

# The history of king Ri<sup>e</sup>

chard the thirde (unfinisched) written by Mester  
Thomas More than one of the vndertherissis of London: a-  
bout the yere of our Lorde, 1513. V Which worke hath  
bene before this tyme pryncted, in hardynges Cronicle, and  
in Hallys Cronicle: but very muche corupte in many  
places, sometyme hauyng lesse, and sometime ha-  
ving more, and altered in wordes and whole  
sentences: muche varying fro the co-  
pie of his own hand, by which  
thys is pryncted.

B

**P**ng Edwarde of chatname the fowrth, after y  
hee hadde lyued fiftie and three  
yeares, seuen  
monethes, and  
sixe dayes, and  
thereof regnyed  
two and twentye yeres, one moneth,  
and eighte dayes, dyed at Westmyn-  
ster the nyngth daye of Aprill, the yere  
of oure redempcion, a thowsande  
**C** foure houndred fourte score and three,  
leavinge muche sayre yssue, that is  
to witte, Edwarde the Prynce, a  
thirtene yeaire of age: Richarde duke  
of Yorke, two yeaire younger: Eliza-  
beth, whose fortune and grace was  
after to bee Quene, wife vnto kinge  
Henrie the seventh, and mother vnto  
the eighth: Cecily not so fortunate  
as sayre: Brigette, whiche repre-  
sentyng the vertue of her, whose  
name she bare, professed and obser-  
ved a religioun lyfe in Dartforde, an  
house of close frannes: Anne, that  
was after honourably marayed vnto  
**D** to Thomas, than Lozde Hawarde,  
and after Earle of Surrey. And Ha-  
thyne whiche longe tyme cosed in  
either fortune sommetyme in wealth,  
oste in aduersite, at the laste, if this  
bee the laste, for yet she lyueth, is  
by the benignitye of her Hephewe,  
Kinge Henrye the eighte, in verye  
prosperous estat, and woorþyng her  
birth and vertue.

This noble Prynce deceased at  
his palice of Westminister, and with  
greate funerall honoure and heawy-  
nesse of his people from thence con-

veyde, was entered at Windesor. **F**  
Kinge of suche gouernaunce and be-  
hauoure in time of peace (for in war  
eche parte muste needes bee others e-  
nemye) that there was never ame The loue of  
Prynce of this lande attaynyng the the people.  
Crownyng by battayle, so heartely be-  
loned with the substance of the peo-  
ple: noz he hymselfe so speciallye in a-  
nye parte of his life, as at the time of  
his deach. Whiche fauour and affec-  
cion yet after his decease, by the cru-  
elte, mischiuse, and trouble of the te-  
pestions wroide that folowed, highe-  
ly towarde hym moze increased. At  
suche time as he died, the displeasure  
of those that bare him grudge, for  
kinge Henries sake the sixte, whome  
he deposid, was well asswaged, and  
in effect quenched, in that that ma-  
nye of them were dead in moze then  
twentie yeaires of his raigne, a great  
parte of a longe lyfe. **G** And many of  
them in the meane season growen in-  
to his fauoure, of whiche he was ne-  
uer straunge. He was a goodly par- Description  
sonage, and very Princely to behold, the fourth  
of hearte couragious, politique in  
counsaile, in aduersite nothyng ab-  
ashed, in prosperite, rather ioyfull  
then prowde, in peace iuste and mer-  
cifull, in warre, sharpe and fyerce, **H**  
in the fielde, bolde and hardye, and  
nachelesse no farther then wylsdome  
woulde, aduenturous. Whose  
warres who so well conlyder, bee  
shall no lesse commende hys wyl-  
dome where he boyded, than hys  
mannehoode where he vainquished.  
He was of visage lonelye, of bodye  
myghte, stronge, and cleane made:  
howe bee it in his latter dayes wyt  
c.ii. ouer

**G**ouer liberall dyet , sommewhat coz-  
pulente and boozelpe , and warhelesse  
not vncomelye , bee was of youthe  
greatelye geuen to behlye wanton-  
nesse : from whiche heylche of bodey  
in greate prosperitey and Fortune ,  
wythoute a specyal grace hardelye  
restrayneth . Thys faute not great-  
lye gryued the people : for neyther  
could any one mans pleasure , stretch  
and extende to the dyspleasure of be-  
rye manye , and was wythoute vio-  
lence , and ouer that in hys latter  
dayes : iessyd and wel leste . In whych

**B**tyme of hys latter daies , thys Realme  
was in quyet and prosperous estate:  
no feare of outewarde enemyes , no  
warre in hande , nor none towarde ,  
but such as no manne looked for : the  
people towarde the Prynce , not in  
a constrainyd feare , but in a wyl-  
lynge and loaynge obeydence : a-  
monge them selfe , the commons in  
good peace . The Lodes whome he  
knewe at Marpaunce , hymselfe in  
hys deathe bedde appeased . He hadde  
leste all gatheryng of money (whitch  
is the onelye thyng that withholdeth  
the heartes of Englyshmenne  
fro the Prynce ) nor anye thyng e-  
ntended hee to take in hande , by whiche  
hee shoulde bee dyuen thereto , for

**C**hrysute .  
hys Trybute ouce of Frannce hee  
hadde before obtained . And the vere  
solegoyngs hys deathe , hee hadde  
obtayned Barwycke . And al bee it  
that all the tyme of hys raygne , hee  
was wyth hys people , soo benygne ,  
courteyle and so familiyer , that no  
parte of hys vertues was more este-  
med : yet that condicyon in the ende  
of hys dayes (in which many princes  
by a lōg cōtinued souerainty , decline  
in to a prōwde porce from debonayre  
behauidure of theyz beginning (mer-  
vayloslye in him grewe and increa-  
sed : so farrefoozthe that in the som-  
mer the laste that ever he sawe , hys

**D**hyghenesse beeing at Wyndesore in  
huntyng , sente for the Mayze and  
Aldermanne of London to hym . For  
none other eraunde , but too haue  
them hunte and bee mery with hym ,  
where bee made them not so statelye ,  
but so frendely and so familiyer therre ,  
and sente Wenson from thence so fre-  
lye into the Citye , that no one thing  
in manye dayes before , gate hym  
eyther moe heartes or moe heartie

fauoure amouge the common peo- **E**  
ple , whiche oftentimes moze esteme  
and take for greater kindestelle , a  
lytle courtesye , then a greate bene-  
fite . So deceased ( as I haue said )  
this noble Kyng , in that tyme , in  
whiche hys life was moſte desyred .  
Whole loue of hys people and theyz  
entiere affeccion towarde him , hadde  
bene to hys noble chyldyn ( hauynge  
in themſelue also as manye gystes of  
nature , as manie Princely vertues ,  
as muche goodlye towardenesse as  
theire age coulde receiue ) a merua-  
ilouse forteresse and ſure armoure , if  
devision and diſcenction of their fren-  
des , hadde not unarmeded them , and  
leſte them defitue , and the execra-  
ble deſire of ſouerayntee , prouoked **F**  
him to theire deſtruccione , which yf  
either kinde or kindenelle hadde hol-  
den place , muſte needes haue bene  
theire chiefe deſence . For Richards  
the Duke of Glouceſter , by nature  
theyz Uncle , by office theire protec-  
toure , to theire fater beholden , to  
them ſelue by oþre and allegyance  
bowden , al the bandes broken that  
binden manne and manne together ,  
wythoute anye reſpecte of Godde or  
the wozlde , vnnaturaly contriued  
to bereue them , not onelye their dig-  
nitie , but also their liues . But for-  
asmuche as this Dukes demeanour  
miniftryeth in effete all the whole **G**  
matter whereof this booke shall en-  
create , it is therefore conueniente ,  
ſomewhat to ſhewe you ere we far-  
ther goe , what maner of manne this  
was , that coulde fynde in his hearte ,  
ſo muche miſchife to conceiue .

Richarde Duke of York , a no-  
ble manne and a myghtie , beganne  
not by warre , but by lawe , to chal- **H**  
lenge the crown , putting his claime  
into the parliaamente . Where hys  
cause was eyther for right or fauour  
ſo farrefoozth auanced , that kinge **P**  
Henrye his bloode ( all þe il he hadde  
a goodlye Prince ) vitterlye refected ,  
the Croune was by authoritey of  
parliament entayled unto the Duke  
of York and his iſſue male in remain-  
der immediatlye after the deathe of  
Kinge Henrye . But the Duke not  
enduryng so longe to tarye , but en-  
tending vnder pretexte of diſcenction  
and debate arifynge in the realme , to  
preuent his time , and to take vpon  
him

**A** him the rule in King Harry his life,  
Was with manye nobies of h realine  
at Wakefielde slaine, leauinge thre  
sonnes, Edward, George, and Ry-  
charde. Al three as they wer great  
staetes of birthe, soo were they greate  
and statelye of stomacke, gredye and  
ambicious of authoritie, and impaci-  
ent of parteners. Edward revenging  
his fathers death, depryued king Hen-  
rie, and attainted the crown. George

**E**dward. **G**eorge duke of Clarence was a goodly no-  
ble Prince, and at all pointes fortu-  
nate, if either his owne ambition had  
not set him against his brother, or the  
ennie of his enemies, his brother a-

**B**gapnse hym. For were it by the  
Queene and the Lordes of her bloode  
whiche highlye maligned the kynges  
kynred (as women commonly not of  
malice but of nature hate the whome  
theire housebandes loue) or were it a  
prowde appetite of the Duke himself  
entendinge to be king: at the selfe wise  
heinous treason was theray layde to  
his charge, and finallye wer hee fau-  
tive were hee faultlesse, attainted was  
hee by parliament, and iudged to the  
death, and therupon hastely drownyd  
in a Butte of Malmesey, whose death  
kyng Edward (albeit he commaun-  
ded it) when he wylt it was done, pitiful-  
ly bewailed and sorrowfully repe-  
ted.

**The descrip-  
tion of Richard  
the thirde.** **R**icharde the thirde sonne, of whō  
we nowe entreate, was in wile and  
courage egall with either of them, in  
bodye and prowelße farre bndct them  
bothe, little of stature, ill fetured of  
limmes, croke backed, his left shoul-  
der much higher then his right, hard  
faououred of visage, and suche as is in  
staetes cauled warlye, in other menne  
otherwile, he was malicious, wrath-  
full, envious, and frō aforē his birth,  
ever stroarde. It is for trouth repor-  
ted, that the Duches his mother had

**D**so muche a doe in her trauaile, that  
shee coulde not bee deliuered of hym  
bncatte: and that hee came into the  
worlde with the feete forwarde, as  
menne bee boorne outwarde, and (as  
the same runneth) also not bntothe, whither  
menne of hatred reporte a-  
bove the trouthe, or elles that na-  
ture chaunged her course in hys be-  
ginninge, whiche in the course of  
his lyfe many thinges unnaturallye  
committed. None euill captaine

**w**as hee in the warre, as to whiche **E**  
his disposition was more metely then  
for peace. Hundrye victories hadde  
hee, and sometime ouerthowes,  
but neuer in defaulte as for his owne  
parson, either of hardinesse or pol-  
iticke order, free was hee cailed of dys-  
pence, and somewhat aboue hys  
power liberall, with large giftes hee  
get him vnsedfastre strendelhippe, for  
whiche hee was fain to pil and spoyle  
in other places, and get him stedfaste  
hatred. Hee was close and secrete, a  
deepc cōsūmer, lowlye of countey-  
naunce, arrogant of heart, outwardly  
coumpinable where he inwardely  
hated, not letting to kille whome hee  
thoughte to ky. **I**: dispitious and cru-  
ell, nor for euill will awaie, but after  
for ambition, and either for the sure-  
tie or encrease of his estate. Frende  
and foo was muche what indiferet,  
where his aduaantage grew, he spa-  
red no mans deathe, whose life with-  
stoode his purpose. He slewe with his  
owne handes king Henry the fift, be-  
ing prisoner in the Tower, as menne **king Henry**  
constantly saye, and that without **cō**-  
maundement or knowledgement of the  
king, whiche woulde vndoubtely yf  
he had entended that thinge, haue ap-  
pointed that boocherly ofice, to some **G**  
other then his owne borne brother.

**S**omme wile menne also weene, that  
his drise courtly conuayde, lacked  
not in helpyng furth his brother of Cla-  
rence to his death: whiche hee resisted  
openly, howbeit somwhat (as menne  
denied) moze faintly the he y wer harte  
lo minded to his welth. And they that  
thus deme, think y he long time in big  
Edwardes life, for thought to be kig  
in case that y king his brother (whole  
life hee looked that euil dyete shoulde  
shoxten) shoulde happen to decease (as  
in dede he did) while his children wer  
yonge. And thei deme, that for thys  
intente he was gladde of his brothers  
death y Duke of Clarence, whose life  
must nedes haue hindered hym so en-  
tendynge, whither the same Duke of  
Clarence hadde kepte him true to his  
Nephew the yonge king, or enterpri-  
sed to be kyng himselfe. But of al this  
pointe, is there no certaintie, & who-  
so divineth bypon conjectures, maye  
as wel shose to farre as to short. How-  
beit this haue I by credible informa-  
cion learned, that the selſe nighte in  
c.iii. whiche

**A**whiche kynge Edwarde died, one Wyflebrooke longe ere mornynge, came in greate halle to the house of one Pottier dwellyng in reddecrosse strete without crepulgate: and when he was with hallye rapping quickly letter in, hee shewed vnto Pottier that kynge Edwarde was departed.

By my trouthe manne quod Pottier then wylly my mayster the Duke of Gloucester bee kynge. What cause

hee hadde so to thynke harde it is to saye, whyther hee being toward him,

anye thynge knewe that hee suche

**B**thynge purposed, or otherwyse had

anye inkelynge thereof: for hee was

not likelie to speake it of noughe.

But nowe to returne to the course of this hystorye, were it that the duke of Gloucester hadde of olde sozemind this conclusion, or was nowe at erste thereunto moued, and putte in hope by the occasion of the tender age of the younge Princes, his nephues (as oppoztuntrye and lykelyhodde of sped, putteh a manne in courage of that hee never intended) certayn is it that hee contrived theyz destruccyon, with the usurpacion of the regal dignitey vpon hymselfe.

**C**muche as hee well wille and holpe to mayntayn, a long continued grudge and hearte brennyng betwene the Quenes knynd and the kinges blood eyther partye enuyng others authorty, he nowe thought that their deuision shoulde bee (as it was in dede) a fortherlye beginnyng to the pursuite of his intente, and a sure ground for the foudacion of al his building yf he might firste vnder the pretext of reuengyng of olde displeasure, abuse the anger and pgnorance of the tyme partie, to the destruccyon of the other: and then wynde to his pur-

**D**pose as manye as he coulde: and those that coulde not bee wonne, myght be losse ere they looked theresoze. For of one thynge was hee certayne, that if his entente were perceived, he shold soone haue made peacs betwene the bothe parties, with his owne bloude.

Kynge Edwarde in his life, albeit that this discencion betwene hys frendes sommewhat yrked hym: yet in his good health he sommewhat the lesse regarded it, because hee thought whatsouer busines shoulde falle betwene them, hymselfe shoulde alwaye

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

But in his laste sickenesse, when hee received his naturall strengthe so sore enfebled, that hee dyspayzed all recoverye, then hee consyderyng the youthe of his chyldren, albeit hee nothynge lesse mistrusted then that that happened, yet well sozeyng that manye harmes myghte growe by theyz debate, whyle the youth of hys chyldren shoulde latke discretion of themself and good counsayle, of their frendes, of whiche either party shold counsayle for their owne commodity and rather by pleasaunce aduyse too wynne themselves fauour, then by profitable aduertisemente to do the chyldren good, he called some of them besoze him that were at variانce, and **F** in elscyall the Lord Parques Doz sette the Quenes sonne by her syssie housebande, and Richarde the Lord Hastings, a noble man, than lord chaumberlayne agayne whome the Queen specially grudged, for y great fauoure the kyng bare hym, and also for that shee thoughte hym secretely famillyer with the kynge in wanton compaunye. Her kyndred also bare hym soze, as well for that the kyng hadde made hym capteyne of Calyce (whiche office the Lord Ryuers, brother to the Queen claimed of the kinges former promyse as for diuerse o-

ther greate giftes whiche hee receyued, y they loked for.

When these lordes with diuerse other of bothe the

parties were come in presence, the

kyng listinge vppe hymselfe and b-

edesette with pillowes, as it is repor-

ted on this wyse sayd vnto the. **G** My

Lordes, my dere kinsmenne and a-

The oracion lies, in what pligte I lyve you see, & of the kyng,

I feele. By whiche the lesse whyle I in his deare

looke to lyne with you, the moze depe

lye am I moued to care in what case

I leaue you, for such as I leaue you,

suche bee my chyldren lyke to fynde

you. Whiche is they shoulde (that

Godde forbydde) fynde you at vary-

aunce, myghte happen to fall themselfe

at warre ere theit discretion woulde

serue to sette you at peace. Pe se their

youthe, of whiche I recken the onely

suretie to reste in youre concord. For

it suffiseth not that al you loue them,

yf eche of you hate other. If they wer-

menne, your faithfulness appelye

woulde suffise. But childehood must

**A** be maintained by mens authoritye, & slipper youth vnderpropced with elder counsayle, whiche neither they can haue, but ye geue it, nor ye geue it, yf ye gree not. For wher eche laboureth to b<sup>r</sup>eake that the other maketh, and soz hatred of ech of others parso, impugneth eche others counsayle, there must it nedes bee long ere anye good conclusion goe forwarde. And also while either partye laboureth to bee chiese, flattery shall haue moze place then plaine and faithfull aduyse, of whyche muſte ncedes ensue the euyll bringing vpp of the P<sup>r</sup>ynce, whose mynd in tender youth infect, shal redily fal to mischife and riot, & drawe down w<sup>t</sup>his noble realme to ruine, but if grace turn him to wiſdō: w<sup>t</sup>ich if god lend, then thei þ by euill menes before pleased him best, shal after fall farthest out of fauour, so that euer at length euil driftes drenue to notyght, & good plain wayes prosper. Great variauice hath ther long bene betwene you, not alway for great carshes. Sode time a thing right wel intended, our misconstrucion turneth unto worse or a smal displeasure done vs, eyther our owne affection or euyl tongues a greueth. But this wote I well ye never had so great cause of hatred, as ye haue of loue. That we be al men, that we be christen men, this shall I leane for prechers to tel you (and yet I wote nere whither any preachers wordes ought more to moue you, the his that is by and by gooyng to the place that thei all preache of.) But this shal I desire you to remember, that the one parte of you is of my bloode, the other of myne allies, and eche of yow with other, eyther of kintred or affinitie, whiche sp̄itryuall kynred of affynity, if the sacramentes of Chrl̄ss Churche, beare that weyghte with vs that woulde Godde thei did, shoulde no leſſe moue vs to charite, then the respecte of fleshlye consanguinitye. Dure Lord forbydde, that you loue together the worse, for the ſelſe cauſe that you ought to loue the better. And yet that happeneth. And no where fynde wee so deadlye debate, as amouge them, whyche by nature and lawe moſte ought to agree together. Suchē a peſilente ſerpente is ambition and deſire of vaine gloze and ſoueraintye, whiche amouge ſtates where he once entred crepeth foorth ſo farre, tyll with de- Guilon and bariaunce bee turneth all to mischiefe. Firſte longing to be nexte the beſte, afterwarde egall with the beſte, and at laſte chieſe and aboue the beſte. Of which immoderate appetitie of woſhip, and thereby of debate and diſſencion what losſe what ſozowe, what trouble hath within theſe fewe yeares growen in this realme, I praye Godde as well for geate as wee well remember.

Whiche thinges yf I coulde as well haue foreſene, as I haue with my moze payne then pleasure proued, by Goddes blessed Ladie (that was euer his othe) I woulde neuer haue won the courtesye of mennes knees, with the losſe of ſo many headeſ. But ſi- Pthen thynges paſſed cannot be gaſine called, muſche oughte wee the moze beware, by what occation we haue taken ſoo greate herte afoſe, that we eftſoones ſall not in that occation a- gayne. Howe be thoſe grieſes paſſed, and all is (Godde bee thanked) quiete, and likeliſt righte wel to pro- per in wealthfull peace vnder your coſeyns my children, if Godde ſende them life and you loue. Of whyche twoo thinges, the leſſe losſe wer they by whome thoughe Godde dydde hys pleasure, yet ſhoulde the Realme al- way finde kinges and paradvnture as good kinges. But yf you among your ſelſe in a childeſ reygne fall at debate, many a good man ſhal periſh and happclly he to, and ye to, ere thys land finde peace again. Wherſo in theſe laſt wordes that euer I looke to ſpeak with you: Exhort you and re- quire you al, for þ loue that you haue euer boȝn to me, for the loue þ I haue euer boȝn to you, for the loue that our lord beareth to vs all, from thiſ time forwarde, all grieues forgotten, eche of you loue other. Whiche I verelye truſte you will, if ye any thing earth- ly regard, either godde or your king, Gaffinitie or kintred, thiſ realme, your owne countrey, or your owne ſurety. And therewithal the king no loſter enduring to ſitte vp, laide him down on his right ſide, his face towarde them: and none was there preſent þ coulde reſtraine from weeping. But þ lordes recomforting him with as goodwor- des as they could, and anſwering for the time as thei thoughtto ſtand with his pleasure, there in hiſ preſence (as c. llii. by

**A**vy thes wordes appered ech forgaue other, & loyned their hands together, when (as it after appeared by their dedes) their herte, wet far a soder. As soone as the king was departed, h nobble prynce his sonne diew toward Ludon, whiche at the tyme of his decease, kept his houshold at Ludlow in wailes. Whiche countrey being far of fro the law and recourse to iustice, was begon to be farre oute of good wylle & waren wld, robbers and riuers wal king at libertie vncorrected. And soz this enchealon the prynce was in

**B**the lfe of his fader sente thither, to p end that the anchoriticte of his presere, shold restraine euil disposed parsons fro the boldnes of their formar ouerages, to the gouernaunce and oyderring of this yonge prynce at his seding thycher, was therre appointed sir Anthony Woodville Lord Rivers and bryther unto the Quene, a right honouitable man, as valaunte of hande as politike in counsayle. Adioyned wer there unto him other of the same partie, and in effect every one as he was nerell of kin unto the Quene, so was

**C**planted next about the prynce. That drifte by the Quene not unwiseley deuised, whereby her blode myghte of youth be rooted in the prynces fauor, the Duke of Gloucester turned unto their destruction, & vpon that gronde set the foundacion of all his unhappy building. For whom soever he perceiued, either at variance with them, or bearing himselfe their fauor, hee brake unto them, some by mouth, som by wriiting & secret messengers, that it neyther was reason nor in any wise to be suffered, that the yonge king their master and kinsmanne, shold bee in the

**D**bandes and custodye of his mothers kinsred, sequestred in maner fro theyr compani & attendance, of which eueri one ought hym as faithful seruice as they, and manye of them far moze honozable part of kin then his mothers side: whose blood (quod he) sauing the kinges pleasure, was ful vnmetely to be matched with his: whiche nowe to be as who say remoued fro the kyng, & the lesse noble to be left abouete him, is (quod he) neither honozable to hys magestie, nor unto vs, and also to his grace no surety to haue the myghtest of his frendes from him, and unto vs no little jeopardy, to suffer our welþrowned euil willers, to grow in ouergree-

authoritie with the prynce in youth, **E** namely whiche is lighte of beleife and soone perswaded. Pe remember I crow king Edward himself, albeit he was a manne of age and of discretion, yet was he in manye thynges ruled by h bende, moze then stode either with his honour, or our prospite, or with the comoditicte of any manne els, except onely the immoderate aduaancement of them selfe. Whiche whither they sooter thirsted after their own weale, or our woe, it wer hard I wene to gesse. And if some folkes frendship had not holden better place with the king, the any respect of kinsred, they might peraduenture easilly haue be trapped and **F** brought to confusyon somme of us ere this. Why not as easily as they haue done some other alreadye, as neere of his royal blode as we. But our lord hath wrought his wil, and thanke be to his grace that perill is past. Howe be it as great is growing, yf wee suffer this yonge kyng in oure enemyes hande, whiche without his wytting, might abuse the name of his comandement, to ani of our vndoing, which thyng god and good prouisio forbyd. Of which good prouisio none of vs hath any thinge the lesse nede, for the late made attonemente, in whyche the kinges pleasure hadde more place **G** then the parties willes. Nor none of vs I beleue is so unwyse, ouersone to truste a newe frende made of an olde foe, or to think that an howerly kindnes, sodainely contract in one houre continued, yescant a fornight, shold be deeper setted in their stomackes: thē a lōg accustomed malice many peres rooted.

With these wordes and swystynges and suche other, the Duke of Gloucester sone set a fyre, them that were of themselfe eth to kindle, and in especial twayne, Edwarde Duke of Buc<sup>t</sup>hingham, and Richarde Lord Ha<sup>t</sup>tinges and chaumberlayn, both me of honour and of great powre. The one by longe succession from his antefrise, the other by his office and the kinges fauor. These two nor bearing eche to other so muche loue, as hatred bothe unto the Quenes parte: In this poynte accorded together wylch the Duke of Gloucester, that they wold bitterly amoue fro the kynges companye, all his mothers frendes, under the name of their enemyes. Upon this

Lord Rivers

**A** this concluded, the Duke of Gloucester vnderstandingyng, that the Lordes whiche at that tyme were aboue the kyng, intended to bryng him vpp to his Coronacion, accompanied with suche power of theyz frendes, that it shoulde bee harde for him to brynge his purpose to passe, without the gathering and great assemble of people and in maner of open warre, wher, of the erde he wylle was doubtous, and in which the kyng being on their side, his part shoulde haue the face and name of a rebellion: he secretly therefor by diuers meanes, caused the Quene to be perswaded and brought in the mynd, that it neither wer ned, & also shold be leopardous, the king to come vp strong. For where as nowe every lord loued other, and none other thing studiyed vpon, but aboue the Coronacion and honoure of the king: if the lordes of her kinred shold assemble in the kings name muche people, thei shoulde geue the lordes awarde whome and them hadde bene sommetyme debate, to feare and suspecte, lest they shoulde gather thys people, not for the kynges sauergarde whome no manne enpugned, but for theyz destruccion, hauyng more regard to their olde barraunce, then their newe attoneement. For whiche casse thei shoulde assemble on the other partie muche people agayne for their defensye, whose power the wylste wel fare strectched. And thus shold all the realme fall on a rore. And of al the hurte that therof should ensue, which was likely not to be litle, and the most harine there like to fal wher she less would, all the wroldе woulde put her and her kinred in the wyght, and say that thei had bwyselye and vntrewlye also, broken the amitie and peace that the kyng her husband so prudencelye made, betwene hys kinne and hers in his death bed, and whiche the other party faithfully obserued.

The Quene being in this wise perswaded, suche woode sente vnto her sonne, and vnto her brother being aboue the kyng, and ouer that the Duke of Gloucester hymselfe and other Lordes the chese of hys bende, wrote vnto the kyng so reuerente ly, and to the Queenes frendes, there so louyngelye, that they no thyng Earthelye myrrustynge, G broughte the Kyng vpp in greate haste, not in good speede, with a sober companye. Powe was the king in his waye to London gone, from Northampton, when these Dukes of Gloucester and Buckyngham came thither. Where remained behynd, the Lord Kyngers the Kynges vncle, entydng on the morowe to folow the Kyng, and bee with hym at Stony Stratford miles thence, carely or hee departed. So was there made that nyghte muche frendely cheare betwene these Dukes and the Lord Kyngers a greate while. But incontinently after that they were oppenlye with greate courtesye departed, and the Lord Kyngers lodged, the Dukes secretelie with a fewe of their molle priuye frendes, sette them downe in counsayle, wherin they spent a great parte of the nyght. And at their risinge in the dawnyng of the day, they sent about priuily to their seruantes in their Innes and lodgynges about, geuinge them commaundemente to make them self shortly readye, for their Lordes wer to horsebackward. Upon whiche messages, manye of their folke were attendaunt, when manye of the Lord Kyngers seruantes were vreadye. Powe hadde these Dukes taken also into their custodye G the kayes of the Inne, y none shoulde passe foorth without theyz licence. And ouer this in the hyghe waye towarde Stony Stratforde where the Kyng laye, they hadde bestowed certayne of theyz folke, that shoulde sende backe agayne, and compell to retourne, anye manne that were gotten oute of Northampton toward Stony Stratforde, till they shoulde geue other lycence. For as muche as the Dukes themselue intended for the hewe of theire dylygence, to bee the fyfste that shoulde that daye attende P vpon the Kynges hignesse oute of that towne: thus bars they folke in hande. But when the Lord Kyngers vnderstode the gates closed, and the wayes on euerye side beset, neyther hys seruantes nor hymself suffered to gone ouute, parcerisynge well so greate a thyng without his knowledge nor begun for noughe, comparyng this maner preset with this last nightes cheare, so fewe houres so gret a chaunge,

**G**a chaunge marneylouslye mislikid.  
How be it sithe hee coulde not geat a-  
waye, and keepe himselfe close, hee  
woulde not, leste hee shoulde seeme  
to hyde hym selfe for some secret feare  
of hys owne faulfe, whereof he saw  
no such cause in hym selfe: he determi-  
ned vpon the suretie of his own con-  
science, to gae boldelye to them, and  
inquire what thys matter myghte  
meane. Whome as soone as they  
sawen, they beganne to quarell with  
hym, and saye, that hee intended to  
sette disfaunce bettwene the Kyng  
and them, and to bryng hem to con-  
fusson, but it shoulde not lye in hys  
power. And when hee beganne (as  
hee was a very well spoken manne,) in  
goodly wise to excuse himselfe, they  
taried not the ende of his answe, but  
shortely tooke him and putte him  
in warde, and that done, soozthwyth  
wente to horlebacke, and tooke the  
waye to Stony Stratforde. Where  
they founde the kyng with his com-  
panie readye to leape on horlebacke,  
and departe forwarde, to leaue that  
lodging for them, because it was to  
freighte for bothe cumpaines. And  
as soone as they came in his presence,  
they lighte adowne with all their co-  
panie aboue them. To whome the  
Duke of Buckingham saide, gae a-  
fore Gentlemanne and yonien, kepe  
youre rowmes. And thus in a goodly  
arraye, thei came to the kyng, and  
on therre knees in very humble wise,  
salued his grace: whiche receyved  
them in very ioyous and amiable ma-  
ner, nothinge earthlye knowing nor  
misrustinge as yet. But euen by  
and by in his presence, they piked a  
quarell to the Lord Richard Graye,  
the kynges other brother by his mo-  
ther, sayinge that hee with the lord  
Marques his brother and the Lord  
Riuers his uncle, hadde coumpassed  
to rule the kyng and the realme, and  
to sette variaunce among the stales,  
and to subdewe and destroye the no-  
ble blood of the realm. Toward h ac-  
couplishinge whereof, they sayde  
that the Lord Marques hadde ente-  
red into the Tower of London, and  
thence taken out the kynges Treasur,  
and sent menne to the sea. All whiche  
thinge these Dukes wile well were  
done for good purposes and necessari  
by the whole counsaile at Londo, sa-

The Lord  
Riuers parte  
in warde,

The Lord  
Graye.

**D**ing that kommethat thes must sat. ¶  
Unto whiche woordes, the king aun-  
swered, what my brother Marques  
hath done I cannot saie. But in good  
faith I dare well aunswere for myne  
uncle Riuers and my brother here,  
that thei be innocent of any such mat-  
ters. Ye my liege quod the Duke of  
Buckingham thei haue kepte theirs  
dealing in these matters farre fro the  
knowledg of your good grace. And  
soozthwyth thei arrested the Lord Ri-  
charde and sir Thomas Vaughan  
knightie, in the kynges presence, and  
broughte the kyng and all backe vnto  
Northampton, where they tooke a-  
gaine further counsaile. And there  
they sente lawate from the kyng whō  
it pleased them, and sette newe ser-  
tauntes aboue him, such as lyked  
better them than him. At whiche dea-  
linge hee wepte and was nothinge co-  
rente, but it booted not. And at dy-  
ner the Duke of Gloucester sente a  
dishe from his owne table to the lord  
Riuers, prayinge him to bee of good  
chere, all shold be well inough. And  
he thanked the Duke, and prayed the  
messenger to beare it to his nephewes  
the lord Richard with the same mes-  
sage for his comfort, who he thought  
had more nede of comfort, as one to  
whom such aduersitie was straige.  
But himselfe had bene al his dayes in  
vre theris, and therfore coulde beare  
it the better. But for al this comfor-  
table courtesye of the Duke of Glou-  
cester he sente the lord Riuers and the  
Lord Richard with sir Thomas Vaughan  
into divers places to prison, and af-  
terward al to Pomfrait, where they  
were in conclusion beheaded.

**G**he death of  
the lord Ri-  
uers and other  
The Duke of Glou-  
cester tooke vpon himselfe the order & go-  
vernance of y young kyng, whō with  
much hono, & hūble reverence he con-  
nayed vppelwarde towarde the citye.  
But anone the tiddinges of this mater  
came hastely to þ quene, a little before  
þ midnight folowing, & that in the so-  
rest wise, þ the kyng her sonne was ta-  
ken, her brother, her sonne and her o-  
ther frēdes arrested, & sent no mā wist  
whither, to be done w god wot what.  
With which tiddinges þ quene in gret  
flight & heulnes, bewailig her childe  
rain, her frēdes mischance, & her own  
infortune, dāning the time that euer

þe

**A**shee diswaded the gatheryng of pow-  
er abouthe kinge, gate her selfe  
in all the hasse possible with her yon-  
ger sonne and her daughters outhe of  
the Palyce of westminster in whiche  
the Quene <sup>taketh laistynge</sup> laye, into the Sainctua-  
ry, lodginge her selfe and her com-  
panye there in the Abbottes place.

**S**owe came there one in likewise not  
longe after myddenighte, fro the  
Lozde Chaumberlayn vnto the arch-  
bishoppe of Yorke then Chaunceller  
of Englande, to his place not farre  
from Westminster. And soz that he

**B**shewed his seruauntes that hee hadde  
tidinges of soo greate impozaunce,  
that his maister gaue him in charge,  
not to forbeare his resse, they letted  
not to wake hym, nor hee to admitte  
this messenger in to his bedde syde.  
Of whome hee hard, that these dukes  
were gone backe with the Bynges  
grace from Stonye Stratforde vnto  
Porxhampton. Notwithstanding  
sir quod hec, my Lozde sendeth poure  
Lozdeshippe woordz, that there is  
no feare. For hee assureth you that  
all shall bee well. I assure him quod  
the Archebishoppe bee it as well as  
**C**it will, it will never bee so well as  
wee haue seene it. And thererupon  
by and by after the messenger depar-  
ted, hee caused in all the hasse al his  
seruauntes to bee called vppe, and  
so with his owne householde abouthe  
hym, and euerie manne weaponed,  
hee tooke the greate Seale with him,  
and came yet before daye vnto the  
Quene. Abouthe whome he found  
muche heauinelle, rumble, hasse  
and businelle, carriage and convey-  
aunce of her stufc into Sainctuary,  
chesfes, coffers, packes, fardelles,  
trusses, all on mennes backes, no  
manne vnoccupied, somme lading,  
somme goyng, somme descharging,  
somme commynge for more, somme  
breakinge downe the walles to bring  
in the nexte waye, and somme yet  
dewe to them that holpe to carrie a  
wronge waye. The Quene her self  
satte alone alowe on the risches all de-  
solate and dismayde, whome the  
Archebishoppe comforted in the best  
manner hee couide, shwinge her  
that hee trusted the matter was no-  
thyng so sore as shee tooke it soz.  
And that he was putte in good hope  
and oure of feare, by the message

sente him from the Lozde Chamber-  
laine. Ah woo woxthe him quod he,  
for hee is one of them that labourth  
to destroye me and my bloode. Ma-  
daine quod he, be ye of god chere. For  
I assure you if chei crowne any other  
kinge then your sonne, whome they  
nowe haue with them, we shal on the  
mozow crowne his brother whome  
you haue here with you. And here is  
the greate Seale, whiche in likewise  
as that noble prince your housebands  
delivered it vnto me, so here I deliver  
it vnto you, to the vse and behoofe of  
yours sonne, and therewith hee be-  
tooke her the greate Seale, and de-  
parted home agayne, yet in the dau-  
ninge of the daye. By which tyme **F**  
hee might in his chaumber window,  
see all the Lemmies full of bootes of  
the Duke of Gloucesters seruantes,  
watchinge that no manne shoulde go  
to Sainctuary, nor none coulde passe  
unscrched. Then was there greate  
commocion and murmure aswell in  
other places about, as specially in the  
city, the people diuerselye diuinings  
vpon this dealinge. And somme  
Lozdes, Knights, and Gentlemerne  
either for fauoure of the Quene, or  
for feare of themselves, assembled in  
sundry compaines, and went flock-  
mele in harneys: and manyc also, for  
that they reckened this demeanour  
attempted, not so specially against  
the other Lozdes, as agaynst the  
kinge hymselfe in the disturbance  
of hys Coronacion. But then by  
and by the Lozdes assēbled together  
at **G**Lourarde whiche metting, the  
Archebishoppe of Yorke fearing that  
it wold be ascribed (as it was in dede)  
to his ouermuch lightnesse, that he so  
sodainly had yelded vp the great seale  
to the Quene, to whome the custodye  
thereof nothing pertained, wout es-  
pecial comādement, of the byng, se-  
cretly sent for the Seale againe, and  
brought it with him after h̄ customa-  
ble maner. And at this metting, h̄ lord  
Hastyngh, whose trouth towarde the  
king no manne doubted nor neded to  
doubte, perswaded the Lozdes to be-  
lieue, that the Duke of Gloucester,  
was sure and fastlye faithfull to hys  
prince, and that the lord Rivers and  
lord Richard with the other knigh̄res  
wer for maters attempted by the agaist  
the dukes of Gloucester & Buckingha-

butte vnder arreste for therre surety,  
soz for the Kynges iepardye: and  
that ther were also in sauergarde, and  
ther no lenger shoude remayn, then  
yll the matter wer, not by the dukes  
onely, but also by all the other Lordes  
of the Kynges counsayle indiffe-  
rentelye examyned, and by other dis-  
crecions ordered, and eyther iudged  
or appeased.

**B**ut one chynge hee  
advised them beware, that they iud-  
ged not the matter to farreforth, ere  
they knewe the truch, nor turnyng  
theire private grudges into the com-  
mon herte, yrritinge and prouoking  
menne vnto anger, and disturbinge  
the Kynges Coronacion, towarde  
whiche the Dukes were commynge  
vppe, that ther mighte parauenture  
bynghe the matter so farre oute of  
synt, that it shold never be brought  
in frame agayne. Whiche syrfe  
if it shoulde happe as it were lykelye  
to come to a fielde, though both par-  
ties were in all other thynges egall,  
yet shoulde the authozitie bee on that  
syde where the Kyngis hymselfe,  
with these partwaltons of the Lordes  
Hastynge, wherof parte hym selfe  
believed, of parte he wist the contra-  
rye, these commocions were somme-  
what appealed.

**B**ut specially, by  
that that the Dukes of Gloucester  
and Buckingham were so nere, and  
came so shortelye on with the kyng,  
in none other maner, withnone other  
voynce or semblaunce, then to his co-  
ronacion, causyng the same to bee  
blownen about, that these Lordes and  
knyghtes whiche were taken, hadde  
contrayred the destruccyon of the  
Dukes of Gloucester and Buckin-  
gham, and of other the noble bloode  
of the Realme, to the ende that them  
selfe woulde alone, demeane and go-  
uerne the king at their pleasure. And

**D**ox for the colourable proose thereof,  
such of the Dukes seruantes as rode  
with the cartes of theyz stufse that  
were taken ( amonge whiche stufse  
no meruayle though somme were  
harneys, whiche at the breakinge vp  
of that householde, muste needes ey-  
ther be broughte awaye or caste a-  
waye) they shewed vnto the people al  
the waye as they wente: loe here bee  
the barelles of harneys that this tra-  
itors had priuelye conuayed in theyz  
carriage so destroye the noble lordes

with all... This deuise all be it that C  
it made the matter to wise men more  
vnykely, well perceyuyng that the  
intendours of such a purpose, wolde  
rather haue hadde theyz harneys on  
theyz backes, then caue bounde them  
vppe in barrelles, yet munche part of  
the common people were therewith  
verye well satissfyed, and said it wer  
almoiste to hange them.

**F**When the kyng approuched nere  
to the citie, Edmonde Sha golde-  
smith the Mayre, with William  
White and John Mathew therissis,  
and all thz other aldermenne in scar-  
lette with ffe hundred hozle of the  
ctezens in violette, received hym re-  
uerentelye at Harneley: and rydyng  
from thence, accompanayed him in

The kynges  
comynge to  
London.

to the citye, whiche hee entered the  
fowþt daye of Maye, the fyrste and  
laſte yeaþe of hys raygne. But the  
Duke of Gloucester bare him in open  
ights so reverentelye to the Prince,  
with all semblaunce of lowlinesse,  
that from the great obloquy in which  
hee was so late before, hee was so-  
dainelye fallen in so grete triste,  
that at the counsayle next assembled,  
hee was made the onyl manne chose  
and thoughte moste mete, to bee pro-  
tector of the king and hys realme,

The protec-  
so( that were it destenyre or were it fo-  
ture made.  
ly) the lamb was betaken to the Wolfe  
to kepe. At whiche counsayle also the G

Archebishoppe of York Chauncel-  
loure of Englannde, whiche hadde deliuered  
uppe the greate Seale to the  
Quene, was therof greatlye repro-  
ued, and the Seale taken from hym  
and deliuered to doctor Russell, hys  
Shoppe of Lyncolne, a wyse manne &

The bishop of  
one of the besse learene menne vn-  
Lincoine  
doohedive that Englannde hadde in made Lordes  
hys time. Divers Lordes and knigh-

des were appoynted vnto dyuers  
rowmes. The Lord Chaumber-  
layne and somme other, kepte theyz  
offices that they hadde befoze. H

Nowe all were it so that the protec-  
ture so soze thyzed for the kyng-  
ynghe of that hee hadde begonne, that  
thoughte euerye daye a yeaþe till it  
were atchayued, yet durst hee no  
farther attempte as longe as he had  
but halfe hys praye in his hande:  
well wittinge that yf hee deposid the  
one brother, all the Realme woulde

fall

**A**falle to the tother, ys he either remayned in Hayntuarye, or shoulde happelye bee shoxtelye conuayde too hys farther lber tye. Wherefore incontinent at the nexte metyng of the Lordes at the counsayle, her preposed vnto them, that it was a haynous deede of the Quene, and p;rocedinge of greate malyce towarde the Bynges counsaylers, that she shoulde keepe in Hayntuarye the Bynges brother from hym, whyle specyall pleasure and comforste were to have his brother with hym. And that by her done to none other entente, but to bryng all the Lordes in obloquie and murmur of the people. As though they were not to bee trusted with the Bynges brother, that by the assente of the nobles of the lande were appoynted as the Bynges nerest friendes, to the tuscyon of his owne royll parson. The prosperite whereof standeth ( quod hec) not all in keepynge from enemies or vilbyande, but partelye also in recreacyon and moderate pleasure: which he cannot in this tender yowthe take in the compayne of auncient parsons, but in the famyluer conueracyon of those that bee nevther farre vnder, nor farre aboue his age. And nathelesse of estate conuenient to accompanye his noble magestie. Wherefore with whom rather then with his owne brother? And ys anye manne thinke this consideracion (whiche I thynke no manne thynketh that loueth the Byng) lette hym consider that sommetyme withoute smal thinges greater cannot stande. And belyve it redowndeth greatelye to the dishonoure bothe of the kinges highnesse and of al vs that bene about his grace, to have it runne in every mans mouth, not in this realme onely, but also in other landes ( as euill woordes walke farre:) that the Bynges brother shoulde bee fayne to keepe Hayntuarye. For euerye manne wyl weene, that no manne wyl so dooe for noughe. And suche euill oppinyon once fastened in mennes heartes, harde it is to wasse ouer, and maye growe to moze grief than anye manne here canne divine.

Wherefore nere thynketh it were not woortste to sende vnto the Quene for the redresse of this matter, somme honourable trusste manne, such as bothe tendereth the Bynges 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 oure reuerente father here presente, my Lorde Cardyngall, who maye in this matter dooe mosse good of anye manne, ys it please hym to take the payne. Whiche I doubt not of his goodness he wyl not refuse, for the Bynges sake and ours, and wealthie of the younge Duke hym selfe the kinnes mosse honourable brother, and after my loueraygne Lorde hymself, my mosse dere Sephewe: considered that thereby shall bee ceased the slaunderous rumoure and obloquye howe goynge and the hurtes auoyded that thereof mighte ensue, and much rest and quiete growe to all the realme. Andyshee bee percale so obstatinate, and so preciselye sette vpon her own wyl, that neyther his wise and fathful aduertisemente canne moue her, nor any mannes reason content her: then shall wee by myne aduyse, by the Bynges authoritye setche hym out of that prisone, and bryng hym to his noble presence, in whose contynuall compayne he shal bee so well cherisched and so honourablye entreated, that all the woold shal to our honoz and her reproch, perceiue that it was onelye malyce, frowardenesse, or soyl, that cauled her to keepe him there. This is my minde in this matter for this time, excepte any of your Lordeshippes anye thinge perceiue to the contrarie. For never hal I by gods grace so wedde my selfe to myne own wyl, but that I shall bee readye to chaunge it vpon youre better aduyles.

When the protectoure hadde said, al the counsayl assyzed that the motion was goodand reasonable, and to the byng and the Duke his brother, honourable, and a thing that shoulde cease greate murmur in the realme, if hym therighte might be by good meanes enduced to deliuer hym. Whiche thynge the Archebishoppe of Yorke, whome they all agreed also to bee therero mosse conueniente, tooke vpon hym to moue her, and therein to dooe hys vttermosse denoure. Howe bee it if shee coulde bee in no wise

The protec-  
tours oration

**A**wylle entreated with her good wylle  
to delyuer hym, then thoughte hec  
and suche other as were of the spiri-  
tualtye present, that it were not in a-  
nye wylle to be attempted to take him  
oute agaynst her wil. For it woulde  
bee a thyng that shoulde tourne to  
the greate grudge of all menne, and  
hyghe dyspleasure of Godde, ys the  
pruiedge of that holye place shoulde  
nowe bee broken? Whiche hadde so  
**Saintuary.** manye yeares bee kepte, whyche  
bothe Bynges and Popes so good  
hadde graunted, so many hadde con-  
firmed, and whiche holye grounde  
Was moxe then syue hundred yeare  
agoe by Sancte Peter his own par-  
sonne in spirite, accompanied with  
greate multituds of Aungelles, by  
nyghte so specyalye halowed and de-  
dicate to Godde, (for the proofo wher-  
of they haue yet in the Abbay Sanct  
Peters cope to shewe) that from that  
tyme hytherwarde, was ther none  
uer so vndeuwote a kinge, that durst  
that sacred place violate, or so holye  
a Bisshoppe that durst it presume to  
consecrate. And therefore ( quod the  
Archebisshoppe of Yorke) Godde for-  
bydde that anye manne shoulde for a-  
nye thyng earthlye enterpryse to  
breake the immunitie, and libertie  
of that sacred Sanctuary, that hath  
bene the safegarde of so many a good  
mannes lfe. And I truske (quod he)  
with Gods grace, we hal not nedie it.  
But for ani maner nedie, I would not  
we shoulde dooe it. I truske that shee  
shall bee with reason contented, and  
all thyng in good maner obtained.  
And ys it happen that I brynge it  
not so to passe, yet shall I towarde it  
so farresooth doees my beste, that ye  
shall all well perceiue, that no lacke  
of my deuoure, but the mothers dzedre  
and womannishe feare, shall bee the  
let. Womanshe feare, naye woman  
nishe frowardenesse ( quod the Duke  
of Buckyngham.) For I dare take  
it vpon my soule, she well knoweth  
she needeth no such thyng to feare, ei-  
ther 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

ther owne knill deseruunge. And C  
nathlesse if we loued neither her nor  
her kinne, yet were there no cause to  
thynke that we shoulde hate the kyn-  
nes noble brother, to whose Grace  
wee oure selfe bee of kynne. Whose  
honoure if shee as muche desyred as  
oure dishonoure, and as muche re-  
garde tooke to his wealth, as to her  
owne will, shee woulde bee as lothe to  
suffer him from the kinge, as anye of  
vs bee. For if shee haue anye witte,  
(as woulde Godde she hadde as good  
will as she hathe shewde witte) shee  
reckoneth her selfe no wiser then shee  
thinketh some that bee here, of whose  
faithefull mynde, she nothing doun-  
tech, but verelye beleueth and know-  
eth, that they woulde bee as sorwe of F  
his harme as her selfe, and yet would  
haue hym from her ys the byde there.  
And wee all (I thynke) contente, that  
bothe bee with her, ys she come thence  
and bide in suche place where they  
maie with their honoure bee.

Nowe then ys she refuse in the deli-  
veraunce of hym, to folowe the coun-  
saile of them whose wisdom she kno-  
weth, whose trouth she wel trusteth:  
it is ethe to perceiue, that froward-  
nesse letteth her, and not feare. But  
goe to suppose that she feare ( as who  
maye lette her to feare her owne Ha-  
dowe) the moxe she searcheth to delyuer G  
hym, the moxe oughte wee feare to  
leauie hym in her handes. For if she  
caste suche sondes, that shee  
feare his hurte: then wyll she feare  
that shee shall bee sette thence. For  
she will soone thynke, that if menne  
were sette (whiche Godde forbydde)  
vpon so greate a mischiese, the saint-  
uary woulde little let them. Whiche  
good menne myghte as mee thynketh  
without sinne sommewhat lesse re-  
garde then they do.

Nowe then is she doublet leste hee  
myghte bee fetched from her, is it not  
likelye ynough that she shall sende H  
him somme where out of the realme?  
Verely I spoke for none other. And  
I doublet hot but shee nowe as sore  
myndeth it, as wee the lette thereof.  
And ys the myghte happen to bryng  
that to passe, (as it were no greate  
mistryste, wee lettinge her alone) all  
the worlde woulde saye that wee wer  
a wyle sorte of counsaylers aboue a  
byng, that lette his brother bee cast  
away

**A** awaþe vnder oure' noses. And therfore I ensure you safþfully for my mynde, I wyll rather maugrye her mynde, fetche hym awaþe, then leaue hym ther, til her frowardnes or sond feare conuay hym awaþe. And yet will I breaþe no Saintuarye therfore. For verely sith the priuileges of that place and oþer lyke, haue bene of long continued, I am not he that woulde bee aboute to breaþe 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 that it is a deede of pitie, that such menne as the sea or theyz euill detours

**B** haue broughte in pouertye, shoulde haue somme place of libertye, to keepe their bodies oute of the daunger of their cruel creditours. And also yf the Crowne happen (as it hathe done) to come in questyon, whyle eyther partie taketh other as Tacytors, I wyll well there bee somme places of refuge for boþe. But as for thecues, of whiche these places bee full, and which incue fall fro the crafte, after thei once falle thereto, it is pitie the saintuarye shoulde serue them. And muche moþe mannequellers whome Godde badde to take from the aultur and kyl them, yf theyz murther were wylfull. And where it is otherwyse there neede wee not the sayntuaryes that God appoyned in the olde lawe. For yf eyther necessarie, hys owne defens, or misfortune drawe hym to that dede, a pardon serueth whiche eyther the law graunþeth

**C** of course, or the Kyng of pitie maye.

Then locke me nowe how few saintuarye menne there bee, whome any favourable necessarie compelleþ to gooeyþer. And then see on the toþer syde what a sorte there be commonlye thererin, of them whome wylfull vñþristesse hathe broughte to nouȝt.

**D** What a rabble of theues, murtheþers, and malicious heþghous Traitors, and that in twoo places specyallye. The one at the elbowe of the Cittie, the toþer in the verye bowelles. I dare well audwe it, waye the good that they dooe, with the hurte that commeth of them, and ye shall fynde it muche better to lacke boþe, then haue boþe. And this I saye, although they were not abused as they nowe bee, and so longe haue bee, that I feare mee euer they wyl bee whyle menne bee a fearde to sette theyz handes to the mendement:

as though Godde and Sancte Peter were the Patrons of vngacious lyuinge.

þowe vñþristes ryote and runne in Dette, vpon the boldenesse of these places: yea and ryche mennerunne this saintuarios, ther with poore mennes goodes, ther they bulde, ther thei spende and bidde their creditours gooeyþle them. Mens lyues runne thicher with theyz housebandes plate, and saye, thei dare not abyde with theyz housebandes for beatinge. Theues bryng thyþer theyz stollen goodes, and there lyue theron. There devise thei newe roberies, nighte lyue they scale out, they robbe and reue, and kyil, 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 mischiche if wylle menns woulde sette their handes to, it myghts bee amended, with greate thank of god and no breache of the priuilege. The residew lich so long agoe I wote neere what Pope and what Prince moþe pteous then politique: hathe graunted it and other metine since of a certayne religiouse feare haue not broken it, lette vs take a payne therewith, and lette it a Goddes name stande in forze, as farresooth as reason wyl. Whiche is not fullie so farresooth, as may serue to lette vs of the fetchyngs forþe of this noble manne to hys honoure and wealthe, oute of that place in whiche he neither is, noþ canne þe a Sayntuary manne.

A Sainctuarye serueth alway to defende the bodie of that manne that standeth in daunger abode, not of greate herte onely, but also of lawful herte. For agaynste vñlawfull harmes, neither Pope nor Kyng entended to priuilege anþe one place. For that priuilege hath every place. Knoweth anþe manne anþe place wherein it is lawfull one manne to dooe another wronȝ. That no manne vñlawfully take herte, that libertie, the Kyng, the lawe, and verye nature forþbiddeþ in every place, and maketh to that regarde for every manne eueryplace a Saintuarye. But where a man is by lawful meanes in perill, there needeth be the tucion of some special priuilege, which is the only ground and cauie of al saintuaryes. To whiche necessarie this noble prince is far. Whose loue to his king, nature & kinred proueth, whose innocence to alþ world,

**A**wold, his tender yongh proueth. And so  
saintuary as for him, neither none he ne-  
deth, nor also none can haue. He cōe not  
to saintuary as they come to baptisme,  
to require it by their Godfathers. He  
must ask it himself̄ muste haue it. And  
reason, siche no man hath cause to haue  
it, but wholē conscience of his own faut  
maketh hym faine neede to require it,  
what wil then hath yōder babes? which  
and if he had discretion to require it, yf  
nede were, I dare saye would nowe bee  
right angry with them y kepe him ther.  
And I woulde thynke withoute anye  
scruple of conscience, wout any breach  
**B**of p̄fueledge, to bee sommewhat moze  
homely with them that be there saintua-  
ry men in dede. For if one go to saintua-  
ry with another mannes goodes, why  
should not the kyng leauinge his bodye  
at libertis, satisfy the part of his goodes  
even within the saintuary? For neither  
king nor kyng can gene any place such  
a p̄fueledge, that it shall discharge a  
man of his dettes being able to pape.  
And with that diuers of y clergie y wer  
present, whither theſe laid it for his plea-  
sure, or as thei thought, agreed plainly,  
that by the law of god and of the church  
the goodes of a saintuarye man shoulde  
**C**be delivereſ in painement of his dettes, and  
ſollen goodes to the owner, and one  
lye libertie reserved him to geat his ly-  
ning with the labour of his handes. We  
rely (quod the duke) I thinke you say ve-  
ry truch. And what if a mannes wyfe  
will take saintuary, because the lyſte to  
runne from her hysbande: I woulde  
wene if she can allege none other cause,  
he may lawfullye without any displea-  
ſure to saint Peter, take her out of S.  
Peters churche by the arms. And yf no  
body maye bee taken out of saintuarye  
that sayth he wyll bide there: Then yf a  
childe will take saintuarie, because hee  
feareth to goe to schole, hys mayster  
**D**must lette hym alone. And as ſimple as  
that laumple is, yet is there leſſe reaſon  
in our caſe, then in that. For therein  
thongh it be a chilidhe feare, yet is ther  
at the leaſt wiſe ſome feare. And herein  
is there none at all. And verely I haue  
often heard of saintuarye menne. But  
I neuer heard erſte of saintuarye chil-  
dren. And therefore as for the conclu-  
ſion of my minde, who ſo maiſt haue de-  
ſerued to neede it, yf thei thinke it for  
theyz ſuretye, lette them kepe it. But  
he canne bee no saintuarye manne, that  
neither hath wiſdom to defiſe it, nor

malite to deserue it, whiche lyſte or liber-  
tye can by no lawfull proceſſe ſtande in  
leopardis. And he that taketh one oute  
of saintuary to dooe hym good, I ſaye  
plainely that he breaketh no saintuary.  
When the Duke hadde done, the tempo-  
rall menne whole, and good part of the  
spirituall alſo, thinking none hurt eth-  
ly ment towarde the younge babe, con-  
descended in effecte, that if he were not  
delivereſ, he ſhould be fetched. Howbe-  
it they thoughte it all beſte, in the anoy-  
dynge of all maner of rumour, that the  
Loerde Cardinall ſhoule ſyſt allay to  
geat him with her good will. And ther-  
upon all the counſale came vnto the  
ſterrechaumber at westminster. And  
the Loerde Cardinall leauinge the pro-  
tector with the counſell in the ſterre-  
chaumber, departed into the saintuary  
to the Quene, with diuers other lordes  
with him, wcre it for the reſpecte of hys  
honoure, or that ſhe ſhoule by preſence  
of ſo manye perceyue that this erande  
was not one mannes minde, or were  
it for that the protector entended not  
in this matter to truſt any one manne a  
alone, or els that if ſhe finally wer deter-  
mined to kepe him, ſomme of that com-  
pany had happily ſecret inſtruccion in-  
continent magry his minde to take him  
and to leaue her no respite to conuaye  
hym, whiche ſhe was likely to mind af-  
ter this matter broken to her, yf her  
**E**time woulde in any wiſe ſerue her.  
**F**When the Quene and theſe Lordes  
were comme together in preſence, the  
Loerde Cardinall ſhewed vnto her, that  
it was thought vnto the protector and  
vnto the wholle counſaple, that her ke-  
pyng of the kinges brother in that place  
was the thing whiche highlye ſouned,  
not onelye to the greate rumoure of the  
people and theyz obloquye, but also to  
the imþortable grieſe and diſpleaſure  
of the kinges royll maieſtie. To whose  
grace it were as ſinguler coumforſte, to  
haue his naturall brother in company,  
as it was their bothe diſhonour and all  
theirs and hers alſo, to ſuffer hym in  
**G**saintuarye. As though the tone brother  
ſtoode in danger and perill of the tother.  
And he ſhewed her that the counſel ther-  
fore had ſet him vnto her, to require her  
the delivereſ of him, that hee might bee  
brought vnto the kinges preſence at his  
libertie, oute of that place whiche they  
reckoned as a p̄ſlone. And ther ſhould  
he be demeaned accordyng to his estate.  
And ſhe in this doing ſhould 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 distres, and ouer that (which he wille well she speciallye tenderid). Not onely great comfort and honour to the king, but also to the yong duke himself, whose both great welthe it were to bee together, aswell for many greater causes, as also for their both dispose and recreation: which thing the lord esteemed no slight, though he it semed lyght, well pondering that their youthe without recreacion & play, cānot endure nor any estranger for the conuenience of their both ages & estates, so metely in that pointe for any of them as either of them for other.

**My Quenes  
here.**

By lord (quod y quene:) I saye not nay, but that it were very convenient, that this gentleman whom ye require, were in the company of the kinge hys brother. And in good faith me thiketh it were as great commodite 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 specially the yonger, which besides his insancie that also nedeth god looking to, hath a while ben so soze diseased vexed with sicknes, and is so newly rather a lycle amended then well recovered, that I dare put no parson erthly in custoll with his keping but my selfe onely, considering, that there is as phisicians saye, & as we also finde, double the perill in the reciduacion, that was in the first sicknes, with which disease nature being sozelabord, sozelabord and weaked, waxeth the lesse able to beare out a new surfeit. And albeit there might be soun den other, that would happily doe theyz best vnto him: yet is there none y either knoweth better how to oder him, then I that so long haue kept him: or is more tenderly like to cherishe him, then hys own mother that bare him. No man de niteth god madam (quod the Cardinal) but that your grace were of all folke most necessary aboute your chyldez: & so woulde 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 more conuenient, that the duke of yorke were to the king honoably at his liberte to the comforde of them both, then here as a saintuary man to their both dishonour and obloquy: sith there is not alwayes so

great necessarie to haue the chylde bes with the mother, but that occasion may sometime be such, that he shold be mox expediet to kepe him els where. Whiche in this well apperech y at suche time as your dearest sonne then prince and now king, shold for his honour and god or der of the Countrey, kepe householde in Wales farre out of your company: your grace was well contente there wyth your selfe. Not very well content, quod the Quene: And yet the case is not like: for the kynge was then in helthe, and the other is now like. In which case I merueile greatly that my lord protector is so disdisces to haue him in his keping, where if the child in his sicknes miscaried by nature, yet myght he runne into slander and suspition or fraude. And where they call it a thinge so soze against my chyldes honour and theirs also, that he bydeth in this place: it is all their honours there to suffer him byde, where no manne doubteth, he shall be beske kepte. And that is here, whiche as yet intende not to come forthe and tubarde my selfe after other of my frēdes: which woulde god wer rather here in suertie with me, then I were there in subardy with the. Whiche Madame (quod a nother Lord) know you any thing why thei shoulde be in subardye: Nay verely sur y ghe, nor why they shoulde be in prison neither, as they now be. But it is I crow no great maruaile though I fere, lefft those that haue not letted to put them in duresse without colour, wil let as lytle to procure their distruction without cause. The Cardinal made a countinace to the other Lord, that he shoulde harp no more vpon that string. And then said he to the Quene, that he nothing doubted, but that those lordes of her honoorable kinne, which as yet remained vnder arrest shoulde vpon the matter examined, do wel ynough. And as toward her noble person, neither was nor coulde be, any maner subardy. Therby shoulde I trusse that (quod the Quene) In that I am giltles: As though they were guilty. In y I am with their enemies better beloued then thei: When they hate the for my sake, In that I am so nere of kinne to the kynge: And how farre be they of, iſ y would helpe as god send grace it hurt not. And therfore as for me, I purpose not as yet to departe hence. And as for this gentilman my sonne, I mynde that he shalbe where I am till I see further.

**A** For I assure you, for that I se some men  
so gredye withowte any substanciall  
causeto haue him, this maketh me much  
the moze farder to deliuere him. Truly  
madame, quod he, and the farder that  
you be to deluyer him, the farder bene  
other men to suffer you to kepe hym, lest  
your causeles serfe might cause you ser  
cher to contayn hym. And many be there  
that thinke that he can haue no pruilege  
in this place, which neither can haue wil  
to aske it, nor mallice to deserue it. And  
therfore they recken no pruilege brou  
ken, though thei fetche hym out. Whiche

**B** if ye synally refuse to deliver him, I de  
sely thynke they will. So much dzedie  
hath my Lorde his uncle, for the tender  
loue he bereth hym, lest your grace shold  
hap to send hym awaye. A syr quod the  
Quene, hath the protectour to fedet zeale  
to him, that he serfeth nothing but lest he  
should escape hym. Thinketh he that I  
would sende hym hence, which neyther  
is in h plighe to sende out, and in what  
place coulde I recken hym sure, if he be  
not sure in this the lantuarpe whereof,  
was there never traitur yet so devellysh,  
that durst 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 lantuarpe, and  
therfore he cannot haue it. For soth he  
hath foundena goodly glōse, by whiche  
that place that may defend a these, may  
not saue an innocent. But he is in no  
supardy nor hath no nede therof. Wold  
god he had not. Croweth the protectour  
(I pray god he may proue a protectour)  
croweth he that I parceilue not where  
unto his painted processedzalweth. It is  
not honoorable that the duke bide here:  
it were comforstable for them both that  
he wer with his brother, because y king  
lacketh a play felowye be ye sure. I pray

**D** god send them both better play felowes  
then hym, that maketh so high a matter  
upon such a trifling pretext: as though  
there coulde none be fannden to playe  
with the kyng, but if his brother y hath  
no lust to play for sicknes, come oute of  
sanctuary out of hys sauergarde, to play  
with him. As though princes as yonge  
as thei be, could not play but with their  
peres, or chylldren could not play but w  
their kyndred, wit whom for the moze  
part they agree much worse then wth  
stranglers. But the childe cannot re  
quire the pruilege, 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 oure, if I saye her shall not,  
If I aske the pruilege but for for my  
selfe, I say he that agaynst my wyl ta  
keth out him, breaketh the sanctuary.  
Hereweth this liberty for my person on  
lye, or for my goodes to: ye maye not  
hence take my hoysse fro me: and maye  
you take my childe fro me: he is also my  
warde, for as my lerned counsell cle  
weth mee, syth he hath nothing by discent  
holden by knyghtes seruice, the law ma  
keth his mother his gardaine. Then  
may no man, I suppose take my warde  
fro me oute of sanctuarye, wythout the  
bzech of the sanctuary. And if my pru  
ilege could not serue hym, nor he aske  
it for hymselfe, yet sythe the lawe com  
miteth to me the custody of him. I may  
require it for hym, excepte the lawe  
giveth a childe a gardayne onely for his  
goodes & hys landes, discharging hym  
of the cure and sause kepyng of hys bo  
dy, for whiche only both landes & goodes  
serue. And if exaples be sufficiēt to ob  
tayne pruilege for my chylde, I nede  
not farre to seeke. For in thys place in this marke,  
which we now be (and whiche is now in <sup>†</sup> and this  
questyon whiche may take <sup>marke &</sup>  
benefyce of it) myne other sonne now  
kyng was born, and kept in hys cradle,  
and preserued to a moze prosperous for  
tune, which I pray god long to continu.  
And as all you know, this is not y first  
tyme that I have taken sanctuarye, for  
when my lord my husbande was bani  
shed & thrust out of his kingdom, I fled  
hither being great with child, and here  
I bare the prynce. And when my lord  
my husbande retourned late again and  
had the victorye, than went I hence to  
welcomme him home, and from hence I  
brought my babe the prynce unto hys  
father, when he syzste toke hym in hys  
armes. And I praye God y my sonnes  
palace may be as great sauergarde to him  
now rayning, as thys place was some  
tyme to the kindes enemys. In whiche  
place I sette to kepe his brother sith ec. <sup>¶</sup>

Wherfore here intend I to kepe him  
sins mas law serueth y gardaine to kepe  
the infant. The law of nature wyl the  
mother kepe her childe. Gods law pru  
ilegeth the sanctuary, & the sanctuary  
my sonne, sith I serfe to put hym in the  
protectours handes that hath hys bro  
ther already, and were if bothe fayled,  
inheritor to the crowne. The cause of  
my serfe hath no man to doe to examine.

And

**A**nd yet sere I no fether thē hawfereth which as lerned men tell me for biddeth every man the custody of thē, by whose death he may inherite lesse lande then a kingdome. I can no moze, but whosoever he be that breketh this holy sanctuary: I pray god shorly sende him nedē of sanctuary, when he may not come to it. For taken out of sanctuary would I not my mortall enemy were.

The lord Cardinall perciusing that the quene wared ever the léger the fader of, and also that she began to kindle and chafe, and speke soze biting wordes against the the protectour, and such as he neither beleued, and was also loth to here, he said vnto her for a finall cōclusion, that he woulde no lenger dispute the matter. But if he were contene to deliuer þ duke to him & to þ other lordes there presēt, he durst lay his owne body & soule both in pledge, not onely for his furety but also for hys estate. And if she woulde give thē a resolute answere to þ contrary, he would sozþw depart there with all, and shyste whoso would with thys busynes afterwarde: for he never entendē more to moue her in that matter, in which she thought þ he and all oþer also saue herselfe, lacked either wile or crouth. Wit if they were so dul, that they coulde nothing perceiue what the protectour ententended: trouche if they shoulde procure her sonne to be delynered into his handes, in whom thei shold perceyue toward the childe any eul intended.

The quene with these wordes stode a good while in a great study. And for as much her semed the Cardinall moze ready to depart, then some of the remnant, & the protectour himself redy at hand, so þ she verely thought she coulde not kepe him there, but that hee shoule incontinent be taken thēc: & to conuay himself whcre, neyther had shee time to serue her, nor place determined, nor parsons appointed, all thinge vntredy thys message came on her so sodaynely, nothing lesse looking for þe to haue him set ou of sanctuary, which she thought to be now beset in such places about, þ he coulde not be conuayed out vntake, & partly as she thought it might fortune her sere to bee false, so will he waste it was either nedēles or botoless: wherefore if she shold nedēs go fr̄ him, she dempre it beset to deliuer him. And ouer þ of þ Cardinals saith she nothing doubted, nor of some other lordes neither, whō she there saw,

which as she fered lest they myght bee deceiuid: so was she well assured they would not be corrupted: Then thought she it shold yet make thē þ moze warely to loke to him, & the moze circūspectly to sc 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 lordes: my lord (þ þe) & all my lordes, I neither am so vñwise to mistrust your wictes, nor so suspicioſ to mistruste your trouthes. Of which thing I purpose to make you ſuch a prouife, as if either of both lacked in you, might tourne both me to great ſorowē, the realme to much harme, and you to gret reproche. For loe here is (þ þe) this gentilman, whom I doubt not but I could here kepe ſafe if I woulde, whaſoeuer any man ſay. And I doubt not also but ther be ſoe abzode ſo deadly enemies vnto my blod, that if thei will where any of it lay in their owne body, they would let it out. We haue alſo had expeſience þ the deſire of a kingdōe know. The deſire with no kinred. The brother hath bene of a kingdōe, the brothers bane. And may the nephews be ſure of their uncle: Eche of theſe children is others deſence while they be a ſunder, and eche of their liues lieth in the others body. Kepe one ſafe & both be ſure, and nothing for them both moze perilouſe, þe to be both in one place. For what wiſe merchant aduentureth all his good in one ſhip: All this notwithstanding, here I deliuer him and hys brother in him, to kepe into your hādes, of whome I shall aske them both aſore god and the world. Faſthfull ye be that wot wel and I know wel you be wiſe. Power & Strenght to kepe him if ye lik neither lacke ye of your ſelf, nor ca lack helpe in this cauſe. And if ye cannot elſewhere, þe may you leue him here. But only one thing I beseche you for þe truſt that his father put in you euer, and for the truſt that I put in you now, that as farre as ye thinke that I ſere to muſe, be you wel ware þ you ſere not as farre to little. And therewithall she ſaid vnto the childe: farewel my own ſweete ſonne, god ſend you god keeping, let me kis you ones yet ere you goe, for God knoweth when we hal kis togither agayne. And therewithal ſhe kiſſed him, & blessed him, turned her back and wept and wet her way, leaving the childe weeping as fast. Whē the lord Cardinall & theſe other lordes with him, had received this yong duke, thei brought him into the

**O dissimu-**  
**lation.**

**A** sterrechamber where the protector  
toke him in his armes & killed him with  
these wordes: Now welcōe my lord eue  
w al my verē hart. And he sayd in that  
of lskelihod as he thought. Thereupon  
soorthwith they brought him to h kyng  
his brother into the bishoppes palice at  
powles, & from thence through the citis  
honorably into the tower, out of whch  
after þ day they never came abrode.

**T**his that is þ protector had both h chlyzē in  
here betwene his hādes, he opened himself moze bold,  
þys mark. þ ly, both to certayne other men, and also  
þ this mat̄. chiefely to the duke of Buckingham.  
Was not þyl. Although I know that many thought,  
ten by w. that this duke was priuy to al the pro-  
tectors counsel, eue frō the beginning  
histoy w̄z̄. And soe of the protectours frendest said,  
by him in eng. þe, but is that the duke was the firs̄ mouer of the  
translatē out þ protector to this matter, sending a  
of this histo- þtute messēger unto him, freight after  
ry which he king Edwards death. But other agau  
wrote in. Which knelwe better the subtle wit of the  
laken.

**B**Enterprize to the duke, vntill he had  
brought to passe the thinges before re-  
hersed. But whē he had imþisoned the  
quenes kinsfolkes, & gotten boþe her  
sonnes into his owne handes, than hee  
opened the rest of his purpose with lesse  
fere to them whom he thought mete for  
the matter, and specially to þ duke: who  
being wōne to his purpose, he thought  
his strength moze then halfe encreasē.

**C**The matter was broken vnto the duke,  
by succell folkes, and such as were their  
crafte masters in the handling of such  
wicked deuises: who declared unto him,  
þ the yong king was offendē with him  
for his kinsfolkes sakes, and that if he  
were ever able, he would revenge the.  
Who wold prick him for ward therunto,  
if they escaped (for they would reme-  
þre their imþisonment) Dr̄s Ischel wer  
put to death, without doubt the yonge

**D**king wold be careful for their deaþes,  
whose imþisonment was greuous vnto  
him. And that wth repenting the duke  
should nothing availe: for there was no  
way left to redeme his offence by benefi-  
ces: bue he shold soner distroy himself  
þa ſauē the king, who with his brother  
& his kinsfolkes he ſaw in ſuch places  
imþisoned, as the protector might w  
a beck distroy them al: and that it were  
no doubt but he woulde do it indeede, if  
there wer any new enterprize accepted.  
And that it was likely that as þ protec-  
tor had prouided priuy garde for him-  
ſelf, so had he ſpialles for the duke, and  
traunes to catche hym, if he ſhould be a-

gainske him, & that paraduenture from þ  
them, whom he leaſt ſuſpected. For the  
ſtate of thinges & the diſpoſitions of me-  
wer than ſuch, that a man could not wcl  
tell whom he might truſſe, or whom he  
might feare. These thinges and ſuch  
like, being beaſe into the dukes minde,  
brought him to that point, that wher he  
had repeited the way that he had entred,  
yet wold he go ſoorth in the ſame: & ſince  
he had ones begon, he woud ſtoutly go  
throuḡ. And therefore to thys wicked  
enterprize, which he beleued coulde not  
bee boſied, hee bent himſelfe and went  
throuḡ: and determined, that ſince the  
comon miſchief could not be amended,  
he wold tourne it as much as he might F  
to hys owne commodity.

Thā it was agreed, that the protector  
ſhould haue the dukes aide to make him  
king, & that the protectours onely law-  
ful ſonne, ſhould mary þ dukes daugh-  
ter, and that the protector ſhould graūc  
him he quiet poſſeſſion of the Ecleſie  
of Hertford, which he claimed as his er-  
heritance, and could neuer obtain it in  
king Edwardes time. Besides theſe re-  
quelles of þ duke, the protector of hys  
owne minde promiſed him a great qua-  
tite of the kinges treure & of his howſe-  
hold ſuſſe. And whē they were thus  
at a point betwene theſelues, they went  
about to pþpare for the coronacþ of þ  
yong king as (they woud haue it ſeme-  
And that they might turne both the eies  
& mindes of men, frō perceiving of their  
diſtis other where the lordes being ſet  
ſoz from al parties of the realme, came  
thick to that ſolemnite. But the protec-  
tor & the duke, after þ, that they had ſet  
the lord Cardinall, the Archebifhoppe  
of Yorke than lord Chauncellour, the  
Bifhoppe of Ely, the lord Stanley & the  
lord Hastings than lord chāberleine,  
w many other noble me \* to comune &  
deuile about the coronaſio in one place:  
as ſak were they in an other place con-  
tryng the contrary, & to make the pro-  
tector kyng. To which counſel, albeie  
there were adhixit verē ſew, & they verē  
ſecret: yet begā there here & there about, þ  
ſome maner of muttering amouge the  
people, as though al ſhould not long be  
wel, though they neither wift what they  
feared nor wherfore: were it that before  
ſuch great thinges, mens hartes of a ſe-  
cret iuſtice of nature miſgiueth them.  
As þ ſea wout wind ſwelleth of himſelf  
ſomtime before a tempeſt: or were it that  
ſome one man happily ſomwhat percei-  
ping, filled mani me w ſuſpicio, thouḡ

**A** he shewed few mē what he knew. Hobe-  
it somwhat the dealing selfmade mē to  
muse on the mater, though the counsell  
were close. For little and little all folke  
withdrew fro the Tower, and drew to  
Crosbies place in Bishops gates Crete  
wher the the protectour kept his house-  
hold. The protectour had the resorū, the  
king in maner dessolate. While some  
for their busines made sute to them that  
had the doing, some were by their fren-  
des secretly warned, that it might hap-  
pely 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 olde  
seruantes from him, & set newe aboue  
him. Thus many thinges coming togis-  
ther pyl by chaunce, partly of purpose,  
caused at length, not comen people on-  
ly that wawe with the winde, but wise  
men also & some lordes, yke to marke  
the mater and muse theron: so ferforth  
that the lord Stanly, þ was after Erle  
of Darbiz, wisely mistrusted it, & saied  
vnto þ lord Hastings, þ he much misliked  
these two severall counsels. For while  
we (þ he) take of one matter in the tōne  
place, little wote we wherof they talk in  
þ other place. My lord (þ the lord Has-  
tings on my life never doute you. For  
**C** while one man is there which is never  
minded that shoulde sownde amisse to-  
ward me, but it shoulde be in mine eares  
ere it were well ouce of their mouthes.  
This ment he by Catesby, which was  
of his nere secret counsail, and whome  
he veri familiarly vsed, and in his most  
weighty matters put no man in so spe-  
cial craft, reckening hymself to no mā so  
lise, sith he well wist there was no mā so  
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  
**D** the county of Leiceter where the Lordes  
Chamberlens power chiefly laye. But  
surely great pity was it, tha: he had not  
had either more trouthe or lesse wytte.  
For his dissimulacion onely, kepte  
all that mischye vpp. In whome  
if the lord Hastings had not put so spe-  
cial trust, the lord Stanley and he had  
departed with diuers of other lordes, and  
broken all the daunce, for many il signed  
that he sawe, which he nowe constues  
all to the besse. So surely thoughte he  
that ther could be none harme toward  
him in that counsaile intended where

Catesby was. And of trouth the protec- **E**  
tor and the Duke of Buckingham  
made very god seblaunce vnto the Lord  
Hastinges, and kept hym much in com-  
pany. And vndoubtedly the protectour  
loued him wel, & loth was to haue losse  
him, sauing for sere lest his life shoulde  
haue quailed their purpose. For which  
cause he moued Catesby to proue wyth  
some wordz 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 assaid  
him not reported vnto thē, that he soude  
him so fast, and hard him speke so terri-  
ble woordes, that he durst no further  
bzeke. And of trouth the lord Chāberlē **F**  
of very crut hewed vnto Catesby, the  
misrust that other began to haue in the  
mater. And therfore he fering leſt their  
mocions might with þ lord Hastings  
minilhe his credence, wherunto onely  
al the matter lenid, prouoced the protec-  
tor hastely to ridde him. And much the  
rather, for that he trusted by his beth to  
obtaine much of the rule that the lord  
Hastinges bare in his countrey: the only  
desire wherof, was þ affectiue þ indu-  
ctriuer of al this horrible trelon.

Wherupō sone after that is to wit, on  
the fridai the **G** day of ma. The countell  
ny Lozdes assembled in the tower, and in the tower,  
there sat in counsaile, devising the ho-  
noable soleynite of the kinges corona-  
cion, of which the time appointed then  
so nere approched, that the pageanties  
and suttelties were in making day and  
night at westminster, and much vtaile  
killed therfse, that afterward was cast  
away. These lordes so syting to gyther  
comoning of thy s matter, the protec-  
tor came in among them, syng aboue  
it of the clock, saluting them curteſly, þ  
& excusyng hymself that he had bē from  
them so long, sateng merely that he had  
bene a slepe that day. And after a little  
talking w them, he layd vnto þ Bishop  
of Elye: my lord you haue very good  
strauberries at your gardayne in Hol-  
berne, I require you let vs haue a messe  
of them. Gladly my lord, q he, woulde  
god I had some better thing as redy to  
your pleasure as that. And therwith in  
al the hast he sent hys seruat for a messe  
of strauberries. The protectour sette the  
lozdes fast in comoning, and therupon  
prayeng them to spare hym for a little  
while, departed thence. And sone after  
one hower betwene. x. & xi. he returned  
into þ chamber among them, al chāged  
v. iii. **H** with

**A**wlth a wonderful soure angrye counseil, knyting the browes, frowning and frotting and knawing on hys lippes, & so sat him downe, in hys place: al the lordes much dismayed & soze mete, uelling of this maner of sodain chaunge, and what thing shold him ale. Then when he had sitten still a whille, thus he began: what were they woxthy to haue, that compasse & ymagine the distruccio of me, being so neare of blod unto y<sup>e</sup> king and protectour of his stalle person & his realme. At this question, al y<sup>e</sup> lordes sat soze astormid, myngy much by whome thys question shold be ment, of which

**B**every man wylf himselfe clere. Then the lord chamberlen, as he y<sup>e</sup> for the loue betwene the thoughte he migh be boldest to him, unanswered and sayd, y<sup>e</sup> thet wer woxthy to bee punished as heighnous traito<sup>r</sup>s whatsoeuer they were. And al the other affirmed the same. That is (y<sup>e</sup> he) yonder sorceres my brotheris wife & other w<sup>th</sup> her meaning y<sup>e</sup> quene. At these wordes many of the other Lordes were gretly abashed y<sup>e</sup> fauoured her. But the lord Hastings was in his minde better content, that it was moued by her, the by any other whom he loued better: Albeit hys harre somewhat grudged, that he was not afore made of counsell in this

**C**mater as he was of y<sup>e</sup> taking of her kynred, and of their putting to death, whiche were by his assent before, denised to bee hybedded at Pountsreit, this selfe same day, in which he was not ware y<sup>e</sup> it was by other denised, that himself shold the same day be behedded at London. The said the protectour: ye shal al se in what wise that sorceres and that other witch of her counsel Shozis wife w<sup>th</sup> their askynne, haue by their sorcery & witchcraft wasted my body. And therwhe plucked vp hys doublet sleue to his elbow vpon his left armie, where he shewed a weril<sup>e</sup> withered armie and small, as it was never other. And therewpon every manes mind soze misgane the, well perceiving

**D**that this matter was but a quarel. For wel thei wylf, that y<sup>e</sup> quene was to wile to go aboue any such folye. And also if she would, yet wold she of all folke leste make Shozis wife of counsaile, wh<sup>ch</sup> of al women she most hated, as that concubine wh<sup>ch</sup> the king her husbād had most loued. And also no man was there present, but wel knew that his harme was euer such since his birth. Martheles the lord Chamberlen (which fro y<sup>e</sup> death of king Edward kept Shozis wife, on wh<sup>ch</sup> he somewhat doted in the kinges life, sauing

as it is sayd he that whille so bare her of reverence towarde hys king, or els of a certaine kinde of fidelite to hys frende) unanswered & sayd: certainly my lord is they haue so heinously done, thei be worthy heinouse punishment. What good the protectour thou seruest me I wene w<sup>th</sup> ikes & with andes, I tel the thei haue so done, & that I will make good on thy body traitour. And therw<sup>th</sup> as in a great anger, he clapped his fist vpon y<sup>e</sup> borde a great rappe. At which token giuen, one cried treason without the cabze. Therwith a doze clapped, and in come there rushing men in harneys as many as y<sup>e</sup> chambre might hold. And anon the protectour sayd to the lord Hastings: I arrest the traitour. What me my Lord quod he. Bea the traitour, & the protectour. And a nother let flee at the Lord Standley whch shronke at the stroke & fel vnder the table, or els his hed had be cleste to the terhe: soz as shozely as he shranke, yet ranne the blod aboue hys eares. Then were they al quickly beslowed in diuerse chambres, except y<sup>e</sup> lord Chamberlen, wh<sup>ch</sup> the protectour hade spede & shryue hym a pace, soz by saynt Poule (y<sup>e</sup> he) I wil not to dinner til I see thy hed of. It boode him not to aske why but heuely he toke a priest at aduerture, & made a shor shifte, soz a longer woulde not be suffered, the protectour made so much hast to dynner: which he myght not go to til this wer done soz sauing of his othe. So was he brought forth into the grene beside the chappel vnto the tower, & his head laid down vpon a long log of timbre, and there striken of, and after-ward his body with the hed entred at Windsoore beside the body of king Edward, whose both soules our lord pdon.

A merueilouse case is it to here, either the warninges of that he shoulde haue boide, or the tokēs of that he could not boide. For the self night next before his death, y<sup>e</sup> lord Standley sent a crutie secret messenger vnto him at midnight in al the hast, requiring hym to rise & ryde away with hym, for he was disposed certeinly no lenger to bide: he had so feresful a dreame, in which hym thoughte that a boze with his tusdes so raced the both bi the heddes, that the blod ranne aboue both their shoulders. And sozasmuch as the protector gaue the boze soz his cognisance, this dreame made so feresful an impression in his hart, y<sup>e</sup> he was throughly determined no lenger to cary, but had his horse rydy, if y<sup>e</sup> lord Hastings wold go w<sup>th</sup> him to ride so far yet y<sup>e</sup> same night,

The lord Standley wounded,

The Lord Chamberlen beheaded,

The Lord Stanleys dreame,

**A**that thet shold be out of dager ere dat. By good lord q̄ þ lord Hassinges to this mes  
seger, lenech my lord thi master so much  
to such trifles, & hath such faith iþremes,  
which either his own fere fataleith or do  
rise in þ nightes rest by reson of his daye  
thoughtes: Tel hi it is plaine wischzaſt  
to beleue in lache dremes: which if they  
wer tokens of thiges to come, why thin-  
keth he not that we might be as likely to  
make the true by our going if we were  
caught & brought back (as frendes sayle  
sleers) for then had the boze a cause likely  
to race vs to his tuskes, as folke that fled

**B**for some falsoſed, wherfore either is there  
no peryl, nor none there is in dede: or if  
any be, it is rather in going the biding.  
And if we shold nedes cost fall in perill  
one way or other: yet had I leuer þ men  
shold ſe it wer by other mes falsoſed, the  
thinke it were either our owne faulfe or  
faint hart. And therfore go to thy master  
man, & comende me to him, & pray him be  
mery & haue no fere: for I enſure hym I  
am as ſure of the man þ he woteth of, as  
I am of my own hand. God ſende grace  
ſit q̄ the messenger, and went his way.

**C**t certain is it alio, þ in þ riding toward þ  
tower, þ ſae moznig in which he was be-  
heded, his hoȝe twile or thilke ſtubled to  
hi almost to þ falling, which thing albe-  
it eche man wote wel daily happeneth to  
the to whō no ſuch miſchaūce is toward:  
yet hath it ben of an olde rite & custome,  
obſerved as a token often times natably  
foregoing ſome great miſfortune. Now  
this þ foloweth was no warning, but an  
enemionous ſcorne. The ſame moznig  
ere he were by, came a knight unto him,  
as it were of curteſy to accompany hym  
to the conſaile, but of trouth ſent by the  
protector to haſt him thitherward, wþh  
whō he was of ſecret confederacy in that  
purpoſe, a meane man at that time, and  
now of gret auctorite. This knight whē  
it happed the lord Chamberlen by þ way  
to ſtay his hoȝe, and comen a while to a  
priest whome he met in the tower ſtrete,

**D**þ take his tale & ſaid merely to him: what  
my lord I pray you come on, whereto  
talke you ſo long wþ that priſt, you haue  
no neſe of a priſt yet: ther wþ he laugheſ  
þþ hini, as though he would ſay, ye ſhal  
thal haue ſone. But ſo little wþ þ tother  
what he ment, & ſo little miſtruffed, that  
he was neuer merier nor neuer ſo full of  
good hope in his life: which ſelf thing is  
often ſene a ſigne of chaūge. But I ſhall  
rather let arive thinge paſſe me, then the  
vain ſureti of mā mind ſo nere his deth.  
Upon the very tower whare ſo nere the  
place where his hed was of ſo ſone after,

there met he wþ one Hassinges a purſeuat<sup>E</sup>  
of his own name. And of their meting in  
þ place, he was put in remēbraunce of an  
other time, in whitch it had happened the  
befoſe, to mete in like maner togithher in  
the ſame place. At which other tyme the  
lord Chamberlein had ben accuſed vnto  
king Edward, by þ lord Riuers þ quenes  
brother, in ſuch wile þ he was for þ while  
(but it lasted not long) farre fallen into þ  
kinges indingnaciō, & ſtode in gret fere  
of himſelfe. And foþ alſuſh as he nowe  
met this purſeuat in the ſame place that  
iubarde lo wel paſſed: it gaue him great  
pleaſure to talke wþ him therof wþ whom  
he had before talked thereof in the ſame  
place while he was therin. And therfore  
he ſaid: Ah hassinges, art þ remēbraud whē  
I met thee here ones with an hevy hart?  
Pea my lord (q̄ he) that remembre I wel:  
& thanked be God they gate no god, nor  
ye none harme thereby. Thou wouldest  
ſay ſo q̄ he, if thou knewell alſuſh as I  
know, which ſew know els as yet & moſ  
thal ſhortly. That met he by the lordes  
of the quenes kindred that were take  
befoſe, and ſhould that day be behedded at  
Wouſtreit: which he wel wylſt, but nothig  
ware that þ are hang ouer his own hed.  
In ſaſh man q̄ he, I was neuer ſo ſoȝy,  
nor neuer ſtode in ſo great dread in my  
life, as I did when thou and I met here.  
And lo how þ world is turned, now ſtad  
mine enemies in þ daſiger (as thou maſſe  
hap to here moze hereafter) & I neuer in  
my life ſo mery, nor neuer in ſo great ſu-  
erty. O god god, the blindnes of our  
moſtall nature, when he moſt fearede, he  
was in good ſuerty: whē he rekened him  
ſelf ſureſt, he lost his life, & that wþ two  
howies after. Thus eded this honoſable  
man, a good knight and a gentle, of gret  
aucchorite wþ his prince, of liuing ſome-  
what delſolate, plaine & open to his ene-  
my, & ſecret to his frende: eth to begile, as  
he that of good hart & corage foſtudieſ  
no perillſ. A louing man & paſſing wel  
beloued. Very faithful, & truſy ynough,  
trouſing to much. Now flew þ fame  
of this lordes death, ſwiftly through the  
citiſ, & ſo forth farther about like a winde  
in every mā ere. But the protector im-  
mediately after dinner, entending to ſet  
ſome colour vpþ þ matter, ſet in al þ halſ  
ſo many ſeſtaſcial men out of the city  
into the Tower. And at their comming,  
himſelf wþ the Duke of Buckingham, ſtode  
harneſed in old illaſing brigdiers, ſuch  
as no mā ſhould wene þ thei wold bouch-  
ſafe to haue put vpþ their backes, except  
that ſome ſodaine neceſſtie had coſtrai-  
ned the. And then the protector helweſ  
them,

The deſcrip-  
tion of the  
lord Hassinges

**A** thē, y the loz chāberlain, & other of his co-  
spiracy, had contrived to haue sodeinly de-  
stroyd him & the duke, ther y same day in  
h cōsel. And what they inteded further,  
was as yet not well knownen. Of whiche  
their treſō he never had knowlage before  
x. of h clock h same ſore none. Whiche lo-  
dai ſere dzaue the to put on for ther defeſce  
ſuch harneſis as cae next to hande. And ſo  
had god holpe the, y h miſchief turned vpō  
the y wold haue done it. And this he requi-  
red the to report. Eueri mā anſwered him

**B** farr, as though no mā miſtrusſed y mater  
which of trouth no mā beleued. Yet for y  
further appeling of y peoples mind, he ſet  
immediatly after dinner in al y halle, one he-

**The protec-** rode of armes, w a pcamaciō to be made  
to expoclaſma through h city in h kinges name, contey-  
ning y the lord Hauinges w diuers other  
of his traytorous purpose, had before co-  
ſpired y same day, to haue ſlaine h lord p-  
receptor & h duke of Buckinghaſ ſitting in y  
cōſel, & after to haue take vpō the to rule  
h king & h realm at their pleaſure, & therbi  
to pil & ſpoil whō thei liſt vncorreſoled. And  
much mater was ther in y pcamaciō de-  
uiled, to h ſlauder of h lord chāberlain, as  
y he was an euil couſeller to h kinges fa-  
ther, intiſing hi to many thinges highlye  
reboſidig to y minifhing of his honoꝝ, & to  
y uniuersal hurt of his realm, by his euy-  
company, ſinifer pcamuring, & bngracious e-  
ſaple, alwel in many other thinges as in

**C** h vicious liuing & inordinate abuſion of  
his body, both w many other, & also ſpeci-  
alli w hozes wife, which was one alſo of  
his moſt ſecret couſel of this heynous tre-  
ſō, w whō he lay nightli, & namell y night  
laſt paſſed next before his death, ſo that it  
was y laſte meruel, y bngracious liuyng  
brought him to an vnhappy ending: which  
he was now put vnto, by y moſt vxe de co-  
maudemēt of h kinges highnes & of his ho-  
noorable & faithful couſel, bothe for his de-  
merites, beig ſo opēly takē in his laſti co-  
uclued treſō, & alſo leſt ydelayng of his ex-  
ecuciō, might haue ecoraged other miſchi-  
uous pſos pñers of his coſpiracy, to ge-  
ther & aſſeble theſelſt together in makynge

**D** ſoe gret commociō for his deliueraunce.  
whose hope now beig by his wel deſerued  
deth politikely repſled, al h realm hold bi  
gods grace ref in good quiete and peace.  
Now was this pcamaciō made wiſ. ii.  
houres after y he was beheded, & it was ſo  
curiouſly indited, & ſo fair wſite in parch-  
ment in ſo wel a ſet hande, & therwith of it  
ſelf ſo lōg a pcamelle, heueri child might wel  
pcamue, that it was prepared beſore. For  
al h time betwene his death & the pcamagi  
could ſcarit haue ſuffiſed vnto y bare wyp-  
ping alone, all had it bene but in paper &

ſcribbed ſorth in halle at aduēture. So y b. C  
pō y pcaming therof, one y was ſcole ma-  
ſter of Poules of chaūce ſtāding by, & co-  
paring y hoznes of h time w the legh of  
y matter, ſaid vnto the y ſtode about him  
here is a gay goodly caſt, foule caſt awaiſ  
for halle. And a merchant anſwered hym, y  
it was wſite by pſecy. Now the by & bi, as  
it wer for anger not for couetife, y pteceptor  
ſet into y house of hozes wife (for her huſ-  
band dwelled not w her) & ſpoiled her of al  
y euer ſhe had, aboue y value of. ii. ii. iii.  
y marks, & ſent her body to priſon. And  
whē he had a while laſde vnto her for the  
maner ſake, y ſhe wet about to bewitch hi, F  
& y ſhe was of couſel w the lord chāberlein  
to deſtroy hi: in coſclusiō, whē y no coloue  
could ſaffe vpō theſe mattera, the he layd  
heinousli to her charge, y thing y herſelf  
could not deny, that al h wold wift was  
true, & that naſteles every mā laugheſd at  
to here ſt the ſo ſodainly ſo higlye takeſ, y  
the was noug̃t of her body. And for thys  
cauſe (as a goodly contineſ princ clene &  
faulſe of himſelf, ſet ouſe of heauen into  
this viciouſ world for the amēdemēt of  
mēs maners) he cauſed the biſhop of Lōdō  
to put her to opē penāce, going before the  
croſſe in pcamelle vpon a ſonday with a ta-  
per in her hād. In which ſhe wet in coun-  
tenance & pace demure ſo womāly, & albe  
it ſhe were out of al array ſauē her kyrtle  
only: yet wet ſhe ſo fair & louely, namelye  
while the wondering of the people caſte a  
conily roud in her chekkes (of whiche the be-  
ſore had moſt miſle) that her great shame  
wan her much praife, amog thole y were  
moze amorous of her body the curioſe of  
her ſaule. And many good folke alſo y ha-  
ted her liuing, & glad wer to ſe ſin coſrec-  
ted: yet pitied thei moze her penance, then  
reioyced therin, whē thei conſidered that y  
pteceptor pcamered it, moze of a corrupt inſe-  
the ani vertuous affecciō. This woman G  
was boſn in Lōdō, wozhipfully ſrended  
honestly brought vp, & very wel marayed,  
ſaying ſowhat to ſone, her huſbands an  
honest ciſcen, yonge & goodly & of good  
ſubſtance. But for al muſche as they were  
coupled ere ſhe wer wel ripe, ſhe not very  
ſeruēly loued, for whō ſhe never longed,  
whiche was happily the thinge, that the  
moze eaſily made her ecline vnto y kings  
appetite whē he required her. Howbeit y  
reſpect of his royaſtie, y hope of gay appa-  
rel, eaſe, pleſure & other waſo welth, was  
hable ſome to perſe a ſoſte tender hearte.  
But when the king had abuſed her, anon  
her huſband (as he was an honest man &  
one that could his god, not preſumming to  
touch a kinges cōcubine) left her vs to bl  
al together. When the king died, the lord  
Chāber,

The deſcrys  
tioſ of hozes  
wife.

**A** Chāberlen toke her. Whiche in the kinges daisies, albeit he was soze ennamored vpon her, yet he soz bare her, either soz reuerēce, or soz a certaine frendly faithfulnes. Porper she was & faire: nothing in her body & you wold haue changed, but if you would haue wished her somewhat higher. Thus say thei þ knew her in her youthe. Albeit soe that now se her (soz yet she liueth) deme her neuer to haue bē wel visaged.

**W**hole iugement semeth me somwhat like, as though me shoulde gesse þ bewy of one longe before departed, by her scalpe taken out of the charuel house: for now is she old lene, withered, & dryed vp, nothing leſt but ryulde skin & hard bone. And yet being eue ſuch: whoso wel aduife her viſage, might geſſe & deuife whiche ples how ſilled, wold make it a faire face. Yet delited not men ſo much in her bewy, as in her pleafit be- hauior. For a proper wit had ſhe, & could both rede wel & write, mery in company, ready & quick of auſwer, neither mute nor ful of bable, ſometime cauſing wout diſpleaſure & not wout diſpoſt. The king would ſay that he had iii. concubines, which in three diuers properties diuerſely exceded. One the meriell, an other the wilfull, the thirde the holiell harlot in his realme, as one who no man could get out of þ church lightly to any place, but it wer to his bed.

**C** The other two were ſowhat grerter parſo- nages, & þaſheles of their humilitie con- tent to be nameles, & to forbare the praiſe of thofc properties. But the meriell was this Shoriz wife, in whom the king ther- ſore toke ſpeciall pleaſure. For many he had, but her he loued, whose fauour to ſai- the trouth (for ſinne it wer to belle þ deuile) ſhe neuer abuſed to any mans hurt, but to many a mans comforſt & relief: where the king toke diſpleaſure, ſhe wolud mitigate & appeaſe his mind: where me were out of fauour, ſhe wold bring them in his grace. For many that had highly offendid, ſhee obtained pardon. Of great forſefures ſhe gaue mea remiſſion. And finally in many weighty ſutes, ſhe ſtoode many me in greſſe, either for none, or very ſmal rewar- des, & thofc rather gay then rich: either for

**D** that ſhe was content w̄ the dede ſelſe well done, or for þ ſhe delited to be ſuid unto, & to ſhew what ſhe was able to do wyth the king, or for þ wanton womē and welthy be not alway couetouſe. I doubt not ſome hal think this woman to ſleight a thing, to be written of & ſet amonge the ſcremen- braunces of great matter: whiche thei ſhal ſpecially think, þ happily ſhal eſteine her only by þ thei now ſee her. But me ſemeth the chaunce ſo much the moze worthy to be remembred, in how much ſhe is now in the moze beggerly condicion, vnaſſreded & woynē

out of acquaintance, after god ſubſtāce, after O as gret fauour w̄ the prince, after as gret ſute & ſeking to w̄ al thole þ those days had busynes to ſpede, as many other me were in their times, whiche be now famouse, only by þ infamy of their il dedes. Her doinges were not much leſſe, albeit thei be muſhe leſſe remembred, because thei were not ſo ci- vil. For me vſe if they haue an euil turne, to write it i marble: þ wholo doth vs agod tourne, we write it in dunte which is not wort proued by her: for at this daye ſhe ſegeth of many at this daye living, þ at this day had begged if ſhe had not bene.

Now was it ſo deuized by þ proteccour & his couſel, þ the ſelf day in which the lord Chāberlen was behedded in the tower of The Lorde London, & about the ſelfſame hower, was Kuer and there not without his aſſent behedded at other behed Pooſtaſte, the ſore remembred lordes & ded, knightes þ were takē frō the king at Noz- thāpton & Stony Stratford. Whiche thige was done i the preſeſee & by the orde of syr ~~Richard~~ <sup>Sir Richard</sup> Richard Ratclif knight, whole ſervice þ Ratclif. proteccor ſpecially biſed in þ couſel and in the execuciō of ſuch lawles enterprizes, as a man þ had bē long ſecret w̄ him, hauiing experieſce of þ world & a ſhewde wiſe, ſhore & rude in ſpeche, rough & boſtious of be- hauior, bold in miſchieſ, as far frō pitie as frō al ſere of god. This knight briging them out of þ prisō to þ ſcaſold, & ſhewing to the people about þ thei were Traitors, not ſuffering thei to ſpeke & declare their in- nocence leſſe their wordes might haue in- clined me to pity thei, & to hate the proteccour & his part: cauſed the hauſtly without iugement, procelle, or maner of orde to be behedded, & wout other earthly gilt, but only þ thei were god me, to true to þ king & to night to the quene. Now whe the lord Chamberlen, & theſe other lordes & knightes were thus behedded & ridde out of the way: thei thought the proteccour, þ while me maled what þ mater me, while þ lordes of the realme wer about him out of their owne ſtreightis, while no man wiſt what to thiſke nor whōe to truſt, ere euer þ they ſhould haue ſpace to diſpute & diſgref the mater & make parties: it wer beſt haſſly to pursue his purpoſe, & put hiſelf in poſſeſſion of þ crowne, ere me could haue time to deuize ani waſ to reſiſt. But now was al the ſtudy, by what meane thys matter being of it ſelfſo hethouse, miſght be firſt broken to the people, in ſuch wiſe that it miſght be wel taken. To this couſel they toke diuerſe, ſuch as they thorhgt metely to be truſſed, likely to be induſed to þ par- te, & able to ſtanckē in ſteſte, either by po- wer or policy. Among whom, they made Edmonde of Counſail Edmond Shaa knight then Shaa Maies Maier of London, which vpō truſt of hiſ ſeowne

Doctor  
Shaa.  
Frere Penker

A own aduauncemēt, whereof he was of a  
proud hart highly desirous, shold frame  
the cite to their appetit. Of spiritual me  
they toke such as had wit, & were in acc  
toxidie among the peple for oppinon of  
ther lerning, & had no scrupulous cōsciēce.

Among these had ther John Shaa clerke  
brother to þ Maiet, & frer Penker pro  
vincial of the Augustine freers both doc  
tors of divinitate, both gret pchars, both of  
more learning then vertue, of more fame  
then lerning. For they were before gret  
ly esteemed among the peple: but after that  
neuer. Of these these two þ tons had a ser  
mon in praise of the protectour before the

Coronation, the other after, both so ful of  
tedious flattery, that no mas eares could  
abide thē. Penker in his sermon so lost his  
voice that he was faine to leaue of & come  
dowhē in the middes. Doctor Shaa by  
his sermon lost his honestie, & sone after  
his life, for very shame of the wozde, into  
which he durst never after come abrode.  
But the frere forced for no shame, & so it  
harmed him þ lesse. Howbeit some dout &  
many thinken, that Penker was not of  
counsel of the mater before the coronaciō,  
but after the comen maner fell to flattery  
after; namely sith his sermon was not in  
continent vpon it, but at þ. Mary hosp  
ital at the Ester after. But certaine is it,  
that Doctor Shaa was of counsel in the

beginning, so farre forþ that they deter  
mined that he should first breke the mater  
in a sermon at Ponles Croſſe, in which he  
shold by þ anchourite of his preaching,  
encline the peple to the protectours ghol  
ly purpose. But now was al the labour &  
ſtudy, in the devise of some conuenient pre  
text, for which the peple should be conſer  
to depole the prince & accept the protector  
for kinge. In which diuerſe thinges they  
deuised. But the chief thing & the weighty  
of al that inuencion, rested in this þ they  
should allege bastardy, either in king Edward  
himſelf, or in his childrē, or both. So  
that he shold ſeme diſabled to inherite  
the crowne by the duke of York, and the

Prince by him. To lay bastardy in kyng  
Edward, ſowned openly to the rebuke of  
the protectours owne mother, which was  
mother to the both: for in þ point could be  
none other colour, but to pretend that his  
own mother was one aduonturelle which  
not wiſtanding to farther this purpole he  
leſted not: but Pathelis he would þ point  
ſhould be lesse & moze fauorably handled,  
not even fully plain & directly, but that þ  
matter ſhould be touched a ſlope craftely,  
as though me ſpared in þ point to ſpeke al  
the trouſh for ſere of his displeasure. But  
þ other point cōcerning the bastardy that

they deuised to ſurmise in kyng Edwards C  
childrē, þ wold he ſhould be opely declared  
& inforſed to the vttermoſt. The colour &  
pretext wherof cānot be wel pceined, but if  
we firſt repeate you ſoe thinges lōge before  
done about kyng Edwardes mariage.  
After þ kyng Edward þ fourthe had depo  
ſed kyng Hery the ſixt, & was in pealyble  
poſſeſſion of the realme, determining him  
ſelf to mary, as it was requisite bothe for  
himſelf & for the realme, he ſet ouer in em  
bassiate, the Erle of warwiche with other  
noble men in his company vnto Spaine, to  
intreate & coclude a mariage betwene kyng  
Edward & the kinges daughter of Spaine. F

In which thing þ Erle of Warwicke ſoude  
the parties ſo coward & willing, þ he ſpe  
dely according to his instruccions, wout  
any hifficulty brought þ matter to verye  
good cocclusion. Now happed it that in the  
meane ſeasō, there came to make a ſute by  
peticiō to the kyng, dame Elizabeth Gray dame Eliza  
which was after his quene, at that tyme a beth Gray.  
widow boſone of noble blod, ſpecyally by  
her mother, which was Duches of Bed  
ford ere ſhe maried the lord Wodeſeld her  
father. Howbeit this dame Elizabeth her  
ſelf being in ſervice vnto quene Margaret,  
wife vnto kyng Hery the vi. was married  
vnto one Gray a ſquier whē kyng

Hery made knight vpon the field þ he had  
on at against kyng Edward.

And little while eloyed he þ knighthod, ſoþ  
he was at þ lame field ſlaine. After which  
done, & the Erle of Warwicke being in his  
embassiate about thafore remembred ma  
riage, this poze Lady made hable ſute vnto  
þ kyng, þ ſhe might be reflored vnto ſuch  
ſmal landes as her late husband had giue  
her in tointure. Whō whē þ kyng beheld,  
thard her ſpeke, as ſhe was both faire, of a  
god ſauoz, moderate of ſtature, wel made  
& very wiſe: he not only pitied her, but also  
wared ennamored on her. And taking her  
afterward ſecretly alſide, bega to entre in  
talking moze ſar...iarly. Whose appetite  
whē he perceived, ſhe verteuously denysed  
him. But þ did ſhe ſo wiſeli, & with ſo god  
maner, & wordes ſo wel ſet, that he rather  
kindled his deſire thē quēched it. And fy, þ  
nally after many a meting, much woing  
& many great promiſes, ſhe wel elſped the  
kinges affeſcio toward her ſo greatly en  
creased, þ ſhe durſt ſomewhat þ moze boldly  
ſay her minde, as to hym whō harte ſhe  
pceined moze ſirmely ſet, thē to fall of for  
a wozde. And in conclusiō ſhe ſhewed him  
plainte, þ as ſhe wifſ herſelf to ſimple to be  
his wife, ſo thought ſhe herſelf to good to  
be his concubine. The kyng much merue  
ling of her conſaunce, as he þ had not bē  
wont els where to be ſo ſikkely ſayd naye,

**A** so muche esteemed her contynence and chasteitie, þ he set her vertue in the stede of position triches. And thus taking couſale of his desyrc, determined in al possiblē hast to mary her. And after he was thus appointed, & hadde betwene them twain ensured her: þ he asked he counsel of his other frendes, and þ in suchē maner, as thei might eþe perceue it boþd not greatly to say nay. Notwithstan-

The kinges  
mother.

**B** out of his realm, whereupon depended gret strength to his estate by þ affinitye & great possibilite of encrease of his posſessions. And þ he could not well otherwile do, stāding that þ Earle of warwik had so far moued already. Whiche wer not likely to take it well, if al his viage were in suchē wise frustrate, and his appointmentes deluded. And the said also þ it was not princely to mary hys owne ſubiect, no gret occaſion leading therunto, no poſſeſſions, or other comodityes, depēding therupō, but onely as it were a rich mā that would mary his mayde, onely for a little wātō dotage vpon her parson. In which mariage manye moe comend þ maidens fortune, then þ maſters wiſdō. And yet therin ſhe ſaid was moe honeſty, the honor i this mariage. For alſmuch as there is betwene no merchant & his own maid ſo gret differēce, as betwene þ king and this wiðowē. In whose parſo albeit ther was nothing to be miſlikened, yet was there ſhe ſaide: noſthing ſo excellēt, but þ it might be founđe in diuers other, þ wer moxemete(y) ſhe for your estate, & maydes alſo, wher as þ only wiðowhed of Elizabeth Gray though ſhe wer in al other thinges con-

**C**uenient for you, ſhould yet ſuffice as me ſemeth to reſrain you from her mariage, ſich it is an unſitting thing, & a veri blemiſh, & highe diſparagement, to the ſacred mageſtē of a prince, þ ought as nigh to approche priechode in cleenes as he doth in dignitie, to be defouled w bigamy in his firſt mariage. The king whē his mother had ſaid, made her anſwer part in ernest pari in play merely, as he that wiſfe himſelf out of her rule. And albeit he would gladly þ ſhe ſhould take it wel, yet was at a poine in his owne mynde, take ſhe it wel or otherwile. For whē ſomewhat to ſatisfy her he ſaide, þ albeit mariage being a ſpiritual thing, ought rather to be made for þ respecte of God

lynges  
to his  
mothe-

where his grace enelſneth þ parties to C lone together as he trusted it was in his tē for þ regard of any temporal aduaun- tage: yet natheles hym ſemed þ this mariage euē woſtly coſidred, was not vne- profitable. For he reckened þ amitye or no earthly naciō ſo neceſſari for hi, as þ frēdhip of hiſ own. Which he thought likely to beare him to muſe þ more her ty fauoꝝ in þ he diſdayned not to mary w one of hiſ own land. And yet þ ou- ward alliance wer thought ſo requisite, he wold ſind þ meaneſ to enter therinto, much better bi other cf his kin, wher al þ parties could be cōtēted, thā to ma- ry himſelf, whom he ſhould haſſe pelye neuer loue, and for þ poſſibility of moe poſſeſſions, leſe þ fruit & pleasure of thiſ þ he had alredy. For ſmal pleasure taketh a mā of al þ ever he hath beside, þ he bee wiued againſt his appetitie. And I douc not ꝑ he but there be as ye ſaie other, þ be in euery point cōparabla w her. And therloze I let not þe þ like the to wedde the. No moe is it reaſon þ it miſlike any mā, þ I mary where it liketh me. And I am ſure þ my coſtein of warwik neither loueth me ſo little, to grudge at þ I loue, nor is ſo vntolerable to loke þ I hold in choiſe of a wife, rather be ruled by hys eye, the by mine own: as though I wer a ward þ wer boûd to mary by thaſpoint G mēt of a gardain. I wold not be a kyng w that cōdiſiō, to forberē mine own ly- berty in choiſe of my own mariage. As for poſſibilitie of moe inheritance by new affinity in eſtrāuge lādes, is oſte þ occaſion of moe trouble the proſe. And we haue alredy title by þ meaneſ, to ſo much as ſuffiſeth to get & kepe wel i one mās daies. That ſhe is a wiðow & hath alredy childrē, by gods bleſſed Ladye I am a batcheler & haue ſōe to: & ſo eche of vs hath a profe þ neither of vs is lyke to be barren. And therloze madam I pray þ you be cōtēt, I truſt in god ſhe ſhal bring furth a young prince, þ ſhal pleafe you. And as for þ bigamy, let þ biſhop harde- ly lay it in my wai, whē I ſee to take oþers. For I vnderſtād it is forbidden a prielle, but I neuer wilte it yet þ it was forbidden a prince. The Duchelle w these wordes noþyng appraſed, and ſe- ing þ king ſo ſet thercon that ſhe coulde not pull him backe, ſo hyghelpe he dy- vained it, þ under pretent of her dueſtre, to Godwarde, ſcre deuifer to diſſuue this mariage, and rather to help that he ſhould mary one dame Elizabeth Lucy, whō þ king had alſo not lōg before got- Elizabeth  
te w child. Wherefore þ kinges mother Lucy  
obſeſſed

**A** objected openly against his mariage, as it were in discharge of her conscience, that the kinge was sure to dame Elisabeth Lucy and her husband before god. By reson of which wordes, such obsta- cle was made in the mater, that either þ Bishoppes durst not, or the king would not, procede to the solemnisacio of this weding, til these same wer clerely pur- ged, & the trouth wel & openly testified. Therups dame Elisabeth Lucy was set soz. And albeit þ she was by þ kinges mother & many other put in god cosort, to affirme that she was ensured vnto þ king: yet whē she was soleynly swozne to say the trouth, he confessed that they were never ensured. Howbeit he sayed his grace spake so louing wordes vnto her, þ she verely hopid he wold haue ma- ried her. And þ if it had not ben soz such kind wordes, he wold never haue shew- wed such kindestnes to him, to let him so kindly get her w childe. This examina- cion soleynly taken, whē it was clerely perctued that there was none impe- diment: the king w greit feast & honorable soleynite, maried dame Elisabeth Crat- marriage.

**C**omes wife, & many time had praied full hartly for his losse. In which god louned her better, then to graunt her her bone.

But when the Erle of Warwicke vnderstoode of this mariage, he tooke it so highly that his embastare was deluded, that for very angre & disdaine, 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 holde the realme & sle into hollaund for succour. Therer he remay- ned for the space of ii. yeres, leuing hys new wife in westminster in sanctuary, wher she was deliuern of Edward the prince, of whom we before haue spoke.

In which mene time þ Erle of warwicke toke out of pzsso and set vp againe king King Henry V. which was before by king the vi. set vp.

**D**Edward deposed and that much what of the Erle which was a wiseman & a conraigous warour, & of such stregh, what for his landes his alliance and fauer 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 reckened it a greater thing to make a king then to be a king. But nothing lasteth alway, so in con- clusion king Edward returned, and w much lesse nuber thē he had, at Barnes on thestre daye selde, newe the Erle of

warwicke w many other great estates of þ partie, & so stably attained the crowne Therie of againe, that he peassably enioyed it vn- warwicke, til his dieng day: and in such plighe left it, that it could not be lost, but by the dis- coide of his verye frendes, or faldhed of his fained frendes.

I haue reherfed this busines about this mariage somewhat the moze at lenght, because it might therby þ better appere byon how slipper a grounde the protec- tor, builded his colour, by which he pre- tended king Edwardes childre to be bas- tardes. But that inuencion simple as it was, it liked them to whom it suffised to haue somewhat to say, while they wer sure to be compelled to no larger p̄rofesse then themselves list to make. Now þē as I began to shew you, it was by the pro- tector & his counsaile concluded, that this doctour Sha shold in a sermon at Poules Crosse, sygnifie to the people,

that neither king Edward himself, nor Doctore the Duke of Clarece, were lawfully be- gotten, nor were not the very childre of þ Duke of Yorke, but gotten unlawfully by other parsons by thaduoutry of the duches their mother.

And þ also dame Elisabeth Lucy was verely the wife of king Edward, and so the p̄ince and all his chldren bastardes þ were gottē vpo the quene. According to this deuise, doc- tor Sha the sonday after at Poules crosse in a gret audiēce (as alway assē- bled gret nūbre to his preaching) he toke for his tyme spuria virulamina non agent radices alas. That is to say bastard slippes hal- neuer take depe roote. Therups whē he had shewed the great grace that god gi- ueþ & secretly infowndeþ 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 par̄ties were for the moze parte unhaippe, which were gotten in baske and spet tallye in aduowtrie. Of

which, though some by the ignozaunce of þ world & þ trouth hid fro knowlege inheristed for the season other mennes landes, yet god alway so prouideth, þ it þ continueth not in their blood long, but the trouth coming to light, the rightful inheritor be restored, & the bastard slip pulled vp, ere it can be rored depe. And whē he had laid for the p̄rofesse & confirma- cion of this sentencie, certaine examples taken out of the olde testament & other auncient historiez, þe began he to desced into the praise of the lord Richarde late duke of York, calling him father to the lord protector, & declared þ title of hys heires

**A** heires vnto the crowne to whom it was after the deathe of King Henry the sixte entailed by authurite of parliamente. The shewed he y his very right heire of his body lawfully begotte, was onely h lord protector. For he declared the, that king Edward was never lawfully maried, vnto y quene, but was before god, husband vnto dame Elizabeth Lucye, & so his childre bastardes. And besides y, neither king Edward himself, nor the duke of Clarence amog those y were secret in y houshold, wer reckened very surely for y childre of y noble Duke, as those y by their fauours more resembled other knowē mē the him. From whose vertuous cōdicionis, he said also y kynge Edward was far of. But h lord protectour he said, y very noble prince, y special patrone of knightly proues, as well in al princely behauor as in y liniamentes & fauor of his visage, represented the verye face of y noble duke his father. This is y he, y fathers owne figure, this is his own countenance, y very prent of his visage, y sure vndoubted image, y playne expresse stkenes of that noble Duke.

**C** howe was it before devised, that in y speaking of these wordes, the protector shoud haue comen in amag y people to y sermonwarde, to thend y those wordes metting whis presence, might haue been taken among the hearers, as though y holye ghost had put the in the preachers mouth, & shoud haue moued the people euen ther, to crike king Richard king Richard, y it might haue bene afer said, y he was specially chosen by god & in maner by miracle. But this devise quailed either by y protectors negligence, or the preachers ouermuche diligence. For while y protectoz found by y way tary, sing leſt he shoud preuent those woordes, & the doctor fearing y he shoud come ere his sermon could come to those woordes hasted his matter thereto: he was com to the & past them, & entred into other matters ere y protectoz came. Whom when he beheld coming, he sodainly leste the matter, with which he was in hand, and without ani deducccion therunto, out of al order, & oute of al forme, began to repeate those woordes again: this is y verre noble prince, y special patrone of knightly proues, which aswell in al princely behauor as in y liniamentes & fauor of his visage, representeth y very face of the noble duke of york his father. This is y fathers own figure, this his own countenance, y very prente of his visage, y surē vndoubted ymage, y plain expresse lyke-

nes of y noble duke, whose remērance can neuer dye while he liveth. Whyle these woordes wer in speaking, y protector accompanied to the duke of Buckingham, wēt thorow y people into y place wher e the doctoz comonly stand in the upper story, where he stode i hearkē the sermon. But the people wer so farre fro crying king Richard, y the stode as thei had bene turned into stones, for wōder Preacher.

of this shamefull sermon. After whiche once ended, the preacher gate him home & never after durst looke out for shame, but kepe him out of sight lyke an owle. And whē he once asked one y had bene his old frend, what the people talked of him, al wer it y his own conscience wel shewed him that thei talked no god, yet

whē the other answered him that there was in every mans mouth spoke of him much shame, it so strake him to y heart, that win fewe daies after he withered & consumed away. The on the tewesday folowing this sermon, there came vnto the yeld hall in London the duke of Buckingham, accōpanied w diuers lordes and knighthes, mo the happily knew y mes-

age that thei brought. And there in the east ende of the hall where the maire kept the hustinges, the maire & al the aldermen being assybled about him, all the comons of the citie, gathered before the, after silence commaunded vpon greate pain in the protectors name: the Duke stode vp, and (as he was neither unlearned, and of nature marueilously well spoken) he saide vnto the people with a clere and a loude voice in this maner of wyle. Frendes, for the zeale & heartye **G** fauout that we beare you, we be comen to breake vnto you, of a matter ryghte oracion.

The duke of Buckingham  
great & weighty, and no lesse weightye, then pleasing to God and profitable to al the realm: nor to no part of the realm moze profitable, the to you the citzens **H** of this noble citie. For why, that thyng that we wote well ye haue long time lacked and soze longed for, that ye woulde haue geuen great good for, y ye woulde haue gone farre to fetche, that thyng we bee comme hyther to bringe you; withouts youre labour, payne, coste, aduenture or icopardie. What thyng is that? certes the surcye of your owne bodyes, the quiete of youre wifes and youre daughters, the safegarde of youre goodes: of all whiche thynges in tymes past ye stode euer more in doubt. For who was there of you all, that woulde recken hym selfe Lord of his own god, among so many greynes and

**A**nd trappes as was set therfore among so much pilling and polling, among so many tares & tallages, of whiche there was never ende, & often time no nede: or if any wer, it rather grew of riote & unresonable wast, then any necessarie or honourable charge. So that there was darly pilled fro good men & honest, gret substaunce of goodes to be lashed oute among borthistes so farforth y fistenes suffised not, nor aniusual names of knowledges: but vnder an easy name of benevolēce & good will, the commissioners so much of euery man toke, as nomā would.

**B** To his good wil hane giue. As though y name of benevolence, had signified that every man shold pay, not what himself of his good wil list to graunt, but what the king of his good will list to take. Which never asked little, but every thig was hawled above the mesure: amercementes turned into fines, fines into rāumes, smal trespasses into misprissons, misprisō into creson. Wherof I thinke no man loketh that we shold rememb're you of examples by name, as though Burdet were forgotten, that was for a worde spoken

Burdet.

**C** in hale, cruelly behedded, by the miscō-  
seruynge of the lawes of thys realme for  
the princes pleasure: with no les honour  
to Markam then chlef Justyce, that left  
his office rather then he would assent to  
that iudgement, then to the dishonesty of  
those, y either for sere or flatterie gaue  
that iudgement. What Coke your own  
worshypful neibour alderman & Mayor  
of this noble citie, who is of pouertye  
so negligent that he knoweth not, or so  
forgetfull that he rememb'reth not, or so  
harde hearted that he pitith not, that

Markam.

Coke.

**D** worshypful mans losse? What speke we  
of losse: his beter spoile and vndeserued  
distrucciō, only for that it happed thole  
to sauour him, whome the prince sauored not. We nedē not I suppose to reherse of these any mo by name, lith ther be I doubt not many here present, that  
either in themself or their nighbrethren,  
have knownen as well their goodes as  
their parsons greatly endauoured, 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. For lithe the  
king preventing the time of his inheritance  
attained the crowne by batayl:  
it suffised in a riche man for a pretext of  
creson, to have ben of knynges or alliance  
nere familiarite or leget aquaintaunce  
with any of those that were at any time

the kinges enemies, which was at one tyme & other, moze thē halfe the realme.

Thus wer nerber your gods in suretye  
yet thei brought your bodies in iuhardi  
besyde y come aduenture of opē warre,  
which albeit y it is euer y wil & occasion  
of much mischies: yet is it never so mis-  
chewule, as where any peple fal at dis-  
taunce among thēself, nor in none earthly  
nacion so devely & so pestilent, as when  
it happeneth among vs & among vs ne-  
ver so long continued dissension, nor so  
many battailes in y season, nor so cruel  
& so deadly foughtere, as was in y kinges  
daies y dead is god forgiue it his soule.  
In whose time eby whose occasiō, what  
about y getting of the garland, keping  
it, lesing & winning againe, it hath cost  
more englishe blood then hath twise the

winning of Fraunce.

In which inward warre among our self, hath ben so gret  
effusion of the auncient noble blood of  
this realme, y scarcely the half rema-  
neth, to the gret infebling of this noble  
lād, beside many a god tow'n rāslakid &  
spoiled, by thē that haue ben going to y  
field or cuming from thence. And peace  
long after not much surer the war. So  
that no time was therin which rich mē  
for their mony, & gret mē for their lādes  
or some other for some sere or soe disple-  
sure were not out of peryl. For whome  
trusted he y mistrusted his own brother  
who spared he y killed his own brother?  
or who could parfityl loue him, if hys  
own brother could not: what maner of  
folke he most fauoured, we shall for hys  
honour spare to speke of, howbeit thys  
wote you wel al, that whoso w as belte,  
bare alway less rule, & moze sure was in  
his dayes unto Shores wife a vile & an  
abominable strumper, then to al the  
lor'des in England, except unto those y  
made her their proctoure which simple  
woman was wel named & honest, yll the  
kyng for his waton lust esilful affeccō  
byrest her from her husband a right ho-  
nest substancial yong man amog you.  
And in that point which in good faith I  
am sorrye to speke of, sauing that it is in y  
vain to kepe in couisel that theng that al  
mē know, y kinges greedy appetite was  
insatiable, and every where ouer al the  
realme intollerable. For nowoman was  
there any where yong or olde, riche or  
poore, whom he set his eye vpon, in whome  
he any thinge lyked either person or fa-  
vour, speche, pace, or countenāce, but w-  
out any feare of god, or respect of his ho-  
nor, murmure or grudge of y wozlde,  
he

**A** he would impotunely pursue hys appetite, and haue her, to the gret destrukcion of many a good woman, & greate dolor to their housebande, and theyz other frendes, whiche being honest people of themself, so much regarde þ clenes of their house, the chastitie of theyz wifes and their children, that them weleuer to leese all that thei haue besyde, then to haue suche a villany done them. And all were it that with this and other impostaunce dealing, the realme was in euery part annoyd: yet specially ye here the citexens of this noble citie, as well for that among you is most plenty of all such thinges as minister matter to such injuries, as for that you were nereste at hande, sith that were here about was commonly his most abyding. And yet bee ye the people whā he had as singuler caule wel and kyndly to entreate, as any pare

**B** of his realme, not onely for þ the prince by this noble citie, as his special chamber & the speciaill wel renoumed citie of his realme, much honorabile fame receiued among all other nations: but also for that ye not without your great coste and sundry perils and jeopardies in all his warres, bare ever your specyall fauoure to his parte whiche youre kynde

**C** myndes borne to the house of York, sith he hath nothing wortelily acquited, ther is of that house that now by gods grace better shal, whiche thing to helpe you is the whole some and effect of this our presente errande. It shall not I wote well nedē that I rehearle you agayn that ye haue alreadye harde, of him that cā better tell te, 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 recken my wordes of as great authoritie as the preachers of the

**D** woerde of god, nameliye 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 þ pulpet namely, into which none honest man commeth to lie, which honorable preacher ye wel remeber substantially declared unto you at Poules crosse on Sunday last pasted, the righte and title that the most excellent Prince Richard duke of Gloucester now protecutor of this realme, hath unto þ crown & kingdom of þ same. For as þ worshipful ma groundly made open unto you, the childe of king Edward the fourth were never lawfully begotten, forasmuch as

the king (lusing his very wise dame Eli Gzabeth Lucy) was never lawfully maried unto þ Queen their mother, whose blode sauing that he set his bolteous pleasure before his honoz, was full unmetely to bee matched with his, and the mengling of whose bloodes together, hath bene the effusion of great partie of the noble blode of this realme. Wherby it maye wel seme þ mariage not well made, of which ther is so much mischief growen. For lack of which lawfull accoupling, & also of other thinges, whiche the said worshipful doctorz rather signified then fully explaned, & which thynge shal not be spoken for me as þ thing wherin every man forbereth to say that he knoweth in auoideinge dyspleasure of my noble lor d protectorz, bearinge as nature requireth a filial reverence to the duches his mother, for these causes I say before remembred, þ is to wit for lack of other issue lawfully comming of the late noble prince Richard duke of York to whose rotal blode the crown of Eng land and of Fraunce, is by the high authurite of parliament entailed, þ right and title of the same, is by þ iust course of inheritance accordinge to the comon law of this lande, deuolute & come unto þ most excellēt prince þ lord protector as to þ very lawfully begotten sonne of þ fore remembred noble duke of York. Which thing well considered, & the greate knightly poures pōzed, wō manyfolde vertues whiche in his noble parsō singularely aboud, þ nobles & commos also of this realm, & specially of þ north partes, not willing any bastard blood to haue þ rule of the land, nor þ abusōs before in þ same bled any lōger to continue, haue cōdiscēved & fullye determined to make þuble petisid unto þ most puissāt prince, þ lord protector: þ it maye like his grace þ at our þuble request, to take vpon him þ guiding & gouernance of this realm, to þ welch & ēcrease of the same, according to his very right & iust title. Which thig I wote it wel he wilbe loth to take vpon him, as he whose wiſdō well perceiñeth þ laboz & study both of minde & of bodye þ hal come therewith, to whom so euer so wel occup þ roume, as I dare lay he wil if he take it. Which roume I warne you well is no childeſ office. And that the greate wiſe manne well perceiued. When hes sayde: Vb regno cuius rex puer est. Cloe is that Realme, that hathe a chylde to theyre Kyng. Whereſoſe too muche the moze cause haue we

London the  
vnges special  
chamber.

**A** we to thank god, that this noble parsonage which is so ryghteously inclyted thereunto, is of so sadde age, and therro of so great wisedome joined with so great experiance: whiche albeit he wil be lothe as I hane said to take it vpon him: yet shall he to oure peticion in that behalfe the moze graciously enclyne if ye h worshipfull citizens of this the chiese citie of this realme, ioyne wyth vs y nobles in our said request. Which for your owne weale we doubt not but ye will, and natheles I hartelye praye you so to doe, wherby you shall doe greet profite to all this realme beside in choosing them so god a king, and vnto your selfe speciall commodite, to whome hys mately shall ever after beare so muche the moze tender saviour, in howe much he shall perceiue you the moze prone & benevolently minded toward his election. Wherin dene frendes what mind you haue, wee require you plainly to shew vs. When the duke had laied, and looked that the people whome he hoped y the Mayer had framed before, shoulde after this proposition made, haue cried king Richarde, king Richard: all was bush and mute, and not one woorde answered therunto. Wherewith the duke was meruaulously abashed, and taking the Mayer nerer to him, with other that were about him priuey to that matter, fated vnto them softlye what meaneth this, that this peple be so stil. Sir quod the Mayer parcale they perceyue you not well. That hal we mende(quad he) if that wyl helpe. And by and by somewhat louder, he rehersed them the same matter againe in other oder and other wordes, so wel and ornately, & natheles so evidently and plaine, with voice gesture and countenance so comly and so convenient, that eueryman much meruailed that herd him, and thought that they never had in their liues heard so euill a tale so well tolde. But were it so wonder or feare, or that eche looke that other shoulde speake syfle: not one woorde was there aunswere of all the people that stode before, but al was as styl as y midnight, not so much as crowning among the, by whych they myght seeme to comen what was best to doe, when the Mayer saw thys he wyth other pertiners of that counsayle, drew aboute the duke and sayd that the people had not ben accustomed thereto be spoken vnto but by the recorder, whiche is the mouth of the citie, and happe-

ly to him they wyl aunswere, with that **C** the recorder called Fitz Williham a fitz william sadde ma and an honest, whiche was recorder, so new come into that office y he never had spoken to the peple before, and lors was with that matter to beginne, notwithstanding thereunto commaunded by the Mayer, made rehersall to the comens of that the duke had swise rehersed the himselfe. But the recorder so tempered his tale, that he shewed every thing as the dukes wordes and no part his owne. But all thys nothing no chaunge made in the people whiche alway after one, stode as they had ben me amased, wherupon h duke crowed vnto the Mayer and sayd: Thys is a maruelous obstatte silence, and therewy he turned vnto y peple againe with these wordes: dere frendes we cumeto moue you to that thing whiche peradventure we not so greatly neded, but that the lordes of thys realme and the comens of other parties, might haue suffised, saying that we such loue vere you, and so much sette by you, that we woulde not gladly doe withoute you, that thing in whiche to bes partners is your weale & honour whiche as it semeth, eyther you se not or way not. Wherfore we require you gine vs aunswere one or other, whether you be mynded as all the nobles of the realme be, to haue this noble prynce now protector to be your kyng or not. At these wordes y people began to whisper among themselves secretly, that the voyce was neyther loude nor disinccke, but as it were the sounde of a swarme of bees, cyl at the last in thene ther ende of the hal, a bulshement of the dukes seruites and Rascheldes and other longing to the protector, with some prynces and lades that thrust into the hal amoung the prese, began sodainelye as mennes backes to crye ouote as lowde **H** as their throttes would gyne: king Richarde kyng Richarde, and shewe by their cappes in token of ioye. And they that stode before, cast back theyr heddes meruaileyng thereof, but nothing they sayd. And when the duke and the Mayer saw thys maner, they wylsely turned ic to theyr purpose. And said it was a godly cry and a soyfull to here, every man with one voice no manne sayeng nay. Wherfore frendes, quod the duke, sines that we perceiue it is al your hole mindes to haue this noble ma for your kyng whereof we shall make his grace so effectuall reporte, that we doubt not but it shall

**A** it shall redounde vnto your great weal and commoditye: we require ye that ye to morow go with vs and wee with you vnto his noble grace, to make our humble request vnto him in maner before remembred. And therewith the lordes came downe, and the company dissolved and departed, the moare part al sad, som wch glad semblaunce that wer not very mery, and some of those that came ryther with the duke, not able to disteble theyz sozow, were faine at his backe to turne their face to the wall, whisle the doloure of their heart brasse oute at theyz eyen.

**B** Then on the morowe after, the mayze with all the aldermen and chiefe comynge to ners of the citie in their besle maner ap- Barnardes paraled, assembling themself together resorted vnto Baynardes castell where the protector lay. To which place repai red also according to theyz apropoinete the duke of Buckingham, with dyuers noble menne wch him, beside manye knyghtes and other gentlemen. And thereupon the duke sent wrode vnto the lord protectour, of the being there of a great and honourable companye, to moue a great marter vnto his grace.

**C** Wherupon the protectour made difficultie to come oute vnto them, but if he first knewe some part of theyz errande, as though he doubted and partiele dys trusted the commynge of suche noumber vnto him so sodainlye, withoute anye warnynge or knowledge, whyther they came for good or harme, then the Duke whē he had shewed this vnto the maire and other, that they migthe thereby see howe lytle the protectour loked for this matter, ther sent vnto him by the messe ger suche louyng message againe, and therewith so humblye besought hym to vouchesafe that ther might resorte to hys presence, to purpose their intent, of which

**D** they would vnto none other parson any part disclose, that at the lasse hee came foorth of his chamber, and yet not down vnto them, but stode aboue in a galarye ouer them, where they migthe see hym & speake to him, as though he woulde not yet come to nere them till he wiss what they mente. And thereupon the Duke of Buckingham syfse made humble peticion vnto him, on the behalfe of them all, that his grace woulde pardon them and lycence them to purpose vnto hys grace the intent of their commynge with oute his displeasure, withoute whiche pardon obtained, they durst not be bold to moue hym of that matter. In whiche

albeit theri ment as muche hono; to hys **E** grace as wealth to al the realm beside, yet were they not sure howe hys grace woulde take it, whom they woulde in no wyse offend. Then the protector as hee was very gentle of hymselfe, and also lo ged soze to wit what they mente, gaue hym leue to purpose what hym lyked, verely trusstyng for the good minde that he bare them al, none of them an thing would intende vnto hym warde, wherewith he ought to be greued. When the duke had this leue & pardon to speake, then wared he bolde to shewe hym theyz intent and purpose, with all the causes moving the thereunto as ye before haue hard, and finally to beseche hys grace, that it wold lyke him of his accustomed goodnes and zeale vnto the realm, now with his eye of pitie, to beholde the long **F** continued distres and decay of the same and to sette his gracious handes to the redresse and amendement therof, by taking vpon him the crowne and governaunce of this realme, according to his right and tytle lawfully descended vnto hym, and to the laude of god, profyte of the land, and vnto his grace so muche the moare honour and lesse paine, in that that never prince raigned vpon any peo ple, that were so glad to liue vnder hys obeylance as the people of this realme vnder his. When the protector had hard the proposition, he loked very strange ly therat, and answered: That all wera it that he partli knew the thinges by the alledged to be true: yet such entier loue he bare vnto king Edward and his chil dren, that so muche more regarded hys honour in other realmes about, then the crowne of any one, of which he was ne ver desyrous, that he could not fynde in his hearte in this poynte to enclyne to theyz desye. For in all other nacions where the truthe wer not wel knownen, it shold paradynture be thought, that it were his owne ambitious minde and deuse, to depose the priece & take himself the crowne. With which infamie he wold not haue his honoure stayned for anye crowne. In whiche he had euer parcyued muche moare labour and payn, then pleasure to hym that so woulde so vse it, as he that woulde not were not worthy to haue it. Norwithstanding he not on ly pardoned them the motion that they made him, but also thanked them for the loue and hearty fauoure they bare him, prayinge them for his sake to geue and bear the same to the prynce, vnder whō

e.s. he

**A**he was and would be content to lyue, & with his labour and counsel as farre as shoulde like the kyng to vse him, he wold doe his btermost deuo<sup>r</sup> to set the realm in good stare. Whiche was alreadye in this litle while of his, p<sup>r</sup>otectorship (the prayse geuen to god) wel begon, in that the malice of such as wer before occasion of the contrary and of new intended to bee, were nowe partely by good policye, partly more by goddes special p<sup>r</sup>ouidence, then mans p<sup>r</sup>ouision repressed.

Upon this answer geuen, the Duke by the p<sup>r</sup>otectors lycence, a lytle rouned, **B**aswell with other noble men about him as with the mayre and recorder of London. And after that vp on lyke pardone desyred and obtayned, he shewed aloude vnto the p<sup>r</sup>otector, that soz a fynal conclusion, þ the realm was appointed king Edwardes lyne shoulde not any longer reigne vpon them, both soz that they had so farre gone, that it was now no surety to retreat, as soz that they thought it soz the weale vniuersal to take that wai although they had not yet begonne it,

**C**Wherfoze þ it wold lyke hys grace to take the crowne vpon him, they woulde humblye beseeche hym thereunto. If he woulde geue them a resolute aunswere to the contrarie, whyche they woulde bee lothe to heare, than mifte they nedes leke and shold not faille to fynd some other noble manne that woulde. These wordes muche moued the p<sup>r</sup>otectoure, whiche els as every manne may witt, woulde never of likelyhoode haue inclyned theranto. But wh<sup>e</sup> he saw ther was none other way, but that eyther he must take it orz els he and his bothe goe fro it, he saide vnto the lordes and commons:

**D**With we parceive wel that al the realm is so set, whereof we be very sorwe that they wil not suffer in any wile king Edwardes line to gouerne them, whom no manne earthly can gouerne again their willes, and we wel also perceue, that no manne is there, to whom the crowne can by so iust tytle appertayn as to our self, as verye ryghte heyre lawfullye begotten of the bodye of oure mooste deere fa<sup>r</sup>ther Rycharde late Duke of Yorke, to whiche tytle is nowe loyted your election the nobles & comons of this realm, whiche bee of all titles possible take soz most effectual: we be content & agre safourably to incline to your peticio and to take vpon request, and accordyng to the same, here ponim to be we take vpon vs the roiall estate, p<sup>r</sup>eminence and kyngdomme of the twoo

noble realmes, England and Fraunce, **E**the tyme fro this day forward by vs and our heires to rule, gouerne and defend, the other by goddes grace & poure good helpe to geat again and subdue, and establisched for euer in due obediance unto this realme of Englande, thaduance ment, wherof we never aske of god longer to lyue then we entende to procure. With this there was a great shout, cryng kyng Richarde king Rychard. And then the lordes went vp to the kyng (so so was he from that time called) and the people departed, talkyng diuersly of the matter every man as his fantasye gaue hym. But muche they talked and maruelled of the maner of this dealing, that **F**the matter was on both partes made so straunge, as though neither had euer conuined with other therof before, when that themselv<sup>e</sup> w<sup>t</sup> there was no man so dul that heard them, but he perceived wel enough, þ all the matter was made betwene them. Howbeit somme excused that agayne, and sayde all must be done in good order though. And menne must someritime soz the maner sake not bee a knownen what they knowe. **G** Soz at the consecraciō of a bishop, evry man w<sup>t</sup>eth well by the payng for his bulles, þ he purposeth to be one, & though he paye for nothing elles. And yet must he bee twise asked whyther he wil be bishop or no, and he muste twise say naye, and at the third tyme take it as compelled ther vnto by his owne wyll. And in a stage play all the people know right wel, that he that playeth the sowdayne is percase a sowter. Yet if one shoud can so lytle good, to shewe out of seasonne what acquaintance he hath with him, and calle him by his owne name whyle he staneth in his magestie, one of his coymenors might hap to breake his head, and worthy for marring of the play. And so **H**they said that these masters bee kynges games, as it were stage playes, and soz the moze part placed vpon scafoldes. In which poze me be but þ lokers on. And thei<sup>s</sup> wise be, wil medle no farther. For they that someryme step vp and playe w<sup>t</sup> the, wh<sup>e</sup> they canot play their ptes, they dislodger the play & do themself no good. **I**This that is with a great traine wente to westmynster halle and there when he had placed this mark<sup>r</sup> himself in the court of the kynges bēch, was not w<sup>t</sup> declared to the audience, that he woulde ten by master take vpon him the crowne in that place <sup>spore in this</sup> there, wher the kyng himself sitteth and ministrith

A ministreth the law; because he cōsidered by him in En- that it was the chiefeſt duety, of a kyng gluſ, but is to minister the lawes. Than with as trancated out pleſante an oration as he could, he wēt of this hystoř about to win vnto him, the nobles, the which he wrote in latin marchantes, the artificers, and in con-

cluſion al kinde of men. But ſpecially þ lawyers of this realme. And fyndally to thentent that no man ſhoule hate hym for feare, and that his deceitful clemen- cy myghte geat him the good wyl of the people, when he had declared the dysco- moditie of diſcorde, and the commodity- ties of concorde and vnitie, he made an open proclamacion, that he did put oute of his minde all enymities, and that he there did openly pardon all offences co- mitted againſt him. And to the entente þ he myghte ſhew a yrooke thereof, he com-

**B**maunded that one Fogge whom he had long deadly hated, ſhould be brought t thā before him. Who being brought oute of the ſaintuary by (for thither had he ſled, for ſore of hym) in the ſight of the people, he tooke him by the hand. Whiche thynge the common people reioyſed at and praiſed, but wiſe men tooke it foꝝ a vanitye. In his returne homewarde, whom ſo euer we met he ſaluted. For a minde that knoweth it ſelf guiltye, is in a maner deſected to a ſervile flattery.

**C** When he hadde begonne his regyne the daye of June, after this mo- kishe eleccyon, than was he Crowned the day of the ſame moneth. And that ſolemniteſt was furnished for the moſt part, with the ſelue ſame prouifion that was appointed for the Coronacion of his nephewe.\*

**D** Now ſell ther miſchieues thick. And as the thinge euill gotten is neuer well kept: through all the tyme of his regyne, neuer ceaſed therे cruel death & slaugh- ter, till his owne deſtruccion ended it. But as he finiſhed his time with þ beſte death, and þ moſt righteous, þ is to wyt his own: ſo began he with the moſt piteous and wicked, I meane the lamentable murther of his innocent nephewes, the young king and his tender brother. Whose death and final infortune haſche natheles ſo far comen in queſtion, that ſome remain yet in doubt, whether they wer in his dayes deſtroyde or no. Not for that onely that Perken Wærbecke, by many folkes malice, and moſe folkes folly, ſo long ſpace abuſyng the woſlde, was awel with princes as þ pozer peo- ple, reputed and taken for the yonger of thoſe two, but for that also þ all thynges

wer in late daies ſo conerty demeaneed, **E** one thing pretended and an other ment, that therē was nothyng ſo plaine and o- penly proued, but that yet for the comen- cuſtome of cloſe & couert dealing, men cloſe delyng had it euer inwardely ſuſpect, as many is euer ſuſpect well counterfaited ielwels make þ true **F** tred. Howbeit concerning þ opi- nion, with the occaſions moving either partie, we ſhal haue place more at large to entreate, yf we hereafter happen to write the tyme of the late noble prince of famous memory king Henry þ Seuenth, or parçale that hystoř of Perkin in any compendious procesſe by it ſelue. But in **F** the incane tyme for this preſent matter, I ſhall rehearſe you the dolothous end of thoſe babes, not after every way that I haue heard, but after that way þ I haue ſo hard by ſuſhe men, & by ſuſh meanes, as me thinketh it were hard but it ſhould be true. King Rycharde after his coronaſion, takyng his way to Glouceſter to viſit in his newe honoz, the towne of which he bare the name of his old, de- uiled as he rode, to falſify thincg which he before had intended. And for al much as his minde gaue him, þ his nephewes living, men woulde not recken that hee could haue right to þ realm, he thought therfore without delay to rid them, as though the killing of his kinsmen, could amend his cauſe, and make him a kind- ly king. Whereupon he ſent one John **G** Grene whom he ſpecially truſſed, vnto Robert Brakenbury, conſtable of the Tower, with a letter and credence alſo, that theſame ſir Robert ſhoulde in any wiſe put the two children to death. This John Grene did his errande vnto Brakenbury kneling before our Lady in the Tower, who plainly anſwered that he would neuer putte them to death to dye therfore, with which anſwer Tho Grene returning recounted theſame to Kynge Rycharde at Warwick yet in his way. Therewith he tooke ſuch diſpleaſure and thought, that theſame night, he ſaid vnto a ſecret page of his: Ah whome ſhall a man truſt: thoſe that I haue broughte by my ſelue, thoſe that I haad wel woule moſt surely ſerue me, even thoſe ſayle me, and at my comandaunemente wyl do nothyng for me. Sir quod his page therē lyeth one on your payler without, þ I dare well ſay to do your grace pleaſure, the thynge were right harde that he wold refuſe, meaning this by ſir James Tyrell, which was a man of right god ſy. James he parsonage, and for natures gyſtes, worthyp. **G** **H** **I**

Perken Wer-  
becke.

*Authoritie to  
verby no part-  
ners.*

A woorthy to haue serued a muche better prince, if he had well serued god, and by grace obtayned almuche trouthe & good wil as he had strength and witte. The man had an high heart, and soze longed bwarde, not rising yet so fast as he had hoped, being hindered and kept bnder by the meanes of sir Richarde Katclife and sir William Catesby, whiche lōging for no inoo parteners of the princes fauour, and namely not for hym, whose pride thei wissould bear no pere, kept hym by secrete d̄istes oue of all secrete trust. Whiche thyng this page wel had marked and knownen. Wherefore thys occasion offered, of very speciall frendship he toke his time to put hi forward, &

By such wile doe him good, that al the enemies he had except the deuil, could never haue done him so muche hurte. For upon this pages wordes king Richard arose. (For this communicacion had he sitting at the draught, a conuenient cat pet for such a counlaile) and came outin to the pailet chamber, on which he soud in bed sir James and sir Thomas Tyrels, of partis like and brethen of blood, but nothing of kin in condicions. Then laid the king mately to them: Wharsles be ye in bed so soone, and callyng vp syr James, brake to him secretely his mind

C in this mischiesuous matter. In whiche he founde him nothing strange. Wherfore on the morow he sente him to Brakenbury with a letter, by which he was comauanded to deliuere sir James all h̄ kayses of the Tower for one nyght, to h̄ ende he myght there accomplish the kinges pleasure, in such thing as he had geuen his commandement. After which letter deliuered and the kayses received, sir James appoynted the night nexte ensusing to destroy them, deuysing before and preparing the meanes. The prince as soone as the protector left that name and toke himself as king, had it shewed vnto hym, that he shoulde not reigne, but

D his uncle shoulde haue the crowne. At whiche wordes the prince soze abashed, began to ligh and said: Alas I woulde my uncle woulde lette me haue my lyfe yet, though I lese my kingdome. Then he y tolde hym the tale, v̄led hym with good wordes, and put hym in the best comfort he could. But sozwith was the prince and his brother bothe slayn, and all other remoued from them, onely one calld black wil or William slaughter exēpt, set to serue them and see them sure. After whiche time the prince never tyed

his pointes, nor ought rought of hym. E seise, but with that young babe hys bzo ther, lingered in thought and heauines til this traitorous death, deliuered them of that wretchednes. For sir James Trell devised that thei shold be murthered in their beddes. To the execucion wherof, he appoynted Miles Forest one of the fourre that kept them, a selowe flesched in spnes for to murther before time. To him he tyned one John Dighton his own hōslekeper, a Tho Dighton, bigbrode square strog knaue. Then al h̄ other beeing remoued from them, thys Miles Forest and John Dighton, about midnight (the sely childē lying in their beddes) came into the chamber, and so dainly lapped them vp among h̄ clothes so be wrapped them and entangled them keping down by force the fetherbed and pillowes hard vnto their mouthes, that within a whyle smozed and stikled, theyz breath failing, thei gaue vp to god their innocent soules into the joyes of heauē, leauing to the tormentors their bodyes dead in the bed. Whiche after that the The yong wretches parciued, first by h̄ strugling long and h̄ with the paines of death, and after long brother mat thered,

lying stilly, to be througheley dead: they laide their bodies naked out vpon the bed, and fetched sir James to see them. Whiche vpon the sight of them, caused those murtherers to burye them at the staye foote, metely depe in the grounde vnder a great heape of stones. Than rode sir James in great hast to king Richard, and shewyd him al the maner of the murther, who gaue hym gret thāks, and as som say theire made him knyght. But he allowed not as I haue heard, h̄ burying in so vyle a cozner, saying that he woulde haue them buried in a better place, because thei wera kinges sonnes. Lo the honourable cozage of a kyng. Wherupon thei say that a yester day syr Robert Brakenbury toke vp the bodyes again, and secretly entered the in such place, as by the occasion of his deathe, whiche onely knew it could never lynce come to light. Very trouthe is it & well knownen, that at such time as syr James Trell was in the Tower, for treason committed agaynst the moste famouſ prince kyng Henry the seuenth, bothe Dighton and he were examined, & confesſed the murther in maner aboue wriuen, but whither the bodies were remoued thei could nothing tel. And thus as I haue learned of them that much knew and litte cause had to lye, wer these two noble princes, these innocent iude chyl dren

**A**dren, borne of moste roiall bloode, brought vp in great wealth, likely long to liue to reigne and rule in the realme, by traytorous tiranny taken deþpued of their estate, shorly hitte vp in prisone, and priuily slaine and murthered, theyz bodies cast god wose wher by the cruel ambition of their unnaturall uncle and his dispiteous toymecoz. Which thinges on every part wel pondered god never gaue this wozld a moze notable ex ample, neither in what vnsuretie standeth this wozldly wel, or what mischief woz keth the prowde enterprize of an hyghs heart, or finally what wretched end ensuet such dispiteous crueltie. For first to beginne with the ministers, Miles

**B**Fożest at saint Martens pecemele rot ted away. Dighton in dede yet walketh on a liue in good possiblitie to bee han ged ere he dye. But sir James Tiel dy ed at Lower hill, beheaded for treason. King Richard himselfe as ye hal her after here, slain in the fiede, hacked and hewed of his enemies hădes, haryed on horsebacke dead, his here in despite torn and togged lyke a cut dogge. And the mischylef that he cooke, within lelle then thre yeares of the mischiefe that he dyd. And yet all the meane time, spente in much pain and trouble outward, much feare anguyls and sorow within. For I

**C**haue heard by credibile report of such as wer secrete w̄ his chamberers, that after this abominable deede done, he never hadde quiet in his minde, hee never thought himselfe sure. Where he went abroad, his eyen whirled about, his body priuily fencid, his hand euer on his danger, his countenance and maner like one alway ready to strike againe, he toke ill rest a nightes, lay lōg wakynge and missing, sore wertid with care & watch, rather slumbred then slept, troubled w̄th scareful dremes, sodainly sommetyme sterte vp, leape out of his bed & ranne about the chāber, so was his restles herte continually tossed & tumbled w̄ the tedious impellion & w̄ my remembraunce of his abominable dede. Nowe hadde he outward no long time in rest. For here upon sone after began the conspiracy or rather good confederacion, betwene þ Duke of Buckingham and many other gentlemen against him. Thoccaſon wherupon the king and the Duke fell out, is of diuers folke diuerſe wyſe pretended. This duke as I haue for certain bene enformed, as soone as the duke of Glouceſter upon the death of kyng Ed-

out & in  
troubles  
minutes.

**D**ward came to Pożk, & there had solemine funeral seruice for kyng Edward, sente thither in the most secret wise he could, one Persall his cruyfy seruāt, who came to John ward a chamberer of like secrete trust with the Duke of Glouceſter, desiring þ in the most close & concret maner, he might be admitted to the presēcs and speche of his master. And the duke of Glouceſter aduertised of hys desyre, caused him in the dead of the night after al dcher folk auoyded, to be brought unto him in his secret chamber, wher Persall after his masters recommendacion shewed him, þ he had secretly sente hym to shew him, that in this new wozlde he would take such part as he wold, & wait vpon hym w̄ a. M. good felowes il neede wer. The messenger sent back w̄ thanks, & some secret instruccioñ of þ protectoz mind: yet met hym again w̄ farther mes sage from the duke his master, w̄in few dayes after at Nottingham; whither the protectorz from požk with many gentle men of the north country to the nuber of sixe. C. horses, was come on his way to London ward. And after secrete meeting & comunicaſion had, esſoone, departed. Wherupon at Northampton þ duke met w̄ the protectorz himself, w̄th C.C.C. horses, & from thente till contynued w̄ partner of all his deuises, till þ after his coronacion thei departed as it seemed very great frendes at Glouceſter. From whence as sone as the duke came home, he so lightly turned from him and so highly conspired against him, that a man would marueil wherof þ chaunge grew. And surely the occaſion of theyz vartauſe is of diuers men diuerſly reported. Some haue I heard say, that the duke a little before the coronacion amog other thinges, required of the protector the duke of Herſordes landes, to which he pretended himself iust inheritož. And sozalintch as the title which he claimed þ by inheritance, was somewhat enterla id with the ttle to the crowne by þ line of kyng Henry before dep̄ived: þ protectoz conceiued such indignacion, þ he reſected þ dukes request w̄ many spitefull & minatory wordes. Which so wounded his hert w̄ hatred & mistrust, that he never after could endure to loke a right on kyng Richard, but euer feared his own life, so farþoþ þ when the protectoure rode through London toward his coronaſion, he fained hymself sick, because he wold not ride with hym. And the other taking it in euil part, sent hym w̄oðe to

s.iii. ryle

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**A**rise, & come ride or he wold make hym betaried. Wherupon he rode on to eyn vil, & that notwithstanding on the morow rose fro h feale fassing himself sick, & kyng Richard laid it was done in hatred and dispite of hym. And they say that euer after continually ech of the lued in luche hatred & distrust of other, & the duke beryly looked to haue bene murthered at Gloucester. From whiche nachles he infair maner departed. But surely some right secrete at y dates deny this: & many rightwise men think it unlikely, (the depe dissimuling nature of those bothe me coldeder, & what nede in that grene world y protector had of y duke, and in what peril y duke stode if he fell once in suspicion of y traitor) Neither y protecor wold geue y duke occasio of displeasure, or y duke y protecor occasion of mistrust. And bterly men think, & yf kyng Richard had any such opinion concived: he wold never haue suffered him to escape his handes. Very trouth it is, the duke was an high minded man, & euyll could haue y glori of another, so that I haue heard of som y said ther lauit, that y duke at such time as y crown was first set upon the protectozshev, his eye could not abide y light thereof, but wroght hys ded an other way. But me say y he was

**C**of trouth not wel at ease, & yboth to king Richard wel knowne, & not yl takē, noz anti demaund of the dukes uncourtisly refected, but he both to gret giftes & high behestes, in most louing & cruly maner departed at Gloucester. But sone after his coming home to Brecknock, hauing ther in his custody by y comandement of king Richard, doctor Morton bishop of Ely, who as ye before herd was take in y coulē at y Tower, wared hym familiere. Whose wised̄ abusid his pride to his own deliueraunce & the dukes destruction. The bishop was a man of gret natural wit, very well learned, & honora ble in behauenz, lacking no wise wales to win fauoz. He had bene fast vpon the part of king Henry while that part was in wealth, & nacheles left it not nor soz soke it in wo, but fled h realme with the quene & the prince, whiche king Edward had h king in prison, never came home but to h field. After which lost, & y parte bterly subdued, the tother for his fasse faith & wisdom, not only was contente to receve hym, but also wroght hym to cōe & had hym from thence soz h bothe in secret trust & very speciall fauoz. Whiche he nothing deceived. For he being as ye

haue heard after king Edwardes death, **E**first taken by y traitor for his trouch to y king, found y meane to let this duke in his cop, ioynes gentlemē together in aid of king Henry, devising first y maryage betwene him & king Edwardes dough ter, by whiche his rācy declared a good seruice to bothe his masters at once, w infinite benefite to the realm, by y coniunction of those twoo blodes in one, whose seueral titles had long enquieted h land, he fled y realm, went to Rome, neuer minding more to medle w the wrold til h noble prince king Henryf. bth. gate hym home again, made him archbisshop of Canterbury & chaunceller of Eng. **F**land wherunto y Pope ioined thonoz of Cardinal. Thus liuing many dayes in asmuch honoz as one man myght well wish, ended them so godly, & his death ys gods mercy wel changed his life. **T**hy s mā therforze as I was about to tell you, by y long & often alternate p̄se, alwel of prosperitie as aduers fortune, hadde gotten by great experiance y verye mo ther & maistres of wldō, a depe knighe in politike wroldli dirstes. Wherby per ceiving now this duke glad co. comen wi him, sev him w faire wordes and many pleasaunt praises. And parcefuing by y processe of their communicacions, the **G**dukes pride now & the balkis out a lytle breide of enuy toward y glori of y king, eitherby feling hym etherto fal out yf the matter were well handled: he crastelye sought y wales to pricke hym forwarde taking awaies thorcasib of his coming & so keping himself close w in his bōdes, that he rather seemed hym to folow hym then to lead him. For when y duke first began to p̄sse & bōf the king, & shewē how much profit h realm shold take by his reign: my lord Morton unanswered: surely my lord, foly wet it for me to ly, for yf I wold swere the contrary, your lordship wold not I weyne beleue, but **H**that if the wrold wold have gone as I wold haue willed, king Henryes sone had had the crown & not king Edward. But after that god had ordered hym to lese it, and kinge Edward to reigne, I was never so mad, that I would with a dead man st̄ue against the quicke. So was I toking Edward faithfull chap leyne, & glad wold haue bene h his childe had succeded him. Howbeit if y secrete iudgement of god haue otherwyse pro uised: I purpose not to spurne againste a prick, noz laboz to see up that god pul leth down. And as for the late p̄tector and

**A**t now kyng And euen there he left, saying that he had alredy medled to muche with the wold, and would fro that day medle with his boke and his deedes and no farther. Then longed the duke soze to here what he wold haue sayd, because he ended with h̄ king & there so sodeinly stopt, & exhortēd him so familiarly betwēns the twain, to be bold to say what soever he thought, wherof he faithfully promised there shold never come hurte & paradyture more good then he wold wene, and that himselfe intended to vse his faichful secret advise and counsayle whiche he saide was the onely cause for whiche he procured of the kyng to haue him in his custodij where he myght recken himself at home, and els had he bene put in the handes of them, with whome he shold not haue founden the lyke fauor. The bishop right humbly thanked him & said, In good faith my lord I loue not much to talk muche of princes, as thing not all out of peril, thoughē the wold be without fault so;asmuch as it shal not be taken as the party mērit, but as it pleaseþ h̄ prince to cōfser it. And euer I think on Elsops tale, that whē the lion had proclaimed that on pain of deþ there shold none horned beast abide in that wood, one that had in his sozebed a bonch of flesh, fled away a great pace. **C**The for that saw him run so faste, asked him whither he made al that hast. And he answered, in faith I neither wote nor reck, so I wer once hence because of this

proclamacion made of horned beastes. **G**What sole & þ for thou maile abide wel enough, the lyon ment not by thee, for it is none hornē that is in thine head. No mary & heȝ wote I wel ynough. But what & he cal it an hoȝn, wher am I then? The duke laugheþ merely at the tale, & said, my lord I warant you, neither the lyon nor the boze shal pyke at ȳ matter at any chyng here spoken, for it shall never come nere their eare. In good fayth sir said the bishop if it did, the thing that I was about to say, taken awel as afoze god I met it, could deserue but thāk. And yet taken as I wene it wold, might hapen to turne me to little good and pou to leſſe. The longed h̄ duke yet moch moſe to wit what it was. Wherupon the bishop said: in good faith my lord, as for h̄ late protectorz, sith he is now king in possessioñ, I purpose not to dispute his title. But for the weale of this realm, wherof his grace hath nowthe gouernance, & wherof I am my self one pooze mēber, I was about to wish, that to thole good habilitie wherof he hath already rīght many, little nedynge my prayse: it mighte yet haue pleased Godde for the better to ſe, to haue geuen hym come of ſuche other excelleſte vertues mete for the rule of a realm, as our lordē hath planted in the parſone of youre grāce.

(c.)

e. llll.