

A Literal and Consistent Translation of More's *Richard III* from Latin to English by Carle Mock

Note on the Translation

What follows is intended to be a literal, word-for-word translation of Thomas More's *History of Richard III* from Latin into English. The footnotes are meant to provide supplemental information as well as to enable critical comparison with Daniel Kinney's critical edition and translation found in *CW 15*. The *P* manuscript is the main source-text for this translation, but *H* is preferred in those few places where it differs substantially. Any reliance on Latin from any source besides *P* and *H* is noted. Kinney's Latin is sometimes his own amended or reconstructed text, and sometimes it is based on other sources besides *P* and *H*. This results in situations where this translation not only differs from Kinney's in the English words chosen, but is in fact translating different Latin words. All such differences in the underlying Latin are noted.

The main aim has been to translate precisely, literally, and consistently. Whenever possible without losing intelligibility, the same English word is used to translate the same Latin word throughout the work, while synonyms in Latin are represented by synonyms in English. Within a single sentence, this is invariably followed or an exception is noted. Common Latin idioms are translated consistently, but not literally. Word order varies from the Latin, from necessity, but lists of terms are always presented in the same order as that found in the original. Words in square brackets [] are additional words in English implied by the Latin grammar or supplied by the translator to fill the sense. Usually they are English nouns which replace pronouns in the Latin that would not be clear as pronouns in English. Sometimes they are implied nouns and phrases, in which case they are always identical to the word or words which appear elsewhere which are understood to be repeated. Finally, in a few cases, they are words simply not found or directly implied in the text, but which seem necessary to complete the sense. Words in tailed brackets { } are additional words added in English in those cases where a single underlying Latin word cannot be adequately translated by one English word. These brackets have been added in the hopes a reader will more easily recognize which Latin words are repeated in the text and which are not. Forms of the verb "to be," auxiliary forms of "have," possessive pronouns, "as," "that," and existential "there" have been frequently added without brackets as needed to make smoother English. When translating the ablative and dative cases, appropriate prepositions have been inserted without brackets. Tenses of verbs have also sometimes been altered without notation to conform to English usage. Paragraph divisions are those of the translator.

Numbers in square brackets are the page and line numbers of the corresponding Latin text in *CW 15*.

Translation by Carle Mock

[314] *The History of Richard III, King of the English, by the author Thomas More*

King Edward (the fourth of that name), [after] he had achieved fifty-three years, seven months, [and] six days of life, when he was numbering the twenty-second year from the beginning of his kingship, conceded to the fates in the 483rd [year] beyond the 1000th year after Christ's birth, with two surviving children of the male sex [and] five of the female¹—namely Edward, the king-designate, of around thirteen years; Richard, Duke of York, who was younger by two years; Elizabeth, who afterwards, led by the fates, was the wife of Henry the Seventh and mother of the Eighth, a queen extraordinary in appearance and {innate} talent; Cecilia, not {quite} as fortunate as beautiful; Bridget, [who], exhibiting the virtue of her whose name it was, {made} profession and is leading a religious life in a monastery of enclosed nuns near Dartford; Anne, afterwards honorably married to Thomas, at that time Lord Howard and afterwards Earl of Surrey; [and] Catherine, who has continually experienced a varied lot [in life], sometimes calm, more often unfavorable; at the last (if this is the last, for she still lives), by the piety of her nephew King Henry the Eighth, [a lot in life] has ensued that is most prosperous and thoroughly worthy of her.

[316] This king of whom I am speaking, when he had died in the palace which is near the abbey of the Benedictines, about a mile from London toward the setting sun, was carried {away} from there to Windsor in a magnificent funeral {procession}, and there he was buried with many tears; indeed he was a prince so benevolent and mild while there was peace (for in war it was necessary that the parties be mutually hostile) that no other who ever reigned in England was more esteemed by the fathers and the people; nor was he himself at [any] other part of his life equally esteemed as at that [part] which was the last for him. But nevertheless, that very esteem and longing for him was increased by the cruelty of the following period [or storm]², the inhuman and hateful³ principate of a parricide. For at that time when he finished his life, all malevolence from the deposing of King Henry VI—which long had blazed among his favorers—finally was {put to} sleep, subsided, and was extinguished, [since] so many of them, in the more than twenty years of his dominion (a great part of a mortal lifetime), had died; others meanwhile had been received into his favor and friendship, in which winning {over} it is reported that he was receptive and inclined {towards}.

He was tall⁴ in body [and] truly kingly in appearance; there was much courage⁵ and no less counsel in [him]. In hostile circumstances⁶ he was unafraid; in prosperous [circumstances] more joyful than proud; equitable and merciful in peace, fierce⁷ and ferocious⁸ in war⁹; quick in approaching dangers, but nevertheless not brash farther than reason demanded. If someone should appraise his deeds of war correctly, he surely will no less admire his prudence whenever

¹ *Femellae* in late Latin sometimes meant “female,” and *1565*, which often corrects More's grammar and spelling, puts *foeminei* here.

² *tempestatis*

³ The words for “hateful and “malevolence” in this sentence are the same Latin root.

⁴ or “high, noble”; *procero*

⁵ *animi*

⁶ *rebus*

⁷ Or “sharp”; *acer*

⁸ Or “bold, brave, wild, fierce, savage”; *ferox*

⁹ *militie*

he retreated¹⁰ than he will praise his daring when he conquered. His face and countenance were what you would wish to see; his body was ample and with great strength, with his limbs drawn out, although by a {rather} free [mode of] living and by indulgence of his body, he finally was made a little too stout, [but] nevertheless not unbecoming. Yet he was completely given over to his appetite and lust immediately from entering the age [of maturity] [318] and throughout his whole life, to the extent that affairs of government¹¹ did not call him {away}, in the custom of nearly all men; for you could hardly persuade {those who are} healthy to [adopt] a {due} measure towards a great license of fortune.

That vice of his was not very troublesome to the people, because the pleasure of one man was not sufficient to spread itself so widely as to become a grievance to everyone, and he was accustomed either to purchase what pleased him for a price, or to {obtain [it] by} flattery with his pleas.¹² He never acted with violence; moreover, from the turning-post of age, he was (as {usually} happens) made more moderate in his last days, in which his kingdom was quietest and in a state of flourishing affairs. There was neither any war present nor any impending (except that which nobody expected) since every external fear was absent [and] at home the commons were quiet and there was concord procured¹³ among the aristocrats by the King. To the King himself all were obedient, not by force, but by their own {free} will; and they more truly revered him than feared [him]. From the demanding of money (which is nearly the only thing which disjoins the minds of Englishmen from their prince) he had now for a long time utterly left {off}, nor had he decided anything from which an occasion [for taxes] could arise. He had already obtained the revenue of tribute from France by then. He had taken {possession of} Berwick by arms one year before his death.

[318.19] Although this king, through the whole time of his dominion, was of such friendliness towards everyone {without distinction} that no part of his morals was more [highly] appraised, nevertheless, with the progress of time (which turns most princes toward arrogance by their long confirmed power) that [friendliness] increased and grew in a marvelous manner; indeed, in that summer which was that [man's] last, [when] he dwelt at Windsor, he summoned the Mayor of London and several of the senators to himself for no other reason than that they might enjoy hunting with him. There he exhibited to them a face not so {much} magnificent and lofty as friendly and popular, and from there he sent game so abundantly into the city that you would not easily discover anything that won for him [such] goodwill, either of more [people] or greater among the people, for whom commonly a slight deed done more friendly outweighs great benefits and is considered¹⁴ as evidence of a greater love towards themselves.

[320] Thus this prince met his death [just] then, when his life was most greatly desired, [when] his favor among his own [people] was so extraordinary [that] it would no doubt have been a marvelous foundation for the principate for his children (in whom themselves also such extraordinary natural talents and illustrious signs of kingly virtues as it was possible for their ages to be capable of were observed), if the division of their friends among themselves had not disarmed them and [if] a detestable thirst for dominion¹⁵ had not incited to their destruction that [man] who, if it had been possible [for] either nature or fidelity or gratitude to have any

¹⁰ *cedo*; elsewhere “cede”

¹¹ *res gerendae*

¹² a pun: “price” is *precio*; “pleas” is *precibus*

¹³ *concordata*

¹⁴ *duco*; elsewhere “led”

¹⁵ Lit: “for commanding” *imperandi*

influence¹⁶ {whatsoever}, ought to have thrown his own body before their enemies. In fact, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, by nature their uncle, in name their guardian¹⁷, bound [to them] by benefits, obliged by {sacred} oath, with all ties of human society broken, decided, against justice and right, to take the lives of¹⁸ his own nephews ([who were] orphans and entrusted to him) [and] to transfer the kingdom to himself.

[320.15] Yet since the deeds of this man almost fill {up} the [subject] matter of the present work, it would not be off topic¹⁹ to display his morals, {in order} that it might be more well-known²⁰ of what sort that man was who undertook to conceive such a crime in his mind. Richard, Duke of York, a noble, factious, [and] powerful [man], disputed with the King concerning the kingship, not hostilely with arms, but in a civil manner with laws in the Senate. Either his lawsuit or his favor (since the King was more innocent than prudent²¹) {had} so much influence that, by a resolution of Parliament—whose power among the English is supreme and absolute—he was designated the successor to King Henry, [while] [Henry's] offspring (although an extraordinary prince) was rejected. [Richard, Duke of York] would enter into²² the kingship for himself and his posterity perpetually immediately upon the death of Henry.

He [however,] not waiting for that, while he was trying (under the pretext of civil dissension) to anticipate his legitimate time for ruling and to claim the scepter for himself [while] Henry still lived, fell in the Battle of Wakefield together with many aristocrats, leaving {behind} three children: [322] Edward, of whom we have spoken, George, and this Richard, who, {just} as they were all born to an illustrious place, so they were also of vast and lofty ambition,²³ greedy for power, [and] patient enough with neither superiors nor equals. Edward avenged his father's death, conquered Henry in war, stripped [him] of the kingship, and substituted himself. George, Duke of Clarence, tall²⁴ and elegant, could have appeared fortunate {in every} respect, if either the desire for ruling had not incited him against his brother, or the calumny of enemies [had not incited] his brother against him. For whether the Queen's faction devised a {treacherous} plot against him—between whom and the blood-relations of the King bitter hatred burned (as women not from malice, indeed, but from nature almost always hold as enemies whichever [persons] are dear to their husbands) —or the Duke likewise, out of his own pride, was striving {to make} his way to the kingship—certainly [he] was charged with treason,²⁵ for which, whether he was innocent or guilty, the full Senate sentenced²⁶ him to the bitterest punishment. But [although] the King withheld the viciousness of the penalty, he upheld death [as the penalty]. So that [the King] might complete [the execution] most leniently, with [George's] head plunged into a cask of Cretan wine, he was prevented from breathing and breathed {his last}. The same [man] who ordered his death, when he learned that it was accomplished, miserably lamented.

¹⁶ *valere*

¹⁷ *tutor*

¹⁸ Lit. “take life away from”

¹⁹ *ab re*

²⁰ Lit. “more illustrious”

²¹ Following *H.*

²² Lit. “take the auspices”

²³ *animo etiam vasto ac sublimi*

²⁴ or “noble”; *procerus*

²⁵ Lit. “treason was charged”

²⁶ *adiudicavit*

[322.19] This Richard, {on} whose {account} the present discourse is instituted, was equal to both of his brothers in intellect and strength of mind, [but] inferior to both in beauty²⁷ and probity, with poor disposition of body, with unequal and deformed limbs, a protruding back, and with one shoulder higher [than the other]. His face was not lovely²⁸, [but] wild, and plainly of the sort which is called warlike and military in aristocrats, [but] is usually [called] otherwise in other [men]. He was {skilled in} dissimulation²⁹, irritable, malevolent, and always, even before birth, perverse. Indeed, there is a rumor he could not otherwise be removed from his mother's womb than with a sword as midwife; indeed, they also report that he was even born an Agrippa, and he came {out} with his feet foremost, [and] besides, not untoothed—whether rumor born from hatred has added anything to the truth, or whether nature, with foreknowledge of the future, did many [things] inversely at [324] the origin of him who was, in his life, going to contrive many [things] against the law of nature. Yet he was held to be no inactive leader in war, for which his nature was more suitable than for peace; he often conquered, sometimes he even was conquered, which [occurrence]³⁰ not even any of his rivals ever ascribed to his fault, whether to inexperience or to ignorance. Generous beyond his resources, so that he would not lack means, he was forced to [pour] out from some what he would pour forth into others. By these devices, it is evident that he produced frail love and firm hatred. He did not ever entrust his own plans to others [more] than was necessary to execute [those plans] through them, but not even to them either earlier or more fully than the matter urged. He would put {on} and wear and zealously guard³¹ whatever persona {you please}—cheerful, severe, grave, lax—just as his [own] advantage persuaded him to take {up} or put {down}. In his face was modesty, [but] in his mind there was arrogance: uncontrollable, unlimited, [and] inhuman. He would flatter with words those whom, inwardly, he greatly hated; nor did he abstain from embracing those whom he intended³² to kill. He was cruel and merciless, not always out of anger but more often because of ambition, either while striving after enlarging his own fortune or [while striving] {to make it} firm. Indeed, his reasoning was that friends and enemies were equal compared with his [own] advantages; nor did he ever abstain from anyone's death whose life appeared to obstruct his plans. There is a constant rumor [that], while Henry VI, {having been} stripped of the kingship, was being guarded as a prisoner in the Tower of London, he was cruelly stabbed and butchered by that [man] with a dagger thrust under his ribs, and that [was done] without the King either ordering [it] or being aware {of it}—who, if he had completely decided to remove [a man] whom he probably considered³³ to be more to his advantage alive and in his own hand, nevertheless, no doubt he would have put in charge³⁴ of such an awful³⁵ carnage someone other than his own full brother.

[326] There are those who suspect that even [then] the secret and skillfully concealed plans of that [man] for the destruction of his brother the Duke of Clarence were not lacking, although he resisted and opposed [his brother's destruction] openly. Yet (as it appears to those appraising the matter) [he did so] somewhat more feebly than it was thought that one would do

²⁷ *forma*

²⁸ *inamabile*

²⁹ or “was a shape-shifter or werewolf”; *versipellis*

³⁰ *rem*

³¹ *tueri*

³² Lit. “destined”

³³ *ducebat*

³⁴ *prefecturus*; same base as word translated “mayor” elsewhere

³⁵ or “ill-omened” *dirus*

who had seriously determined for himself that he would be inclined to his full brother's welfare. Those to whom this appears true hold that Richard, (undoubtedly having already been persuaded then, while Edward was still living) had contrived this plan about claiming the kingship for himself, if ever by some chance his brother would have died (as it did happen) with his children [too] immature for the kingship. The frequent carousing and intemperate diet of the King gave³⁶ hope of [just such] a thing. Therefore, for that reason they think [that] Richard desired the death of the Duke of Clarence, since his life did not appear favorable³⁷ enough for his own purpose; [regarding] whom, indeed, [Richard] saw [that], whether [George] remained in fidelity to his nephew or aspired to the kingship, he would hold [Richard] himself as a mortal³⁸ enemy. But I am able to assert nothing certain regarding this matter, [since] I merely followed the suspicions and conjectures of men, by which footpaths, just as one sometimes arrives at the truth, so, [too], one frequently errs. Although this [much] I myself already {long} ago ascertained from a faithful report: A certain Mistlebrook, immediately [when] Edward had died, hurried at a run to the house of Potter (who was of Richard's household); and [Potter's] door was pounded on uncivilly long³⁹ before light. Since the pounding, both by its violence and by its untimeliness, made proof⁴⁰ of his great and urgent business, he was promptly admitted. He announced that the King had died that very hour, to which statement Potter said, as if exulting, "Then there is no doubt but that my master the Duke of Gloucester will be king immediately," whether he was acquainted⁴¹ with his plans, [328] or whether he had foreknowledge of the future by some other sign (for I do not suppose it was spoken by chance). I remember that this discourse was already reported to my father then—when as yet no suspicion was held of his treason—by [one] who had overheard them talking.

[328.6] Yet let me return to the history. Whether Richard had already seized⁴² the kingship within his own mind, or whether he had conceived⁴³ his plan from the opportunity of his nephews' age (as [opportunity]⁴⁴ usually impels even sluggish and quiet [men] to crime), it is certain [that] he decided, [once] the life of the boys was removed, to take control of the kingship as if it were a reward for his crime. Therefore, aware of the long-standing factions among the courtiers with which [the court] was belabored (which he had even diligently nourished, as far as was [in] his [power])—with the blood-relations of King Edward envying the authority and resources of the Queen's blood so {much}, and conversely were not less envied regarding the same things—he thought that this circumstance⁴⁵ would be a great support for his plans if, [using] the pretext of the parties, as if he were going to avenge old injuries, he should secretly conduct his own business and exploit the anger and ignorance of one faction for the destruction of the other. Then, from that [faction] that survived (who could be advantageously⁴⁶ led {over} little {by little} to his opinion), if he encountered those who were insufficiently suitable, he would crush them with a {treacherous} plot [while] they were incautious and not fearing any

³⁶ Lit. "made, did"

³⁷ *opportuna*

³⁸ Lit. "hold mortally as an enemy"

³⁹ Lit. "much"

⁴⁰ *fidem*; elsewhere "fidelity"

⁴¹ *peritus*

⁴² *invado* "invaded, attacked"

⁴³ *capio*, "seized, taken"

⁴⁴ Lit. "which thing"

⁴⁵ Lit. "thing"

⁴⁶ *commodum*

evil. For he conceived in his mind [that] this was certain: if by any crack his plan should leak out too prematurely, at once a treaty between the disagreeing factions would be ratified in his own blood.

[328.24] These divisions of his friends, although they were somewhat troublesome to Edward himself, nevertheless, while he was healthy, he handled⁴⁷ them the more negligently for this reason: because he knew he could restrain either party when he wished, according to his own judgment. Yet, when he was lying {ill} with his last sickness, he sensed that his strength was wavering and that his health had been despaired of by the doctors. [So,] considering in his mind the age of his children, although he feared nothing [330] less than that which happened, nevertheless he foresaw many evils which could arise for them from the dissension of their friends, since their age, weak and improvident in itself, would be stripped of the counsel of friends, by which alone it could be supported. While [their friends] disjoined themselves by dissension and discord, intent on parties and {partisan} endeavors⁴⁸, they would care less what was true, and often—so that each might advance his own faction in the Prince's favor—they would all counsel what would be pleasing more than what would be profitable. Turning over these things and [others] of this sort in his mind, he ordered many from [among] the aristocracy to be summoned, specifically the Marquis Dorset (the Queen's son by her prior marriage) and Richard Hastings (a noble man [and] his own chamberlain) who had conspicuously engaged in enmity among themselves, besides others of both factions who were then in the palace and were able to be had. When the King saw that they were present, he raised [himself] a little and, propped up with cushions, it is reported that he spoke thus:

[330.16] "Men most illustrious, who are also my blood-relations and dearest in-laws, in what place my life is, both you see and I feel; which circumstance⁴⁹ makes [it so] that, the less long I calculate my future with you [will be], the larger the anxiety [which] enters my mind [over] which states of mind I am leaving you holding. For truly, in whatever [state] you are left by me, in such [a state] it is necessary that my children receive you. If (May those above prevent it!) they should find you at discord⁵⁰, it would appear [that] they themselves undoubtedly would be joining parties and setting in motion new disputes among themselves before they will have matured in that [area] of experience by which they could restore you in concord, with your [disputes] reconciled. You perceive their tender age, of which I suppose the only protection [332] is built on your concord, since your love⁵¹ for them is not a sufficiently firm thing if you have hatred for each other.⁵² Your fidelity would perhaps suffice for the strength of a manly age, but a boyish [age] {must} be ruled by authority, [and] an adolescent [age] {must be} propped up by counsels, which things neither will they be able to obtain from anywhere else unless you will have given [them], nor will you [be able to] grant [counsel] if you disagree.⁵³ Indeed, when {those} who are mutually hostile think different [things] and one {makes} fun of the counsels of the other out of hatred of {the one} counseling, then it is necessary for good counsel⁵⁴ to perish badly, since it is not possible that [differences] be settled except by consensus. Moreover, while

⁴⁷ Lit. "held"

⁴⁸ *studiis*

⁴⁹ Lit. "thing"

⁵⁰ *discordantes*

⁵¹ *caritas*

⁵² Lit. "if you are mutually with hatred for you"

⁵³ *dissenseritis*

⁵⁴ *consulta*

each one strives to ingratiate⁵⁵ his own faction with the prince, it would undoubtedly happen that they would be persuaded [to act] for favor much more than from [what is] true and useful. Thus the tender mind of adolescence, imbued with depraved flattery, is rolled {headlong} into vices and drags the kingdom with it into destruction, except if God should inspire anything better. If that should happen—that the prince should recover {his senses} and return to morality⁵⁶—then truly those whose parties had been foremost with him will fall farthest from his favor. Thus favor⁵⁷ acquired badly perishes quickly; [but] truly that [favor] obtained through good arts is that [which] endures stable and firm.

[332.19] "For a long {time} now great hatreds have blazed among you, often not from great causes. For usually either the speech of [someone] badly narrating distorts a thing which was not badly done, or the affection of the listener exaggerates [something] petty in itself by interpreting [it] harshly. One [thing] I know: for you the reasons for wrath and [those] for love are not at all equal. That we are men, for {example}, [and] that we have sworn our oaths⁵⁸ in Christ, who gave one and only [one] countersign⁵⁹ to his soldiers, [that] of charity—I pass over [these things] commended by preachers, although I do not know whether the words of any preacher ought to move you more than my [words], [since] I am departing from here directly to those places about which they preach so much. [334] But {just} this much you will be asked by me: that you ponder within yourselves that one party of these factions are my blood-relations, [while] the other are my in-laws, and you yourselves are mutually joined either by the bond of blood or [that] of affinity {of marriage}. If the institutions of Christ had as much weight as they ought to have among Christians—And if only they did have!—that relationship, joined by the Sacrament of Matrimony⁶⁰, certainly would comprise no less a motivation towards uniting minds {in friendship} than the reason⁶¹ of blood itself. May those above prevent that this very thing should be the cause by which you are in concord⁶² less, which ought to arouse you most greatly to concord!

[334.11] "For myself, by I know not what evil fate, we see it to happen such that enmity nowhere is exercised {more} hostilely than among those who the dictate [*fas*] of either nature or of [human] laws ought to deter most powerfully from all animosity. Pride and the desire of surpassing {others} is such a detestable monster that, when once it has crept into the noble breasts of illustrious men, [it] does not cease to slither {forward} by contention so as to blend all [things] with slaughter and blood, while each [man] tries first to be next to the highest [person], soon to be equal [to him], [and] finally to surpass and surmount him. This so [very] shameful ardor for glory has stirred up so much of a conflagration in this kingdom within the last few years [and] produced so much slaughter that I wish that God would be willing to forget [it] as easily as we remember [it]. If it had been possible for me as a private {citizen} to anticipate and foresee those evils with my mind [rather] than to have experienced the thing itself afterwards (much more to my sorrow than pleasure), [then], [on my life, I would not]⁶³ have procured the honor exhibited by bent knees by [means of] so many men's heads. But since the things which

⁵⁵ *insinuare*; elsewhere "insinuate"

⁵⁶ *ad frugem*

⁵⁷ *gratia*

⁵⁸ *iurare in verba*; "to swear a prescribed oath"

⁵⁹ *symbolum*

⁶⁰ Lit. "sacrament of joining;" *coniugium*

⁶¹ *ratio*; elsewhere "reasoning."

⁶² *concordetis*

⁶³ Lit: "may I perish if"

have been done cannot be undone, attention should be carefully given [so that] the [same] thing from which we know so much loss was endured before does not happen henceforth.

[334.29] “All [things] are pacified now, and the hope is that [all things] will be prosperous under my children, your blood-relations, if neither life abandons them nor [336] concord [abandons] you. If one or the other of them absolutely [must] be lacked, indeed there would be less of a loss in [the former]. If the common lot of men should bring {about} that [loss], nevertheless England would perhaps easily find kings in no part inferior. Truly, if discord should occupy you in a child’s kingship, it appears that many good and extraordinary men would undoubtedly perish, with the Prince, meanwhile, not safe⁶⁴, and you yourselves especially exposed to danger, before the people, once raging with internal sedition, would return again to peace and concord. Therefore, with this speech, which today it appears to me is the last I am going to have with you, I exhort and implore you through that love which I have always {until} now [had] towards you, which you in turn [had] towards me, [and] which God has had towards all of us, [that], from this time {forward}, with all offenses forgiven and pardoned, you will embrace [each other]⁶⁵ with mutual love; which I trust you will indeed do, if you have any respect,⁶⁶ either for God, or for the Prince, for your blood-relations, for your country, or finally, for your own safety.”

[336.17] When the King had said these [words], no longer supporting himself, he lay back down on his right side, with his face turned toward the nobles, of whom there was none who was able to refrain⁶⁷ from tears. Yet they consoled him with words as much as each {one} was able. Then, responding with [words] about the matter which they perceived would be pleasing, as if a treaty had been struck out of regard for the dying king, they joined hands among themselves; although, as appeared a little afterwards, they were far disjoined in their minds.

[336.24] [After] the king died, his older son⁶⁸ hurried⁶⁹ to proceed to the royal city,⁷⁰ namely London. [While] his father was living, he lived at Ludlow in Wales. For that [place] is the proper domain for the first-born [sons] of kings, successively, [while] their parents are still living. Since that [place] was situated at a distance from the King, [and] therefore it was held {more} negligently, it began to be barbarized in its almost wild morals, with wicked [338] men attacking in robberies and murder licentiously, and unpunished. Edward the son was sent there with dominion so that by the authority of the Prince’s presence the audacity of the criminals would be restrained. The [man] given as governor⁷¹ for [the Prince’s] childhood was the Queen’s brother, Anthony Woodville (with the name “Rivers” from his domain) a man you could not easily discern as [being any] more excellent in battle⁷² or in counsel. Then others were consulted as counsellors [such] that each one was nearest to the boy by maternal descent.

[338.8] This situation⁷³ arranged by the Queen—by which she would strengthen the influence of her faction immediately from the tender years of the Prince—Richard made a pretext for overturning those [men] and the beginning of accomplishing his remaining

⁶⁴ *tuto*; elsewhere “guarded”

⁶⁵ Lit. “you will embrace yourselves mutually”

⁶⁶ Lit. “if any respect has you”

⁶⁷ *temperare*; “to moderate, to govern”

⁶⁸ Lit. “greater by birth”

⁶⁹ or “matured”

⁷⁰ or “to solicit the royal city for a public office”

⁷¹ Lit. “moderator”

⁷² Lit. “hand”

⁷³ Lit. “thing”

undertaking, [and thus] frustrated her great hope. For of those whom he knew [had] the most implacable hatred toward those [of the Queen's faction] and [had] benevolent minds towards himself, he admonished them in part personally, others by letter and by messengers of tested fidelity, urging that the situation⁷⁴ was in no way to be endured that, with his father lost, the young Prince, a blood-relative to themselves, was in the hands and custody of [the Queen's] relatives, [while] they were nearly banished, who were no less certain in their fidelity to him and [were] a far more honorable part of the royal family than his maternal blood, which, except that it might have appeared otherwise to his father's lust, was exceedingly unworthy to be mixed with his and with theirs; [and] that it was neither honorable for him nor safe⁷⁵ for themselves that they were now not first with the King; [thus] he proposed that it was of {very} great [importance] that it not be tolerated by anyone that their rivals' power with the Prince increase⁷⁶ from gratitude and favors, [since he was] a boy compliant by nature, of an age for vice, credulous, [and] not guarding⁷⁷ enough against the {false} accusations of denouncers.

[338.26] "I think you remember," he said, "that although his father was mature in years and in the experience of things, nevertheless he was turned in any [direction] by the persuasion and pressure of her faction, assuredly far more [often] than would have been either [340] for his own honor or [for] anyone's advantage⁷⁸ except the immoderate [advancement] of those for whom it is uncertain whether they more greedily desire their own good or our evil. And so if the favor of one of us had not been more effective with the King than any consideration⁷⁹ of blood-relation, certainly it would have been [only] a little away from them seizing some of us, [who would be] surrounded, in a {treacherous} plot,⁸⁰ as easily, by Hercules, as they had seized him who was no less nearly away from the King's blood. Truly, with those above favoring [us], we are done with that danger. Yet nevertheless an even greater [danger] would be impending if we tolerate the Prince's affections to be driven in whatever [way] is pleasing for our enemies, for whom it would not be difficult also⁸¹ to {provide a} pretext of ignorance [to] an order for our destruction, unless God or your vigilance turns their malice towards themselves. In this matter none of us should conduct himself more irresolutely on {account of} the concord badly botched together shortly ago. It should not be doubted how sincere it was: they who entered into it were submitting to the King's affections rather than their own. I suppose that none of us is so insane that he could think there could be much trusting in someone who, from [being] an old enemy would profess himself [to be] a recent friend, unless perhaps someone would suppose a peace suddenly compelled in one hour and not even sustained a whole month yet to have settled more deeply into their hearts than a malevolence nourished and rooted for so many years."

[340.22] With these words and letters and other [things] of that kind, he more vehemently enflamed men burning from {within} themselves, but especially two: Edward, Duke of Buckingham, and Richard Hastings, both with renowned fame [and] great wealth, but the Duke with a more illustrious lineage. The other [man, Hastings,] had grown much in authority from

⁷⁴ Lit. "thing"

⁷⁵ elsewhere "guarded"

⁷⁶ Lit. "mature"

⁷⁷ Following *H. P. A.* & *1565* have "being hardened (or experienced)"

⁷⁸ *re*

⁷⁹ *ratio*

⁸⁰ Lit. "it had been, certainly, a little absent that they would have suppressed/oppressed/crushed someone of us surrounded by an ambush/trap/plot"

⁸¹ Following *H.* *1565*

the office he administered,⁸² {since} indeed [342] the King had appointed him {as officer}⁸³ for his chamber [i.e. Chamberlain], which is extremely honorable among the English. Although these [men] did not as much want a mutual benefit for themselves as they desired evil⁸⁴ for the Queen's faction, they easily conspired with Richard to the extent that they removed the Prince's maternal friends on the pretext of [being] their enemies.

[342.6] [After] that matter was decided, they heard that those [of the Queen's faction] were leading {down} the King with so great a company {of soldiers} that nothing could be safely⁸⁵ dared against them by unarmed [men]. Conversely, if they prepared troops themselves, the matter was going to come to combat. Both [because] the result of [combat] would always be doubtful, and since the Prince would be from the opposite party, [and thus] their own [party] would come {under} the name and appearance of treason, they determined [that the other party] would be disarmed by intellect. And so they {took} care that through suitable [acquaintances]⁸⁶ of the Queen she would be persuaded [that] there was much danger in that plan which had been entered {upon} for the sake of removing danger; for with things peaceful, [and] with the nobles brought {back} into concord, and with everyone's minds intent on receiving⁸⁷ the King and marking [him] with a diadem, if the Queen's friends gathered a multitude, no doubt they would inspire fear in those [of the other party]—[since] animosity once had existed between them and those [of the Queen's party]—that [the multitude gathered] was not for the sake of protecting⁸⁸ the King, whom no peril threatened, but [that] it was being gathered [for the sake] of attacking themselves, with discord breaking {out again}, and it would [happen] in this way that these [men] in turn would assemble their troops. Next, as if they were repulsing violence⁸⁹, they would attack. Their resources, as she knew, extended widely, [and] the whole kingdom would be in arms and tumult from this affair. Then everyone would ascribe all the damage of the [tumult] (which was both expected to be immense and might fall in large part on those from whom she most wanted to avert [it]) solely to her and to her friends, since they would be alleged to have disordered the republic by a regard for private hatred, [and of] having violated through injustice the concord of which her own dying husband [344] had been the author for ratifying. The Queen was led by these reasonings such that she pled {her case} to her brother Woodville and her son Richard Grey, who were then the foremost [men] in the Prince's court, so that they, having repudiated her prior counsel, refrained from an {armed} convoy [and] brought {forth} the King towards London with a moderate escort.

[344.6] On the King's route there was [a town], Hampton, which, although it is located almost in the belly of the kingdom, nevertheless is called North[ampton] in comparison with another town of the same name which lies on the southern strait. On the same day that the King departed from this [town], the Dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham entered, and it happened by chance that Woodville (the Queen's brother whom we spoke {of}) remained in the same [town], {intending} to go the next morning to the King at [Stony] Stratford where he spent that night, [eleven] miles from Hampton. Therefore, Woodville, obligingly meeting with the Dukes, also was received in turn with the greatest joy. When it appeared that as much time [as required] had

⁸² *gerere*; elsewhere “governed, managed”

⁸³ *praeficio*; same as the word for “mayor”

⁸⁴ Lit: “wanted mutually well ... desired evilly”

⁸⁵ *tuto*

⁸⁶ Lit. “men”

⁸⁷ or “capturing” or “succeeding”

⁸⁸ *tuto*

⁸⁹ *vim*; elsewhere “force”

passed⁹⁰ in discourse and a feast, he was dismissed, so charmed by the humanity of the Dukes that he went to bed filled with the best hope, cheerful, and secure in his mind.

[344.18] But those [men], who had contrived in their mind [something] far different than [what] they had displayed by their face, [after] all the others had been ordered to leave, retained Richard Ratcliff (a knight) and [others] who were most intimate with these kinds of plots⁹¹ and, reclining at table, they deliberated about their undertakings into the late⁹² night. Having {taken} counsel [about] these matters, standing up, they sent [someone] who with no tumult would warn their attendants so that they could prepare themselves, [since] indeed there was not much [time until] the Dukes would be on their horses. Awakened by this messenger, their escort was present at hand when Woodville's servants were still snoring. Moreover, they brought {it about} so that with all the exits of the town [346] blockaded, nobody was allowed to exit. Then, a little farther from the town in the direction⁹³ of the Stratford road they had arrayed knights, who, if they apprehended any [men] who by chance had evaded custody, they could drive [them] {back} into Hampton again. They {gave as a} pretext the reason that (as though the Dukes obviously were intending to demonstrate their obligation) they had determined⁹⁴ [that] they themselves [would be] the first of all [persons] that day to salute the Prince.

[346.7] But when Woodville heard the exits were closed in every {direction}, [that] truly a means for leaving [was available] for neither his [men] nor for himself, [and that] such a vicious deed both was not by chance and was begun with him unknowing, [then], comparing their present deeds with [their] face and words of the previous night, he was distressed by such a great change of affairs in the interval of a few hours. Yet, since he was not allowed to depart, and by enclosing himself he was going to obtain nothing other than that it would appear that he was seeking a hiding-place, [and] because he was conscious of no guilt of his own on account of which there would be a need for doing [so], he determined to approach the Dukes and to question the reasons for their endeavors of this [kind] with trust in his own conscience. [When] they first had him in sight, they began immediately [and] of their own accord to complain and to charge⁹⁵ that he had sown discord among the nobles and [that] he was striving to alienate the King's mind from them and trying to destroy [them] through a {treacherous} plot, which, having been discovered, they would deservedly throw {back} against its author. [As] he was marveling at this speech and attempting to exonerate himself, since they were deficient in reason and cause, they turned to force. They apprehended [him] and left [him] imprisoned in a cave, employing guards.

[346.24] Soon, having mounted their horses, they {eagerly} hurried to Stratford and discovered the King just then preparing to depart for the reason (as is reported) that he could leave the town ([which was] {too} narrow for everyone), free for them. Therefore, they sent their horses {away}, [and] a long line of bodyguards preceded [them]. When [the line] came nearly to the King, the escort split itself into parts [and] they proceeded through the middle of the ranks and, sending themselves onto their knees, they saluted the Prince [348] reverently. He in turn embraced them lovingly, [and] raised them from the ground with an outstretched hand, neither suspecting nor learning of their evil even then. Without any delay or reverence for his

⁹⁰ same word as “brought forth” on 344.5, end of previous paragraph

⁹¹ *consiliis*

⁹² Lit: “adult, mature”

⁹³ elsewhere “part, party”

⁹⁴ or “stationed troops”

⁹⁵ Lit. “accuse; indict, arraign”

presence, they began to set in motion a quarrel against Richard Grey, his maternal half-brother, {falsely} charging that he and his full {brother} the Marquis, with his uncle Woodville, had conspired against [the King's] blood and had decided, with the nobles circumvented and removed by fraud, to arrogate to themselves the government⁹⁶ of King and kingdom together. And [that] toward that purpose, immediately [after] the King had departed, the Marquis broke into the Tower of London and, having plundered the King's treasury,⁹⁷ he distributed pay to the soldiers whom he had assembled in a fleet for strengthening the resources of that faction. Thus they inverted through a {false} accusation a matter which they were well aware⁹⁸ was decided by the Common Council⁹⁹ and had been proposed¹⁰⁰ that it be done in the best¹⁰¹ interest of both the King and the public, lest there would be nothing which they could say.

[348.15] But the Prince, anticipating Grey, [who] was preparing to respond, said, "What the Marquis did, although I hope it was nothing evil, nevertheless, since he was not with us, I cannot know for certain. Truly, [as to] what pertains to my brother Grey and my uncle Woodville, I am easily able to vouch {for} their innocence, by Hercules, as they have not ever been away from us for a long while now."

"No doubt," said the Duke of Gloucester, "they diligently concealed such a wicked plan from you, best Prince," [and] with no more talking, he laid hands on Grey and Thomas Vaughan, knight, the Queen's blood-relations. Grey, as he was both noble [well-born] in mind and not ignoble [not short] in body, was moved by the present danger [and] brought his hand towards his sword-hilt. Then, rebuked by someone admonishing that the attempt was [too] late, [and] failing¹⁰² in spirit, he pulled {back} his hand and gave himself [up] to be captured. Therefore they moved the King back to Hampton where they {took} counsel anew. There [350] they discharged those they wished from [among] the King's servants and substituted those more pleasing to them than to him; gravely offended by those deeds, since he was not able to prevent [them], [he did] the only thing he could: he wept over [them].

[350.4] At lunch, the Duke of Gloucester sent one of his dishes to Woodville, having ordered the steward that he should console him and order him in the name of the Duke that he should be of good spirit¹⁰³ and that he should not doubt that this tumult was going to end¹⁰⁴ calmly and mercifully. [Woodville], [after] thanking the servant, pleaded that he take the same dish to his nephew Grey and refresh him with such a message, [as] he was less accustomed to

⁹⁶ *regimen*; pun with *Regis ... regni ... regimen*

⁹⁷ This is *aerarium*, the public treasury, as distinct from *fiscus*, the emperor's money. See pp. 138-139 in Chapter Four above, and note 728 below.

⁹⁸ Lit. "expertly acquainted with"

⁹⁹ This could be translated "by common deliberation," but it appears to me to be a reference to the lower house of the bicameral London legislature. The upper house, called the "Senate" in More's Latin, was composed of men known in English as aldermen. Both of these assemblies were elected, but in different ways. There were 24 wards in London, and one alderman was elected from each ward. All freemen of the ward voted in the election, but the office of alderman was restricted to men of baronial rank, and these wealthy citizens were elected for life terms. The Mayor was always chosen from among the aldermen. The Common Council was elected annually by the freemen from the wards, and commoners could hold office. The Common Council chose one Sheriff and the Aldermen the other, among other power-sharing arrangements that gave both parts of the London legislature some power over the affairs of the City.

¹⁰⁰ *retulisse*

¹⁰¹ *plurimum*; Lit. "most"

¹⁰² Lit. "conceding"

¹⁰³ *animo*

¹⁰⁴ or "die"

bearing adverse fortune and for that reason he thought needed more consolation than himself, [since] truly with his [own] more frequent¹⁰⁵ experience of both, a turbulent [fortune] appeared less new to him. Yet the Duke of Gloucester, after such a civil consolation, sent {away} all the captives in different directions¹⁰⁶ into prison, and not much later they were led from [those prisons] into one town named Broken Bridge [Pontefract], and he cut off their heads.

[350.16] But on the night which followed that day on which these [things] were done at Stratford, a frightened messenger came to the Queen at West[minster] Abbey, announcing all the sad and vicious [deeds]: that the Prince had been captured by his uncle and abducted by force contrary {to his will}; [that] her brother Woodville and Richard Gray, [and] then other friends of hers were apprehended and sent {away}, with it uncertain as to where [and] uncertain in what way they would be treated; [that] the whole of things was changed; [and that] everything, having been overturned, was ruined. Accordingly, the time should be seized by her, and she should {take} counsel for herself and the remnants of her fortunes while it was possible, lest her enemies, [who were] running quickly, should intercept [those] remnants. The Queen, devastated by this message, groaned over such a significant calamity (so great, [and] so unexpected) for her children, her friends, and herself. In addition, condemning and cursing her own counsel, which had persuaded [her] that the Prince's convoy¹⁰⁷ be dismissed, trembling [352] and afraid, she rushed {out} of the palace into the abbey—for that sanctuary adjoined the palace temples. There she fled with her household and her younger son and her four daughters into the house of the Abbot.

[352.4] That same night, a servant was sent by Hastings the Chamberlain to the Archbishop of York (who himself also dwelled not far from West[minster] Abbey) who told the Bishop's servants [that] it had been commanded to him by his master that he should not spare the rest of the prelate, [since] that [message which] he brought was of such importance. They measured the magnitude of his business from his haste, [and so] they interrupted the sleep of their lord without delay. He admitted the messenger to his divine seat¹⁰⁸, [and] when he had heard [that] the Prince had been turned back and his blood-relations had been captured, he was astounded, struck by the inhumanity of the deed and by its viciousness.¹⁰⁹ Then the messenger said, "My master orders you, reverend father, to be of good spirit, and he promises you [that] all [things] will nevertheless be well."

"Be off," he replied, "and report {back} that howsoever well they will be, nevertheless they will never be as good as they were."

[352.17] Then, with [the messenger] dismissed, he immediately roused his household and, surrounded by his own [men], with the royal seal hanging from his neck, (for he was the Chancellor), he hastened straight to the Queen. There he discovered everything full of confusion, lamentation, dread, and tumult. Wicker baskets, pack-saddles, and bundles were bustled, hurried, [and] conveyed into the sanctuary from the palace. No one was unoccupied: some picking {up}, others setting {down} burdens; others, having deposited what they had brought {in}, were seeking new [loads]; others were breaking {through} the middle wall, which alone divided the palace from the sanctuary, so that a shortening of the path might be made; nor were there absent [those] who were carrying {away} some [things] to somewhere other than

¹⁰⁵ Lit. "more often"

¹⁰⁶ Lit. "one one way and another another"

¹⁰⁷ *presidium*; protection

¹⁰⁸ *pulvinar*; a couch in a Roman temple for the idols and those persons who had received divine honors

¹⁰⁹ following *P* and *A* here, rather than *1565* as Daniel Kinney does

where they had been intended¹¹⁰ (as usually happens in such a {great} tumult). He saw the Queen sitting on the ground alone, sorrowful and stunned, with her hands folded, and bewailing her own fortune and [that] of her [family]. The Bishop consoled her so that she would not be dispirited¹¹¹ with present affairs {out of} despair for better [times]. He had been given¹¹² hope [that] the affair would not turn {out} as viciously [354] as fear, an inequitable judge of things, imagines for itself. He added, so that he might strengthen her more, that the author of his hope was the Chamberlain, by a messenger sent to him.

"Ah, may he perish," she said. "For he is the standard-bearer of those who, from their implacable hatred, act {with violence} for the destruction of my blood."

Then he said, "Queen, raise your spirits. In this matter I here bind my fidelity to you: that day they anoint as king anyone other than that son of yours whom they have with them, on the next day we will, in this very place, mark with the diadem this other son whom you have here with you. [So] that you may doubt [this] the less, behold this seal, which the illustrious Prince your husband entrusted to my fidelity, I resign to you right now for the use of your offspring," and as he spoke these [words], he gave {back} the seal to the Queen and went home before it was light. Already then, looking from the window, from which there was a view on the Thames for him, he saw that the whole river was leaping with skiffs, with the Duke of Gloucester's henchmen obviously blockading the sanctuary lest anyone should flee to it through the water or sail {by} unsearched.

[354.17] Now the matter was immediately dispersed: it was in the mouth of the entire people; everyone was filled with astonishment, anger, fear, and grief. Here and there they gathered together in armed {bands}. Various [men] flitted {about} in troop-companies and were threatening each {other} according to their zeal for their parties or [according to] their fear of the danger [which] had joined each of them {together}. In addition, as each {one} was carried {away} by hatred or by favor, so some [were striving] by their words to mitigate the malevolence of the deed [while another] party was striving to magnify [it] by their speech. Then, lest London suffer some sudden calamity, there was an undertaking by the citizens to keep {watch}, while whichever nobles either were already in the city or were not far away {took} counsel concerning the rumors and the tumult. But the Bishop of York, fearing that his resigning of the seal to the Queen without the King's command would appear to be of light and hasty counsel, had retrieved the seal from her before he went into the council, in order to conceal his deed.

[356] There most [people] were reproaching that deed of the Dukes and interpreting [it] hatefully, as if private animosities were being {used as a} pretext for a {treacherous} plot constructed against the Prince. Hastings, on {the other hand}, (who was {not} known to be conscious of the deed) bound his own fidelity, which all held not {to be} doubtful, on {behalf of} the Dukes, [pledging] that nothing had been contemplated against the King [and] that those placed in custody by [the Dukes] were those by whom, it was believed, their own safety was attacked. "Truly or not, it will be your judgment," he said, "for which these [Dukes] are preserving those [in custody] to be examined [by you]; they complain that, [though] they deserved nothing, nevertheless they were injured by those [men]. Yet, either you will judge that {legal} action by your arbitration or you will settle [it]. Only do not decide with the case {judicially} unexamined, lest private controversies turn into public sedition and internal war; you

¹¹⁰ *destinabantur*

¹¹¹ Lit. "cast down her mind" or "her mind be dejected"

¹¹² Lit. "made"

would bring the case {to trial} [with the result] that you would irritate their minds, the coronation of the Prince would be disturbed (whom [the Dukes] are accompanying¹¹³ here for that very reason), [and] it would not be possible for the case to be settled and [things] {made} whole {again}. In that struggle, if other [things] are equal, nevertheless it is necessary that greater right and authority be in that camp in which the Prince will be."

[356.18] This speech, because the man's fidelity was believed, had great force for persuading; but even more greatly, the imminent arrival of the King restrained their tumultuous minds. The Dukes, with a magnificent escort, (treating [him] completely reverently) were leading [the King] towards London. Yet wherever they went, they {took} care that the rumor was spread that those who were in chains had endeavored to overthrow by force first themselves, then others of the nobles, and thus to arrange a way for themselves by which to equally rule [both] King and kingdom.¹¹⁴ So that faith in this fiction would be produced in the commons, the wagoners and other servants of the Dukes who were following the baggage for protection displayed everywhere among [358] the seized household {goods} certain containers filled with arms, which, when the court of the Prince was transferred, it had been necessary for the lords to carry with them, unless they wanted to throw [them] {away}. Although they knew this [well] enough, nevertheless, dissembling out of malice, when they displayed them everywhere (as if they were evidence of a manifest crime), they cried {out}: "Behold, the very arms which those traitors had secretly concealed in containers, so that they could slaughter the Dukes and all the nobles through a {treacherous} plot." This fiction, although it rendered the matter more suspect to [those] weighing [the evidence], who easily guessed that those who had determined¹¹⁵ on such a crime in their mind would rather have worn their arms on their bodies than collected [them] in casks, bound and encumbered, nevertheless satisfied the simple and rough people so marvelously¹¹⁶ that from the sight of the arms it was just as if treason was certain and proven, and everywhere they proclaimed health for the Dukes [and] hanging for the captives.

[358.15] When the King was announced to be coming nearer, the Senate of the City with a great number of citizens went {out} towards [him and] met [him] four miles from the City. The Prince, thus honorably received, was conveyed into the City by a numerous procession of the nobles and the citizens on the fourth day of May in the first (and also last) year of his kingship. But, by the magnificent display of honor, and with his face composed in respect for the Prince, the Duke of Gloucester went from [being regarded with] the highest malevolence and suspicion, which was burning a little before, immediately to [being regarded with] such love of all and such an opinion of integrity that, alone among everyone, he was declared the Protector of the King and his kingdom by the consensus of the nobles. Therefore, whether it was done out of ignorance or happened by fate, it is certain that the lamb was deliberately¹¹⁷ entrusted to the fidelity of the wolf. Soon the Bishop of York, bitterly rebuked because he had handed {over} the seal to the Queen, was deprived¹¹⁸ of his administration. [360] Russell, Bishop of Lincoln, was authorized with that office, a man both with experience of affairs and with singular probity of life, then no doubt among the principle men of letters in his time.

¹¹³ *comitantur*

¹¹⁴ a pun: *Regem pariter ac regnum regerent*

¹¹⁵ *destinassent*

¹¹⁶ *mirum quam*; Lit. "how marvelous"

¹¹⁷ *consulto*; "with counsel"

¹¹⁸ *privatus*, "made private" rather than public

[360.4] Therefore, when he had been made Protector, although every day appeared longer than a year to him which delayed his impulse ([which was]{passionately} desiring and impatient of delay), and [although] he was greedy to usurp the kingship as {soon as possible} in actual fact, which he had already seized¹¹⁹ before in his mind, nevertheless he supposed that not a thing should be attempted heedlessly¹²⁰ before he had enticed the remaining part of his prey into his snare. He was not ignorant that if he were to deprive the one brother of dominion, immediately universal zeal would incline {towards} elevating the other, whether he persisted in the sanctuary or (which he feared much more) if he was sent {out} of Britain into safety¹²¹ somewhere [else]. Therefore, at the next assembly of the nobles, he vehemently complained {about} the Queen, [saying that] it was done hatefully by her, who dared to separate from the sacrosanct majesty of the Prince his only and most beloved full brother, as if she begrudged to them both those sweet amusements of mutual companionship, or [else] she was more impious towards that [brother] whose care she especially let be seen¹²², since she stole him away from his liberty, dragged [him] away from the light and splendor of his most brilliant fortune, [and] miserably hid him in a sanctuary as if in darkness and squalor. All of this was accomplished for no other reason than that bitter malevolence could be incited among the people towards the nobles who were from the council for the King. For her, there was such hatred for them that (like the fables report about Medea), she burned to take vengeance on those she hated, even at the expense of her own children.

[360.25] "For why else [did she take] the boy into a sanctuary," he said, "unless because she wishes you to appear to the rabble to provide for the Prince either insufficiently faithfully or not wisely enough, if it would be a danger to entrust his brother to me, [when] you have entrusted [the Prince's] body itself to me for nurturing and safeguarding?¹²³ [362] His [body's] health certainly does not appear to me to be supported [well] enough by any care for sustenance¹²⁴, unless she would also add the pleasure of play, which in a marvelous manner refreshes and invigorates boyish spirits. Nor can the tender age of boys obtain that [pleasure] from old [men]. An agreeable¹²⁵ playmate ought to be invited who neither surpasses his years nor is too much beneath [them]. Then he will approach his nobility as nearly {as possible}. Thus reasoning will simultaneously be employed¹²⁶ {both} for his age and for his majesty. Who, therefore, is more fitting in every respect¹²⁷ than his [own] full brother, whom now his mother, worse than a stepmother, withholds? If anyone deems this is {very} trivial (which I certainly think it will appear to no one for whom the Prince's welfare would be of concern), he should consider¹²⁸ that sometimes the greatest enterprises are not able to stand except with the support of lesser [things]. In addition, how dishonorable is this to us nobles, how malevolent to the King himself, [for it] to be tossed through the mouths of all, not only in this kingdom but even among foreign nations (as an evil rumor flies swiftly), that his brother has been driven to that [point] of necessity that, [while] the affairs of [his brother] are flourishing, he himself lurks in sanctuary?"

¹¹⁹ *invado*; "seized violently, invaded, attacked"

¹²⁰ *temere*; elsewhere, "by chance"

¹²¹ *tutum*

¹²² *prae se fert*

¹²³ *tuendum*

¹²⁴ *victus*; a juridical term, "necessities of life"

¹²⁵ *blandus*; "flattering, pleasant"

¹²⁶ Lit. "held"

¹²⁷ *partibus*; elsewhere "party"

¹²⁸ Lit, "hold"

For it will not be easily¹²⁹ believed that anyone hides himself in a cave for whom it is possible to live in light and liberty without danger. When once this belief¹³⁰ has settled in their minds, you would not easily tear it {out} afterwards, and it will finally grow into a greater evil than anyone could easily¹³¹ divine.

[362.21] "Therefore, so that this plague might be dealt with¹³² quickly, I propose that some man weighty in age and powerful in authority should be sent to their mother, and he should be [someone] for whom both the honor of the King and the reputation of our order is of concern. Also, he should be [someone] for whom there is some {amount} of both love and fidelity from her. For all these reasons, from looking around no one presents [himself] to me as a more suitable [man] than this most reverend father" (for he was present) "the Cardinal, who alone appears to me by his prudence will report {back} [that] the matter is accomplished, [if] only he does not refuse the labor. However, I hope he will not refuse, [364] either for the sake of the King, or for our [sake], or for the [sake] of the Duke himself, my dearest nephew, second to the Prince himself. For all these [reasons], if (as¹³³ I hope) he will have persuaded the Queen right {away}, it would not be easy to say how much trouble he will remove. Yet if, out of womanly stubbornness, she will have so {far} persisted in her wicked undertaking that she is not able to be turned from her mind's desire towards the truth by any [trait] of such a father, neither by his authority, nor his counsel, nor his fidelity, I certainly would be the author of his being removed from the abbey by a royal edict, and of his being led into the most blissful camaraderie¹³⁴ of the King, in whose perpetual companionship he will dwell so honorably that it will be possible [for] testimony to be reported to the whole world, for us and against his mother, that she, when she was closing him into a sanctuary, had either deliberate¹³⁵ malice or stupidity. This is my opinion concerning this matter, unless any one of you thinks the contrary. For my {own} reasoning will not ever flatter me to such {an extent} that I would not be prepared to submit¹³⁶ to whomever of you is counseling more proper [things]."

[364.16] Nearly all the nobles [who] were present agreed {with} this speech. The Cardinal and the rest of the bishops approved only the other [points]; [but] they proposed that nothing should be dared with his mother unwilling, nor [anything] proceed by force if perhaps she would not comply with their words. For the deed would appear hateful to those above and to men [if] a sanctuary of such ancient {age} and [one] so sacrosanct was profaned, [one] which such good kings and popes instituted, [and] so many [others] held as fixed and holy. And [it would appear hateful] to bring an assault into a place which was the place Peter himself, the Prince of the Apostles, escorted by a great chorus of those above, long {ago} dedicated to God and to himself so particularly that for so many past ages there was neither any king so daring [that] he did not reverently fear to violate [it], nor a bishop so religious [that] he would dare to consecrate [it].

¹²⁹ *temere*

¹³⁰ *persuasio*

¹³¹ *in proclivi*; other use of "easily" in this sentence is "*facile*."

¹³² Lit. "might be gone to meet with"

¹³³ Lit. "that which I hope"

¹³⁴ *contubernium*; the "tent-companionship" of soldiers; also used for that of animals and slaves, but not for free men.

¹³⁵ *a consilio*

¹³⁶ a pun: "be prepared to submit" is *paratus parere*

[364.28] “Therefore, by no means,” said the Cardinal, “will the immunity of this sanctuary¹³⁷ be diminished¹³⁸ with me as the author, because so many who would have otherwise miserably perished so often have lived¹³⁹ by its protection. But [although] I hope it will not be necessary, truly even if it were necessary however {much}, I propose that it not be done. [366] Indeed there is hope that the Queen will listen to reason, but if it should succeed less [than] {according} to my liking, nevertheless I will try so diligently that everyone would easily understand that it was not my industry that was lacking in [this] business, but maternal indulgence and, [even] more, womanly fear that stand {in the way}.

[366.6] “Womanly fear!” said the Duke of Buckingham, “On {the contrary}, the invincible stubbornness of a woman. For I certainly would even bet my soul that she fears absolutely nothing either for her son or for herself. For who undertakes a war with a woman? But if some of the males of her blood were women, too, things would assuredly be situated¹⁴⁰ better. Although it is indeed not the Queen's blood that was harmful for them, but their mind[s] connected for sedition. Yet, [if] she and her blood-relations were supremely hated by us, nevertheless the Prince's brother could not be otherwise than¹⁴¹ dear [to us], [since] we ourselves are indeed blood-relations to him. Truly, if she were led by as much zeal for his safekeeping as either her [own] desire or her malevolence for us is dear to her,¹⁴² she would hurry to send him {out} from that cloister; she would no less reluctantly tolerate her son to be hidden¹⁴³ there as now she is scurrying to conceal [him] and confine [him]. For if she had some intellect (as she no doubt has [one] not contemptible for a woman) she would by no means assign to herself any more foresight than [she would] to some of us, and [especially¹⁴⁴] to those [men] whose fidelity is not doubted; but she has truly been persuaded that her son's welfare is no less dear¹⁴⁵ to them than to her; [and] the more they wish him well, the less they wish him to be with her, if it is settled as fixed in her mind to lurk in a sanctuary. And conversely, I suppose that there is nobody [who] would not be even [more] pleased that the Prince himself was being cared {for} by his parent, if only she would make up her mind¹⁴⁶ to live [some]where in which it would be unbecoming for neither [of them] to dwell. On {that account}, if, in returning her son to liberty, she should refuse to follow the counsels of [men] whose [368] prudence is not doubtful, nor fidelity uncertain, who does not easily understand that the cause of such wicked resolution is more malice than fear?

[368.3] “But if she is so fearful that she sincerely¹⁴⁷ fears what does not exist, let her truly fear; for who can prevent [her] even should she dread her own shadow? Certainly, the more she fears to entrust her son to us, conversely, the more rightly it {must} be feared by us to leave the boy with her. For {indeed} if she shapes in her mind such empty fears as that she imagines that there is danger for her son, assuredly (as is [the way of] a mind disturbed by fearing) she will not

¹³⁷ *sanctuarii*; the more common word for sanctuary in More's Latin is *asylum*.

¹³⁸ following *P*; Daniel Kinney has *imminuetur* from *A* and *1565*.

¹³⁹ Lit. “were, existed”

¹⁴⁰ Lit. “held”

¹⁴¹ Lit. “not”

¹⁴² Lit. “it lies in her heart”

¹⁴³ *condi*; also “preserved” or “buried”

¹⁴⁴ Lit. “that” for emphasis of the whole idea of the previous clause

¹⁴⁵ Lit. “lies no less in their heart”

¹⁴⁶ Lit. “lead her mind in”

¹⁴⁷ Lit. “from her heart/mind”

even trust¹⁴⁸ enough in sanctuary. She will certainly easily think to herself that if there was someone with such inhuman savagery that he would {zealously} strive to harm an innocent boy, with such an impious and profaned mind that neither the fear of those above nor shame [before] men could restrain [him] from a {disgraceful} crime, the name of sanctuary would be trivial and empty for him. And thus her mind will be constrained¹⁴⁹ by a false suspicion of danger to seek some stronger protection outside the kingdom. Indeed even now, although fearing nothing of the kind, nevertheless I do not doubt she is contriving that very thing in her mind, so that she could do [it], just as much as we, conversely, [are contriving] that she not do [it]. If she should accomplish such a wicked plan¹⁵⁰ by womanly heedlessness (for she will easily accomplish [it] with us yawning), all mortals everywhere will proclaim us worthy [men], of course, who would counsel the Prince, whose {own} full brother we allowed to be lost [right] under our eyes through insanity. Therefore I propose that the most illustrious Duke be removed while it is possible, even with his mother unwilling, rather than he be abandoned there meanwhile until the woman's evil intention sends him into danger under the pretense of fear.

[368.26] “Nevertheless, not by any means would I want the immunity of sanctuary to be violated. Since it takes its strength from its ancient {age}, I am not [the man] who would recommend¹⁵¹ infringing [it] and conversely if the deed were [done] anew, I would not recommend¹⁵² instituting [it]. Nevertheless, I do not deny that it was well and mercifully done that [370] for those whom shipwreck, or a badly expunged debt, or some other adverse violence¹⁵³ of fortune makes destitute, a haven was opened which preserved their bodies, at least, untouched by the savagery of their creditors. In addition, if the title of the kingship comes into question (which has not happened [only] once) while [the question] concerning the right is decided by arms, and the men [on opposite sides] hold each other in the place of traitors, it is not unsatisfactory that there be some place in which both [sides] could {take} refuge where, with affairs in turn doubtful or miserable, with victory alternating, they could be in safety.¹⁵⁴ Yet, as for the thieves and robbers who have filled those places, and who once they are tainted by these {kind of} {disgraceful} crimes never afterwards come {to their senses}, it is surely a crime that any sanctuary is [available] for their protection; and much more [so] for murderers, whom God ordered to be torn {away} from the very altars and slaughtered, provided that they purposely assented to the crime. But among us, unless the misconduct is intentional, indeed there is no need for sanctuary. For if in other [cases] either necessity armed someone or chance pushed [him] to a homicide, either the law gives¹⁵⁵ his offense indulgence or the prince grants pardon. Let anyone now count how rare are those he discovers in sanctuary whom any favorable necessity compels [to go] there [and] conversely how great a crowd of incorrigibles swarms there, whom dice, luxury, and lust destroyed. Moreover, what a hideous and horrid filth of robbers, of assassins, of cutthroats, of murderers, and of inhuman traitors flows {together} into sanctuary as if into the most pestilent bilge-water hold. And [they swarm] chiefly into two [sanctuaries], of which one is at the hand of the city [and] the other was located in the city's very bowels. I would surely dare to affirm that anyone {who} would compare the advantages of

¹⁴⁸ *fidet*

¹⁴⁹ *subigetur*; elsewhere “subjected, subjugated”

¹⁵⁰ *consilium*

¹⁵¹ *suadeo*; elsewhere “persuade”

¹⁵² *suadeo*

¹⁵³ *vis*

¹⁵⁴ *tuto*

¹⁵⁵ Lit. “does”

sanctuaries with the disadvantages would proclaim that rather than enduring so {many} disadvantages, it would be more advantageous even to be deprived of the advantages themselves.

[370.28] “And in addition I affirm that [the comparison] holds {to such a degree} that other [examples] [need] not be added, in which [372] the most {disgracefully} criminal men abuse the license of sanctuaries to the ruin of good [men] more and more {every} day. For now a wicked youth freely squanders, wastes, [and] fritters {away} from no other cause than his trust in these places. Indeed, some wealthier [men] fly in there with the goods of lower-class [men]. There they build, amuse themselves, and tell their creditors to go hang. Wives flee there with their husbands' {movable} goods, {making their} [husbands'] harshness a pretext for their own lust. Thieves carry what they have taken by theft there, and there they afterwards live and triumph. There they devise new robberies; from there they creep {out} every night, steal, kill, and return [after] committing a crime,¹⁵⁶ as if reverence for [that] place not only safeguarded¹⁵⁷ their life in repentance for prior wicked deeds, but even granted license for devising new [ones]. However, if prudent men would exert {themselves} a good part of this evil could easily be abolished, and that with the good grace of Divine Peter. As for the rest, since I know not what pope and prince more merciful than prudent instituted [it], and [since] others successively maintained [it] from religious fear, I propose that we should tolerate [it] to the extent reason would tolerate [it], [and reason] is not so agreeable to sanctuary that it would prevent us from leading the most illustrious Duke out for his own good, for whom the privilege of that place has no place.

“I certainly have always supposed that the true and original use of sanctuaries is that they protect¹⁵⁸ the bodies of those who otherwise would endure evil both great and, principally, deserved. For so that undeserved [evil] might be avoided, there is no reason you would invoke a privilege peculiar to any [particular] place. For injustice should not be introduced to any place {at all}; laws, customs, and nature grant that immunity to any place equally, unless someone knows of some place in which it is right to perpetrate an evil {deed}. But when the danger is from the law itself, then truly protection [374] is to be sought from a privilege; and from there, I think, the use of sanctuaries was born and nourished. [However,] that most illustrious Duke is far away from that necessity, whose close relationship by blood proves his fidelity towards the Prince [and] whose tender youth declares his innocence towards everyone else, lest someone think that there is a need for sanctuary for him to whom it could not even be applied. For {refuge} is not taken in sanctuary in the same manner as in baptism, such that the benefit is obtained by the vicarious voice of sponsors and godparents, but it is given for his own good. It is proper that the suppliant himself demands¹⁵⁹ and begs [for it]. And that is very deservedly so, since it is suitable for nobody except for him whose mind, conscious of a crime, makes him in want of, and needing, so {much} help. What wish, therefore, does that {little} boy have, which could require the useless protection by sanctuary for himself, who, if his age were advanced so that he could understand the use of that place, would assuredly be not a little angered with those who persuaded him of remaining there? Now to remove [him] from {there} [when] he is not opposing [being removed] appears to me nothing to be so very terrified of, so that I propose that even against those for whom there is truly a need for the aid¹⁶⁰ of sanctuary, nevertheless more

¹⁵⁶ Lit. “with a crime having been committed”

¹⁵⁷ *tueretur*

¹⁵⁸ *tuorentur*

¹⁵⁹ *flagito*; “to demand fiercely or violently.” This is related to the term rendered “{disgraceful} crime” throughout.

¹⁶⁰ a pun: *ope opus*

should be dared than we are accustomed to. For if someone steals himself away to that {place} with another's goods, why is it not permitted for the king to return those plundered [goods] from the fugitive to their owner¹⁶¹ without any prejudice to the privilege?"

Nearly {all} [those] from the clergy who were present, whether they were flattering the Duke or whether they truly thought so, confirmed his words, [saying that] it is thus stipulated by divine [law]¹⁶² in [that] case¹⁶³ that the goods of debtors [who] congregate in sanctuaries are distributed to their creditors, with only the liberty of their bodies [permitted to] remain, with which they could {earnestly} seek sustenance by labor.

"I believe that you speak truly," he said, "and if a woman deserts¹⁶⁴ there disgusted with her husband but [acting] as if she were {thoroughly} terrified [of him], it certainly appears to me that the husband, having seized his wife by the hand, could drag her {out} from the middle of Peter's temple with Divine Peter unoffended. Otherwise, if nobody could be led out of there who said he wished to remain, certainly [376] any boy who flees {away} from his teacher would have to be left there. Although that example could appear trivial (as it is), nevertheless this case¹⁶⁵ of ours is considerably more trivial. For although that is a boyish fear, it is nevertheless some [fear], but this is none at all; and indeed I have often previously heard of sanctuary men, but now is the first I have heard of [sanctuary] boys."

[376.7] "Therefore, so that I may finish at last, anybody that commits that [kind] of crime such that there is a need in his case¹⁶⁶ for the help of sanctuary, let him remain there. But this illustrious duke should not be sent {away} there, who neither has the age by which he could ask for it, nor the malice by which he could need [it]. Neither his life nor his liberty is able to come into peril from any law [*iure*] [and] through injustice [*iniuriam*] truly it is able [to come into peril] almost less, with his brother holding the highest power of all¹⁶⁷, he himself powerful in wealth and even more powerful in friends, [and] indeed with his most renowned uncle and all of us exerting {ourselves} for his health and safety. Finally, {those} who would drag someone {out} of sanctuary for his own good and advantage, even if they do violence [to him], I nevertheless deny that they do violence to sanctuary."

[376.18] When all the laymen [who] were present and truly also most of the clergy assented to this speech of the Duke, they were as yet suspecting nothing evil, and for {this reason} they finally [assented to] his removal, so that, if he should not be returned of her own accord, it would appear that he should be led {out} from the sanctuary by force. Yet, it appeared it should be attempted by words before [it was attempted] by force. Therefore, the Cardinal hastened straight from the council into the sanctuary, and with him several of the nobles, whether concern¹⁶⁸ for the man's dignity was considered¹⁶⁹, or whether the Protector intended that from the presence of so {many} nobles the Queen should gather that what was being done then was not from the opinion of one man, or whether indeed he did not dare to entrust such a matter to one [man]. Although some suspect that, if the Queen should stubbornly continue to {flatly} refuse [him] her son (which he expected), it had been demanded separately [378] from some of

¹⁶¹ *domino*; elsewhere "lord, master"

¹⁶² Only 1565 has "law."

¹⁶³ *P* and *A* have "*in rem*," but Daniel Kinney's Latin omits it.

¹⁶⁴ Lit. "deserts over to the enemy"

¹⁶⁵ *causa*; a juridical term for a legal case

¹⁶⁶ Lit. "for him"

¹⁶⁷ *fratre rerum summa potente*

¹⁶⁸ *ratio*

¹⁶⁹ Lit. "had"

the attendants that they immediately tear [him] {away} from the unwilling [mother] by force, and not give [her] time for sending [him] {away}, a plan for which thing it seemed she would consider, after that discourse had been held, [if] only her space {of time} sufficed.

[378.5] Therefore, when they came in sight of each {other}, the Cardinal explained that it appeared to be a vicious thing to the nobles that the only brother of the King was separated¹⁷⁰ from him by her, being guarded as if in a prison, by which deed, although nothing was sought beyond their own infamy, nevertheless, undoubtedly malevolence had resulted and was blazing up among all the foreign nations {towards} the Prince himself, whose only full {brother} was said to be hiding in a sanctuary. Meanwhile, not even our country was exempt from calumny, as if it had begotten such an inhuman and savage people that there would be danger to a brother even from his brother. Accordingly, he himself had been sent to her by the King and the nobles so that in view of his own fidelity and love towards her he might also counsel upright and profitable things, principally of this kind: that the Duke be sent {out} of the recesses of his lair into the most august palace of the Prince, [and that] she return [him] to the most joyful companionship of his brother. If she would act in {that way}, she would be {taking} upright counsel [considered] both publicly, for the interests of the kingdom, and commonly, for [the interests] of her friends, and privately for her own [interests]; but principally she would be extraordinarily gratifying to the King and even to the Duke himself, for whom it would be the greatest advantage especially¹⁷¹ to live together.

To these [words] the Queen said, "For {my part} I would not deny, honored father, that the condition you put {forth} is to be desired for this son of mine: namely, that he permanently dwell with the King and live with his brother. Yet also, conversely, I would propose [it] to be a matter of no small advantage to either [of them] if their mother should protect¹⁷² and raise them both for some years still, [if] the {tender} youth of either is appraised, but especially [that] of the younger. Besides the tender years of his infancy, which even in itself needs care [that] is not sluggish, a fever (by {no means} a trivial [one]), has also attacked [him], by which [380] he was long afflicted; [and] he has so recently recovered, [or] rather has begun to be sick more mildly, that I dare to entrust him to no one of all mortals except only myself, since {moreover} experts in medical affairs say (which daily experiences¹⁷³ prove even {if} they were silent) that no one falls {back} into a disease except with double the danger (I suppose because a nature exhausted by an earlier conflict brings less vigorous strength to the second encounter). Nevertheless, I do not distrust¹⁷⁴ that those could be found who, for their part, would diligently attend to his welfare. But I think there is no one anywhere who either has explored more thoroughly what his body could bear and requires than I (who have been accustomed to be with him continuously for so long), nor who would care for the boy less laxly or more indulgently than his mother."

[380.14] To these [words] the Cardinal [replied]: "No one is going to deny, most renowned Queen, that there is no one anywhere who is more fitting than you alone for governing¹⁷⁵ the life of your children, especially in their {tender} youth, and there is not one of all the nobles who would not wish both [your children] to be nurtured most {of all} [under] your eye and in your hands, [if] only you could make up your mind¹⁷⁶ that you would go {out} into

¹⁷⁰ *seiunctum*; "disjoined"

¹⁷¹ "greatest" is *maximum* (following *P* here, which Daniel Kinney does not); especially is *maxime*

¹⁷² *tueretur*

¹⁷³ *pericula*

¹⁷⁴ *diffido*

¹⁷⁵ *moderandae*

¹⁷⁶ Lit. "lead your mind"

those places which are not unbefitting either to your dignity or to their majesty. But {if} you have persuaded yourself that you must be hidden in this sanctuary, it has been judged by the common opinion of all that it is far more to the Duke's advantage to live with the King, free, in dignity, and in splendor, and for the good and advantage of both, than—to the harm of one, the disgrace¹⁷⁷ of the other, [and] certainly to the sorrow of both—to lead a miserable life with you in lairs and in squalor. For it is not in any way {whatsoever} so necessary for a boy to be raised by his mother that an occasion does not sometimes occur in which it is preferable that he [be raised] in another {place} by someone {else}. For also when once your dearest son, then the king-designate, was about to go {forth} into Wales, to live far away from you for the sake of his own advantage and [that] of his fatherland, [382] I remember that the deed was done in {accordance with} your extraordinary prudence and also with you yourself approving [it]."

[382.3] "Not approving very {much}," she said, "[and] nevertheless, this case¹⁷⁸ has nothing similar with that [one], since the one was then healthy¹⁷⁹ and the other is now in infirm health¹⁸⁰. [With him] in that state, I cannot wonder enough, by Pollux, why the Protector is trying so eagerly to draw him to himself! In that [condition], if the boy (may an omen be absent from my word), apart from any guilt of his, should perish by fate, nevertheless he could easily fall into suspicion of foul {play}. Now, that he distorts (which is easy for anybody) by the viciousness of his speech a thing [which] is not dishonorable in itself, even if necessity were lacking, and [which] is now so necessary that it would easily merit forgiveness even if it should turn {aside} a little from honor, while he attacks this pious concern of mine for my son with harsh words, and interprets my fear as malice, and [says] that I do not seek the welfare of myself and my child but [rather seek] malevolence towards himself and the nobles—these [things] I certainly do not suffer very indignantly. If {only} I were not distracted by greater troubles than [the fact] that there is leisure [for me] to be disturbed by words! Nevertheless I do not see [well] enough how he is consistent with himself. For the same [man] who pretends that everything is safe for me [can] hardly stand for me to keep even my son; and [the man] who feigns that I would be safe¹⁸¹ anywhere does not even permit [me] to rest in {that place}¹⁸² where even robbers are safe.¹⁸³ For what iniquity holds, if indeed¹⁸⁴ I am a free [woman], [if I] live where it pleases me? Or why would it be disgraceful¹⁸⁵ for a {little} boy to remain with his mother? For though he shouts that this is dishonorable [first] to him, next to all the nobles, and then finally to the Prince himself, I certainly propose, conversely, that for nobody is it not honorable to leave the Duke especially there, where it is credible that the most accurate reasoning for his welfare will be had. Such [reasoning], I think, no one doubts is to be had in this place, [while] I remain here, [and] it is not my plan to leave from this [place] yet and to throw myself into peril after my remaining relatives, who I wish were here with me in safety¹⁸⁶ rather than I myself were dwelling outside with them in danger for my life."

¹⁷⁷ *invidia*

¹⁷⁸ *causa*

¹⁷⁹ *incolumis*

¹⁸⁰ *valetudine*

¹⁸¹ *tutam*

¹⁸² Lit. "there"

¹⁸³ *tuti sunt*

¹⁸⁴ *si modo*; Lit. "if only"

¹⁸⁵ *invidiosus*

¹⁸⁶ *tuto*

[382.32] At these words, a certain [man] from [among] the nobles who, as an attendant, [384] had come there with the Cardinal said, "Then do you know anything, Queen, [about] why danger ought to be imminent for any of them?"

"Not why it ought to," she said, "nor indeed why they are thrown into prison, into which, nevertheless, they are thrown. On {that account}, it is not something you should marvel at if I should fear that the same men who have cast undeserving [men] into chains might brood {over} the destruction of innocents."

[384.7] Then the Cardinal, warning that loose-tongued [man] with a nod that he should be quiet and not touch that chord so ungracefully any more, at {once} consoled the Queen over the misfortune of her friends, [saying that], indeed when their case¹⁸⁷ had been examined and {judicially} investigated, there would be no peril. [And] truly, concerning herself, what she feared was most empty, since for her there was neither any evil impending nor could [any] be threatened.

[384.13] "But how could I trust in that?" she said. "By my consciousness of my innocence? As {if}, indeed, they are guilty? Or perhaps because I am less hated by their enemies, by whom they are hated even especially because of me? Or does this kinship of blood with the Prince keep [me] secure? But by how {great} a degree of blood-relationship are they distant, for whom now you see how a blood-relationship is good for nothing? That it might not even be fatally harmful is still in my prayers. For {that reason} I have also determined to keep myself within these walls [and] not to send my son from {here} until I will have found safer [ones]. For [regarding] that [boy], the more eagerly I see certain [men] labor so that they could bring him {back} into their power on a pretext of inane excuses¹⁸⁸, undoubtedly the more vigorously I myself also dread to send him {away} from me."

[384.24] "But conversely," he said, "the more you, Queen, are terrified to entrust him to such close friends, the more others, in turn, fear to leave [him] with you, lest that womanly fear, having been groundlessly conceived, should put {into} your mind [the thought] that you should send him somewhere farther [away]. There are those who deny that you even are able to separate his brother from the King, since [386] the boy's simple and innocent age incurs¹⁸⁹ none of sanctuary's lot—[a boy] who is not endowed with the judgment with which he could ask [for it], and [who] lacks the malice by which he could need it; therefore they propose that the privilege of this place would indeed not be infringed if they should come to tear him {away} from here even with you unwilling—which perhaps they are going to do, since you obstinately are opposing the interests¹⁹⁰ of your [children]. The Protector, his most loving uncle, is so concerned that you, while you are imagining empty fears in your mind, not send the boy {away} into certain danger elsewhere."

[386.9] "Is {that so}?" she said. "Does he so love my son to death that he dreads nothing as much as that he may not escape elsewhere and evade his hand? Of course he fears lest I should send him farther from here, whom, thus weakened, I am indeed not able [to send away] except at the cost of his welfare, which I am not willing to endanger; [but] certain [people] are not willing to see [this]. Lest I send him {away} from here? I believe that I would be sending him into snares laid on his path. By Pollux, it is possible for him to sleep soundly¹⁹¹ as {far as}

¹⁸⁷ *causa*

¹⁸⁸ Lit. "things"

¹⁸⁹ Lit. "makes"

¹⁹⁰ *commodis*

¹⁹¹ Lit. "on either ear"

what pertains to this matter. For where would I hope he would be safe¹⁹² if I despaired [of it] here? Is there any place anywhere more holy than this one, the immunity of which no tyrant has been found so {far} who was so impious that he has not feared¹⁹³ to violate [it]? And I certainly trust that the nod¹⁹⁴ of most holy Divine Peter for the protection of this sanctuary will be a no less powerful avenger¹⁹⁵ against violators of his own sanctuary¹⁹⁶ today than it was once. But his boyish age is not capable of [claiming] the privilege? It is beautifully obvious that where robbers are unhurt, there the innocent is forsaken. As for what is argued—that a {little} boy does not require the benefit of sanctuary—I wish that he did not need it, and certainly he would not need it if innocence in itself was a protection¹⁹⁷ against the wicked.

[386.27] "Does the Protector (who, I pray to those above, may prove [to be] a protector), does he think me so stupid that I do not perceive where his ornamental speech tends [towards]? The lair of the sanctuary [388] dishonors the majesty of the Prince; it stirs up infamy towards the nobles [and] malevolence towards the Prince. For the benefit of both brothers, let them not dwell separately, especially since the Prince needs a playmate ([regarding] which, I implore all those above that a happier playmate fall to both {their lots} than he who with crafty counsels {makes a} pretext of pretended¹⁹⁸ follies with such grand words), as if nowhere could there be found [someone] who would joke with the Prince (if only he were at leisure for this!) unless his brother, for whom, through {poor} health, it is not pleasing to play, be drawn out of sanctuary—that is, outside his fortifications—as if he were going to play; as {if} boys have such a reasoning of majesty that they will abstain from joking rather than admit inferiors, or as if they were not able to play except with their brothers, by whom at that age they are generally entertained less than by strangers.

[388.13] "But this boy does not suffice, of course, for asking {for} the benefit of this place. What if he should hear him asking? But imagine he could not, imagine he would not—nay, let it be supposed that he refuses and tries to leave—nevertheless, whoever would remove him, even willing, from me unwilling, I contend he clearly desecrates this holy sanctuary, unless we should think that where it would be a sacrilege to lead {away} a horse from me, there it is right that my son be dragged {off}. Indeed, unless the experts deceive me, [in the case of] a son to whom no estate liable to knight's service comes by inheritance, English laws entrust him to be guarded¹⁹⁹ by his mother; and can anyone drag {off} my ward from me with the liberty of sanctuary²⁰⁰ unoffended? And even if my right is not able to guard²⁰¹ him and he [is not able] to ask {for} his [right], nevertheless when his guardianship²⁰² belongs to me, who would not see I am able to ask {for} his [right] in his stead? Unless perhaps the law intends only that guardianship²⁰³ of his goods be had with no care had for his body, for the sake of which alone the law {takes} care that the goods are safe for the ward.

¹⁹² *tuto*

¹⁹³ *vereor*

¹⁹⁴ *numen*

¹⁹⁵ *vindex*; "one who lays legal claim to a thing," "defender, protector, vindicator"

¹⁹⁶ *sanctuarii*

¹⁹⁷ *tuta*

¹⁹⁸ *personatas*

¹⁹⁹ *tuendum*

²⁰⁰ *sanctuarii*

²⁰¹ *tueri*

²⁰² *tutela*

²⁰³ *tutelam*

[388.28] “If it is [the case] that precedents are effective in obtaining the privilege for the boy, I do not need [to go] far for [the precedents] sought. Indeed, this place itself in which [390] we are now standing (of which it is now disputed whether it can be of use to a boy) once received my other son—namely the prince himself—[as he was] being born, sheltered²⁰⁴ him as he cried, and preserved him for a more prosperous fortune, which now I pray may be perpetual for him. For as you all know, I am not now an inhabitant of a sanctuary for the first {time}; formerly, when my husband had been cast {off} from the throne of the kingdom and was exiled, I {took} refuge here [while] pregnant, here I {gave} birth to the king; from here I went {forth} to congratulate my returning and victorious husband; from here I offered my infant son for the first embraces of his parent, for whom, now [that] he is ruling, I wish that the palace may be as safe²⁰⁵ as this place was once for [him when he] was the enemy of the one ruling.

[390.11] “I have also determined not to send my other son from this place, and not to entrust both to any one [person], especially to that [man] to whom, with both [of them] departing, the laws of our country destine the kingship. Nobody should investigate my fears. It is right for maternal anxiety to fear even empty [things]; although in this matter I am no more cautious than the common²⁰⁶ law, which, if the experts tell the truth, admits no one ever as a guardian²⁰⁷ of [someone] by whose destruction he would gain an inheritance even considerably less than a kingdom. Against these dangers the most certain and only proper protection²⁰⁸ is in the immunity of this place, from which he whom I have [with me] will not leave with me willing. If it is such that anyone would drag him out [with me] unwilling, and would consider²⁰⁹ that the most holy reverence²¹⁰ of sanctuary ought to be violated (which I do not think [is the case]), then I implore its guardians from above²¹¹ that the same [person] shortly be in need of the immunity of sanctuary, [and] that he may lack the opportunity, intercepted and prevented, forbidden access to all the holy seats; for I would not wish even an enemy [who] had gone {in} to be dragged {out}.”

[390.26] The Cardinal, when he saw that he was accomplishing nothing much by urging, but that she, more and more incensed, was uttering her later [words] more harshly [392], and with stern words was attacking the Protector's fidelity (which, since he believed it was irreproachable, he reluctantly heard [it] accused), he finally replied that he would not dispute the matter {any} longer: if the Queen wished to entrust the boy [to them], they would bind their own fidelity for his safety; if she had determined to keep [him], they would depart immediately and not add a word more in this matter, in which she held as suspect either their prudence or their fidelity: their prudence if they were thought gullible²¹² to another's faithlessness, their fidelity if [they were thought to be] knowing accomplices²¹³.

[392.9] After these [words], the Queen {fell} silent, deliberating for a long [while]. Since the Cardinal appeared to her more ready for leaving than some from his escort, and [since] the Protector himself was present in the palace with a band of henchmen, it began to enter her

²⁰⁴ *tego*; “concealed, protected”

²⁰⁵ *tuto*

²⁰⁶ *publica*

²⁰⁷ *tutorem*

²⁰⁸ *praesidium*

²⁰⁹ *duco*

²¹⁰ *religio*

²¹¹ *superos presides*

²¹² *creduli*

²¹³ *prudentes ministri*; also “prudent servants”

mind that her son could not be kept openly in sanctuary, [that] there was truly no hope of concealing [him], [that] there was nothing which was not unready for leading him {away} from there, nor was the time sufficient, nor had it been provided²¹⁴ where he should be sent, [that] his attendants as yet were uncertain, [and that] all [things] were unprepared; to such {an extent} this messenger had overwhelmed her security, [since she] was thinking about nothing less than force being brought {into} the sanctuary; which, she considered, was even now blockaded, nor was there any way {out} for the boy except to be given into a trap.²¹⁵ Conversely, as hope sometimes glitters meanwhile among ruined affairs, she thought there was a chance that their uncle's mind towards his nephews was not as merciless as she herself had conceived. Finally, if her fear were not empty, certainly it was {too} late. Moreover, the Cardinal had a mind [which had been] tested [well] enough, nor was the fidelity of some of the nobles who came together [with him] less verified, whom, as [much as] she feared that they could be deceived, so she had persuaded herself [that] they could not be corrupted. Therefore, if she would send {away} her son at all, she supposed it preferable that she surrender him willingly, rather than she appear [to do so] unwillingly, calculating that to some {extent} it would enkindle care and industry for safeguarding the boy in those to whom she was now surrendering [him] [394], if she herself committed her son [to them] with her own hand as if into their guardianship²¹⁶ and fidelity.

[394.3] Therefore, [when] the boy was led {out} and placed in their presence, she said, "Men most renowned, I am neither so imprudent myself that I distrust²¹⁷ your prudence, nor am I so suspicious that I doubt your fidelity; [and] today I will give that proof of my trust such that, if either {one} were lacking in you, it would inflict an eternal wound both on me and on the republic." Grasping the boy by the hand at {the same time} she said, "Behold this [boy] whom you wish, my [son] and the son of dearest Edward, once your king, whom I do not doubt²¹⁸ that I could protect²¹⁹ by the holy reverence of this place if I had not determined to entrust him to you. Nevertheless, I doubt²²⁰ even less that there are others so mortally hostile to my blood that if they knew that [such] blood was hidden in their own bodies they would not hesitate to drain it. In addition, we have learned by experience²²¹ how easily the accursed thirst for kingship swallows every affection of blood-relationship: a brother removes a brother and the offspring rushes toward dominion over the very body of his parent, and is a nephew secure from his uncle? Certainly, each of my children is a protection²²² to the other while they are separated; they give life to each other²²³; the health of either preserves the other; and for {this reason} nothing is more perilous than to entrust both [boys] to one [man], if indeed any merchant who risks his entire lot at once in one ship is usually held to be insufficiently cautious. Nevertheless, I give this [boy] into your hands, and in him simultaneously his brother; I commit both to your fidelity [and] from you I will demand them both back in the presence of gods and men. I know there is much prudence in you [and] more fidelity; resources and power are abundant and there are not lacking those who [396] will gladly join themselves [to you] in this cause. Only [this] much, by

²¹⁴ *provideo*; also "foreseen"

²¹⁵ *insidias*; elsewhere "{treacherous} plot"

²¹⁶ *tutelam*

²¹⁷ *diffidam*

²¹⁸ *ambigo*; "doubt" is usually *dubio*.

²¹⁹ *tueri*

²²⁰ *ambigo*

²²¹ *periculum*

²²² *praesidium*

²²³ *mutuo sese animant*

your fidelity and by the memory of my husband and by my concern for my sons and my trust in you, do I beg you: that as I appear to you to fear too {much}, so may you in turn not trust too {much}." At once turning to the {little} boy, she said, "Goodbye my dearest son; may those above summon caretakers for you—nay, may they themselves have your care. Embrace and kiss your mother once at least as you depart, uncertain whether it will ever be possible again." Then her mouth approached his mouth, [and,] having simultaneously blessed²²⁴ him with the cross, she turned herself {away} and, weeping, departed from him, [who was] wailing. [After] he was received²²⁵, the Cardinal and his attendants led him directly into the palace, where the Protector with the nobles were awaiting their return, through posted ranks of henchmen the whole way. When he had been led {up}, the Protector, having embraced him and lifting him {up} from the ground in his arms, said, "You have come, my dearest nephew and lord, undoubtedly welcome to all, [and] assuredly most welcome by far to me." Then from there they went immediately to London to the Prince (he was lodging in the palace of the Bishop), from where they both [went] directly through the middle of the city with a numerous procession, [and] with favorable outcries from all {sides}, they entered the Tower with [those who] were going to frustrate the prayers of [those] shouting, from which they are believed never to have set foot {again}.

[396.21] Therefore, when the Protector had obtained both boys, he opened himself with more trust not only to several others, but especially to the Duke of Buckingham; although I am not unaware that to many he appeared to have been a participant in all his plans already from the beginning. Certain friends of the Protector even recount that he was the author of the affair [when] it was begun, a secret messenger having been sent of {his own accord} to Gloucester immediately [after] the death of Edward. But others, by whom the Protector's cunning intellect was more {accurately} ascertained, deny [398] that the last [steps] were communicated before the prior [steps] had been accomplished; yet, [when] the relatives of the Queen had been thrown into prison and both sons had been brought into his hands, [then] he revealed the remaining [steps] less fearfully to {those} whom the affair appeared to require. And to the Duke, especially, with whose addition he thought that his own forces would be augmented by half, he insinuated the affair through men [who were] astute and masters²²⁶ at handling affairs. It was proposed to him that the Prince was angry for the sake of his blood-relations, and if ever it were possible, would be their avenger. If they should be released, they would incite [him], since the memory of prison and chains would always stick [with them]; but {if} they were slaughtered, their death would no doubt become a concern for him, [since] their prison was a sorrow [for him]. In addition, nothing could be gained by repenting. There was no place left for compensating for²²⁷ his offense through kindnesses. For it was more likely he would destroy his own hopes than benefit the Prince, whom, with his only brother and his blood-relations, he saw already had been thrown in a {place} where the Protector would be able to destroy them all with one nod; nor was there [any] doubt that he would dare [to destroy them] if any new endeavor was threatened. [Regarding] whom, as there was likely a secret bodyguard²²⁸ for himself, so for the Duke he had [likely] arranged spies and, if he should oppose [the Protector], a trap²²⁹; and this, perhaps, from those whom he least suspected. For that state of affairs [and] those dispositions of

²²⁴ *lustrō*; "purified by means of a propitiatory offering"

²²⁵ *excipio*; or "taken, captured"

²²⁶ *artifex*; "one that is master in the liberal arts"

²²⁷ Lit. "redeeming"

²²⁸ *praesidium*

²²⁹ *insidias*; elsewhere "{treacherous} plot"

minds were [such] that you could not determine for certain in whom you could trust [and] whom you should fear. By suggesting such [things] they prevailed {upon} the Duke's exhausted mind so [far] that he proceeded on that [course] which he already regretted²³⁰ having entered {upon}, and [which], when he once began [upon it], he would pursue zealously all {the way}. Therefore he joined himself to the wicked plot, (which he believed could not be averted) as a promoter and partner, [400] and determined that since the public evil could not be corrected, he would turn [it] as {much as} possible to his own good.

[400.3] It was agreed that the Protector, having used the Dukes's service towards [acquiring] the kingship, would join {together in marriage} the only legitimate son whom he had to [the Duke's] daughter; in addition, he would concede, with litigation precluded, the County of Hereford, which the Duke {laid a legal} claim to as his inheritance, [but] was not able to obtain [while] Edward survived. To these demands of his the Protector of his {own accord} threw in a great quantity²³¹ of treasure and royal furnishings (unless [the Protector] reproached him with a false [story] [when] there was discord [between them] afterwards, as if [the Duke] was ungrateful for such great benefits of his). Therefore, when it was agreed between them, the auspices of the principate (the day declared for which thing was approaching) were adorned with paraphernalia magnificent in appearance, with the labor interrupted not even at night, [and] with many [people] working. And for this celebration, so that they might the more turn the eyes and minds of men elsewhere, away from their own plans, nobles were present in {great} numbers, summoned from every part of the kingdom.

Yet the Protector and the Duke, when they had assembled the Cardinal and the Chancellor with the Archbishop of York and the Earl of Derby and the prelate of Ely, [and] not without²³² Hastings the Chamberlain and many other nobles, [who] were going to talk about the order, rite and solemn ceremonies of the King's {marking with} insignia, they themselves meanwhile, withdrawing themselves with those whom they had proposed as participants, were handling far different [matters] in another place. Although few were admitted to that council, and they least of all were unreliable, nevertheless suspicion began to be spread, and the people [began] to murmur [402] as if things would not be good for long, although no one knew either for what reason he feared or from which author; whether by their minds having presentiments of boundless evils by a {somewhat} secret force of nature, in the manner²³³ of the sea, seething of its {own accord} in {the face of} an impending gale, or whether some one [man] {smelled} a stench [and] filled many men with suspicion. Although the matter itself, even with how {much} it was dissembled, aroused men's thoughts somewhat, since everyone gradually flowed {away} from the kingly tower, [and] court was [held] in the Protector's house. Crowds and multitudes abided there, [but] there was silence and desolate solitude around the Prince. And with most [people] turning {away} to where the expediting of their businesses was to be hoped {for}, some were even warned that those for whom there was no necessary business would frequent the King incautiously.

[402.13] Thus when many signs concurred, part [of them] by chance, some intentionally, at last it was brought {to pass} that not only the commons, who are thoughtlessly agitated by any {sort of} [thing], but also the prudent, and even a few of the nobles, awakened and noted the matter, nevertheless {only so} far that they discussed [it], rather than distrusted [it]. Yet the Earl

²³⁰ *penitebat*

²³¹ *vim*; usually "force"

²³² *nec non*

²³³ *mos*

of Derby, who had {become} old in experience of many things, providentially suspecting these [affairs], rebuked Hastings (because they were mutually aware of each other's secrets). He said, "These two councils held separately really do not please me at all. Indeed, while we are transacting public affairs²³⁴ frankly and openly in one, who knows what affairs they are clandestinely whispering {about} in the other?"

"Say {no more}," said Hastings, "and trust [in me]; with my life as a pledge, while a certain [man] is present there (who is never absent), no doubtful word could ever be spoken in {such a way} that it would not be conveyed to me as {soon as} it escapes from being spoken."

[402.27] By this he was hinting about²³⁵ Catesby, with whom he was extremely familiarly intimate; [404] nor did anyone promise so much to [Hastings] by his love and fidelity, so that he deemed himself dear to and bound to [Catesby] to the same {extent} he knew [Catesby] was [dear to and bound] to himself. Indeed, he had advanced [Catesby] greatly in wealth and authority, and he was [someone] who could not be difficult to advance. For besides his extraordinary expertise in British laws, he added greatness of body and an appearance not unpleasant to be seen, so that he was held to be suitable not only for pleading cases but even for performing great {public} deeds. Truly, he [had] so great of an intellect that you would not have wished it in a man with so {very} little fidelity, inasmuch as by the dissembling of this one [man] this whole heap of evils stood {firm}. Otherwise, Hastings, and the Earl of Derby, and many other nobles of their party would have collected their troops in a timely {manner} [and] no doubt hastened to march {off} towards this [threat], if Hastings had not [felt] secure in this [man's] trust [such that] he restrained the rest as they were going, until—[Hastings] unsuspecting, the others delaying—everyone was overcome alike. Then at last they perceived his faithlessness, when they could only condemn [it], not avoid [it].

[404.17] But both the Protector and also the Duke duped Hastings with a marvelous pretense of friendship, lest he suspect anything. Although it is believed that he was sincerely²³⁶ loved by [the Protector], he was hated by [the Duke], [and] in addition, for the plans of neither [406] was he advantageous. It is reported that Catesby was ordered by the Protector that he prove, by cunningly testing [Hastings'] mind, whether he could hope that the man could be enticed to their party in any {way}, [but] he reported {back} that all [means] were hopeless and contrary [to their plan]. Even worse, it happened that Hastings, in a familiar conversation with [Catesby], disclosed the fears of the others in a boast of his own trust. Therefore Catesby, dreading that many [men], by disturbing and harassing [Hastings] against his own pretending, might {make} progress, and that the plans which now appeared to be creeping {out} would burst {forth} all {at once}, proposed that the crime should be expedited, that they should be attacked while they were hesitating, [and] that [Hastings], since he could not be turned, should be removed. He urged that [proposal] so {much the} more greedily since Hastings' power (which then was {very} strong in the County of Leicester) was destined for himself. Detestable ambition for that [power]²³⁷ had joined Catesby into the society of an accursed crime.

[406.14] Therefore, a little afterwards the nobles were consulting in the Tower where the Protector had convoked them. He himself, coming into the council later, excused his tardiness by cheerfully blaming his sleepiness. Then he, merry and almost playful, reclined {at table} and immediately turned towards the Bishop of Ely.

²³⁴ *communem rem*

²³⁵ Lit. "nodding at"

²³⁶ Lit. "from the heart"

²³⁷ Lit. "thing"

“Father,” he said, “I hear there are distinguished strawberries ripening in your gardens. I know you will not unwillingly gather²³⁸ one dish towards a lunch for so many nobles as your symbol.²³⁹”

“I wish I could as easily [do] something more as I willingly do this,” he said, and at once sent {off} a servant who would bring [them] to [the lunch]. But the Protector, as if he were going to do I know not what [kind] of necessary thing in the next room²⁴⁰ and would at once be returning to the council, stepped {out}, [while] the nobles meanwhile rejoiced in his great cheerfulness, as much [as] they had not seen in him before by {mere} chance, and they simultaneously praised his humanity and his benevolence. He returned, not having tarried long, but it was amazing how totally he was changed from the [man] who had just left so happy. Indeed, [408] now on the contrary he was sad [and] fierce; [and] with his eyebrow knit, his forehead creased, [and] his lip gnawed, he was threatening, with everyone astonished at the intemperance which had seized him so suddenly.

[408.4] With this face, he threw himself into his chair, [and] when, with a short, sad silence he had {kept in} suspense the terrified minds of those [who were] waiting, he burst {out} in this way: “What worthy punishments could be devised for the crimes of those who have been contriving with impious arts to do {away with} me, not only so near by blood to the Prince, but the Protector of [both] him and of this kingdom?”

At these words, all who were present {grew} quiet, astonished by the viciousness of [such a] deed, silently mulling {over} to themselves who could be a conspirator in such a {disgraceful} crime, of which each of them knew²⁴¹ himself to be innocent. But Hastings, to whom the presumed favor of the Protector towards himself gave courage for speaking, answered that they merited the ultimate punishment [and] to be made examples,²⁴² whoever they were.

“But,” [the Protector] said, “the contriver of this wickedness is my brother's wife.” He meant²⁴³ the Queen. At that sentence, those who favored her were transfixed by dread.

[408.16] But Hastings, for whom alone murder was imminent, began to be refreshed when he discerned [that] that evil which he had {greatly} feared for one of his friends was diverted to his enemy. Yet he asked himself with a somewhat anxious mind why the Protector had concealed this matter from him, [since] [the Protector] was aware²⁴⁴ [that] he was not averse to crushing the Queen, nor could he devise a reason why this dissembling was required in his {presence}, [as] it was his complicity²⁴⁵ the Protector had used against the captured blood-relations of the Queen, [who] were to be slaughtered that same day in the town in which they were being guarded. [Hastings was] obviously not supposing that death for himself in turn had been fixed at almost the same hour by another secret plan.

[408.26] Meanwhile, the Protector said, “You will see that my body was bewitched by this wicked [woman] with Shore's wife and other sorceresses; she drained [it] with magical potions.” At once, having rolled up his sleeve to the elbow, [410] he extended his arm, [which] was no doubt very pitiable, but nevertheless in the same {way} it had been from the beginning. Then truly the whole [council] except his conspirators rightly became afraid, reflecting that it

²³⁸ *conferes*; “bring together, unite, be useful, attack, compare, hurry to, employ, impute, ascribe, postpone”

²³⁹ likely a play on *symbolam*, “a contribution to a feast”

²⁴⁰ *cubiculo*; “chamber,” as Hastings is the keeper of the king's chamber

²⁴¹ Lit. “was”

²⁴² *ultima exempla*; “to be given the ultimate punishment as examples”

²⁴³ Lit. “to nod at, hint”

²⁴⁴ *conscious*; same word as “conspirator” in previous paragraph

²⁴⁵ *conscientia*

was only an opportunity to be seized—for strife, first, and then for open slaughter. For they knew {very} well that that arm was pitiable, that the Queen was far away from [using] magical charms, [and] that if she had determined to exert herself [in them] completely, she would not ever select Shore's wife as a partner, a woman renowned for her lust, but not for magic, [and] at {that time} the most hated of all [women] by [the Queen] for once being the most pleasing to the King of all his concubines.

[410.10] Therefore Hastings, struck then by the mention of his girlfriend (for he is reported to have been {passionately in} love with her), said, “If they have dared [to do] such [things], certainly they deserve to be punished.”

To this [the Protector] said, “Why do you [say] ‘if’ to me? I tell you they did and if you would defend that, traitor, I will prove it by a duel with you;” and he struck his hand powerfully against the table, as if angered. And then at the door it was shouted, “Treason!” and at once, intent upon this sign, his henchmen broke in [and] filled the whole place with arms. The Protector detained²⁴⁶ Hastings on the spot and said, “I arrest²⁴⁷ you, traitor.”

He said, “Me, O Protector?”

“You yourself, O traitor,” he said; and immediately a certain Middleton hurled an axe towards the Earl of Derby in such {a manner} that although [Derby was] in the middle of the table, if he had not quickly dodged the blow under the table, it would have divided his head all {the way} to his teeth, since even deflecting it thus by a swift slide, nevertheless the outermost edge [of the axe-blade] overtook [him], striking a wound to the top [of his head], [and] {completely} drenched [him] with blood. There once was a dispute between the Earl and this assassin concerning estates, and from this a long-standing enmity came between [them]. For the Earl ejected him from possession, whether by violence or by {legal} right [412] is uncertain, but certainly unwillingly; so now he in turn, dared [to do] more than he was entrusted {with}, [and] indulged his own grief in another's tumult.

[412.4] Now the remaining nobles and bishops were apprehended and, lest they mutually consult, they were thrown into different chambers. But the Protector ordered Hastings that he should prepare himself for death, and if he wanted anything with a priest, he should hurry: “For,” he said, “as I hold that Divine Paul, to whom I am especially²⁴⁸ devoted²⁴⁹, is propitious, I will not taste any food before I see your head cut {off}.” Therefore, since it would have profited nothing to ask the cause, he, silent and sorrowful, made some {kind} of confession to a priest who was not present for that [purpose]; for a longer [one] was not possible, lest the Protector not be early enough that he could eat {lunch}. It was not right for him to recline {at table} until that [man] had fallen {in death}, so that the pious man would not perjure {himself}, obviously. On {that account}, with the urging of the Duke of Buckingham (whom [Hastings] stared at beseechingly as he implored that he be pitied), his death was hastened, and he was led {forth} into a level [area] which was encircled by the walls of the Tower; he was ordered to lay {down} his head on an oblong beam which was lying [on the ground] destined for [use in] building²⁵⁰, [and] it was beaten {off} with an axe. His body was carried to Windsor with his head, [where] his friends buried [them] not far from the bones of Edward, his most beloved prince.

²⁴⁶ *manum inicere alicui*; “to lay the hand on one, to detain, arrest him”

²⁴⁷ Not a juridical use. *Sisto* means “to produce in court, or to appear in court after being bound over by the judge or by promise to the adversary (*vadimonium*)” in juridical terms. *Sisto* also means “I stop,” “I stop a hostile attack,” “I end.”

²⁴⁸ or “privately”; *peculiariter*

²⁴⁹ or “to whom I am a slave”

²⁵⁰ or “destined for the structure”

[414] It is worth the trouble²⁵¹ to learn what dreams and omens preceded his death, whether such [things] should be thought {of} as warnings that a {treacherous} plot might be forestalled, or as preceding signs of an unavoidable fate, or whether, in the affairs of mortals, either a demon is playing, or either chance or fortune are playing together,²⁵² or the soul, prescient of the future with the senses lulled by sleep, [and] representing imminent fates with confused images, foretells the outcome to the body. Now his first [omen] was in the middle of the night which the day of the deadly [event] followed. Stanley's servant, out of breath, exhorted in his master's words, urging that he hasten to flee immediately, for his lord in his nocturnal sleep was shown a terrible apparition of great evil and the destruction of both of them, unless their flight prevented [it]. For a boar was seen to attack [them] both with his tusks [while they were] prostrate. Hastings was killed unexpectedly, with [Stanley] himself alive, his head torn so that blood flowed copiously into his lap. This image in his mind imprinted such a deep terror, since he remembered that a boar was the Protector's emblem, that he had entirely decided to delay no longer [if] only [Hastings] would agree to be his companion on the road. Before they would be missed, more of the way could still be traversed than would allow [anyone] to overtake them if they pursued [them].

“Bah!” said Hastings, “Is he so fearful that he dreads empty figments of dreams which either his bile shapes in his mind or a thought of the day returns in sleeping? It is undoubtedly superstition and almost as far as impiety to care {about} those worthless trifles, which, if he thinks they are signs of future [events] at all, why does he not think they could be fulfilled²⁵³ even by fleeing? Or rather, the more certainly [they will be fulfilled] if we are dragged {back} off the road (as nothing is trustworthy²⁵⁴ for those fleeing), [and] the boar will have seized us by {legal} right, as if we were fugitives with consciousness of a crime. Therefore, either there is no [416] danger anywhere (and certainly there is not) or there is even more there. But if there were [any danger] at all, nevertheless I would [rather] appear to have fallen by the evil faithfulness of another than either by our {own} guilt or cowardice. Depart, then, and report that he is to remain, for I hold that man (whom he knows) to be as sure and faithful to me as this right [hand] of mine.”

“May those above,” he said, “truly accomplish the outcome that you have attested,” and thus departed. With Stanley remaining [because of] this message, within the next ten hours they were seized, [and this] gave²⁵⁵ both [men] faith in the neglected dream. It is certain that when he then proceeded into the Tower, he was [only] a little away from being cast {down} onto the ground by his collapsed horse as often as thrice within a brief space. Although there is no day that this thing does not happen, either by the fault of the horse or by the carelessness of the one sitting on [it], nevertheless by an ancient superstition it is so observed as if it notably preceded a misfortune.

[416.14] Now what follows was not so much a warning as the jest²⁵⁶ of an enemy. A certain knight (then extremely inferior, [but] now among the first of the aristocracy) came to him [while] he was still sleeping, with the pretense of his duty to escort [Hastings] to the Tower, yet [actually] by an order of the Protector and informed of [Hastings'] destruction so that he could

²⁵¹ *operae pretium est*

²⁵² or “colluding”

²⁵³ Lit. “made fixed”

²⁵⁴ *fidum*

²⁵⁵ *federe*

²⁵⁶ *ludibrium*

hasten his arrival. [The knight], as a joke, interrupted [Hastings who] was tarrying in the road and conversing with a priest known to him, who by chance had met [him], [and] said, “Why [talk] so much with a priest now? For there is no need for you [to talk] with a priest yet,” secretly taunting that there would be shortly.

[416.23] But I would rather pass {over} anything than [pass over] the most empty [state] of the human mind and its security [when] it is bordering {on} destruction. In the Tower's entrance itself, so close to the place in which so soon his head was to be lopped {off}, by chance a herald was met with his [same] family name. [418] From this meeting a recollection came {into} his mind of another time, at which time he similarly had communicated his sorrow and fear to the same [man], meeting [him] in the same place. For he was then arraigned as a defendant before Edward, having been indicted by Rivers, the Queen's full {brother}, as though he had contrived a plan about betraying Calais (of whose garrison he was the captain) to the French. Although, (as shortly afterwards became {clear}) that was a purely malicious {prosecution}²⁵⁷, with Rivers resenting that [Hastings] was preferred to himself in that office [of captain], which he had hoped {for} {just} as if it had been destined and promised²⁵⁸ [to him]. Nevertheless, with the guile of the accuser and with the King's ears preoccupied with the nocturnal speech of the Queen, at first it appeared to him that he was thrown into great danger. Therefore an immense desire²⁵⁹ now seized him of conversing with that [man] about the peril now past and avoided [right] there where at another {time} he had shared [it] as [something] present. “Hastings,” he said, (for that was the name of the herald, as well), “Do you remember anything about those things we once joined²⁶⁰ in discourse [about] in this very place?”

“I remember,” he said, “and I certainly rejoice very {much} that the {treacherous} plot intended [for you] by those malevolent [men] worked {out} badly for them and well for yourself.”

[Hastings] said, “How {much} more you would think that if you knew those [things] which as yet have been learned [only] by me and a few [others], which you, too, will hear {of} a little later.” By this he meant that the Queen's blood-relations, whom we indicated before were captured, were to be slain on that {same} day. He was not at all aware how near to his {own} neck the same fate was imminent. “Indeed,” he said, “I give thanks to those above that, as things were never equally doubtful for me as they were then, so in turn they were never as certain and confirmed as now.” O the dense fog of mortality! [When] he was fearing, nothing evil impended; [when he felt] secure, within two [420] hours he perished miserably.

The man was not from obscure lineage; indeed he was [descended] from an ancient race of knights, but nobility was added to that [lineage] by himself. In war he was unwearied [and] not inexperienced; he was not of an austere [way of] life, but he had earned much popular regard by his friendliness; he was extraordinarily dear to the King on account of his fidelity; moreover, he was not displeasing either in society or in {joint} consciousness of pleasures;²⁶¹ he was easily exposed to those {treacherously} plotting [against him], inasmuch as he was less foresighted because of the innate daring in his mind, and [thus], trusty²⁶² enough, trusting²⁶³ too much.

²⁵⁷ *calumnia*

²⁵⁸ or “prophesied”

²⁵⁹ *ingens libido*; also “immoderate lust,” “unlimited longing,” “boundless inclination”

²⁶⁰ *conserere*

²⁶¹ *Societas* is contrasted with *conscientia voluptatum*. That is, he is not unpleasant when sharing either business or fun.

²⁶² *fidus*

²⁶³ *fidens*

[420.9] A rumor of this slaughter flew {forth} suddenly, first through the city, [and] from there in every {direction}. But the Protector, directly after the crime was accomplished, summoned the mayor and some senators of the city into the Tower in {order that} he could conceal his guilt with some cloak. When they came, he indicated that a {treacherous} plot had been devised that [very] day against himself and the Duke, [against] which they themselves, since they ([who] imagined nothing less) had discovered [it only] a little before lunch in the [midst of] the very attempt, were unexpectedly compelled to snatch {up} armor of whatever {kind}. (So that it would appear they spoke truly, they stood enclosed by [suits of] armor so despicable that not even²⁶⁴ the lowest [man] from the companies of soldiers there would think to put [them] {on} except in urgent danger). Yet [now that] the danger had been zealously and strenuously repulsed, and most of those conspiring had been captured, nevertheless their benevolence was content with the punishment of Hastings alone, because he was incurable of his malevolence. They preserved all the remaining [conspirators] for repentance. At this, those [men] (as if they believed [them]) extolled their fortitude, praised their mercy, [422] and gave {thanks} for their safety, although meanwhile they silently wished both {of them} the gallows.

[422.3] The Protector, reckoning that the people would be likewise mollified by the same fiction, had meanwhile sent a herald with an edict prepared somewhat before {that time} for that [purpose], from which, [after] the commons were convoked to the sound of a trumpet in the most frequented places, almost the same [things] were proclaimed by the voice of the crier. But, so that his death would be heard more favorably,²⁶⁵ there were added against Hastings (as if beyond that crime) many [charges]²⁶⁶ of {disgracefully} criminal counsels [and that] he was being punished for his attempt lest parricides, stimulated by their consciousness of their desperation and of their treason, might perhaps excite a crowd for the sake of his being freed. With their hope now providently crushed by his [well-]deserved punishment, no danger hindered all good [men] from living most quietly under the best prince. Now this edict, which was proclaimed within two hours of his death, was both longer than could have been written in that interim, even if it had been randomly dictated, and so ambitiously composed and so diligently limned onto the parchment that indeed it could not have been prepared in a doubled interval of time. Thus any boy easily perceived the conspicuous emptiness of such an elaborately false fiction. Indeed, they were understood to have reflected {upon} the punishment for a deed beforehand which²⁶⁷ they wished to appear to have first discovered unexpectedly only {now}. And so (except that the matter was more vicious than would admit of these witty jests) a certain master of schools²⁶⁸ not unamusingly mocked [that] so [very] skilful stupidity of the edict. For, as he (intermingled in the crowd) was listening to the [man] reading, comparing the shortness of the time with the length and care of the writing, he was immediately reminded of the saying from Terence and said, “Davus, with these time-intervals of yours, [things] have not been separated deftly enough.”

[424] But immediately after {that}, the house of Shore's wife was invaded; she was dragged {out} and thrown into prison, with her goods plundered, (out of indignation, of course) and conveyed to the Protector as if it were a fine for [making] magic {potions}, which, inasmuch as it was {completely} baseless, when no evidence against her could stick, lest they confess she

²⁶⁴ Lit. “any”

²⁶⁵ *aequius*; also “more impartially”

²⁶⁶ Daniel Kinney treats *multa* as “fine, punishment” rather than “many”: “it were a penalty for [giving] evil counsel.” Cf. 1557: “And much [*multa*?] mater was ther in y^e proclamacion deuised ... as y^l he was an euil counsellor to y^e kinges father” (CW 2, 53a.19-21).

²⁶⁷ *Res* is repeated in the Latin. Lit “which deed”

²⁶⁸ *magister ludi*; also “master of jokes,” “master of stage-plays,” “master of public spectacles”

had been harassed through injustice, finally the charge was brought {down} to one²⁶⁹ which she could not deny, [which] indeed, as much as the people knew it was true, just {as much} nobody did not laugh for it to {only just} then [become] such a vicious charge: namely, that she was a prostitute. But the Protector, as a pious and pure prince descended from heaven onto this miserable orb for correcting the morals of mortals, compelled²⁷⁰ [her] so that in the Temple of Divine Paul with a great multitude, with the Senate of London coming {forth} praying, she should precede the cross and the choir of psalm-singers barefoot and distinguished by a wax-taper she carried (which is the custom of public repenting there). Yet that [woman] marched {along} with her face and gait so composed and, although her dress was neglected and disheveled, nevertheless with a countenance so charming, especially when shame poured a most fitting blush into her white cheeks, that that boundless dishonor produced not a little praise and favor for her among those more {eagerly} desiring her body than concerned about her soul; although even good [men], by whom her faults were hated, nevertheless pitied her disgrace rather than rejoicing {over} [it], reflecting that it had been managed by the Protector with pretended and corrupted affection [and] with no honorable zeal.

[424.23] This woman, born from good parents of London and educated well and chastely, was coupled in a marriage otherwise favorable except that it was too hasty. For although she had a husband [who was] honorable, elegant, wealthy, [and] young, nevertheless, because she married [when] she was immature, [426] she did not ever love him at all, having obtained him before she desired [him]. And for {that reason}, her heart, once it turned {away} from her husband, was easily carried to the King, [who was] wooing her. And besides, the splendor of such a suitor and the unusual²⁷¹ sight of a man feared by others flattering and begging her, [and] in addition the hope of pomp and of conspicuous womanly attire, and finally of leisure, of luxury, and of pleasures, was easily able to arouse the amenable heart of a girl. But when her spouse²⁷² learned she was having an affair with the King (as he was a modest²⁷³ man, [and] deemed himself not {to be worthy} of so {great} an honor as that he should touch the princely concubine), he ceded her entirely to the King, much more civilly than others for whom by no means whatever was the right to her equal [to his]. [After] the King died, Hastings succeeded [him]. Although he had {deeply} loved her [when] [the King] was living, nevertheless it was reported that he abstained [from relations with her], whether from reverence or from some comradely fidelity.

[426.14] This was [a woman] with white skin, [and] with an extraordinary appearance to her whole face; but especially marvelous were the enticements in her eyes. As for the rest of her body, there was nothing you would want to change, unless perhaps one might wish her taller. For she was more pretty than tall²⁷⁴, which itself is especially pleasing²⁷⁵ to almost {every} very tall [man]. Those who saw her flourishing tell of her in {this way}, and with [the result that] most of those looking at her today (for she is living even now) do not believe [it], since they appraise her past figure from her present [one], [and] suppose she was never comely. Their judgment appears to me almost the same as if someone would guess the beauty of a long deceased virgin from a bald pate dug {up} from a grave; since {indeed} now the old {woman}

²⁶⁹ Lit. "that"

²⁷⁰ Lit "drove to"

²⁷¹ *insolens*; also "immoderate"

²⁷² *coniunx*; Lit. "one joined in marriage"

²⁷³ *modestus*; or "moderate"

²⁷⁴ *procera*; or "noble"

²⁷⁵ Lit. "it lies at his heart"

of seventy, wrinkled, feeble, emaciated, [and] cadaverous, has nearly faded {away}, with no part of her so {greatly} praised former body [428] remaining except bones covered with dry skin. Nevertheless, even in {the way} [she is], by observing her face more deeply it is possible to conceive which parts, [if] restored and repaired in a certain way, would return beauty to her face.

[428.4] Nevertheless, she did not captivate any [man] as much by her beauty as by a certain friendliness and by her dexterous [and] enticing cordiality in banqueting, since, with her witty and festive intellect, having been taught just {enough} that she was able to read her own language and to write [in it] to some extent, she was not uncouth in weaving conversations, and was notable neither for her silent rusticity nor for her immoderate loquacity. Nobody was more suitable for gladdening a banquet, whether by deftly diverting melancholy [conversations] or by offering happier [ones], sometimes playing by witticisms and jests without anyone's grief, [but] not without laughter. The King, since he was quite merry, was accustomed occasionally to declare that he had three harlots, each distinguished with different gifts: one the cheeriest, the other the shrewdest, [and] the third harlot in turn, the holiest of all [the harlots] there were anywhere, since she would unwillingly ever turn {away} from the temple anywhere except to his bed. I have not learned [well] enough who the others were, [but] it is agreed that the cheeriest of these was [the one] of whom we are speaking. For that reason, she was dearest to the King; although he had others, he {earnestly} loved only this [one], with no harm beyond his lust. For he both embraced his wife with great affection and treated [her] honorably.

[428.22] Indeed, this working-girl (for it would be a crime to falsely {accuse} the devil), was so far from abusing the favor of the Prince for anyone's evil that in many [ways] it was even for their good. For she also calmed the King's offended mind very frequently, [obtained] favor for those hated [by him], and obtained mercy for those offending [him]. In {sum}, she was of use in many of their great affairs, very frequently with either no reward²⁷⁶ or with a very small [one], and that [something] looked {at} for its appearance more than for its price, whether she held her consciousness of her deed to be enough in itself, or whether it was pleasing [for her] to display with benefits how much she could [do] with the King, or whether a girl frolicking in her present [good] fortune [430] was neither anxious about the future nor continually gaping at riches. It is certain that she was so {far} beyond [being regarded with] malevolence that, except for the Queen alone, she was loved equally by both factions [that] were hostile to each other. It is not by chance that she is [now] inferior in authority and esteem to any of those [men] who in various ages were anyone influential with their princes [and] became famous to posterity by the reputation of their crimes alone. The worse the memory, the longer-lasting, as we engrave our benefits in dust, [but] our evils, if such we suffer, in marble. But that very [woman], once so celebrated, now has survived almost all her friends and acquaintances and advanced with the years as if into another age, with the memory of her early luxury almost erased, even for herself, by her long evils. Today, she sustains her miserable life with difficulty by begging. Nevertheless, there are some living and pretending {not to notice her}²⁷⁷ who now would be sharers in adverse fortune with her except that she herself had at {one time} preserved their possessions²⁷⁸ uninjured.

[430.15] But, as we touched on above, at the same hour at which Hastings was dismembered in London, Anthony (sometimes [called] Woodville), the Queen's brother, [and] Richard Grey (whom we said were apprehended in Hampton and Stratford) were punished by

²⁷⁶ *mercede*; or "bribe"

²⁷⁷ *dissimulantibus*

²⁷⁸ *res*

beheading in the town of Broken Bridge [Pontefract], with Richard Radcliff, knight, {taking} care of the slaughter, whose service the Protector very frequently used in tyrannical crimes of this kind, since he was [a man] of exceedingly silent [disposition], of experience in many [things], [and] of great and evil intellect. He was uncouth in discourse, rustic in disposition, [and] never timid toward wickedness. He neither pitied men nor revered those above. He [took care that] they were led {forth} from the prison and accused²⁷⁹ [them] of treason before the surrounding crowd, and, forbidden to respond [to the charge], lest with their innocence known it would enkindle malevolence for the Protector, unconvicted [432], unheard, and indeed not even indicted, he {took} care that they were quickly killed, with no other guilt than that they were either too closely related to the Queen or too faithful to the Prince.

[432.4] Therefore, with these deeds accomplished and with those nobles he thought would turn against [him] most killed, with others still captive, [and] with nearly {all} the remaining [nobles] residing in London then, far from each of their armies, and therefore with everyone astonished and stricken since one could neither know how the affair would turn {out} nor whose counsels he could trust, the Protector reckoned that the occasion should be seized, and, with [the nobles] occupied with the fear of their doubting, he should place himself in possession of the kingship before there would be time,²⁸⁰ with their counsels having been pondered and {carefully} weighed, [for the nobles] to depart in various [directions] with the forces of their parties strengthened. Yet in this [case] he was perplexed as to what semblance could be alleged {as a pretext} for a matter disgraceful²⁸¹ in itself, by which the disgrace²⁸² could be mollified.

[432.14] They admitted many to these consultations whom they hoped by some inducement²⁸³ might be easily led {over} to themselves for the use of either their strength in resources or of their intellect. Among these, for example, [they led over] Edward Shaw, mayor of London, by the hope of boundless²⁸⁴ rewards,²⁸⁵ which were lavishly promised to this man ([who was] starved for such [things]), [if] the citizens would be moved from their opinion. From the clergy, [men] were selected for whom authority in preaching had been obtained among the commons, [and whose] minds were not pious to the point of superstition, especially John Shaw, the mayor's brother, in fact, and Penker, the provincial of the Augustinian friars in England. Both were distinguished in their profession of Holy Scripture. Both were celebrated for the glory of their discourses. Yet the erudition of each of them was as much below his reputation as his virtue was below his erudition. These [men], the former before he was king, the latter after his kingship had begun, gave²⁸⁶ the most carefully {prepared} discourses from the podium in praise of the Protector, full of intolerable adulation. Penker [434] came {down} in the middle of the course of his speech, bereft of his voice, with a listener ascribing the deed to those above, as if they were the avengers of sacrilegious flattery. Shaw lost all his reputation for honor, [and] not long afterwards also his life, from weariness of the solitude into which he had withdrawn himself from the shame of his public appearance; but the friar, who had {thoroughly} rubbed {away any

²⁷⁹ *criminatus*

²⁸⁰ *spacium*

²⁸¹ *invisae*

²⁸² *invidia*

²⁸³ *causa*; elsewhere “cause, reason”

²⁸⁴ *ingentium*

²⁸⁵ *praemiorum*; also “booty, bribes”

²⁸⁶ Lit. “held”

blush} from his forehead, {just} as he had often wiped {away} spittle from there in {the course of} preaching, had long been numb to infamy.

[434.7] There are also those who deny that Penker was initially conscious of [what] had been proposed, but [after] the deed was completed, in the common custom, he strove for favor with a prince hungry for praise. Yet, as ambiguous [as it is] concerning him, it is settled [concerning] Shaw [that] he shared in the plan to such {an extent} that even the foremost parts of the matter to be insinuated to the people were assigned to him. For it appeared that the most advantageous way of beginning the business was if, in a solemn discourse, with the matter proposed and handled elegantly, he would draw the shaken minds of the commoners from the King to the Protector. Yet their whole labor was turned toward devising a reason for changing the king, lest such an impious plan, shamelessly expounded, be immediately booed {off the stage}. In this matter, with some [men] conferring with others, finally in {the end} it came to this: that the people would be persuaded that both Edward himself and all his offspring were born from illegitimate {sexual} intercourse, [and] thus he did not ever justly reign, nor could [his offspring] legally succeed [him]. With that reasoning, the Protector alone remained eligible for the kingship, as the sole legitimate son of the Duke of York. But the defect of birth charged against Edward was indeed going to openly defame the Protector's mother, since she was common to [both] him and Edward. Nevertheless, he did not therefore propose that it be abstained from, but [rather proposed that] that topic should be entered {upon} obliquely, by leading, and [should be] handled briefly, as if timidly, so that when everything was said nevertheless much would appear to be suppressed [436], lest his pious mind towards his mother be offended, of course. But he wanted that other [charge] about Edward's sons being held as bastards to be made straightforwardly and openly and to be extended as much as possible. [Concerning] this matter, how false and [how] long refuted and rejected an accusation²⁸⁷ he revived will be better understood if we revisit some deeds from prior to Edward's marriage.

[436.7] [After] Henry was deposed, [and] Edward obtained the kingship, he had {sent as a} legate to Spain the Earl of Warwick, a man powerful in sovereignty [and one] not yielding to anyone in either military reputation or popular favor, [who] was going to handle [negotiations] concerning taking the daughter of the King of Spain as his queen. But meanwhile, by chance, Elizabeth Grey came to him, shortly afterwards his wife, [but] then, indeed, a widow, extremely poor in fortune, but of great and ancient nobility in her maternal lineage, [and] in her paternal [lineage], not equally {so}, but not obscure. When she dwelt in Henry's court, submitting to his queen, she was married to Grey, indeed an elegant and vigorous [man], but more honorable than renowned for riches, since as yet he was distinguished by no rank either in peace or in war. But afterwards, when he was about to enter {into} battle against Edward, Henry made him a knight. He rejoiced in that honor for not [even] two days, [since] in {the course of} that same battle he lay {in the grave}.

Therefore his wife, as I said, with her husband lost, with Henry defeated and captured, [and] her goods remanded, (repaid into Edward's privy {purse}²⁸⁸, obviously, because her husband had stood and fallen with the opposing party, and those conquered are called traitors by both {sides}) threw herself at Edward's feet [and] prostrated herself in supplication in her mourning attire. Then, seeing him turned towards her and waiting like he was about to listen, she propounded her suit with words and added prayers that he would order some estates returned to her [which were] of no great value, [438] [and] had been given to her on account of

²⁸⁷ *calumnia*, elsewhere “false accusation”

²⁸⁸ This is *fiscus*, as opposed to *aerarium*. See note 537 above.

marriage²⁸⁹ by her husband long {before}; for nothing which was already made her {own} could fall into forfeiture from any crime of her husband, even if it was granted to be a crime to remain in his fidelity to the king before whom he had spoken an oath, even to death; nor [would he have been] less steadfast (if the fates had preserved him unhurt) to the new king, with the right about to be decided by victory.

[438.7] The King, {with his attention} fixed on the face of the one speaking, was amazed at her presence of mind [in connection] with such modesty, and, with her beauty doubling his gratitude for her speech, he not only pitied his supplicant, but even began to love [her]; and for the present responding calmly, ordered [her] to hope well, for shortly he would {judicially} examine her suit. But a little afterwards, having recalled [her], he {first} spoke a few [words] about her business, [then] showed himself to be easy [if] only she would reveal²⁹⁰ herself not to be difficult. Indeed, he would give [even] more of his {own accord} if she in turn would gratify him with a certain teensy [thing].

As long as the ambiguous speech of the King permitted, she pretended {not} to know what he wanted. Meanwhile, she responded to everything benevolently and circumspectly, [and], from caution, she did not promise [anything] contrary to honor. But when the ambiguities were removed [and] she was solicited with dishonor, then truly she resisted openly, but in truth with her discourse moderated such that it inflamed his desire. When she noticed it was more strongly enkindled than could be easily extinguished, pretending {as an excuse} sometimes the infamy and sometimes her consciousness of guilt, she begged that he desist imploring uselessly, for {just} as she was far {away} from that arrogance by which she might suppose herself to be worthy for his marriage, so she did not [suppose] herself to be so degraded as to appraise herself no greater than [someone] his lust might play with in a {disgraceful} crime. To the King, not {at all} previously accustomed to be so [440] obstinately rejected, that new perseverance was [a cause] for admiration. Indeed, putting such rare chastity conjoined with [such] uncommon comeliness in the place of the greatest riches, and consulting his love, he quickly determined to marry²⁹¹ her. And already certain to do [it], he consulted with his friends, but in {such a way} that they could easily know that for anyone who was going to persuade [him] to the contrary his work would [only] be for playing. Therefore, because they saw the future, they eagerly approved.

[440.8] Yet his mother tolerated the matter so reluctantly that in dissuading [him] she could hardly refrain²⁹² from quarrels.²⁹³ With his own affairs not yet peaceful enough at home, he would take counsel more honorably and profitably if he would {firmly} bind himself to a foreign king by {marital} affinity. From that [would come] not only protection, by stabilizing his kingship, but hope of augmenting his sovereignty besides. “For that marriage {of yours},” she said, “[which could] by {no means whatsoever} reasonably [be considered] kingly, would be as if somebody with a little sovereignty would be {desperately} in love with his serving-maid and would admit [her] into [marital] society with himself. Whenever that happens, even {those} who rejoice with the girl ridicule the lord, although he is not as far above the condition of the virgin as the lowliness of this widow sinks below the eminence of your majesty. {Just} as there

²⁸⁹ It is possible that estates *ob nuptias ... donata* are equivalent to the *donatio propter nuptias*. See Burrill, 397. But, it is not clear whether this would be legally equivalent to jointure, as *1557* has it, or instead mean “dower.”

²⁹⁰ Double-entendre in Latin: This is *praebeat*, a different word for “show” than his *ostentat*. *Praebere se* can mean “show oneself” or, with a woman, “surrender oneself to a lover.”

²⁹¹ *ducere*; elsewhere “to lead”

²⁹² *temperaret*; elsewhere “be moderate”

²⁹³ *iurgium*; also a legal term for “divorces”

is nothing I disapprove of in her body or her {innate} talent of mind, so I would contend there is nothing so special that the same [thing] would not even be present {in excess} in other [women] who would match more with you in many [other] ways besides. Certainly unequals are unsuitably joined, nor do they ever unite well who are strongly dissimilar. Those born from disparate parents are always defective and incomplete. Are you able to endure that you beget mongrels and degenerate kings for this most flourishing kingdom that you possess, and that your blood give brothers to the sons of Grey? Certainly if she was appropriate for you most {of all} in other {respects} ([as it is] now, nothing about her could be less appropriate), nevertheless the sacrosanct majesty of a prince—for whom it would be equally [442] proper to come {near} a priest in purity as he nearly approaches [him] in dignity—I would propose by {no means whatsoever} should be defiled by the indelible stain of being twice-married immediately with his first marriage. What {about} [the fact] that you have proceeded farther in handling matrimonial [negotiations] elsewhere than you could withdraw from without dishonor²⁹⁴, perhaps not even with safety,²⁹⁵ since your legate in that [matter] is the Earl of Warwick, the most powerful [man] in your whole kingdom, after you. I see that you do not appraise [well] enough how strongly it concerns your interests that he not grieve that his labors, which he strengthened, be frustrated and {made} fun of.”

[442.9] But although the King eagerly wished that she whom he had chosen would be approved by his mother, too, nevertheless in whatever {manner} she took the matter, he was firm [regarding] the proposal itself. [Thus,] he responded to many [of her points] seriously and some jokingly, as he remembered he had released himself from maternal guardianship.²⁹⁶ “Notwithstanding that matrimony is something divine,” he said, “[and] therefore ought to be contracted for virtue, not for wealth (with God obviously inspiring mutual love and fidelity in the spouses, which I certainly trust has happened for us), nevertheless if someone would appraise this marriage of mine even crassly, in the common custom of men, preferring useful [things] to holy [things], he himself, unless I am deceived, would not find that [marriage] so exceedingly disadvantageous. For I certainly consider²⁹⁷ that the love of no people is [more] preferable to me than [that] of mine, whom I hope would thus [hold] me not a little more dear if I appear not to spurn their marriage. Truly, [regarding] {intimate} connections with foreign princes, which your maternal affection proposes should be most strongly solicited, [but] from which, we see, a flood of evils often bursts {forth}, nevertheless it will [still] be possible to join [foreign princes] {in marriage}, with less harm for me, if some of my [kinsmen] perhaps could endure to be wedded with unknown [women]. For I certainly could neither marry²⁹⁸ [a woman] I do not love, nor love [a woman] I do not see, nor do I judge it [well] enough deliberated,²⁹⁹ [that someone should,] by the hope of future increase (which foreign marriages promise [444] more often than they provide), spoil the enjoyment of present goods. What sense of those [goods] could there be for [a man] holding [a woman] in perpetual society for life whom he could not willingly look at? Indeed, I would not even want new titles in a distant domain to come to me in my wife's name, since already now so much land and sea of that kind is owed to me that it would indisputably be enough and more [than enough] for any {one man} to defend and to guard³⁰⁰ faithfully. But

²⁹⁴ Lit. “not dishonorably”

²⁹⁵ *tuto*

²⁹⁶ *tutela*

²⁹⁷ *duco*

²⁹⁸ *ducere*

²⁹⁹ *consultum*

³⁰⁰ *tueri*

everywhere there are some [women] who yield in no endowment to this [woman] of mine [and] even surpass [her] in many [qualities]? By Hercules, I neither deny that nor indeed am I preventing those [men] to whom they appear that way from having them. And for {that reason}, in turn it is an injustice for anyone to be upset [when] I, too, indulge my own inclination. Not [even] the Earl of Warwick, whom I do not fear so strongly however he is minded, [should be upset]. Nevertheless, I think his mind is not so turned against me that he would lament because he perceives it is pleasing to me, nor so unfair that he would demand that I be ruled by his eyes rather than mine in choosing a spouse, as if I were still a ward for whom the authority of a guardian³⁰¹ is required. Indeed, upon my life,³⁰² I would wish rather to be a free private {citizen} than a king in such servitude that a wife would be forced on me unwillingly by the judgment of a stranger. Now, dearest mother, that stain of the twice-married {state} which you attack does not terrify me very strongly. A {little} bishop might reproach me with this [if] I perhaps suffer to solicit the priesthood. For, as much as I remember, it does not hinder administering a kingdom. Finally, that she has children from a prior marriage, by the Graces, I even put that {down} as a gain. Indeed several are not absent for me, too, a yet unmarried [man]. In {this way}, we have mutually given proof that our nuptials will not be sterile. For {this reason}, [446] sweetest parent, you, too, [I ask to] approve this marriage, which I myself have chosen, with those above assisting. And help us, so that [our marriage] might turn out happily with your favorable supplications [to those above]. If you continue for the present to oppose it, nevertheless shortly from now a {little} grandson will be born for you who will win you {over} to us with his allurements³⁰³.”

[446.5] When his mother saw the king's mind was inflexible, she in turn was more resolute, not now in {the same manner} [as before], from the lowliness of her daughter-in-law, as from anger inflamed by the spurning of her counsel; [so] she commenced a new way for thwarting their nuptials. There was a certain Elizabeth, with the surname Lucy, a girl not ignoble and extremely beautiful. By chance, the King had {taken that} virgin's virginity. Therefore, when the day of their nuptials approached, and according to custom the people were admonished that, if anyone knew of an impediment, they should not tolerate [that] the sacrament be made {fun of}, his mother, as if she was going to release herself from a religious {scruple} [regarding] defiled holy [things], reported that Lucy was truly wife to her son, with his promise {of marriage}³⁰⁴ given and affirmed by intercourse. Therefore, whether the bishops did not dare to proceed, or with the King being unwilling that his nuptials be besmirched by an adverse rumor, to which maternal piety would impart authority and weight, meanwhile [the wedding] was held up until, with the case {judicially} examined, the falsity of that rumor³⁰⁵ would be proven. Lucy was summoned, [and] although she was suborned and propped up with secret counsels, [and] offered the hope that she would be the King's wife [if] only she would assert that she was given a promise³⁰⁶ {of marriage}, nevertheless, at once when she had sworn she was going to speak the truth, she confessed that the King had been bound by no promise of marriage. Yet he had displayed so much love that she had hoped their nuptials would follow her yielding [to intercourse]. Otherwise, she would never have allowed him [to have] intercourse [with her].

³⁰¹ *tutoris*

³⁰² Lit. “may I perish, if not”

³⁰³ *blandiciis*; elsewhere “flatteries”

³⁰⁴ *data fide*

³⁰⁵ *famae*, not *rumor* as just above

³⁰⁶ *fidem datam*

Therefore, with the falsity of the fictional marriage finally disclosed and {officially} declared, [and thus] with that scruple finally removed³⁰⁷ [448] the King married³⁰⁸ Elizabeth Grey and [admitted to] society with himself as queen [a woman who] shortly before was the wife of his enemy [and] often made prayers against his welfare. She was too dear to those above for her own evil [prayer] to be granted.

[448.4] But the Earl of Warwick, [after] he returned, so unwillingly tolerated his legation to be made {fun of} that, having gathered a band {of soldiers}, he drove the King into exile. Henry (whom Edward had deposed with the help of that same Warwick) was restored to the kingship from prison. That man was so [rich] in other resources³⁰⁹ and in popular favor that the kingship inclined towards whichever party he stood in, and he was powerful [enough] to assume [it] for himself, except that he considered³¹⁰ that it was more honorable to make kings than to reign.³¹¹ But immoderate power rarely is perpetual, as indeed Edward [showed], when he had been away two years (with the Queen meanwhile giving {birth} to the Prince in the aforementioned sanctuary), [and], with a company [of soldiers] by no {means whatsoever} equal to [that of] Warwick, fought [him] at Barnet, ten miles from London, with [the result that] Henry was captured again, and the Earl and a great [number of men] in both parties were killed in the slaughter. In {this way}, he established the kingship on his own house so [strongly] that it was not able to be shaken except by domestic dissension and internal fraud.

[448.17] Perhaps these narratives are too wordy, [but] it would absolutely not be proper [for them] thus to be omitted, lest one be ignorant that the Protector, [when] he was about to charge to Edward's sons a natal fault, could discover nothing that would impinge on [Edward's] marriage except a long-past and antiquated false {accusation}. Yet that fiction, however feeble, satisfied that [man], for whom it was enough only to say something, [since] indisputably, securely, and certainly, proofs of it would not be demanded. Therefore, after that it was decided that the beginning of insinuating the matter to the people [would be] for Shaw. [After going] so far that Edward and his brother Clarence and all Edward's offspring were declared bastards, he would display the Protector's right to the kingship, [and] would be silent [about] his wish [for it].

From the podium [450] on the next Lord's Day, at the Temple of Paul, with a very numerous audience that the fame of that man assembled, he commenced his discourse with this theme: "Bastard shoots do not produce deep roots." Then he opened [by saying that] a certain special and peculiar grace is always infused [into] and inspired in a legally contracted marriage, which is diverted into sacredly conceived offspring, and which those who are born from promiscuous or adulterous intercourse lack for the most part; they attest to the crime of their parents by their depravity and they chastise [them] by their misfortune, even so far that if someone, with the fault of his origin concealed by maternal fraud [and] the true heirs supplanted, invades the property³¹² of another's father and occupies [it] for a time, nevertheless the matter is arranged in {such a way} by God that shortly, with the truth bursting {out} through some crack, the legitimate successors are restored and the genuine shoots³¹³ are returned to their earth, with the bastard shoot³¹⁴ discovered and plucked {out} before it produces deep roots. When he had

³⁰⁷ *eluto*; or "washed away, purified"

³⁰⁸ *ducit*

³⁰⁹ This is the plural form of same word, *ops*, that means "help" just before.

³¹⁰ *duxisset*

³¹¹ a pun: *reges facere quam regnare*

³¹² *fortunas*

³¹³ *surculos*

³¹⁴ *vitulamine*

confirmed these [words] with several ancient examples, he immediately turned {aside} to praises of Richard, the late Duke of York, often in passing calling him the father of the Protector. Then, with the people reminded that perpetual succession to the kingship had been decreed for his descendants alone by an ordinance of the Senate and a statute of the Commons, he next declared³¹⁵ that Edward was joined to the Queen against law and right, [since] Lucy, his true and indubitable spouse, was [still] surviving, [and] since indeed [after] he had contracted marriage with that virgin, [and] then even confirmed [it] by their begotten offspring, he was led {astray} by the beauty of a widow coming {upon} [him] to hold fidelity after pleasure. Thus none of his offspring were eligible {by inheritance}³¹⁶ for the kingship. He pushed this topic with great straining,³¹⁷ not only with signs and suspicions but even with falsely named witnesses. He added that he was not ignorant of the amount of danger with which he spoke, but for those speaking from that place in which [452] he himself stood, the truth should be held more important than even life itself; for himself, John the Baptist was the exemplar³¹⁸ for despising death while he repudiated the illicit marriages of kings. Nevertheless, he was not very astonished that Edward put no weight as to whether he left proper or bastard [children], since neither he himself nor likewise his brother, the Duke of Clarence, held certain enough paternity, as they resembled certain notorious and noted men from the household of the Duke of York more than the Duke himself. He likewise said Edward had degenerated a long [way] from his noble nature.³¹⁹ Yet the Protector, the most illustrious of all men who sustain [themselves] from the earth, recalled his father not only in his life but even in his face itself. “Here is,” he said, “the one and only true and indubitable son of the Duke of York; here is the noted face of that man; here is the certain form and the very image of that dearest Duke still hovering in your breasts.”

[452.15] But it had already been agreed beforehand that while these words were being said the Protector would show himself. In {that way}, with such a speech coinciding with his arrival, it would be thought that the preacher was inspired to proclaim [that speech] not by a human plan, but by some divine nod {of approval}. Then the people would be moved by that [thought]³²⁰ so that they would acclaim Richard as king instantly; thus it would appear to posterity that he was chosen for the kingship by {divine} providence and almost by a miracle. In truth, that plan turned [out] ridiculously spoiled, whether by the negligence of the Protector or the excessive diligence of the preacher. For while both feared that his arrival would precede those words, with which it was supposed to {unexpectedly} coincide, the former contrived delays along the way, [while] the latter had so hastened in speaking that with that topic totally concluded, he had descended into other things neither similar nor related when the Protector came in at last. But the preacher, when he noticed [the Protector's] entrance, abandoned that matter [454] which he then held in his hands, [and] suddenly, as if stunned, with no connection or order but [rather] in a most inept return, he repeated those words again: “Here is the one and only true and indubitable son of the Duke of York” and what follows, in {the midst} of which words the Protector, with the Duke of Buckingham accompanying [him], marched through the middle of the people to a place in which he could hear the rest of the discourse. But they were so far {away} from acclaiming that [man] as king that they appeared almost turned into stones by

³¹⁵ *ostendit*

³¹⁶ *capacem*

³¹⁷ a pun; also “with a greatly labored, formal, speech”

³¹⁸ *authorem*; elsewhere “author”

³¹⁹ *indoles*; or “genius, natural quality”

³²⁰ Lit. “thing”

their amazement at so shameful of a sermon. Afterwards, when its author had asked a certain friend what men were thinking and saying about him, although he knew [well] enough from his own conscience they were not good [things], nevertheless when he learned they were all bad, he was so upset that after a few days he wasted {away} from sorrow.

[454.13] But since what had been begun so openly now appeared urgent,³²¹ with only one day interposed after that discourse, the Duke of Buckingham, with no scanty escort of nobles and knights (more perhaps than knew what they were bringing) came into the forum in London, a place both elegant and spacious³²² [enough] for a great crowd. Then, with the people convoked in the Senate-house,³²³ the Duke, from a higher place, surrounded by the nobles and Senate of London, advancing a little, as he was not utterly illiterate and [was] eloquent by his own nature, is reported to have used³²⁴ words of this {sort}:

[454.22] “Love of you, men of London, makes [it] so {that} we (for you recognize of what {sort} [of men] we are) come here {intending} to report to you about a matter of first importance, [and] neither more important than advantageous for the public, nor more advantageous for anyone than for you. Indeed, the matter is [something] which you have continually desired most greatly with your prayers, which you would seek far {off} and pay greatly for [456], [and] now we bring it to you of {our own accord}, with no risk³²⁵ for you, no labor, nor any expense whatsoever. Do you ask what it could be? Certainly the security of your bodies, the unassailed chastity of your wives and daughters, and your goods [made] certain for you and safe from treachery. Of all those things, what has there been for a long {while} now which anyone was able to certainly call his own, with so {many} threatening snares and pitfalls constructed, with so many and such large taxes besides exacted every year,³²⁶ of which there was then indeed no end, even when there was no need? What [need] there was came more from luxury and squandering than from any good and honorable cause. Thus it was stolen day {by day} from good [men] so that it could be wasted on the reprobate. This calamity had proceeded from there [so much] that already not even the customary forms of taxation sufficed, but the gentle and calm name “benevolences” was stretched {to cover} pure robbery. For the tax-collectors carried {away} from someone not the amount he willingly had given, but the amount that pleased themselves, as if the people, in assenting to the tax, had referred the designation “benevolences” to the will of the King himself, not to each [person's] good [will]. But [the King], never content with a moderate [amount], increased every pretext for scraping {together} [money] to the very utmost {extent}. Therefore crimes were assessed,³²⁷ not by their violence, but by the wealth of the transgressor. Thus the maximum fines were imposed for all minimal offenses. Indeed, sometimes a slip of the tongue was compensated for³²⁸ by the whole fortunes of rich [men], or, so that the [punishment]³²⁹ might appear to have been given out of anger [rather] than out of greed, [458] it was atoned for by death, when the vicious name of *lèse majesté* was alleged for a deed by {no means} death-bringing in itself.

³²¹ Lit. “to be urged”

³²² *capacem*

³²³ *curiam*

³²⁴ *habuisse*

³²⁵ *discrimen*; elsewhere “peril”

³²⁶ Lit. “not not annually”

³²⁷ elsewhere “appraised”

³²⁸ Lit. “redeemed”

³²⁹ Lit. “thing”

[458.3] There is not {one} of you, I suppose, who would demand examples of these deeds from me, as if the name of Burdet had escaped you, [that] of the best man, and for one word that thoughtlessly escaped [him] between drinks, he was cruelly slaughtered by the abuse of laws for the lust of the Prince, with no less glory for Markham, who, when he was the first of the judges, resisted (with his office taken {away} precisely on {that account}), than to the eternal disgrace of those judges who remained, and, corrupted by fear or flattery, murdered an innocent man who believed in their fidelity and piety by their perverse turning of laws. Why should I tell of Thomas Cook, a knight and your citizen, but of {a kind} few cities have, who both succeeded to all the honorable offices among you by proper legal {form} and managed [them] magnificently? Which of you is either so heedless of all these things that he does not recognize [them], or so forgetful that he does not remember [them], or so harsh that he does not groan {over} this man's conviction? Why do I say conviction? [Groan] for his calamity, for the spoils [taken] and [that] it happened that [he went] from so {much} wealth to not only poverty but even to nakedness, for no other cause than that he was loved by those with whom the King was enraged.

[458.20] But what finish will there be if I were to number [them] individually, when there is nobody from this great assembly who has not experienced (either from a lawsuit³³⁰ of his [friends] or of his own) whole households brought to the ultimate peril, and mostly for no cause, sometimes for a small [one] propped up with theatrically elevated³³¹ names? Indeed, there was no crime so great that a false accusation of it could lack an argument. For since the King anticipated [460] the legitimate time of his reigning, claiming³³² the scepter by war, there was an argument for treason against a rich [man] who had a blood-relative, an in-law, a [more distant] relative, a friend, a member {of his household}, or [even] someone he hardly knew, who was ever someone the King had for an enemy at {any time}, [although] at different times more than half of the populace was opposed to him. In this way, while a trap³³³ was laid for your goods, your bodies were dragged into danger simultaneously; and this was in peace, besides so {many} wartime hardships. Although a torrent of all evils flows {forth} from [war] as if from a wellspring, nevertheless it never overflowed more dangerously than anywhere belabored by internal sedition, nor did it ever happen with greater destruction of peoples than when it once issued {forth} into this Britain of ours, nor in [Britain] itself was [the populace] ever either so much rent by discord with unyielding [partisan] zeal, nor did [a people ever] contend more bitterly, nor was [a people ever] ruined by such a long war, nor by such frequent battles, nor was [war ever] fought so bloodily, nor did the sum of [these] things ever bring destruction almost to the end, as it did in this one [man's] principate, who, while he was beginning his kingship, then guarding³³⁴ [it], then was driven {out}, then returned and regained [it] again, [and] then took {vengeance} on his expellers, spilled as much English blood as it cost (not long {ago}) for France to be subjugated twice. Thus the people was diminished or overcome, [and] truly what part of the high nobility³³⁵ was left {behind}? And afterwards while the money of the former was sought [and] the power of the latter was feared, neither part was safe³³⁶ or at peace. And whom did he not suspect, [when] even his brother was frightening for him? Whom would he

³³⁰ *periculo*; “trial, danger, suit at law”

³³¹ Lit. “buskined”

³³² *vindicaret*

³³³ *insidias*; elsewhere “{treacherous} plot”

³³⁴ *tuetur*

³³⁵ *nobilium procerum*

³³⁶ *tuto*

have spared, who killed his own full {brother}, or who could have loved him if not even his brother could?

Now, who could tolerate this, which nevertheless nobody is ignorant of, that Shore's wife [462], a cheap whore, was more influential with the Prince than all the nobles of his kingdom, and that one [woman] was more solicited for advancing [petitions] than all the lords? Indeed some of these [men] used the prostitute's patronage in their great affairs, more necessarily than honorably. However, that {little} woman was reported as by no means impure until the wicked lust of the Prince stole her from her husband, indisputably your [fellow] citizen, [a man] not without resources and of good {innate} talent and hope. Yet in this matter I would rather forbear to speak about it out of reverence for the deceased, except that it is pointless that something everyone knows remain unsaid: There was such an insatiable ardor in [him] that no part of his morals appeared less bearable. For there was not ever any [woman], no {matter} how lowly or how powerful—a virgin, a wife, [or] a widow—towards whom he had [even] once cast his eye, who had pleased him by her manner, shape, face, voice, posture, or, in sum, any [feminine] quality, that he would not immediately pursue, solicit, [and] rape; restrained by no fear of God [and] by no disgrace, with irreparable injury to many women and with no less grief and sorrow for their husbands, parents, and any of their friends who remained, who, [along] with herself, are honorable. They hold the chastity of their wives and the honor of their household so dear that they would willingly consent to settle³³⁷ that any [amount] of their fortunes be thrown away so that such a reproach would not be brought in.

[462.22] But [though] it was allowed that the kingdom was astonishingly oppressed by these and other such [things] everywhere, nevertheless you, the citizens of this town, were always especially [oppressed], both since [464] there was no other [place] which abounded so copiously in occasions for injustices and because you were so much closer. For, [during] the greatest part of the year he was not far separated from the town. And nevertheless there are excellent underlying reasons that you are the [men] whom he should especially cherish, not only because from this city—the most renowned in the whole kingdom—much illustrious fame comes to the Prince among all foreigners (although because {of that}, too), but [also] because with great expense and danger to yourselves, in all his affairs, in prosperity and adversity, you always offered [him] the friendliest minds, extraordinary fidelity, [and] singular effort.

[464.10] Although he who ought to hold the most gratitude to you for your very pious affection toward the house of York [holds] the least, there now remains someone, at least (with those above nodding assent), who will act more diligently. That you would not be ignorant of this [man] is, finally, the cause of all this business of ours with you. While we explain it, I politely {request} that you pay attention, as you have begun [to do]. I know [well] enough there is no need that I review the same [matter] anew that Dr. Shaw so recently explained to you from the pulpit, a man far more eloquent than I am, and thus certainly a far weightier authority. For I do not arrogate so much to myself that I would claim that my words were of equal influence with those of a man who preaches the Word of God itself to the people, particularly [one] of such prudence that no one understands better what should be said [and] furthermore [one] so religious that he would certainly advocate nothing contrary to what he thought, particularly from that place to which no good [man] ever ascends intending to lie. Therefore, from such a man, you have learned by such preaching³³⁸ that the right of administering this kingdom is owed to

³³⁷ *decidere*; a legal term, “to compromise, put an end to a legal dispute”

³³⁸ Daniel Kinney's amends the clause at 464.23 to more closely reflect 1557's “which honorable preacher.” He prints: *Igitur ab hoc tali viro vos tanto predicatore didicistis*, which he translates, “And so from this fine man and

Richard, Duke of Gloucester, most powerful and most abounding in every kind of virtue, since indeed he now remains the [only] one who legally is able to succeed his father, the most renowned Duke, on whose blood, by a {formally} proposed law, [466] the kingship was confirmed, both because of Edward's illegitimate wedding, from which he was able to beget no offspring except a bastard, and for another reason which [Dr. Shaw] signified rather than {plainly} stated, [and] thus will not be spoken by me, since [the reason] is one which nobody avoids except³³⁹ gladly, out of shame and reverence for the Protector, so pious toward his mother, even such [as she is], retaining affection such that he unwillingly tolerates anything unfavorable against her, even when it is said for his own good.

[466.9] Therefore, when the nobles and the people (in good part) had {carefully} weighed these matters and had simultaneously considered [that] not only the warlike virtues, but all appropriate arts for governing a dominion besides, coincided by divine {providence} in this one man in such {a way} that he alone could appear born for the kingship, [and] not tolerating to be ruled any longer by a bastard seedling, nor [that] such bitter evils become longer established, voted with great consensus to approach the Protector with their supplications³⁴⁰ and to implore his mercy lest he reject their prayers and lest he refuse to take upon himself the burden of administering the kingdom, which he would be doing no more by his own right than for the public good. But without doubt he will not willingly accept this [benefit].³⁴¹ [Since] he is adept on {account of} his wisdom, he would easily weigh how much more care than advantage dominion carries with it, particularly for one who has thus resolved³⁴² to govern in the way I know [well] enough he is going to govern, if he takes it. I proclaim to you that that duty is not child's-play,³⁴³ and certainly that very {thing} [is what] that wise [man] perceived who said, "Woe to that kingdom whose king is a child." And [thus] there is more reason both for rejoicing in your fortune and for giving thanks to those above, by whose benevolence it has been provided that he whom they have destined for this kingship not only is of mature age, [but] indeed even has joined admirable prudence [468] with great experience of affairs and the highest glory at home and abroad, acquired by his virtue.

[468.3] Even if, as I said, he would reluctantly assume such a burden upon himself, nevertheless we hope it appears that he will oppose it not a little less if you, also, the most honorable citizens of by far the most illustrious city in this kingdom, would decide to join your prayers to our supplications in this matter. Although [it is granted] that you would act as we

great preacher you have learned" However, his version is not supported by any Group Three text. Kinney's version is closest to *A*: *Igitur ab hoc tali viro vos tanto predicatione didicistis*, but there is a clear difference. Kinney and 1557 refer to the preacher, while *A* refers to preaching. In addition, both *tali* and *tanto* are more ambiguous than Kinney makes them. Lewis & Short define the former as "of such an especial kind or nature (both in a good and a bad sense)," and note that the latter "conveys only the idea of relative greatness." Thus, *A* should be translated: "Therefore, from such a man as this, you have learned by such preaching." 1565 reads: *Igitur ab hoc tali ac tanto viro didicistis*, which I translate, "Therefore, from such [a place?; "loco" at 464.22] as this [i.e. the pulpit] and from such a man you have learned" It is also possible that *tali ac tanto* is misprinted from a manuscript which had the two words as variants for the same position. This is what we see in *P*, where *tanto* is a superscript variant for *tali* on the main line.

³³⁹ Lit. "not"

³⁴⁰ *supplicii*; a word almost always religious in meaning, or which could mean "to receive punishment," especially the death penalty

³⁴¹ *rem*, lit. "thing," could be understood as "advantage" or "benefit," or to mean *rem publicam* (republic) based on *publico* five words earlier.

³⁴² or "decreed, voted"

³⁴³ Lit. "is not anything childish to be played [with]"

have conceived no little hope [you would act], on account of your wisdom, nevertheless we still beg [you] vehemently, and [we] certainly [do] that more confidently³⁴⁴ because, besides these our prayers, which themselves we believe will also have some influence on account of our affection toward you, by selecting such a prince not only would you have benefited the entire kingdom for the public, but also you will especially procure advantages separately for yourselves, for whose favors he would always carry a debt, not otherwise than if you had given [him] dominion.”

[468.15] When the Duke had said this, he expected he would immediately be applauded with hands and feet, and that Richard would be unanimously³⁴⁵ acclaimed as king; so {much} he had hoped that the mayor had formed the people {beforehand}. But contrary to his great hope, when he considered the deep silence everywhere, whispering nearer to the mayor, he asked, “What does this manner {of acting} mean to you?”

“I suppose,” he said, “[that] your speech was not heard by them {clearly} enough.”

“That, indeed,” said the Duke, “is easily corrected,” and at once he repeated the same [things] somewhat more audibly than before, with other words, turned in a different order, truly so distinctly and ornately, with such a suitable voice, face, and posture, that anyone [who] was present would easily grant that he had never before heard such a bad cause declaimed so well. Yet, whether they were stunned from wonder or [470] from fear, or because each [man] preferred to follow another leader³⁴⁶ in speaking than go {ahead} himself, all {remained} equally silent. The mayor, therefore, also somewhat perturbed by this matter, gathering into a circle with the Duke and some confidants, said that {it was not} the custom for anything to be proposed to the citizens by any other than the Recorder's voice; perhaps the silence was born from there, lest they should appear to change their traditions. (The Londoners address as “Recorder” a man there who is the assistant of the mayor, learned in the laws of his country, so that he would not err through inexperience in returning judgments.) A certain Fitzwilliam had entered that office recently, an honorable and grave man, [and], since he had not yet ever addressed the people, such an inauspicious beginning badly annoyed him. Yet, ordered to speak [and] fearing harm³⁴⁷ to himself if he refused, he proposed the same things yet again, but he moderated his discourse in such {a way} that everything he said would be taken as the Duke's words, not his own. But the state of the people remained the same, no different [than before], not otherwise than to be as silent as usually prevails in deepest night,³⁴⁸ and with such an unmoved expression³⁴⁹ that by no sign at all did they manifest any sentiment of their minds.

[470.18] But the Duke, somewhat offended that they had received his speech with such adverse ears and minds, turned to the mayor [and] said, “Let them seek for someone [else] who could bear such obstinate silence,” and immediately he turned to the crowd. “Men of London,” he said, “we came to report about this matter to you, a matter in which we needed neither your help nor [your] counsel at all. For we nobles [and] the remaining people of the kingdom could have sufficed for choosing a prince, except that our love towards you had persuaded us that we not remove you from the handling of this matter, into which you were received as partners, so that it would repay [you] so exceedingly that, of [all] your advantages, none [could] equally

³⁴⁴ *confidentius*; elsewhere *confido* is “trust”

³⁴⁵ Lit. “by one voice of all”

³⁴⁶ Lit. “duke”

³⁴⁷ Lit. “evil”

³⁴⁸ Lit. “in the sleeping part of night”

³⁴⁹ elsewhere “face”

[repay you]. You appear either to insufficiently discern this mind of ours or to regard [it] as of little [importance], [since] indeed you have not [472] supposed it to be worthy of a response. Just respond with one word, at least, whether or not you want the most powerful Duke of Gloucester to be approved for the kingship, whom all the other nobles and people are going to select anyway. For once a response has been given either way, we will depart, and are going to trouble you no further about this matter.”

[472.6] Somewhat stirred at this discourse, the people muttered among themselves and more a sound was heard than words, of the kind rendered by bees departing from their hive, until from the farthest part of the Senate-house, in which the servants of a certain Nashfield, participants in the plot,³⁵⁰ had crowded {together}, a shout was unexpectedly raised from the back repeating: “King Richard!” The astonished citizens turned their necks back. But (as {usually} happens in a crowd) certain slaves with no concern for Richard joined themselves with those shouting, and boys elated by any alteration of things³⁵¹ whatsoever also presently threw their hats and caps upwards in a sign of their joy.

[472.15] But the Duke, although he was displeased that no honorable citizen appeared in that party, nevertheless deftly turned the deed in favor of himself: having called for silence again, he said that shouting was a most pleasant [deed] of so happy a mind in electing the king and in consenting as one, that not even one [voice] was heard which spoke against [it]. “When it will be opportune, we will make [it] so that he hears [about] your very extraordinary affection, as he will no doubt turn [it] sometime to your great good. But meanwhile we beg you that tomorrow all of us approach his majesty together to ask that what you have offered to him with such a consensus, he will make valid by his consent.”³⁵² With these words, he descended; the others departed, part openly sad [and] many with pretended joy; nor were those lacking from the Duke's attendants who, when they were not able to suppress their grief (which they did not [474] dare to display), were compelled to turn their face toward the wall while the anguish of their heart burst {forth} through their eyes.

[474.3] Therefore, on the {next} day the nobles and citizens in a great throng approached the Protector, who was lodging there in London. The messenger sent inside affirmed that all the nobles [and] the Senate and people of London were at the gate, who were desiring and expecting³⁵³ a discussion. But he at first hesitated³⁵⁴ to go {forth}, uncertain what that crowd endeavored [to do], which came {upon} [him] so unexpectedly. The Duke, when it was reported to him, displayed this hesitation of the Protector to the others, so that they would know how far away the Protector still was from this proposed thought. As for the rest, having sent back the messenger, they implored with great prayers to be admitted, reporting that, except in his presence, they would not reveal the things that they were going to reveal. Finally, therefore, he came {out}. Nevertheless, he still did not completely entrust himself [to them], but indeed received and responded to [their] discourse looking down³⁵⁵ from a walkway above. Then, [once] all [of them] were quiet, the Duke, in an equally distinguished {manner}, first begged that it be permitted to them to speak freely the things they wanted, without any offense to him, for although they had contemplated nothing from there that would not result in both honor for him

³⁵⁰ elsewhere “counsel”

³⁵¹ See Sallust, *Conspiracy of Catiline* 39.3, where this phrase means “political revolution.”

³⁵² elsewhere “consensus.” The word is in the same case and only four words apart from the one before.

³⁵³ a pun in Latin: *expetant expectent*

³⁵⁴ Lit. “doubted”

³⁵⁵ or “despising.”

and advantage for the kingdom, nevertheless, since they were uncertain how his serenity on [his] part would accept [it], they would speak nothing themselves unless they obtained his pardon. To this, the Protector, as he was in such a matter extremely benevolent and affable, [and] there was an amazing burning {desire} in him then for knowing [476] what they wanted, nodded {assent}, and encouraged [them], lest they hesitate³⁵⁶ to declare anything they had decided, [as] truly, his consciousness of his own mind towards them persuaded [him] that there was nothing anyone thought about him which was not more worthy of thanks than pardon.

[476.5] Therefore the Duke, finally secured by that speech of the Protector, dared to explain the matter with its causes and eventually to implore his immense mercy, lest he neglect a kingdom so continually afflicted by so many intolerable evils, [and] that he might regard the nobles and the people (prostrated at his feet) with his accustomed benevolence, subject his shoulders to a country fallen upon him alone, lift up a republic [which was] almost destroyed and trampled upon, [and] finally, that he might lay hands on³⁵⁷ the scepter as if on the beam of a ship continually drifting without a skilled steersman,³⁵⁸ and that he would suffer that worshipful head to be burdened with a diadem, and neither fear the storms of dominion nor be seduced by immoderate moderation so much that, for the sake of his [own] peace [but] with that of the public neglected, he would flee³⁵⁹ the kingship owed to him by human custom, the British republic³⁶⁰ destined [for him] by the presiding heavenly ones, from which [kingship] he would get so much more honor and less worry because no king ever commanded a people as willing as his [people], which of itself was burning [with desire] for the auspices for the king.³⁶¹

[476.21] When the Protector heard³⁶² the Duke's words, with his face by no {means whatsoever} nodding assent, he responded that he himself was not ignorant that the things were true that [the Duke] had reported; nevertheless he had such affection for his brother [and] such [affection] for his children, [and] moreover he had so much regard³⁶³ for his own honor that he would prefer [it] to even three crowns, that he was not able to lead his mind to comply with their petition. Indeed foreign nations, for whom the way³⁶⁴ [478] by which it was managed would have been less ascertained, would appraise him, also, by others' greed, [and] thus his reputation would come into danger, [if] he did not reject those [things] concerning the kingship which [the Duke] offered of his own accord. He was able to cede his right not {at all} reluctantly because he had seen that it always brings more gall than honey to him who intended to rule in such {a manner} [that] it ought not to be permitted for [some]one [to rule] who did not want [to rule] in that manner; but nevertheless he not only forgave their request, truly he even had gratitude [and] would [continue to] have [gratitude] for their extraordinarily well-disposed wills toward him. Yet he pleaded that even for his sake, what[ever] mind they bore towards himself, they should

³⁵⁶ Lit. "doubt"

³⁵⁷ In Latin, *manus ... admoveret* can mean both "put one's hand to something" (here to the scepter) for the purpose of work, and to "violently seize" it.

³⁵⁸ In Latin, the same word, "*gubernator*" means both our cognate "governor" (of a country) and "steersman" (of a ship).

³⁵⁹ In Laint, "*refugio*" is especially to run away to a place of refuge, such as a sanctuary.

³⁶⁰ Lit. "the British thing." The Latin has only "*rem ... Britanicam*" here. I understand *publicam* based on *publicae* just above (476.15-6).

³⁶¹ This can mean either that they eagerly await the beginning of Richard's reign, or they eagerly await the divine omens which will tell whether or not it will be a good beginning. Also, Richard is not king yet, Edward V is, and has not yet had his auspices.

³⁶² Lit. "accepted."

³⁶³ Lit. "reason"

³⁶⁴ Lit. "thing"

avow it totally to the Prince, whom he would prefer to obey than to rule. Nevertheless, to whatever {extent} it might please the King, his labor and counsel would not ever be lacking for the republic, which he had assisted some small [amount] even in the time of his administration (the credit for which he referred to God, not to himself), especially on account of some vile endeavors which had disturbed [the republic] before and were agitating so that they might damage [it] anew, which he had suppressed partly by his own industry, but mostly by divine providence.

[478.18] Then the Duke, having briefly held a conversation with his [men], indicated again that the affair was the sort which they [indeed] should have begun, so that even if it were to be approached anew, nevertheless they would [still] want [to begin] it, with abundant reasons; [as it was] now, truly, they had gone forward too far for coming back.³⁶⁵ Besides, it was determined by the fathers and the people that they would not tolerate [any] longer to be ruled by Edward's bastard children. Therefore, if he would not spurn the dominion offered [to him] on their own accord [480], he was the one desired as prince by all their prayers; but if he entirely [and] positively responded that he would not be accepting, they would easily find somebody for whom the republic would be of concern.

[480.4] These words alone bent Richard's mind (so strongly abhorring [the kingship³⁶⁶]), considering that if he would himself refuse, nevertheless his nephew was going to rule no more. Therefore he said, "While I lament your decision, with your mind so steadfast not to tolerate this king any longer, I neither see it to be possible nor perceive it to be right that unwilling [men] be ruled by anyone. Certainly, it belongs to me; although I know there is no other to whom the kingship is owed by right of inheritance, nevertheless I consider these your wills of more [import] than all laws, the whole force of which depends on you. Since I {clearly} see your consensus toward me is so solid, lest I appear either insufficient of courage in zealously {administering} the republic,³⁶⁷ or not to recognize your goodwill toward me, behold! Here on this day, I take upon myself the government of the two kingdoms of England and France, the one so that I might guard³⁶⁸ and enlarge it, and the other that I might subject it to [the first] and restore it to obeying your sovereignty, to which it ought to submit. Indeed I consider merely the administration of them mine, truly the right and profit and ownership of each of them totally yours, not at all doubtfully public. The day on which I shall have ceased to have that mind is the day I pray that those above take away from me, not only this kingdom of yours, which I would have wickedly tried to steal, but even my life itself, which would be unworthy to be retained."

This speech of his received a shout of joy, repeating: "King Richard!!" The nobles, with the king (for so he was called from that [482] hour), withdrew inside; the people departed for home variously affected, and they were discussing among themselves many things about this affair. But most in their mouth was this shameless pretense of acting and speaking as if the Protector had never before either heard or thought about what had been done, when meanwhile they themselves indeed did not doubt that nobody was so stupid as to have doubt that this great affair was conducted by agreement. But others argued [in favor of] custom and received convention in human affairs, which requires all great affairs to be accomplished with some legitimate ceremonies. Indeed, some [things] are rustically managed if those who conduct

³⁶⁵ Lit. "They had progressed farther than could be returned from."

³⁶⁶ From *1565*. Perhaps, though, it should be "the dominion."

³⁶⁷ or "zealously engaging in public affairs." Lit. "eagerly snatching the republic."

³⁶⁸ *tuear*

[them] do not pretend to some extent, and the spectators [do not] dissemble³⁶⁹. For also one who is created a bishop is asked twice whether he wants to, and twice denies it, exceedingly devoutly, [and] the third {time} he is barely able to be induced to want it, as if he speaks unwillingly. If, however, he pays nothing to the prince, nevertheless, the bulls purchased from the Pope utterly declare his ambition. Indeed, are the people ignorant that one who plays an emperor in a tragedy is perhaps a craftsman? Nevertheless it is such lack of knowledge to know that which you know, that if someone calls him what he truly is, not who he falsely is pretended to be, he comes into danger; indeed he is given a good beating for a bad joke by the simulated henchmen, even as he deserved, who undertook to disorder the whole play with an untimely truth. In the same way, the tragedies they had watched were kings' games; the people had been called into it only to watch, and one who is wise would only {intend} to watch. Some who, by an impulse, appeared on stage and intermingled themselves with the theatrical company disordered the play through their inexperience [and] thrust themselves into great danger.

On the following day, with a large escort, he came into the forum (not that of London, but a larger and more majestic [one] which is near the palace adjoining West[minster] abbey), where {legal} causes are pled from all parts of the kingdom indiscriminately. There, when he had placed himself in the seat which is called kingly [King's Bench], because judgments are reported in that court as if [484] they were pronounced from the mouth of the king himself, {turning} back before the assembly, he declared that he was to take possession of the kingship from that place especially, from where {judicial} decisions are announced to the people by the mouth of the king, because he had supposed that it {must be} done when he thus perceived that to be king was precisely to execute the laws and to act as their servant. Then, with a speech as flattering as possible, he [tried to] win {over} the nobles, the merchants, the artisans, and in sum every kind of man, but particularly the colleges which study British laws. Finally, lest fear make him hated by anyone, at the {same time} as he appeared benevolent, he spoke {beforehand} with treacherous mercy [about] the evils of dissensions and the goods of concord. He decreed that all enmities were erased from his mind, [and] he publicly forgave all [men] of all offenses against himself. As an example by which to proclaim this deed, he ordered [one] Fogg to be summoned to him, whom he mortally hated. Having led him out of the adjacent sanctuary (for he had {taken} refuge there out of his fear), he gave [Fogg] his hand in the sight of the people. [This] deed, accepted and scattered with praises by the commoners, the prudent held as empty. While returning, he [always fawned upon³⁷⁰] whomever he had met on the way, [for] a mind conscious of having become guilty always prostrates [itself] to a nearly servile flattery. Indeed, he was not secure even so, nor did he trust those upon whom he fawned; he did not withdraw his hand from his sword-hilt, and he looked {around} in all directions just like he was {about to strike} back.

With this staged election, he had begun to reign on the [26th] of June. He was crowned the ___ day³⁷¹ of the same month, and that celebration was carried {through} for the most part with the same paraphernalia which had been destined³⁷² for his nephew's crowning.

³⁶⁹ Lit. "if those who conduct [them] do not simulate ... and the spectators do not dissimulate"

³⁷⁰ Cf. 1557 "whom so euer he met he saluted." Daniel Kinney suspects *semper adblandiri nam* has been omitted through haplography. See CW 15, pp. cxxxix-cxl and note 234 in Chapter Two above.

³⁷¹ See note 273 in Chapter Two above.

³⁷² The last word of the work in *P* is *destinatus*.