

A that thei shold be out of dāger ere dat. **C**y good lord q̄ h̄ lord Bassiges to this mel seger, leueh my lord tht master so much to such trifles, & hath such faith i dzeimes, which either his own fere sātasieth oꝝ do rise in h̄ nightes rest by reson of his dape thoughtes: Wel hi it is plaine wischzast to beleue in such dzeimes: which if they wer tokens of thiges to come, why thin ketth he not that we might be as likely to make thē true by our going if we were caught & bzought back (as frendes sayle flects) foꝝ then had the boze a cause likely to race vs w̄ his tuskas, as folke that fled

W foꝝ some falshe, wherfoze either is there no peryl, noꝝ none there is in dede: oꝝ if any be, it is rather in going thē biding. And if we should nedes cost fall in perill one way oꝝ other: yet had I leuer h̄ men should se it wer by other mēs falshe, thē thinke it were either our owne faulte oꝝ faint hart. And therfoze go to thy master man, & cōmende me to him, & pꝛap him be mery & haue no fere: foꝝ I ensure hym I am as sure of the man h̄ he woteth of, as I am of my owa hand. God sende grace sit q̄ the messenger, and went his way.

Certain is it alio, h̄ in h̄ riding toward h̄ tower, h̄ s̄e moꝝnig in which he was behedded, his hoꝝs twise oꝝ thꝛise stūbled w̄ hi almost to h̄ falling, which thing albe it eche man wote wel daily happeneth to thē to whō no such mischaūce is toward: yet hath it ben of an olde rite & custome, obserued as a token often times natably foꝝgoing some great misfortune. Now this h̄ foloweth was no warning, but an enemiouse scoꝝne. The same moꝝning ere he were by, came a knight vnto him, as it were of curtesy to accompany hym to the connsaile, but of trouth sent by the protector to hast him thitherward, wyth whō he was of secret confederacy in that purpose, a meane man at that time, and now of gret auctozite. This knight whē it happed the lord Chamberlen by h̄ way to stay his hoꝝse, and comen a while w̄ a pꝛiest whome he met in the tower strete,

Make his tale & said merely to him: what my lord I pꝛap you come on, whereto talke you so long w̄ that pꝛiest, you haue no nede of a pꝛiest yet: & therw̄ he laughed vꝛō him, as though he would say, ye shal shal haue sone. But so litle wiff h̄ tother what he ment, & so litle mistruffed, that he was neuer merier noꝝ neuer so full of good hope in his life: which self thing is often sene a signe of chaūge. But I shall rather let a ny thinge passe me, then the vain surety of mā mind so nere his deth. Upon the very tower wharfe so nere the place where his hed was of so sone after,

there met he w̄ one Bassiges a pursueat of his own name. And of their meting in h̄ place, he was put in remēbzauce of an other time, in which it had happened thē befoze, to mete in like maner together in the same place. At which other tyme the lord Chamberlein had ben acculed vnto king Edward, by h̄ lord Riuers h̄ quenes bzother, in such wise h̄ he was foꝝ h̄ while (but it lasted not long) farre fallen into h̄ kinges indingnaciō, & stode in gret fere of himselfe. And foꝝ asmuch as he nowe met this pursueat in the same place that iubarby so wel passed: it gaue him great pleasure to talke w̄ him therof w̄ whom he had befoze talked thereof in the same place while he was therein. And therfoze he said: Ah Bassiges, art h̄ remēbzied whē I met thee here ones wyth an beay hart?

Yea my lord (q̄ he) that remēbzie I wel: & thanked be God they gate no god, noꝝ ye none harme thereby. Thou wouldest say so q̄ he, if thou knewest asmuch as I know, which few know els as yet & mos shall shortly. That met he by the lordes of the quenes kindred that were take befoze, and should that day be behedded at Boufret: which he wel wiff, but nothig ware that h̄ arc hang ouer his own hed. In faith man q̄ he, I was neuer so soꝝy, noꝝ neuer stode in so great dꝛead in my life, as I did when thou and I met here.

And lo how h̄ world is turned, now s̄ad mine enemies in h̄ dānger (as thou maiff hap to here moꝝe hereafter) & I neuer in my life so mery, noꝝ neuer in so great suerty. O god god, the blindnes of our moꝝtall nature, when he mos feared, he was in good suerty: whē he rekened him self surest, he lost his life, & that w̄ in two hoꝝyres after. Thus eded this honozable man, a good knight and a gentle, of gret auctozite w̄ his pꝛince, of liuing some what desolate, plaine & open to his enemy, & secret to his frend: eth to begile, as he that of good hart & coꝝage foꝝe studied no perilles. A louing man & passing wel beloued. Very faithful, & trusty ynough, trusting to much.

Now flew h̄ fame of this lordes death, swiftly thꝛough the citie, & so foꝝth farther about like a winde in euery mā ere. But the protector immediately after diner, intending to set some colour vꝛō h̄ matter, s̄t in al h̄ hast foꝝ many s̄bstaūctal men out of the city into the Tower. And at their comning, himself w̄ the Duke of Bukinghā, stode harnesed in old il faring bzꝛgōuers, such as no mā shold wene h̄ thei wold bouch safe to haue put vꝛō their backs, except that some sodaine necessitie had cōstrai ned thē. And then the protector thewed

The description of the lord Bassiges

A the, y the loz chāberlain, & other of his cō-
spiracy, had cōtrived to haue sodeinly de-
stroyde him & the duke, ther y same day in
h̄ counsel. And what they inteded further,
was as yet not well knowen. Of whiche
their trelō he neuer had knowlage befoze
x. of h̄ clock h̄ same foze none. Whiche so-
dai sere dzaue thē to put on foz ther defēce
such harnets as cāe next to hande. And so
had god holpe thē, y h̄ mischief turned vpo
thē y woid haue done it. And this he requi-
red thē to report. Eueri mā answered him
fair, as though no mā mistrusted y mater
which of trouth no mā belcued. Yet foz h̄
further appeling of h̄ peoples mind, he set
immediatli after diner in al y hast, one he
rode of armes, w̄ a pclamaciō to be made
through h̄ city in h̄ kinges name, contey-
ning y the loz Hastings w̄ diuers other
of his traytorous purpose, had befoze cō-
spired h̄ same day, to haue slaine h̄ loz p-
tectoꝝ & h̄ duke of Buckingham sitting in h̄
counsel, & after to haue take vpo thē to rule
h̄ king & h̄ realm at their pleasure, & ther bi
to pil & spoil whō they list vncōtrolled. And
much mater was ther in y pclamaciō de-
nised, to h̄ claūder of h̄ loz chāberlain, as
h̄ he was an euil counsellor to h̄ kinges fa-
ther, intising hi to many thinges highlye
reboūdig to h̄ minishing of his honoz, & to
h̄ vniuersal hurt of his realm, by his euyl
cōpany, sinister pcurting, & vnglacious e-
sāple, as wel in many other thinges as in
h̄ vicious liuing & inozdinate abusio of
his body, both w̄ many other, & also spect-
allly thozes wife, which was one also of
his most secret counsellor of this heynous tre-
sō, w̄ whō he lay nightli, & namell h̄ night
last passed next befoze his death, so that it
was p̄lasse meruel, if vnglacious liuyng
brought him to an vnhappy ēding: which
he was now put vnto, by h̄ most dze de-
maūdemēt of h̄ kinges highnes & of his ho-
nozable & faithful counsellor, bothe foz his de-
merites, beig so opēll take in his fallst cō-
ceitued trelō, & also lest h̄ delaying of his ex-
ecuciō, might haue eozaged other mischi-
uous p̄sōs p̄tners of his cōspiracy, to ge-
ther & assēble thēself together in makyng
sōe gret commociō foz his deliuerance.
Whose hope now beig by his wel deserued
deth politickely rep̄lled, al h̄ realm shold bi
gods grace rest in good quiete and peace.
Now was this pclamaciō made w̄in . ii.
houres after h̄ he was beheded, & it was so
curiously indited, & so fair writē in parch-
mēt in so wel a set hande, & therwith of it
self so lōg a pcellē, y eueri child might wel
pcesue, that it was prepared befoze. For
al h̄ time betwene his death & the pclamig
could scant haue suffised vnto h̄ bare wry-
ting alone, all had it bene but in paper &

The prote-
toze pclamaci-
on.

scribled sozth in half at aduēture. So y b. C
pō h̄ pclamig therof, one y was scole ma-
ster of Poules of chaūce stāding by, & cō-
paring h̄ thoznes of h̄ time w̄ the lēgth of
h̄ matter, said vnto thē y stode about him
here is a gay goodly cast, foule cast awat
foz half. And a merchāt answered hym, y
it was writē by p̄fecty. Now thē by & bi, as
it wer foz anger not foz couetise, y p̄tectoꝝ
set into h̄ house of thozes wife (foz her hus-
bād dwelled not w̄ her) & spoiled her of al
y euer she had, aboue h̄ value of . ii. oz. iiii.
s. marks, & sent her body to p̄rison. And
whē he had a while laide vnto her foz the
maner sake, y she wēt about to bewitch hi,
& y she was of counsellor w̄ the loz chāberlain
to destroy hi: in cōclusiō, whē y no coloure
could fallē vpo these matters, thē he layd
heynously to her charge, y thing y herself
could not deny, that al h̄ woꝝld wist was
true, & that natheles euery mā laughed at
to here it thē so sodainly so highlye takē, y
she was nought: of her body. And foz thys
cause (as a goodly continēt p̄ince clene &
faulles of himself, set oute of heauen into
this vicious woꝝld foz the amēdemēt of
mēs maners) he caused the bishop of Lōdō
to put her to opē penāce, going befoze the
crosse in p̄cessiō vpon a sonday with a ta-
per in her hād. In which she wēt in coun-
tenance & pace demure so womāly, & albe
it she were out of al array saue her h̄rtle
only: yet wēt she so fair & louely, namelpe
while the wondering of the people casē a
contly rud in her chekes (of whiche she be-
foze had most misse) that her great shame
wan her much p̄aise, amōg those y were
moze amozous of her body thē curious of
her saule. And many good folke also y ha-
ted her liuing, & glad wer to se sin coꝝrec-
ted: yet pittied thē moze her penance, then
reioyced therin, whē they considzed that h̄
p̄tectoꝝ p̄cured it, moze of a coꝝrupt intēt
thē an vertuous affectiō. This woman
was boꝝn in Lōdō, woꝝthipfully frended
honestly brought vp, & very wel marcyed,
saying soewhat to sone, her husbāde an
honest citezen, yonge & goodly & of good
substance. But foza muche as they were
coupled ere they wer wel ripe, she not very
feruently loued, foz whō she neuer longed.
Whiche was happely the thinge, that the
moze easily made her ēcline vnto y kings
appetite whē he required her. Howbeit y
respect of his royaltie, h̄ hope of gay appa-
rel, ease, plesure & other wātō welth, was
hable sone to perse a softē tender hearte.
But when the king had abused her, anon
her husbāde (as he was an honest man &
one that could his good, not p̄suming to
touch a kinges cōcubine) left her by to hi
al togither. When the king died, the loz
Chāber,

Thozes wife

F

G

The descrip-
ciō of thozes
wife.

D

Chāber,

A Chamberlen toke her. Which in the kinges dates, albeit he was soze enamored vpon her, yet he forbare her, either for reuerence, or for a certain frendly faithfulness. Where per she was & faire: nothing in her body y you wold haue changed, but if you wold haue wished her somewhat higher. Thus say thei y knew her in her youthe. Albeit soe that now se her (for yet she liueth) deme her neuer to haue be wel visaged. Whose iugement seemeth me somewhat like, as though me should gesse y bewty of one longe before departed, by her scalpe taken out of the charuel house: for now is she old lene, withered, & dried vp, nothing left but ryulde skin & hard bone. And yet being euē such: whoso wel aduise her visage, might gesse & deuise which ptes how filled, wold make it a faire face. Yet delited not men so much in her bewty, as in her pleasat behauiour. For a proper wit had she, & could both reade wel & write, mery in cōpany, ready & quick of answer, neither mute nor full of bable, sometime taunting wout displeasure & not wout disport. The king wold say that he had. iiii. concubines, which in three diuers properties diuersly exceled. One the meriest, an other the wildest, the thirde the holiest harlot in his realme, as one whō no mā could get out of y church lightly to any place, but it wer to his bed. The other two were so what greter parsonages, & pathes of their humilite content to be namcles, & to forbere the praise of those properties. But the meriest was this Shozis wife, in whom the king therfore toke speciall pleasure. For many he had, but her he loued, whose fauour to sai the trouth (for sinne it wer to belle y deuil) she neuer abused to any mans hurt, but to many a mans comfort & relief: where the king toke displeasure, she wold mitigate & appease his mind: where me were out of fauour, she wold bring them in his grace. For many that had highly offended, shee obtained pardon. Of great forfetures she gate men remission. And finally in many weighty sutes, she stode many me in gret stede, either for none, or very smal rewardes, & those rather gay then rich: either for that she was content w the dede selfe well done, or for y she delited to be luid vnto, & to shew what she was able to do wpyth the king, or for y wanton womē and welthy he not alway couetouse. I doubt not some shal think this woman to sleight a thing, to be written of & set amonge the remembraūces of great matters: which thei shal specially thinke, y happely shal esteeme her only by y thei now see her. But me seemeth the chaūce so much the more worthy to be remembred, in how much she is now in the more beggerly cōdition, vnfreded & woyme

out of acquaintāce, after god substāce, after as gret fauour w the pynce, after as gret sute & seking to w al those y those days had busynes to speede, as many other me were in their times, which be now famous, oly by y insamp of their il dedes. Her doinges were not much lesse, albeit thei be muche lesse remebred, because thei were not so euil. For me vse if they haue an euil turne, to write it i marble: & whoso doth vs a good tourne, we write it in duste which is not woost proued by her: for at this dape shee beggeth of many at this dape liuing, y at this day had begged if she had not bene.

Now was it so deuiled by y protectour & his counsel, y the self day in which the lord Chamberlen was beheaded in the tower of London, & about the selfsame hower, was there not without his assent beheaded at other behed Posttraite, the soze remembred lordes & knights y were take fro the king at Northampton & Stony Stratford. Which thige was done i the presēce & by the order of Sir Richard Katclif knight, whose seruice y protectour specially vied in y counsel and in therecucio of such lawles enterprisles, as a man y had be long secret w him, hauing experiece of y world & a shrewde wit, thort & rude in speche, rough & boustious of behauiour, bold in mischief, as far fro pitie as fro al fere of god. This knight bringing them out of y prisō to y scafold, & shewing to the people about y thei were Traitoz, not suffering the to speke & declare their innocēce lest their wordes might haue inclined me to pity the, & to hate the protectour & his part: caused the hastily without iugement, procelle, or maner of order to be beheaded, & wout other earthly gilt, but only y thei were god me, to true so y king & to night to the quene. Now wbe the lord Chamberlen. & these other lordes & knights were thus beheaded & ridde out of the way: the thought the protectour, y while me ruled what y mater met, while y lordes of the realme wer about him out of their owne strenghtis, while no mā wist what to thinke nor whōe to trust, ere euer they should haue space to dispute & disgest the mater & make parties: it wer best hastily to pursue his purpose, & put himself in possession of y crowne, ere me could haue time to deuise any waies to resist. But now was al the study, by what meane thys matter being of it self so heinous, might be first broken to the people, in such wise that it might be wel taken. To this counsel they toke diuerse, such as they thought metely to be trusted, likely to be indused to y parte, & able to stand the in stede, either by power or policy. Among whom, they made Edmonde of Counsaill Edmond Shaa knight then Shaa Maier of London, which vpo trust of his owne

Edwar.
iii. conz
Shaa.

The Lord
Rivers and
other behed

Sir Richard
Katclif.

C

B

Edmonde
Shaa Maier
of London.

Doctour
Shaa.
Frere Denker

A own aduancement, whereof he was of a proud hart highly desirous, shold frame the cite to their appetite. Of spiritual mē thei toke such as had wit, & were in aucthoritie among the peple for oppinion of ther learning, & had no scrupilouse cōscience. Among these had thei John Shaa clerke brother to y^e Maier, & freer Denker prouincial of the Augustine freers both doctors of diuinite, both gret p̄chers, both of moze learning then vertue, of moze fame then learning. For thei were befoze gretly esteemed among the peple: but after that neuer. Of these these two y^e tone had a sermon in praise of the protectour befoze the coronacion, the tother after, both so ful of sedulous flattery, that no māns eares could abide thē. Denker in his sermō so lost his voice that he was faine to leaue of & come doctore in the middes. Doctour Shaa by his sermō lost his honestie, & sone after his life, for very shame of the woꝛde, into which he durst neuer after come abroad. But the frere forced for no shame, & so it harmed him y^e lesse. Howbeit some dout & many thinke it, that Denker was not of counsel of the mater befoze the coronaciō, but after the comen maner fell to flattery after: namely sith his sermō was not incontinent vpon it, but at S. Mary holpyfall at the Ester after. But certaine is it, that Doctour Shaa was of counsel in the beginning, so farre forth that they determined that he should first breke the mater in a sermon at Poules Crosse, in whiche he hold by y^e aucthorite of his preaching, encline the peple to the protectours wholly purpose. But now was al the labour & study, in the deuise of some conuenient pretext, for which the peple should be content, to depose the prince & accept the protectour for kinge. In which diuerse thinges they deuised. But the chief thing & the welghty of al that inuencion, rested in this y^e they should allege bastardy, either in king Edward himself, or in his childzē, or both. So that he should seme disabled to inherite the crowne by the duke of Bozke, and the prince by him. To lay bastardy in kynge Edward, sowned openly to the rebuke of the protectours owne mother, which was mother to thē both: for in y^e point could be none other colour, but to pretend that his own mother was one aduouteresse which not w̄standing to farther this purpose he letted not: but p̄theles he would y^e point should be lesse & moze fauozably handled, not euen fully plain & directly, but that y^e matter should be touched a slope craftely, as though mē spared in y^e point to speke al the trowth for fere of his displeasure. But y^e other point cōcerning the bastardy that

they deuised to surmise in king Edwards childzē, y^e would he should be openly declared & enforced to the vttermost. The colour & pretext wherof cānot be wel p̄ceined, but if we first repete pou soe thinges lōge befoze done about king Edwardes mariage. After y^e king Edward y^e fourthe had deposed kinge Henry the sixt, & was in pealpyble possession of the realme, determining himself to mary, as it was requisite bothe for himself & for the realme, he set ouer in embassiate, the Erle of warwike with other noble men in his cōpany vnto Spaine, to intreate & conclude a mariage betuene king Edward & the kinges daughter of Spaine. In which thing y^e Erle of Warwike soude the parties so toward & willing, y^e he speedely according to his instraccions, w̄out any difficulty brought y^e matter to verpe good cōclusion. How happed it that in the meane seasō, there came a sute by peticiō to the king, dame Elizabeth Gray which was after his quene, at that tyme a widow bozne of noble blood, specpally by her mother, which was Duches of Bedford ere she married the lord Modefeld her father. Howbeit this dame Elizabeth herself being in seruice w̄ quene Margaret, wife vnto king Henry the. vi. was married vnto one Gray a squier whō king Henry made knight vpon the field y^e he had on at agāst king Edward. And litle while stoyed he y^e knightshod, for he was at y^e same field slaine. After which done, & the Erle of Warwike being in his embassiate about thasore remembred mariage, this poze Lady made hūble sute vnto y^e king, y^e she might be restozed vnto such smal landes as her late husband had giue her in iointure. Whō whē y^e king beheld, & hard her speke, as she was both faire, of a god fauoz, moderate of stature, wel made & very wise: he not only pittied her, but also ward ennamozed on her. And taking her afterward secretly aside, begā to entre in talking moze farly. Whose appetite whē she perceined, she verteously denyed him. But y^e did she so wisely, & with so god maner, & woꝛdes so wel set, that she rather kindled his desire thē quēched it. And finally after many a meeting, much woing & many great promises, she wel espied the kinges affectiō toward her so greatly encreased, y^e she durst somtwhat y^e moze boldly say her minde, as to hym whose harte she p̄ceined moze firmly set, thē to fall of for a woꝛde. And in conclusiō she shewed him plainly, y^e as she wist herself to simple to be his wife, so thought she herself to good to be his concubine. The king much merueling of her constauce, as he y^e had not be w̄ont els where to be so stiffely sayd naye,

The kinges
mother.

A so muche esteemed her contynence and chaſtite, y he set her vertue in the ſtede of poſſion riches. And thus taking couſaile of his deſyre, determined in al poſſible haſt to mary her. And after he was thus appointed, & hadde betwene them twain enſured her: the aſked he counſel of his other frendes, and y in ſuche manner, as thei might the perceiue it boted not greatly to ſay nay. Notwithſtanding y Duches of yorke his mother was ſo loze moued therewith, y ſhe diſwaded y marriage aſmuch as ſhe poſſible might alleging y it was his honoz, profite, and ſurety alſo, to mary in a noble progeny out of his realm, whereupon depended gret ſtrength to his eſtate by y aſſinpryie & gret poſſibilitie of encrease of his poſſeſſions. And y he could not well otherwiſe do, ſtading that y Earle of warwik had ſo far moued already. Whicher wer not likely to take it well, if al his viage were in ſuche wiſe fruſtrate, and his appointmentes deluded. And the ſaid alſo y it was not princely to mary hys owne ſubiect, no gret occaſion leading therunto, no poſſeſſions, oz other comodities, depēding therupo, but onely as it were a rich mā that would mary his mayde, onely for a litle wātō dotage vppon her parſon. In which marriage manye moe comend y maidens fortune, then y maſters wiſdō. And yet therein the ſaid was moze honeſty, the honoz i this marriage. For aſmuch as there is betwene no merchant & his own maid ſo gret differēce, as betwene y king and this widowe. In whose parſō albeit ther was nothing to be miſliked, yet was there ſhe ſaide: nothing ſo excellēt, but y it might be founde in diuers other, y wer moze metely (q the) for your eſtate, & maydēs alſo, wher as y only widowhed of Elizabeth Gray though ſhe wer in al other thinges conuenient for you, ſhold yet ſuffice as me ſemeth to refrain you from her marriage, ſith it is an unſitting thing, & a veri blemiſh, & highe diſparagemēt, to the ſacremageſty of a prince, y ought as nigh to appoche prieſthode in clenas as he doth in dignitie, to be defouled w bigamy in his firſt marriage. The king whē his mother had ſaid, made her anſwer part in ernest part in play merely, as he that wiſſe himſelf out of her rule. And albeit he would gladly y ſhe ſhold take it wel, yet was at a pointe in his owne mynde, toke ſhe it wel oz otherwiſe. For albeit ſom what to ſatiſfy her he ſaide, y albeit marriage being a ſpiritual thing, ought rather to be made for y reſpecte of God

The kinges
mother to his
son.

where his grace enclinet h parties to
loue together as he truſted it was in his
tbe for y regard of any reſozal aduau-
tage: yet nacheles him ſemed y this ma-
riage euē woꝝldly coſidered, was not vn-
profitable. For he reckened y amitye of
no earthly nactō ſo neceſſari for h, as y
freſdhip of his own. Which he thought
likely to beare him ſo muche y moze her
ty fauoz in y he diſdained not to marye
w one of his own land. And yet yf oute-
ward aliance wer thought ſo requiſite,
he would find y meanes to enter therein
to, much better bi other of his kin, wher
al y parties could be cotēted, thā to ma-
ry himſelf, whom hee ſhoulde happelye
neuer loue, and ſoz y poſſibility of moze
poſſeſſions, leſe y fruit & pleaſure of this y
he had already. For ſmal pleaſure taketh
a mā of al y euer he hath beſide, yf he bee
wiued againſt his appetite. And I dout
not q he but there be as ye ſaye other, y
be in euery point cōparable w her. And
therfoze I let not the y like the to wedde
the. For moze is it reaſō y it miſlike any
mā, y I mary where it liketh me. And I
am ſure y my coſein of warwik neither
loueth me ſo litle, to grudge at y I loue,
noꝝ is ſo unrelonable to loke y I ſhold in
choiſe of a wiſe, rather be ruled by hys
eye, the by mine own: as though I wer
a ward y wer bound to mary by thapoint
mēt of a gardain. I would not be a kyng
w that cōdicio, to ſozbere mine own ly-
berty in choiſe of my own marriage. As
for poſſibilitie of moze inheritaunce by
new affinity in eſtraunge lādes, is ofte y
occaſion of moze trouble the profite. And
we haue already title by y meanes, to ſo
much as ſufficeth to get & kepe wel i one
mās daies. What ſhe is a widow & hath
already childꝛe, by gods bleſſed Ladye I
am a hatcherer & haue ſōe to: & ſo rche of
vs hath a profe y neither of vs is lyke to
be barain. And therfoze madam I pray
you be cotēt, I truſt in god ſhe ſhal brig
furth a young prince, y ſhal pleaſe you.
And as for y bigamy, let y biſhop harke-
ly lay it in my wat, whē I cōe to take oz-
ders. For I vnderſtād it is ſozbidde a
prieſte, but I neuer wiſſe it yet y it was
ſozbidde a prince. The Duchesse w
theſe wordes nothyng appraſed, and ſe-
ing y king ſo ſet thereon that ſhe coulde
not pull him backe, ſo byghelpe ſhe dy-
dained it, y vnder pretext of her ductye,
to Godwarde, ſhe deuiled to diſturbe
this marriage, and rather to help that he
ſhold mary one dame Elizabeth Lucy,
whō y king had alſo not lōg befoze got-
tē w child. Wherefoze y kinges mother
obiccted

Elizabeth
Lucy.

Q objected openly against his marriage, as
 it were in discharge of her conscience,
 that the kinge was sure to dame Elisa-
 beth Lucy and her husband before god.
 By reason of which wordes, such obsta-
 cle was made in the matter, that either the
 Bishoppes durst not, or the king would
 not, proceede to the solempnificatio of this
 wedding, till these same were clerely pur-
 ged, & the trowth wel & openly testified.
 Therupon dame Elisabeth Lucy was
 set for. And albeit she was by the kinges
 mother & many other put in good comfort,
 to affirme that she was ensured unto the
 king: yet when she was solepnelly sworne
 to say the trowth, she confessed that they
 were neuer ensured. Howbeit she sayed
 his grace spake so louing wordes vnto
 her, she verely hoped he would haue mar-
 ried her. And if it had not ben for such
 kind wordes, she would neuer haue she-
 wed such kindenes to him, to let him so
 kindly get her in childe. This examina-
 tion solepnelly taken, when it was clerely
 perceived that there was none impedim-
 ent: the king in gret feast & honorable
 solepnite, married dame Elisabeth Crat
 and her crowned quene she was bys ene-
 mies wife, & many time had praied full
 hartly for his losse. In which god loued
 her better, then to graunt her her bone.
 But when the Erie of Warwikk vn-
 derstode of this marriage, he tooke it so
 highly that his embassate was deluded,
 that for very angre & disdain, he at his
 retourne assembled a gret puissance a-
 gainst the king, and came so fast vppon
 him or he could be able to resist, that he
 was faine to hoide the realme & fle into
 holland for succour. When he remay-
 ned for the space of .ii. yeres, leuing bys
 new wife in westminster in sanctuary,
 wher she was deliuered of Edward the
 prince, of whom we before haue spokē.
 In which meane time the Erie of warwikk
 toke out of prisō and set by againe king
 Henry the .vi. which was before by king
 Edward deposed and that much what
 by the power of the Erie of warwikk:
 which was a wilcman & a couragious
 wartour, & of such strenght, what for his
 landes his alliaunce and sauer with al
 the people, that he made kinges and put
 down kinges almost at his pleasure, &
 not impossible to haue attained it him-
 selfe, if he had not rehedned it a greater
 thing to make a king then to be a king.
 But nothing lasteth alway, for in con-
 clusion king Edward returned, and in
 much lesse number then he had, at Warne-
 on the .viii. daye selde, slewe the Erie of

warwikk with many other great estates of
 the partie, & so stably attained the crowne
 againe, that he peacefully enjoyed it vnto
 his dieng day: and in such plight left
 it, that it could not be lost, but by the dis-
 corde of his verie frendes, or faithles of
 his sained frendes.

I haue reherced this busines about this
 marriage somewhat the moze at length,
 because it might thereby better appere
 vpon how slipper a grounde the protectour
 builded his colour, by which he protec-
 ted king Edwardes childre to be bas-
 tardes. But that inuencion simple as
 it was, it liked them to whom it sufficed
 to haue somewhat to say, while they were
 sure to be compelled to no larger prowe
 then themselves list to make. How then
 I began to shew you, it was by the pro-
 tectour & his counsaile concluded, that
 this doctour Shaa should in a sermon at
 Poules Crosse, signifye to the people,
 that neither king Edward himselfe, nor
 the Duke of Clarence, were lawfully be-
 gotten, nor were not the very childre of
 the duke of York, but gotten vnlawfully
 by other parsons by thaduoutry of the
 duchesse their mother. And she also dame
 Elisabeth Lucy was verely the wife of
 king Edward, and so the prince and all
 his children bastardes were gotten by
 the quene. According to this deuise, doc-
 tour Shaa the sonday after at Poules
 crosse in a gret audieñce (as alway asse-
 mbled gret number to his preaching) he toke
 for his tyme *spuria ritualina non agent radices
 alas.* That is to say bastard slipperes shall
 neuer take depe roote. Therupon when he
 had shewed the great grace that god gi-
 ueth & secretly inforwondereth in right ge-
 neracio after the lawes of matrimony,
 then declared he that comely those chil-
 dren lacked that grace, & for the punish-
 ment of their parentes were for the moze
 parte vnhappie, which were gotten in
 haste and specially in aduowtrie. Of
 which, though some by the ignoraunce
 of the world & the trowth his fro knowlege
 inherited for the season other mennes
 landes, yet god alway so prouideth, that
 it continueth not in their blood long, but
 the trowth coming to light, the rightfull
 inheritoze be restozed, & the bastard slip-
 pulled by, ere it can be roted depe. And
 when he had laid for the prowe & confir-
 macion of this sentence, certain ensamples
 taken out of the olde testament & other
 auncient histories, then began he to descēd
 into the praise of the lord Richarde late
 duke of York, calling him father to the
 lord protectour, & declared the title of bys
 heires

The kinges
marriage.

The king
fledde.

The prince
borne.

King Henry
the .vi. set by.

Of the Erie
of warwikk.

Doctoure
Shawes
Sermon.

A heires vnto the crowne, to whom it was
 after the deathe of King Henry the sixte
 entailed by authoꝝtite of parliamente.
 The shewed he y his very right heire of
 his body lawfully begotte, was onely y
 lord protectoꝝ. For he declared the, that
 king Edward was neuer lawfully ma-
 ried, vnto y quene, but was befoze god,
 husband vnto dame Elizabeth Lucy, &
 so his childꝛe bastardes. And besides y,
 neither king Edward himself, noꝝ the
 duke of Clarence amog those y wꝛe secret
 in y household, wꝛe reckened very surely
 foꝝ y childꝛe of y noble Duke, as those y
 by their fauours moze resembled other
 knowe me the him. From whose vertu-
 nous coꝛdicions, he said also y kyng Ed-
Ward was far of. But y lord protectour
 he said, y very noble pꝛince, y special pa-
 terne of knightly pꝛowes, as well in ail
 pꝛincely behauoꝝ as in y linaimenes &
 fauoꝝ of his visage, representeth the very
 face of y noble duke his father. This is
 he, y fathers owne figure, this is his
 own coꝛtenance, y very pꝛint of his vi-
 sage, y sure vndoubted image, y playne
 expꝛesse likeness of that noble Duke.
 Howe was it befoze deuised, that in y
 speaking of these woꝛdes, the protectoꝝ
C should haue comen in amog y people to
 y sermonwarde, to thend y those woꝛds
 meting in his pꝛesence, might haue been
 taken among the hearers, as though he y
 holpe ghost had put the in the preacher's
 mouth, & should haue moued the people
 euen ther, to crie king Richard king Ri-
 chard, y it might haue bene after said, y
 he was specially chosen by god & in ma-
 ner by miracle. But this deuise quailed
 either by y protectoꝝs negligence, oꝝ the
 pꝛeachers ouermuche diligence. For
 while y protectoꝝ found by y way say-
Wing lest he should pꝛeuēt those woꝛdes,
 & the doctoꝝ fearing y he should com ere
 his sermon could come to those woꝛdes
 halted his matter ther to: he was com to
 the & pass them, & entred into other mat-
 ters ere y protectoꝝ came. Whom when
 he beheld coming, he sodainly leste the
 matter, with which he was in hand, and
 without any deduccion therunto, out of
 al order, & out of al frame, began to re-
 pete those woꝛdes again: this is y verve
 noble pꝛince, y special patrone of knight-
 ly pꝛowes, which as well in al pꝛincely
 behauoꝝ as in y linaimenes & fauoꝝ of
 his visage, representeth y very face of the
 noble duke of york his father. This is y
 fathers own figure, this his own coꝛte-
 nance, y very pꝛinte of his visage, y sure
 vndoubted ymage, y plain expꝛesse lyke-

nes of y noble duke, whose remembrance
 can neuer dye while he liueth. Whyle
 these woꝛdes wꝛe in speaking, y protectoꝝ
 toꝝ accompanied to the duke of Buckin-
 gham, wꝛe thoꝝow y people into y place
 wher e the doctoꝝs comonly stand in the
 vpper floꝝ, wher he stode & hearkē the
 sermon. But the people wꝛe so farre fro
 crying king Richard, y thei stode as thei
 had bene turned into stones, foꝝ woꝛder
 of this shamefull sermon. After whiche
 once ended, the preacher gate him home
 & neuer after durst looke out foꝝ shame,
 but kepe him out of sight: lyke an owle.
 And whē he once asked one y had bene
 his old friend, what the people talked of
 him, al wꝛe it y his own conscience wel
 shewed him that thei talked no god, yet
 whē thei tother answered him that there
 was in euery mans mouth spokē of him
 much shame, it so strake him to y heart,
 that in fewe daies after he withered &
 consumed away. The on the tewe day
 folowing this sermon, there came vnto
 the yeld hall in Lodon the duke of Buc-
 kinghā, accōpaned wꝛ diuers lordes and
 knightes, mo the happely kire we y mes-
 sage that thei brought. And there in the
 east ende of the hall wher the maire ke-
 peth the huskinges, the maire & al the al-
 dermē being assēbled about him, all the
 comons of the citie, gathered befoze the,
 after silence commaunded vpon greate
 pain in the protectoꝝs name: the Duke
 stode vp, and (as he was neither vnlear-
 ned, and of nature marueiloufly well
 spoken) hee saide vnto the people with a
 clere and a loude voice in this maner of
 wyse. I frendes, foꝝ the zeale & hearty
 fauour that we beare you, we be comen
 to breake vnto you, of a matter ryghte
 great & weighty, and no lesse weighty,
 then pleasing to God and profitabile to
 al the realm: noꝝ to no part of the realm
 moze profitabile, the to you the citezens
 of this noble citie. For why, that thyng
 that we wote well ye haue lōg time lac-
 ked and soze longed foꝝ, that ye woulde
 haue geuen great good foꝝ, y ye woulde
 haue gone farre to fetche, that thyng
 we bee comme hyther to bringe you,
 withoute poure labour, payne, coffe,
 aduenture oꝝ icopardie. What thyng
 is that: certes the surtepe of your owne
 bodyes, the quiete of your wyues and
 your daughters, the safegarde of
 your goodes: of all whiche thynges
 in tymes passed ye stode euer moze in
 doubt. For who was there of you all,
 that woulde reckon hym selfe lord of
 his own god, among so many grences
 and

Preacher.

F

G

The duke of
Buckingham's
oration.

H

and

And trappes as was set therfoze among so much pilling and polling, among so many taxes & tallages, of whiche there was neuer ende, & often time no neede: or if any wer, it rather grew of riote & unreasonable wast, then any necessarpe or honozable charge. So that there was dayly pilled fro good men & honest, gret substance of goodes to be lashed oute among vnthriftes so far forth & siftenes sufficed not, noz any vsual names of knowē taxes: but vnder an easly name of beneuolēce & good will, the cōmissioners so much of euery mā toke, as nomā would

Whis good wil haue giuē. As though & name of beneuolence, had signified that euery man should pay, not what himself of his good wil list to graunt, but what the king of his good wil list to take. Which neuer asked litle, but euery thig was halued aboue the mesure: amerces, mētes turned into fines, fines into rauōmes, smal trespass to misprisō, misprisō into trespō. Wherof I thinke no mā loketh that we should remēbze you of exāples by name, as though Burdet were fozgotten, that was foz a woꝛde spoken in hāst, cruelly beheaded, by the misdestruing of the lawes of thys realme foz the pꝛinces plesure: with no les honour to Markam then chief Iustyce, that lest his office rather then he would assent to that iudgemēt, then to the dishonesty of those, & either foz sere or flatterie gaue that iudgement. What Coke your own woꝛshipful neighbour alderman & Mayor of this noble citie, who is of you eyther so negligent that he knoweth not, or so fozgetfull that he remembzeth not, or so harde hearted that he pittiech not, that woꝛshipful mans losse? What speke we of losse: his bitter spoile and vnderferued distruccō, only foz that it happed thole to fauour him, whome the pꝛince fauored not. We neede not I suppose to reherse of these any mo by name, lith ther be I doute not many here present, that either in themself or their nighe frēdes, haue knowen as well their goodes as their parsons greatly endauigered, either by fained quarels, or smal matters agreuid with heinouſe names. And also there was no crime so great, of whiche there could lack a pretext. Foz lithe the king pꝛesenting the time of his enheritaunce attained the crowne by batayl: it sufficed in a riche man foz a pretext of trespō, to haue ben of kinsred or alliaūce nere familiarite or leger aquaintaunce with any of those that were at any time

the kinges enemies, which was at one time & other, moze thē halfe the realme. Thus wer nether your goods in surety: yet thei bzought your bodies in iubar di besyde & come aduenture of opē warre, which albeity it is euer & wil & occasion of much mischief: yet is it neuer so mischeuouse, as where any pꝛeple fal at distaūce among the self, noz in none ertly nacion so dedely & so pestilent, as when it happeneth among vs & among vs neuer so long continued dissension, noz so many batayles in & season, noz so cruel & so deadly foughtē, as was in & kinges daies & dead is god fozgtue it his soule. In whole time & by whole occasiō, what about & getting of the garland, keeping it, lesing & winning againe, it hath cost moze englithe blood then hath twise the winning of Fraūce. In which inward warre among our self, hath ben so gret effuſion of the auncient noble blood of this realme, & scarcely the half remaineth, to the gret infebbling of this noble lād, beside many a good town rāsakid & spoiled, by thē that haue ben going to & field or cūming from thence. And peace long after not much suter thē war. So that no time was therin which rich mē foz their mony, & gret mē foz their lādes or some other foz some sere or soe displeſure were not out of perpl. Foz whome trusted he & mistrusted his own bzother whō spared he & killed his own bzother: or who could parfitefully lone him, if his owne bzother could not: what maner of folke he most fauoured, we shall foz hys honour spare to speke of, howbeit thys wote you wel al, that whoso was beste, bare allway lest rule, & moze sute was in his dayes vnto Shozes wise a vile & an abhominable strumpet, then to al the loꝛdes in England, except vnto those & made her their pꝛoctoure which simple womā was wel named & honest, & all the kyng foz his waton lust & sinful affectiō byrest her from her husband a right honest substantial yong man among you. And in that point which in good faith I am soꝛye to speke of, sauing that it is in vain to kepe in couſel that thing that al mē know, & kinges grevy appetite was insatiable, and euery where ouer al the realme intollerable. Foz no womā was there any where yong or olde, riche or poꝛe, whom he set his eye vpon, in whome he any thinge lyked either perſon or fauour, speche, pace, or costēnāce, but without any fere of god, or respect of his honour, murmurs or grudge of & woꝛde,

Open warre

Civil warre.

Burdet.

Markam.

Coke.

C

D

be

A he would impoztunely pursue hys appetite, and haue her, to the gret destruction of many a good woman, & greate dole to their housebande, and theyr other frendes, whiche being honest people of themselves, so much regarde y cleynnes of their house, the chastitie of theyr wyfes and their chyldzen, that them woe leuer to leese all that they haue besyde, then to haue suche a villany done them. And all were it that with this and other impoztable dealing, the realme was in euery part annoyd: yet specially ye here the citezens of this noble citie, as well for that among you is most plenty of all such thinges as minister matter to such iniuries, as for that you were neresse at hande, sith that nere here about was commonly hys most abyding. And yet bee ye the people whō he had as singular cause wel and kyndly to entreate, as any part of his realme, not onely for y the pynce by this noble citie, as his special chamber & the speciall wel renoumed citie of his realme, much honozable fame receiue among all other nacions: but also for that ye not without your great cosse and sundry perills and leopardies in all his warres, bare euer your speycall fauoure to his parte whiche poure kynde myndes bozne to the house of York, sith he hath nothing woꝝ theyly acquitted, ther is of that house that now by gods grace better shal, which thing to shewe you is the whole some and effect of this our present errande. It shall not I wote well needs that I rehearse you agayn that ye haue alreadye harde, of him that ca better tell it, and of whom I am sure ye wil better beleue it. And reason is that it so be, I am not so proude to looke therfore, that ye shoulde reckon my woꝝdes of as great authozitie as the preachers of the woꝝde of god, namelye a manne so cunninge and so wise that no manne better woteth what he shoulde say, and thereto so good and vertuous that he would not say the thyng whiche he wist he shoulde not say, in y pulper namely, into which none honest man commeth to lye, which honozable preacher ye wel remeber sub stancially declared vnto you at Poules crosse on Sunday last passed, the righte and title that the most excellent pynce Richard duke of Gloucestre now protectour of this realme, hath vnto y crown & kingdom of yslande. For as y woꝝshipful mā groundly made open vnto you, the chyldre of king Edward the fourth wer neuer lawfully begotten, forasmuch as

the king (liuing hys very wise dame Elizabeth Lucy) was neuer lawfully married vnto y Ducne their mother, whose blode sauing that he set his voluptuous pleasure befoze his honoz, was full vniuetely to bee matched with his, and the mengling of whose bloodes together, hath bene the effusion of great parte of the noble bloode of this realme. Wherby it maye wel seme y marriage not well made, of which ther is so much mischief growen. For lack of which lawfull accoupling, & also of other thinges, which the said woꝝshipful doctoꝝ rather signified then fully explained, & which thynnes shal not be spoken for me as y thing wherin enery man forbereth to say that he knoweth in auoidinge dyspleasure of my noble lord protectoꝝ, bearinge as nature requirith a filiall reuerence to the duches his mother, for these causes I say befoze remembred, y is to wit for lack of other issue lawfully comming of the late noble pynce Richard duke of York to whose roial blode the crown of England and of Fraunce, is by the high authozitie of parliament entailed, y right and title of the same, is by y iust course of enheritance accordinge to the comon law of this lande, deuolute & comen vnto y most excellēt pynce y lord protectoꝝ as to y very lawfully begotten sonne of y foze remembred noble duke of York. Which thing well considred, & the greate knightly prowes pōdred, w manyfolde vertues which in his noble parson singularly abound, y nobles & commōs also of this realm, & specially off north partes, not willing any bastard blood to haue y rule of the land, nor y abusioꝝ befoze in yslande vnto any longer to continue, haue cōdiscēded & fullye determined to make hūble peticioꝝ vnto y most puisant pynce, y lord protectoꝝ: y it maye like his grace at our hūble request, to take vpon him y guiding & gouernance of this realm, to y welth & increase of the same, accordinge to his very right & iust title. Which thig I wote it wel he wil be loth to take vpon him, as he whose wisdoꝝ well perceineth y laboꝝ & study both of minde & of bodye y shal come therewith, to whom so euer so wel occu py y roume, as I dare say he wil if he take it. Which roume I warne you well is no chylde office. And that the greate wise manne well perceiued. When hes sayde: *Veh regno cuius rex puer est.* Woe is that Realme, that hath the archylde to theyre kyng. Wherfore soe moche the moze cause haue we

London the
larges special
chamber.