

**The Project Gutenberg eBook of Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland
(3 of 6): England (5 of 9), by Raphael Holinshed**

This ebook is for the use of anyone anywhere in the United States and most other parts of the world at no cost and with almost no restrictions whatsoever. You may copy it, give it away or re-use it under the terms of the Project Gutenberg License included with this ebook or online at www.gutenberg.org. If you are not located in the United States, you'll have to check the laws of the country where you are located before using this eBook.

Title: Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland (3 of 6): England (5 of 9)

Author: Raphael Holinshed

Release date: May 8, 2014 [EBook #45614]

Language: English

Credits: Produced by Jonathan Ingram, Richard Tonsing and the Online
Distributed Proofreading Team at <http://www.pgdp.net>

*** START OF THE PROJECT GUTENBERG EBOOK CHRONICLES OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND
AND IRELAND (3 OF 6): ENGLAND (5 OF 9) ***

**THE HISTORIE OF
KING EDWARD THE FIFT,
AND
KING RICHARD THE THIRD vnfinished,**

**Written by Maister Thomas More then one of the vnder shiriffes of London, about the
yeare of our Lord 1513, according to a copie of his owne hand, printed among his other
Works.**

KING Edward the fourth of that name, after that he had liued fiftie & threé yeeres, seuen moneths, and six daies, and thereof reigned two and twentie yeares, one moneth, & eight daies, died at Westminster the ninth dale of Aprill, the yeare of our redemption, a thousand foure hundred fourescore and threé; leauing much faire issue, that is to wit, Edward the prince, a thirtéene yeares of age, Richard duke of Yorke two yeares yoonger; Elizabeth, whose fortune and grace was after to be quéene, wife vnto king Henrie the seuenth, and mother vnto the eight; Cicilie, not so fortunate as faire; Briget, which representing the vertue of hir, whose name she bare, professed and obserued a religious life in Dertford, an house of close nunnes; Anne, that was after honorablie married vnto Thomas, then lord Howard, and after earle of Surrie; and Katharine, which long time tossed in either fortune, sometime in wealth, oft in aduersitie, at the last, if this be the last (for^[1] yet she liueth) is by the benignitie of hir nephue king Henrie the eight, in verie prosperous estate, and worthie hir birth and vertue.

1483.

[1] She liued at such time as this storie was penned.

This noble prince deceased at his palace of Westminster, and with great funerall honor and heauinesse of his people from thence conueied, was interred at Windsor. A king of such gouernance & behauior, in time of peace (for in warre each part must néeds be others enimie) that there was neuer anie prince of this land, attaining the crowne by battell, so heartilie beloued with the substance of the people: nor hée himselfe so speciallie in anie part of his life, as at the time of his death. Which fauour and affection, yet after his deceasse, by the crueltie, mischiefe, and trouble of the tempestuous world that followed, highlie toward him more increased. At such time as he died, the displeasure of those that bare him grudge for king Henrie's sake the sixt, whome he deposed, was well asswaged, & in effect quenched, in that manie of them were dead in more than twentie yeres of his reigne, a great part of a long life: and manie of them in the meane season growne into his fauour, of which he was neuer strange.

The loue of the people.

He was a goodlie personage, and princelie to behold, of heart couragious, politike in counsell, in aduersitie nothing abashed, in prosperitie rather ioifull than proud, peace iust and mercifull, in warre sharpe and fierce, in the field bold and hardie, and nathesle no further (than wisdom would) aduenturous, whose warres who so well considered, he shall no lesse commend his wisdom where he voided, than his manhood where he vanquished. He was of visage louelie, of bodie mightie, strong, and cleane made: howbeit, in his latter daies with ouer liberall diet somewhat corpulent and boorelie, and nathesle not vncomelie. He was of youth greatlie giuen to fleshlie wantonnesse: from which health of bodie, in great prosperitie and fortune, without a speciall grace hardlie refraineth, the poet implieng no lesse and saieng:

Description of Edward the fourth.

Mens erit apta capi tunc cùm lætissima rerum.
Vt seges in pingui luxuriabit humo.

This fault not greatlie gréued the people: for neither could anie one mans pleasure stretch and extend to the displeasure of verie manie, and was without violence, and ouer that in his latter daies lessed, and well left. In which time of his latter daies this realme was in quiet and prosperous estate, no feare of outward enimies, no warre in hand, nor none toward, but such as no man looked for. The people toward the prince, not in a constrained feare, but in a willing and louing obedience: among themselues the commons in good peace. The lords, whome hée knew at variance, himselfe in his death bed appeased: he had left all gathering of monie (which is the onelie thing that withdraweth the hearts of English men from the prince) nor anie thing intended he to take in hand, by which he should be driuen therto: for his tribute out of France he had before obtained; and the yeare foregoing his death, he had obtained Berwike.

And albeit that all the time of his reigne he was with his people, so benigne, courteous, and so familiar, that no part of his vertues was more estéemed: yet the condition in the end of his daies (in which manie princes by a long continued souereigntie decline into a proud port from debonair behauior of their beginning) maruellouslie in him grew and increased: so farre foorth, that in summer (the last that euer hée saw) his highnesse being at Windsor in hunting, sent for the maior & aldermen of London to him for none other errand, but to haue them hunt & be merrie with him, where he made them not so statelie, but so fréendlie and familiar chéere, and sent venison from thence so freelie into the citie, that no one thing in manie daies before gat him either more hearts, or more heartie fauour amongst the common people; which oftentimes more estéeme and take for greater kindnesse a little courtesie, than a great benefit.

Sée before pag. 705.

So deceased (as I haue said) this noble king, in that time in which his life was most desired. Whose loue of his people, and their entire affection towards him, had béene to his noble children (hauing in themselues also as manie gifts of nature, as manie princelie vertues, as much goodlie towardnesse as their age could receiue) a maruellous fortresse and sure armor, if diuision and dissention of their fréends had not vnarmed them, and left them destitute, and the execrable desire of souereigntie prouoked him to their destruction: which if either kind or kindnesse had holden place, must néeds haue béene their chéefe defense. For Richard the duke of Glocester, by nature their vnclie, by office their protector, to their father beholden, to themselues by oth and allegiance bounden, all the bands broken that bind man and man together, without anie respect of God or the world, vnnaturallic contriued to beréue them, not onelie their dignitie, but also their liues.

But forsomuch as this dukes demeanor ministreth in effect all the whole matter whereof this booke shall intreat, it is therefore conuenient somewhat to shew you yer we further go, what maner of man this was, that could find in his hart such mischiefe to conceiue. Richard duke of Yorke, a noble man and a mightie, began not by warre, but by law to challenge the crowne, putting his claime into the parlement, where his cause was either for right or fauor so farre fourth aduanced, that king Henrie his bloud (albeit he had a goodlie prince) vtterlie reiected, the crowne was by authoritie of parlement intailed vnto the duke of Yorke and his issue male in remainder, immediatlíe after the death of king Henrie. But the duke not induring so long to tarrie, but intending vnder pretext of dissention and debate arising in the realme, to preuent his time, and to take vpon him the rule in king Henrie his life, was with manie nobles of the realme at Wakefield slaine, leauing thrée sonnes, Edward George, and Richard.

Richard duke of Yorke.

All thrée as they were great states of birth, so were they great and statelie of stomach, greedie and ambitious of authoritie, and impatient of partners. Edward reuenging his fathers death, depriued king Henrie, and attained the crowne. George duke of Clarence was a goodlie noble prince, and at all times fortunate, if either his owne ambition had not set him against his brother, or the enuie of his enimies^[2] his brother against him. For were it by the quéene and lords of hir bloud, which highlie maligned the kings kinred (as women commonlie not of malice, but of nature hate them whome their husbands loue) or were a proud appetite of the duke himselve, intending to be king; at the least wise heinous treason was there laid to his charge: and finallie, were he hée faultie, were he faultlesse, attainted was he by parlement, and iudged to the death, and therevpon hastilie drowned in a butt of malmesie. Whose death king Edward (albeit he commanded it) when he wist it was doone, pitiouslie bewailed, and sorrowfullie repented.

Edward.

George duke of Clarence.

[2] Had not set.

Richard the third sonne, of whome we now intreat, was in wit and courage equall with either of them, in bodie and prowesse farre vnder them both, litle of stature, ill featured of limmes, crooke backed, his left shoulder much higher than his right, hard fauoured of visage, and such as is in states called warilie, in other men otherwise; he was malicious, wrathfull, enuious, and from afore his birth euer froward. It is for truth reported, that the duchesse his mother had so much adoo in hir trauell, that she could not be deliuered of him vncut; and that he came into the world with the féet forward, as men be borne outward, and (as the fame runneth also) not vntoothed, whether men of hatred report aboute the truth, or else that nature changed hir course in his beginning, which in the course of his life manie things vnnaturallie committed. So that the full confluence of these qualities, with the defects of fauour and amiable proportion, gaue prooffe to this rule of physiognomic:

The description of Richard the third.

Distortum vultum sequitur distorsio morum.

None euill capteine was he in the warre, as to which his disposition was more méetlie than for peace. Sundrie victories had he, & sometimes ouerthrowes; but neuer on default as for his owne person, either of hardinesse or politike order. Frée was he called of dispense, and somewhat aboute his power liberall: with large gifts he gat him vnstedfast fréendship, for which he was faine to pill and spoile in other places, and got him stedfast hatred. He was close and secret, a déepe dissembler, lowlie of countenance, arrogant of heart, outwardlie companiable where he inwardlie hated, not letting to kisse whome he thought to kill: despitious and cruell, not for euill will alway, but offer for ambition, and either for the suertie or increase of his estate.

Friend and fo was much what indifferent, where his aduantage grew, he spared no mans death whose life withstode his purpose. He slue with his owne hands king Henrie the sixt, being prisoner in the Tower, as men constantlie said, and that without commandement or knowledge of the king, which would vndoubtedlie (if he had intended that thing) haue appointed that butcherlie office to some other, than his owne borne brother. Some wise men also weene, that his drift courtlie conueied, lacked not in helping fourth his brother of Clarence to his death: which he resisted openlie, howbeit somewhat (as men déemed) more faintlie than he that were hartilie minded to his wealth.

The death of king Henrie the sixt.

And they that thus déeme, thinke that he long time in king Edwards life forethought to be king; in case that the king his brother (whose life he looked that euill diet should shorten) should happen to deceasse (as in déed he did) while his children were yoong. And they déeme, that for this intent he was glad of his brothers death the duke of Clarence, whose life must néeds haue hindered him so intending, whether the same duke of Clarence had kept him true to his nephue the yoong king, or enterprised to be king himselve. But of all this point is there no certeintie, and who so diuineth vpon coniectures, maie as well shoot too farre as too short.

Howbeit this haue I by credible information learned, that the selfe night, in which king Edward died, one Mistlebrooke, long yer morning, came in great hast to the house of one Pottier dwelling in Redcrosse-stréet without Creplegate: and when he was with hastie rapping quickelie letten in, he shewed vnto Pottier, that king Edward was departed. "By my truth man" quoth Pottier, "then will my maister the duke of Gloucester be king." What cause he had so to thinke, hard it is to saie; whether he being toward him, anie thing knew that he such thing purposed, or otherwise had anie inckeling thereof: for he was not likelie to speake it of nought.

But now to returne to the course of this historie. Were it that the duke of Glocester had of old foreminded this conclusion, or was now at erst therevnto mooued, and put in hope by the occasion of the tender age of the yoong princes, his nephues (as opportunitie & likelihood of speed putteth a man in courage of that he neuer intended) certeine it is that he contriued their destruction, with the vsurpation of the regall dignitie vpon himselfe. And forsomuch as he well wist and holpe to mainteine a long continued grudge and heart-burning betwéene the quéens kinred and the kings bloud, either partie enuieng others authoritie, he now thought that their diuision should be (as it was in déed) a furtherlie beginning to the pursuit of his intent.

Nay he was resolved, that the same was a sure ground for the foundation of all his building, if he might first (vnder the pretext of reuenging of old displeasure) abuse the anger and ignorance of the tone partie to the destruction of the tother; and then win to his purpose as manie as he could, and those that could not be woone, might be lost yer they looked therfore. For of one thing was he certeine, that if his intent were perceiued, he should soone haue made peace betwéene both the parties with his owne bloud. King Edward in his life, albeit that this dissention betwéene his fréends somewhat irked him: yet in his good health he somewhat the lesse regarded it: bicause he thought whatsoever businesse should fall betwéene them, himselfe should alwaie be able to rule both the parties.

But in his last sicknesse, when he perceiued his naturall strength so sore infébled, that he despaired all recouerie, then he, considering the youth of his children, albeit he nothing lesse mistrusted than that that hapned; yet well foreséeing that manie harmes might grow by their debate, while the youth of his children should lacke discretion of themselues, & good counsell of their fréends, of which either partie should counsell for their owne commoditie, & rather by pleasant aduise to win themselues fauor, than by profitable aduertisement to doo the children good, he called some of them before him that were at variance, and in especiall the lord marquesse Dorset the quéenes sonne by hir first husband.

So did he also William the lord Hastings a noble man, then lord chamberleine, against whome the quéene speciallie grudged, for the great fauour the king bare him: and also for that she thought him secretlie familiar with the king in wanton companie. Hir kinred also bare him sore, as well for that the king had made him capteine of Calis, which office the lord Riuers, brother to the quéene, claimed of the kings former promise, as for diuerse other great gifts which he receiued, that they looked for. When these lords, with diuerse other of both the parties, were come in presence, the king lifting vp himselfe, and vnder set with pillowes, as it is reported, on this wise said vnto them.

Hastings lord
chamberleine maligned
of the quéene & hir kin.

The oration of the king on his death-bed.

My lords, my déere kinsmen and alies, in what plight I lie you sée, and I feele. By which the lesse while I looke to liue with you, the more deepelie am I mooued to care in what case I leaue you, for such as I leaue you, such be my children like to find you. Which if they should (as God forbid) find you at variance, might hap to fall themselues at warre, yer their discretion would serue to set you at peace. Ye sée their youth, of which I reckon the onelie suertie to rest in your concord. For it sufficeth not that all you loue them, if ech of you hate other: if they were men, your faithfulnessse happilie would suffice. But childhood must be mainteined by mens authoritie, and slipper youth vnderpropped with elder counsell, which neither they can haue but ye giue it, nor ye giue it if ye gree not.

For where ech laboureth to breake that the other maketh, and for hatred of ech of others person impugnech ech others counsell, there must it néeds be long yer anie good conclusion go forward. And also while either partie laboureth to be chéefe, flatterie shall haue more place than plaine and faithfull aduise: of which must néeds insue the euill bringing vp of the prince, whose mind in tender youth infect, shall redilie fall to mischéefe and riot, and draw dowue with his noble relme to ruine. But if grace turne him to wisdom: which if God send, then they that by euill meanes before pleased him best, shall after fall furthest out of fauour: so that euer at length euill drifts shall draw to nought, and good plaine waies prosper.

Great variance hath there long béene betwéene you, not alwaie for great causes. Sometimes a thing right well intended, our misconstruction turneth vnto woorse; or a small displeasure doone vs, either our owne affection or euill toongs aggreeueth. But this wot I well, ye neuer had so great cause of hatred, as ye haue of loue. That we be all men, that we be christian men, this shall I leaue for preachers to tell you; and yet I wot néere whether anie preachers words ought more to mooue you, than his that is by & by going to the place that they all preach of.

But this shall I desire you to remember, that the one part of you is of my blood, the other of mine alies; and ech of you with other either of kinred or affinitie; which spirituall kinred of affinitie, if the sacraments of Christs church beare that weight with vs that would God they did, should no lesse mooue vs to charitie, than the respect of fleshlie consanguinitie. Our Lord forbid, that you loue together the woorse, for the selfe cause that you ought to loue the better. And yet that happeneth, and no where find we so deadlie debate, as among them, which by nature and law most ought to agrée together. Such a pestilent serpent is ambition and desire of vaine glorie and souereigntie, which among states where she once entereth, creepeth foorth so farre, till with diuision and variance she turneth all to mischéefe: first longing to be next vnto the best, afterward equall with the best, & at last chéefe and aboue the best.

The nature of ambition.

Of which immoderate appetite of worship, and thereby of debate and dissention, what losse, what sorow, what trouble hath within these few yeares growne in this realme, I praie God as well forget, as we well remember. Which things if I could as well haue foreseene, as I haue with my more paine than pleasure prooued, by Gods blessed ladie (that was euer his oth) I would neuer haue woone the courtesie of mens knées, with the losse of so manie heads. But sithens things passed can not be gaine called, much ought we the more beware, by what occasion we haue taken so great hurt afore, that we eftsoones fall not in that occasion againe.

Now be those greifs passed, and all is (God be thanked) quiet, and likelie right well to prosper in wealthfull peace vnder your coosins my children, if God send them life and you loue. Of which two things, the lesse losse were they, by whom though God did his pleasure, yet should the realme alwaie find kings, and peradventure as good kings.

But if you among your selues in a childes reigne fall at debate, manie a good man shall perish, and happilie he too, and ye too, yer this land find peace againe. Wherefore in these last words that euer I looke to speake with you, I exhort you and require you all, for the loue that you haue euer borne to me; for the loue that I haue euer borne vnto you; for the loue that our Lord beareth to vs all; from this time forward (all greifs forgotten) ech of you loue other. Which I verilie trust you will, if ye anie thing earthlie regard, either God or your king, affinitie or kinred, this realme, your owne countrie, or your owne suertie. And therewithall the king no longer induring to sit vp, laid him downe on his right side, his face towards them: and none was there present that could refraine from wéeeping.

But the lords recomforting him with as good words as they could, and answering for the time as they thought to stand with his pleasure, there in his presence, as by their words appeared, ech forgaue other, and ioined their hands together, when (as it after appeared by their déeds) their hearts were farre asunder. As soone as the king was departed, the noble prince his sonne drew toward London, which at the time of his deceasse kept his houshold at Ludlow in Wales, which countrie being farre off from the law and recourse to iustice, was begun to be farre out of good rule, and waxen wild robbers and reauers, walking at libertie vncorrected. And for this occasion the prince was in the life of his father sent thither, to the end that the authoritie of his presence should refraine euill disposed persons from the boldnesse of their former outrages.

A counterfet and pretended reconciliation.

To the gouernance and ordering of this yoong prince at his sending ,.....

thither, was there appointed sir Anthonie Wooduile lord Riuers, and brother vnto the quéene, a right honourable man, as valiant of hand as politike in counsell. Adioined were there vnto him other of the same partie; and in effect euerie one as he was néerest of kin vnto the quéene, so was he planted next about the prince. That drift by the quéene not vnwiselie deused, whereby hir bloud might of youth be rooted into the princes fauour, the duke of Glocester turned vnto their destruction; and vpon that ground set the foundation of all his vnhappie building. For whome soeuer he perceiued either at variance with them, or bearing himselve their fauour, he brake vnto them some by mouth, & some by writing.

Lord Riuers.

The duke of Glocesters solicitations.

Nay, he sent secret messengers saieng, that it neither was reason, nor in anie wise to be suffered, that the yoong king their maister and kinsman, should be in the hands and custodie of his mother's kinred, sequestred in maner from their companie and attendance, of which euerie one ought him as faithfull seruice as they, and manie of them farre more honourable part of kin than his mother's side. Whose bloud (quoth he) sauing the kings pleasure, was full vnméetelie to be matched with his: which now to be as who say remooued from the king, and the lesse noble to be left about him, is (quoth he) neither honourable to his maiestie nor to vs, and also to his grace no suertie, to haue the mightiest of his fréends from him; and vnto vs no little ieopardie, to suffer our well prooued euill willers to grow in ouer-great authoritie with the prince in youth; namelie, which is light of beléefe and soone persuaded.

Yée remember (I trow) king Edward himselve, albeit he was a man of age & discretion, yet was he in manie things ruled by the bend, more than stood either with his honor, or our profit, or with the cōmoditie of any man else, except onlie the immoderate aduancement of themselues. Which, whether they sorer thirsted after their owne weale, or our wo, it were hard (I wéene) to gesse. And if some folks fréendship had not holden better place with the king, than anie respect of kinred, they might peradventure easilie haue betrayed and brought to confusion some of vs yer this. Why not as easilie as they haue doone some other already, as néere of his roiall bloud as we? But our Lord hath wrought his will, and (thanks be to his grace) that perill is past. Howbeit as great is growing, if we suffer this yoong king in our enimies hand, which without his witting might abuse the name of his commandement, to anie of our vndooing, which thing God [defend] and good prouision forbid.

Of which good prouision none of vs hath anie thing the lesse néed, for the late made attonement, in which the kings pleasure had more place than the parties willes. Nor none of vs (I beléue) is so vnwise, ouersoone to trust a new fréend made of an old fo; or to thinke that an hourlie kindnesse, suddenlie contracted in one houre, continued yet scant a fortnight, should be déeper settled in their stomachs, than a long accustomed malice manie yeares rooted. With these words and writings, and such other, the duke of Glocester soone set on fire them that were of themselues easie to kindle, & in speciallie twaine, Edward duke of Buckingham, and William lord Hastings then chamberleine, both men of honour & of great power; the one by long succession from his ancestrie, the other by his office and the kings fauour. These two, not bearing ech to other so much loue, as hatred both vnto the quéenes part: in this point accorded together with the duke of Glocester, that they would vtterlie remoue from the kings companie all his mothers fréends, vnder the name of their enimies.

A consent to worke wickednesse.

Vpon this concluded the duke of Glocester, vnderstanding that the lords, which at that time were about the king, intended to bring him vp to his coronation accōpanied with such power of their fréends, that it should be hard for him to bring his purpose to passe, without the gathering and great assemblie of people and in maner of open warre, whereof the end (he wist) was doubtfull, and in which the king being on their side, his part should haue the face and name of a rebellion: he secretlie therefore by diuers means caused the quéene to be persuaded and brought in the mind, that it neither were néed, and also should be ieopardous, the king to come vp strong.

For whereas now euerie lord loued other, and none other thing studied vpon, but about the coronation and honor of the king: if the lords of hir kindred should assemble in the kings name much people, they should giue the lords, betwixt whome and them had béene sometime debate, to feare and suspect, least they should gather this people, not for the kings safegard, whom no man impugned, but for their destruction, hauing more regard to their old variance, than their new attonement. For which cause they should assemble on the other partie much people againe for their defense, whose power she wist well far stretched: and thus should all the realme fall on a rore. And of all the hurt that thereof should insue, which was likelie not to be little, and the most harme there like to fall where she least would, all the world would put hir and hir kindered in the wight, and saie that they had vnwiselie and vntrulie also broken the amitie & peace that the king hir husband so prudentlie made, betwéene his kin and hers in his death bed and which the other partie faithfullie obserued.

The quéene, being in this wise persuaded, such word sent vnto hir sonne, and vnto hir brother being about the king, and ouer that the duke of Glocester himselve and other lords the chiefe of his bend, wrote vnto the king so reuerentlie, and to the quéenes fréends there so louinglie, that they nothing earthlie mistrusting, brought the king vp in great hast, not in good spéed, with a sober companie. Now was the king in his waie to London gone from Northampton, when these dukes of Glocester and Buckingham came thither, where remained behind the lord Riuers the kings vncler, intending on the morrow to follow the king, and to be with him at Stonie Stratford [certeine] miles thence earlie yer he departed. So was there made that night much fréendlie chéere betwéene these dukes & the lord Riuers a great while, but incōtinent, after that they were openlie with great courtesie departed, and the lord Riuers lodged, the dukes secretlie with a few

of their most priuie fréends set them downe in councell, wherein they spent a great part of the night.

And at their rising in the dawning of the daie, they sent about priuile to their seruants in their Ins & lodgings about, giuing them commandement to make themselues shortlie readie, for their lords were to horsse backward. Vpon which messages, manie of their folke were attendant, when manie of the lord Riuers seruants were vnreadie. Now had these dukes taken also into their custodie the keies of the In, that none should passe foorth without their licence. And ouer this, in the high waie toward Stonie Stratford, where the king lay, they had bestowed certeine of their folke, that should send backe againe, and compell to returne, anie man that were gotten out of Northampton, toward Stonie Stratford, till they should giue other licence. For as much as the dukes themselues intended for the shew of their diligence, to be the first that should that daie attend vpon the kings highnesse out of that towne. Thus bare they folke in hand.

The practices of the duke of Buckingham & Gloucester.

But when the lord Riuers vnderstood the gates closed, and the waies on euerie side beset, neither his seruants nor himselfe suffered to gone out, perceiuing well so great a thing without his knowledge not begun for naught, comparing this manner present with this last nights chéere, in so few houres so great a change, maruellouslie misliked. Howbeit, sith he could not get awaie, and kéepe himselfe close, he would not, least he should séeme to hide himselfe for some secret feare of his owne fault, whereof he saw no such cause in himselfe; he determined vpon the suertie of his owne conscience, to go boldlie to them, and inquire what this matter might meane. Whom as soone as they saw, they began to quarrell with him and saie that he intended to set distance betwéene the king and them, and to bring them to confusion, but it should not lie in his power.

And when he began (as he was a verie well spoken man) in goodlie wise to excuse himselfe, they tarried not the end of his answer, but shortlie tooke him, and put him in ward, and that doone, foorthwith went to horssebacke, and tooke the waie to Stonie Stratford, where they found the king with his companie, readie to leape on horssebacke, and depart forward to leaue that lodging for them, bicause it was too streight for both companies. And as soone as they came in his presence, they light adowne with all their companie about them. To whome the duke of Buckingham said; Go afore gentlemen, & yeomen kéepe your roomes. And thus in a goodlie araie, they came to the king, and on their knées in verie humble wise saluted his grace, which receiued them in verie ioious and amiable manner, nothing earthlie knowing nor mistrusting as yet.

The lord Riuers put in ward.

But euen by and by in his presence they piked a quarrell to the lord Richard Greie; the kings other brother by his mother, saiong, that he with the lord marquesse his brother, & the lord Riuers his vncl, had compassed to rule the king and the realme, and to set variance among the states, and to subdue and destroie the noble bloud of the Realme. Toward the accōplishing wherof they said that the lord marquesse had entered into the Tower of London, & thence taken out the kings treasure, and sent men to the sea. All which things these dukes wist well were doone for good purposes and necessarie, by the whole councell at London, sauing that somewhat they must saie.

The lord Greie is quarrelled against.

Vnto which words the king answered; What my brother marquesse hath doone I cannot saie, but in good faith I dare well answer for mine vncl Riuers and my brother here, that they be innocent of anie such matter. Yea my liege (quoth the duke of Buckingham) they haue kept their dealing in these matters farre fro the knowledge of your good grace. And foorthwith they arrested the lord Richard and sir Thomas Vaughan knight, in the kings presence; and brought the king and all backe vnto Northampton, where they tooke againe further councell. And there they sent awaie from the king, whom it pleased them, and set new seruants about him, such as liked better them than him. At which dealing he wept, and was nothing content; but it booted not.

And at dinner, the duke of Gloucester sent a dish from his owne table vnto the lord Riuers, praieng him to be of good chéere: all should be well enough. And he thanked the duke, and praised the messenger to beare it to his nephue the lord Richard, with the same message for his comfort, who he thought had more néed of comfort, as one to whome such aduersitie was strange. But himselfe had béene all his dates in vse therewith, & therefore could beare it the better. But for all this comfortable courtesie of the duke of Gloucester, he sent the lord Riuers, and the lord Richard, with sir Thomas Vaughan into the north countrie, into diuerse places to prison, and afterward all to Pomfret, where they were in conclusion beheaded.

The death of the lord Rivers & other.

In this wise the duke of Gloucester tooke vpon himselfe the order and gouernance of the yoong king, whome with much honor and humble reuerence he conueied vward towards the citie. But anon, the tidings of this matter came hastilie to the quéene a little before the midnight following, and that in the sorest wise; that the king hir son was taken, hir brother, hir sonne, & hir other fréends arrested, and sent no man wist whither, to be doone with God wot what. With which tidings the quéene in great flight & heauinesse, bewailing hir childes reigne, hir fréends mischance, and hir owne infortune, damning the time that euer she dissuaded the gathering of power about the king, gat hir selfe in all the hast possible with hir yoonger sonne and hir daughters out of the palace of Westminster, in which she then laie, into the sanctuarie, lodging hir selfe and hir companie therein the abbats place.

The quéene taketh sanctuarie.

Now came there one in likewise not long after midnight from the lord chamberleine, to doctor Rotheram the archbishop of Yorke, then chancellor of England, to his place not farre from Westminster, and for that he shewed his seruants that he had tidings of so great importance, that his maister gaue him in charge, not to forbear his rest, they letted not to wake him, nor he to admit this messenger in, to his bed side. Of whom he heard that these dukes were gone backe with the kings grace from Stonie Stratford vnto Northampton. Notwithstanding sir (quoth he) my lord sendeth your lordship word, that there is no feare: for he assureth you that all shall be well. I assure him (quoth the archbishop) be it as well as it will, it will neuer be so well as we haue séene it.

And therevpon, by and by after the messenger departed, he caused in all the hast all his seruants to be called vp, and so with his owne household about him, and euerie man weaponed, he tooke the great seale with him, and came yet before daie vnto the quéene. About whom he found much heauinesse, rumble, hast and businesse, carriage and conueiance of hir stuffe into sanctuarie, chests, coffers, packs, fardels, trussed all on mens backs, no man vnoccupied, some lading, some going, some discharging, some comming for more, some breaking downe the walles to bring in the next waie, and some yet drew to them that holpe to carrie a wrong waie: such made their lucre of others losse, praising a bootie aboute beautie, to whome the poets verse may be well applied, to wit:

Ferrea non Venerem sed prædem sæcula laudant.

Tibul. lib. 2. eleg. 3.

The quéene hir selfe sate alone alow on the rushes all desolate and dismaid, whome the archbishop comforted in best manner he could, shewing hir that he trusted the matter was nothing so sore as she tooke it for, and that he was put in good hope and out of feare by the message sent him from the lord chamberleine. Ah wo woorth him (quoth she) for he is one of them that laboureth to destroie me and my bloud. Madame (quoth he) be yée of good chéere, for I assure you, if they crowne anie other king than your sonne, whome they now haue with them, we shall on the morrow crowne his brother, whome you haue here with you. And here is the great seale, which in likewise as that noble prince your husband deliuered it vnto me; so here I deliuer it vnto you, to the vse and behoofe of your sonne: and therewith he betooke hir the great scale, and departed home againe, yet in the dawning of the daie.

The desolate state of the quéene.

By which time, he might in his chamber window see all the Thames full of boates of the duke of Glocesters seruants, watching that no man should go to sanctuarie, nor none could passe vnsearched. Then was there great commotion and murmur, as well in other places about, as speciallie in the citie, the people diuerslie diuining vpon this dealing. And some lords, knights, and gentlemen, either for fauour of the quéene, or for feare of themselues, assembled in sundrie companies, and went flockmele in harnesse: and many also, for that they reckoned this demeanor attempted, not so speciallie against the other lords, as against the king himselfe in the disturbance of his coronation. But then by and by the lords assembled together at [a certaine place.]

Toward which méeting, the archbishop of Yorke fearing that it would be ascribed (as it was indéed) to his ouermuch lightnesse, that he so suddenlie had yéelded vp the great seale to the quéene, to whome the custodie thereof nothing pertained, without especiall commandement of the king, secretlie sent for the seale againe, and brought it with him after the customable maner. And at this méeting the lord Hastings (whose truth toward the king no man doubted, nor néeded to doubt) persuaded the lords to beléeue, that the duke of Gloucester was sure and fastlie faithfull to his prince, and that the lord Riuers, and lord Richard with the other knights, were for matters attempted by them against the duke of Gloucester and Buckingham, put vnder arrest for their suertie, not for the kings ieopardie: and that they were also in safegard, and there no longer should remaine, than till the matter were, not by the dukes onelie, but also by all the other lords of the kings councill indifferentlie examined, & by others discretions ordered, and either iudged or appeased.

Neuerthelesse he was deprived thereof shortlie after.

But one thing he aduised them beware, that they iudged not the matter too farre forth, yer they knew the truth; nor turning their priuate grudges into the common hurt, irritating and prouoking men vnto anger, and disturbing the kings coronation, towards which the dukes were comming vp, that they might peraduenture bring the matter so farre out of ioint, that it should neuer be brought in frame againe. Which strife if it should hap (as it were likely) to come to a field, though both parties were in all other things equal; yet should the authoritie be on that side where the king is himselfe. With these persuasions of the lord Hastings, whereof part himselfe beléeued, of part he wist the contrarie, these commotions were somewhat appeased. But speciallie by that, that the dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham were so néere and came so shortlie on with the king, in none other manner, with none other voice or semblance than to his coronation, causing the fame to be blown about, that these lords and knights which were taken, had contriued the destruction of the dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, and of other noble bloud of the realme, to the end that themselues would alone demeane and gouerne the king at their pleasure.

And for the colourable prooffe thereof, such of the dukes seruants as rode with the carts of their stuffe that were taken (among which stuffe, no maruell though some were harnesse, which at the breaking vp of that household must néeds either be brought awaie or cast awaie) they shewed vnto the people all the waies as they went; "Lo here be the barrels of harnesse that these traitors had priuile conueied in their carriage to destroie the noble lords withall." This deuise albeit that it made the matter to wise men more vnlikelie, well perceiuing that the intendors of such a

purpose would rather haue had their harnesses on their backs, than to haue bound them vp in barrels, yet much part of the common people were therewith verie well satisfied, and said it were almesse to hang them.

When the king approached néere to the citie, Edmund Shaw goldsmith, then maior, with William White, and Iohn Matthew shiriffes and all the other aldermen in scarlet, with fiue hundred horsse of the citizens, in violet, receiued him reuerentlie at Harnesie; and riding from thence accompanied him into the citie, which he entered the fourth daie of Maie, the first and last yeare of his reigne. But the duke of Glocester bare him in open sight so reuerentlie to the prince, with all semblance of lowlinesse, that from the great obloquie in which he was so late before, he was suddenlie fallen in so great trust, that at the councill next assembled he was made the onelie man, chosen and thought most méet to be protector of the king and his realme, so that (were it destinie or were it follie) the lambe was betaken to the wolfe to kéepe.

The king's comming to London.

The duke of Glocester made protector.

At which councill also, the archbishop of Yorke chancellor of England, which had deliuered vp the great seale to the quéene, was thereof greatlie reprooued, and the seale taken from him, and deliuered to doctor Russell bishop of Lincolne, a wise man and a good, and of much experience, and one of the best learned men vndoubtedlie that England had in his time. Diuerse lords and knights were appointed vnto diuerse roomes. The lord chamberleine and some other kept still their offices that they had before. Now all were it so that the protector so sore thirsted for the finishing of that he had begun, that thought euerie daie a yeare till it were atchiued; yet durst he no further attempt, as long as he had but halfe his preie in his hand.

The bishop of Lincolne made lord chancellor.

And why? Well did he wéet, that if he deposed the one brother, all the realme would fall to the other, if he either remained in sanctuarie, or should happilie be shortlie conueied to his fathers libertie. Wherefore incontinent at the next méeting of the lords at the councill, he proposed to them, that it was a heinous déed of the quéene, & procéding of great malice toward the kings councillors, that she should kéepe in sanctuarie the kings brother from him, whose special pleasure & comfort were to haue his brother with him. And that by hir doone to none other intent, but to bring all the lords in obloquie and murmur of the people.

The protectors oration.

As though they were not to be trusted with the kings brother, that by the assent of the nobles of the land, were appointed as the kings néerest fréends, to the tuition of his owne roiall person. The prosperitie whereof standeth (quoth he) not all in kéeping from enimies, or ill viand, but partlie also in recreation, and moderate pleasure: which he cannot (in this tender youth) take in the companie of ancient persons, but in the familiar conuersation of those that be neither farre vnder, nor farre aboue his age: and neuerthelesse of estate conuenient to accompanie his noble maiestie. Wherefore, with whome rather, than with his owne brother?

And if anie man thinke this consideration light (which I thinke none thinks that loues the king) let him consider, that sometime without small things, greater cannot stand. And verelie, it redoundeth greatlie to the dishonor both of the kings highnesse, and of all vs that béene about his grace, to haue it run in euerie mans mouth, not in this realme onlie, but also in other lands (as euill words walke far) that the kings brother should be faine to kéepe sanctuarie. For euerie man will wéene, that no man will so doo for naught. And such euill opinion once fastned in mens harts, hard it is to wrest out, and may grow to more gréeffe than anie man can here diuine.

Wherefore me thinketh it were not worst to send vnto the quéene, for the redresse of this matter, some honorable trustie man, such as both tendereth the kings weale and the honour of his councill, and is also in fauour and credence with hir. For all which considerations, none séemeth more méetlie, than our reuerend father here present my lord cardinall, who may in this matter doo most good of anie man, if it please him to take the paine; which I doubt not of his goodnesse he will not refuse for the kings sake and ours, and wealth of the yong duke himselfe, the kings most honorable brother, and (after my souereigne lord himselfe) my most déere nephue, considered that thereby shall be ceased the slanderous rumor and obloquie now going, and the hurts auoided that thereof might insue, and much rest and quiet grow to all the realme.

The lord cardinall thought the fittest man to deale with the quéene for the surrendring of hir sonne.

And if she be percase so obstinate, and so preciselie set vpon hir owne will, that neither his wise and faithfull aduertisement can not mooue hir, nor anie mans reason content hir; then shall we by mine aduise, by the kings authoritie fetch him out of that prison, and bring him to his noble presence, in whose continual companie he shall be so well cherished and so honorablie intreated, that all the world shall to our honour and hir reproch perceiue that it was onelie malice, frowardnesse, or follie, that caused hir to kéepe him there. This is my purpose and mind in this matter for this time, except anie of your lordships anie thing perceiue to the contrarie; for neuer shall I (by Gods grace) so wed myselfe to mine owne will, but that I shall be readie to change it vpon your better aduises.

When the protector had said, all the councill affirmed, that the motion was good and reasonable; and to the king and the duke his brother, honorable; and a thing that should cease great murmur in the realme, if the mother might be by good means induced to deliuer him. Which thing the archbishop of Yorke, whome they all agréed also to be thereto most conuenient, tooke vpon him to mooue hir, and therein to doo his vttermost deuoir. Howbeit, if she could be in no wise intreated with hir good will to deliuer him, then thought he, and such other as were of the

spiritualtie present, that it were not in anie wise to be attempted to take him out against hir will.

For it should be a thing that would turne to the great grudge of all men, and high displeasure of God, if the priuilege of that holie place should now be broken, which had so manie yeares be kept, which both kings and popes so good had granted, so manie had confirmed, and which holie ground was more than fiue hundred yeares ago (by saint Peter in his owne person in spirit accompanied with great multitudes of angels by night) so speciallie halowed, & dedicated to God (for the prooffe wherof, they haue yet in the abbeie saint Peters cope to shew) that from that time hitherward, was there neuer so vndeouout a king that durst that sacred place violate, or so holie a bishop that durst it presume to consecrate.

Reasons why it was not thought méet to fetch the quéens son out of sanctuarie.

And therefore (quoth the archbishop of Yorke) God forbid that anie man should for anie thing earthlie, enterprise to breake the immunitie & libertie of the sacred sanctuarie, that hath béene the safegard of so manie a good mans life. And I trust (quoth he) with God grace, we shall not néed it. But for anie maner néed, I would not we should doo it. I trust that shée shall be with reason contented, and all things in good maner obtained. And if it happen that I bring it not so to passe, yet shall I toward it so farre fourth doo my best, that ye shall all well perceiue, that no lacke of my deuoir, but the mother's dread and womanish feare shall be the let.

Womanish feare, naie womanish frowardnesse (quoth the duke of Buckingham.) For I dare take it vpon my soule, she well knoweth she néedeth no such thing to feare, either for hir son or for hir selfe. For as for hir, here is no man that will be at war with women. Would God some of the men of hir kin were women too, & then should all be soone in rest.

The duke of Buckingham's words against the quéene.

Howbeit there is none of hir kin the lesse loued, for that they be hir kin, but for their owne euill deseruing. And nathelesse, if we loued neither hir nor hir kin, yet were there no cause to thinke that wee should hate the kings noble brother, to whose grace we our selues be of kin. Whose honor, if she as much desired as our dishonor, and as much regard tooke to his wealth as to hir owne will, she would be as loth to suffer him to be absent from the king, as anie of vs be. For if she haue anie wit (as would God she had as good will as she hath shrewd wit) she reckoneth hir selfe no wiser than she thinketh some that be here, of whose faithfull mind she nothing doubteth, but verelie beléueeth and knoweth, that they would be as sorie of his harme as hir selfe, and yet would haue him from hir if she bide there: and we all (I thinke) contented, that both be with hir, if she come thence, and bide in such place where they may with their honors be. Now then, if she refuse in the deliuerance of him, to follow the counsell of them, whose wisdome she knoweth whose truth she well trusteth: it is easie to perceiue, that frowardnesse letteth hir and not feare. But go to, suppose that she feare (as who maie let hir to feare hir owne shadow) the more she feareth to deliuer him the more ought we feare to leaue him in hir hands.

For if she cast such fond doubts, that she feare his hurt: then will she feare that he shall be fet thence. For she will soone thinke, that if men were set (which God forbid) vpon so great mischiefe, the sanctuarie would little let them: which good men might (as me thinketh) without sin somewhat lesse regard than they doo. Now then, if she doubt, least he might be fetched from hir, is it not likelie inough that she shall send him some where out of the realme? Verelie I looke for none other. And I doubt not, but shée now as sore mindeth it, as we the let thereof. And if she might happen to bring that to passe (as it were no great maistrie, we letting hir alone) all the world would saie, that we were a wise sort of councillors about a king, that let his brother be cast awaie vnder our noses.

And therefore, I insure you faithfullie for my mind, I will rather (mauger hir mind) fetch him awaie, than leaue him there, till hir frowardnesse and fond feare conueie him awaie. And yet will I breake no sanctuarie therefore. For verelie, sith the priuileges of that place, and other like, haue béene of long continued, I am not he that would be about to breake them. And in good faith, if they were now to begin, I would not be he that should be about to make them. Yet will I not say naie, but that it is a déed of pitie, that such men as the sea, or their euill debtors haue brought in pouertie, should haue some place of libertie, to kéepe their bodies out of danger of their cruell creditors.

Of sanctuaries.

And also, if the crowne happen (as it hath doone) to come in question, while either part taketh other as traitors, I will well there be some places of refuge for both. But as for théeues, of which these places be full, and which neuer fall from the craft, after they once fall thereto, it is pitie the sanctuarie should serue them. And much more, mankillers, whome God bad to take them from the altar and kill them, if their mother were wilfull. And where it is otherwise, there néed we not the sanctuaries that God appointed in the old law. For if either necessitie, his owne defense, or misfortune draweth him to that déed, a pardon serueth, which either the law granteth of course, or the king of pitie maie. Then looke me now how few sanctuarie men there be, whome anie faourable necessitie compelled to go thither. And then sée on the other side, what a sort there be commonlie therin of them, whom wilfull vnthriftinesse hath brought to naught.

What a rabble of théeues, murtherers, and malicious heinous traitors, and that in two places speciallie; the one at the elbow of the citie, the other in the verie bowels. I dare well auow it, weie the good that they doo, with the hurt that commeth of them, and ye shall find it much better to lacke both, than haue both. And this I saie, although they were not abused as they now be, & so long haue be, that I feare me euer they will be, while men be afraid to set their hands to the mendment, as though God & S. Peter were the patrones of vngratious liuing. Now vnthrifts riot & run in debt, vpon boldnesse of these places, yea, and rich men run thither with poore mens goods, there they build, there they spend,

Westminster and saint Martins.

The abuse of sanctuaries.

& bid there creditors go whistle them. Mens wiues run thither with their husbands plate, & saie they dare not abide with their husbands for beating. Théeués bring thither their stollen goods, and there liue thereon.

There devise they new robberies, nightlie they steale out, they rob, and reaué, and kill, and come in againe, as though those places gaue them not onelie a safegard for the harme they haue doone, but a licence also to doo more. Howbeit, much of this mischiefe (if wise men would set their hands to it) might be amended, with great thanks to God, and no breach of the priuilege. The residue, sith so long ago, I wote néere what pope, and what prince more pitious than politike, hath granted it, & other men since, of a certeine religious feare, haue not broken it, let vs take a paine therewith, and let it a Gods name stand in force, as farre foorth as reason will, which is not fullie so farre foorth, as may serue to let vs of the fetching foorth of this noble man to his honor and wealth, out of that place, in which he neither is, nor can be a sanctuarie man.

A sanctuarie serueth alwaie to defend the bodie of that man that standeth in danger abroad, not of great hurt onlie, but also of lawfull hurt: for against vnlawfull harmes, neuer pope nor king intended to priuilege anie one place, for that priuilege hath euerie place. Knoweth anie man, anie place wherein it is lawfull one man to doo another wrong? That no man vnlawfullie take hurt, that libertie, the king, the law, and verie nature forbiddeth in euerie place, and maketh (to that regard) for euerie man euerie place a sanctuarie. But where a man is by lawfull means in perill, there néedeth he the tuition of some speciall priuilege, which is the onelie ground and cause of all sanctuaries.

The vse of sanctuaries.

From which necessitie, this noble prince is farre, whose loue to his king, nature and kinred prooueth; whose innocencie to all the world, his tender youth prooueth; and so sanctuarie, as for him, neither none he néedeth, nor also none can haue. Men come not to sanctuarie, as they come to baptisme, to require it by their godfathes, he must aske it himselfe that must haue it, and reason; sith no man hath cause to haue it, but whose conscience of his owne fault maketh him fane, néed to require it. What will then hath yonder babe, which and if he had discretion to require it, if néed were, I dare say would now be right angrie with them that kéepe him there? And I would thinke without anie scruple of conscience, without anie breach of priuilege, to be somewhat more homelie with them that be there sanctuarie men in déed.

For if one go to sanctuarie with another mans goods, whie should not the king, leauing his bodie at libertie, satisfie the partie of his goods, euen within the sanctuarie? For neither king nor pope can giue anie place such a priuilege, that it shall discharge a man of his debts, being able to paie. [And with that, diuerse of the clergie that were present (whether they said it for his pleasure, or as they thought) agréed plainlie, that by the law of God, and of the church, the goods of a sanctuarie man should be deliuered in paiement of his debts, and stollen goods to the owner, and onlie libertie reserued him to get his liuing with the labor of his hands.]

Verelie (quoth the duke) I thinke you say verie truth. And what if a mans wife will take sanctuarie, bicause she lust to run frō hir husband, I would wéene if she could alledge none other cause, he maie lawfullie without anie displeasure to saint Peter, take hir out of saint Peters church by the arme. And if no bodie maie be taken out of sanctuarie, that saith hée will bide there: then if a child will take sanctuarie, bicause he feareth to go to schoole, his maister must let him alone. And as simple as that sample is, yet is there lesse reason in our case than in that; for therein, though it be a childish feare, yet is there at the leastwise some feare, and herein is there none at all. And verelie, I haue often heard of sanctuarie men, but I neuer heard earst of sanctuarie children.

And therefore, as for the conclusion of my mind, who so maie haue deserued to néed it, if they thinke it for their suertie, let them kéepe it. But he can be no sanctuarie man, that neither hath wisdomé to desire it, nor malice to deserue it; whose life or libertie can by no lawfull processe stand in ieopardie. And he that taketh one out of sanctuarie to doo him good, I saie plainlie, that he breaketh no sanctuarie. When the duke had doone, the temporall men whole, and a good part of the spirituall also, thinking no hurt earthlie meant toward the yong babe, condescended in effect, that if he were not deliuered, he should be fetched. Howbeit they thought it all best in the auoiding of all maner of rumor, that the lord cardinall should first assaie to get him with hir good will.

Wherevpon all the councell came vnto the Star-chamber at Westminster; and the lord cardinall, leauing the protector with the councell in the Star-chamber, departed into the sanctuarie to the quéene, with diuers other lords with him: were it for the respect of his honor, or that she should by presence of so manie perceiue, that this errand was not one mans mind: or were it, for that the protector intended not in this matter to trust anie one man alone; or else, that if she finallie were determined to kéepe him, some of that companie had happilie secret instruction, incontinent (mauger hir mind) to take him, and to leaue hir no respite to conueie him, which she was likelie to mind after this matter broken to hir, if hir time would in anie wise serue hir.

When the quéene and these lords were come together in presence, the lord cardinall shewed vnto hir, that it was thought vnto the protector, and vnto the whole councell that hir kéepeing of the kings brother in that place, was the thing which highlie sounded, hot onelie to the great rumor of the people and their obloquie; but also to the importable gréeffe and displeasure of the kings roiall maiestie, to whose grace it were as singular a comfort, to haue his naturall brother in companie, as it was their both dishonour, and all theirs and hirs also, to suffer him in sanctuarie, as though the one brother stood in danger and perill of the other [and therefore more conuenient it were they should be together, than parted asunder; that the world may well thinke and saie both of their kinred and also of them, when they shall sée and heare how they kéepe continual

companie, and liue in mutuall amitie (as becometh brethren) which bringeth commodities with it, for number, infinite; and for vse, comfortable and necessarie; as it is truelie said:

Quæ ligat vnanimis fœlix concordia fratres,
O quales fructus vtilitatis habet!]

The cardinall shewed hir likewise, that the councill therefore had sent him vnto hir to require hir the deliuerie of him, that he might be brought vnto the kings presence at his libertie, out of that place, which they reckoned as a prison; and there should he be demeaned according to his estate: and she in this dooing, should both doo great good to the realme, pleasure to the councill, and profit to hir selfe, succour to hir fréends that were in distresse, and ouer that (which he wist well she speciallie tendered) not onelie great comfort and honor to the king, but also to the yong duke himselfe, whose both great wealth it were to be together, as well for manie greater causes, as also for their both disport & recreation. Which thing the lord estéemed no slight, though it séeme light, well pondering that their youth without recreation and plaie cannot indure; nor anie stranger, for the conuenience of both their ages and estates, so méetlie in that point for anie of them, as either of them for other.

Protector.

My lord (quoth the quéene) I saie not naie, but that it were verie conuenient, that this gentleman, whome yée require, were in companie of the king his brother: and in good faith, me thinketh it were as great commoditie to them both, as for yet a while to béene in the custodie of their mother, the tender age considered of the elder of them both, but speciallie the yoonger, which (besides his infancie, that also néedeth good looking to) hath a while béene so sore diseased, vexed with sicknesse, and is so newlie rather a little amended, than well recouered, that I dare put no person earthlie in trust with his kéeping, but my selfe onelie, considering that there is (as physicians saie) and as we also find, double the perill in the reciduiation, than was in the first sicknesse, with which disease nature being sore laboured, forewariend and weakened waxeth the lesse able to beare out and susteine a new surfet. And albeit there might be founden other that would happilie doo their best vnto him, yet is there none that either knoweth better how to order him, than I that so long haue kept him: or is more tenderlie like to cherish him, than his owne mother that bare him.

The quéenes answer.

The quéene is loth to part with her son.

No man denieth, good madame (quoth the cardinall) but that your grace were of all folke most necessarie about your children: and so would all the councill not onelie be content, but glad that ye were (if it might stand with your pleasure) to be in such place as might stand with their honour. But if you doo appoint your selfe to tarrie héere, then thinke they it more conuenient that the duke of Yorke were with the king honourable at his libertie, to the comfort of them both: than héere as a sanctuarie man, to their both dishonour and obloquie, sith there is not alwaie so great necessitie to haue the child to be with the mother: but that occasion may sometime be such, that it should be more expedient to kéepe him elsewhere. Which in this well appeareth, that at such time as your déerest sonne then prince, and now king, should for his honor, and good order of the countrie, kéepe houshold in Wales, farre out of your companie: your grace was well content therewith your selfe.

Not verie well content (quoth the quéene) and yet the case is not like, for the tone was then in health, and the tother is now sicke. In which case, I maruell greatlie, that my lord protector is so desirous to haue him in his kéeping, where if the child in his sicknesse miscarried by nature, yet might he run into slander and suspicion of fraud. And where they call it a thing so sore against my childes honor, and theirs also, that he bideth in this place: it is all their honours there to suffer him bide, where no man doubteth he shall be best kept; and that is héere, while I am héere, which as yet intend not to come foorth and ieopard my selfe after other of my fréends, which would God were rather héere in suertie with me, than I were there in ieopardie with them.

The quéenes mistrust of the lord protector.

Whie madame (quoth another lord) know you anie thing whie they should be in ieopardie? Naie verelie sir (quoth shée) nor whie they should be in prison neither, as they now be. But it is (I trow) no great maruell though I feare, least those that haue not letted to put them in duresse without colour, will let as little to procure their destruction without cause. The cardinall made a countenance to the other lord, that he should harpe no more vpon that string; and then said he to the quéene, that he nothing doubted, but that those lords of hir honorable kin, which as yet remained vnder arrest, should vpon the matter examined, doo well inough: and as toward hir noble person, neither was nor could be anie maner ieopardie.

The lord Howard, saith Edw. Hall.

Whereby should I trust that (quoth the quéene) in that I am giltlesse? As though they were giltie, in that I am with their enimies better loued than they? When they hate them for my sake, in that I am so néere of kin to the king? And how far they be off, if that would helpe, as God send grace it hurt not, and therefore as for me, I purpose not as yet to depart hence. And as for this gentleman my sonne, I mind that he shall be where I am, till I séc further: for I assure you, for that I séc some men so greedie, without anie substantiall cause to haue him, this maketh me much the more fearder to deliuer him.

Truelie madame, quoth he, and the fearder that you be to deliuer him, the fearder bin other men to suffer you to kéepe him, least your causelesse feare might cause you further to conueie him; and manie be there that thinke he can haue no priuilege in this place, which neither can haue will to aske it, nor malice to deserue it. And therefore, they reckon no priuilege broken, though they

fetch him out; which if yée finallie refuse to deliuer him, I verelie thinke they will. So much dread hath my lord his vncler, for the tender loue he beareth him, least your grace should hap to send him awaie.

A sir (quoth the quéene) hath the protector so tender zeale, that he feareth nothing but least he should escape him? Thinketh he that I would send him hence, which neither is in the plight to send out. And in what place could I reckon him sure, if he be not sure in this sanctuarie, whereof was there neuer tyrant yet so diuelish that durst presume to breake? And I trust God is as strong now to withstand his aduersaries as euer he was. But my sonne can deserue no sanctuarie, and therefore he can not haue it. Forsooth he hath found a goodlie glose, by which that place that may defend a théefe, may not saue an innocent. But he is in no ieopardie, nor hath no néed thereof, would God he had not.

The quéenes replie vpon the lord cardinall.

Troweth the protector (I praie God he may prooue a protector) troweth he that I perceiue not wherevnto his painted processe draweth? It is not honourable that the duke bide héere: it were comfortable for them both, that he were with his brother, bicause the king lacketh a plaifellow. Be you sure? I praie God send them both better plaifellowes than him, that maketh so high a matter vpon such a trifling pretext: as though there could none be founden to plaie with the king, but if his brother that hath no lust to plaie for sicknesse, come out of sanctuarie out of his safegard to plaie with him. As though princes (as yoong as they be) could not plaie but with their péeres, or children could not plaie but with their kinred, with whome for the more part they agréed much woorse than with strangers.

But the child cannot require the priuilege. Who told him so? He shall heare him aske it, and he will. Howbeit, this is a gaie matter. Suppose he could not aske it, suppose he would not aske it, suppose he would aske to go out. If I saie he shall not; if I aske the priuilege but for my selfe, I say he that against my will taketh him out, breaketh the sanctuarie. Serueth this libertie for my person onelie, or for my goods too? Yée may not hence take my horse fro me: and may you take my child fro me? He is also my ward: for as my learned councell sheweth me, sith he hath nothing by descent holden by knights seruice, the law maketh his mother his gardian. Then may no man I suppose take my ward fro me out of sanctuarie, without the breach of the sanctuarie.

And if my priuilege could not serue him, nor he aske it for himselfe, yet sith the law committeth to me the custodie of him, I may require it for him, except the law giue a child a gardian onelie for his goods and lands, discharging him of the cure and safe kéeping of his bodie, for which onelie both lands and goods serue. (*) And if examples be sufficient to obtaine priuilege for my child, I néed not farre to séeke. For in this place in which we now be (and which is now in question whether my child may take benefit of it) mine other sonne now king was borne, and kept in his cradle and preserued to a more prosperous fortune, which I praie God long to continue. And as all you know, this is not the first time that I haue taken sanctuarie.

This that is héere betwéene this marke (*) & this marke (*) was not writtē by him in English but is translated out of this historie which he wrote in Latine.

For when my lord my husband was banished, and thrust out of his kingdome, I fled hither, being great with child, and héere I bare the prince. And when my lord my husband returned safe againe, and had the victorie, then went I hence to welcome him home, and from hence I brought my babe the prince vnto his father, when he first tooke him in his armes. And I praie God that my sonnes palace may be as great safegard vnto him now reigning, as this place was sometime to the kings enimie. In which place I intend to kéepe his brother, sith, &c. (*) Wherefore héere intend I to kéepe him, sith mans law serueth the gardian to kéepe the infant.

The law of nature will the mother to kéepe hir child, God's law priuilegeth the sanctuarie, and the sanctuarie my sonne, sith I feare to put him in the protectors hands that hath his brother alreadie, and were (if both failed) inheritor to the crowne. The cause of my feare hath no man to doo to examine. And yet feare I no further than the law feareth, which (as learned men tell me) forbiddeth euerie man the custodie of them, by whose death he maie inherit lesse land than a kingdome. I can no more but whosoever he be that breaketh this holie sanctuarie, I praie God shortlie send him néed of sanctuarie, when he maie not come to it. For taken out of sanctuarie would I not my mortall enimie were.

The lord cardinall, perceiuing that the quéene waxed euer the longer the farther off, and also that she began to kindle and chafe, and spake more biting words against the protector, and such as he neither beléued, and was also loth to heare, he said to hir for a finall conclusion, that he would no longer dispute the matter: but if she were content to deliuer the duke to him, and to the other lords present, he durst laie his owne bodie & soule both in pledge, not onelie for his suertie, but also for his estate. And if she would giue them a resolute answer to the contrarie, he would forthwith depart therewithall, and shift who so would with this businesse afterwards: for he neuer intended more to mooue hir in that matter, in which she thought that he & all other also (saue hir selfe) lacked either wit or truth: wit, if they were so dull that they could nothing perceiue what the protector intended: truth, if they should procure hir sonne to be deliuered into his hands, in whom they should perceiue toward the child anie euill intended.

The lord cardinall vseth an other waie to persuade the quéene.

The quéene with these words stood a good while in a great studie. And forsomuch as hir séemed the cardinall more readie to depart than some of the remnant, and the protector himselfe readie at hand; so that she verelie thought she could not kéepe him, but that he should incontinentlie be taken thense: and so conueie him elsewhere, neither had she time to serue hir, nor place determined, nor persons appointed, all things vnreadie, this message came on hir so suddenlie,

nothing lesse looking for than to haue him fet out of sanctuarie, which she thought to be now beset in such places about, that he could not be conueied out vntaken, and partlie as she thought it might fortune hir feare to be false, so well she wist it was either néedlesse or bootlesse: wherefore if she should néeds go from him, she déemed it best to deliuer him.

And ouer that, of the cardinals faith she nothing doubted, nor of some other lords neither, whome she there saw. Which as she feared least they might be deceiued: so was she well assured they would not be corrupted. Then thought she it should yet make them the more warilie to looke to him, and the more circumspectlie to sée to his suertie, if she with hir owne hands betooke him to them of trust. And at the last she tooke the yoong duke by the hand, and said vnto the lords: My lords (quoth she) and all my lords, I neither am so vnwise to mistrust your wits, nor so suspicious to mistrust your truths: of which thing I purpose to make you such a prooffe, as if either of both in you, might turne both you and me to great sorow, the realme to much harme, and you to great reproch.

She falleth to a resolution touching hir sonnes deliuerie.

For lo, here is (quoth she) this gentleman, whom I doubt not but I could here kéepe safe, if I would, what euer anie man say: & I doubt not also, but there be some abroad so deadlie enimies vnto my bloud, that if they wist where anie of it laie in their owne bodie, they would let it out. We haue also experience that desire of a kingdome knoweth no kinred. The brother hath béene the brothers bane: and maie the nephues be sure of their vncle? Ech of these children is the others defense while they be asunder, and ech of their liues lieth in the others bodie. Kéepe one safe and both be sure, and nothing for them both more perillous, than to be both in one place. For what wise merchant aduentureth all his goods in one ship?

All this notwithstanding, here I deliuer him and his brother in him, to kéepe, into your hands, of whom I shall aske them both afore God & the world. Faithfull ye be that wot I well, & I know well you be wise. Power and strength to kéepe him (if you list) lacke ye not of your selfe, nor can lacke helpe in this cause. And if ye can not elsewhere, then maie you leaue him here. But onelie one thing I beséech you, for the trust which his father put in you euer, & for the trust that I put in you now, that as farre as ye thinke that I feare too much, be you well ware that you feare not as farre too little. And therewithall she said vnto the child: Fare well mine owne sweete sonne, God send you good kéeping: let me kisse you yet once yer you go, for God knoweth when we shall kisse together againe. And therewith she kissed him and blessed him, turned hir backe and wept and went hir waie, leauing the child wéeeping as fast. [Howbeit she was sorie afterwards that she had so parted from hir son (when it was past hir power to procure remedie, & no hope of helpe left against afterclaps) which is the common case of all that kind, as the prouerbe saith:

Femineus verè dolor est post facta dolere.]

When the lord cardinall, and these other lords with him, had receiued this yoong duke, they brought him into the Star-chamber, where the protector tooke him in his armes and kissed him with these words: Now welcome my lord euen with all my verie heart. And he said in that of likelihood as he thought. Therevpon foorthwith they brought him vnto the king his brother into the bishops palace at Paules, and from thense thorough the citie honourable into the Tower, out of the which after that daie they neuer came abroad. (*) When the protector had both the children in his hands, he opened himselfe more boldlie, both to certeine other men, and also cheeflie to the duke of Buckingham. Although I know that manie thought that this duke was priuie to all the protectors counsell, euen from the beginning; and some of the protectors fréends said, that the duke was the first mouer of the protector to this matter, sending a priuie messenger vnto him, streict after king Edwards death.

O dissimulation.

This that is here betwéene this marke (*) & this marke (*) was not written by him in English but is translated out of his historie which he wrote in Latine.

But others againe, which knew better the subtill wit of the protector, denie that he euer opened his enterprise to the duke, vntill he had brought to passe the things before rehearsed. But when he had imprisoned the quéenes kinsfolks, & gotten both his sonnes into his owne hands, then he opened the rest of his purpose with lesse feare to them whome he thought méet for the matter, and speciallie to the duke, who being woone to his purpose, he thought his strength more than halfe increased. The matter was broken vnto the duke by subtill folks, and such as were their craftes-masters in the handling of such wicked deuises: who declared vnto him that the yoong king was offended with him for his kinsfolks sake, and if he were euer able he would reuenge them, who would pricke him forward therevnto if they escaped (for they would remember their imprisonment) or else it they were put to death, without doubt the yoong K. would be carefull for their deaths, whose imprisonment was gréuous vnto him.

Also that with repenting the duke should nothing auaille, for there was no waie left to redéeme his offense by benefits, but he should sooner destroie himselfe than saue the king, who with his brother and his kinsfolks he saw in such places imprisoned, as the protector might with a becke destroie them all: and that it were no doubt but he would doo it in déed, if there were anie new enterprise attempted. And that it was likelie, that as the protector had prouided priuie gard for himselfe, so had he spials for the duke, and traines to catch him, if he should be against him; and that peradventure from them, whome he lest suspected. For the state of things and the dispositions of men were then such, that a man could not well tell whome he might trust, or whom he might feare.

These things and such like, being beaten into the dukes mind, brought him to that point, that

where he had repented the way that he had entered; yet would he go fourth in the same; and sith he had once begun, he would stoutlie go thorough. And therefore to this wicked enterprise, which he beléued could not be voided, he bent himselfe, and went through; and determined, that sith the common mischéeffe could not be amended, he would turne it as much as he might to his owne commoditie. Then it was agréed, that the protector shuld haue the dukes aid to make him king, and that the protectors onelie lawfull sonne should marrie the dukes daughter, and that the protector should grant him the quiet possession of the earldome of Hereford, which he claimed as his inheritance, and could neuer obtaine it in king Edwards time.

The dukes full resolution, to go thorough with his enterprise.

Besides these requests of the duke, the protector of his owne mind promised him a great quantitie of the kings treasure, and of his household stuffe. And when they were thus at a point betwéene themselues, they went about to prepare for the coronation of the young king, as they would haue it séeme. And that they might turne both the eies and minds of men from perceiuing of their drifts other-where, the lords being sent for from all parts of the realme, came thicke to that solemnitie. But the protector and the duke, after that they had sent the lord cardinall, the archbishop of Yorke then lord chancellor, the bishop of Elie, the lord Stanleie, and the lord Hastings then lord chamberlaine, with manie other noble men (*) to common & deuise about the coronation in one place, as fast were they in an other place, contriuing the contrarie, and to make the protector king.

To which councill albeit there were adhibited verie few, and they were secret: yet began there here and there abouts, some maner of muttering among the people, as though all should not long be well, though they neither wist what they feared, nor wherefore: were it, that before such great things, mens hearts of a secret instinct of nature misgiue them; as the sea without wind swelleth of himselfe sometime before a tempest: or were it that some one man, happilie somewhat perceiuing, filled manie men with suspicion, though he shewed few men what he knew. Howbeit somewhat the dealing it selfe made men to muse on the matter, though the councill were close. For by little and little all folke withdrew from the Tower, and drew vnto Crosbies in Bishops gates stréet, where the protector kept his household. The protector had the resort, the king in maner desolate.

While some for their businesse made sute to them that had the dooing, some were by their fréends secretlie warned, that it might happilie turne them to no good, to be too much attendant about the king without the protectors appointment, which remooued also diuerse of the princes old seruants from him, and set new about him. Thus manie things comming together, partlie by chance, partlie of purpose, caused at length not common people onelie, that woond with the wind, but wise men also, and some lords eke to marke the matter and muse thereon; so farre fourth that the lord Stanleie that was after earle of Derby, wiselie mistrusted it, and said vnto the lord Hastings, that he much misliked these two seuerall counccels. For while we (quoth he) talke of one matter in the tone place, little wot we wherof they talke in the tother place.

My lord (quoth the lord Hastings) on my life neuer doubt you: for while one man is there, which is neuer thense, neuer can there be thing once mooued, that should sound amisse toward me, but it should be in mine eares yer it were well out of their mouths. This ment he by Catesbie, which was of his néere secret councill, and whome he verie familiarlie vsed, and in his most weightie matters put no man in so speciall trust, reckoning himselfe to no man so liefte, sith he well wist there was no man so much to him beholden as was this Catesbie, which was a man well learned in the lawes of this land, and by the speciall fauour of the lord chamberlaine, in good authoritie, and much rule bare in all the countie of Leicester, where the lord chamberlains power cheeflie laie.

Catesbie and his conditions described.

But suerlie great pitie was it, that he had not had either more truth, or lesse wit. For his dissimulation onelie kept all that mischéeffe vp. In whome if the lord Hastings had not put so speciall trust, the lord Stanleie & he had departed with diuerse other lords, and broken all the danse, for manie ill signs that he saw, which he now construes all to the best. So suerlie thought he, that there could be none harme toward him in that councill intended, where Catesbie was. And of truth the protector and the duke of Buckingham made verie good semblance vnto the lord Hastings, and kept him much in companie. And vndoubtedlie the protector loued him well, and loth was to haue lost him, sauing for feare least his life should haue quailed their purpose.

For which cause he mooued Catesbie to prooue with some words cast out a farre off, whether he could thinke it possible to win the lord Hastings vnto their part. But Catesbie, whether he assaied him, or assaied him not, reported vnto them, that he found him so fast, and heard him speake so terrible words, that he durst no further breake. And of truth, the lord chamberlaine of verie trust shewed vnto Catesbie the distrust that others began to haue in the matter. And therefore he, fearing least their motion might with the lord Hastings minish his credence, wherevnto onelie all the matter leaned, procured the protector hastilie to rid him. And much the rather, for that he trusted by his death to obtaine much of the rule that the lord Hastings bare in his countie: the onelie desire whereof was the allectiue that induced him to be partner, and one speciall contriuer of all this horrible treason.

Wherevpon soone after, that is to wit, on the fridaie [being the thirtéenth of Iune] manie lords assembled in the Tower, and there sat in councill, deuising the honourable solemnitie of the kings coronation, of which the time appointed then so néere approached, that the pageants and subtilties were in making daie & night at Westminster, and much vittels killed therefore, that afterward was cast awaie. These lords so sitting together communing of this matter, the protector came in

An assemblie of lords in the Tower.

amongst them, first about nine of the clocke, saluting them courteously, and excusing himselfe that he had béene from them so long, saing merilie that he had béene a sléeper that daie.

After a little talking with them, he said vnto the bishop of Elie; My lord you haue verie good strawberies at your garden in Holborne, I require you let vs haue a messe of them. Gladlie my lord (quoth he) would God I had some better thing as readie to your pleasure as that! And therewithall in all the hast he sent his seruant for a messe of strawberies. The protector set the lords fast in communing, and therevpon praieng them to spare him for a little while, departed thense. And soone after one houre, betwéene ten & eleuen he returned into the chamber amongst them all, changed with a woonderfull soure angrie countenance, knitting the browes, frowning and fretting, and gnawing on his lips: and so sat him downe in his place.

The behavior of the lord protector in the assemblie of the lords.

All the lords were much dismaid and sore maruelled at this maner of sudden change, and what thing should him aile. Then, when he had sitten still a while, thus he began: What were they worthie to haue that compasse and imagine the destruction of me, being so néere of blood vnto the king, and protector of his roiall person and his realme? At this question, all the lords sat sore astonied, musing much by whome this question should be meant, of which euerie man wist himselfe cléere. Then the lord chamberlaine (as he that for the loue betwéene them thought he might be boldest with him) answered and said, that they were worthie to be punished as heinous traitors, whatsoever they were. And all the other affirmed the same. That is (quoth he) yonder sorceresse my brothers wife, and other with hir (meaning the quéene.)

At these words manie of the other lords were greatlie abashed, that fauoured hir. But the lord Hastings was in his mind better content, that it was mooued by hir, than by anie other whome he loued better: albeit his heart somewhat grudged, that he was not afore made of counsell in this matter, as he was of the taking of hir kinred, and of their putting to death, which were by his assent before deuised to be beheaded at Pomfret this selfe same daie, in which he was not ware that it was by other deuised, that he himselfe should be beheaded the same daie at London. Then said the protector: Ye shall all see in what wise that sorceresse, and that other witch of hir counsell Shores wife, with their affinitie, haue by their sorcerie and witchcraft wasted my bodie. And therewith he plucked vp his dublet sléeu to his elbow vpon his left arme, where he shewed a weerish withered arme, and small; as it was neuer other.

Herevpon euerie mans mind sore misgaue them, well perceiuing that this matter was but a quarrell. For they well wist that the quéene was too wise to go about anie such follie. And also if she would, yet would she of all folke least, make Shores wife of hir counsell, whome of all women she most hated, as that concubine whome the king hir husband had most loued. And also, no man was there present, but well knew that his arme was euer such since his birth. Nathelesse, the lord chamberlaine (which from the death of king Edward kept Shores wife, on whome he somewhat doted in the kings life, sauing (as it is said) he that while forbare hir of reuerence toward the king, else of a certeine kind of fidelitie to his fréend) answered and said: Certeinelie my lord, if they haue so heinouslie doone, they be worthie heinous punishment.

What (quoth the protector) thou seruest me I wéene with ifs and with ands, I tell thée they haue so doone, and that I will make good on thy bodie traitor: and therewith as in a great anger, he clapped his fist vpon the boord a great rap. At which token one cried, Treason, without the chamber. Therewith a doore clapped, and in come there rushing men in harnesse, as manie as the chamber might hold. And anon the protector said to the lord Hastings: I arrest thée traitor: What me my lord? (quoth he.) Yea thée traitor quoth the protector. And an other let flie at the lord Stanleie, which shrunke at the stroke, & fell vnder the table, or else his head had béene cleft to the téeth: for as shortlie as he shranke, yet ran the blood about his eares.

The lord Stanleie wounded.

Then were they all quickelie bestowed in diuerse chambers, except the lord chamberleine, whome the protector bad spéed and shriue him apace, for by saint Paule (quoth he) I will not to dinner till I see thy head off. It booted him not to aske whie, but heaulie tooke a priest at aduenture, & made a short shrift: for a longer would not be suffered, the protector made so much hast to dinner, which he might not go to, vntill this were doone, for sauing of his oth. So was he brought forth to the gréene beside the chappell within the Tower, and his head laid downe vpon a long log of timber, and there striken off, and afterward his bodie with the head interred at Windsor beside the bodie of king Edward, both whose soules our Lord pardon. [Thus began he to establish his kingdome in blood, growing thereby in hatred of the nobles, and also abridging both the line of his life, and the time of his regiment: for God will not haue bludthirstie tyrants daies prolonged, but will cut them off in their ruffe; according to Dauids words:

Lord Hastings lord chamberleine beheaded.

Impio, fallaci, auidoque cædis
Fila mors rumpet viridi in iuuenta.]

Buchan. in psal. 55.

A maruellous case is it to heare either the warnings of that he should haue voided, or the tokens of that he could not void. For the selfe night next before his death, the lord Stanleie sent a trustie messenger vnto him at midnight in all the hast, requiring him to rise and ride awaie with him, for he was disposed vtterlie no longer to bide, he had so fearfull a dreame; in which him thought that a boare with his tuskes so rased them both by the heads, that the blood ran about both their shoulders. And forsomuch as the protector gaued the boare for his cognisance, this dreame made

The lord Stanleie's dreame.

so fearfull an impression in his heart, that he was throughlie determined no longer to tarrie, but had his horsse readie, if the lord Hastings would go with him, to ride yet so farre the same night, that they should be out of danger yer daie.

Ha good Lord (quoth the lord Hastings to this messenger) leaneth my lord thy maister so much to such trifles, and hath such faith in dreames, which either his owne feare fantasieth, or doo rise in the nights rest by reason of his daies thought? Tell him it is plaine witchcraft to beléeue in such dreames, which if they were tokens of things to come, why thinketh he not that we might be as likelie to make them true by our going, if we were caught & brought backe, as fréends faile fliers; for then had the boare a cause likelie to rase vs with his tusks, as folke that fled for some falsehood. Wherefore, either is there perill, or none there is in déed: or if anie be, it is rather in going than biding. And in case we should néeds fall in perill one waie or other, yet had I rather that men should sée that it were by other mens falsehood, than thinke it were either by our owne fault, or faint heart. And therefore go to thy maister (man) and commend me to him, & praie him be merrie & haue no feare: for I insure him I am as sure of the man that he woteth of, as I am of mine owne hand. God send grace sir (quoth the messenger) and went his waie.

Certeine is it also, that in riding towards the Tower, the same morning in which he was beheaded, his horsse twice or thrise stumbled with him, almost to the falling. Which thing albeit ech man wote well dailie happeneth to them, to whom no such mischance is toward; yet hath it béene of an old rite and custome obserued, as a token oftentimes notable foregoing some great misfortune. Now this that followeth was no warning, but an enuious scorne. The same morning yer he was vp, came a knight vnto him, as it were of courtesie, to accompanie him to the councell; but of truth sent by the protector to hast him thitherwards, with whome he was of secret confederacie in that purpose; a meane man at that time and now of great authoritie.

Foretokens of imminent misfortune to the lord Hastings.

This knight (I say) when it happened the lord chamberleine by the waie to staie his horsse, & common a while with a priest whome he met in the Tower stréet, brake his tale, and said merilie to him; What my lord, I pray you come on, whereto talke you so long with that priest? you haue no néed of a priest yet: and therwith he laughed vpon him, as though he would say, Ye shall haue soone. But so little wist the tother what he ment, and so little mistrusted, that he was neuer merrier, nor neuer so full of good hope in his life, which selfe thing is oft séene a signe of change. But I shall rather let anie thing passe me, than the vaine suertie of mans mind so néere his death [flattering himselfe with deceitfull conceipts of inward motions of life to be prolonged, euen in present cases of deadlie danger, and heaue misfortunes offering great mistrust; as he did that is noted for speaking like a foole:

Non est (crede mihi) sapientis dicere, Viuam:
Nascentes morimur, finísq; ab origine pendet.]

Mani. lib. 4. Astro.

Vpon the verie Tower wharfe, so néere the place where his head was off soone after, there met he with one Hastings a purseuant of his owne name. And at their méeting in that place, he was put in remembrance of another time, in which it had happened them before to méet in like manner together in the same place. At which other time the lord chamberleine had béene accused vnto king Edward by the lord Riuers the quéenes brother, in such wise, as he was for the while (but it lasted not long) farre fallen into the kings indignation, & stood in great feare of himselfe. And forsomuch as he now met this purseuant in the same place, that ieopardie so well passed, it gaue him great pleasure to talke with him thereof, with whome he had before talked thereof in the same place, while he was therein.

And therefore he said: Ha Hastings, art thou remembred when I met thée here once with an heaue heart? Yea my lord (quoth he) that remember I well, and thanked be God, they gat no good, nor you no harme thereby. Thou wouldest say so (quoth he) if thou knewest as much as I know, which few know else as yet, and mo shall shortlie. That meant he by the lords of the quéenes kinred that were taken before, and should that daie be beheaded at Pomfret: which he well wist, but nothing ware that the ax hung ouer his owne head. In faith man (quoth he) I was neuer so sorie, nor neuer stood in so great dread in my life, as I did when thou and I met here. And lo how the world is turned, now stand mine enimies in the danger (as thou maiest hap to heare more hereafter) and I neuer in my life so merrie, nor neuer in so great suertie.

O good God, the blindnesse of our mortall nature, when he most feared, he was in good suertie; when he reckoned himselfe surest, he lost his life, and that within two houres after. Thus ended this honorable man, a good knight and a gentle, of great authoritie with his prince, of liuing somewhat dissolute, plaine and open to his enimie, & secret to his friend, easie to beguile, as he that of good heart and courage forestudied no perils, a louing man, and passing well beloued: verie faithfull, and trustie inough, trusting too much. Now flew the fame of this lords death swiftlie through the citie, and so foorth further about like a wind in euerie mans eare. But the protector, immediatlie after dinner, intending to set some colour vpon the matter, sent in all the hast for manie substantiall men out of the citie into the tower.

The description of the lord Hastings.

Now at their comming, himselfe with the duke of Buckingham, stood harnessed in old ill faring briganders, such as no man should wéene, that they would vouchsafe to haue put vpon their backs, except that some sudden necessitie had constreined them. And then the protector shewed them, that the lord chamberleine, and other of his conspiracie, had contriued to haue suddenlie destroyed him, and the duke, there the same day in the councell. And what they intended further,

was as yet not well knowne. Of which their treason he neuer had knowledge before ten of the clocke the same forenoone, which sudden feare draue them to put on for their defense such harnesses as came next to hand. And so had God holpen them, that the mischief turned vpon them that would haue doone it. And this he required them to report.

Euerie man answered him faire, as though no man mistrusted the matter, which of truth no man beléued. Yet for the further appeasing of the peoples minds, he sent immediatlie after dinner in all the hast one herald of armes, with a proclamation to be made through the citie in the kings name, conteining, that the lord Hastings, with diuerse other of his traitorous purposes, had before conspired the same day to haue slaine the lord protector, and the duke of Buckingham sitting in the councill; and after to haue taken vpon them to rule the king & the realme at their pleasure, and therby to pill and spoile whome they list vncontrolled. And much matter there was in that proclamation, deuised to the slander of the lord chamberleine, as that he was an ill councillor to the kings father, intising him to manie things highlie redounding to the minishing of his honour, and to the vniuersall hurt of the realme.

The protectors
proclamation.

The meanes whereby; namelie, his euill companie, sinister procuring, and vngratious example, as well in manie other things, as in the vicious liuing and inordinate abusion of his bodie, with manie other, and also speciallie with Shores wife, which was one also of his most secret counsell in this most heinous treason, with whome he laie nightlie, and namelie the night last past next before his death. So that it was the lesse maruell, if vngratious liuing brought him to an vnhappy ending, which he was now put vnto by the most dread commandement of the kings highnesse, and of his honorable and faithfull councill, both for his demerits, being so openlie taken in his falslie conceiued treason, and also least the delaieng of his execution might haue encouraged other mischievous persons, partners of his conspiracie, to gather and assemble themselues together, in making some great commotion for his deliuerance: whose hope being now by his well deserved death politikelie repressed, all the realme should (by Gods grace) rest in good quiet and peace.

The life and déeds of
the lord chamberlaine
laid open.

Now was this proclamation made within two houres after that he was beheaded, and it was so curioslie indicted, & so faire written in parchment, in so well a set hand, and therewith of it selfe so long a processe, that euerie child might well perceiue that it was prepared before. For all the time, betwéene his death and the proclaiming, could scant haue sufficed vnto the bare writing alone, all had it béene but in paper, and scribled foorth in hast at aduenture. So that vpon the proclaiming thereof, one that was schoolemaister of Powles of chance standing by, and comparing the shortnesse of the time with the length of the matter, said vnto them that stood about him; Here is a gaie goodlie cast foule cast awaie for hast. And a merchant answered him, that it was written by prophesie.

Now then by and by, as it were for anger, not for couetise, the protector sent into the house of Shores wife (for hir husband dwelled not with hir) and spoiled hir of all that euer she had, aboue the value of two or thrée thousand markes, and sent hir bodie to prison. And when he had a while laid vnto hir (for the maner sake) that she went about to bewitch him, and that she was of counsell with the lord chamberleine to destroie him: in conclusion, when that no colour could fasten vpon these matters, then he laid heinouslie to hir charge, that thing that hir selfe could not denie, and that all the world wist was true, and that nathelesse euerie man laughed at, to heare it then so suddenlie so highlie taken, that shée was naught of hir bodie.

Shores wife spoiled of
all that she had.

And for this cause (as a goodlie continent prince, cleane and faultlesse of himselfe, sent out of heauen into this vicious world for the amendment of mens maners) he caused the bishop of London to put hir to open penance, going before the crosse in procession vpon a sundaie with a taper in hir hand. In which she went in countenance and pase demure so womanlie; that albeit she were out of all araie, saue hir kirtle onelie, yet went she so faire and louelie, namelie while the woondering of the people cast a comelie rud in hir cheeks (of which she before had most misse) that hir great shame wan hir much praise among those that were more amorous of hir bodie, than curious of hir soule. And manie good folks also that hated hir liuing, & glad were to see sin corrected: yet pitied they more hir penance, than reioised therin, when they considered that the protector procured it, more of a corrupt intent, than anie vertuous affection.

Shores wife put to open
penance.

This woman was borne in London, worshipfullie friended, honestlie brought vp, and verie well married, sauing somewhat too soone, hir husband an honest citizen, yong and goodlie, & of good substance. But forsomuch as they were coupled yer she were well ripe, she not verie feruentlie loued him, for whō she neuer longed, which was happilie the thing that the more easilie made hir incline vnto the kings appetite, when he required hir. Howbeit the respect of his roialtie, the hope of gaie apparell, ease, and other wanton wealth, was able soone to pearse a soft tender heart, [so that she became flexible and pliant to the kings appetite and will; being so blinded with the bright glorie of the present courtlie brauerie which shée inioiced, that she vtterlie forgat how excellent a treasure good name and fame is, and of what incomparable sweetnesse, euen by the iudgement of him, whose match for wisdom the world neuer bred vp, saing:

The descriptiō of
Shores wife.

Sunt optanda magis puræ bona nomina famæ,
Nobilis vnguenti quàm pretiosus odor.]

*Eob. Hess. in Eccles.
Sal.*

But when the king had abused hir, anon hir husband (as he was an honest man, and one that could his good, not presuming to touch a kings concubine) left hir vp to him altogether. When the king died, the lord chamberleine tooke hir, which in the kings daies, albeit he was sore inamoured vpon hir, yet he forbare hir; ether for reuerence, or for a certeine friendlie faithfulness. Proper she was and faire; nothing in hir bodie that you would haue changed, but if ye would haue wished hir somewhat higher. Thus saie they that knew hir in hir youth. Albeit some that now see hir (for yet^[3] she liueth) deem hir neuer to haue béene well visaged: whose iudgement séemeth me somewhat like, as though men should gesse the beautie of one long before departed by hir scalpe taken out of the charnell house.

[3] Meaning when this storie was written.

For now is she old, leane, withered and dried vp, nothing left but riuelled skin and hard bone. And yet being euen such, who so well aduise hir visage, might gesse and deuise, which parts how filled would make it a faire face. Yet delighted not men so much in hir beautie, as in hir pleasant behaiour. For a proper wit had she, and could both read well and write, merrie in companie, readie and quicke of answer, neither mute, nor full of bable, sometime tawnting without displeasure, and not without disport. The king would saie that he had thrée concubines, which in thrée diuerse properties diuerslie excelled. One the merriest, another the wiliest, the third the holiest harlot in his realme, as one whome no man could get out of the church lightlie to any place, but it were to his bed.

K. Edwards thrée concubines.

The other two were somewhat greater personages, and nathelesse of their humilitie content to be namelesse, and to forbear the praise of those properties: but the merriest was this Shores wife, in whom the king therefore tooke speciall pleasure. For manie he had, but hir he loued; whose fauour to say the truth (for sin it were to beelie the diuell) she neuer abused to anie mans hurt, but to manie a mans comfort and reléefe. Where the king tooke displeasure, shée would mitigate and appease his mind: where men were out of fauour, she would bring them in his grace. For manie that had highlie offended shée obtained pardon. Of great forfeitures she gat men remission.

Finallie, in manie weightie sutes she stood manie a man in great stead, either for none or verie small rewards, and those rather gaie than rich; either that she was content with the déed it selfe well doone; or for that she delighted to be sued vnto, and to shew what she was able to doo with the king; or for that wanton women and wealthie be not alwaies courteous. I doubt not some shall thinke this woman too slight a thing to be written of, and set among the remembrances of great matters: which they shall speciallie thinke, that happilie shall estéeme hir onelie by that they now see hir.

But me séemeth the chance so much the more worthie to be remembred, in how much she is now in the more beggerlie condition, vnfréended and worne out of acquaintance, after good substance, after as great fauour with the prince, after as great sute and séeking to with all those, that those daies had businesse to spéed; as manie other men were in their times, which be now famous onelie by the infamie of their ill déeds. Hir dooings were not much lesse, albeit they be much lesse remembred, bicause they were not so euill. For men vse if they haue an euill turne, to write it in marble: and who so dooth vs a good turne, we write it in dust, which is not worst prooued by hir: for at this daie she beggeth of manie at this daie liuing, that at this daie had begged if she had not béene.

Now was it so deuised by the protector and his councell, that the selfe daie, in which the lord chamberleine was beheaded in the Tower of London, and about the selfe same houre, was there (not without his assent) beheaded at Pomfret, the foreremembred lords & knights that were taken from the king at Northampton and Stonie Stratford. Which thing was doone in the presence, and by the order of sir Richard Ratcliffe knight, whose seruice the protector speciallie vsed in that councell, and in the execution of such lawlesse enterprises, as a man that had béene long secret with him, hauing experience of the world, and a shrewd wit, short & rude in spéech, rough and boisterous of behaiour, bold in mischief, as far from pitie as from all feare of God.

Sir Richard Ratcliffe.

This knight bringing them out of the prison to the scaffold, and shewing to the people about that they were traitors (not suffering them to declare & speake their innocencie, least their words might haue inclined men to pitie them, and to hate the protector and his part) caused them hastilie, without iudgement, processe, or maner of order to be beheaded, and without other earthlie gilt, but onelie that they were good men, too true to the king, and too nigh to the quéene. Now when the lord chamberleine & these other lords and knights were thus beheaded, and rid out of the waie: then thought the protector, that when men mused what the matter meant, while the lords of the realme were about him out of their owne strengths, while no man wist what to thinke, nor whom to trust, yer euer they should haue space to dispute and digest the matter and make parties; it were best hastilie to pursue his purpose, and put himselfe in possession of the crowne, yer men could haue time to deuise anie waie to resist.

The lord Riuers & other beheaded.

But now was all the studie by what meanes this matter, being of it selfe so heinous, might be first broken to the people, in such wise that it might be well taken. To this councell they tooke diuerse, such as they thought méetlie to be trusted, likelie to be induced to that part, and able to stand them in stéed either by power or policie. Among whome they made of councell Edmund Shaw knight then maior of London, which vpon trust of his owne aduancement, whereof he was of a

Edmund Shaw maior of London.

proud heart highlie desirous, should frame the cite to their appetite. Of spirituall men they tooke such as had wit, and were in authentic among the people for opinion of their learning, and had no scrupulous conscience. Among these had they Iohn Shaw clearke brother to the maior, and frier Penker, prouinciall of the Augustine friers both doctors of diuinitie, both great preachers, both of more learning than vertue, of more fame than learning. For they were before greatlie estéemed among the people: but after that neuer.

Of these two the one had a sermon in praise of the protector before the coronation, the other after, both so full of tedious flatterie, that no mans eares could abide them. Penker in his sermon so lost his voice, that he was faine to leaue off, and come downe in the midst. Doctor Shaw by his sermon lost his honestie, & soone after his life, for verie shame of the world, into which he durst neuer after come abroad. But the frier forced for no shame, and so it harmed him the lesse. Howbeit some doubt, and manie thinke, that Penker was not of counsell in the matter before the coronation, but after the common maner fell to flatterie after: namelie sith his sermon was not incontinentlie vpon it, but at saint Marie hospitall at the Easter after.

Doct. Shaw.

Frier Penker.

But certeine it is, that doctor Shaw was of counsell in the beginning, so farre foorth that they determind that he should first breake the matter in a sermon at Paules crosse, in which he should (by the authoritie of his preaching) incline the people to the protectors ghostlie purpose. But now was all the labor and studie in the deuise of some conuenient pretext, for which the people should be content to depose the prince, and accept the protector for king. In which diuerse things they deuised. But the chéefe thing & the weightiest of all that inuention rested in this, that they should alledge bastardie, either in king Edward himselve, or in his children, or both. So that he should séeme disabled to inherit the crowne, by the duke of Yorke, and the prince by him.

The chiefest deuise to depose the prince.

To laie bastardie in king Edward, sounded openlie to the rebuke of the protectors owne mother, which was mother to them both; for in that point could be no other color, but to pretend that his owne mother was an adultresse, which notwithstanding, to further this purpose he letted not. But neuerthelesse he would that point should be lesse and more fauourable handled: not euen fullie plaine and directlie, but that the matter should be touched aslope craftilie, as though men spared in that point to speake all the truth, for feare of his displeasure. But the other point concerning the bastardie that they deuised to surmise in king Edwards children, that would he should be openlie declared and inforced to the vttermost. The colour and pretext whereof cannot be well perceiued, but if we first repeat you some things long before doone about king Edwards mariage.

After that king Edward the fourth had deposed king Henrie the sixt, and was in peaceable possession of the realme, determining himselfe to marie (as it was méet both for him selfe & the realme) he sent ouer in ambassage the erle of Warwike, with other noble men in his companie to Spaine, to treat & conclude a mariage betwéene K. Edward & the kings daughter of Spaine. In which thing the erle of Warwike found the parties so toward & willing, that he speedily (according to his instructions without any difficultie) brought the matter to very good cöclusion. Now hapned it, that in the meane season there came to make a sute by petition to the king dame Elizabeth Greie, which was after his quéene, at that time a widow, borne of noble bloud, by hir mother, duches of Bedford, yer she married the lord Wooduile, hir father.

Sée before pag. 283.

Dame Elizabeth Greie.

Howbeit, this dame Elizabeth hir selfe, being in seruice with quéene Margaret, wife vnto king Henrie the sixt, was married vnto one [Iohn] Greie an esquier, whome king Henrie made knight vpon the field that he had on [Barnet heath by saint Albons] against king Edward. But litle while inioied he that knighthood: for he was at the same field slaine. After which doone, and the earle of Warwike, being in his ambassage about the afore remembred mariage, this poore ladie made humble sute vnto the king, that she might be restored vnto such small lands as hir late husband had giuen hir in iointure. Whome when the king beheld, and heard hir speake as she was both faire and of a goodlie fauor, moderate of stature, well made and verie wise: he not onelie pitied hir, but also waxed inamoured of hir. And taking hir afterward secretlie aside, began to enter in talking more familiarlie. Whose appetite when she perceiued, she vertuously denied him.

But that did she so wiselie, and with so good maner, and words so well set, that she rather kindled his desire than quenched it. And finallie, after manie a méeting, much wooing, and many great promises, she well espieng the kings affection toward hir so greatlie increased, that she durst somewhat the more boldlie saie hir mind, as to him whose hart she perceiued more feruentlie set, than to fall off for a word. And in conclusion, she shewed him plaine, that as she wist hir selfe too simple to be his wife, so thought she hir selfe too good to be his concubine. The king much maruelling at hir constancie (as he that had not been woont elsewhere to be so stiffelie said naie) so much estéemed hir continencie and chastitie, that he set hir vertue in the stéed of possession and riches: and thus taking counsell of his desire, determined in all possible hast to marie hir.

A wise answer of a chaste and continent ladie.

Now after he was thus appointed, and had betwéene them twaine insured hir: then asked he counsell of his other fréends, and that in such maner, as they might then perceiue it bootied not greatlie to say naie. Notwithstanding the duches of Yorke his mother was so sore mooued therewith, that she dissuaded the mariage as much as she possible might; alledging that it was his honour, profit and suertie also, to marie in a noble progenie out of his realme, wherevpon depended great strength to his estate, by the affinitie and great possibilitie of increase of his possession. And that he could not well otherwise doo, séeing that the earle of Warwike had so farre mooued alreadie: which

The kings mother.

were not likelie to take it well, if all his voiage were in such wise frustrate, and his appointment deluded. And she said also, that it was not princelie to marie his owne subiect, no great occasion leading therevnto, no possessions, or other commodities depending therevpon; but onlie as it were a rich man that would marie his maid, onelie for a little wanton dotage vpon hir person.

In which mariage manie mo commend the maidens fortune, than the maisters wisdom. And yet therein (she said) was more honestie than honour in this mariage. For somuch as there is betwéene no merchant and his owne maid so great difference, as betwéene the king and this widow. In whose person, albeit there was nothing to be misliked; yet was there (she said) nothing so excellent, but that it might be found in diuerse other that were more méetlie (quoth she) for your estate, and maidens also; whereas the onelie widowhead of Elizabeth Greie, though she were in all other things conuenient for you, shuld yet suffice (as me séemeth) to refraine you from hir mariage, sith it is an vnfitting thing, and a verie blemish and high disparagement to the sacred maiestie of a prince, that ought as nigh to approach priesthood in cleannesse as he dooth in dignitie, to be defiled with bigamie in his first mariage.

The king, when his mother had said, made hir answer, part in earnest, part in plaie merilie, as he that wist himselfe out of hir rule. And albeit he would gladlie that she should take it well, yet was at a point in his owne mind, tooke she it well or otherwise. Howbeit somewhat to satisfie hir, he said, that albeit mariage (being a spirituall thing) ought rather to be made for the respect of God, where his grace inclineth the parties to loue together, as he trusted it was in his, than for the regard of anie temporall aduantage: yet neuerthelesse, him séemed that this mariage, euen worldlie considered, was not vnprofitable. For he reckoned the amitie of no earthlie nation so necessarie for him, as the fréendship of his owne, which he thought likely to beare him so much the more hartie fauour, in that he disdained not to marie with one of his owne land.

The kings answer to his mother.

And yet if outward aliance were thought so requisite, he would find the meanes to enter thereinto, much better by other of his kin, where all the parties could be contented, than to marie himselfe whome he should happilie neuer loue; and for the possibilitie of more possessions, leese the fruit and pleasure of this that he had alreadie. For small pleasure taketh a man of all that euer he hath beside, if he be wiued against his appetite. And I doubt not (quoth he) but there be (as ye say) other, that be in euerie point comparable with hir. And therefore I let not them that like them to wed them. No more is it reason, that it mislike anie man, that I marrie where it liketh me. And I am sure that my cousine of Warwike neither loueth me so little, to grudge at that I loue; nor is so vnreasonable, to looke that I should in choise of a wife, rather be ruled by his eie, than by mine owne: as though I were a ward that were bound to marie by the appointment of a gardian.

I would not be a king with that condition, to forbear mine owne libertie in choise of mine owne mariage. As for possibilitie of more inheritance by new affinitie in strange lands, is oft the occasion of more trouble than profit. And we haue alreadie title by that meanes vnto so much, as sufficeth to get and kéepe well in one mans daies. That she is a widow, and hath alreadie children; by Gods blessed ladie, I am a bachelor, and haue some too, and so ech of vs hath a prooffe that neither of vs is like to be barren. And therefore (madame) I prairie you be content, I trust in God she shall bring foorth a yong prince that shall please you. And as for the bigamie, let the bishop hardlie laie it in my waie when I come to take orders. For I vnderstand it is forbidden a preest, but I neuer wist it yet, that it was forbidden a prince. [This spake he as alluding to the libertie of princes, whose lust standeth oftentimes for law, and their opinion for reason, according to the saieing of the poet;

Libertie preferred before a kingdom.

---tunc omnia iure tenebis
Cùm poteris rex esse.]

Claudi.

The duches with these words nothing appeased, and séeing the king so set thereon, that she could not pull him backe. So highlie she disdained it, that vnder pretext of hir dutie to Godward, she deused to disturbe this mariage, and rather to helpe that he should marie one dame Elizabeth Lucie, whome the king had also not long before gotten with child. Wherefore the kings mother openlie obiected against his mariage, as it were in discharge of hir conscience, that the king was sure to dame Elizabeth Lucie and hir husband before God. By reason of which words, such obstacle was made in the matter, that either the bishops durst not, or the king would not proceed to the solemnization of this wedding, till these same were clearlie purged, and the truth well and openlie testified. Wherevpon dame Elizabeth Lucie was then sent for.

Elizabeth Lucie.

And albeit that she was by the kings mother and manie other put in good comfort, to affirme that she was ensured vnto the king: yet when she was solemnlie sworne to saie the truth, she confessed that they were neuer ensured. Howbeit she said his grace spake so louing words vnto hir, that she verelie hoped he would haue married hir. And that if it had not béene for such kind words, she would neuer haue shewed such kindnesse to him, to let him so kindlie get hir with child. This examination solemnlie taken, when it was cléerelie perceiued, that there was none impediment: the king with great feast and honourable solemnitie married dame Elizabeth Greie, and hir crowned quéene that was his enimies wife, and manie times had praied full hartilie for his losse, in which God loued hir better than to grant hir hir boune.

The kings mariage.

But when the earle of Warwike vnderstood of this marriage, he tooke it so highlie that his

ambassage was deluded, that for verie anger and disdaine he (at his returning) assembled a great puissance against the king, and came so fast vpon him yer he could be able to resist, that he was faine to void the realme, and flee into Holland for succor, where he remained for the space of two yeares, leauing his new wife at Westminster in sanctuarie, where she was deliuered of Edward the prince, of whome we before haue spoken. In which meane time the earle of Warwike tooke out of prison, and set vp againe king Henrie the sixt, who was before by king Edward deposed, and that much what by the power of the erle of Warwike, which was a wise man, and a couragious warriour, and of such strength, what for his lands, his aliance, and fauor with all people, that he made kings and put downe kings almost at his pleasure, and not impossible to haue attained it himselfe, if he had not reckoned it a greater thing to make a king than to be a king.

The king fled.

The prince borne.

King Henrie the sixt set vp.

Of the earle of Warwike.

But nothing lasteth alwaie: far in conclusion, king Edward returned, and with much lesse number than he had at Barnet on the Easter daie field, slue the earle of Warwike, with manie other great estates of that partie, & so stabling attained the crowne againe, that he peaceablie enioied it vntill his dieng daie: and in such plight left it, that it could not be lost but by the discord of his verie friends, or falsehood of his feigned fréends. I haue rehearsed this businesse about this marriage somewhat the more at length, bicause it might thereby the better appeare, vpon how slipperie a ground the protector builded his colour, by which he pretended king Edwards children to be bastards. But that inuention, simple as it was, it liked them to whome it sufficed to haue somewhat to saie, while they were sure to be compelled to no larger prooffe than themselues list to make.

The earle of Warwike slaine.

Now then (as I began to shew you) it was by the protector and his counsell concluded, that this doctor Shaw should in a sermon at Pauls crosse signifie to the people, that neither king Edward himselfe, nor the duke of Clarence, were lawfullie begotten, nor were not the verie children of the duke of Yorke, but gotten vnlawfullie by other persons, in adulterie, of the duches their mother. And that also dame Elizabeth Lucie was verilie the wife of king Edward, and so the prince and all his children bastards, that were begotten vpon the quéene. According to this deuise doctor Shaw the sundaie after, at Paules crosse in a great audience (as alwaie assembled great number to his preaching) he tooke for his theame; Spuria vitilamina non agent radices altas, that is to saie; Bastard slippes shall neuer take déepe root.

Doc. Shaw's sermon.

Therevpon when he had shewed the great grace that God giueth, and secretlie insundeth in right generation after the lawes of matrimonie, then declared he, that commonlie those children lacked that grace, and for the punishment of their parents were (for the more part) vnhappy, which were gotten in base, and speciallie in adulterie. Of which, though some, by the ignorance of the world and the truth hid from knowledge, inherited for the season other mens lands, yet God alwaie so prouideth, that it continueth not in their bloud long: but the truth comming to light, the rightfull inheritors be restored, and the bastard slip pulled vp yer it can be rooted déepe. And so he did laie for the prooffe and confirmation of this sentence certeine insamples taken out of the old testament, and other ancient histories.

Then began he to descend into the praise of the lord Richard late duke of Yorke, calling him father to the lord protector, and declared the title of his heires vnto the crowne, to whome it was (after the death of king Henrie the sixt) intailed by authoritie of parlement. Then shewed he that his verie right heire of his bodie lawfullie begotten was onelie the lord protector. For he declared then, that king Edward was neuer lawfullie married vnto the quéene, but was before God husband vnto dame Elizabeth Lucie, and so his children bastards. And besides that, neither king Edward himselfe, nor the duke of Clarence, among those that were secret in the houshold, were reckoned verie suerlie for the children of the noble duke, as those that by their fauours more resembled other knowne men than him. From whose vertuous conditions he said also that the late king Edward was far off.

This preacher was taught his lesson yer he came into the pulpit.

K. Edward slandered in a sermon.

But the lord protector he said, the verie noble prince, the speciall paterne of knightlie prowesse, as well in all princelie behaiour, as in the lineaments and fauour of his visage, represented the verie face of the noble duke his father. This is, quoth he, the fathers owne figure, this is his owne countenance, the verie print of his visage, the sure vndoubted image, the plaine expresse likeness of that noble duke. Now was it before deuised, that in the speaking of these words, the protector should haue comen in among the people to the sermon ward, to the end that those words méeting with his presence, might haue béen taken among the hearers, as though the Holie-ghost had put them in the preachers mouth, & should haue mooued the people euen there to crie; King Richard, king Richard: that it might haue béene after said, that he was speciallie chosen by God, and in maner by miracle. But this deuise quailed, either by the protectors negligence, or the preachers ouermuch diligence.

A maruellous deuise to mooue the assemblie.

For while the protector found by the waie tarieng least he should preuent those words, and the doctor fearing that he should come yer his sermon could come to these words, hasted his matter thereto, he was come to them and past them, and entered into other matters yer the protector came. Whome when he beheld comming, he suddenlie left the matter with which he was in hand,

K. Richard commended by the preacher.

and without anie deduction therevnto, out of all order, and out of all frame, began to repeat those words againe: "This is the verie noble prince, the speciall patrone of knightlie prowesse, which as well in all princelie behaiour, as in the lineaments & fauor of his visage, representeth the verie face of the noble duke of Yorke his father: this is the fathers owne figure, this is his owne countenance, the verie print of his visage, the sure vndoubted image, the plaine expresse likenesse of the noble duke, whose remembrance can neuer die while he liueth."

While these words were in speaking, the protector accompanied with the duke of Buckingham, went through the people into the place where the doctors commonlie stand in the vpper storie, where he stood to hearken the sermon. But the people were so farre frō crieng; K. Richard, that they stood as they had béene turned into stones, for woonder of this shamefull sermon. After which once ended, the preacher gat him home, and neuer after durst looke out for shame, but kept him out of sight like an owle. And when he once asked one that had béene his old friend what the people talked of him, all were it that his owne conscience well shewed him that they talked no good; yet when the tother answered him, that there was in euerie mans mouth spoken of him much shame, it so strake him to the heart, that within few daies after he withered and consumed awaie [for verie thought and inward pine, procured by irrecoverable cares, whose nature is noted by obseruation of their effects:

Note the course of
Gods iudgement.

Attenuant vigiles corpus miserabile curæ.]

Ouid. iib. 3. met.

Then on the tuesdaie following this sermon, there came to the Guildhall in London the duke of Buckingham, accompanied with diuerse lords and knights mo than happilie knew the message that they brought. And there in the east end of the hall, where the maior kéepeth the Hustings, the maior and all the aldermen being assembled about him, all the commons of the citie gathered before them. After silence commanded vpon great paine in the protectors name: the duke stood vp, and (as he was neither vnlearned, and of nature maruellouslie well spoken) he said vnto the people with a cleare and lowd voice in this maner of wise.

The duke of Buckingham's oration to the assemblie of the maior, aldermen, and commoners.

Friends, for the zeale and heartie fauour that we beare you, we be comen to breake vnto you of a maner right great and weightie, and no lesse weightie than pleasing to God, and profitable to all the realme: nor to no part of the realme more profitable, than to you the citizens of this noble citie. For whie, that thing that we wote well ye haue long time lacked, and sore longed for, that yée would haue giuen great good for, that yée would haue gone farre to fetch; that thing we be come hither to bring you without your labour, paine, cost, aduenture or ieopardie. What thing is that? Certes the suertie of your owne bodies, the quiet of your wiues and your daughters, the safeguard of your goods: of all which things in times past ye stood euermore in doubt. For who was there of you all, that would reckon himselfe lord of his own goods among so manie grens & traps as was set therefore, among so much pilling and polling, among so manie taxes and tallages, of which there was neuer end, & oftentimes no néed? Or if anie were, it rather grew of riot, and vnreasonable wast, that anie necessarie or honourable charge.

A notable persuasion.

So that there was dailie pilled fro good men and honest, great substance of goods, to be lashed out among vnthrifths; so far forth, that fiteenes sufficed not, nor anie vsual names of knowne taxes: but vnder an easie name of beneuolence and good will, the commissioners so much of euerie man tooke as no man could with his good will haue giuen. As though that name of beneuolence had signified, that euerie man should paie, not what himselfe of his owne good will list to grant, but what the king of his good will list to take. Which neuer asked little, but euerie thing was hawsed aboute the measure, ameracements turned into fines, fines into ransoms, small trespasses into misprison, misprison into treason. Whereof (I thinke) no man looketh that we should remember you of examples by name, as though Burdet were forgotten, that was for a word spoken in hast cruellie beheaded, by the misconstruing of the laws of this realme, for the princes pleasure.

Burdet.

With no lesse honour to Markam then chéefe iustice, that left [the benefit & dignitie] of his office, rather than he would assent to the dishonestie of those, that either for feare or flatterie gaue that iudgment. What Cooke, your owne worshipful neighbour, alderman and maior of this noble citie, who is of you so either negligent that he knoweth not, or so forgetful that he remembreth not, or so hard hearted that he pittie not that worshipful mans losse? What speake we of losse? His vtter spoile and vnderdeserued destruction, onelie for that it hapned those to fauour him whome the prince fauoured not. We néed not (I suppose) to rehearse of these anie mo by name, sith there be (I doubt not) manie héere present, that either in themselues or in their nigh friends haue knowne, as well their goods as their persons greatlie indangered, either by feigned quarrels, or small matters agreede with heinous names. And also there was no crime so great, of which there could lacke a pretext.

Markam.

Cooke.

For sith the king, preuenting the time of this inheritance, attained the crowne by battell: it sufficed in a rich man for a pretext of treason, to haue béene of kinred or aliance, néere familiaritie, or legier acquaintance with any of those that were at anie time the kings enimies, which was at one time and other more than halfe the relme. Thus were neither your goods in suertie, and yet they brought your bodies in ieopardie, beside the common aduenture of open warre, which albeit that it is euer the will and occasion of much mischéefe, yet is it neuer so mischeeuous, as where any people fall at distance among themselues; nor in none earthlie nation so deadlie and so pestilent, as when it happeneth among vs; and among vs neuer so long continued dissention, nor so manie batels in that season, nor so cruell and so deadlie fought, as was in that kings daies that dead is, God forgiue it his soule.

Open warre not so ill as ciuill.

In whose time, and by whose occasion, what about the getting of the garland, kéeping it, leeing and winning againe, it hath cost more English bloud, than hath twise the winning of France. In which inward war among our selues, hath béene so great effusion of the ancient noble bloud of this realme, that scarselie the halfe remaineth, to the great infeebling of this noble land, beside manie a good towne ransacked and spoiled by them, that haue béene going to the field or comming from thence. And peace long after not much surer than war. So that no time was therein, which rich men for their monie, and great men for their lands, or some other for some feare, or some displeasure were not out of perill. For whom trusted he that mistrusted his owne brother? Whome spared he that killed his owne brother? Or who could perfectlie loue him, if his owne brother could not?

Ciuill warre the occasion of manie great inconueniencies.

What maner of folke he most fauoured we shall for his honour spare to speake of. Howbeit this wote you well all, that who so was best, bare alwaie least rule; & more sute was in his daies to Shores wife a vile and an abominable strumpet, than to all the lords in England: except vnto those that made hir their proctor. Which simple woman was well named & honest, till the king for his wanton lust and sinfull affection bereft hir from hir husband, a right honest substantiall yoong man among you. And in that point, which in good faith I am sorie to speake of, sauing that it is in vaine to kéepe in counsell that thing that all men know, the kings greedie appetite was insatiable, and euerie where ouer all the realme intollerable.

Shores wife more sued vnto than all the lords in England.

For no woman was there anie where, yoong or old, rich or poore, whome

he set his eie vpon, in whome he anie thing liked, either person or fauour, spéech, pase, or countenance, but without anie feare of God, or respect of his honour, murmur or grudge of the world, he would importunelie pursue his appetite, and haue hir, to the great destruction of manie a good woman, and great dolor to their husbands, and their other fréends; which being honest people of themselues, so much regard the cleannesse of their house, the chastitie of their wiues, and their children, that them were leauer to leese all that they had beside, than to haue such a villanie doone them. And all were it that with this and other importable dealing, the realme was in euerie part annoied: yet speciallie yée héere the citizens of this noble citie, as well for that amongst you is most plentie of all such things as minister matter to such iniuries as for that at you were néerest at hand, sith that néere héere abouts was commonlie his most abiding.

He directeth his spéech to the communalitie of the citie.

And yet be yée the people, whome he had as singular cause well and kindlie to intreat, as anie part of his realme; not onelie for that the prince (by this noble citie, as his speciall chamber, & the speciall well renommed citie of this realme) much honourable fame receiueth among all other nations: but also for that yée (not without your great cost, & sundrie perils & ieopardies in all his warres) bare euen your speciall fauor to his part. Which your kind minds borne to the house of Yorke, sith he hath nothing worthilie acquitted, there is of that house that now by Gods grace better shall: which thing to shew you is the whole summe and effect of this our present errand. It shall not (I wot well) néed that I rehearse you againe, that yée haue already heard of him that can better tell it, and of whome I am sure yée will better beléue it. And reason is that it so be.

London the kings especiall chamber.

I am not so proud, to looke therefore that yée should reckon my words of as great authoritie as the preachers of the word of God, namelie a man so cunning and so wise, that no man better woteth what he should saie, and thereto so good and vertuous, that he would saie the thing which he wist he should not saie, in the pulpit namelie, into the which no honest man commeth to lie. Which honorable preacher, yée well remember, substantiallie declared vnto you at Paules crosse, on sundaie last passed, the right & title that the most excellent prince Richard duke of Gloucester, now protector of this realme, hath vnto the crowne and kingdome of the same. For as the worshipfull man groundlie made open vnto you, the children of king Edward the fourth were neuer lawfullie begotten, forsomuch as the king (leaning his verie wife dame Elizabeth Lucie) was neuer lawfullie married vnto the quéene their mother, whose bloud, sauing that he set his voluptuous, pleasure before his honor, was full vnméetelie to be matched with his; and the mingling of whose blouds together, hath béene the effusion of a great part of the noble bloud of this realme.

Doct. Shaw commended by the duke of Buckingham.

A slanderous lie confirmed.

Whereby it may well séeme the mariage not well made, of which there is so much mischéefe growne. For lacke of which lawfull coupling, & also of other things which the said worshipfull doctor rather signified than fullie explained, & which things shall not be spoken for me, as the thing wherein euerie man forbereth to say that he knoweth in auoiding displeasure of my noble lord protector, bearing (as nature requireth) a filiall reuerence to the duchesse his mother. For these causes (I say) before remembred that is to wit, for lacke of other issue lawfullie of the late noble prince Richard duke of Yorke, to whose roiall bloud the crowne of England and of France is by the high authoritie of parlement intailed, the right and title of the same is by the iust course of inheritance (according to the cōmon lawes of the land) deuolued & commen vnto the most excellent prince the lord protector, as to the verie lawfullie begotten sonne of the foreremembred noble duke of Yorke.

The title of K. Richard to the crowne.

Which thing well considered, and the great knightlie prowesse pondered, with manifold vertues, which in his noble person singularlie abound; the nobles and commons also of this realme, and speciallie in the north part, not willing anie bastard bloud to haue the rule of the land, nor the abusions before in the same vsed anie longer to continue, haue condescended and fullie determined, to make humble petition to the most puissant prince the lord protector, that it maie like his grace (at our humble request) to take vpon him the guiding and gouernance of this realme, to the wealth and increase of the same, according to his verie right and iust title. Which thing I wote it well, he will be loth to take vpon him, as he whose wisdom well perceiueth the labor and studie both of mind and bodie, that come therewith, to whomsoeuer so will occupie the roome, as I dare say hée will, if he take it. Which roome I warne you well is no childs office. And that the great wise man well perceiued, when hée said: Væ regno cuius rex puer est: Wo is that realme that hath a child to their king.

The dignitie and office of a king full of care & studie.

Wherefore so much the more cause haue we to thanke God, that this noble personage, which is so rightlie intituled therevnto, is of so sad age, & thereto so great wisdom ioined with so great experience, which albeit hée will bée loth (as I haue said) to take it vpon him, yet shall he to our petition in that behalfe more graciouslie incline, if ye the worshipfull citizens of this the chéefe citie of this realme, ioine with vs the nobles in our said request. Which for your owne weale (we doubt not) but ye will: and nathelesse I heartilie pray you so to doo, whereby you shall doo great profit to all this realme beside, in choosing them so good a king, and vnto your selues speciall commoditie, to whom his maiestie shall euer after beare so much the more tender fauor, in how much he shall perceiue you the more prone and beneuolentlie minded toward his election. Wherein déere friends what mind you haue, wee require you plainlie to shew vs.

When the duke had said, and looked that the people, whome he hoped that the maior had framed before should after this proposition made, haue cried; King Richard, king Richard: all was husht and mute, and not one word answered therevnto. Wherewith the duke was maruellouslie abashed, and taking the maior neerer to him, with other that were about him priuie to that matter, said vnto them softlie, What meaneth this, that the people be so still? Sir (quoth the maior) percase they perceiue you not well. That shall we mend (quoth he) if that will helpe. And by & by somewhat lowder he rehearsed to them the same matter againe in other order, and other words, so well and ornatie, and nathesle so euidentlie and plaine, with voice, gesture and countenance so comelie, and so conuenient, that euerie man much maruelled that heard him, and thought that they neuer had in their liues heard so euill a tale so well told [insomuch that he séemed as cunning an orator, as he, of whome the poet spake to his high praise & cōmendation, saieng:

Quælibet eloquio causa fit apta suo.]

But were it for woonder or feare, or that each looked that other should speake first: not one word was there answered of all the people that stood before, but all was as still as the midnight, not somuch as rowning amongst them, by which they might séeme to commune what was best to do. When the maior saw this, he with other partners of that councill drew about the duke, and said that the people had not béene accustomed there to be spoken vnto, but by the recorder, which is the mouth of the citie, and happilie to him they will answer. With that the recorder, called Fitz William, a sad man, & an honest, which was so new come into that office, that he neuer had spoken to the people before, and loth was with that matter to begin, notwithstanding therevnto commanded by the maior, made rehearsall to the commons of that the duke had twice rehearsed to them himselfe.

The election of K. Richard hardlie to be preferred.

Fitz William recorder.

But the recorder so tempered his tale, that he shewed euerie thing as the dukes words, and no part his owne. But all this noting no change made in the people, which alwaie after one stood as they had béene men amazed. Wherevpon the duke rowned vnto the maior and said; This is a maruellous obstinate silence: and therewith he turned vnto the people againe with these words; Déere friends, we come to mooue you to that thing, which peradventure we not so greatlie néeded but that the lords of this realme, and the commons of other parties might haue sufficed, sauing that we such loue beare you, and so much set by you, that we would not gladlie doo without you, that thing in which to be partners is your weale and honor, which (as it séemeth) either you see not, or weie not. Wherefore we require you giue vs answer one way or other, whether you be minded, as all the nobles of the realme be, to haue this noble prince, now protector, to be your king or not.

At these words the people began to whisper among themselues secretly, that the voice was neither lowd nor distinct, but as it were the sound of a swarme of bees, till at the last in the nether end of the hall, an ambushment of the dukes seruants and Nashfields, and other belonging to the protector, with, some prentisses and lads that thrust into the hall amongst the prease, began suddenlie at mens backs to crie out, as lowd as their throtes would giue; King Richard, king Richard: and threw vp their caps in token of ioy. And they that stood before, cast backe their heads maruelling therof, but nothing they said. Now when the duke and the maior saw this maner, they wiselie turned it to their purpose, and said it was a goodlie crie, & a ioifull, to heare euerie man with one voice, no man saieng naie.

K. Richards election preferred by voices of confederacie.

Wherefore friends (quoth the duke) sith we perceiue it is all your whole mind to haue this noble man for your king (whereof we shall make his grace so effectuell report, that we doubt not but it shall redound vnto your great weale and commoditie) we require ye, that ye to morrow go with vs, and we with you vnto his noble grace, to make our humble request vnto him in maner before remembred. And therewith the lords came downe, and the companie dissolued and departed, the more part all sad: some with glad semblance that were not verie merrie, and some of those that came thither with the duke not able to dissemble their sorrow, were faine at his backe to turne their face to the wall while the dolor of their hearts burst out of their eies.

Then on the morrow after, the maior with all the aldermen, and chiefe commoners of the citie, in their best maner apparelled, assembling themselues together, resorted vnto Bainards castell, where the protector laie. To which place repaired also (according to their appointment) the duke of Buckingham, and diuerse noble men with him, beside manie knights and other gentlemen. And therevpon the duke sent word vnto the lord protector, of the being there of a great and honourable companie, to mooue a great matter vnto his grace. Wherevpon the protector made difficultie to come out vnto them, but if he first knew some part of their errand, as though he doubted and partlie mistrusted the comming of such a number vnto him so suddenlie, without anie warning or knowledge, whether they came for good or harme.

The maiors comming to Bainards castell vnto the lord protector.

Then the duke, when he had shewed this to the maior and other, that they might thereby see how little the protector looked for this matter, they sent vnto him by the messenger such louing message againe, and therewith so humblie besought him, to vouchsafe that they might resort to his presence to propose their intent, of which they would vnto none other person anie part disclose; that at the last he came foorth of his chamber, and yet not downe vnto them, but stood about in a gallerie ouer them, where they might see him, and speake to him, as though he would not yet come too néere them till he wist what they ment. And therevpon the duke of Buckingham first made humble petition vnto him on the behalfe of them all, that his grace would pardon them,

and licence them to propose vnto his grace the intent of their comming, without his displeasure, without which pardon obtained, they durst not be bold to mooué him of that matter.

In which albeit they ment as much honor to his grace, as wealth to all the realme beside, yet were they not sure how his grace would take it, whome they would in no wise offend. Then the protector (as he was verie gentle of himselfe, and also longed sore to wit what they ment) gaue him leaue to propose what him liked, verelie trusting (for the good mind that he bare them all) none of them anie thing would intend vnto himward, wherewith he ought to bée gréeued. When the duke had this leaue and pardon to speake, then waxed he bold to shew him their intent and purpose, with all the causes moouing them therevnto (as ye before haue heard) and finallie to beséech his grace, that it would like him, of his accustomed goodnesse and zeale vnto the realme, now with his eie of pitie to behold the long continued distresse and decaie of the same, and to set his gracious hands to redresse and amendment thereof.

All which he might well doo, by taking vpon him the crowne and gouernance of this realme, according to his right and title lawfullie descended vnto him, and to the laud of God, profit of the land, & vnto his noble grace so much the more honour, and lesse paine, in that, that neuer prince reigned vpon anie people, that were so glad to liue vnder his obeisance, as the people of this realme vnder his. When the protector had heard the proposition, he looked verie strangelie thereat, and answered: that all were it that he partlie knew the things by them alledged to be true, yet such entire loue he bare vnto king Edward and his children, that so much more regarded his honour in other realmes about, than the crowne of anie one of which he was neuer desirous, that he could not find in his hart in this point to incline to their desire. For in all other nations, where the truth were not well knowne, it should peradventure be thought, that it were his owne ambitious mind and deuise, to depose the prince, and take himselfe the crowne.

O singular
dissimulation of king
Richard.

With which infamie he would not haue his honour stained for anie crowne, in which he had euer perceiued much more labour and paine, than pleasure to him that so would vse it, as he that would not, were not worthie to haue it. Notwithstanding, he not onlie pardoned them the motion that they made him, but also thanked them for the loue and hartie fauour they bare him, praieng them for his sake to giue and beare the same to the prince, vnder whom he was, and would be content to liue, and with his labour and counsell (as farre as should like the king to vse him) he would doo his vttermost deuoir to set the realme in good state, which was alreadye in this little while of his protectorship (the praise giuen to God) well begun, in that the malice of such as were before occasion of the contrarie, and of new intended to be, were now partlie by good policie, & partlie more by Gods speciall prouidence, than mans prouision, repressed.

K. Richard spake
otherwise than he
meant.

Vpon this answer giuen, the duke by the protectors licence, a little rownd aswell with other noble men about him, as with the maior and recorder of London. And after that (vpon like pardon desired & obtained) he shewed alowd vnto the protector, that for a finall conclusion, that the realme was appointed K. Edwards line should not anie longer reigne vpon them, both for that they had so farre gone, that it was now no suertie to retreat, as for that they thought it for the weale vniuersall to take that waie, although they had not yet begun it. Wherefore, if it would like his grace to take the crowne vpon him, they would humblie beséech him therevnto. If he would giue them a resolute answer to the contrarie, which they would be loth to heare, then must they néeds séeke and should not faile to find some other noble man that would. These words much moued the protector, which else (as euerie man may wéet) would neuer of likelihood haue inclined therevnto.

But when he saw there was none other waie, but that either he must take it, or else he and his both go from it, he said vnto the lords and commons; Sith we perceiue well that all the realme is so set, whereof we be verie sorie, that they will not suffer in any wise king Edwards line to gouerne them, whom no man earthlie can gouerne against their willes; & we well also perceiue, that no man is there, to whome the crowne can by iust title apperteine, as to our selues, as verie right heire lawfully begotten of the bodie of our most déere father Richard late duke of Yorke, to which title is now ioined your election, the nobles and commons of this realme, which we of all titles possible take for the most effectuell: we be content and agrée fauourable to incline to your petition and request, and (according to the same) here we take vpon vs the roiall estate, preheminance and kingdome of the two noble realmes, England and France: the one from this daie forward by vs and our heires to rule, gouerne, and defend; the other by Gods grace, and your good helpe, to get againe and subdue, and establish for euer in due obedience vnto this realme of England, the aduancement wherof we neuer aske of God longer to liue than we intend to procure.

The protector taketh
vpon him to be king.

With this there was a great shout, crieng; King Richard, king Richard. And then the lords went vp to the king (for so was he from that time called) and the people departed, talking diuerslie of the matter, euerie man as his fantasie gaue him. But much they talked and maruelled of the maner of this dealing, that the matter was on both parts made so strange, as though neither had euer communed with other thereof before, when that themselues wist there was no man so dull that heard them, but he perceiued well inough that all the matter was made betwéene them. Howbeit some excused that againe, and said all must be doone in good order though: and men must sometime for the maners sake, not be aknowen what they know [though it be hard to outreach

A made match to
cousen the people.

the circumspect, wise, & vigilant minded man; as the poet saith:

---non facile est tibi
Decipere Vlysssem.]

Iuuenal. sat. 2.

For at the consecration of a bishop, euerie man woteth well by the paieng for his buls, that he purposeth to be one, & though he paie for nothing else. And yet must he be twice asked whether he will be bishop or no, and he must twice saie naie, and the third time take it, as compelled therevnto by his owne will. And in a stage plaie, all the people know right well, that one plaieng the Soldan, is percuse a sowter; yet if one should can so little good, to shew out of season what acquaintance he hath with him, and cast him by his owne name while he standeth in his maiestie, one of his tormentors might hap to breake his head (and worthie) for marring of the plaie. And so they said, that these matters be kings games, as it were stage plaies, and for the more part plaied vpon scaffolds, in which poore men be but the lookers on. And they that wise be will meddle no further. For they that sometime step vp, and plaie with them, when they can not plaie their parts, they disorder the plaie, and doo themselues no good.

Thus farre Edward the fift, who was neuer king crowned, but shamefullie
by his vnclē slaine, as in the processe following appeereth,

RICHARD.

Transcriber's Notes:

Simple grammar and typographical errors were corrected. Spelling variations were changed to the most common version. The archaic spelling was not otherwise corrected.

*** END OF THE PROJECT GUTENBERG EBOOK CHRONICLES OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND AND IRELAND (3 OF 6): ENGLAND (5 OF 9) ***

Updated editions will replace the previous one—the old editions will be renamed.

Creating the works from print editions not protected by U.S. copyright law means that no one owns a United States copyright in these works, so the Foundation (and you!) can copy and distribute it in the United States without permission and without paying copyright royalties. Special rules, set forth in the General Terms of Use part of this license, apply to copying and distributing Project Gutenberg™ electronic works to protect the PROJECT GUTENBERG™ concept and trademark. Project Gutenberg is a registered trademark, and may not be used if you charge for an eBook, except by following the terms of the trademark license, including paying royalties for use of the Project Gutenberg trademark. If you do not charge anything for copies of this eBook, complying with the trademark license is very easy. You may use this eBook for nearly any purpose such as creation of derivative works, reports, performances and research. Project Gutenberg eBooks may be modified and printed and given away—you may do practically ANYTHING in the United States with eBooks not protected by U.S. copyright law. Redistribution is subject to the trademark license, especially commercial redistribution.

START: FULL LICENSE

THE FULL PROJECT GUTENBERG LICENSE
PLEASE READ THIS BEFORE YOU DISTRIBUTE OR USE THIS WORK

To protect the Project Gutenberg™ mission of promoting the free distribution of electronic works, by using or distributing this work (or any other work associated in any way with the phrase “Project Gutenberg”), you agree to comply with all the terms of the Full Project Gutenberg™ License available with this file or online at www.gutenberg.org/license.

Section 1. General Terms of Use and Redistributing Project Gutenberg™ electronic works

1.A. By reading or using any part of this Project Gutenberg™ electronic work, you indicate that you have read, understand, agree to and accept all the terms of this license and intellectual property (trademark/copyright) agreement. If you do not agree to abide by all the terms of this agreement, you must cease using and return or destroy all copies of Project Gutenberg™ electronic works in your possession. If you paid a fee for obtaining a copy of or access to a Project Gutenberg™ electronic work and you do not agree to be bound by the terms of this agreement, you may obtain a refund from the person or entity to whom you paid the fee as set forth in paragraph 1.E.8.

1.B. “Project Gutenberg” is a registered trademark. It may only be used on or associated in any way with an electronic work by people who agree to be bound by the terms of this agreement. There are a few things that you can do with most Project Gutenberg™ electronic works even without complying with the full terms of this agreement. See paragraph 1.C below. There are a lot of things you can do with Project Gutenberg™ electronic works if you follow the terms of this agreement and help preserve free future access to Project Gutenberg™ electronic works. See paragraph 1.E below.

1.C. The Project Gutenberg Literary Archive Foundation (“the Foundation” or PGLAF), owns a compilation copyright in the collection of Project Gutenberg™ electronic works. Nearly all the individual works in the collection are in the public domain in the United States. If an individual work is unprotected by copyright law in the United States and you are located in the United States, we do not claim a right to prevent you from copying, distributing, performing, displaying or creating derivative works based on the work as long as all references to Project Gutenberg are removed. Of course, we hope that you will support the Project Gutenberg™ mission of promoting free access to electronic works by freely sharing Project Gutenberg™ works in compliance with the terms of this agreement for keeping the Project Gutenberg™ name associated with the work. You can easily comply with the terms of this agreement by keeping this work in the same format with its attached full Project Gutenberg™ License when you share it without charge with others.

1.D. The copyright laws of the place where you are located also govern what you can do with this work. Copyright laws in most countries are in a constant state of change. If you are outside the United States, check the laws of your country in addition to the terms of this agreement before downloading, copying, displaying, performing, distributing or creating derivative works based on this work or any other Project Gutenberg™ work. The Foundation makes no representations concerning the copyright status of any work in any country other than the United States.

1.E. Unless you have removed all references to Project Gutenberg:

1.E.1. The following sentence, with active links to, or other immediate access to, the full Project Gutenberg™ License must appear prominently whenever any copy of a Project Gutenberg™ work (any work on which the phrase “Project Gutenberg” appears, or with which the phrase “Project Gutenberg” is associated) is accessed, displayed, performed, viewed, copied or distributed:

This eBook is for the use of anyone anywhere in the United States and most other parts of the world at no cost and with almost no restrictions whatsoever. You may copy it, give it away or re-use it under the terms of the Project Gutenberg License included with this eBook or online at www.gutenberg.org. If you are not located in the United States, you will have to check the laws of the country where you are located before using this eBook.

1.E.2. If an individual Project Gutenberg™ electronic work is derived from texts not protected by U.S. copyright law (does not contain a notice indicating that it is posted with permission of the copyright holder), the work can be copied and distributed to anyone in the United States without paying any fees or charges. If you are redistributing or providing access to a work with the phrase “Project Gutenberg” associated with or appearing on the work, you must comply either with the requirements of paragraphs 1.E.1 through 1.E.7 or obtain permission for the use of the work and the Project Gutenberg™ trademark as set forth in paragraphs 1.E.8 or 1.E.9.

1.E.3. If an individual Project Gutenberg™ electronic work is posted with the permission of the copyright holder, your use and distribution must comply with both paragraphs 1.E.1 through 1.E.7 and any additional terms imposed by the copyright holder. Additional terms

will be linked to the Project Gutenberg™ License for all works posted with the permission of the copyright holder found at the beginning of this work.

1.E.4. Do not unlink or detach or remove the full Project Gutenberg™ License terms from this work, or any files containing a part of this work or any other work associated with Project Gutenberg™.

1.E.5. Do not copy, display, perform, distribute or redistribute this electronic work, or any part of this electronic work, without prominently displaying the sentence set forth in paragraph 1.E.1 with active links or immediate access to the full terms of the Project Gutenberg™ License.

1.E.6. You may convert to and distribute this work in any binary, compressed, marked up, nonproprietary or proprietary form, including any word processing or hypertext form. However, if you provide access to or distribute copies of a Project Gutenberg™ work in a format other than “Plain Vanilla ASCII” or other format used in the official version posted on the official Project Gutenberg™ website (www.gutenberg.org), you must, at no additional cost, fee or expense to the user, provide a copy, a means of exporting a copy, or a means of obtaining a copy upon request, of the work in its original “Plain Vanilla ASCII” or other form. Any alternate format must include the full Project Gutenberg™ License as specified in paragraph 1.E.1.

1.E.7. Do not charge a fee for access to, viewing, displaying, performing, copying or distributing any Project Gutenberg™ works unless you comply with paragraph 1.E.8 or 1.E.9.

1.E.8. You may charge a reasonable fee for copies of or providing access to or distributing Project Gutenberg™ electronic works provided that:

- You pay a royalty fee of 20% of the gross profits you derive from the use of Project Gutenberg™ works calculated using the method you already use to calculate your applicable taxes. The fee is owed to the owner of the Project Gutenberg™ trademark, but he has agreed to donate royalties under this paragraph to the Project Gutenberg Literary Archive Foundation. Royalty payments must be paid within 60 days following each date on which you prepare (or are legally required to prepare) your periodic tax returns. Royalty payments should be clearly marked as such and sent to the Project Gutenberg Literary Archive Foundation at the address specified in Section 4, “Information about donations to the Project Gutenberg Literary Archive Foundation.”
- You provide a full refund of any money paid by a user who notifies you in writing (or by e-mail) within 30 days of receipt that s/he does not agree to the terms of the full Project Gutenberg™ License. You must require such a user to return or destroy all copies of the works possessed in a physical medium and discontinue all use of and all access to other copies of Project Gutenberg™ works.
- You provide, in accordance with paragraph 1.F.3, a full refund of any money paid for a work or a replacement copy, if a defect in the electronic work is discovered and reported to you within 90 days of receipt of the work.
- You comply with all other terms of this agreement for free distribution of Project Gutenberg™ works.

1.E.9. If you wish to charge a fee or distribute a Project Gutenberg™ electronic work or group of works on different terms than are set forth in this agreement, you must obtain permission in writing from the Project Gutenberg Literary Archive Foundation, the manager of the Project Gutenberg™ trademark. Contact the Foundation as set forth in Section 3 below.

1.F.

1.F.1. Project Gutenberg volunteers and employees expend considerable effort to identify, do copyright research on, transcribe and proofread works not protected by U.S. copyright law in creating the Project Gutenberg™ collection. Despite these efforts, Project Gutenberg™ electronic works, and the medium on which they may be stored, may contain “Defects,” such as, but not limited to, incomplete, inaccurate or corrupt data, transcription errors, a copyright or other intellectual property infringement, a defective or damaged disk or other medium, a computer virus, or computer codes that damage or cannot be read by your equipment.

1.F.2. LIMITED WARRANTY, DISCLAIMER OF DAMAGES - Except for the “Right of Replacement or Refund” described in paragraph 1.F.3, the Project Gutenberg Literary Archive Foundation, the owner of the Project Gutenberg™ trademark, and any other party distributing a Project Gutenberg™ electronic work under this agreement, disclaim all liability to you for damages, costs and expenses, including legal fees. YOU AGREE THAT YOU HAVE NO REMEDIES FOR NEGLIGENCE, STRICT LIABILITY, BREACH OF WARRANTY OR BREACH OF CONTRACT EXCEPT THOSE PROVIDED IN PARAGRAPH 1.F.3. YOU AGREE THAT THE FOUNDATION, THE TRADEMARK OWNER, AND ANY DISTRIBUTOR UNDER THIS AGREEMENT WILL NOT BE LIABLE TO YOU FOR ACTUAL, DIRECT, INDIRECT,

CONSEQUENTIAL, PUNITIVE OR INCIDENTAL DAMAGES EVEN IF YOU GIVE NOTICE OF THE POSSIBILITY OF SUCH DAMAGE.

1.F.3. LIMITED RIGHT OF REPLACEMENT OR REFUND - If you discover a defect in this electronic work within 90 days of receiving it, you can receive a refund of the money (if any) you paid for it by sending a written explanation to the person you received the work from. If you received the work on a physical medium, you must return the medium with your written explanation. The person or entity that provided you with the defective work may elect to provide a replacement copy in lieu of a refund. If you received the work electronically, the person or entity providing it to you may choose to give you a second opportunity to receive the work electronically in lieu of a refund. If the second copy is also defective, you may demand a refund in writing without further opportunities to fix the problem.

1.F.4. Except for the limited right of replacement or refund set forth in paragraph 1.F.3, this work is provided to you 'AS-IS', WITH NO OTHER WARRANTIES OF ANY KIND, EXPRESS OR IMPLIED, INCLUDING BUT NOT LIMITED TO WARRANTIES OF MERCHANTABILITY OR FITNESS FOR ANY PURPOSE.

1.F.5. Some states do not allow disclaimers of certain implied warranties or the exclusion or limitation of certain types of damages. If any disclaimer or limitation set forth in this agreement violates the law of the state applicable to this agreement, the agreement shall be interpreted to make the maximum disclaimer or limitation permitted by the applicable state law. The invalidity or unenforceability of any provision of this agreement shall not void the remaining provisions.

1.F.6. INDEMNITY - You agree to indemnify and hold the Foundation, the trademark owner, any agent or employee of the Foundation, anyone providing copies of Project Gutenberg™ electronic works in accordance with this agreement, and any volunteers associated with the production, promotion and distribution of Project Gutenberg™ electronic works, harmless from all liability, costs and expenses, including legal fees, that arise directly or indirectly from any of the following which you do or cause to occur: (a) distribution of this or any Project Gutenberg™ work, (b) alteration, modification, or additions or deletions to any Project Gutenberg™ work, and (c) any Defect you cause.

Section 2. Information about the Mission of Project Gutenberg™

Project Gutenberg™ is synonymous with the free distribution of electronic works in formats readable by the widest variety of computers including obsolete, old, middle-aged and new computers. It exists because of the efforts of hundreds of volunteers and donations from people in all walks of life.

Volunteers and financial support to provide volunteers with the assistance they need are critical to reaching Project Gutenberg™'s goals and ensuring that the Project Gutenberg™ collection will remain freely available for generations to come. In 2001, the Project Gutenberg Literary Archive Foundation was created to provide a secure and permanent future for Project Gutenberg™ and future generations. To learn more about the Project Gutenberg Literary Archive Foundation and how your efforts and donations can help, see Sections 3 and 4 and the Foundation information page at www.gutenberg.org.

Section 3. Information about the Project Gutenberg Literary Archive Foundation

The Project Gutenberg Literary Archive Foundation is a non-profit 501(c)(3) educational corporation organized under the laws of the state of Mississippi and granted tax exempt status by the Internal Revenue Service. The Foundation's EIN or federal tax identification number is 64-6221541. Contributions to the Project Gutenberg Literary Archive Foundation are tax deductible to the full extent permitted by U.S. federal laws and your state's laws.

The Foundation's business office is located at 809 North 1500 West, Salt Lake City, UT 84116, (801) 596-1887. Email contact links and up to date contact information can be found at the Foundation's website and official page at www.gutenberg.org/contact

Section 4. Information about Donations to the Project Gutenberg Literary Archive Foundation

Project Gutenberg™ depends upon and cannot survive without widespread public support and donations to carry out its mission of increasing the number of public domain and licensed works that can be freely distributed in machine-readable form accessible by the widest array of equipment including outdated equipment. Many small donations (\$1 to \$5,000) are particularly important to maintaining tax exempt status with the IRS.

The Foundation is committed to complying with the laws regulating charities and charitable donations in all 50 states of the United States. Compliance requirements are not uniform and it takes a considerable effort, much paperwork and many fees to meet and keep up with these requirements. We do not solicit donations in locations where we have not received written

confirmation of compliance. To SEND DONATIONS or determine the status of compliance for any particular state visit www.gutenberg.org/donate.

While we cannot and do not solicit contributions from states where we have not met the solicitation requirements, we know of no prohibition against accepting unsolicited donations from donors in such states who approach us with offers to donate.

International donations are gratefully accepted, but we cannot make any statements concerning tax treatment of donations received from outside the United States. U.S. laws alone swamp our small staff.

Please check the Project Gutenberg web pages for current donation methods and addresses. Donations are accepted in a number of other ways including checks, online payments and credit card donations. To donate, please visit: www.gutenberg.org/donate

Section 5. General Information About Project Gutenberg™ electronic works

Professor Michael S. Hart was the originator of the Project Gutenberg™ concept of a library of electronic works that could be freely shared with anyone. For forty years, he produced and distributed Project Gutenberg™ eBooks with only a loose network of volunteer support.

Project Gutenberg™ eBooks are often created from several printed editions, all of which are confirmed as not protected by copyright in the U.S. unless a copyright notice is included. Thus, we do not necessarily keep eBooks in compliance with any particular paper edition.

Most people start at our website which has the main PG search facility: www.gutenberg.org.

This website includes information about Project Gutenberg™, including how to make donations to the Project Gutenberg Literary Archive Foundation, how to help produce our new eBooks, and how to subscribe to our email newsletter to hear about new eBooks.