

The protectour
in this occasion

A falle to the tother, yf hee either remayned in Sainctuarpe, or shoulde happelye bee shoztelpe conuayde too hys farther libertye. Wherefoze inconiiente at the nerthe metynge of the Lozdes at the counsaile, hee proposed vnto them, that it was a hainous deede of the Quene, and proceedinge of greate malyce towarde the Kynges counsaillers, that she should keepe in Sainctuarpe the Kynges brother from hym, whose speccall pleasure and counforte wers to haue his brother with hym. And that by her done to none other entente, but to bynge all the Lozdes in obloquie and murmure of the people. As though they were not to bee trusted with the Kynges brother, that by the assente of the nobles of the lande wer appoynted as the Kynges nereffe frendes, to the tuispon of his owne royall parsons. The prosperytye whereof standeth (quod hee) not all in keepynge from enemyes or yll byande, but partelye also in recreacion and moderate pleasure: which he cannot in this tender youthe take in the companye of aunctent parsons, but in the famyllier conuersacyon of those that bee neyther farre vnder, nor farre aboue his age. And nathelesse of estate conuenient to accompanye his noble magestie. Wherefoze with whom rather then with his owne brother? And yf anye manne thynke this consideracion (whiche I thynke no manne thynketh that loyeth the Kyng) lette hym consyder that sommetyme withoute smal thinges greatter cannot stande. And be helpe it redowndeth greatelye to the dishonoure bothe of the kinges highnesse and of al vs that bene about his grace, to haue it runne in euery mans mouth, not in this realme onely, but also in other landes (as euyll woordes walke farre :) that the Kynges brother shoulde bee sayne to keepe Sainctuarpe. For euerye manne wyll weene, that no manne wyll so dooe for noughte. And suche euyll oppinyon once fastened in mennes heartes, harde it is to wraffe oute, and maye growe to moze grief than anye manne here canne diuine.

Wherefoze mee thynketh it were not woordes to sende vnto the Quene for the redress of this matter, somme

honourable trustye manne, suche as he bothe tendereth the Kynges weale, and the honoure of his counsaile, and is also in fauoure and credence wyth her. For al which consideracions, none seemeth mee moze metelye than our reuerente father here presente, my Lozde Cardynall, who maye in this matter dooe mozte good of anye manne, yf it please hym to take the payne. Whiche I doubt not of his goodnesse he wyll not refuse, for the Kynges sake and ours, and wealthe of the younge Duke hym self the kinges mozte honourable brother, and after my soueraygne Lozde hymself, my mozte dere Nephewe: considered that thereby shall bee ceased the audacious rumoure and obloquye nowe goynge and the hurtes auoyded that thereof mighte ensue, and much rest and quyetie growe to all the realme. And yf hee bee percase so obstynate, and so precitelpe sette vpon her own wyll, that neyther his wise and faithfull aduertysemente canne moue her, nor any mannes reason content her: then shall wee by myne aduyl, by the Kynges authozitye fetch hym out of that prisione, and bynge hym to his noble presence, in whose contynual companye hee shall bee so well cherished and so honourablye entreated, that all the woylde shall to our honoz and her reproch, perceiue that it was onely malyce, frowardenesse, or folly, that caused her to keepe him there. This is my minde in this matter for this tyme, excepte any of your Lozdes shippes anye thinge perceiue to the contrarye. For neuer shall I by gods grace so wedde my selfe to myne own wyll, but that I shall bee readye to change it vpon youre better aduyls.

When the protectoure hadde said, al the counsaile affyrmeth that the motion was good and reasonable, and to the kyng and the Duke his brother, honourable, and a thing that should cease greate murmure in the realme, if his mother might be by good meanes enduced to deliuer hym. Whiche thynge the Archebischoppe of Yorke, whome they all agreed also to bee thereto mozte conueniente, tooke vpon hym to moue her, and therein to dooe hys vttermooste deuowre. Howe bee it if shee coulde bee in no wife

A wyle entreated with her good wyll to deliuer hym, then thoughte hee and suche other as were of the spiritualltype present, that it were not in anye wyle to be attempted to take him oute agaynste her wil. For it would be a thyng that shoulde tourne to the greate grudge of all menne, and hygge dyspleasure of Godde, yf the priueledge of that holpe place shoulde now be broken: Whiche hadde so many peares bee kepte, whyche **Sainctuarye.** bothe kynges and Popes soo good hadde graunted, so many hadde confirmed, and whiche holpe grounde was moze then syue hundred peare agoe by Saincte Peter his own parson in spirite, accompanied with greate multitudes of Angelles, by nyghte so spyciallye halowe and dedicate to Godde, (for the prooue wherof they haue yet in the Abbay Sainct Peters cope to shewe) that from that tyme hytherwarde, was there neuer so vnderowte a kyng, that durst that sacred place violate, or so holpe a Bishoppe that durst it presume to consecrate. And therefore (quod the Archebishoppe of Yorke) Godde forbode that anye manne shoulde for anye thyng earthlye enterpysse to breake the immunitie, and libertye of that sacred Sainctuary, that hath bene the safegarde of so many a good mannes life. And I truste (quod he) with Gods grace, we shal not nede it. But for any maner nede, I would not we shoulde dooe it. I truste that the shall bee with reason contented, and all thyng in good maner obtayned. And yf it happen that I byrnye it not so to passe, yet shall I towarde it so farrefoorth dooe my beste, that ye shall all well perceiue, that no lacke of my deuoure, but the mothers drede and womannis feare, shall bee the let. **W**omannis feare, naye womannis fearewardenelle (quod the Duke of Buckyngham.) For I dare take it vpon my soule, the well knoweth the needeth no such thyng to feare, either for her sonne or for her selfe. For as for her, here is no manne that wil bee at warre with women. Woulde God some of the men of her kynne, were women too, and then shoulde al bee soone in resse. Howe bee it there is none of her kinne the lesse loued, for that they bee her kinne, but for

theirowne skill deseruinge. And **C**nathelless if we loued neither her nor her kinne, yet were there no cause to thinke that we shoulde hate the kynges noble brother, to whose Grace wee oure selfe bee of kynne. Whose honoure if thee as muche desyred as oure dishonoure, and as muche regard toooke to his wealth, as to her owne will, the would be as lothe to suffer him from the kyng, as anye of vs bee. For if thee haue anye witte, (as woulde Godde the hadde as good will as she hath the shewe witte) she reckoneth her selfe no wiser then she thinketh some that bee here, of whose faithfull mynde, she nothing doubteth, but verely beleueth and knoweth, that they would be as soze of his harme as her selfe, and yet would haue hym from her yf she byde there. And wee all (I thinke) contente, that bothe bee with her, yf she come thence and bide in suche place where they maie with their honoure bee.

Howe then yf she refuse in the deliuerance of hym, to folowe the counsaile of them whose wisdom she knoweth, whose trowth she wel trusteth: it is ethe to perceiue, that frowardnesse letteth her, and not feare. But goe to suppose that she feare (as who maye lette her to feare her owne shadowe) the moze she feareth to deliuer hym, the moze oughte wee feare to leaue him in her handes. For if she caste suche sonde doubt, that she feare his hurte: then wyll she feare that she shall bee sette thence. For she will soone thinke, that if menne were sette (whiche Godde forbode) vpon so greate a mischief, the Sainctuarye woulde litle let them. Whiche good menne mighte as mee thynketh without sinne sommelwhat lesse regard then they do.

Howe then if she doute lesse hee mighte bee fetched from her, is it not likelype ynoughe that she shall sende him somme where out of the realme: Merely I spoke for none other. And I doute not but shee nowe as soze myndeth it, as wee the lette thereof. And yf she myghte happen to byrnye that to passe, (as it were no greate misfrye, wee lettynge her alone) all the woide woulde saye that wee wer a wyle sozte of counsaillers aboute a kyng, that lette his brother bee cast away

A waye vnder oure noses. And therefore I ensure you saythfully for my mynde, I wyll rather maugrye her mynde, fetche hym awaye, then leaue hym ther, til her frowardnes or fond feare conuay hym awaye. And yet will I breake no Saintuarpe theresoze. For verelye sith the priuileges of that place and o^rther lyke, haue bene of long continued, I am not he that woulde bee aboute to breake them. And in good faith if they were nowe to begynne, I woulde not bee he that shoulde bee aboute to make them. Yet wyll I not saye naye, but

Caluaris

that it is a deede of pitie, that suche menne as the sea or they^r euill detours haue broughte in pouertye, shoulde haue somme place of libertye, to keepe their bodie oute of the daunger of their cruell creditours. And also yf the Crowne happen (as it hath done) to comme in questyon, whyle eyther parte taketh other as Craptours, I wyll well there bee somme places of refuge for bothe. But as for theyees, of whiche these places bee full, and which neuer fall fro the crafte, after they once falle thereto, it is pitie the saintuarpe shoulde serue them. And muche moze mannequellers whome Godde badde to take from the altier and kyll them, yf they^r murthre were wyllfull. And where it is other wyse there neede wee not the sayntuarpes that God appointed in the olde lawe. For yf eyther necessitie, hys owne defence, or misfortune drawe hym to that dede, a pardon serueth which eyther the law graunter of course, or the kynge of pitie maye.

Then looke me nowe how few saintuarpe menne there bee, whome any fauourable necessitie compelled to gooe thither. And then see on the tother syde what a sorte there be commonlye therein, of them whome wyllfull vntychyffnesse hath broughte to nought.

What a rabble of theyees, marthurers, and malicious hepyghnous Traitors, and that in twoo places specyallye. The one at the elbowe of the Citty, the tother in the verpe bowelles. I dare well auowe it, waye the good that they dooe, with the hurte that commeth of them, and ye shall fynde it muche better to lacke bothe, then haue bothe. And this I saye, although they were not abused as they nowe bee, and so longe haue bee, that I feare mee euer they wyll bee whyle menne bee a fearde to sette they^r handes to the mendment:

as though Godde and Saincte Peter were the Patrons of vngacious lyinge.

Howe vntychyffnesse rypote and runne in Dette, vpon the boldnesse of these places: yea and ryche menne runne thither with pooze mennes goodes, there they builde, there they spende and bidde their creditours gooe whiffle them. Mens wyues ranne thither with they^r housebandes plate, and saye, they dare not abyde with they^r housebandes for beatinge. Theues byng thither they^r stolen goodes, and there lyne thereon. There deuise they newe roberies, nighlye they steale out, they robbe and reue, and kyll, and come in again as though those places gaue them not onely a safe garde for the harme they haue done, but a licence, also to dooe more. Howe bee it muche of this mischiefe if wyse menne woulde sette their handes to, it myghts bee amended, with greate thank of god and no breache of the priuledge. The residue sith so long agoe I wote nere what Pope and what Prince more piteous then politique: hath graunted it and other menne since of a certayne religious feare haue not broken it, lette vs take a payne therewith, and lette it a Goddes name stande in force, as farrefoorth as reason wyll. Whiche is not fullye so farrefoorth, as may serue to lette vs of the fetchyng foorth of this noble manne to hys honoure and wealth, oute of that place in whiche he neither is, nor canne bee a Saynctuary manne.

A Saynctuarpe serueth alway to defende the bodie of that manne that standeth in daunger abrode, not of greate hurte onelye, but also of lawfull hurte. For agaynst vnlawfull harmes, neuer Pope nor kynge entended to priuledge anye one place. For that priuledge hath every place. Knoweth anye manne anye place wherein it is lawfull one manne to dooe another wrong? That no manne vnlawfully take hurt, that libertie, the kynge, the lawe, and verpe nature forbiddeth in every place, and maketh to that regarde for everye manne euery place a Saynctuarpe. But where a man is by lawfull meanes in perill, there needeth be the tuicion of some special priuilege, which is the only ground and cause of all sayntuarpes. Fro whiche necessitie this noble prince is far. Whose loue to his king, nature & kinred proueth, whose innocence to all world,

A woꝝld, his tender youth pꝛoueth. And so saintuary as foꝝ him, neither none he nedeth, noꝝ also none can haue. **W**he coe not to saintuary as they come to baptisme, to requite it by theſe Godfathers. He muſt aſk it himſelf y muſte haue it. And reaſon, ſithe no man hath cauſe to haue it, but whoſe conſcience of his own fault maketh hym ſaine neede to requite it, what wil then hath yoder babes: which and if he had diſcretion to requite it, yf neede were, I dare ſaye would now be right angry with them y kepe him ther. And I woulde thynke withoute anye ſcruple of conſcience, wout any bꝛeache of pꝛiueledge, to bee ſomewhat moꝝe homely with them that be there ſaintuary men in dede. Foꝝ if one go to ſaintuary with another mannes goodes, why ſhould not the kyng leauiuge his bodye at libertie, ſatiſfy the part of his goodes euen within the ſaintuary: Foꝝ neither king noꝝ Pope can gene any place ſuch a pꝛiueledge, that it ſhall diſcharge a man of his dettes being able to paye. And with that diuers of y clergye y wer preſent, whither theſe ſaid it foꝝ his pleaſure, oꝝ as thei thought, agreed plainly, that by the law of god and of the church the goodes of a ſaintuarpe man ſhoulde be deliuered in payment of his detts, and ſollen goodes to the owner, and onelye libertie reſerued him to geat his lyuing with the labour of his handes. **W**e rely (quod the duke) I thinke you ſay be ry trueth. And what if a mannes wyfe will take ſaintuary, becauſe ſhe lyſte to runne from her huſbande: I woulde wene if ſhe can allege none other cauſe, he may lawfullye without any diſpleaſure to ſainct Peter, take her out of S. Peters church by the arme. And yf no bodye maye bee taken out of ſaintuarpe that ſayth he wyll hide there: Then yf a childe will take ſaintuarie, becauſe hee feareth to goe to ſchole, hys mayſter muſt lette hym alone. And as ſimple as that ſauple is, yet is there leſſe reaſon in our caſe, then in that. Foꝝ therein though it be a childe the feare, yet is ther at the leaſt wiſe ſome feare. And herein is there none at all. And beſelye I haue often heard of ſaintuarpe menne. But I neuer heard erſte of ſaintuarpe chyl- dꝛen. And therefore as foꝝ the concluſion of my minde, who ſo maie haue deſerued to neede it, yf thei thinke it foꝝ they ſuretye, lette them kepe it. But he canne bee no ſaintuarpe manne, that neither hath wiſedome to deſire it, noꝝ

malſte to deſerue it, whoſe lyſe oꝝ liberte can by no lawfull pꝛocelle ſtande in ieopardie. And he that taketh one oute of ſaintuary to dooe hym good, I ſaye plainly that he bꝛeaketh no ſaintuary. **W**hen the Duke hadde done, the tempoꝝall menne whole, and good part of the ſpirituall alſo, thinking none hurt ertyly ment towarde the younge babe, condeſcended in effecte, that if he were not deliuered, he ſhoulde be fetched. **W**howbeit they thoughte it ail beſte, in the auoydyng of all maner of rumour, that the Loꝝde Cardinal ſhoulde fyꝛſt aſſaye to geat him with her good will. And ther yppon all the counſaile came vnto the ſterrechaumber at weſtmiſter. And the Loꝝde Cardinal leauiuge the pꝛo- tectour with the counſell in the ſterrechaumber, departed into the ſaintuary to the Quene, with diuers other loꝝdes with him, wcre it foꝝ the reſpecte of hys honoure, oꝝ that ſhe ſhoulde by pꝛeſence of ſo manye percepue that this erande was not one mannes minde, oꝝ were it foꝝ that the pꝛotectour entended not in this matter to truſt any one manne alone, oꝝ els that if ſhe finallye wer determined to kepe him, ſomme of that company had happely ſecret inſtruction incontinent magry his minde to take him and to leaue her no reſpite to conuaye hym, whiche ſhe was likely to mind aſter this matter bꝛoken to her, yf her time would in any wyſe ſerue her.

When the Quene and theſe Loꝝdes were comme together in pꝛeſence, the Loꝝde Cardinal ſhewed vnto her, that it was thought vnto the pꝛotectour and vnto the whole counſaile, that her keepyng of the kinges bꝛother in that place was the thing whiche highlye ſoune, not onelye to the greate rumoure of the people and they obloquye, but alſo to the impoꝝtable grieſe and diſpleaſure of the kinges royall maielte. **T**o whoſe grace it were as ſingular coumfoꝝte, to haue his naturall bꝛother in company, as it was thei bothe diſhonour and all theiꝝ and hers alſo, to ſuffer hym in ſaintuarpe. As though the tone bꝛother ſtode in danger and perill of the tother. And he ſhewed her that the counſel therfoꝝe had ſet him vnto her, to requite her the deliuerpe of him, that hee miſt bee bꝛought vnto the kinges pꝛeſence at his libertie, oute of that place whiche they reckoned as a pꝛiſone. And ther ſhoulde he be demeaned accoꝝdyng to his eſtate. And ſhe in this doing ſhoulde bothe dooe great

A great good to the realme, pleasure to the counsell and profyt to her selfe, succour to her frēdes that were in distress, and ouer that (which he wisse well the specialle tender id). Not onely great comfort and honour to the king, but also to the pong duke himself, whose both great welthe it were to bee together, aswell for many greater causes, as also for their both dispozte and recreation: which thing the lord esteemed no slight, though he it seme lpght, well pondering that their youthe without recreation & play, cānot endure noz any esttraunger for the conuenience of their both ages & estates, so metely in that pointe for any of them as either of them for other.

By
the
Quenes
maiestie.

By My lord (quod h̄ quene:) I saye not nay, but that it were very contentent, that this gentilman whom ye require, were in the company of the kinge hys bzother. And in good faith me thiketh it were as great commoditie to them both as for yet a while, to ben in the custody of their mother, the tender age consydered of the elder of them both, but spectall the ponger, which besides his insancie that also nedeth good loking to, hath a while ben so soze diseased vered with sickness, and is so newly rather a lyttle amended then well recouered, that I dare put no parson erthly in trust with his keeping but my selfe onely, considering, that there is as phisicians saye, & as we also finde, double the perill in the recidiuacion, that was in the first sickness, with which disease nature being for elabozid, for eweried and weakened, waxeth the lesse able to beare out a new surfet. And albeit there might be founden other, that would happely doe theyz best vnto him: yet is there none ȳ either knoweth better how to ozder him, the I that so long haue kept him: or is moze tenderly like to cherishe him, then hys own mother that bare him. No man denieth god madam (quod the Cardinal) but that your grace were of all folke most necessary aboute your children: & so would be al the counsell, not onely be content, but also glad that ye were, if it might stand with your pleasure to be in such place as might stande with their honour. But yf you appoint your selfe to tary here, then thinke they yet moze conuenient, that the duke of yorke wer in the king honozably at his liberte to the comfort of them both, then here as a saintuary man to their both dishonour and obloquy: sith there is not alwaye so

great necessitie to haue the childe bes with the mother, but that occasion may sometime be such, that it should be moze expediet to kepe him els where. Which in this well appereth ȳ at suche time as your derest sonne then pzince and now king, should for his honour and good ozder of the Countrey, kepe household in Wales farre out of your cōpany: your grace was well contente there with your selfe. Not very well content, quod the Ducne: And yet the case is not like: for the tone was then in helthe, and the tother is now sike. In which case I meruelle greatly that my lord protectour is so disirous to haue him in his keeping where if the child in his sickness miscarried by nature, yet might be runne into slaunder and suspicion or fraude. And where they call it a thinge so foze against my childes honour and theirs also, that he bydeth in this place: it is all their honours there to suffer him byde, where no manne doubteth, hse shall be best kepte. And that is here, while I am here, whiche as yet intende not to come forth and subarde my selfe after other of my frendes: which would be god wer rather here in suertie with me, then I were there in iubarde with the. Whye Madame (quod a nother Lord) know you any thing why they should be in iubarde? Nay verely sur q̄ thee, noz why they should be in prison neither, as they now be. But it is I trow no great maruaile though I sere, lest those that haue not letted to put them in duresse without colour, wil let as lytle to procure their distruccion without cause. The Cardinal made a countenance to the tother Lord, that he should harp no moze vpon that string. And then said he to the Quene, that he nothing doubted, but that those lordes of her honozable kinne, which as yet remained vnder arrest should vpon the matter examined, do wel ynough. And as toward her noble person, neither was noz coulde be, any maner iubarde. Wherby should I truste that (quod the Quene) In that I am giltyles: As though they were gilty. In ȳ I am with their enemies better beloued then they: When they hate the for my sake, In that I am so nere of kinne to the king: And how farre be they of, if ȳ would helpe as god send grace it hurt not. And therfoze as for me, I purpose not as yet to departe hence. And as for this gentilmā my sonne, I mynde that he shalbe where I am till I see further.

A For I assure you, for that I se some mē
 to grede withowte any substaunctall
 cause to haue him, this maketh me much
 the moze farder to deliuer him. Cruely
 madame, quod he, and the farder that
 you be to deliuer him, the farder bene
 other men to suffer you to kepe hym, lest
 your causeles fere might cause you fer-
 ther to conuay him. And many be there
 that thinke that he cā haue no priuelege
 in this place, which neither cā haue wil
 to aske it, noz malpce to deserue it. And
 therefore they reckon no priuelege bro-
 ken, though they fetch him out. Which
 if ye spynally refuse to deliuer him, I ve-
 rely thynke they will. So much dyede
 hath my lord his vnckle, for the tender
 loue he bereth him, lest your grace shold
 hap to send him awaye. A syr quod the
The Quene Quene, hath the protectour so teder zeile
 to him, that he fereth nothing but lest he
 shold escape hym. Thinketh he that I
 would sende hym hence, which neyther
 is in hys plight to sende out, and in what
 place coude I reckon him sure, if he be
 not sure in this the sentuarpe whereof,
 was there neuer straūt yet so deuellish,
 that durste presume to breake. And I
 trust god as strong now to withstande
 his aduersaries, as euer he was. But
C my sonne can deserue no sentuarpe, and
 therefore he cannot haue it. For soth he
 hath foundena goodly glose, by whiche
 that place that may defend a thefe, may
 not saue an innocent. But he is in no
 supardy noz hath no neede therof. Whold
 god he had not. Croweth the protectour
 (I pray god he may proue a protectour)
 croweth he that I perceiue not where-
 unto his painted processe draweth: It is
 not honozable that the duke vnde here:
 it were comfortable for them both that
 he wer with his brother, because hys king
 lacketh a play felowpe be ye sure. I pray
D god send them both better play felowes
 then hym, that maketh so high a matter
 vpon such a trifling pretext: as though
 there coude none be founden to playe
 with the kyng, but if his brother hys hath
 no lust to play for sicknes, come oute of
 sanctuary out of hys sauegarde, to play
 with him. As though princes as ponge
 as they be, could not play but with their
 Beres, or children could not play but w
 their kyndred, wth whom for the moze
 part they agree much woze then wyth
 straungers. But the childe cannot re-
 quire the priuelege, who tolde hym so:
 he shal here him aske it and he will.
 Howbeit this is a gay matter: Suppose

he could not aske it, suppose he woulde
 not aske it, suppose hee woulde aske
 to goe oute, if I saye hee shall not,
 If I aske the priuelege but for for my
 selfe, I say he that agaynst my wyll ca-
 keth out him, breaketh the sanctuary.
 Serueth this liberty for my person on-
 lye, or for my goodes for ye maye not
 hence take my horse fro me: and maye
 you take my childe fro me: he is also my
 warde, for as my lerned counsell shew-
 eth mee, soth he hath nothing by discent
 holden by knightes seruice, the law ma-
 keth, his mother his gardaine. Then
 may no man, I suppose take my warde
 fro me oute of sanctuary, wythout the
 bzeche of the sanctuary. And if my pri-
 uelege could not serue hym, noz he aske
 it for hymselfe, yet sythe the lawe com-
 mitteth to me the custody of him, I may
 require it for hym, excepte the lawe
 giue a childe a gardayne onely for his
 goodes & hys landes, discharging hym
 of the cure and saufe keepng of hys bo-
 dy, for whych only both landes & goodes
 serue. And if exaples be sufficient to ob-
 tayne priueledge for my childe, I neede
 not farre to seeke. For in thys place in
 which we now be (and whych is now in
 questyon whyther my childe may take
 benefyte of it) myne other sonne now
 kyng was born, and kept in hys cradle,
 and preferued to a moze prosperous for-
 tune, which I pray god long to cōtinu.
 And as all you know, this is not hys first
 tyme that I haue taken sanctuary, for
 when my lord my husbände was ban-
 shed & thrust out of his kingdom, I fled
 hither being great with child, and here
 I bare the prynce. And when my lord
 my husbände retourned safe again and
 had the victoize, than went I hence to
 welcome him home, and from hence I
 brought my babe the prynce vnto hys
 father, when he fyrste toke hym in hys
 armes. And I praye God hys my sonnes
 palace may be as great sauegarde hym
 now rayning, as thys place was some-
 tyme to the kindes enemye. In whych
 place I stēd to kepe his brother sith &c.
Wherfore here intend I to kepe him
 sins māns law serueth hys gardain to kepe
 the infant. The law of nature wyll the
 mother kepe her childe. Gods law pry-
 uelegeth the sanctuary, & the sanctuary
 my sonne, sith I fere to put hym in the
 protectours handes that hath hys bro-
 ther already, and were if bothe sayled,
 inheritour to the crowne. The cause of
 my fere hath no man to doe to examine.
 And

This that is
 here betwene
 this marke
 and this
 was not
 written by
 W. More
 in this mōst
 whiche by him
 in englyshe
 but is trans-
 lated oute of
 this mōst
 whiche he
 wrote in
 latyn.

A And yet fere I no fether the flawfereth which as lerned men tell me foꝛbiddeþ eueꝛy man the custody of the, by whose deaꝛh he may inherite lesse lande then a kingdome. I can no moꝛe, but who so eueꝛ he be that breketh this holy sanctuary: I pray god shortly sende him nede of sanctuary, when he may not come to it. Foꝛ taken out of sanctuary would I not my moꝛtall enemy were.

The loꝛd Cardinall perceiuing that the queene wared eueꝛ the leger the farder of, and also that she began to kinde and chafe, and speke soꝛ biting woꝛdes against the the protectour, and such as he neither beleued, and was also loth to here, he said vnto her foꝛ a finall cōclusion, that he wouide no lenger dispute the matter. But if she were content to deliuer þe duke to him & to þe other loꝛdes there present, he durst lay his owne body & soule both in pledge, not onely foꝛ his suerty but also foꝛ his estate. And if she wouide giue the a resolute aũswere to þe cōtrary, he would foꝛthw depart there with all, and thyste who so would with thys bulynes afterwarde: foꝛ he neuer entendod moꝛe to moue her in that matter, in which she thought þe he and all other also saue herselfe, lacked either wit or trowth. What if they were so dul, that they couide nothing perceiue what the protectour entented: trowth if they should procure her sonne to be deliuered into his handes, in whom they should perceiue toward the childe any euil intended.

The queene with these woꝛdes stode a good while in a great study. And foꝛ as much her semed the Cardinall moꝛe redy to depart, then some of the remnant, & the protectour himselfe redy at hand, so þe verely thought she couide not kepe him there, but that hee shoulde incontinent be taken thence: & to conuay him els where, neyther had shee time to serue her, noꝛ place determined, noꝛ parsons appointed, all thinge vnredy thys message came on her so sodaynelly, nothing lesse loking foꝛ the to haue him set out of sentuary, which she thought to be now beset in such places about, þe he couide not be conuayed out vntake, & partly as she thought it might foꝛtune her fere to be false, so will she wasse it was either nedeles or boteles: wherfoꝛe if she shold nedes go frō him, she dempte it besse to deliuer him. And ouer þe of þe Cardinals faith she nothing doubted, noꝛ of some other loꝛdes neither, whō she there saw,

Which as she fered lest they might be deceiuid: so was she well assured they would not be cozupted: Then thought she it should yet make the þe moꝛe warily to loke to him, & the moꝛe sirkuspectly to se to his surety, if she with her owne hādes betoke him to them of trust. And at the last she toke the yong duke by the hande, and said vnto the loꝛdes: my loꝛd (o she) & all my loꝛdes, I neither am so vawise to mistrust your wittes, noꝛ so suspicious to mistruste your trowthes. Of which thing I put pose to make you such a prooue, as if either of both lacked in you, might tourne both me to great soꝛowe, the realme to much harme, and you to gret reproche. Foꝛ loe here is (o she) this gentelman, whom I doubt not but I could here kepe safe if I wouide, whatsoeuer any man say. And I doubt not also but ther he shold abode to deadly enemies vnto my blood, that if they wist where any of it lay in their owne body, they would let it out. We haue also had experience þe the desire of a kingdome knoweth no kintred. The brother hath bene the brothers bane. And may the nephews be sure of their vncler? Eche of these children is others defence while they be a sunder, and eche of their liues lieth in the others body. Kepe one safe & both be sure, and nothing foꝛ them both moꝛe perilouse, the to be both in one place. Foꝛ what wise merchaunt aduentureth all his good in one ship? All this notwithstanding, here I deliuer him and his brother in him, to kepe into your hādes, of whome I shall aske them both afoꝛe god and the woꝛld. Faithfull ye be that wot I wel and I know wel you be wise. Power & strenght to kepe him if ye list neither lacke ye of your self, noꝛ can lack helpe in this cause. And if ye cannot els where, the may you leue him here. But only one thing I beseeche you foꝛ þe trust that his father put in you eueꝛ, and foꝛ the trust that I put in you now, that as farre as ye thinke that I fere to muche, be you wel ware þe you fere not as farre to little. And therewithall she said vnto the childe: farewell my own swete sonne, god send you god keeping, let me kis you ones yet ere you goe, foꝛ God knoweth when we shal kis togither agayne. And therewith she kissed him, & blessed him, turned her back and wept and wēt her way, leauing the childe weping as fast. The loꝛd Cardinal & these other loꝛdes with him, had receiued this yong duke, they brought him into the

Distinction.

This that is here betwene this mark & this mark was not written by W. Doze in this history written by him in english, but is translated out of this history which he wrote in latin.

A Kerrechamber where the protectour toke him in his armes & killed him with these wordes: Now welcōe my lord euē to al my very hart. And he sayd in that of likelihod as he thought. Thereupon forthwith they brought him to hys kyng his brother into the bishoppes palice at powles, & from thence thzough the cite honozably into the tower, out of which after hys day they neuer came abzode.

¶ Whē hys protectour had both hys childzē in his hādes, he opened himself moze boldly, both to certayne other men, and also chiefly to the duke of Buckingham. Although I know that many thought, that this duke was priuy to al the protectours counsel, euē frō the beginning. And sōe of the protectours frendes said, that the duke was the first mouer of the protectoure to this matter, sending a priuie messēger vnto him, freight after king Edwards death. But other again which knewe better the suttile wit of the protectour, deny that he euer opened his enterpryse to the duke, vntill he had brought to passe the thinges befoze rehearsed. But whē he had imprisoned the quenes kinsfolkes, & gotten bothe her sonnes into his owne handes, than hee opened the rest of his purpose with lesse feare to them whom he thought mete for the matter, and specially to hys duke: who being wōne to his purpose, he thought his strength moze then halfe encreased.

¶ The matter was broken vnto the duke, by suttell folkes, and such as were their craftie matters in the handling of such wicked deuises: who declared vnto him, hys pong king was offended with him for his kinsfolkes sakes, and that if he were euer able, he would reuenge thē. Who wold prick him forward therunto, if they escaped (for they would remēbre their imprisonēt) Or els if they wer put to death, without doubte the ponge king wold be careful for their deatnes, whose imprisonēt was greuous vnto him. And that with repenting the duke should nothing auaille: for there was no way left to redeme his offēce by benefites: but he should soner destroy himself thā saue the king, who with his brother & his kinsfolkes he saw in such places imprisoned, as the protectour might wō a beck destroy them al: and that it were no doubte but he woulde do it in dede, if there wer any new enterpryse attēpted. And that it was likely that as hys protectour had prouided priuy garde for himself, so had he spialles for the duke, and traines to catche hym, if he should be a

gainste him, & that parauenture from them, whom he least suspected. For the state of thinges & the dispositions of nēwer than such, that a mā could not wel tell whom he might truste, or whom he might feare. These thinges and such like, being beate into the dukes minde, brought him to that point, that wher he had repēted the way that he had entred, yet wold he go forth in the same: & since he had ones begon, he wold stoutly go thzough. And therefore to thys wicked enterpryse, which he beleued coulde not bee voided, hee bent himselfe and went thzough: and determined, that since the comon mischief could not be amended, he wold tourne it as much as he might to hys owne commodite.

¶ Thā it was agreed, that the protectour should haue the dukes aide to make him king, & that the protectours onely lawfull sonne, should mary hys dukes daughter, and that the protectour should graunt him the quiet possession of the Criedōe of Hertford, which he claimed as his heritage, and could neuer obtain it in king Edwards time. Besides these requelles of hys duke, the protectour of hys owne minde promised him a great quantite of the kinges treasure & of his howse hold stufte. And whē they wer thus at a point betwene theseltes, they went about to pzeare for the coronacyō of hys pong king as (they would haue it seme. And that they might turne both the eles & mindes of men, frō perceiuing of their dyistes other wher the lordes being set for from al parties of the realme, came thick to that solemnite. But the protectour & the duke, after hys, that they had set the lord Cardinall, the Archebishoppe of York, than lord Chancellor, the Bishoppe of Ely, the lord Stanley & the lord Hastings than lord chāberleine, wō many other noble mē * to cōmune & deuise about the coronaciō in one place: as fast were they in an other place contraynyng the cōtrary, & to make the protectour kyng. To which counsel, albeit there were adhibit very few, & they very secret: yet begā there here & there about, some manner of muttering amonge the people, as though al should not long be wel, though they neither wist what they feared nor wherfoze: were it that befoze such great thinges, mens hartes of a secret instinct of nature misgiueth them. As hys sea wōut wind swellerh of himself somtime befoze a tēpest: or were it that some one man happely somewhat perceiuing, filled many mē wō suspiciō, though

A he shewed few me what he knew. Hobe-
it somwhat the dealing self made me to
muse on the mater, though the counsell
were close. For litle and litle all folke
withdrew fro the Tower, and drew to
Crosbies place in Bishops gates strete
wher the the protectour kept his house-
hold. The protectour had the resort, the
king in maner desolate. While some
for their busines made sure to them that
had the doing, some were by their fren-
des secretly warned, that it might hap-
pelye tourne them to no good, to be to
much attendaunt about the king wout
the protectours appointment: which re-
moued also diuers of the princes oide
seruantes from him, & let newe aboute
him. Thus many thinges coming togi-
ther pty by chaunce, partly of purpose,
caused at length, not comen people on-
ly that waue with the winde, but wise
men also & some lordes, yeeke to marke
the mater and muse thereon: so ferforth
that the lord Stanley, y was after Erle
of Darbiz, wisely mistrusted it, & saied
vnto y lord Hastings, y he much disliked
these two seuerall counsels. For while
we (y he) talke of one matter in the tone
place, litle wote we wherof they talk in
y other place. My lord (y the lord Has-
tinges on my life neuer doute you. For
while one man is there which is neuer
thence, neuer can there be thinge ones
minded that should sounde amisse to-
ward me, but it should be in mine eares
ere it were well ouce of their mouthes.
This ment he by Catesby, which was
of his nere secret counsaile, and whome
he veri familiarly vsed, and in his most
weighty matters put no man in so spe-
cial trust, rechening hymself to no mā so
liefe, sith he well wist there was no mā
to him so much beholden as was thys
Catesby, which was a man wel lerned
in the lawes of this lande, & by the speci-
al fauour of the lord chamberlen, in
good auctoritie & much rule bare in al
the county of Lecester wher the lord
Chamberlens power chiefly laye. But
surely great pity was it, that he had not
had either more trouthe or lesse wytte.
For his dissimulacion onelye, kepte
all that mischpyse bype. In whome
if the lord Hastings had not put so spe-
cial trust, the lord Stanley and he had
departed with diuerse other lordes, and
broken all the daunce, for many il signed
that hee saue, which he nowe consues
all to the beste. So suerly thoughte he
that there could be none harme toward
him in that counsaile entended where

Catesby was. And of trouthe the protec-
tour and the Duke of Buckingham
made very good seblaunce vnto the lord
Hastings, and kept him much in com-
pany. And vndoubtedly the protectour
loued him wel, & loth was to haue losse
him, sauing for fere lest his life shoulde
haue quailed their purpose. For which
cause he moued Catesby to proue wyty
some woordes cast out a farre of, whither
he could thinke it possible to winne the
lord Hastings into their parte. But Ca-
tesby whither he assayed him or assaied
him not, reportyd vnto the, that he soude
him so fast, and hard him speke so terri-
ble woordes, that he durst no further
bryeke. And of trouthe the lord Chamberle
of very trust shewed vnto Catesbye, the
mistrust that other began to haue in the
mater. And therfore he sering lest their
mociions might with y lord Hastings
minishe his credence, wherunto onely
al the matter lentid, procured the protec-
tour hastely to ridde him. And much the
rather, for that he trusted by his deeth to
obtaine much of the rule that the lord
Hastings bare in his countrey: the only
desire wherof, was y allectiue y indu-
ced him to be partener and one speyall
contriuier of al this horrible treason.
Wherupō sone after that is to wit, on
the friday the day of ma-
ny lordes assembled in the tower, and
there sat in counsaile, deuising the ho-
norable solepnyte of the kinges corona-
cion, of which the time appointed then
so nere approched, that the pageauntes
and suttelties were in making day and
night at westminster, and much vstaile
killed therfore, that after warb was cast
away. These lordes to sytting togyther
comoning of thys matter, the protec-
tour came in among them, fyrst aboute
ix. of the clock, saluting them curtesly,
& excusyng hymself that he had be from
them so long, sateng merely that he had
bene a slepe that day. And after a litle
talking w them, he sayd vnto y Bishop
of Elye: my lord you haue very good
strawberies at your gardayne in Hol-
berne, I require you let vs haue a messe
of them. Gladly my lord, y he, woulde
god I had some better thing as reedy to
your pleasure as that. And therwith in
al the haste he sent hys seruāt for a messe
of strawberies. The protectour sette the
lordes fast in comoning, and therupon
prapeng them to spare hym for a litle
while, departed thence. And sone after
one hower betwene. x. & xi. he returned
into y chamber among them, al chāged
d.iii. with

Catesby.

The counsell
in the tower.

A with a wonderful soure angrye countenance, knitting the browes, frowning and frowning and knawing on his lippes, & so sat him downe, in his place: al the lordes much dismayed & soze merueiling of this maner of sodain chaunge, and what thing should him aile. Then when he had sitten still a while, thus he began: what were they woorthy to haue, that compasse & ymagine the distructio of me, being so nere of blood vnto h^e king and protectour of his r^ell person & his realme. At this questio, al h^e lordes sat soze afforred, multiplying much by whome thys questio should be ment, of which **E**uery mā wytt himselfe clere. Then the lord chamberlen, as he h^e for the loue becomene th^e thoughte he might be boldest to him, answered and sayd, y^e thei wer woorthy to bee punished as heighnous traitors whatsoeuer they were. And al the other affirmed the same. That is (w^he) ponder sozceres my brothers wife & other w^her meaning y^e queene. At these wordes many of the other lordes were gretly abashed y^e fauoured her. But the lord Hastings was in his minde better content, that it was moued by her, th^e by any other whom he loued better: Albest hys harte somewhat grudged, that he was not afoze, made of counsell in this mater as he was of h^e taking of her h^enyred, and of their putting to death, which were by his assent befoze, deuised to bee h^ehedded at Mountfreit, this selfe same day, in which he was not ware y^e it was by other deuised, that himself should the same day be behedded at London. Th^e said the protectour: ye shal al se in what wise that sozceres and that other witch of her counsel shozis wife w^h their affynise, haue by their sozcery & witchcraft waisted my hody. And ther w^he plucked by hys doublet sleue to his elbow vpon his left arme, where he shewed a werthy withered arme and small, as it was neuer other. And thereupon euery mānes mind soze misgane th^e, well perceiuing that this matter was but a quarel. For wel thei wist, that h^e queene was to wise to go aboute any such folpe. And also if she would, yet wold she of all folke lesse make Shozis wife of counsaile, wh^o of al women she most hated, as that coueine wh^o the king her husband had most loued. And also no mā was there present, but wel knew that his harme was euer such since his birth. Patheles the lord Chamberlen (which fro h^e death of king Edward kept Shozis wife, on wh^oe he for what doted in the kinges life, sauing

as it is sayd he that while soz bare her of reuerence towarde hys king, or els of a certaine kinde of fidelite to hys frende) answered & sayd: certainly my lord e if they haue so heinouly done, thei be woorthy heinoue punishment. What quod the protectour thou seruest me I wene w^hiffes & with andes, I tel the thei haue so done, & that I will make good on thy hody traitour. And th^erd as in a great anger, he clapped his fist vpon h^e bozde a great rappe. At which token giuen, one cried treason without the cabze. Therwith a doze clapped, and in come there rushing men in harnes as many as h^e chamber might hold. And anon the protectour sayd to the lord Hastings: I arrest the traitour. What me my lord e quod he. Yea the traitour, w^h the protectour. And a nother let flice at the lord Standley which shronke at the stroke & fel vnder the table, or els his hed had be cleste to the tethe: for as shortly as he shranke, yet ranne the blood aboute hys eares. Then were they al quickly bestowed in diuerse chambzes, except h^e lord Chamberlen, wh^o the protectour bade speede & shypur hym a pace, for by saynt Poule (w^he) I wil not to dinner til I se thy hed of. It voted him not to aske why but henely he toke a priest at aduerture, & made a short shyzit, for a longer would not be suffered, the protectour made so much hast to dyner: which he might not go to til this wer done for sauing of his othe. So was he brought forth into the grene beside the chappel w^hin the tower, & his head laid down vpon a long log of timber, and there striken of, and afterward his body with the hed entred at Windsoze beside the body of king Edward, whose both soules our lord ydon.

A merueiloule case is it to here, either the warninges of that he should haue bokded, or the tokes of that he could not boide. For the self night next befoze his death, h^e lord Standley sent a trustie secret messenger vnto him at midnight in al the hast, requiring hym to rise & ryde away with hym, for he was disposed utterly no lenger to bide: he had so fereful a dreame, in which him thoughte that a boze with his tuskes so raced th^e both by the heddes, that the blood ranne aboute both their shoulders. And sozasmuch as the protectour gaue the boze for his cognisaunce, this dreame made so ferefol an impressio in his hart, y^e he was thoroughly determined no lenger to cary, but had his horse ready, if h^e lord Hastings wold go w^h him to ride so far yet y^e same night.

The lord
Standley
wounded,

The lord
Chamberlen
behedded,

The lord
Standley
dreame,

that