

## THE LIEUTENANTS OF THE TOWER OF LONDON.

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THE principal governor or keeper of the Tower of London has always been a Constable, except in the reigns of Elizabeth, James, and Charles the First, during great part of which that office was in abeyance. For many centuries, however, there has also been a Lieutenant, upon whom, in ordinary times, the execution of the duties of Constable has devolved, because the Constable has been seldom resident within the fortress.

It is impossible to fix the date when a Lieutenant was first appointed. His tenure of office was originally but temporary, during the absence of the Constable, at whose pleasure he was placed and removed. In a table of the fees of the officers of the Tower,\* to which the year 4 Ric. II. is prefixed, (though its language is of somewhat later date,) we read, "Item, the said Constable by his power maketh a Lieutenaunt, and giveth him every yeare in fee xxli." In later times the Lieutenant has been nominated by the Sovereign under letters patent, either for life or during pleasure, but gradually the appointment came to be made for life.

Mr. Bayley, in his History of the Tower, has given what he supposed to be a complete series of the Constables, but was unable to describe the Lieutenants in like manner. He remarks † that "it would be difficult, and perhaps impossible, to trace a regular succession of these officers, and I shall therefore not pretend to anything beyond a cursory notice of such of them whose names are introduced to us by any particular circumstances."

On the present occasion, I cannot undertake to supply all that Mr. Bayley left deficient, but merely to contribute some additional notices that may help to fill up the history of the custody of the Metropolitan Fortress, particularly in the sixteenth century.

\* Bayley's History of the Tower, Appendix, p. xcvi. † Vol. i. p. 665.

The first name we find is that of GILES DE OUDENARD, the Lieutenant of bishop Anthony Bek when Constable in the reign of Edward the First. RALPH BAVANT was the Lieutenant of John de Crumwell in the next reign; and SIR ROGER ASTON Lieutenant in the reign of Henry the Fifth, when King James of Scotland and other distinguished persons were prisoners.\*

In the reign of Henry the Seventh SIR JOHN DIGBY was Deputy or Lieutenant to the earl of Oxford, then Constable.

In the reign of Henry the Eighth we read of several who in succession filled the office:—

SIR RICHARD CHOLMONDELEY was Lieutenant in the year 1517; when, at the period afterwards known as Evil May-day, the Londoners rose against the Lombards and other merchant strangers; and on that occasion, in order to intimidate the rioters, he discharged some artillery from the fortress against the city, but did no great injury.† Sir Richard erected, in the chapel of St. Peter in the Tower, an altar-tomb sustaining effigies of himself and his wife, the former wearing the collar of esses, in token of his being a servant of the crown, under the dynasty of the house of Lancaster. There is a beautiful engraving of this monument in Bayley's History of the Tower. It was never inscribed with the date of sir Richard's death; but that is shown by his will, which was dated on the 26th Dec. 1521,‡ and proved on the 24th of March following. He had been present on the 13th May in that year at the trial of the duke of Buckingham, who was brought into Westminster Hall by sir Thomas Lovell and sir Richard Cholmondeley, then Constable and Lieutenant of the Tower.

In 1528 SIR EDWARD WALSINGHAM was Lieutenant, being mentioned in the accounts of the treasurer of the chamber for that year (published in the Trevelyan Papers recently printed for the

\* See Bayley's Appendix, p. xxxi.

† "While this ruffling continued, syr Richard Cholmley knight, Lieutenant of the Towre, no great frende to the citie, in a frantyeke fury losed certayn peces of ordinaunce, and shot into the citie, whiche did little harme, howbeit his good wyl apered." Hall's Chronicle.

‡ This date is misprinted 1651 in Ormerod's History of Cheshire, iii. 208: where some biographical notices of sir Richard will be found. Sir Roger Cholmondeley, afterwards recorder of London and chief justice of the King's Bench, was his natural son.

Camden Society); he received a quarterly fee of 25*l.*, and in addition "for finding of prisoners,"—*i.e.* finding necessaries for prisoners unable to pay for their own support, a further sum of 25*l.*\* Sir Edward Walsingham was still Lieutenant in 1540, and then in charge of the last aged relic of the Plantagenets, Margaret countess of Salisbury, who was so barbarously butchered in the following year by the pitiless cousin who then occupied the throne of her ancestors. Sir Edward Walsingham is said to have continued Lieutenant for twenty-two years.†

1541. At this period we find sir William Kingston the Constable of the Tower, who was also Captain of the King's guard, actively engaged in the execution of his office. He it was who arrested cardinal Wolsey, and attended upon queen Anne Boleyn during her imprisonment. Dr. Lingard has on the latter occasion described him as *Lieutenant instead of Constable*.‡

The name of SIR WILLIAM SIDNEY is next mentioned as Lieutenant. He was a person of great eminence in his day, the father of sir Henry Sidney, Knight of the Garter, and grandfather of the illustrious sir Philip: but I do not find, in the *Lives of the Sidneys*, written by Arthur Collins, any notice of sir William's occupation of this office.

In 1546 SIR ANTHONY KNEVETT was the Lieutenant present at the racking of Anne Askew in the Tower; when, because of his unwillingness to increase the sufferings of the unhappy woman, the lord chancellor Wriothesley and master Rich § are related to

\* Trevelyan Papers, i. 143. The Lieutenant's christian name is there misgiven "Edmonde;" and the Editor has fallen into another error in affixing to the name of the lord Curzon, who occurs in the same page as receiving a quarterly fee of 100*l.*, a note stating that he was "Constable of the Tower." The office of sir Edward Curzon, sometimes called the Baron Curzon, was that of Master of the Ordnance; which he held in 1522. (*Chronicle of Calais*.)

† Hasted's History of Kent, fol. 1778, vol. i. p. 99.

‡ The same error occurs in Burnet's History of the Reformation, in the *Excerpta Historica*, p. 260; and in Ellis's Original Letters, First Series, ii. 53, where are several of sir William Kingston's letters to Crumwell respecting Anne Boleyn.

§ Himself, afterwards, like Wriothesley, a lord chancellor. These are the two names mentioned in the sufferer's own narrative. In the anecdote which describes the Lieutenant's conduct on the occasion the name of sir Richard

have taken off their gowns in order to ply the rack with their own hands. Sir Anthony was also in attendance in Smithfield when Anne Askew and her companions completed their sufferings at the stake.

The last Lieutenant in the reign of Henry the Eighth was SIR WALTER STONER, whose christian name is omitted by Mr. Bayley. He received at Midsummer and Christmas 1547 payment of xxv<sup>li</sup>. as his quarter's wages, xxv<sup>li</sup>. more for poor prisoners, and xxxiii<sup>li</sup>. v<sup>s</sup>. for the wages of fifteen yeomen of the Tower.\*

We thus arrive at the close of the reign of Henry the Eighth without meeting with the name of Sir William Skeffington, who immortalised himself by the invention of a new engine of torture, which was called *Skeffington's daughter*, or corruptly *the Scavenger's daughter*.

A committee appointed by the House of Commons in 1604, reported that they found in the dungeon called *Little Ease* in the Tower, "an engine of torture devised by Mr. Skevington, some time Lieutenant of the Tower, called *Skevington's Daughter*,† and

Baker takes the place of Mr. Rich. See my pamphlet entitled "The Racking of Anne Askew," 1859, 8vo.

\* Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber, in the possession of Sir Walter C. Trevelyan, Bart. The last sum is misprinted xxxiv<sup>li</sup>. xv<sup>s</sup>. in the Trevelyan Papers, p. 194.

† In Foxe's Book of Martyrs will be found a representation of Cuthbert Symson, bound, head and feet, in the embraces of Skeffington's Daughter, in the year 1557. "This engine is called *Skevyngton's Givcs*, wherein the body standeth double, the head being drawn towards the feete. The forme and maner of these gyves, and of his (Cuthbert Symson's) rackyng, you may see in the booke of Martyrs, folio 1631." (Letters of the Martyrs, 1564, 4to. p. 686.) A few years later, the adherents of Rome had in their turn a personal acquaintance with these instruments of torture. Mathias Tanner, the martyrologist of the Jesuits, describes the Scavenger's Daughter, (to which the name had then become corrupted,) as inflicting torments the very reverse of those of the rack, but at the same time much more painful, producing in some victims a discharge of blood from the hands and feet, and in others from the nose and mouth. His words are: "Præcipua torture post equuleum (*the rack*) Anglis species est, *Filia Scavengeri* dicta, priori omnino postposita. Cum enim ille membra, alligatis extractisque in diversa manuum pedumque articulis, ab invicem distrahat: hæc e contra illa violentè in unum veluti globum colligat et constipat. Trifariam hic corpus complicitur, cruribus ad femora, femoribus ad ventrem appressis, atque ita arcubus

that the place itself was very loathsome and unclean, and not used for a long time either for a prison or other cleanly purpose." But on further inquiry I am satisfied that sir William Skeffington was never Lieutenant of the Tower. He was Master of the Ordnance,\* and it was in that capacity that he was required to produce this engine of penal suffering, and performed his hateful task in a manner that has contributed so materially to immortalise his name—for the very gives that he furnished are still preserved and exhibited among the curiosities of the Tower Armoury.

Before Lady-day in 1547 sir Walter Stoner had been succeeded by SIR JOHN MARKHAM, who received the same sum as his predecessor.† He was Lieutenant whilst bishop Gardynier was a prisoner in the Tower, and the long examinations relative to that prelate published in the first edition of Foxe's Actes and Monuments,‡ disclose a remarkable picture of what occurred when a prisoner of high rank received his discharge. At midsummer in 1551 the bishop was daily expecting that this would be his happy lot, and he therefore commanded his servant John Davy to write the rewards, duties, and gifts due to master Lieutenant and the Knight-marshal, and the King's servants, such as he intended to bestow on his departing. And also caused him to send for a piece of satin, to be divided among the lady Markham and others, as he should think meet: which satin was bought, and this deponent (John Davy) hath now the most part thereof in keeping. Also the

*ferreis duobus includitur, quorum extrema dum ad se invicem labore carnicum in circulum coguntur, corpus interim miseri inclusum informi compressione pene eliditur. Immane prorsus et dirius equuleo cruciamentum, cujus immanitate corpus totum ita aretatur, ut aliis ex eo sanguis extremis manibus et pedibus exsudet, aliis ruptâ pectoris crate copiosus è naribus foribusque sanguis effundatur, prout Cottamo etiam tum hecticâ miserè laboranti evenit, amplius horâ integrâ anulo concluso."* (*Societas Jesu usque ad sanguinis et Vitæ profusionem Militans, &c. auctore Mathia Tanner, SS.T.D. Præge, 1675, folio, p. 18.*) Thomas Cottam, the Jesuit here mentioned, suffered in the year 1582.

\* He is so styled in 21 and 22 Hen. VIII. when payments were made to him for his services when sent into Ireland. Trevelyan Papers, pp. 155, 156.

† MS. Trevelyan. The like entries continue quarterly to Michaelmas 3 Edw. VI. (1549,) when that record terminates.

‡ Reprinted in the last impression edited by the Rev. S. R. Cattley, but not in the intermediate editions.

said bishop, about the same time, made his farewell feast (as they then called it) in the council-chamber in the Tower, containing two or three dinners, whereat he had the Lieutenant and the Knight-marshal\* and their wives, with divers others, as sir Arthur Darcy and the lady his wife, sir Martin Bowes, sir John Godsalue,† with divers others, such as it pleased the Lieutenant and Knight-marshal to bring.

Sir John Markham the Lieutenant, and sir Ralph Hopton the Knight-marshal, when examined on the same occasion, both asserted that the bishop called it his farewell supper, but when asked whether there was "any custom of any such farewell supper to be made of the prisoners when leaving the Tower," they answered that they could not depose.

At this period sir John Gage was Constable of the Tower, but as a Romanist much distrusted:‡ for which reason the government of the fortress rested chiefly with the Lieutenant. But it appears that the same distrust extended towards sir John Markham.§ When the privy council laid their plans for the deposition of the duke of Somerset from his protectorate, they sent for sir John Markham on the 6th Oct. 1549, and required him to suffer certain others to enter the Tower for the good keeping thereof to

\* Sir Ralph Hopton was Knight-marshal in 1551.

† These were neighbours, resident within the Tower. The two latter were officers of the Mint and Jewelhouse.

‡ During the reign of Edward VI. on the 28th May, 1552, sir Edward Bray had a grant of the office of Constable of the Tower in reversion after the death of sir John Gage, with the fee of one hundred pounds per ann. Bayley in his *History of the Tower*, p. 663, (copied by Brayley, in his smaller *History*), has misnamed him sir *Edmund* Bray. He was the brother of Edmund lord Bray, who died in 1539, and some biographical notices of him by William Bray, the late Treasurer of the Society of Antiquaries, will be found in the *History of Surrey*, fol. 1804, vol. i. p. 517. But whether sir Edward Bray ever occupied the office of Constable I have not ascertained. He died on the 1st Dec. 1558; and sir Robert Oxenbridge (see hereafter, p. 235) had been appointed Constable nearly two years before that time, perhaps on the demise of sir John Gage, who died 25 Apr. 1556.

§ Sir John Markham of Cotham in Nottinghamshire, and M.P. for that county. His will is dated April 1, 1559, but the date of his death is not stated in *A History of the Markham Family*, by the Rev. David Frederick Markham, 1854, 8vo., pp. 19, 114.

his Majesty's use; whereunto the said Lieutenant according, sir Edmund Peckham (who was Treasurer of the Mint) and Leonard Chamberlain esquire\* (the same Chamberlain I suppose who was Gentleman Porter at the Tower,) with their servants, were commanded to enter into the Tower as assistants to the said Lieutenant, for the better presidency and guard of the same.† After this political crisis was passed, sir John Markham appears to have been restored to the functions of his office. He was still Lieutenant when examined in the matter of bishop Gardynere on the 8th Jan. 1551-2, being then sixty years of age.‡ But before the end of the same year sir John Markham was removed from this office, for a reason which is thus stated by King Edward in his Journal: viz. that, "without making any of the Council privy, he had suffered the duke of Somerset, then his prisoner, to walk abroad, and certain letters to be sent and answered between David Seymour and mistress Poings, with divers other suspicions."§

On this alarm, on the 17th Oct. 1551, a letter was addressed to the Lieutenant of the Tower for sir Arthur Darcy and sir Ralph Hopton to receive as their associate for their safe keeping of the Tower mr. Leonard Chamberlain; and on Michaelmas day following SIR ARTHUR DARCY was regularly appointed the Lieutenant.¶ In the Harleian MSS. 284, are preserved the instructions

\* Mr. Bayley, p. 77, erroneously calls him *sir* Leonard, and in his Index describes him as "Lieutenant," which he never was. Subsequently he became a knight. Sir Leonard Chamberlain "of Oxfordshire," was one of the knights of the carpet made at the coronation of queen Mary.

† Register of the Privy Council.

‡ Foxe's Actes and Monuments, edit. 1838, vi. 191.

§ Literary Remains of King Edward VI. p. 358.

¶ "A warrant to sir William Cavendisshe knight, etc., to pay sir Arthur Darcie knight, as well the fee or wages of C<sup>n</sup> by yeare, for the exercising of the rone of Lieutenaut of the Towre of London from the feast of Michalmas last quarterly during the Kinges pleasure, as C<sup>n</sup> for the fynding of the prisoners within the sayd Towre.

"A warrant to Thexcheker to pay the sayd s<sup>r</sup> Arthur Darcie knight, aswell the some of iij<sup>xx</sup>xij<sup>li</sup> v<sup>s</sup> iij<sup>d</sup> for the necessary apparell of Thomas late Duke of Norff. as the some of iij<sup>xx</sup><sup>li</sup> for his spending monie from michalmas last yearly during the Kinges pleasure.

"A like warraunt to Thexcheker to pay to the sayd s<sup>r</sup> Arthur Darcie

given to him on entering into office, followed by a report made by him. He did not retain the office long, for within a short time we meet with the name of sir EDWARD WARNER.

But another great political crisis was now at hand. The failing health of king Edward suggested to the ambitious duke of Northumberland the elevation of lady Jane Grey to the throne with one of his own sons, the lord Guildford Dudley, as her consort. Among his preparations for this scheme was that of placing in the Tower a commander of greater importance than the Lieutenant, and one who would supersede the authority of the Constable, sir John Gage. For this object, in May, 1553, sir James Croft, a privy councillor, and late lieutenant of Ireland, was appointed *Deputy Constable*, with the fee of forty shillings a day: and instructions were directed to him and to sir Edward Warner, the Lieutenant, conjointly, for their proceedings touching the good order that should be kept within the fortress.\*

At the end of the following month, the lord admiral Clinton was substituted in the place of sir James Croft, but he does not appear to have actually assumed his command until the King had breathed his last. That event occurred at Greenwich on the evening of the 6th of July, 1553, and immediately after at two o'clock in the following morning a deputation of the council arrived at the Tower, consisting of the lord treasurer Winchester, the marquess of Northampton, the earl of Shrewsbury, and the lord admiral Clinton, when the last named was left in charge of the treasure, the military stores, and the prisoners. Such is the statement of the French ambassador Noailles, who was closely

knight, aswell the some of lix<sup>li</sup> vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup> for the necessary apparell of Edward Courtney as l<sup>li</sup> for his spending monie yearely as th'other." (Royal MS. Brit. Mus. 18 C. XXIV. f. 162.)

"A warrant to the treasurer of Th'augmentations to pay to sir James Croft, Deputie Constable of the Tower, xl<sup>s</sup> by the day for xxx men appointed under him, and to sir Edward Warner viij<sup>d</sup> a day a peece for x<sup>th</sup> (sic) men." (Royal MS. 18 C. XXIV. f. 345.)

\* "May 13, 1553. Instructions geven by his Ma<sup>tie</sup> unto sir James Croftes knight, appointed for the tyme Deputie Cunstable of the towre of London in th'absence of sir John Gage, and to sir Edward Warner knight, Lievenaunt of the same towre, for their proceedinges touching the good ordre to be kepte theare."



watching the progress of events, and whose account is confirmed in the Diary of Henry Machyn; where it is added that on the morrow the lord admiral placed great guns on the White Tower, and in all other suitable places about the fortress. The youthful queen was then brought to the Tower, as was always customary at the commencement of a new reign.

This state of things was soon terminated. The brief reign of queen Jane lasted only for nine days: and then the good Catholic, sir John Gage, was restored to his office of Constable of the Tower, became vice-chamberlain at court, and basked in the beams of royal favour. He was present shortly after at the execution of the duke of Northumberland, but Stowe, in his Chronicle, commits the error of terming him, upon this occasion, Lieutenant instead of Constable.

At the same time SIR JOHN BRYDGES was made the next Lieutenant. He in the following April was advanced to the peerage as baron Chandos of Sudeley; and in the following June his brother THOMAS BRYDGES "toke upon him the lewtenauntship of the Tower."\* This gentleman had previously assisted in the duties of the office,† and on one memorable occasion in particular, when he attended the lady Jane to the scaffold, and there received from her hands her manual of prayers,‡ which is now preserved in the British Museum.

\* Chronicle of Queen Jane and Queen Mary, p. 76.

† On the 21st Aug. 1553, when the duke of Northumberland and his fellow-prisoners were required "to receave the sacrement according to the olde accustomed maner," the constable sir John Gage "went and fetched the duke, and sir John Abridges and mr. John Abridges (*read* Thomas) dyd fetch the marques of Northampton, sir Androwe Dudley, sir Herry Gates, and sir Thomas Palmer to masse." Chronicle of Queen Jane and Queen Mary, p. 18.

‡ "She gave her book to maister Bruges the lyvetenantes brother." Chronicle of Queen Jane and Queen Mary, p. 57. Grafton in his Chronicle altered this to, "mayster Bruges the lieutenant of the Tower." The book seems to have previously belonged to the Lieutenant, and to have been lent to the lady Jane; as one of her inscriptions in it commences thus: "Forasmutche as you have desired so simple a woman to wrighte in so a worthye a booke, good mayster lieuftenaunte," &c. Even the accurate mr. Gage (Rokewode), in his memoir of sir John Gage, has fallen into a very erroneous account of this incident. He says, "It is particularly re-

Whilst resident at the Tower, sir Thomas Brydges suffered in his family from one of those accidents which were frequently occurring in the eddying pools beneath old London bridge, in which a former Constable of the Tower, in the reign of Henry IV., sir Thomas Rempston, Knight of the Garter, had lost his life.\* On the 10th of August, 1553, as related by Machyn in his Diary, “were drowned seven men at London bridge, by folly; one was master Thomas of Brygys the Lieutenant’s son and heir; and three gentlemen more, besides others.”

After sir Thomas Brydges, Bayley has introduced the name of sir Henry Bedingfield: who has been mentioned as Constable of the Tower, not Lieutenant, by several of our historical writers, but equally erroneously as to either one or the other office. It is an error which may be traced from our modern historian of the Queens up to John Foxe, who in his *Actes and Monuments*, when describing the release of the lady Elizabeth from her confinement in the Tower, states that, “on the 5th of May (1554) the constable of the Tower was discharged of his office of the Tower, and one sir Henry Benifield placed in his room.” This was a misapprehension of the meaning of the writer whom Foxe followed. What that writer intended was this, that the Constable of the Tower (sir John Gage) was then *discharged of the custody of the lady Elizabeth*—a mode of expression usual at that time, and sir Henry Benifield, or more properly Bedingfeld, was charged with her custody thenceforward, and which duty he afterwards performed, not at the Tower, but at Woodstock.

SIR ROBERT OXENBRIDGE occurs as Lieutenant of the Tower in 1556.† He attended to the gallows Charles lord Stourton, who was removed from the Tower on the 2nd March, 1556-7, in order to be hung in Wiltshire, for the murder of the Hartgills.‡

lated by Heylin that the lady Jane Grey, upon the scaffold, gave sir John Gage her tablets, in which she had just written certain sentences in different languages suggested by the sight of the dead body of her husband, lord Guldeford Dudley.” *History of Hengrave*, 1822, p. 229.

\* “And this year (1406) sir Thomas Rempston knight of the Garter was drowned in the Thames by his own folly, for he would not be governed by the bargemen, but to have his own rule.” *Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London*.

† Machyn’s Diary, p. 108.

‡ Ibid. p. 127.

On the 31st Jan. 1556-7, sir Robert Oxenbridge was promoted from the office of Lieutenant to that of Constable.\* This is the only instance of such promotion, and has hitherto been unknown. So remarkable a proof of the royal confidence, though apparently not the source of greater emolument,† must be attributed to the circumstance of sir Robert being a staunch adherent to the Roman catholic faith,‡ and therefore a favourite with queen Mary.

On the accession of queen Elizabeth, sir Thomas Carden and sir Edward Warner, knights, were appointed to take charge of the Tower jointly with sir Robert Oxenbridge, and the earl of Bedford was commanded to resort to the Tower to see the same safely delivered to them.§ But sir Thomas Carden's name is in Bayley's account of the Lieutenants incorrectly printed in *Italic*

\* This appears from a warrant to the exchequer, dated 4th May, 4 & 5 Philip & Mary, which refers to "an order signed with our own handes, and dated the last day of January in the third and fourth yeares of our reignes, for saulf keeping and good garde of our Tower of London, and by the same wee did appoynete to have one Constable, one Porter, and twenty and one yomen Warders and seventeen Gonners contynually resydent in person, during our pleasure; mencyoning in the same pryvye seale that wee had appoynted sir Robert Oxenbridge knight to be Constable of our saide Tower, and to have and receave for his wages and entreteynement the somme of one hundred poundes yerely, and for the meate and drynke of poore prisoners committed thither by our commaundement one other hundred poundes yerely." Copy of warrant 4 May 4 & 5 Phil. & Mar. (1558) in State Paper office, Domestic Elizabeth, vol. iii.

† The yearly fee of the Constable and the Lieutenant was alike 100*l.*, as appears by various records quoted in other parts of this memoir. Strype, *Memorials*, ii. 500, states the yearly fee assigned to Sir Edward Bray as Constable at 50*l.* but this seems to be a mistake: for in the *History of Surrey* it is stated at 100*l.* as elsewhere.

‡ During the reign of Mary sir Robert was one of the knights in parliament for the county of Sussex, but he did not sit in parliament after Elizabeth's accession. His nephew Andrew Oxenbridge, LL.D. who had been public orator of the university of Cambridge, was one of the recusants imprisoned in Wisbeach castle, released in 1583. (Strype's *Annals*, iii. 191.) Mr. Durrant Cooper has given a very copious and complete pedigree of Oxenbridge in the *Sussex Archæological Collections*, vol. viii. p. 230.

§ The letters issued under the Queen's signet on this occasion are printed in *Kempe's Loseley Manuscripts*, p. 173.

type as if he had been Lieutenant. His office was that of master of the revels, and storekeeper of the royal tents and pavilions, and it was doubtless in that capacity that he was sent to take charge of the stores at the Tower.

SIR EDWARD WARNER was now restored to the office of Lieutenant, which he had previously occupied in the time of Edward the Sixth. In the intermediate reign he had himself been a prisoner on suspicion of having favoured the conspiracy of Wyatt, and was discharged on the 18th January, 1554-5.\* In the roll of queen Elizabeth's new-year's gifts for 1562, he appears as Lieutenant of the Tower, and as presenting her Majesty with 6*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* "in sundry coynes of golde."† He lost his place not long after because he had permitted the lady Katharine, the sister of the late lady Jane Grey, to be visited by her husband the earl of Hertford, and the lady, by giving birth to a second child, had lately added fresh fuel to the royal jealousy. To this accident the Lieutenant was sacrificed.

Lady Warner was buried within the Tower in 1560.‡

I will not extend this paper, already sufficiently long, by continuing the list of Lieutenants where I should be only repeating the statements of Mr. Bayley. During a period with which my late historical inquiries have made me familiar, I have been able to adduce some new facts, and to correct several errors that have been admitted into works of deserved reputation. To proceed further would entail an amount of research that might perhaps be but little rewarded in the result. I shall therefore, for the subsequent Lieutenants, request the reader to be satisfied, for the present, with the historians of the Tower.

I may, however, remark that in the reign in Elizabeth the Lieutenants became personages of greater importance than before, because the Queen, with her usual parsimony in conferring honours and dignities, did not choose to make any Constable of

\* Machyn's Diary, p. 80.

† Queen Elizabeth's Progresses, i. 114.

‡ "The x day of August was bered within the Towre, withowt an offeser of armes, and (with) master Alley the nuw byshope of Excetur, and the chyrch hangyd with blake and armes, my lade Warner, the wyff of ser Edward Warner." Machyn's Diary, p. 241.

the Tower. The entire charge of the fortress was consequently reposed in the Lieutenant, and no superior officer was appointed, until, towards the end of the reign, at the trials of the earls of Essex and Southampton, in 1601, we find the lord Howard of Walden mentioned as Constable,\* and he perhaps held the office in the time of James the First.

In the reign of Charles the First the Tower appears to have been in the custody of a Lieutenant till the year 1640, when lord Cottington was made Constable: the dissatisfaction, however, of the house of Commons, and the clamours of others without, induced the King to remove him, and to leave it as before in the command of a Lieutenant;† and so it remained until 1647; when by an ordinance of both houses of parliament, general Sir Thomas Fairfax was appointed to the custody of the fortress as Constable.‡

Such appointments, however, belonged to seasons of emergency. In more peaceful times the Lieutenant was supreme within the fortress, in which he was necessarily a constant resident. His post had gradually become a very comfortable berth, and was often held for a considerable period of time, as by sir William Waad and sir Allen Apsley§ in the days of James and Charles the First. It was a place of high authority, large patronage, a princely residence, and considerable fees and emoluments. Among the latter was one very characteristic of the good old times, and which reminds us of the tolls exacted by the fortresses on the Rhine and other continental rivers. It was, that the Lieutenant should have the power of tasting a cup from every cargo of wine that entered the port of London.

This is mentioned as a custom in the document of the 4th

\* Camden's Elizabeth, in Kennet, ii. 633.

† Whitelock's Memorials, p. 30.

‡ Ibid. p. 264.

§ March 1616-17. "Sir Allen Apsley, the 3. of this month, was sworn Lieutenant of the Tower in the roome of sir George Moore, who was weareye of thatt troublesome and dangerous office." *Letters of George Lord Carew*, (printed for the Camden Society,) p. 91. The office was probably then esteemed "troublesome and dangerous" in consequence of the disgrace and ruin it had brought upon its holder sir Gervase Elwes, who was hung for his privy to the poisoning of sir Thomas Overbury; but sir Allen Apsley quietly enjoyed it until his death on the 20th May, 1630.

Richard II., before cited, which states, among the fees of the Constable—

“Item, the said Constable shall have for every galley that cometh two roundletts of wyne, and of all manner of dainties a great quantitie.

“Item, the said Constable shall have of every shippe that cometh with wyne, two bottels, either of them conteyning a gallon, one before, th’other after the maste.”\*

And again, of the Lieutenant—

“Item, the said Licutenant shall have of every galley that cometh a roundlett of wyne, and of all manner of daynties a certayne quantitie; and the said Lieutenant in the absense of the Constable shall have of everie ship that cometh with wyne two bottles, either of them conteyning a gallon, one before, and the other after the maste.”

In another document of the same kind, the word *flagon* is used instead of roundlet or bottle, and latterly in the time of James the First we read of bombards, which were leathern vessels, as were the bottles.†

These were all vessels of indefinite capacities, and though in usage the quantity of wine would of course be limited, yet the merchants were not protected from a gradual encroachment. John Taylor the Water-Poet, who was for nearly ten years the Lieutenant’s Bottleman in the reign of James the First, not only tells us that his bottles, or bombards, used to bring away six gallons from every ship, but even admits very candidly that he occasionally played the thief to a further extent. Nor was that the only mischief that ensued. The shipmen sometimes resisted, and the bottlemen consequently enforced their claims with violence. In such struggles the former would stab and slash the leathern bottles and throw them into the river, and either party

\* Bayley, Appendix, pp. xevi., xeviii. In p. c. is printed a letter to the mayor and sheriffs of London, from the close roll 6 Ric. II. thus confirming the same perquisite: *de qualibet navi vinis carcatâ a Burdegaliâ, seu alibi, usque civitatem prædictam veniente, unam lagenam ante malum, et aliam retro malum.*

† Falstaff is on one occasion called “that trunk of humours, that huge *bombard* of sack.”

had the chance of encountering both blows and wounds. John Taylor, by his good-humoured and crafty devices, usually escaped these perils, though, as he sings,

—— each Bottleman but I  
Had always a crackt crown or a black eye,  
Oft beaten like a dog.

Altogether, the Water Poet's story, which is chiefly related in verse, gives a very remarkable account of this ancient custom of the Port of London. It is entitled "Taylor's Farewell to the Tower Bottles."

"About *three* hundred and twenty yeares since, or thereabout," he says, "(I thinke in the raigne of King Richard the Second) [but that would have been only *two* hundred years before the time he wrote,] there was a guift given to the Tower, or to the Lieutenants thereof for the time then and for ever being, which guift was two blacke Leather Bottles, or Bombards of Wine, from every ship that brought wine into the river of Thames: the which hath so continued until this day; but the Merchants finding themselves agreedev lately, because they thought the bottles were made bigger then *they were formerly wont to bee*, did wage law with the Lieutenant (sir Gervis Helwis by name), in which sute the Lieutenant had been overthrowne but for such witnesses as I found that knew his right for a long time in their owne knowledge. But I having had the gathering of those wines for many yeares, was at last discharged from my place because I would not buy it, which because it was never bought or sold before I would not or durst not venture upon so unhonest a novelty, it being sold indeed at so high a rate that he who so bought it must pay thrice the value of it:" whereupon John Taylor was provoked to take leave of the bottles in his favourite verse.

In the poem he gives the history of his connection with the office of Bottleman. He tells us that he had been a waterman for eight years, when he received the appointment.

"Then, stroke your beerd, my Maisters, and give eare.  
I was a Waterman twice foure long yeare,  
And liv'd in a contented happy state;  
Then turned the whirling wheele of fickle Fate  
From Water into Wine: Sir William Waad  
Did freely and for nothing turne my trade.

Ten yeares almost the place I did retaine,  
 And glean'd great Bacchus' blood from France and Spaine.  
 Few ships my visitation did escape  
 That brought the sprightfull liquor of the grape.  
 My Bottles and my selfe did oft agree,  
 Full to the top all merry came we three.  
 Yet alwayes t'was my chance, in Bacchus' spight,  
 To come into the Tower unfox'd upright.

He then tells us, in prose, that it was his practice to fill the two bottles, being in quantity six gallons, from every ship that brought wine up the river of Thames: the wines were always brought into the Lieutenant's cellar at the Tower (for 316 years), and had never been sold until four or five years before the time of his writing.

But as men's thoughts a world of wayes do range,  
 So, as Lieutenants chang'd, did customes change.  
 The ancient use, us'd many yeares before,  
 Was sold, unto the highest rate and more,  
 At such a price, that who so e're did give,  
 Must play the thiefe, or could not save and live,  
 Which to my cost I manifestly found :  
 I am well sure it cost me thirty pound  
 For one yeare, but before the next yeare come  
 'Twas almost mounted to a double summe.

Here the poet appends another note to tell us that "It was sold at these hard rates by another Lieutenant, (an honest religious gentleman and a good house-keeper,)—[he must meane Sir George More]—by the persuasions of some of his double-diligent servants." Upon this, Taylor says, he was discarded and quite thrust from his place; but, unable to bear the imputations which were publicly passed upon him, he recklessly advanced his biddings:

Rather then I would branded be with shame  
 And beare the burthen of desertlesse blame,  
 To be an owle, contemptuously bewondred,  
 I would give threescore, fourescore, or a hundred,  
 For I did vow, although I were undone,  
 I would redeeme my credit over runne,  
 And 'tis much better in a jayle to rot,  
 To suffer begg'ry, slavery, or what not,  
 Then to be blasted with that wrong of wrongs  
 Which is the poyson of backbiting tongues.



In the margin he confesses to another and more cunning motive. He heard that the Lieutenant was likely soon to quit his place, and that induced John Taylor to bargain with him at any price, in hope that he would not stay the full reckoning; and so (adds the crafty John) “it fell out as I wished it.”

He now was bound by wax and parchment to pay no less a sum than six pounds a month—

Time gallop'd, and brought on the payment day,  
And for three months I eightene pounds did pay;  
Then, I confesse, I play'd the Thiefe in graine,  
And for one Bottle commonly stole twaine.  
But so who buyes the place and meanes to thrive  
Must many times for one take foure or five,  
For this I will maintaine and verifie  
It is an office no true man can buy,  
And by that reason sure I should say well  
*It is unfit for any man to sell:*  
For till at such an extreame rate I bought  
To filch or steale I scarcely had a thought,  
And I dare make a vow 'fore God and man  
I never playd the Thiefe so much as then.

With the retirement of the Lieutenant, and the appointment of another, who was sir Allen Apsley, in the year 1616-17,—

Then the old custome did againe begin,  
And to the Tower I brought the Bottles in,  
For which for saving more then halfe a yeare  
I (with much love) had wages and good cheere,  
Till one most valiant, ignorantly stout,  
Did buy, and over-buy, and buy me out—

and who is described in a note, as “A desperate Clothworker, that did hunger and thirst to undoe himself.”

There is much more of this curious poem which may be referred to, for a list of the several kinds of wine then in use, and for some remarkable traits of the city and port of London in those times. John Taylor tells us that by this predatory purveyance the Lieutenant of the Tower had often his choice of fifteen sorts of wine; which was “a credit to the King's castle and the Lieutenant thereof”—

And as good wine they were I dare be bold  
As any cellar in this land did hold.

In conclusion, I am happy to have it my power to show the present company a specimen of the Bombard, or Leathern Bottle, or Flagon, with which the Water Poet went to collect his wine. It was called a Bombard from its somewhat resembling in shape the pieces of ordnance made for discharging bombs. My bombard is not quite so old as the days of John Taylor, but it is of the same century, bearing on its front the date 1646, with the crowned initials of King Charles the First.\* It was made to contain four gallons, and I think may very probably have belonged either to the Tower or to the palace of Whitehall.

\* Since this was written, I have seen another black-jack of the same set and date ; it was exhibited at a recent archæological meeting at Stamford, by the Hon. Mrs. Watson, of Rockingham Castle. At Sudeley Castle, Mr. Dent's, I some years ago saw another, very similar. Some black-jacks, that have seen good service, are still in use in the magnificent guest-hall of the porter's lodge at Burghley. A bombard is engraved in Halliwell's folio Shakespeare, 1859, vol. ii. 376.

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