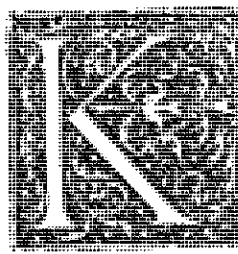


The history of king Ri-

chard the thirde (vnfinished) witen by Maister Thomas More than one of the vnderheriffis of London: about the yeare of our Lorde. 1513. V Which worke hath bene befoze this tyme p2inted, in yardynge Cronicle, and in Hallys Cronicle: but very muche corrupte in many places, sometyme hauyng lesse, and sometyme hauyng moze, and altered in wo2des and whole sentences: muche varyng fro the copie of his own hand, by which thys is p2inted.

B



King Edwarde of that name the fourth, after hee hadde lyued fiftie and thre yeares, seuen monethes, and sixe dayes, and thereof reygned two and twentye yeres, one moneth, and eighte dayes, dyed at Westmynster the nyynth daye of Aprill, the yere of oure redempcion, a thousande foure hundreded foure scoze and thre. leauyng muche saye yssue, that is to witte, Edwarde the Prynce, a thirtene yere of age: Richarde Duke of York, two yere younger: Elizabeth, whose fortune and grace was after to bee Quene, wife vnto kinge Henrie the scuenth, and mother vnto the eighth: Cecily not so fortunat as saye: Bizigette, whiche reyre sentynge the vertue of her, whose name she bare, professed and obserued a religious lyfe in Wertsford, in a house of close Nunnys: Anne, that was after honourablye maryed vnto Thomas, than Lozde Hawarde, and after Earle of Surrey. And Katheryne whiche longe tyme tolled in either fortune sommetyme in wealth, ofte in aduersite, at the lasse, if this bee the lasse, for yet she lyueth, is by the benignite of her Nephewe, Kinge Henrie the eighth, in verpe prosperous estate, and woorthye her birth and vertue.

This noble Prynce deceased at his palice of Westmynster, and with greate funerall honoure and heauynesse of his people from thence con-

ueyde, was entered at Windesore. And Kinge of suche gouernaunce and behauiour in time of peace (for in warre eche parte muste needes bee others enemye) that there was neuer anye Prynce of this lande attaynyng the Crowne by battayle, so heartely beloued with the substaunce of the people: nor he hymselfe so specialllye in anye parte of his life, as at the time of his death. Whiche fauour and affection yet after his decease, by the crueltie, mischiese, and trouble of the pestifious wo2de that folowed, highlye towarde hym moze increased. At suche time as he died, the displeasure of those that bare him grudge, for kinge Henries sake the sixte, whome he deposed, was well allwaged, and in effect quenched, in that that manye of them were dead in moze then twentie yeares of his raigne, a great parte of a longe lyfe. And many of them in the meane season growen into his fauour, of whiche he was neuer deseruour. He was a goodly personage, and very Pryncely to behold, of heartye couragious, politique in counsaile, in aduersitee nothyng abashed, in prosperitie, rather ioyfull then p2owde, in peace iuste and mercifull, in warre, sharpe and sperce, in the fielde, bolde and hardye, and nathelasse no farther then wysedome woulde, aduenturous. Whose warres who so well consyder, hee shall no lesse commende hys wysedome where hee voyded, than hys mannehoode where hee vainquished. He was of visage lonelype, of bodye myghtie, stronge, and cleane made: howe bee it in his latter dayes wyth
c.ii. over

Ouer libeall dyet, somewhat coz-
 pulente and boozelye, and nathelesse
 not vncomelye, hee was of pouth
 greatelye geuen to fleshye wanton-
 nesse: from whiche healthe of bodye
 in greate prosperitey and fortune,
 wythoute a specyall grace hardelye
 refrayneth. Thys faute not great-
 lye greued the people: for neyther
 could any one mans pleasure, stretch
 and extende to the dyspleasure of ve-
 rye manye, and was wythoute vio-
 lence, and ouer that in hys latter
 dayes: lesse and wel leste. In wych
Tyme of hys latter dates, thys Kealme
 was in quyet and prosperous estate:
 no feare of outwarde enemyes, no
 warre in hande, noz none towarde,
 but such as no manne looked for: the
 people towarde the Prynce, not in
 a constrained feare, but in a wyl-
 linge and loyng obedyence: a-
 monge them selfe, the commons in
 good peace. The Lordes whome he
 knewe at Marpaunce, hymselfe in
 hys deathe hadde appealed. He hadde
 leste all gatherynge of money (which
 is the onelye thyng that withdra-
 weth the heartes of Englyshmenne
 fro the Prynce) noz anye thyng en-
 tended hee to take in hande, by whiche
 hee shoulde bee dyspenen thereto, for
 hys Trybute oute of Franncce hee
 hadde befoze obtayned. And the yere
 for goyngs hys deathe, hee hadde
 obtayned Warwycke. And al bee it
 that all the tyme of hys raygne, hee
 was wyth hys people, soo benygne,
 courteyse and so famillyer, that no
 parte of hys vertues was moze esse-
 med: yet that condycyon in the ende
 of hys dayes (in which many prynces
 by a log continued souerainty, decline
 in to a proude porte from debonayre
 behauioure of theyr beginning (mer-
 uaylouslye in him grewe and increa-
 sed: so farrefoorth that in the som-
 mer the lasse that ever he sawe, hys
 hyghenesse beeyng at Wyndesore in
 huntynge, sente for the Maye and
 Aldermenne of London to hym. For
 none other eraunde, but soo haue
 them hunte and bec mery with hym,
 where hee made them not so statelye,
 but so frendely and so famillyer chere,
 and sente Henson from thence so ste-
 lye into the Citty, that no one thing
 in manye dayes befoze, gate hym
 eyther moe heartes oz moze heartie

Trybute.

fauoure amonge the common peo-
 ple, whiche oftentymes moze effeme
 and take for greater kindenesse, a
 lyttle courtesye, then a greate bene-
 fyte. So deceased (as I haue said)
 this noble kyng, in that tyme, in
 whiche hys life was moste despyed.
 Whose lone of hys people and theyr
 entiere affection towarde him, hadde
 bene to hys noble chyldezen (haunyng
 in themselfe also as manye gyftes of
 nature, as manie Princely vertues,
 as muche goodlye towarde as
 theyre age coulde receiue) a merua-
 louse fosteresse and sure armoure, if
 denision and discencion of their fren-
 des, hadde not vnarmed them, and
 leste them destitue, and the execra-
 ble desire of souerayntee, prouoked
 him to theyre destruccyon, which yf
 either kinde oz kindenesse hadde hol-
 den place, muste needes haue bene
 theyre chiefe defence. For Richard
 the Duke of Gloucestre, by nature
 theyr Uncle, by office theyr protec-
 toare, to theyre father beholden, to
 them selfe by othe and allegyaunce
 bownden, al the bandes broken that
 binden manne and manne together,
 withoute anye respecte of Godde oz
 the worlde, vnnaturallye contriued
 to bereue them, not onelye their dig-
 nitye, but also their liues. But for
 asmuche as this Dukes demeanoure
 ministrerh in effecte all the whole
 matter whereof this booke shall en-
 create, it is therefore conueniente,
 somewhate to shewe you ere we far-
 ther goe, what maner of manne this
 was, that coulde synde in his hearte,
 so muche mischefe to conceiue.

Richard Duke
 of York.

Richard Duke of York, a no-
 ble manne and a mightie, beganne
 not by warre, but by lawe, to chal-
 lenge the crowne, puttyng his claime
 into the parliamente. Where hys
 cause was eyther for right oz fauour
 so farrefoorth auanced, that kinge
 Henrye his bloode (all be it he hadde
 a goodlye Prince) vtterlye relected,
 the Crowne was by authoritey of
 parliament entaylled vnto the Duke
 of York and his issue male in remain-
 der immediatlye after the deathe of
 Kinge Henrye. But the Duke not
 enduryng so longe to tarpe, but en-
 tending vnder pretexte of discencion
 and debate arisyng in the realme, to
 preuente his tyme, and to take vpon
 hym

A him the rule in kyng Harry his life, was with manye nobles of þe realme at Wakefelde slaine, leauinge three sonnes, Edward, George, and Rycharde. Al three as they wer great strass of birthe, soo were they greates and statelpe of sto make, grede and ambitious of authoritie, and impacient of parteners. Edward reuenging his fathers death, depriued king Henrie, and attained the crown. George Duke of Clarence was a goodly noble Prince, and at all pointes fortunate, if either his owne ambition had not set him against his brother, or the enuie of his enemies, his brother agapynne hym. For were it by the Queene and the Wordes of her bloode whiche highlye maligned the kynges kindred (as women commonly not of malice but of nature hate the whome theire housebandes loue) or were it a pꝛoude appetite of the Duke himselfe entendinge to be king: at the lest wise heinous Treason was there layde to his charge, and finallpe wer hee faultpe were hee faultlesse, attained was hee by parliament, and iudged to the death, and therupon hastelye drowned in a Butte of Salmesey, whose death kyng Edward (albeit he commaunded it) when he wist it was done, pitiously beuailed and so: owfully repeated.

**The descrip-
tion of Rychard
the thirde.**

Rycharde the thirde sonne, of whiche we nowe entreate, was in witte and courage egall with either of them, in bodye and pꝛouesse farre vnder them bothe, little of stature, ill fetured of limmes, croke-backed, his left shoulder much higher then his right, hard fauoured of visage, and suche as is in states called warlye, in other menne other wise, he was malicious, wꝛathfull, enuious, and fro afoze his birth, ever frowarde. It is for trouthe reported, that the Duchesse his mother had so muche a doc in her trauaile, that shee coulde not bee deliuered of hym vncutte: and that hee came into the worlde with the feete forwarde, as menne bee borne outwarde, and (as the same runneth) also not vntoed, whiche menne of hatred reporte a boue the trouthe, or elles that nature chaunged her course in hys beginninge, whiche in the course of his lyfe manye thinges vnnaturalpe committed. None euill captaine

was hee in the warre, as to whiche his disposicion was moze metely then for peace. Sundꝛye victozies hadde hee, and sommetyme ouerthrowes, but neuer in defaulte as for his owne partone, either of hardinelle or polityke order, frce was hee called of dyspence, and somewhat aboute hys power liberall, with large gistes hee get him vnstedfaste frendshipp, for whiche hee was faine to pil and spoyle in other places, and get him stedfast hatred. Hee was close and secrete, a deceyfull muic, lowlye of countenance, arrogant of heart, outwardly coumpinable where he inwardly hated, not letting to kisse whome hee thoughte to kyll: dyspicious and cruel, not for euill will a way, but after for ambition, and either for the lurtie or encrease of his estate. Frende and foe was muche what indifferēt, where his aduantage grew, he spared no mans deathe, whose life with stood his purpose. He slewe with his owne handes king Henry the sixt, be-
The death of
king Henry
the sixt.
 constantly saue, and that without com-
 maundement or knowelgedge of the king, whiche woulde vndoubtedly yf he had entended that thinge, haue appointed that boocherly office, to some other then his owne borne brother. Somme wise menne also weene, that his dysste couertly conuayde, lacked not in helpig furth his brother of Clarence to his death: whiche hee refused openly, howbeit somewhat (as menne demed) moze faitly the he þer hartely minded to his welth. And they that thus deme, think þe lōg time in kyng Edwardes life, for thought to be king in case that þe king his brother (whose life hee looked that euil dyete shoulde shorten) shoulde happen to decease (as in dede he did) whyle his childꝛen wer yonge. And they deme, that for thys intente he was gladd of his brothers death þe Duke of Clarence, whose life must nedes haue hindered hym so entendinge, whiche the same Duke of Clarence had de kepte him true to his nephew the yonge king, or enterprised to be kyng himselfe. But of al this pointe, is there no certaintie, & who so daineth vpon coniectures, maye as wel shote to farre as to short. Howbeit this haue I by credible informacion learned, that the selfe nighte in
 c.iii. whiche

A whiche kyng Edward died, one
 mytlesbrooke longe ere moznyng,
 came in greate haste to the house of
 one Pottyer dwelling in reddecrosse
 strete without crepulgate: and when
 he was with halfe rapping quickly
 letten in, hee shewed vnto Pottyer
 that kyng Edward was departed.
 By my trouthe manne: quod Pottier
 then wyll my mayster the Duke of
 Gloucester bee kyng. What cause
 hee hadde soo to thynke harde it is to
 saye, whyther hee being toward him,
 anye thynge knewe that hee suche
 thynge purposed, or otherwyle had
 anye inkelyng thereof: for hee was
 not likelye to speake it of noughte.

B But nowe to returne to the course
 of this bystoyre, were it that the duke
 of Gloucester hadde of olde foze min-
 ded this conclusion, or was nowe at
 erste thereunto moued, and putte in
 hope by the occasion of the tender age
 of the younge Princes, his Nephues
 (as opportunitie and lykelyhoothe of
 speede, putteth a maune in courage of
 that hee neuer entended) certayn is it
 that hee contrived theyr destruccion,
 with the vsurpacion of the regal dig-
 nitie hypon hymselfe. And for as

C muche as hee well wyse and holpe to
 mayntayn, a long continued grudge
 and hearte byennynge betwene the
 Duenes kinned and the kinges blood
 eyther partye enuyng others autho-
 ritye, hee nowe thought that their de-
 uision shoulde bee (as it was in dede)
 a fortherlye begynnynge to the pur-
 suite of his intente, and a sure ground
 for the foundacion of al his building
 yf he might firste vnder the pretext of
 reuengynge of olde displeasure, a-
 buse the anger and ygnorance of the
 one partie, to the destruccion of the
 tother: and then wyne to his pur-
 pose as manye as he coulde: and those

D that coulde not bee wonne, myght be
 losse ere they looked therefoze. For
 of one thynge was hee certayne, that
 if his entente were perceiued, he shold
 soone haue made peacs betwene the
 bothe parties, with his owne bloude.

Kyng Edward in his life, albeit
 it that this discencion betwene hys
 frendes somnewhat yked hym: yet
 in his good health hee somnewhat the
 lesse regarded it, because hee thought
 whatsoeuer busines shoulde falle be-
 twene them, hymselfe shoulde alwaye

bee hable to rule bothe the partyes. **E**

But in his laste sickenesse, when hee
 receiued his naturall strengthe soo
 soze enfebled, that hee dyspayred all
 recouerpe, then hee consyderynge the
 youthe of his chyldzen, albeit hee no-
 thynge lesse mistrusted then that that
 happened, yet well foze seynge that
 manye harmes myghte growe by
 theyr debate, whyle the youth of hys
 chyldzen shoulde lacke discrecion of
 themself and good counsaile, of their
 frendes, of whiche either party shold
 counsaile for their owne commodity
 and rather by pleasaunte aduise too
 wyne themselfe fauour, then by pro-
 fitable aduertisements to do the chil-
 dzen good, he called some of them be-
 foze him that were at variaunce, and

F in elpercall the Lozde Marques Dow-
 sette the Duenes sonne by her fyrste
 housebande, and Richard the Lozde
 Haskynges, a noble man, than lozde
 chaumberlayne agayne whome the
 Duene specially grudged, for y great
 fauoure the kyng bare hym, and also
 for that hee thoughte hym secretelye
 familer with the kyng in wanton
 coumpayne. Her kynred also bare
 hym loze, as well for that the kyng
 hadde made hym captayne of Calyce
 (whiche office the Lozde Kyuers, bro-
 ther to the Duene claimed of the kin-
 ges fozmer promyse as for diuerse o-
 ther greate gistes whiche hee recey-
 ued, y they looked for. When these loz-
 des with diuerse other of bothe the
 parties were comme in presence, the
 kyng liftinge vpe hymselfe and vn-
 derlette wth pillowes, as it is repor-
 ted on this wyse sayd vnto the.

G My Lozdes, my dere kinsmenne and a
 lles, in what plighte I lye you see,
 I feele. By whiche the lesse whyle I
 looke to lye with you, the moze depe-
 lye am I moued to care in what case
 I leave you, for such as I leave you,
 suche bee my chyldzen lyke to fynde
 you. Whiche if they shoulde (that
 Godde forbydde) fynde you at vary-
 aunce, myght happe to fall themselfe
 at warre ere their discrecion woulde
 serue to sette you at peace. We se their
 youthe, of whiche I reckon the onely
 suretie to rest in youre concord. For
 it suffiseth not that al you loue them,
 yf eche of you hate other. If they wer
 menne, your faithfainesse happelye
 woulde suffise. But chyldhood must
 be

A be maintained by mens authorite, & slipper youth vnderpopped with elder counsaile, which neither they can haue, but ye geue it, nor ye geue it, yf ye geue not. For wher eche labourer to breake that the other maketh, and for hatred of ech of others parte, impugnech eche others counsaile, there must it nedes bee long ere anye good conclusioun goe forwarde. And also while either part ye labourer to bee chiefe, flattery shall haue moze place then plaine and faithfull aduise, of whyche muste nedes ensue the euill brynging vypp of the Prynce, whose mynd in tender youth infect, shall readily fal to mischief and riot, & drawe down w this noble realme to ruine, but if grace turn him to wisdom: which if god send, then thei y by euill menes befoze pleased him best, shall after fall farthest out of fauour, so that euer at length euil dystes dreue to noight, & good plain wayes prosper. Great variance hath ther long bene betwene you, not alway for great causes. Some time a thing right wel intended, our misconstruccioun turneth vnto worse or a smal displeasure done vs, eyther our owne affectioun or euill tongues agrenech. But this wote I well ye neuer had so great cause of hatred, as ye haue of loue. That we be al men, that we be christen men, this shall I leaue for preachers to tel you (and yet I wote nere whither any preachers wordes ought moze to moue you, than his that is by and by gooyng to the place that thei all preache of.) But this shall I desire you to remember, that the one parte of you is of my bloode, the other of myne allies, and eche of you with other, eyther of kinred or affinitye, which spirituall kynred of affinitye, if the sacramentes of Christes Church, beare that weyghte with vs that woulde Godde thei did, shoulde no lesse moue vs to charite, then the respecte of fleshye continuynite. Oure Lorde forbydde, that you loue together the worse, for the selfe cause that you ought to loue the better. And yet that happeneth. And no where fynde wee so deadlye debate, as amonge them, whyche by nature and lawe molle oughte to agree together. Suche a pestilente serpente is ambition and desyre of bainglorie and soueraintie, which amonge states where he once entretch

crepeth forth so farre, tyll with deuision and variance hee turnerh all to mischief. Firste longing to be nerte the best, afterwarde egall with the beste, and at laste chiefe and aboue the beste. Of which immoderate appetite of woorthip, and thereby of debate and dissencion what losse what sorowe, what trouble hath within these fewe yeares growen in this realme, I praye Godde as well forgeate as wee well remember. Which thinges yf I coulde as well haue foresene, as I haue with my moze payne then pleasure proued, by Goddes blessed Ladie (that was euer his othe) I woulde neuer haue won the courtseye of mennes knees, with the losse of so many heades. But si then thynges passed cannot be gaing called, muche oughte wee the moze beware, by what occasion we haue taken so greete hurte afore, that wosteefoones fall not in that occasion agayne. Some be those griefes passed, and all is (Godde bee thanked) quiete, and likeli righte wel to prosper in wealthfull peace vnder youre copleyns my children, if Godde sende them life and you loue. Of whyche twoo thinges, the lesse losse wer they by whome thoughte Godde vydde his pleasure, yet shoulde the realme alway fynde kinges and parauenture as good kinges. But yf you among youre selfe in a childes reygne fall at debate, many a good man shall perishe and happely he to, and ye to, ere this land fynde peace again. Wherefoze in these last wordes that euer I looke to speake with you: I exhort you and requyre you al, for y loue that you haue reuerbozne to me, for the loue yf I haue euer bozn to you, for the loue that our lord beareth to vs all, from this time forwarde, all grieues forgotten, eche of you loue other. Which I verelye truste you will, if ye any thing earthly regard, either godde or your king, affinitye or kinred, this realme, your owne countrey, or your owne surety. And therewithal the king no longer during to sitte by, laide him down on his right side, his face toward them: and none was there present yf coulde refraine from weping. But yf lordes recomforting him with as good wordes as they could, and answering for the time as thei thought to stand with his pleasure, there in his presence (as

Subiecton

By their wordes appered ech forgaue
 other, & toynded their hands together,
 when (as it after appeared by their
 dedes) their hertes, wer far a soder. As
 sone as the king was departed, & no-
 ble pzince his sonne dzew toward Lō
 don, which at the time of his decease,
 kept his household at Ludlow in wa-
 les. Which countrey being far of frō
 the law and recourse to iustice, was
 begun to be farre oute of good wyll &
 waren wild, robbers and riuers wal-
 king at libertie vncorrected. And
 for this encheason the pzince was in
 the life of his father sente thither, to
 end that the authoritie of his pze-
 sence, should refraine euil disposed parsons
 fro the boldnes of their formar oute-
 rages, to the goneruance and orde-
 ring of this pong pzince at his seding
 thither, was there appointed sir An-
 tony Mōduille Lord Riuers and bz-
 ther vnto the Quene, a right honou-
 rable man, as valiaunte of hande as
 poltike in counsaile. Adoynd wer
 there vnto him other of the same par-
 tie, and in effect euery one as he was
 nereff of kin vnto the Quene, so was
 planted nert about the pzince. That
 dziste by the Quene not vntwisely de-
 uised, wherebpher blowe mighte of
 youth be rooted in the pzinces fauor,
 the Duke of Gloucestre turned vnto
 their destruccion, & vpon that groude
 set the foundacion of all his vnhappy
 building. For whom soeuer he percei-
 ued, either at variance with them, or
 bearing himself their fauor, hee bzake
 vnto the, some by mouth, som by wz-
 ting & secret messengers, that it nei-
 ther was reason nor in any wise to be
 suffered, that the pong king their ma-
 ster and kinsmanne, should bee in the
 handes and custodpe of his mothers
 kindred, sequestred in maner frō they-
 company & attendance, of which euery
 one ought him as faithful seruice as
 they, and manye of them far moze ho-
 nozable part of kin then his mothers
 side: whose blood (quod he) sauing the
 kinges pleasure, was ful vnmetely to
 be matched with his: whiche nowe to
 be as who say removed frō the kyng,
 & the lesse noble to be left aboute him,
 is (quod he) neither honozable to hys
 magestie, nor vnto vs, and also to his
 grace no surety to haue the mightiest
 of his frendes from him, and vnto vs
 no litle seopardy, to suffer our welpro-
 ued euil willers, to grow in ouergret

authoritie with the pzince in youth,
 namely which is lighte of beliefe and
 sone perswaded. We remember Arow
 king Edward himself, albeit he was
 a manne of age and of discrecion, yet
 was he in manye thynges ruled by
 bend, moze then sode either with his
 honour, or our pzoofite, or with the cō-
 moditie of any manne els, except one-
 ly the immoderate aduancement of
 them selfe. Whiche whither they so-
 ter thirsted after their own weale, or
 our woe, it wer hard I wene to gesse.
 And if some folkes frendshyp had not
 holden better place with the king, the
 any respect of kinred, they might per-
 aduenture easily haue be trapped and
 bzought to confusio somme of vs ere
 this. Why not as easily as they haue
 done some other alreadye, as neere of
 his royal bloode as we. But our lord
 hath wzought his wil, and thanke be
 to his grace that perill is passe. Howe
 be it as great is growing, yf wee sus-
 fer this ponge kyng in oure enemyes
 hande, whiche without his wyttynge,
 might abuse the name of his cōman-
 dement, to au of our vndoing, which
 thyng god and good pzoouissio for byd.
 Of which good pzoouissio none of vs
 hath any thing the lesse nede, for the
 late made attonement, in whypche
 the kinges pleasure hadde moze place
 then the parties willes. For none of
 vs I beleue is so vntwyle, ouer sone to
 truste a newe frende made of an olde
 foe, or to think that an houerly kind-
 nes, sodainely contract in one hoare
 continued, yefficant a fortnight, shold
 be deper settled in their stomaches: the
 a lōg accustomed malice many yeres
 rooted.

With these wordes and wytynges
 and suche other, the Duke of Glouce-
 ster sone set a fyre, them that wers of
 themself erbe to kindle, and in especi-
 all swayne, Edward Duke of Buc-
 kingham, and Richard Lord of Pa-
 rtinges and chamberlayn, both mē
 of honour and of great power. The
 sone by longe succession from his an-
 cestrie, the tother by his office and the
 kinges fauor. These two not bearing
 eche to other so muche loue, as hatred
 bothe vnto the Quenes parte: in this
 popnte accorded together wyth the
 Duke of Gloucestre, that they wolde
 bitterlye amoue fro the kynges com-
 panye, all his mothers frendes, vnto
 ber the name of their enemyes. Upon
 this

A this concluded, the Duke of Gloucester vnderstandyng, that the Lordes whiche at that tyme were aboute the kyng, entended to byng him vppre to his Coronacion, accompanied with suche power of theyr frendes, that it shoulde bee harde for him to byngge his purpose to passe, without the gathering and great assemble of people and in maner of open warre, wherof the ende he wisste was doubtuous, and in which the kyng being on their side, his part shoulde haue the face and name of a rebellion: he secretly therefoze by diuers meanes, caused the **Q**uene to be perswaded and brought in the mynd, that it neither wer nede, & also shold be seopardous, the kyng to come by strong. For where as nowe euery lord loued other, and none other thing studyed vppon, but aboute the Coronacion and honoure of the kyng: if the lordes of her kindred shold assemble in the kinges name muche people, thei shoulde geue the lordes a twirte whome and them hadde bene sommetyme debate, to feare and suspecte, lest they shoulde gather thys people, not for the kynges sauegarde whome no manne enpugned, but for theyr destruccion, hauyng moze regard to their olde variaunce, then their newe attonement. For whiche cause thei shoulde assemble on the other partie muche people agayne for their defence, whose power the wyfse wel farre stretched. And thus shoulde all the realme fall on a roze. And of al the hurte that therof shoulde ensue, which was likely not to be litle, and the most harne there like to fal wher she lest would, all the wo:ld would put her and her kindred in the wyght, and say that thei had vntwyllelye and vntrewlye also, broken the amitie and peace that the kyng her husband so prudentely made, betwene hys kinne and hers in his death bed, and whiche the other party faithfully obserued.

The Quene being in this wise perswaded, suche wo:de sente vnto her sonne, and vnto her brother being aboute the kyng, and oner that the Duke of Gloucester hymselfe and other Lordes the chiefe of hys bende, wrote vnto the kyng so reuerentelye, and to the Queenes frendes, there soo louyngelye, that they no

thyng Carthelye mytrustyng, broughte the kyng vppre in greate haste, not in good speede, with a sober coumpanye. Powe was the king in his waye to London gone, from Northampton, when these Dukes of Gloucester and Buckyngham came thither. Where remained behynd, the Lord Kiuers the kynges vncle, entendyng on the morowe to folow the kyng, and bee with hym at Stonye Stratford niles thence, carely or hee departed. So was there made that nyghte muche frendely chere betwene these Dukes and the Lord Kiuers a greate while. But incontinente after that they were oppenlye with greate courtesye departed, and the Lord Kiuers lodged, the Dukes secretelye with a fewe of their moste priuie frendes, sette them downe in counsaile, wherin they spent a great parte of the nyght. And at their risinge in the dawnyng of the day, thei sent about priuily to their seruantes in their Innes and lodgynges about, genyng them commaundemente to make them selfe thortely readye, for their Lordes wer to hore backward. Vppon whiche messages, manye of their folke were attendaunt, when manye of the lord Kiuers seruantes were vntreadye. Powe hadde these Dukes taken also into their custodye the keyes of the Inne, & none shoulde passe forth without theyr licence. And oner this in the hygge waye towards Stonye Stratford where the kyng laye, they hadde beestowed certayne of theyr folke, that shoulde sende backe agayne, and compell to retourne, anye manne that were gotten oute of Northampton toward Stonye Stratford, tll they shoulde geue other lycence. For as muche as the Dukes themselfe entended for the shewe of their dplygence, to bee the fyrste that shoulde that daye attende vppon the kynges highnesse oute of that towne: thus bars they folke in hande. But when the Lord Kiuers vnderstode the gates closed, and the wayes on euery side belette, neyther hys seruantes nor hymselfe suffered to gone oute, perceyving well so greate a thyng without his knowledge not begun for nought, comparyng this maner preser with this last nightes chere, I so few houres so grete a chaunge,

A change marneplouſlye miſliked. How be it ſithe hee coulde not geat a waye, and keepe himſelfe cloſe, hee woulde not, leſte hee ſhoulde ſeeme to hyde him ſelfe ſoz ſome ſecret feare of hys owne faulte, whereof he ſaw no ſuch cauſe in hym ſelf: he determi- ned vpon the ſuretie of his own con- ſcience, to goe boldelye to them, and inquire what thys matter myghte meane. Whome as ſoone as they ſawe, they beganne to quarell with hym, and ſaye, that hee intended to lette diſfaunce, betwene the kynge **W** and them, and to bypne them to con- fuſion, but it ſhoulde not lye in hys power. And when hee beganne (as hee was a very well ſpoken manne,) in goodly wiſe to excuſe himſelf, they ſarped not the ende of his aunſwere, but thortely tooke him and putte him in warde, and that done, ſooztwytth wente to horſebacke, and tooke the waye to ſtonpe Stratforde. Where they ſounde the kinge with his com- panie readye to leape on horſebacke, and departe ſozwarde, to leaue that lodginge ſoz them, becauſe it was to ſtreighte ſoz bothe companies. And as ſone as they came in his preſence, they lighte adowne with all their com- panie aboute them. To whome the Duke of Buckingham ſaide, goe a- ſoze Gentlemenne and ponien, kepe poure rowmes. And thus in a goodly arraye, they came to the kinge, and on theire knees in very humble wiſe, ſalued his grace: whiche receyued them in very iopous and amiable ma- ner, notthinge earthlye knowing noz miſtruſtinge as yet. But even by and by in his preſence, they piked a quarell to the Lozde Richard Graye, the kynges other bzother by his mo- ther, ſayinge that hee with the lozde Marques his bzother and the Lozde Ri- uers his vnckle, hadde compaſſed to rule the kinge and the realme, and to lette variaunce among the ſtates, and to ſubdewe and deſtrope the no- ble blood of the realm. Toward hac- compliſhing whereof, they ſayde that the Lozde Marques hadde ente- red into the Tower of London, and thence taken out the kinges Treazo- z, and ſent menne to the ſea. All whiche thinge theſe Dukes wiſte well were done ſoz good purpoſes and neceſſari by the whole counſaile at Landis, ſa-

The Lozde Ri- uers putte in warde,

The Lozde Gray,

uing that ſommetwhat they muſt ſai. **C** Unto whiche woordes, the king aun- ſwered, what my bzother Marques hath done I cannot ſai. But in good faith I dare well aunſwere ſoz myne vnckle Ri- uers and my bzother here, that they be innocent of any ſuch mat- ters. Ye my liege quod the Duke of Buckingham they haue kepte theire dealing in theſe matters farre fro the knowledge of your good grace. And ſooztwytth they arreſted the Lozde Ri- charde and ſir Thomas Waughan knighte, in the kinges preſence, and bzoughte the king and all backe vnto Roztchampton, where they tooke a- gaſne further counſaile. And there they ſente a waite from the kinge who **F** it pleaſed them, and lette newe ſer- uantes aboute him, ſuche as lyked better them than him. At whiche dea- linge hee wepte and was nothing co- tente, but it booted not. And at by- ner the Duke of Glouceſter ſente a diſhe from his owne table to the lozde Ri- uers, prayinge him to bee of good chere, all ſhould be well inough. And he thanked the Duke, and prayed the meſſenger to beare it to his Nephewe the lozde Richard with the ſame meſ- ſage ſoz his comfort, who he thought had moze nede of comfort, as one to whom ſuch aduerſitie was ſtrauge. **C** But himſelf had bene al his dayes in bye theris, and therfoze coulde beare it the better. But ſoz al this comfort, table courteſye of the Duke of Glou- ceſter he ſent the lozde Ri- uers and the Lozde Richard with ſir Thomas Waughan into the Roztche countrey into diuers places to priſon, and af- terward al to Pomfrat, where they were in concluſion beheaded.

In this wiſe the Duke of Glouceſ- ter tooke vpon himſelf the ozder & go- uernance of h young king, who with much honoz & hūble reverence he con- uayed vppeward to warde the cite. But anone the tidinges of this mater came haſtely to h quene, a litle before h midnight folowing, & that in the ſo- **H** reſt wiſe, h the king her ſonne was ta- ken, her bzother, her ſonne and her o- ther frēdes arreſted, & ſent no mā wiſt whither, to be done w god wot what. With which tidinges h quene in gret flight & heuines, bewailig her childes rain, her frēdes miſchance, & her owne inſoztune, dāning the time that euer **ſhe**

The death of the lozde Ri- uers and ocher

The Quene
catheryn
ary.

Athee diswaded the gatherynge of pow-
er aboute the kinge, gate her selfe
in all the haste possible with her yon-
ger sonne and her doughters oute of
the Palyce of westminster in whiche
thee then laye, into the Sainctua-
rye, lodginge her selfe and her coun-
panye there in the Abbottes place.
Howe came there one in likewise not
longe after myddenighte, fro the
Lorde Chamberlayn vnto the arch-
bisshope of Yorkke then Chaunceller
of Englande, to his place not farre
from Westminster. And for that he
Shewed his seruantes that hee hadde
tidinges of soo greate importaunce,
that his maister gaue him in charge,
not to forbeare his reste, they letted
not to wake hym, nor hee to admitte
this messenger in to his bedde syde.
Of whome hee hard, that these dukes
were gone backe with the Kynges
grace from Stonye Stratforde vn-
to Northampton. Notwithstanding
sir quod hee, my Lorde sendeth poure
Lorde shippe woorde, that there is
no feare. For hee assureth you that
all shall bee well. I assure him quod
the Archebisshope bee it as well as
It will, it will neuer bee soo well as
wee haue seene it. And thereupon
by and by after the messenger depar-
ted, hee caused in all the haste al his
seruantes to bee called vppe, and
so with his owne householde aboute
hym, and euerie manne weaponed,
hee tooke the greate Seale with him,
and came yet beefore daye vnto the
Quene. Aboute whome he found
muche heauynesse, rumber, haste
and busynesse, carriage and conuey-
aunce of her stuffe into Sainctuary,
chests, coffers, packes, fardelles,
trusses, all on mennes backes, no
Manne vnoccuped, somme lading,
somme goynge, somme descharging,
somme commynge for more, somme
breakinge downe the walles to bring
in the nexte waye, and somme yet
drew to them that holpe to carrie a
wryng waye. The Quene her self
satte alone alowe on the rishes all de-
solate and dismayde, whome the
Archebisshope comforted in the best
manner hee coulde, shewinge her
that hee trusted the matter was no-
thyng so sore as shee tooke it for.
And that he was putre in good hope
and oute of feare, by the message

sente him from the Lorde Chamber-
laine. Ah woo wo: the him quod he,
for hee is one of them that labourth
to destroye me and my bloode. Ma-
dame quod he, be ye of good chere. For
I assure you if thei crowne any other
kinge then your sonne, whome they
nowe haue with them, we shal on the
more crowne his by other whome
you haue here with you. And here is
the greate Seale, whiche in likewise
as that noble pryncce your housebande
deliuered it vnto me, so here I deliuer
it vnto you, to the vse and behoofe of
poure sonne, and therewith hee be-
tooke her the greate Seale, and de-
parted home agayne, yet in the dau-
ninge of the daye. By which tyme
Hee might in his chamber window,
see all the Lemnies full of bootes of
the Duke of Gloucesters seruantes,
watchinge that no manne shoulde go
to Sainctuary, nor none coulde passe
vnsurched. Then was there greate
commocion and murmure aswell in
other places about, as specially in the
city, the people diuerselye diuynge
vppon this dealinge. And somme
Lordes, Knights, and Gentlemenne
either for fauoure of the Quene, or
for feare of themselves, assembled in
sundry companies, and went flock-
Mele in harnes: and manye also, for
that they reckened this demeanoure
attempted, not so specially againste
the other Lordes, as agaynst the
kinge hymselfe in the disturbaunce
of hys Coronacion. But then by
and by the Lordes assembled together
at Towarde which meeting, the
Archebisshope of Yorkke fearing that
it wold be ascribed (as it was in dede)
to his ouermuch lightnesse, that he so
sodainly had yelded by the great seale
to the Quene, to whome the custodye
thereof nothing pertained, wout es-
pecial comaundement, of the kyng, se-
cretely sent for the Seale agayne, and
brought it with him after such a
Conuenient maner. And at this meeting, lord
Hasting, whose trouthe toward the
king no manne doubted nor neded to
doubte, perswaded the Lordes to be-
lieue, that the Duke of Gloucester,
was sure and fastlye faithfull to hys
pryncce, and that the lorde Rivers and
lord Richard with the other knightes
wer for maters attyped by the agaisst
H Duke of Gloucester & Buckingha,
put

putte vnder arresse for theire surety,
 not for the kynges leoparde: and
 that they were also in sauegarde, and
 there no lenger shoulde remayn, then
 tyll the matter wer, not by the dukes
 onelye, but also by all the other Loz-
 des of the kynges counsaile indiffe-
 rentelye examyned, and by other dis-
 cretions ordered, and epyther iudged
 or appealed. But one thyng hee
 aduised them beware, that they iud-
 ged not the matter to farrefoorth, ere
 they knewe the truerth, nor turnynge
 theire priuate grudges into the com-
 mon hurte, pryttinge and prouoking
B menne vnto ager, and disturbynge
 the kynges Coronacion, towarde
 whiche the Dukes were comynge
 vpppe, that they mighte parauenture
 byngge the matter so farre oute of
 toynt, that it shold neuer be brought
 in frame agayne. Whiche stryfe
 if it shoulde happe as it were lykelye
 to come to a fielde, though both par-
 ties were in all other thynges egall,
 yet shoulde the authoritie bee on that
 syde where the kyng is hymselfe,
 with these perswasions of the Lozde
 Hallynges, whereof parte hym selfe
 believed, of parte he wist the contra-
E rye, these commocions were somme-
 what appeased. But specpally, by
 that that the Dukes of Gloucester
 and Buckingham were so nere, and
 came so shortlye on with the kyng,
 in none other maner, with none other
 voyce or semblaunce, then to his co-
 ronacion, causynge the fame to bee
 blowen about, that these Lozdes and
 knyghtes whiche were taken, hadde
 contruyed the destruccyon of the
 Dukes of Gloucester and Buckin-
 gham, and of other the noble bloode
 of the Realme, to the ende that them
 selfe woulde alone, demeane and go-
 uerne the king at their pleasure. And
D for the colourable prooffe thereof,
 such of the Dukes seruantes as rode
 wjth the cartes of theyr stuffe that
 were taken (amonge whiche stuffe
 no mervayle thoughte somme were
 harneys, whiche at the breakinge vp
 of that householde, muste needes ey-
 ther bee broughte awaye or caste a-
 waye) they shewed vnto the people al
 the waye as they wente: loe here bee
 the barrelles of harneys that this trai-
 tours hadde priuelye conuayd in theyr
 carrpage so destroye the noble lozdes

with all. This deualle all be it that
 it made the matter to wise men moze
 vnykelye, well percepyng that the
 intendours of sache a purpose, wolde
 rather haue hadde theyr harneys on
 theyr backs, then tauie bounde them
 vpppe in barrelles, yet muche part of
 the commen people were therewith
 berpe well satisfyed, and said it wer
 almoste to hange them.

When the kyng approached nere
 to the cite, Comonde Sha golde-
 smithe then Mayre, with William
 White and John Mathewe theriffis,
 and all the other aldermenne in scar-
 lette with fise hundred hoyle of the ci-
 tezens in biolette, receiued hym re-
 uerentlye at Harneley: and rydyng
 from thence, accompaned him in
 to the cite, whiche hee entered the
 fowrth daye of Maye, the firste and
 laste yeare of hys raygne. But the
 Duke of Gloucester bare him in open
 sighte so reuerentelye to the Prince,
 with all semblaunce of lowlinesse,
 that from the great obloquy in which
 hee was soo late befoze, hee was so
 vainevelye fallen in soo greate truste,
 that at the counsaile next assembled,
 hee was made the onely manne chole
 and thoughte moste mete, to bee pro-
 tectoure of the king and hys realme,
 so (that were it destenpe or were it so-
 ly) the lamb was betaken to the wolfe
 to kepe. At whiche counsaile also the
 Archebischoppe of Pozke Chauncel-
 loure of Englands, whiche hadde de-
 liuered vpppe the greate Seale to the
 Quene, was thereof greatlye repro-
 ued, and the Seale taken from hym
 and deliuered to doctour Russell, bys-
 hoppe of Lyncolne, a wyse manne &
 a good and of muche experyence, and
 one of the beste learnee menne vnto
 doubredlye that Englands hadde in
 hys time. Diuers Lozdes and knigh-
 des were appoynted vnto dyuerse
 rowmes. The Lozde Chamber-
 layne and somme other, kepte styll
 theyr offices that they hadde befoze.
S Some all were it soo that the protec-
 toure so soze thyrted for the kynyng-
 yng of that hee hadde begonne, that
 thoughte everpe daye a yeare tyll it
 were atchpyued, yet durste hee no
 further attempte as longe as he had
 but halfe hys praye in his hande:
 well wittinge that yf hee deposed the
 one byother, all the Realme woulde
 fall

The kynges
 comynge to
 London.

The protec-
 toure made.

The bishop of
 Lincolne
 made Lozde
 chauncellour.