a Letter addressed by Wm. DURRANT COOPER, Esq., F.S.A. to Robert Lemon, Esq., F.S.A.*

Read February 18, 1858.

81, Guilford Street, Russell Square, London,
15th February, 1858.

MY DEAR SIR,

THE facilities which you have afforded by the publication of your Kalendar for the public use of the valuable documents preserved in the State-Paper Office, relating to the first half of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and your kindness in permitting me to make extracts from your own book of MSS. on ancient armour, consisting of the scattered Exchequer documents, enable me to send to our Society some notices of the Tower of London and of the armouries there and at Greenwich, which are very interesting in themselves, and are chiefly of a date forty years earlier than the lists communicated by William Bray, Esq. F.S.A. to our Society, and reprinted by Meyrick from the *Archæologia*.^a

It was only after Elizabeth's public entry into London from Hatfield and the Charter House, on her accession in Nov. 1558, and her return from Westminster to the Tower on 12th January following, preparatory to her procession to Westminster on the 14th, the day before her coronation, that the Tower of London was used as a royal residence in her reign. It was, however, during all her reign the chief arsenal, the principal dépôt for the ordnance and armoury, the depository for the jewels and treasures, the site of the Mint, the place where the public records were preserved, and the most important state prison.

Then, as now, it was one of the sights for strangers and foreigners. Hither it was that M. de Foix, the French Ambassador, (who was sent to this country in 1571 and placed under the attendance of Lord Buckhurst,) was taken to visit the stores; here, on 2nd Sept. 1571, he was entertained with a banquet; and hence he departed with a discharge of ordnance. Paul Hentzner was also a visitor in 1598, and has left an account of what he saw here.

I will proceed to notice in order the state of the several departments in the days of Elizabeth.

^a Vol. XI. p. 97. Mr. Bray's lists are only extracts from the document, the original of which has since been found in the Audit Office. It is printed at length in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. iv. p. 341.

The Ordnance—

On 13th Sept. 1559, an account was taken of “the store of all sorts and kinds of ordnance in the Tower, and a memorial of what was required for the next year,” which was—

<i>The Store.</i>		<i>The Provisions to be new bought.</i>	
<i>“Brasse Ordnance for the Field—</i>			
Canons mounted	7	To be new made	13
Demi canons	13	” ”	4
Culverings	14	” ”	nil.
Demy culveryns	13	” ”	7
Sacres	38		
Mynions	7		
Fawcons	30		
Fawconetts	5	” ”	nil.
Connemorters	2		
Baces	4		
A piece shooting 7 bullets	1		
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134 pieces.		Total required	24

“Brasse Ordnance, mounted for the Elizabeth-Jonas and other ships—

“Demi-canons, 8 ; canons pereares, 6 ; culverings, 3 ; demi-culverings, 5 ; fawcons, 2 ; to be new made, nil.”

The casting and making of the 24 new pieces of brass would cost 483*l.* 10*s.*

Cast Iron Ordnance—

Demi-canons, 2 ; culverings, 2 ; demi-culverings, 12 ; sacres, 8, to be new made, 10 ; mortar piece, 1 ; fawcons, *nil*, to be new made, 12.

The estimated cost for the 22 new pieces was 128*l.*

The cast iron cost only 10*s.* the cwt., whilst the brass cost 70*s.* the cwt., and it was on this account that one-half of the new ordnance was proposed to be of cast iron.

“Bombardes, 3 ; porte peces, 66 ; slings, 6 ; demi-slings, 36 ;” no new required.

“Forged Ordnance of Iron—

“Quarter slings, 6 ; fowlers, 43 ; baces, 137 ; harquebutts a croche, 80 ; harleshotte pieces, 80 ; harleshot pieces upon mytches, 5 ;” no new required.

“Harquebutts, Currions, Daggs, and Matches—

“Double harquebutts, 80 ; guilt harquebutts, 397 ; to be new bought within the realm, 400 ; the peeces made wⁱⁿ the realm are double as good as any other ; currions, 400 ; daggs, 3,500, to be provided in Flanders, 300 ; matches, 19,237.”

The new supply was very readily obtained, and we find that on 25th Nov. 1559, there was delivered into the Tower, from Anthony Bukman and Edward Castelyn, of London, merchants, the following brass ordnance :—

“4 demi-culveringes; 8 sacres; 4 mynnions; 4 fawcons; and 8 fawconettes, with 800 lbs. of serpentine powder at 8*d.* the lb., and 475 lbs. of corne powder at 10*d.* the lb.”

In the return of 13th Sept. there is also set forth the store of cannon shot, of cross-barred shot, shot of stone, serpentine and corne powder, saltpetre, brimstone, and coal powder to make powder; copper, what was wanted, to be provided from Flanders, bell-metal, and tin.

Artillery, viz.—

Bows, 11,525, to be bought in Flanders, 1,000.

Bowstrings, 116 gross, to be bought at 6*s.* the gross.

Arrows, 11,893 sheafs to be bought, 4,000 sheaves at 2*s.* the sheaf.

Black bills, 7,900, to be bought at 16*d.* the piece.

Morrispikes, 14,647, to be bought, 1000 at 2*s.* the piece.

Cullen cliffs, *nil*, to be bought in Flanders, 6,000.

Demi-lance staves, 600, to be made, 2,000 at 18*d.* the head and making.

Northern staves, 825, to be made, 3,000 at 12*d.* the piece.

Topdarts, 180 dozen, none to be made.

Also felling-axes, hedging-bills, miners' tools, scythes, and many more working tools.

The charges of artificers and labourers, together with land carriage, cooperage, and other charges, amounted to 300*l.*

And the whole estimated cost of things required amounted to no less than 10,870*l.* 4*s.* 5*d.*

From the book in MS. containing an account of ancient armour, belonging to you, and so kindly lent to me, I am enabled to give a fuller account of the prices of armour and artillery in the same year, 1559, as regulated for purchase from the Tower stores.

“The armor of a demy-lance,^a 53*s.* 4*d.*; a corslet, 30*s.*; the currier complete, 16*s.* 8*d.*; harquebutt complete, 8*s.*; dagg complete, 16*s.* 8*d.*; corne powder p^r lb. 10*d.*; match p^r pound, 3*d.*; a bowe of yewgh, 2*s.* 8*d.*; bowe-strings a doz. 6*d.*; liverie arrows the sheyf, 22*d.*; morrion pike, 2*s.*; a demy-lance staffe, 3*s.* 4*d.*; a northren staffe, 2*s.* 6*d.*; a black bill, 16*d.*; a hallbard, 6*s.* 8*d.*; a morrion the peer, 6*s.* 8*d.*; almayne rivett, 10*s.*; sculls the peer, 12*d.*”

^a For description of these arms, see *Archæologia*, vol. XXII. p. 59.

It will be seen that the price of the arrows to the Government was 2*s.* a sheaf, but as the regulated price to persons raising troops was 1*s.* 10*d.* only, and the full charge of 2*s.* was made, Sir H. Neville on 6th June, 1560, complained to the Council of the charge.

The want of space within the Tower for the ordnance was soon felt, and to give more room a grant was made to Sir Edward Warner, the Lieutenant of the Tower, of the mastership of the adjoining hospital of St. Katherine, vacant by the resignation of Dr. Mallett.^a

The yearly charges of the Tower returned to the Council in 1560, after the order then lately taken in the time of Queen Mary, were as follow :^b—

	£	s.	d.
“ First, the constable, who is now called the lieutenant, by the year .	200	0	0
Item, one gent. porter at 16 <i>d.</i> by the day, sum by the year .	24	6	8
Item, one livery and watch livery for the said porter yearly .	5	0	0
Item, 38 yeomen warders at 8 <i>d.</i> by the day, sum by the year .	462	6	8
Item, liveries and watch liveries for the said 38 yeomen warders, every of them 5 <i>l.</i>	190	0	0
Item, for fuel for the ward house by the year	0	53	4
Sum'a	884	6	8”

The yearly charges of the Tower of London set forth in February, in the second year of Queen Elizabeth, were—

	£	s.	d.
The lieutenant and gentleman porter's fees and allowances remained the same, making a cost as before of	229	6	8
But there were only 20 yeomen warders at 8 <i>d.</i> by the day	243	6	8
Item, for 20 liveries for the said warders at 5 <i>l.</i> per year	100	0	0
Item, to charge the lieutenant with 20 men, to keep watch and ward with the queen's 20 warders, for which he shall have of the revenues of St. Katherine's by the year 200 <i>l.</i> and paid to him more out of the receipt 100 <i>l.</i>	100	0	0
For fuel for the ward house for the year	3	6	8
Sum'a	676	0	0

“ So is there increase of two men to keep the watch and ward, and the queen shall save yearly of the former 208*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*”

^a Sir Edward Warner had also the stewardship of the Manor of East Smithfield.

^b Domestic, Eliz. vol. xi. No. 19.

The way in which the surplus was obtained from the revenues of Saint Katherine's is thus shown:—^a

The whole yearly value of all the lands and possessions^b was 352*l.* 9*s.* 1*d.* out of which there was spent the sum of 140*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.* yearly, (*viz.*) for the priest to serve the cure 20*l.*; three sisters at 8*l.* a-year each; 10 poor women, each 45*s.* 6*d.* by the year; 40*s.* for pertinances to the said poor women; 8*l.* for clerk to serve the church; the bayliff's fee, the under steward, the high steward, the receiver general, the 10ths to the queen, for repairs, and for reparations and charges of the church; and to a learned councillor 40*s.* yearly.

So there remained 212*l.* 3*s.* 5*d.*, whereof 12*l.* 3*s.* 5*d.* were left to the master to bear out and supply all wants of the former charge, and the clear balance was then 200*l.*

The arrangement did not last long, for on 7th Nov. 3rd Eliz. 1561, the mastership was given to Dr. Thomas Wylson, the queen's secretary;^c and by the certificate of Sir Owen Hopton, the Lieutenant, to the Council, it appears the number of warders was reduced to 30.

On 15th March, 1562, a part of the Ordnance Office, within the Tower, having given way from being overladen, the Marquess of Winchester purchased the neighbouring mansion-house and grounds, which had belonged to the dissolved monastery of the Minories without Aldgate, for a store-house, and on 22 Sept. 1563, conveyed it to the Queen; a communication with the Tower itself being formed through the iron gateway to St. Katherine's. And in 1564 a new platform was erected for the ordnance.

It will not fail to be noted that iron ordnance, which had been first cast in 1543, at Buxted, in Sussex, by Ralph Hogge, assisted by Peter Bawde, a Frenchman, and his covenanted servant John Johnson, and the memory of whose works, of which two specimens are still existing in the Tower, is preserved in

Master Hogge, and his man John,
They did cast the first can-non.

had come rapidly into favour, contrasting very favourably with brass ordnance in point of expense; and that we were indebted to Flanders not only for our supply of bows, but also for what our own isle can now most abundantly furnish, copper,

^a Domestic, Eliz, vol. xi. No. 21.

^b The yearly value, as returned 26th Hen. VIII. above all reprisals, was 315*l.* 14*s.* 11*d.* The return of 1560 is printed. See Ducarel's History of St. Katherine's, Bibl. Topog. No. V. pp. 96 and 119.

^c Ducarel, p. 22.

and likewise daggs, whilst the harquebuts of England were twice as good as any other.

The next important store was the **ARMOURY**. Immediately after the Queen's accession, and on 25th March, 1559, a commission was issued to Sir William Seyntlo, Captain of the Guard, and Sir Peter Carew, for a survey of the Tower, and the officers and ministers of the same; and on 1st July following Sir Edward Warner, Lieutenant of the Tower, and Thomas Stanley, Comptroller of the Mint, reported that the Great Mill, erected by Mr. Brocke, was the fittest place to build a convenient armoury.

The following is the record of the armour on 13th October, 1559, forty years before the return printed by Meyrick, and before the great increase forced upon this country by the resistance to Spain.

“ The store of Armure wthin the Towre of London, the said day and yere, wth a remembrance of suche Armure as is nedefull and necessarie for the better furniture of the said Armarie, videlicet :—

<i>Store.</i>		<i>Provisions to be made.</i>	
Demylaces complet . . .	1,800	To be boughte and provided . . .	200
Corslets complet . . .	1,966	To be provided . . .	3,034
Almayne rivets . . .	200	„ „ . . .	nil.
Shirts of maile . . .	71	„ „ . . .	929
Jacks . . .	1,020	To be boughte . . .	nil.
Brigendens . . .	500	„ „ . . .	nil.
Sleves of maile . . .	480pr.	„ „ . . .	20 pr.
Murrions . . .	2,000	To be provided . . .	1,000
Skulles . . .	2,643	To be boughte . . .	nil.
Steele saddles . . .	340	To be provided . . .	260”

In a note to a similar return, on 17th November, 1559, it is stated that 1,399 corslets had been received from Mr. Gresham since the first January past, and there were also,

Shaffrons	360	Rother barbes	89
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Mr. William Winter was Vice-Admiral of the Fleet then fitted out, and sent in January following to Leith Roads, to act against the Scots and French; in his charge we find these additions then in use for the fleet under his command :—

“ Corslets complete and blacke . . .	500	Almaigne rivets	1,000
Jacks	1,000	Murrions	1,430
Skulles	240	Do.	1,000
Shirts of mayle	400	Steele saddles	103 score.”

The other armouries were at Portsmouth, Southsea Castle, Berwick, Newcastle, and Hull, and there were private armouries, for the Queen's personal guard, at Westminster, Hampton Court, Greenwich, &c.

On 16th February, 1559, is an account of the complement of armour thought meet and necessary continually to be reserved within the Tower of London for the preservation of the Queen's most royal person :—

“ Demi-lances complete, 500 ; corslets complete, 5,500 ; brigendens, 500 ; jacks, 500 ; shirts of mail, 500 ; murrions, 4,000 ; steel saddles, 500 ; sleeves of mail, 1,000 pair.”

And after giving what existed, there were wanted,

“ Corslets, 4,900 ; shirts of mail, 450 ; murions, 3,000 ; steel saddles, 260 ; sleeves of mail, 540 pair.”^a

On 20th December the quantity had greatly diminished by deliveries made to the Lord Treasurer, to Adrian Poynings, and for the furnishing of Berwick preparatory to the advance of the English forces, under the command of Lord Grey of Wilton, “ a man valorous in warre and in peace courteous ; great both in birth and estate, but greater in courage ; in counsaile a commander, a soldier in arms.”

On 26th August, 1580, Sir Owen Hopton the Lieutenant, H. Killigrew, John Hawkins, and William Holstock, having then viewed the state of the Armoury, recommended the making of rooms in the Great White Tower, for placing and hanging up of all the armoury, and sent an estimate for reforming and putting it all in order. This was the armoury used prior to the New Armoury burnt down in 1841, of which James II. laid the foundation, and William III. celebrated the opening.

In Elizabeth's reign there is no list of the horse armoury at the Tower, though the existence in 1598 of armour for horses is mentioned by Hentzner ;^b in the reign of Charles, however, full suits of horse armour were kept at Greenwich. Mr. Lemon's interesting MS. shows us exactly what existed at the latter place in 1631, and that the armour was chiefly composed of suits made for persons of note in Elizabeth's reign and subsequently. The MS. bears the title of, “The Remayne of his Majesty's Armour, and other munition or habilaments of war, in

^a Domestic, Eliz. vol. xi. No. 5.

^b “ Lanceæ holoserico rubro et viridi tectæ, cum Henrici VIII. Angliæ Regis armaturâ ; arma multa et egregia ; tam pro viris, quàm pro equis in equestri pugna ; lancea Caroli Branden Suffolciæ, quæ tres spithamas crassa erat.” Hentzner, *Itinerarium*. Breslau, 1617, p. 130. An inventory of the armour in the Tower and at Woolwich, taken on the accession of James in 1603, is printed in Jordan's *Hist. of Enstone*, Oxon. p. 105.

the Armory of the Tower of London and Greenwich, in the charge of Sir Thomas Jaye, Knt. Master of His Majesty's Armory, taken, numbered, and told in the months of December, January, and February, 1630-1." It appears that a portion at least of what we now see in the Tower was at Greenwich.

The list is thus given :

In the Green Chamber at Greenwich were 12 suits ;

1. " Upon one horse one harnessse compleate for the feild, parcell guilte and pcell graven ; the horse's furniture being a barbe, crinett,^a shaffron, and steele saddle ; and for the man a double heade-peece and all peeces of advantage to the same, and a base of blacke velvett imbrodered, and a bridle with guilte bosses.

2. " Upon another horse one harnessse for the tilte, parcell guilte and graven ; the horse's furniture being a saddle, barbe, crinett, and shafforne of steele silvered and guilte ; and for the man 2 grangardes, 2 pasgardes, 2 mainefeeres, 2 peer of vambraces, 2 peer of cushes, 2 headpeeces, 2 close gauntletts, a cod-peece, a breeche of steele, with a base of black velvett, and bridle with bosses.

3. " Upon one other horse, one harnessse for the tilte and feild, parcell graven, and sett with white and guilte nayl ; the horse's furniture being a saddle and barbe of steele plaine, a crinett, and shafforne scaled, with a base as before.

4. " Upon one other horse, one tilte and feild armor graven with the ragged staffe, made for the ERLE of LEICESTER ; the horse having a steele saddle and a foreparte of a barbe plaine, a crinett, and shafforne parcell guilt and graven, with a hinder parte of a horse made of plates of steele, and a bridle.

5. " Vpon one other horse one white feild armor compleate, made for the ERLE of SHREWESBURY ; the horse having a steele saddle Turkey fashion, the fore part and a hinder prte of a barbe of steele plaine, a crinett, and a shaffron pcell guilte.

6. " Upon one other horse, one white tilte armor, made for the LORD of KILDARE ; the horse having a rattle, barbe, crinett, and shafforne of steele plaine, and a bridle with guilte bosses.

7. " Upon one other horse one demi-launce compleate ; the horse having a steele saddle, a barbe of steele, blew drawne with antique worke, a crinett of the same worke, and a shafforne parcell guilte and graven.

8. " Upon a horse one demi-launce compleate ; the horse having a plaine steele saddle, a crinett, and shafforne parcell guilte.

9. " Upon one other horse one demi-launce compleate, the horse having a crinett, and shafforne parcell guilte.

^a " Crinière, a cranet, armour for the neck or mane of a horse." Cotgrave.

10. "Upon one other horse one demi-launce compleate, lacking a heade-peece; the horse having a plaine steele saddle, crinett, and shafforne.

11. "Upon one other horse one feild armor, of an old fashion, with a base of steele; the horse's furniture being a barbe, crinett, and shaffron; all being silvered and guilte.

12. "And upon one other horse one old fashioned armor, called a trundlett, parcell guilte and graven."

In the Great Chamber, late Mr. Pickering's, were 9 suits.

1. "One armor compleate, given by SIR JOHN SMITH^a to KING JAMES, viz. backe, brest, almaine coller, burgonett, muryon, sleeves of maile, steele for a saddle, a shafforne, a guilte target, 1 paire of long cushes, one paire of shorte cushes, 1 paire of guilte sturrops, and 1 case of pistolls, and a truncke, the pistolls unserviceable.

2. "One feild armor compleate, guilte and chaced, given by Sir FRAUNCIS VEARE^b unto PRINCE HENRY, in a chest lyned within and without with redd cloth.

3. "One guilte, graven, and damasked armor of the KING's for the feild compleate, the whole armor laid with bosses of gould, 6 bosses only remaynyng on the coller, and all the rest either lost or taken from the coller and armor, in a chest.

4. "One small feild armor guilte, graven, and *enamelled*, wanting the 2 gauntletts, given by PRINCE JOHN VOYL^c to PRINCE HENRY.

5. "One white tilte and feild armor of KING JAMES compleate, in a truncke, except the mainefeere and both gauntletts.

6. "One tilte white armor, made for the EARLE of DESMOND, wanting gauntletts.

7. "One tilte armor, parcell guilte and graven, given to PRINCE HENRY by the KING of FRAUNCE,^d compleate, in a trunck, excepting gauntletts and mainefeere.

8. "One guilte and graven tilte and feild armor compleate, excepting feild

^a Author of *Instructions Militarie*. 1595.

^b Renowned for his military services in the Low Countries; 15th June, 1606, he was appointed Constable of Portsmouth Castle and Lieutenant of Southbear Forest, Hants, for life; he was also Captain of the Brill, and died on 28th Aug. 1609.—Mrs. Green's Cal. 538, &c. His tomb, with a slab bearing his armour, is in Westminster Abbey.

^c Charles de Lorraine, Prince of Joinville, brother to the Duke of Guise, came into England May 8, 1607 (*Camden's Annals*), and was present when the house of Theobalds was surrendered by the Earl of Salisbury to King James I. with a poetical entertainment written by Ben Jonson on the 22nd of the same month. (*Nichols's Progresses*, &c. of James I. ii. 128.) He stayed here some time, and on his return made his present to Prince Henry mentioned in the text, which the Prince acknowledged by a letter of thanks, dated on the 11th February following: "I perceive, my Cousin, (he writes,) that during your stay in England you discovered my humour; since you have sent me a present of the two things which I most delight in, arms and horses."—(*Birch's Life of Prince Henry*, p. 100.)

^d Louis XIII., for a marriage with whose sister to Prince Henry negotiations took place.

heade-peece, one poldron, one vambrace, 1 gauntlett, 1 vamplett, given by Sir HENRY LEE^a to PRINCE HENRY.

9. "One parcell of guilte armor for the tilte of the KINGES, in a cheste of deal. In the Harness Chamber.

1. "One guilte and graven old armor for the feild, compleate, wanting one gauntlett.

2. "Diverse parcells of the EARLE of PEMBROKE's armor, viz., one tilte heade-peece, one granguard, one passguard, one mainfeere, one turning gauntlett, and one shafforne.

3. "One footeman's armor compleate, made for KING HENRY THE 8TH."

This is the armour mentioned by Hentzner as having been in the Tower in 1598.^b

4. "Tilte armor rough, unfinished, for his MAJESTY when he was Prince.

5. "White tilte armor compleate for the KING when he was Prince.

6. "Litle armor made for PRINCE HENRY.

7. "Tilte armor said to be Mr. ALEXANDER'S."^c

This armoury did not suffer so much in the Civil Wars as has been supposed, for in the inventory taken in October, 1660, when the horse armour had been removed to the Tower, we find that Henry the Eighth's foot armour was existing, and rightly described, as were also the suits made for the Earl of Leicester, Prince Henry, Charles I and James; but the remaining pieces of horse armour, instead of being simply described as in your MS., and having such names as the Earls of Shrewsbury, Pembroke, and Desmond, and Lord Kildare, had mounted to a much higher traditional antiquity, and had come to the fabulous honour of having been made for Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk, (Hentzner only saw his lance of three spans thick,) King Henry VII., Henry VI.,^d Edward IV. and Edward III., and one suit of white was antedated to the time of William the Conqueror. I am afraid that we may trace down to our own times this same

^a Sir Henry Lee was master of the armouries to Queen Elizabeth and James. The particulars of his life are to be found in the Parochial History of Enstone, Oxon. by the Rev. John Jordan, p. 101. Writing from Ascot, 27th Sept. 1608, John Chamberlain tells Dudley Carleton that Queen Anne had dined with Sir Henry Lee, "at his *Little Rest*," who had that summer presented the Prince "with an armour that stood him in 200*l*."—*Progresses of King James I.* ii. 210.

^b Hentzner, p. 130; *Archæologia*, XI. p. 97; and Meyrick, iii. p. 129.

^c The Alexanders, alias Zinzan, Henry and Sir Sigismund, were equerries to James the First, and usually engaged in the yearly tilts and other chivalric exercises.

^d This on examination turned out to be made for Henry VIII. and is fully described by Meyrick in the *Archæologia*, vol. XXII. p. 106, where parts are engraved.

mythical chronology of the horse armoury. May I hope that your list will serve to identify some at least of the armour, and to fix more accurately the dates?

I must return however to some details of other departments in the Tower under Elizabeth.

In the twenty-second volume of the *Archæologia*^a is given a memoir upon the King's JEWEL HOUSE, with an account of the ancient rights of its master and treasurer. The vaults under the Jewel House were used for the reception of the gold and silver captured from the enemy, and accordingly we find that in 1569 the Spanish moneys and silver bullion were brought from Dartmouth and laid up in a vault under this house; and when in Nov. 1580 the large treasure was brought home by Sir Francis Drake, it was moved to Sion House, and then, on 24th December, deposited in these vaults, the silver bullion in ingots weighing 22,899 lbs. 5 oz. and the coarse silver 512 lbs. 6 oz., and the gold bullion 101 lbs. 10 oz.

The RECORDS were deposited in the Great Tower, and Edward Lord Stafford took great pains to arrange them; but in 1564 Edward Bowyer, who claimed to be keeper, took the key away from Lord Stafford's servant, and demanded the sole charge. Bowyer was evidently a zealous custodian, and, being patronised by the Marquis of Winchester, proposed, on 11th April, 1567, to bring hither the records of the Chancery and of the Parliament, and on 19th July in the same year the Marquis sent to the Council an estimate of the costs for repairs in the Great Tower for the preservation of those records, which have fortunately come down to our day, and contain the most perfect State records of any country.

The STATE PRISON was at the commencement of the reign the most interesting portion of the Tower. The particulars of the State prisoners are so amply given by Bayley that I will only add a few facts. The bishops who had been deprived by Queen Elizabeth for refusing to take the oaths to her were not disposed to remain very quiescent, and on 20th May, 1560, the Bishops of Lincoln and Worcester, and Feckenham the Abbot of Westminster, were received into the custody of the Lieutenant of the Tower;^b on 3rd June came the Bishop of Ely; on the 10th of the same month Heath, the ex-Chancellor and Archbishop of York; and on the 18th June three more, viz. the Bishops of Exeter and Bath, and Dr. John Boxall, late Dean of Windsor and Secretary to Queen Mary. Though they

^a Page 114.

^b In the State Paper Office is a paper (Domestic, Charles, 1625? vol. xiv. no. 50) giving the names of the Lieutenants of the Tower of London in the several reigns of these kings and queens following, which supplies a defect in Stowe, and differs in some respects from Bayley:—

were not treated with any great hardship, being admitted to dine together at two tables of four each,^a they are stated by Strype^b and Burnett to have been committed after a little time to easier restraints, and some restored to their perfect liberty; but it is certain that they were in the Tower for more than two years, since they were still prisoners on 5th Sept. 1562, when a further return was made to the council.

I will not detain you by anything more than a reference to the names of Lady Katherine Grey, Matthew Stewart Earl of Lennox, and afterwards of Lady Margaret his wife, of the Earl of Hertford, “whose small allowance of liberty put the Earl of Lennox, who was strictly confined, in extreme passion;” of the Whartons and the Waldegraves, who had been privy councillors to Queen Mary, but now, with the Stradlings and others, found a prison for persisting in hearing mass; of Henry Howard, of whom Sir Edward Warner reports to the Council, 26th May, 1561, “his faults be known to your lordships well enough;” of the Duke of Norfolk; of the Nortons and other leaders of the Northern rebellion of 1569; of the Earl of Desmond and his brother; of Dr. Story, Sir Walter Raleigh, the Earl of Essex, and others.

That the Tower was not a very wholesome place of confinement is pretty evident from the fact that the plague broke out, and on 21st August, 1563, orders were given for the removal of Lady Katherine Grey to Sir J. Grey’s house, the Chekers, in Essex, whence she was brought back to the Tower in 1565 to die broken-hearted; and of the Earl of Hertford, who was on 21st August, 1563, taken to his mother’s house in Middlesex, but he was brought back on 26th May following. Again, in July 1570, the Duke of Norfolk complained of the noisome air, and on 3rd of August he was removed to his own mansion at the Charterhouse for fear of the plague.

Yet there was one class of prisoners of whom no special notice has been taken,

King Henry VIII.—S^r Robert Cholmeley, S^r Edm. Walsingham, S^r Will. Sidney, S^r Antho. Knevett, (Walter) Stoner.

King Edward.—S^r John Gage, S^r John Markham, S^r Arthur Darcy, S^r Edw. Warner.

Queene Mary.—S^r John Bridges, S^r Tho. Bridges, S^r (Hen.) Benefield, S^r (Rob.) Oxenbridges.

Queene Eliz.—S^r Edw. Warner, S^r Rich. Blount, S^r Francis Jobson, S^r Owen Hopton, S^r Michael Blount, S^r Drew Drury, S^r Rich. Barkley, S^r John Peyton.

King James.—S^r Georg. Harvey, S^r Will. Waad, S^r Gervis Helvys, S^r Georg. Moore, S^r Allen Apsley.

King Charles.—Idem S^r Allen Apsley.

To which I may add from other sources (Thomas’s Hist. Notes, 613), Sir W. Balfour, removed 1641, 20 Dec.; Col. Lunsford, removed 1641, 26 Dec.; Sir John Byron, removed Jan. 3, 1641–2; Sir John Conyers.

^a Return of all prisoners, 26th May, 1561.

^b Strype’s Annals, i. pt. 1, p. 211.

and with them I will conclude. I refer to those who, by the practice of alchemy, proposed to add to or imitate the Queen's coin, or who otherwise sought to counterfeit it.

The chief of these was Cornelius de Lannoy, an alchemist, who gravely proposed to the Queen to put in operation the wonderful elixir, and to make any metal into gold and gems. He so far succeeded with her as to be allowed to carry on his works at Somerset House: of course he failed, and on being reported to have greatly abused the Queen's confidence, was committed to the Tower in 1566, where he still professed to be able to perfect his experiments, had it not been for the obstacles thrown in his way.

In July, 1570, two other alchemists, who had been inclined to practice on their own account, were also favoured with an asylum here: they were John Bulkeley, a student at Oxford, and William Bedo, a stationer, who proposed to cast a figure for the recovery of lost money, and professed to have many alchemical secrets for diminishing and lessening the coin of the realm by sweating, &c.

The hardest case, however, was that of one John Vaudon, committed on 1st June, 1560. "This man," reports Sir Edward Warner on 26th May, 1561, "was brought in with one Gwillam Ogier, the which Gwillam had made certain counterfeit Spanish money in Cowdry, my Lord Montague's house (in Sussex), and the said John Vaudon did help him to a piece of old pewter dish to make it of, and was privy unto it. The said Gwillam was committed to the King's Bench, and is broken prison long since and gone. This poor man is a very simple creature, of no capacity, so it were a great charity of the Queen's Majesty to grant him his pardon and set him at liberty, and the rather that the principal offender has escaped." So thought also the Council, and in the next list of prisoners the name of simple John Vaudon has disappeared.

I remain, my dear Sir,

Very faithfully yours,

WM. DURRANT COOPER.