"Faith only justifieth": The Witness of Jane Grey, an Evangelical Queen¹

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It is February 10 in the year 1554. We are in a room in the Tower of London, where the Lady Jane Grey (1537-1554), who had been Queen of England for little over a week the previous year – from July 10-19, 1553 – is imprisoned. She has been condemned to death by her cousin Mary I (1516-1558), also known to history as "Bloody Mary." Though Mary, a die-hard Roman Catholic, is determined to end Jane's earthly life, Mary also wants to save Jane's soul. And so she has sent one of her most able chaplains, a Benedictine monk by the name of John Feckenham (*c*.1515-1584), to speak to Jane and convince her of her theological errors. Feckenham was no stranger to theological debate, since he had debated a number of leading Protestant theologians in the early 1550s, men like John Hooper (1500-1555) and John Jewel (1522-1571). He may well have thought that a young woman like Jane would be hard-pressed to withstand the power of his reasoning.

Jane recorded the conversation after Feckenham had left her. According to Jane's account – and we do not have a similar account from Feckenham, though

¹ This article appeared originally as a chapter in Michael A.G. Haykin, *Eight Women of Faith* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2016) is used by kind permission of Crossway.

² His real name was John Howman; he was born in Feckenham, Worcestershire, and, as historian J. Stephan Edwards notes, it was customary at the time for monks to drop their family surname and to use instead only their forename and the name of the town where they had been born – thus 'John de (or 'of') Feckenham' (in an interview with Justin Taylor, "The Execution of Lady Janes Grey: 460 Years Ago Today" [http://www.thegospelcoalition.org/blogs/justintaylor/2014/02/12/the-execution-of-lady-jane-grey-460-years-ago-today/; accessed July 27, 2015]).

there seems no reason to doubt the veracity of Jane's recollection – after Jane had confessed her faith in the Triunity of God, she affirmed that people are saved by faith alone. Feckenham responded to this by citing 1 Corinthians 13:2, "If I have all faith without love, it is nothing." In other words, Feckenham was maintaining that salvation was the result of both faith and love shown by good works. Jane stood her ground and replied:

Jane: True it is, for how can I love him in whom I trust not? Or how can I trust in him whom I love not? Faith and love agreeth both together, and yet love is comprehended in faith.

Feckenham: How shall we love our neighbour?

Jane: To love our neighbour is to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, and give drink to the thirsty, and to do to him as we would do to ourselves.

Feckenham: Why then it is necessary to salvation to do good works and it is not sufficient to believe.

Jane: I deny that and I affirm that faith only saves. But it is meet for Christians, in token that they follow their master Christ, to do good works, yet may we not say that they profit to salvation. For, although we have all done all that we can, yet we be unprofitable servants, and the faith only in Christ's blood saveth.³

Who was this remarkable young woman and how did she come to be in this precarious position in the infamous Tower of London? In some ways, Jane's story is a difficult one to tell since it cannot be understood without due consideration of the politics swirling her life. So as we remember her story, while our focus is going to be on her Christian faith, the political scene cannot be ignored. Jane was the grand-daughter of Henry VIII's (1491-1547) youngest and favourite sister, Mary Tudor (1496-1533), and was thus that wily monarch's greatniece. During Jane's life she stood fourth in line to the English throne after Henry's three children – Edward VI (1537-1553), Mary, and Elizabeth (1533-1603) – and was elevated to the crown after the death of her cousin Edward VI in 1553. Thus, any consideration of Jane's life inevitably involves looking at the politics of the day.

³ An Epistle of the Ladye Jane...Whereunto is added the communication she had with Master Feckenham...Also another epistle which she wrote to her sister, with the words she spake upon the Scaffold before she suffered (n.p., 1554), [18-19], spelling modernized. This source is not paginated. The text can also be found in *The Harleian Miscellany* (London: Robert Dutton, 1808), I, 369-371, with the original spelling in which Jane wrote it

Jane's early days

Jane Grey was born to Henry Grey (1517-1554), the Marquis of Dorset, and his wife, Frances (1517-1559), the niece of Henry VIII, at their palatial Leicestershire home, Bradgate Manor, early in October 1537. She appears to have been named after the queen of the day, Jane Seymour (*c*.1508-1537), the third wife of Henry VIII and the mother of the future Edward VI.

Jane's parents were highly ambitious, callous individuals who balked at nothing to get ahead. They initially hoped that they could marry Jane off to Henry VIII's only son, Edward, who had been born in the same month as Jane. Thus, Jane's parents imposed on her a rigid system of education, requiring her to master Latin, Greek, French, and Italian, so as to make her attractive to the future monarch. In 1546, when Jane was nine, she was sent to Henry's court, to live under the guardianship of Queen Katharine Parr (1512-1548), the sixth and final wife of Henry VIII. All of this was part of her parents' selfish scheme to marry her to Edward and so advance their standing in society. But in the providence of God this led to Jane's coming under the influence of Katharine Parr, one of the most charming and intelligent women of the day, a woman who, moreover, was a genuine Christian. In the words of one of her chaplains: "Her rare goodness has made every day a Sunday".4 It appears to have been the case that it was during this stay in the household of Queen Katharine that Jane came to a living faith in Christ.⁵ As Paul Zahl has noted, Katherine was "Jane's real mother in Christianity."6

In 1547, though, Katherine Parr was widowed as Henry VIII died and as a result Jane soon returned to her parents' home. Henry was succeeded by his son Edward, who was crowned Edward VI on February 20, 1547. He was but nine years of age. Yet, he was surrounded by a number of godly counselors, including the Thomas Cranmer (1489-1556), the Archbishop of Canterbury, who were determined to make

⁴ Faith Cook, *Lady Jane Grey: Nine Day Queen of England* (Darlington, Durham: Evangelical Press, 2004), 39. Faith Cook's work has been very helpful in studying Jane Grey, as has the brief essay by Paul F.M. Zahl, *Five Women of the English Reformation* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publ. Co., 2001), 56-74. For a recent biography of Katharine Parr along with an edition of some of her writings, see Brandon G. Withrow, *Katherine Parr: A Guided Tour of the Life and Thought of a Reformation Queen* (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R Publishing, 2009).

⁵ Cook, *Lady Jane Grey*, 43.

⁶ Zahl, Five Women, 59.

England a bastion of the Reformed faith.⁷ The great French Reformer John Calvin (1509-1564) actually wrote a letter to Edward's guardian, his uncle Edward Seymour (*c*.1500-1552), in which he likened Edward VI to King Josiah. And in time the young English monarch was indeed like Josiah, eager to have his subjects learn biblical truth. Of a hundred or so extant treatises from Edward's hand, a number clearly evidence Edward's commitment to the evangelical faith.

When Jane returned to her parents' home in Bradgate, they seem to have considered her a "symbol of failure and a wasted effort – and they treated her accordingly." Jane's response was to pour herself into her continued her studies. She began to excel in Greek and even entered into correspondence with such continental Reformers as Martin Bucer (1491-1551), then living in Cambridge, and Heinrich Bullinger (1504-1575) of Zurich. She was growing in grace and becoming articulate in her faith, though there is also evidence that she was strong-minded and at times displayed a very stubborn streak like many of her Tudor relatives. 10

Marriage & Edward's death

In the spring of 1552, King Edward had the measles, and not taking time to recover, he soon began to show symptoms of tuberculosis. As the year wore on, it became increasingly clear to those who were close to the King that he would not reach adulthood. Now, Henry VIII's will had named his daughter Mary as next in line to the throne. If Edward did not marry and produce an heir, a Catholic would rule England. Edward's chief Minister, John Dudley (1504-1553), the Duke of Northumberland, well knew that he would be punished by Mary for his support of the Protestant cause. He began to seek a way to prevent her being queen. Jane Grey was fourth in line to the throne, and represented, for Northumberland, his only real chance to retain the power and status he had attained. He thus began to foster a close association with Henry and Frances Grey and in due time convinced them to wed their daughter Jane to his son, Guildford Dudley (1535-1554).

⁷ On Cranmer, see Michael A.G. Haykin, *The Reformers and Puritans as Spiritual Mentors: "Hope is kindled"* (The Christian Mentor, vol. 2; Kitchener, ON: Joshua Press, 2012), 31-48.

⁸ "Lady Jane Grey – Biography: Jane and the Seymours – till Somerset's fall (1549/1550)" (http://www.geocities.ws/jane_the_quene/bio3.html; accessed July 27, 2015).

Cook, Lady Jane Grey, 94-99.

¹⁰ Cook, Lady Jane Grey, 93.

Early in May 1553, Jane was told by her parents that she was to be married to Guildford. Though Jane protested and utterly refused, for she despised Guildford, it was ultimately to no avail. After her father had sworn at her and cursed her, and her mother given her an awful beating, she relented. So it was that on May 25, 1553, Jane was married to Guildford at Durham House in London.

Eight weeks later, on Thursday, July 6, 1553 the fifteen-year old King Edward died, surrounded by his counsellors, who had gathered at his bedside. In his final days, encouraged by John Dudley, but also very much in accord with his own thinking, he had changed his father's will and made Jane his heir. Both of his half-sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, had been disinherited by their father before Henry VIII's death and Thomas Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury, had declared both of them illegitimate, and thus technically neither could inherit the throne.¹²

News of Edward's death was kept from Jane until Sunday, July 9, when she was informed that she had to go to the Duke of Northumberland's residence, Syon House at Isleworth on the Thames. When, two hours later, Jane entered Syon House from the riverside she first went into what was known as the Great Hall, where she was told of the death of King Edward and her succession to the throne. Overwhelmed with the news of the death of her cousin, and coupled with the shock of hearing herself proclaimed Queen, Jane fainted. None apparently went to help her until she eventually revived by herself and stood up and adamantly maintained that she was not the rightful Queen. That was Mary's right. Dudley responded by telling her: "Your Grace doth wrong to yourself and to your house." He then recounted the terms of Edward's will, which named her as his heir. Jane's parents joined in, demanding that she accept. At this, she knelt in prayer and found the inner strength to say a little while later, while still kneeling: "If what hath been given me is lawfully mine, may thy divine Majesty grant me such grace that I may govern to thy glory and service, to the advantage of this realm." ¹³

Queen Jane

The following day Jane was rowed up the Thames to the Tower of London where monarchs traditionally stayed until their coronation day. Proclamation was made to the people of London that "Jane, by the grace

¹¹ Cook, *Lady Jane Grey*, 109-110.

¹² Cook, Lady Jane Grey, 116.

¹³ Cook, *Lady Jane Grey*, 126-127.

of God, [is] Queen of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith and of the Church of England and Ireland, under Christ on Earth, the Supreme Head." Most of them would have been quite surprised since Jane was hardly known in the capital. Moreover, they would have regarded Mary as the rightful heir despite the fact that she had been disinherited.

From Sunday, 9 July, to Wednesday, 19 July, then Lady Jane Grey was Queen. She signed a few documents, perhaps six in all, she dined once in state and made one or two appointments. She also resolutely refused to agree to the request of her husband and the violent demand of her mother-in-law that Guildford Dudley should be made King.

As soon as Mary had heard of Jane being made Queen, however, she marched on London with an army, and all but one or two of those courtiers who had sworn to defend her to the death, melted away in the face of Mary's military might. Even Jane's own father declared Mary the rightful queen, hoping that he could escape with his life. ¹⁴ It is noteworthy that Thomas Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury, did not desert Jane to her foes. As for Jane herself, an eyewitness account indicates that she seemed relieved that she was no longer queen. Naïvely, she hoped she could simply return to her home. But Mary – soon to be Mary I – did not trust her and committed her to prison in the Tower.

Jane condemned to death

On July 24, Jane's father-in-law, Dudley, who had been arrested was also brought to the Tower as a prisoner. In the hope of securing a pardon from the Queen he recanted his Protestant beliefs, saying that he had been seduced "by the false and erroneous teachings" of the evangelicals. He requested the right to attend mass, which was granted by Mary. With disgust, Jane watched from her window in the Tower as he was escorted to mass, and she was heard to say, "I pray God I, nor no friend of mine die so." Dudley was granted a small reprieve, but he could not escape death. He was beheaded on August 23, 1553.

Jane and her husband Guildford, Dudley's son, were put on trial on November 13. Both were found guilty and sentenced to death. But Jane really did not expect to die in such a way and initially Mary probably had little intention of carrying out the sentence. But a civil uprising known as the Wyatt Rebellion changed her mind. Sir Thomas Wyatt (1521-1554) raised a small band of soldiers in Kent who were angered when they heard Mary was planning to marry King Philip II (1527-1598) of Spain. In their minds, to have a Spanish Catholic King on the English throne was utterly unthinkable.

¹⁴ Cook, *Lady Jane Grey*, 135-141.

Wyatt was able to win his way to London by February 7, 1554. But when he entered the capital, townspeople of London refused to countenance his cause and the rebellion collapsed. Now, intimately involved in this rebellion was Jane's father, Henry Grey. His involvement all but determined Mary to take Jane's death. On February 7, 1554, Mary accordingly signed the death warrants of "Guilford Dudley and his wife..." When Henry Grey was executed, it should be noted, he affirmed that he died "in the faith of Christ, trusting to be saved by his blood only (and not by any trumpery)." ¹⁵

The conversation with Feckenham

It was thus that Jane met John Feckenham a few days later after her death warrant had been signed and had the conversation, of which part has been cited above. The full conversation runs as follows

Feckenham first speaketh: What thing is required in a Christian?

Jane: To believe in God the Father, in God the Son, in God the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God.

Feckenham: Is there nothing else required in a Christian, but to believe in God?

Jane: Yes, we must believe in him, we must love him with all our heart, with all our soul and all our mind, and our neighbor as ourself

Feckenham: Why then faith justifieth not, nor saveth not.

Jane: Yes, verily, faith (as St. Paul saith) only justifieth.

Feckenham: Why St Paul saith: If I have all faith without love, it is nothing.

Jane: True it is, for how can I love him in whom I trust not? Or how can I trust in him whom I love not? Faith and love agreeth both together, and yet love is comprehended in faith.

Feckenham: How shall we love our neighbour?

Jane: To love our neighbour is to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, and give drink to the thirsty, and to do to him as we would do to ourselves.

Feckenham: Why then it is necessary to salvation to do good works and it is not sufficient to believe.

Jane: I deny that and I affirm that faith only saveth. But it is meet for Christians, in token that they follow their master Christ, to do good works, yet may we not say that they profit to salvation. For

¹⁵ Cited Zahl, Five Women, 66-67.

although we have all done all that we can, yet we be unprofitable servants, and the faith only in Christ's blood saveth.

Feckenham: How many sacraments be there?

Jane: Two, the one the sacrament of baptism, and the other the sacrament of our Lord's supper.

Feckenham: No, there be seven. 16

Jane: By what Scripture find you that?

Feckenham: Well, we will talk thereof hereafter. But what is signified by your two sacraments?

Jane: By the sacrament of baptism, I am washed with water and regenerated by the Sprit, and that washing is a token to me, that I am the child of God. The sacrament of the Lord's supper is offered unto me as a sure seal and testimony, that I am by the blood of Christ, which he shed for me on the cross, made partaker of the everlasting kingdom.

Feckenham: Why, what do you receive in that bread? Do you not receive the very body and blood of Christ?

Jane: No surely, I do not believe so. I think that at that supper I receive neither flesh, nor blood, but only bread and wine. The which bread when it is broken, and the wine when it is drunk, putteth me in mind, how that for my sins the body of Christ was broken, and his blood shed on the cross, and, with that bread and wine, I receive the benefits that came by [the] breaking of his body, and the shedding of his blood on the cross for my sins.

Feckenham: Why, doth not Christ speak these words: "Take, eat, this is my body?" Require we any plainer words? Doth not he say that it is his body?

Jane: I grant he saith so, and so he saith: "I am the vine, I am the door," but yet he is never the more the vine nor door. Doth not St. Paul say that he calleth those things that are not as though they were? God forbid that I should say that I eat the very natural body and blood of Christ, for then either I should pluck away my redemption, either else there were two bodies, or two Christs or else two bodies, the one body was tormented on the cross, and then, if they did eat another body, then either he had two bodies, either else if his body were eaten, it was not broken upon the cross, or else if it were broken upon the cross, it was not eaten of his disciples.

¹⁸ John 10:9; 15:1-10.

¹⁶ Roman Catholicism holds to seven sacraments – baptism, confirmation, auricular confession, the eucharist, marriage, holy orders, and last rites – while Protestants have historically held to two, baptism and the Lord's Supper.

¹⁷ Mark 14:22.

¹⁹ Romans 4:17.

Feckenham: Why is it not as possible that Christ by his power could make his body both to be eaten and broken, as to be born of a woman without the seed of man, and as to walk on the sea, having a body, and other such like miracles as he wrought by his power only?

Jane: Yes, verily, if God would have done at his supper a miracle, he might have done so, but I say he minded no work or miracle but only to break his body and shed his blood on the cross for our sins. But I pray you answer me to this one question, Where was Christ when he said: "Take, eat, this is my body"? Was he not at the table when he said so? He was at that time alive, and suffered not till the next day. Well, what took he, but bread? And what break he, but bread? And what gave he, but bread? Look what he took, he break, and look what he break, he gave; and look what he gave, that did they eat; and yet all this while he himself was at supper before his disciples, or else they were deceived.

Feckenham: You ground your faith upon such authors as say and unsay, both with a breath, and not upon the church. to whom you ought to give credit.

Jane: No. I ground my faith upon God's Word and not upon the church. For if the church be a good church, the faith of the church must be tried by God's Word, and not God's Word by the church, neither yet my faith. Shall I believe the church because of antiquity? Or shall I give credit to that church that taketh away from me that half part of the Lord's supper, and will let no laymen receive it in both kinds but themselves? Which thing if they deny to us, they deny us part of our salvation, and I say that is an evil church, and not the spouse of Christ, but the spouse of the devil, that altereth the Lord's supper, and both taketh from it and addeth to it. To that church I say God will add plagues, and from that church will he take their part out of the Book of Life. Do you not learn that of St. Paul, when he ministered it to the Corinthians in both kinds?²⁰ Shall I believe that church? God forbid.

Feckenham: That was done of a good intent of the church to avoid an heresy that sprung on it.

Jane: Why, shall the church alter God's will and ordinances for a good intent? How did King Saul the Lord define?

With these and such like persuasions, he would have had me to have leaned to the church, but it would not be. There were many mo[re] things whereof we reasoned, but these were the chief.²¹

²⁰ See 1 Corinthians 11:17-34.

²¹ Epistle of the Ladye Jane, [18-23].

This conversation is important for it shows the way that Jane had clearly embraced the key doctrines of the Reformation as her own. According to Paul Zahl, there may well have been a number of others present at this conversation and thus it maybe have been akin to the public debates that took place between Roman Catholics and Protestants during the Reformation era.²² This would explain the way the conversation highlights three key areas of dispute during the Reformation: how are men and women saved? What is the meaning of the Lord's Supper? And upon what basis does one affirm answers to these questions?

As to how a person is saved, Jane maintains what had become the standard evangelical perspective: people are saved by faith alone. It is not faith and love or faith and good works that saves, but faith alone. This faith involves both love and good works, in that true faith issues in works of love and goodness. But Jane affirms unequivocally that salvation is first and foremost based on simple trust in God.

Then, in the second area of debate between Jane and Feckenham, Jane maintains that the Lord's Supper is a memorial – "[it] putteth me in mind" – and a vehicle of assurance – it is "a sure seal and testimony," and not at all an event where Christ's physical body and blood become present to the believer. This was a decisive issue of the Reformation: what is the nature of the Lord's Supper and how is Christ present at his table?²³ Though they could not agree among themselves as to the nature of Christ's presence, all of the Reformers denied the late medieval Roman Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation, that the bread and wine became the very body and blood of Christ during the course of the celebration of the Lord's Table. Jane also by implication denied this doctrine when she rejected the idea of the ubiquity of Christ's body.²⁴

The Reformers also opposed the Roman Catholic practice of only offering the bread, and not the wine, to the laity during the Lord's Supper, a practice that had become almost uniform by the late Middle Ages. For Jane, Roman Catholic practice in this regard was an indication that the Church of Rome was the spouse of the devil, not of Christ, since she flagrantly altered Christ's commands. This is part of a larger discussion that Feckenham had introduced by saying that Jane was listening, not to the church, but to various individual authors, whom he would have regarded as heretics. The question at the heart of the exchange between Jane and Feckenham at this point had to do with the source of authoritative doctrine. For Feckenham, that source was indeed Holy Scripture, but Scripture as it was interpreted by authorized teachers of the church. Jane, on the other hand, insisted that she was basing her views on the Word of God alone. And it was by this Word that all doctrine had to be tested. She clearly rejected the view that only those doctrines were to be believed that were approved by the Roman Catholic Church.

²² Zahl, Five Women, 68.

²³ Zahl, Five Women, 69.

²⁴ Zahl, Five Women, 69.

Before Feckenham left, he told her he was sorry for her, since, he said, "I am sure we two shall not meet," that is meet in heaven, as he regarded Jane as a heretic. In the face of death, though, Jane's faith shone out clearly and she replied:

Truth it is that we shall never meet, unless God turn your heart. For I am sure (unless you repent and turn to God), you are in an evil case, and I pray God, in the bowels of his mercy, to send you his Holy Spirit. For he hath given you his great gift of utterance, if it please him to open the eyes of your heart to his truth.²⁵

Feckenham was so impressed by Jane's courage that he asked if he could escort her to the scaffold on the day of her execution, which was to be February 12. Jane agreed, for Mary had refused her request to have an evangelical minister accompany her. ²⁶

Some final words

That night Jane wrote in her Greek New Testament a letter for her younger sister Katherine (1540-1568):

I have here sent you, good sister Katherine, a book, which although it be not outwardly trimmed with gold, yet inwardly it is more worth than precious stones. It is the book, dear sister, of the Law of the Lord. It is his testament and last will, which he bequeathed unto us wretches, which shall lead you to the path of eternal joy. And if you with a good mind read it, and with an earnest desire follow it, it shall bring you to an immortal and everlasting life. It will teach you to live and learn you to die.

...And as touching my death, rejoice as I do, good sister, that I shall be delivered of this corruption, and put on incorruption. For I am assured that I shall for losing of a mortal life, win an immortal life.²⁷

Here we see three things about Jane's faith. She shares the Reformation love of the Scriptures: "it is more worth than precious stones." Then, central to this love is Jane's clear understanding as to why the Bible was given to humanity by God: to lead sinners – those whom Jane calls "us wretches" – to "eternal joy" and "immortal and everlasting

²⁶ Cook, *Lady Jane Grey*, 187-188.

²⁵ Epistle of the Ladye Jane, [24].

²⁷ Epistle of the Ladye Jane, [25, 27].

life." And then we also see here, Jane's deep assurance of salvation, which the Reformers also generally affirmed.

Why did Jane have such assurance? Well, a final document that she wrote on the eve of her execution tells us. She wrote the following three sentences in her prayer book, the first in Latin, the second in Greek and the final one in English:

If justice is done with my body, my soul will find mercy with God. Death will give pain to my body for its sins, but the soul will be justified before God. If my faults deserve punishment, my youth at least, and my imprudence, were worthy of excuse; God and posterity will show me favour.²⁸

She had assurance of salvation because she was justified before God, that is, made right with God, and was therefore confident of his favour.

Jane's earthly end

Shortly before 11 o'clock on the morning of February 12, Sir John Brydges (1492-1557), the Lieutenant of the Tower of London, came to lead Jane out to the scaffold that had been built against the wall of the central White Tower, at its northwest corner (the corner closest to the Chapel of St Peter-ad-Vincula).²⁹ At the scaffold, Jane was met by Feckenham, along with several other Roman Catholic chaplains. An observer recorded what then took place.

She mounted the scaffold stairs and standing there in that chill February morning, Jane briefly addressed the small crowd gathered and urged them to know that she died "a true Christian woman" and that "I do look to be saved by no other mean, but only by the mercy of God, in the blood of his only Son Jesus Christ." She then knelt and recited the fifty-first psalm in English. Feckenham followed in Latin, after which she told him, "God I beseech Him abundantly reward you for your kindness to me." Feckenham was at a complete loss for words and began to weep. Seeing his distress, Jane apparently leaned over and kissed him on the cheek and for a few moments the Roman Catholic chaplain and the evangelical queen stood hand in hand. 30 She then gave her gloves to a lady-in-waiting and her prayer book to Sir John Brydges. The executioner, after he had asked Jane for forgiveness which she gave, told Jane to stand near the execution block. She knelt, fumbling to tie a handkerchief around her eyes. Once blindfolded she should have been directly in front of the execution block and then she could have easily laid her neck in the groove on the block. But she had misjudged the distance. Unable to locate the block, she became anxious. "Where is it? What shall I do? Where is it?," she asked, her voice falter-

²⁸ Cited Zahl, Five Women, 67, n.3.

²⁹ J. Stephan Edwards in the interview with Justin Taylor, "The Execution of Lady Janes Grey."

³⁰ Cited Cook, Lady Jane Grey, 198.

ing. No one moved to help her – perhaps unwilling to be an abettor in her death.³¹ Finally, after what must have seemed an eternity, a bystander leaped onto the scaffold and guided her to the block. Her last words were called out in a clear voice, "Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit."

³¹ Cook, Lady Jane Grey, 200.