The History of King Richard III (unfinished), written by Master Thomas More, then one of the undersheriffs of London, about the year of our Lord 1513. [cf. Latin 2/4-10] Which work hath been before this time printed, in Harding’s Chronicle and in Halle’s Chronicle, but very much corrupt in many places, sometimes having less and sometimes having more, and altered in words and whole sentences; much varying from the copy of his own hand, by which this is printed.
King Edward, of that name the fourth, after that he had lived fifty and three years, seven months, and six days, and thereof reigned two and twenty years, one month, and eight days, died at Westminster the ninth day of April, the year of our redemption a thousand four hundred fourscore and three, [cf. Latin 3/5-6] leaving much fair issue: that is to wit, Edward, the Prince, a thirteen-year-of-age; Richard, Duke of York, two years younger; Elizabeth, whose fortune and grace was after to be queen, wife unto King Henry the Seventh and mother unto the Eighth; Cecily, not so fortunate as fair; Bridget, which, representing the virtue of her whose name she bore, professed and observed a religious life in Dartford, a house of close nuns; Anne, that was after honorably married unto Thomas, then Lord Howard, and after Earl of Surrey. And Catherine, which, long time tossed in either fortune—sometimes in wealth, often in adversity—at the last, if this be the last (for yet she liveth), is by the benignity of her nephew King Henry VIII in very prosperous estate, and worthy her birth and virtue.

This noble prince deceased at his palace of Westminster,^[Latin 3/19-21] and with great funeral honor and heaviness of his people from thence conveyed, was interred at Windsor. A king of such governance and behavior in time of peace (for in war each party must needs be other’s enemy) that there was never any prince of this land attaining the crown by battle, so heartily beloved with the substance of the people; nor he himself so specially in any part of his life as at the time of his death. Which favor and affection yet

1 after that: after
6 much . . . issue: many promising children thirteen-year-of-age: thirteen-year-old
8 fortune: destiny grace: gift from God after: later
9 fair: beautiful 10 which: who representing: exhibiting
12 close: cloistered that was after: who was later
14 which: who fortune: happenstance
15 wealth: prosperity, well-being 15–16 yet she liveth: she is still alive
16 benignity: kindness, graciousness 17 very . . . estate: a very prosperous state
17 worthy: befitting birth: parentage; i.e., descent from nobility
19 heaviness: heavyheartedness thence: there 22 other’s: the other’s
24 substance: majority
after his decease, [cf. Latin 4/1] by the cruelty, mischief, and trouble of the tempestuous world that followed highly toward him more increased.

At such time as he died, the displeasure of those that bore him grudge for King Henry’s sake the Sixth, whom he deposed, was well assuaged, and in effect quenched, in that that many of them were dead in more than twenty years of his reign—a great part of a long life—and many of them in the mean season grown into his favor, of which he was never strange. He was a goodly personage and very princely to behold, of heart courageous, politic in counsel, in adversity nothing abashed, in prosperity rather joyful than proud, in peace just and merciful, in war sharp and fierce, in the field bold and hardy, and nevertheless no farther than wisdom would, adventurous. Whose wars, whoso well consider, he shall no less commend his wisdom where he voided than his manhood where he vanquished. He was of visage lovely, of body mighty, strong, and clean-made; howbeit, in his latter days, with over-liberal diet, somewhat corpulent and burly, and nevertheless not uncomely; he was of youth [cf. Latin 4/17-19] greatly given to fleshly wantonness—from which, health of body in great prosperity and fortune, without a special grace, hardly refraineth. This fault not greatly grieved the people, for neither could any one man’s pleasure stretch and extend to the displeasure of very many, ^[Latin 4/22-23]: and was without violence, and, over that, in his latter days lessened and well left. In which time of his latter days, this realm was in quiet and prosperous estate: no fear of outward enemies, no war in hand, nor none toward, but such as no man looked for; [cf. Latin 4/28-5/1: placed earlier in English] the people toward the prince, not in a constrained fear, but in a willing and loving obedience; among themselves, the commons in good peace. The lords whom he knew at variance, himself in his deathbed.
appeased. He had left all gathering of money (which is the only thing that withdraweth the hearts of Englishmen from the prince), nor anything intended he to take in hand by which he should be driven thereto—for his tribute out of France he had before obtained, and the year foregoing his death, he had obtained Berwick. And albeit that all the time of his reign, he was with his people so benign, courteous and so familiar, that no part of his virtues was more esteemed, yet that condition in the end of his days (in which many princes by a long-continued sovereignty [cf. Latin 5/9] decline into a proud port from debonair behavior of their beginning) marvelously in him grew and increased, so far forth that in the summer, the last that ever he saw, His Highness, being at Windsor in hunting, sent for the mayor and aldermen of London to him for none other errand but to have them hunt and be merry with him, where he made them not so stately but so friendly and so familiar cheer, and sent venison from thence so freely into the city, that no one thing in many days before got him either more hearts or more hearty favor among the common people, which oftentimes more esteem and take for greater kindness a little courtesy than a great benefit. So deceased (as I have said) this noble king in that time in which his life was most desired; whose love of his people and their entire affection toward him had been to his noble children (having in themselves also as many gifts of nature, as many princely virtues, as much goodly towardness, as their age could receive) a marvelous [cf. Latin 5/23] fortress and sure armor, if division and dissension of their friends had not unarmed them and left them destitute, and the execrable desire of sovereignty provoked him to

1 left: ceased
8 benign: warmhearted courteous: kind familiar: down-to-earth
9 condition: disposition port: bearing
11–12 debonair . . . beginning: i.e., the gracious way they behaved when they started out
15 errand: purpose be merry: have a good time
16–17 made . . . cheer: gave them not such formal, but such friendly and down-home hospitality thence: there courtesy: nice gesture had been: would have been
26 goodly towardness: excellent promise
26–27 as their age could receive: as they could have at their age division: conflict
28 friends: relatives
their destruction which if either [cf. Latin 5/25-6/1]kind or kindness had held place, must needs have been their chief defense. For Richard the Duke of Gloucester—by nature their uncle, by office their Protector, to their father beholden, to themselves by oath and allegiance bound—all the bands broken that bind man and man together, without any respect of God or the world, unnaturally contrived to bereave them ^[Latin 6/5], not only their [cf. Latin 6/5-6]dignity but also their lives. But forasmuch as this duke’s demeanor minis treth in effect all the whole matter whereof this book shall treat, it is therefore convenient somewhat to show you, [cf. Latin 6/8]ere we farther go what manner of man this was, that could find in his heart so much mischief to conceive.

Richard, Duke of York, a noble man and a mighty, began not by war, but by law, to challenge the crown, putting his claim into the [cf. Latin 6/11]Parliament. Where his cause was, either for right or favor, so far forth advanced that, ^[Latin 6/12-13]King Henry’s blood (albeit he had a goodly prince) utterly rejected, the crown was by authority of Parliament ^[Latin 6/13-14]entailed unto the Duke of York and his issue male in remainder, immediately after the death of King Henry. But the Duke, not enduring so long to tarry, but intending, under pretext of dissension and debate arising in the realm, to prevent his time and to take upon him the rule in King Harry’s life, was with many nobles of the realm at Wakefield slain, leaving three sons: Edward, George, and Richard. All three as they were great states of birth, so were they great and stately of stomach, greedy and ambitious of authority, and impatient of partners. Edward, revenging his father’s death, deprived King Henry . . . which to their destruction him who kind: nature; humanity    kindness: kinship; natural affection arising from this bands: bonds unnatural: cold-bloodedly not . . . dignity: of not only their high position demeanor: conduct minis treth . . . matter: supplies practically the whole entire subject matter convenient: appropriate    mischief: wickedness noble: illustrious; distinguished by intelligence and exploits blood: i.e., bloodline he: i.e., King Henry goodly: splendid    prince: i.e., son who had been the heir apparent to the throne issue male: male descendants in remainder: to take effect upon the ending of the current reign not . . . tarry: not submitting to waiting that long debate: strife    prevent: prematurely bring about Harry: A nickname form of “Henry” states of: noblemen by    great . . . stomach: proud and haughty of disposition impatient of partners: i.e., unwilling to share the limelight deprived: deposed
George, Duke of Clarence, was a goodly, noble prince and attained the crown. George, Duke of Clarence, was a goodly, noble prince and at all points fortunate—if either his own ambition had not set him against his brother, or the envy of his enemies, his brother against him. For—were it by the Queen and the lords of her blood, which highly maligned the King’s kindred (as women commonly, not of malice but of nature, hate them whom their husbands love), or were it a proud appetite of the Duke himself, intending to be king—at the leastwise, heinous treason was there laid to his charge, and finally, were he faulty, were he faultless, attainted was he by Parliament, and judged to [cf. Latin 7/9] the death, and thereupon hastily drowned [cf. Latin 7/10] in a butt of Malmsey, whose death King Edward (albeit he commanded it), when he wist it was done, piteously bewailed and sorrowfully repented.

Richard, the third son, of whom we now treat, was in wit and courage equal with either of them, in body and prowess far under them both: little of stature, ill-featured of limbs, crookbacked, his left shoulder much higher than his right, hard-favored of visage, and such as is in states called warly, in other men otherwise. He was malicious, wrathful, envious, and, from before his birth, ever froward. It is for truth reported that the Duchess, his mother, had so much ado in her travail that she could not be delivered of him uncut, and that he came into the world [cf. Latin 7/21-22] with the feet forward (as men be borne outward), and, as the fame runneth, also not untoothed—whether men of hatred report above the truth, or else that nature changed her course in his beginning which in the course of his life many things unnaturally committed. None evil captain was he in the war, as to which

5–6 of her blood: related to her which: who
7 not . . . nature: not out of malice but by nature
8 appetite: disposition 9 heinous treason: high treason
10–11 were . . . faultless: whether he was guilty or innocent
11 attainted: convicted judged to the death: sentenced to death
13 butt: barrel Malmsey: a strong, sweet wine 14 wist: knew
9–13 heinous . . . whose: i.e., there was charged with high treason (and convicted, etc.) a man whose
15 piteously: mournfully / piously 17 wit: intelligence
19 under: inferior to ill-featured: malformed
21 hard-favored: unattractive; ugly visage: face states: noblemen
21 warly: warrior-like 23 froward: perverse
23 for truth reported: reported as being a fact 24 ado . . . travail: trouble in her labor
26 outward: i.e., out of the world, at their funerals
26–27 as the fame runneth: as rumor has it of: out of
28–29 his . . . which: the beginning of him who
30 none evil: not a bad in the war: i.e., in battle
his disposition was more meet than for peace. Sundry victories had he, and sometime overthrows, but never in default (as for his own person) either of hardiness or politic order. Free was he called of dispense, and somewhat above his power liberal; with
large gifts he got him unsteadfast friendship, for which he was fain to pillage and despoil in other places and get him steadfast hatred. He was close and secret, a deep dissimuler, lowly of countenance, arrogant of heart, outwardly companionable where he inwardly hated, not letting to kiss whom he thought to kill;
dispiteous and cruel, not for evil will always, but oft for ambition, and either for the surety or increase of his estate. Friend and foe was muchwhat indifferent: where his advantage grew, he spared no man’s death whose life withstood his purpose. He slew with his own hands King Henry VI,
being prisoner in the Tower, as men constantly say;

\[Latin 8/19\]

and that without commandment or knowledge of the King, which would undoubtedly, if he had intended that thing, ^[Latin 8/20-22] have appointed that butcherly office to some other than his own born brother. Some wise men also ween that his drift, covertly conveyed, lacked not in helping forth his brother of Clarence to his death— which he resisted openly, howbeit somewhat (as men deemed) more faintly than he that were heartily minded to his wealth. And they that thus deem, think that he long time in King Edward’s life forethought to be king in case that the king his brother (whose life he looked that evil diet should shorten) should happen to decease (as indeed he did) while his children were young.

1 more meet: better suited
2 sometime: occasional
3 hardiness: fortitude
4 free . . . dispense: he was said to be free-spending
5 above . . . liberal: generous beyond his means
6 for . . . to: i.e., to pay for which gifts and friendships, he had to
7 close: closemouthed
8 secret: secretive
9 lowly: humble, unassuming
10 countenance: demeanor
11 letting: hesitating
12 thought: planned
13 dispiteous: merciless
14 evil will: ill will
15 oft: more often
16 surety . . . estate: safeguarding or advancing of his position
17 muchwhat indifferent: pretty much all the same (to him)
18 where . . . grew: where he stood to gain
19 withstood his purpose: stood in his way
20 constantly: steadfastly
21 the King: i.e., Edward IV
22 office: job
23 conveyed: carried on
24 refused openly: outwardly opposed
25 than . . . wealth: i.e., than would someone who sincerely cared about his well-being
26 long time: for a long time
27 forethought: planned
28 looked: expected
And they deem that for this intent he was glad of his brother’s death, the Duke of Clarence, whose life must needs have hindered him so intending, whether the same Duke of Clarence had kept him true to his nephew the young king or enterprised to be king himself. But of all this point is there no certainty, and whoso divineth upon conjectures [cf. Latin 9/8] may as well shoot too far as too short. Howbeit, this have I by credible information learned: that the self night in which King Edward died, one Mistlebrook, long ere morning, came in great haste to the house of one Pottier, [cf. Latin 9/10-11] dwelling in Red Cross Street, without Cripplegate; and when he was with hasty rapping ^[Latin 9/12-13], quickly let in he showed unto Pottier that King Edward was departed. “By my troth, man,” quoth Pottier, “then will my master, the Duke of Gloucester, be king!” What cause he had so to think, hard it is to say—whether he, being toward him, anything knew that he such thing purposed, or otherwise had any inkling thereof. For he was not likely to speak it of naught. ^[Latin 9/18-20]

But now to return to the course of this history. Were it that the Duke of Gloucester had of old foreminded this conclusion, or was now at erst thereunto moved, and put in hope by the occasion of the tender age of the young princes his nephews (as opportunity and likelihood of speed putteth a man in courage of that he never intended), certain is it that he contrived their destruction, with the usurpation of the regal dignity upon himself. And forasmuch as he well wist, and helped to maintain, a long-continued grudge and heart-burning between the Queen’s kindred and the King’s blood, either party envying other’s authority, he now

1 for this intent: on account of this plan  1–2 his . . . death: the death of his brother  3 hindered . . . intending: obstructed that plan of his  4 him: himself  4–5 enterprised to be: attempted to become  all this: this whole  6 whoso divineth: whoever infers  well: easily  7 Howbeit: But be that as it may  8 self: very same  10 without: outside  hasty: urgent; impatient  showed: announced  12 troth: word  15 toward: in attendance upon  anything knew: had some knowledge  16 any: some  17 speak it of naught: say that for no reason  21 of . . . conclusion: at an earlier time premeditated this outcome  22 at erst: for the first time  24 speed: success  putteth . . . that: encourages a man to do what  25 intended: bad in mind to do  27 well wist: was well aware of  28 grudge: resentment  heart-burning: rankling jealousy  other’s: the other’s
thought that their division should be (as it was indeed) a furtherly
beginning to the pursuit of his intent, and a sure ground for
the foundation of all his building, if he might first, under the pretext
of revenging of old displeasure, abuse the anger and ignorance
of the one party to the destruction of the other, and then win
to his purpose as many as he could; and those that could not be
won might be lost ere they looked therefor. For of one thing
was he certain: that if his intent were perceived, he should soon
have made peace between the both parties with his own blood.

King Edward in his life, albeit that this dissension between his
friends somewhat irked him, yet in his good health he somewhat
the less regarded it, because he thought, whatsoever business should
fall between them, himself should always be able to rule both
the parties. But in his last sickness, when he perceived his
natural strength so sore enfeebled that he despaired all recovery,
then he, considering the youth of his children—albeit he nothing
less mistrusted than that that happened, yet well foreseeing that
many harms might grow by their debate while the youth of
his children [cf. Latin 10/19] should lack discretion of themselves
and good counsel of their friends

which either party should counsel for their own commodity, and rather by pleasant advice to win themselves
favor than by profitable advertisement to do the children good)—
he called some of them before him [cf. Latin 10/22-23] he called some of them before him
[cf. Latin 10/25-11/1: placed earlier in English] that were at variance, and in
especial the Lord Marquis Dorset, the Queen’s son by her
first husband, and Richard the Lord Hastings, a noble man

1 division: discord should: would furtherly: helpful
11 friends: family members 4 displeasure: offense, injury abuse: exploit
7 ere they looked therefor: i.e., before they knew it
12–13 business . . . fall: troubles should come himself should: he himself would
15 sore: extremely despaired all recovery: gave up all hope of recovering
16 the . . . children: how young his children were
17 mistrusted: had any foreboding of 18 grow by their debate: come of their strife
18–19 while . . . and: i.e., as long as his children at their tender ages lacked both
a say-so of their own and
20 of their friends: from the relatives responsible for them
23 of which: i.e., of which relatives
24 commodity: advantage pleasant: pleasing; accommodating
25 advertisement: guidance 26 at variance: at odds with one another
26–27 in especial: in particular Lord . . . Dorset: Thomas Grey
28 Richard: actually, William
then Lord Chamberlain, against whom the Queen especially grudged for the great favor the King bore him, and also for that she thought him secretly familiar with the King in wanton company. Her kindred also bore him sore, as well for that the King had made him captain of Calais (which office the Lord Rivers, brother to the Queen, claimed of the King’s former promise) as for divers other great gifts which he received, that they looked for. When these lords, with divers others of both the parties, were come in presence, the King, lifting up himself and underset with pillows, as it is reported on this wise said unto them: “My lords, my dear kinsmen and allies, in what plight I lie, you see and I feel. By which the less while I look to live with you, the more deeply am I moved to care in what case I leave you; for such as I leave you, such be my children likely to find you. Which, if they should (that [cf. Latin 11/19] God forbid) find you at variance, might hap to fall themselves at war ere their discretion would serve to set you at peace. Ye see their youth, of which I reckon the only surety to rest in your concord. For it sufficeth not that all you love them, if each of you hate other. If they were men, your faithfulness haply would suffice. But childhood must be maintained by men’s authority, and slippery youth underpropped with elder counsel, which neither they can have but ye give it, nor ye give it if ye agree not. For where [cf. Latin 11/27-28] each laboreth to break that the other maketh and for hatred of each of other’s person impugneth each other’s counsel, there must it needs be long ere any good conclusion go forward [Latin 11/29-30]. And also while either party laboreth to be chief, flattery shall have more place than plain and faithful advice, of which must needs ensue the evil bringing up of the Prince, whose mind in tender youth infected, shall readily fall to mischief and riot and draw down with this noble realm to ruin,

2 grudged for: bore anger and resentment because of for that: because
3–4 familiar . . . company: i.e., complicit with the King in his consortings with loose women bore him sore: could hardly stand him
5 office: appointment, position Lord Rivers: Anthony Woodville
6 claimed . . . promise: claimed that the King had previously promised to give him
7, 8 divers: several 7–8 looked for: had expected to receive
9 in presence: formally into the royal presence
10 as . . . them: reportedly said to them words to this effect allies: in-laws
11 By which: By reason of which (plight) while: amount of time look: expect
12 case: situation that: which variance: odds hap: happen
17 fall . . . discretion: be drawn themselves into war before their say-so
19 surety: safeguard all you: you all each . . . other: you hate one another
21 faithfulness: loyalty haply: perhaps maintained: ruled slippery: unstable
23 but: unless agree not: do not get along 25 that: what
25 each of other’s: each other’s faithful: trustworthy evil: ill, poor
31 mischief and riot: wrongdoing and debauchery
but if grace turn him to wisdom; which if God send, then they that by evil means before pleased him best, shall after fall farthest out of favor; so that ever, at length, evil drifts drive to naught and good plain ways prosper [cf. Latin 12/5-7]. Great variance hath there long been between you, not always for great causes. Sometimes a thing right well intended, our misconstruction turneth unto worse; or a small displeasure done us, either our own affection or evil tongues aggrieveth. But this wot I well: ye never had so great cause of hatred as ye have of love. That we be all men, that we be Christian men ^[Latin 12/12-13], this shall I leave for preachers to tell you—and yet I wot ne’er whether any preacher’s words ought more to move you than his that is by and 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 allies, and each of you with other, either of kindred or affinity; which [cf. Latin 12/19-20] spiritual kindred of affinity if the sacraments of Christ’s church bear that weight with us that would God they did, should no less move us [cf. Latin 12/22] to charity than the respect of fleshly consanguinity.[cf. Latin 12/23] Our Lord forbid that you love together the worse for the self cause that you ought to love the better! And yet that happeneth. And nowhere find we so deadly debate as among them which by nature and law most ought to agree together. Such a pestilent

sorrow, what trouble hath within these few years grown in this realm, I pray God as well forget as we well remember. Which things if I could as well have foreseen as I have with my more pain than pleasure proved, [cf. Latin 13/6] by God’s blessed Lady”—that was ever his oath—“I would never have won the courtesy of men’s knees with the loss of so many heads. But since things past cannot be gaincalled, much ought we the more beware by what occasion we have taken so great hurt before, that we eftsoons fall not in that occasion again. Now be those griefs past, and all is (God be thanked) quiet, and likely right well to prosper in wealthful peace under your cousins my children, if God send them life and you love. Of which two things, the less loss were they, [cf. Latin 13/14] by whom though God did his pleasure, yet should the realm always find kings, and peradventure as good kings. But if you among yourselves in a child’s reign fall at debate, many a good man shall perish, and haply he too, and ye too, ere this land find peace again. Wherefore in these last words that ever I look to speak with you, I exhort you and require you all, for the love that you have ever borne to me, for the love that I have ever borne to you, for the love that our Lord beareth to us all, from this time forward, all griefs forgotten, each of you love other. Which I verily trust you will if ye anything earthly regard—either God or your king, affinity or kindred, this realm, your own country, or your own surety.” And therewith the King, no longer enduring to sit up, laid him down on his right side, his face toward them; and none was there present that could refrain from weeping. 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) each forgave other, and joined their hands together, when (as it after appeared by their deeds) their hearts were far asunder. As soon as the King was departed, the [cf. Latin 14/1] noble

1 grown: sprung up; come about 4 proved: learned by experience
5 courtesy: i.e., respectful bending 7 gaincalled: taken back; made not done
8 so . . . hurt: such great harm 8–9 eftsoons . . . in: not soon afterward fall into
9 griefs: offenses 11 wealthful: bountiful, happy cousins: relatives, kinsfolk
12 love: i.e., of one another were: would be
13 by: with his pleasure: as he pleased (by taking them young)
14 peradventure: perhaps 15 at debate: into strife 16 he: i.e., the child
17 that . . . look: I expect ever 18 require: beg
21 griefs: offenses other: every other
22 anything . . . regard: care about anything at all
23 affinity: in-laws country: part of the country; district
24 surety: safety, security enduring: managing 25 him: himself
26 recomforting: reassuring
28 as . . . pleasure: i.e., as they thought he would like them to answer
29 each forgave other: forgave each other
30 it after appeared: was later made obvious 31 asunder: apart
Prince his son drew toward London—which at the time of his decease kept his household at Ludlow, in Wales:
Which country being far off from the law and recourse to justice, was begun to be far out of good will and waxen wild, robbers and reivers walking at liberty, uncorrected. And for this encheason the Prince was in the life of his father sent thither, to the end that the authority of his presence should refrain evil-disposed persons from the boldness of their former outrages. To the governance and ordering of this young prince, at his sending thither, was there appointed Sir Anthony Woodville (Lord Rivers and brother unto the Queen)—a right honorable man, as valiant of hand as politic in counsel. Adjoined were there unto him others of the same party; and in effect everyone as he was nearest of kin unto the Queen, so was planted next about the Prince. That drift by the Queen not unwisely devised, whereby her blood might of youth be rooted in the Prince’s favor, the Duke of Gloucester turned unto their destruction, and upon that ground set the foundation of all his unhappy building. For whomsoever he perceived either at variance with them or bearing himself their favor, he broke unto them, some by mouth, some by writing and secret messengers, that it neither was reason nor in any wise to be suffered that the young king, their master and kinsman, should be in the hands and custody of his mother’s kindred, sequestered in manner from their company and attendance of which every one ought him as faithful service as they—and many of them far more honorable part of kin than his mother’s side, “whose blood,” quoth he, “saving the King’s pleasure, was full unmeet to be matched with his—which now to be, as who say, removed from the King, and the less noble to be left about him, is,” quoth he, “neither honorable to His Majesty nor unto us, and also to His Grace no surety to have the mightiest of

14/31—15/1 the noble . . . son: i.e., his son the noble Prince (heir to the throne)
1 drew toward: headed out for which: who his: the King’s
2 kept his household: was in residence
5 will: control waxen: gone reivers: marauders, raiders
6 uncorrected: with impunity encheason: reason 7 authority: influence
8–9 refrain . . . outrages: i.e., hold ill-disposed persons back from committing acts of violence as boldly as they were before governance: supervision
9 ordering: keeping in line 13 of hand: in combat politic: prudent
14 in effect: practically 15 next about: in greatest proximity to
16 drift: scheme 16–17 her . . . youth: her relatives could from his youth
18 their: i.e., the relatives’ 19 unhappy: evil
20–21 either . . . favor: either to be at odds with them (the Queen’s relatives) or to be partial to him broke: said by mouth: i.e., in person secret: personal
22 reason: reasonable in any wise: by any means suffered: tolerated
24–25 sequestered . . . ought: i.e., almost entirely cut off from the company and assistance of relatives every one of whom owed
27 saving: apart from 28 the King’s: i.e., that of Edward IV full unmeet: quite unfit
28 which: i.e., which blood of Edward’s 29 as who say: so to say the King: Edward V
30–31 neither . . . and also: not only not . . . but also 30 His Majesty: Edward IV
31 His Grace: Edward V surety: security
his friends from him, and unto us no little jeopardy to suffer our well-proved evil-willers to grow in over-great authority with the Prince—in youth namely, which is light of belief and soon persuaded^[Latin 15/2-3]. Ye remember, I trow, King Edward himself, albeit he was a man of age and of discretion, yet was he in many things ruled by the band, more than stood either with his honor or our profit, or with the commodity of any man else, except only the immoderate advancement of themselves. Which whether they sorer thirsted after their own weal or our woe, it were hard, I ween, to guess. And if some folks’ friendship had not held better place with the King than any respect of kindred, they might peradventure easily have betrapped and brought to confusion some of us ere this. Why not as easily as they have done some others already, as near of his royal blood as we? But [cf. Latin 15/11-12] our Lord hath wrought his will, and, thanks be to his grace that peril is past. Howbeit, as great is growing, if we suffer this young king [cf. Latin 15/13] in our enemy’s hand which without his witting might abuse the name of ‘his commandment’ to any of our undoing; which thing God and good provision forbid! Of which good provision none of us hath anything the less need for the late-made atonement, in which the King’s pleasure had more place than the parties’ wills. Nor none of us, I believe, is so unwise over-soon to trust a new friend made of an old foe, or to think that a hoverly kindness, suddenly contracted in one hour, continued yet scant a fortnight, should be deeper settled in their stomachs than a long-accustomed malice many years rooted.”

With these words and writings and such others, the Duke of Gloucester soon set afire them that were of themselves easy to kindle, and in especial twain: Edward, Duke of Buckingham, and Richard, Lord Hastings and Chamberlain; both men of honor and of great power, the one by long succession from his ancestry, the other by his office and the King’s favor^[Latin 15/ 28-29]. These two—not bearing each to other so much love, as hatred both unto the Queen’s party—

1 friends from: kinsfolk away    suffer: allow
2 our . . . evil-willers: those we well know by experience to wish us ill
grow . . . authority: gain too much influence
3 namely: especially    light of belief: credulous, gullible    trow: trust
4–5 of age and of discretion: full-grown and having the freedom to act as he saw fit
5–6 the band: the (Queen’s) faction    with the commodity: to the benefit
8–9 sorer . . . woe: i.e., more crave in pursuit of their happiness or our affliction
9 were . . . ween: would be hard, I think,    held better place: carried more weight
11 respect of kindred: consideration of kinship    peradventure: perhaps
11 betrapped: ensnared    confusion: ruin    ere this: before now
13 some others: An allusion to Richard’s brother George, the Duke of Clarence
15 as . . . growing: as great a one is in the making
15–17 suffer . . . witting: i.e., let this young king fall into the hands of an enemy of ours who without his knowledge might misuse the term “his command” to the undoing of one of us
18 provision: foresight    anything the less: the least bit less
19 for . . . atonement: on account of the recently made reconciliation
20 had more place: was more operative    over-soon to trust: as to trust too soon
22–23 hoverly kindness: superficial affection
23–24 scant a fortnight: barely two weeks
24 stomachs: hearts
28 in especial twain: in particular two    Edward: actually, Henry
29 Richard: actually, William    other: the other
in this point accorded together with [cf. Latin 16/2] the Duke of Gloucester: that
they would utterly remove from the King’s company all his mother’s
friends, under the name of their enemies. Upon this concluded,
[cf. Latin 16/4] the Duke of Gloucester, understanding that the lords which at
that time were about the King intended to bring him up to his
coronation accompanied with such power of their friends that
it should be hard for him to bring his purpose to pass without
the gathering and great assembly of people, and, in manner, of open
war—whereof the end, he wist, was doubtful, and in which, the
King being on their side, his part should have the face and name of a
rebellion—he secretly, therefore, [cf. Latin 16/8-9], by divers means caused the Queen to
be persuaded and brought in the mind that it neither were need
and also should be jeopardous, [cf. Lat. 16/10-11] the King to come up strong. For whereas
now every lord loved other, and none other thing studied
upon but about the coronation and honor of the King, if the
lords of her kindred should assemble in the King’s name much
people, they should give the lords betwixt whom and them had
been sometime debate to fear and suspect lest they should
gather this people, not for the King’s safeguard—whom no man
impugned—but for their destruction, having more regard to their
old variance than their new atonement. For which cause they
should assemble on the other part much people again for their
defense whose power, she wist well, far stretched. And thus should
all the realm fall on a roar. And of all the hurt that thereof should
ensue—which was likely not to be little, and the most harm there
likely to fall where she least would—all the world would put her and her
kindred in the wight, and say that they had [cf. Latin 16/22-23] unwisely, and untruly
also, broken the amity and peace that the king her husband so
prudently made between his kin and hers in his deathbed, and

which the other part faithfully observed.

3 friends: relatives name: classification their enemies: i.e., enemies of these three men
4 which: who 5 about: in attendance on
6 power: a military presence friends: supporters 8 in manner: as it were
9 wist: realized end: outcome 10 their side: i.e., the side of his mother’s relatives
10 part: (own) side 10-11 have . . . rebellion: look like and be called a rebellion
11 by divers means: via several intermediaries
12-13 neither . . . strong: would be not only unnecessary but also dangerous for the King
to show up with a strong military presence
14-15 every . . . coronation: the lords all loved one another, and were taking thought of
nothing but the coronation
16, 22 much: a great number of 18 sometime debate: occasional dissension
19 the King’s safeguard: the security of the King
20 their destruction: i.e., the destruction of the lords not related to the Queen
20 impugned: opposed having more regard to: taking more heed of
21 variance: enmity atonement: reconciliation
21–23 they . . . stretched: i.e., there would in response be assembled on the other side a great
number of people by men who she well knew had far-reaching power
24 on a roar: into turmoil 24–25 of . . . ensue: for all the harm that would come thereof
25–26 there . . . would: likely to fall there where she least would want it to
26–27 in the wight: to blame 27 untruly: dishonorably 29 in: on 30 part: side
The Queen, being in this wise persuaded, such word sent unto her son \[Latin 17/2\] and unto her brother \[Latin 17/1\] being about the King; and over that, the Duke of Gloucester himself and other lords, the chief of his band, wrote unto the King so reverently, and to the Queen’s friends there so lovingly, that they, [cf. Latin 17/6-7] nothing earthly mistrusting, brought the King up in great haste, not in good speed, with a sober company.

Now was the King in his way [cf. Latin 17/8-10] to London gone from Northampton when these dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham came thither. Where remained behind the Lord Rivers, the King’s uncle, intending on the morrow to follow the King and be with him at Stony Stratford, [cf. Lat. 17/13] eleven miles thence, early, ere he departed. So [cf. Lat. 17/14-16] was there made that night much friendly cheer between these dukes and the Lord Rivers a great while. [cf. Latin 17/16-17] But incontinent after that they were openly with great courtesy departed, and the Lord Rivers lodged,

\^[Latin 17/18-19]\]

[cf. Latin 17/19-20] the dukes secretly with a few of their most privy friends set them down in counsel, wherein they spent a great part of the night. And at their rising in the dawning of the day, they sent about privily to their servants in their inns and lodgings about, giving them commandment to make themselves shortly ready, for their lords were to horsebackward. Upon which messages, many of their folk were attendant, when many of the Lord Rivers’ servants were unready. Now had these dukes taken also [cf. Latin 17/26] into their custody the keys of the inn, that none should pass forth without their license. And over this, in the highway

2 her son: Richard Grey, a grown son from her previous marriage
2 her brother: Anthony Woodville, the second Earl Rivers
2 about: in attendance on over: besides 4 band: faction 5 friends: relatives
5–6 nothing earthly mistrusting: not suspecting a thing
6–7 in good speed: at a good speed / with a good outcome
7 sober: limited; minimal company: retinue in: on 9 came thither: arrived there
14 thence: from there (Northampton) 16 cheer: partying
17 incontinent after that: immediately after openly: ostensibly
18 departed: parted lodged: gone to bed
21 most privy: closest 22 counsel: consultation; deliberation 23 privily: privately
26 to horsebackward: about to mount their horses 27 folk: underlings, servants
29–30 that . . . license: so that no one could get out of there without their permission
30 over: besides in: along
toward Stony Stratford, *where the King lay*, they had bestowed certain of their folk, that should send back again and compel to return any man that were gotten out of Northampton *toward Stony Stratford, till they should give other license*; forasmuch as the dukes themselves intended, for the show of their diligence, to be the first that should that day attend upon the King’s Highness out of that town:[cf. Latin 18/2]thus bore they folk in hand. But when the Lord Rivers understood the gates closed and the ways on every side beset—neither his servants nor himself suffered to go out—perceiving well so great a thing without his knowledge not begun for naught, comparing this manner present with this last night’s cheer, in so few hours so great a change marvelously misliked. Howbeit, since he could not get away—and keep himself close he would not, lest he should seem to hide himself for some secret fear of his own fault, whereof he saw no such cause in himself—he determined, upon the surety of his own conscience, to go boldly to them and inquire what this matter might mean. Whom as soon as they saw, they began to quarrel with him and say that he intended to set distance between the King and them, and to bring them to confusion,[cf. Latin 18/15-16] but it should not lie in his power. And when ^[Latin 18/17-18] he began (as he was a very well-spoken man) in goodly wise to excuse himself,[cf. Latin 18/18-19] they tarried not the end of his answer, but shortly took

| The Lord Rivers put in ward him and put him in ward, and, that done, forthwith went to horseback and took the way to Stony Stratford—where they found the King with his company ready to leap on horseback and depart forward, to leave that lodging for them, because ^[Latin 18/22] it was too strait for both companies. And as soon as they came in his presence, they |

1 lay: spent the night
2 bestowed . . . should: stationed some of their servants, who were to
3–4 that . . . toward: who had gotten out of Northampton and was heading for
5 license: instruction
6 diligence: assiduousness in service
7–8 thus . . . hand: so they led people to believe
8–9 understood . . . gates: learned that the gates were ways: roads beset: blocked
10 suffered: allowed 13 marvelously disliked: hugely disliked
15 keep . . . not: he did not want to keep himself confined
16 secret: inward of his own fault: caused by his guiltiness (of something)
17 surety of: assurance given him by 18 matter: business
20–21 set . . . and: alienate the King from confusion: ruin
23 in goodly wise: in an excellent way 23 excuse: defend tarried not: did not wait for
24 shortly: abruptly 25 ward: custody 26 went to horseback: mounted their horses
27 way: road 29 strait: small
lighted a-down, with all their company about them. To whom the Duke of Buckingham said, “Go before, gentlemen and yeomen; keep your rooms.” And thus in a goodly array they came to the King, and on their knees, in very humble wise, saluted His Grace—which received them in very joyous and amiable manner, nothing earthly knowing nor mistrusting as yet. But even by and by, in his presence they picked a quarrel to the Lord Richard Grey, the King’s other brother by his mother, saying that he, with the Lord Marquis his brother and the Lord Rivers his uncle, had compassed to rule the King and the realm, and to set variance among the states, and to subdue and destroy the noble blood of the realm. Toward the accomplishing whereof, they said that the Lord Marquis had entered into the Tower of London and thence taken out the King’s treasure, and sent men to the sea. All which things these dukes wist well were done for good purposes and necessary, by the whole Council at London; saving that somewhat they must say. Unto which words the King answered “What my brother Marquis hath done, I cannot say. But in good faith, I dare well answer for mine uncle Rivers and my brother here, that they be innocent of any such matters.” “Yea, my liege,” quoth the Duke of Buckingham, “they have kept their dealing in these matters far from the knowledge of your good grace.” And forthwith they arrested the Lord Richard and Sir Thomas Vaughan, knight, in the King’s presence. and brought the King and all back unto Northampton, where they took again further counsel. And there they sent away from the King whom it pleased them, and set new servants

2 before: ahead  
gentlemen: members of the gentry
2 yeomen: a class of freeholders below the gentry
3 keep your rooms: stay grouped by rank  
a goodly array: an appropriate order
4 saluted: greeted  
5–6 nothing . . . yet: not yet knowing or suspecting a thing
6 even by and by: literally right away
7 to: with
9 Lord Marquis: i.e., Dorset (Thomas Grey)  
10 compassed: plotted
11 set variance: create discord  
states: noblemen
12 subdue: bring to a low state
13 thence taken out: taken out of there
16 wist well: well knew
17 saving: except  
somewhat . . . say: they had to say something (by way of a charge)
19 in good faith: in all honesty
21, 22 matters: things  
dealing: involvement
about him, such as liked better them than him. At which
dealing [cf. Latin 20/2-3] he wept and was nothing content, but it booted not. And
at dinner the Duke of Gloucester sent a dish from his own table to
the Lord Rivers, praying him to be of good cheer, all should be well
enough. And he thanked the Duke, and prayed the messenger to
bear it to his nephew the Lord Richard, with the same message
for his comfort, who he thought had more need of comfort, as one
to whom such adversity was strange. But himself had been all his
days in ure therewith, and therefore could bear it the better. But
for all this comfortable courtesy of the Duke of Gloucester, he sent
the Lord Rivers and the Lord Richard, with Sir Thomas Vaughan,
into the north country into divers places
The death of the Lord
Rivers and others
to prison, and afterward all to Pomfret,
where they were in conclusion beheaded.

In this wise the Duke of Gloucester took upon himself the order and
governance of the young king, whom with much honor and humble
reverence he conveyed upward toward the city. But anon the
tidings of this matter came hastily to the Queen,
a little before the midnight following, and that in the sorest wise: that the King her son
was taken; [Latin 20/20] her brother, her son, and her other friends arrested and
sent no man wist whither, to be done with God wot what.

With which
tidings the Queen in great flight and heaviness, bewailing her child’s ruin,
hers friends’ mischance, and her own infortune, damming the time that
ever she dissuaded the gathering of power about the King,
got herself in all the haste possible, [cf. Latin 21/2] with her younger son and her
daughters, out of the Palace of Westminster, in which she then lay,

1 liked better them than him: were more to their liking than his
2 dealing: treatment was . . . content: i.e., made it clear that he was not at all happy
booted not: did no good
4 praying: imploring 6 bear it: i.e., take the dish comfort: encouragement
8 strange: unfamiliar himself: he himself 9 in ure therewith: used to it
10 comfortable . . . Gloucester: reassuring courtesy that the Duke of Gloucester showed
14 in conclusion: eventually
15 order: authority / management governance: right to govern / supervision
17 anon: at once sorest wise: harshest way
20taken: captured friends: supporters
21 wist whither: knew where wot: knew
26 flight: agitation heaviness: heavyheartedness
27 mischance: mishap infortune: misfortune
dissuaded: advised against power: armed forces lay: resided
The History of King Richard III - 21

The Queen taketh sanctuary. into the sanctuary ^[Latin 21/1-2], lodging herself and^[Latin 21/2-3; placed earlier in English at 20/29] her company there in the abbot’s place. Now came there one, in like wise not long after midnight, from ^[Latin 21/4] the Lord Chamberlain unto the Archbishop of York (cf. Latin 21/16 then Chancellor of England), to his place not far from Westminster. And for that he showed his servants that he had tidings of so great importance that his master gave him in charge not to forbear his rest, they letted not to wake him, nor he to admit this messenger into his bedside. Of whom he heard that these dukes were gone back with the King’s Grace from Stony Stratford unto Northampton, ^[Latin 21/10-11]. “Notwithstanding, sir,” quoth he, “my lord sendeth Your Lordship word that there is no fear. For he assureth you that all shall be well.” “I assure him,” quoth the Archbishop, “be it as well as it will, it will never be so well as we have seen it.” And thereupon, by and by after the messenger departed, he caused in all the haste all his servants to be called up, and so, with his own household about him, and every man weaponed, he took the Great Seal with him ^[Latin 21/16 placed earlier in English at 21/5] and came, yet before day, unto the Queen. About whom he found much heaviness, rumble, haste, and busyness; carriage and conveyance of her stuff into sanctuary; chests, coffers, packs, fardels, trusses, all on men’s backs; no man unoccupied; some lading, some going, some discharging, some coming for more, some breaking down the walls to bring in the next way—and some yet drew to them that helped to carry a wrong way. The Queen [cf. Latin 21/23-25] herself sat alone, alow on the rushes, all desolate and dismayed, whom the Archbishop comforted in the best manner he could, showing her that [cf. Latin 21/26- 22/2] he trusted the matter was nothing

2 company: retinue 3 place: residence
4 the Archbishop of York: Thomas Rotherham
6 for that he showed: because he told  his: i.e., the Archbishop’s 7 so: such 7–8 gave . . . rest: ordered him not to spare the Archbishop his sleep
8 letted not: did not forbear 9 of: from into: to  Of: From 12 no fear: i.e., no need to fear 15 by and by: immediately 16–17 caused . . . up: he had all his servants summoned posthaste 20 heaviness: downheartedness  rumble: commotion haste: hurrying 21 fardels: parcels  trusses: bundles 22 lading: loading 23 discharging: unloading 24 bring . . . way: bring things in by the nearest possible way 25 drew to: joined 26 alow: down  the rushes: the river rushes covering the floor 29 comforted . . . manner: reassured as best 30 showing: telling
so sore as she took it for
out of fear by the message sent him from the Lord Chamberlain.
“Ah, woe worth him,” quoth she, “for he is [Latin 22/4] one of them that
laboreth to destroy me and my blood.” “Madam,” quoth he, “be ye
of good cheer. For I assure you, if they crown any other king than
your son whom they now have with them, we shall on the
morrow crown his brother whom you have here with you. And [Latin 22/9]
here is the Great Seal, which in like wise as that noble prince your
husband delivered it unto me, so here I deliver it unto you,
to the use and behoof of your son.” And therewith he betook her
the Great Seal, and departed home again, yet in the dawning of
the day. By which time he might in his chamber window see
all the Thames full of boats of the Duke of Gloucester’s servants,
watching that no man should go to sanctuary, nor none could
pass unsearched. [cf. Latin 22/16-17] Then was there great commotion and murmur,
[cf. Latin 22/23-24] as well in other places about as specially in the city, the people
diversely divining upon this dealing.
favor of the Queen or for fear of themselves, assembled in sundry companies
and went, flockmeal, in harness

[Latin 22/19-21];

[cf. Latin 23/3-5: placed earlier in English] and many also for that they reckoned this
demeanor attempted not so specially against the other lords
as against the King himself, in the disturbance of his coronation.

But then, by and by, the lords assembled together at London.
Toward which meeting, the Archbishop of York—fearing that it
would be ascribed (as it was indeed) to his overmuch lightness that
he so suddenly had yielded up the Great Seal to the Queen, to whom
the custody thereof nothing pertained without especial commandment
of the King—secretly sent for the Seal again, and brought
it with him after the customizable manner. And at this meeting the Lord Hastings, \(^{[\text{Latin 23/4-5}]^{}}\) whose troth toward the King no man doubted nor needed to doubt, persuaded the lords to believe that the [cf. \text{Latin 23/6-8}] Duke of Gloucester was sure and fastly faithful to his prince, and that the Lord Rivers and Lord Richard, with the other knights, were, for matters attempted by them against the dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, put under arrest for their surety, not for the King’s jeopardy; and that they were also in safeguard, and there no longer should remain than till the matter were, [cf. \text{Latin 23/8}] not by the dukes only, but also by all the other lords of the King’s Council indifferently examined \(^{[\text{Latin 23/9-10}]^{}}\) and by other discretions ordered, and either judged or appeased. But one thing he advised them beware: that they judged not the matter too far forth, ere they knew the truth; nor, turning their private grudges into the common hurt, irritating and provoking men unto anger and disturbing the King’s coronation, toward which the dukes were coming up—that they might peradventure bring the matter so far out of joint that it should never be brought in frame again. Which strife, if it should hap, as it were likely, to come to a field, though both parts were in all other things equal, yet should the authority be on that side where the King is himself. With these persuasions of the Lord Hastings (whereof part himself believed, of part he wist the contrary), these commotions were somewhat appeased, but especially by that the dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham were so near, and came so shortly 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 contrived the destruction of the dukes of Gloucester and

1 after . . . manner: in the customary manner 3 troth: loyalty
5 sure and fastly: quite steadfastly  prince: ruler 7 matters: things
10 their surety: the safety of the dukes
10–11 for the King’s jeopardy: to put the King in danger
11 safeguard: protective custody 14 indifferently: impartially
14 discretions: competent authorities ordered: disposed
15 appeased: settled  beware: beware of / be aware of
18 disturbing: interfering with 20 peradventure: perhaps
20 that: such that; so that 21 in frame again: back in shape, right order
22 hap: happen  field: battlefield 23 parts: sides
26 wist the contrary: knew the opposite to be true
27 by that that: by reason that 29–30 voice or semblance: talk or appearance
30 fame: rumor 31 taken: arrested contrived: plotted
Buckingham, and of other the noble blood of the realm, to the end that themselves would alone demean and govern the King at their pleasure. And for the colorable proof thereof, such of the dukes’ servants as rode with the carts of their stuff that were taken (among which stuff no marvel though some were harnesses, which [cf. Latin 24/7] at the breaking up of that household must needs either be brought away or cast away), they showed unto the people all the way as they went: “Lo, here be the barrels of harnesses that these traitors had privily conveyed in their carriage to destroy the noble lords with.” This device, albeit that it made the matter to wise men more unlikely (well perceiving that the intenders of such a purpose would rather have had their harnesses on their backs than to have bound them up in barrels), yet much part of the common people were therewith very well satisfied, and said [cf. Latin 24/16-17] it were alms to hang them.

When the King approached near to the city, Edmund Shaa (goldsmith, then mayor) with William White and John Mathew (sheriffs) and all the other aldermen in scarlet, with five hundred horse of the citizens in violet, received him reverently at Hornsea, and riding from thence, accompanied him into the city, which he entered the fourth day of May, the first and last year of his reign. But the Duke of Gloucester bore him in open sight so reverently to the Prince, with all semblance of lowliness, that from the great obloquy in which he was so late before, he was suddenly fallen in so great trust that at the Council next assembled, he was made the only man chosen, and thought most meet, to be Protector of the King and his realm; so that, were it destiny or were it folly, the lamb was betaken to the wolf to
keep. **At which Council also,** the Archbishop of York, Chancellor of England, which had delivered up the Great Seal to the Queen, was thereof greatly reproved, and the seal taken from him and delivered to Doctor Russell, Bishop of Lincoln, a wise man and a good, and of much experience, and one of the best-learned men, undoubtedly, that England had in his time. **Divers lords and knights were appointed unto divers rooms.** The Lord Chamberlain and some others 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 every day a year till it were achieved, yet durst he no further attempt as long as he had but half his prey in his hand—well witting that if he deposed the one brother, all the realm would fall to the other, if he either remained in sanctuary or [cf. Latin 25/20-21] should haply be shortly conveyed to his farther liberty. Wherefore, incontinent, at the next meeting of the lords at the Council he proposed unto them that it was a heinous deed of the Queen, and proceeding of great malice toward the King’s Councillors, that she should keep in sanctuary the King’s brother from him, whose special pleasure and comfort were to have his brother with him;

|^Latin 25/ 23-26|

and that by her done to none other intent but to bring all the lords in obloquy and murmur of the people—^ [Latin 26/1-3] as though they were not to be trusted with the King’s brother that by the assent of the nobles of the land were appointed, as the King’s nearest friends, to the tuition of his own royal person.

1 *keep*: take care of  
3 *thereof* . . . *reproved*: strongly censured for having done that  
4 *delivered*: handed over  
7 *best-learned*: best-educated  
9 *rooms*: offices, positions  
10 *all were it so*: although it was true  
11 *that*: what  
12 *that thought*: that he thought  
13 *durst* . . . *no*: he dared not make any  
14 *witting*: realizing  
15 *all the*: the whole  
16 *haply*: perhaps  
17 *conveyed*: stealthily taken  
17 *to . . . liberty*: i.e., out of the country  
18 *incontinent*: right away, without preliminary  
19 *proposed*: submitted, put forward  
20 *heinous*: highly criminal  
28–29 *in . . . of*: into disgrace and murmuring among  
29–30 *they . . . that*: i.e., there . . . those men who  
31 *nearest friends*: closest kinsmen  
32 *tuition*: protection
“The prosperity whereof standeth,” quoth he, “not all in keeping from enemies or ill viand, but partly also in recreation and moderate pleasure—^[Latin 26/8-9] which he cannot in this tender youth take in the company of ancient persons, but in the familiar conversation of those that be neither far under nor far above his age. And nevertheless of estate convenient to accompany his noble majesty ^[Latin 26/12-13]. Wherefore, with whom rather than with his own brother? ^[Latin 26/14]. And if any man think this consideration light (which I think no man thinketh that loveth the King), let him consider that sometimes without small things greater cannot stand. And verily, it redoundeth greatly to the dishonor both of the King’s Highness and of all us that be about His Grace, to have it run in every man’s mouth—not in this realm only, but also in other lands [cf. Latin 26/20] (as evil words walk far)—that the King’s brother should be fain to keep sanctuary. For every man will ween that no man will [cf. Latin 26/22-23] so do for naught. And such evil opinion once fastened in men’s hearts, hard it is to wrest out, and may grow to more grief than any man here can divine.

“Wherefore, methinketh it were not worst to send unto the Queen, for the redress of this matter, some honorable, trusty man, such as both tendereth the King’s weal and the honor of his Council and is also in favor and credence with her. For all which considerations, none seemeth me more meet than our Reverend Father here present, my Lord Cardinal, who may in this matter do most good of any man, if it please him to take the pain. Which I doubt not, of his goodness, he will not refuse,

6 prosperity whereof: thriving of whom 7 ill viand: bad food
9 in . . . youth: at this young age  ancient: much older
10 familiar conversation of: natural interaction with
11 of estate convenient: of a rank that makes them suitable
14 light: trivial, unimportant  20 be fain to: have to
17 about: in attendance on  19 evil words walk: negative talk travels
20 fain: obliged  21 ween: suppose  no . . . naught: no one will do that for no reason
22 evil opinion: bad opinion (i.e., either of the King’s brother—that he took sanctuary because he committed some crime—or of the lords)
24 grow . . . grief: end up causing more grief  divine: guess
25 methinketh . . . worst: I think it would not be a bad idea  26 trusty: trustworthy
27 tendereth: has a heartfelt concern for  weal: well-being
28 is . . . her: i.e., is also someone she likes and trusts
29 seemeth . . . meet: seems to me more suitable
for the King’s sake and ours, and wealth of the young duke himself, the King’s most honorable brother and, after my sovereign lord himself, my most dear nephew—considered that [cf. Latin 27/4-5] thereby shall be ceased the slanderous rumor and obloquy now going, and the hurts avoided that thereof might ensue, and much rest and quiet grow to all the realm. And if she be percase so obstinate, and so precisely set upon her own will, that neither his wise and faithful advertisement can move her nor any man’s reason content her, then shall we, by mine advice, by the King’s authority fetch him out of that prison and bring him to his noble presence—in whose continual company he shall be so well cherished and so honorably treated that all the world shall, to our honor and her reproach, perceive that it was only malice, frowardness, or folly that caused her to keep him there. This is my mind in this matter for this time, except any of your lordships anything perceive to the contrary. For never shall I, by God’s grace, so wed myself to mine own will but that I shall be ready to change it upon your better advices.”

When the Protector had said, all the Council 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 realm, if the mother might be by good means induced to deliver him. Which thing the Archbishop of York, whom they all agreed also to be thereto most convenient, took upon him to move her, and therein to do his uttermost devoir. Howbeit, if she could be in no wise entreated with her good will to deliver him, then thought he, and such others as were of the spiritualty present, that it were not in any wise to be attempted to take him out against her will. For it would be a thing that should turn to the great grudge of all men, and high displeasure of God, if the privilege of that holy place should now be broken! Which had so many years been kept, which both kings

Sanctuary be broken! Which had so many years been kept, which both kings
and popes so good had granted, so many had confirmed, and which holy ground was [cf. Latin 28/1-2] more than five hundred years ago—by Saint Peter’s own person in spirit, accompanied with great multitude of angels by night—so specially hallowed and dedicated to God (for the proof whereof they have yet in the abbey Saint Peter’s cope to show) that from that time hitherward was there never so undevout a king that durst that sacred place violate, or so holy a bishop that durst it presume to consecrate.

“And therefore,” quoth [cf. Latin 28/9] the Archbishop of York, “God forbid that any man should, for anything earthly, enterprise to break the immunity and liberty of that sacred sanctuary, that hath been the safeguard of so many a good man’s life. And I trust,” quoth he, “with God’s grace, we shall not need it. But for any manner need, I would not we should do it. I trust that she shall be with reason contented, and allthing in good manner obtained. And if it happen that I bring it not so to pass, yet shall I toward it so far forth do my best that ye shall all well perceive that no lack of my devoir, but the mother’s dread and womanish fear shall be the let.” “Womanish fear? Nay, womanish frowardness!” quoth the Duke of Buckingham. “For I dare take it upon my soul, she well knoweth she needeth no such thing to fear, either for her son or for herself. For as for her, here is no man that will be at war with women. Would God some of the men of her kin were women too, and then should all be soon in rest! Howbeit, there is none of her kin the less loved for that they be her kin, but for their own evil deserving. And nevertheless, if we loved neither her nor her kin, yet were there no cause to think that we should hate the King’s noble brother, to whose grace we ourselves be of kin. [cf. Latin 28/27-29] Whose honor if she as much desired as our dishonor, and as much regard took to his wealth as to her own will, she would be as loath to suffer him from the King as any of us be. For if she have any wit

6 hitherward: till now 10 earthly: in the world  enterprize: undertake
11 liberty: right 13 not need it: i.e., have no need to do that
13–14 for . . . it: regardless of whatever need, I would not have us do it
15 reason contented: satisfied by good arguments  allthing: everything
18 my devoir: effort on my part 19 let: hindrance; problem
20 frowardness: perversity; contrariness
20–21 take . . . soul: say this staking my salvation upon it
25 rest: peace
25–26 for that: for the reason that  evil deserving: ill merit
31 wealth: well-being 31–32 suffer him: allow him to be kept away
32 have any wit: has any sense
(as would God she had as good will as she hath shrewd wit),

she reckoneth herself no wiser than she thinketh [cf. Latin 29/2-6] some that be here, of whose faithful mind she nothing doubteth, but verily believeth and knoweth that they would be as sorry of his harm as herself, and yet would have him from her if she bide there. And we all, I think, content that both be with her, if she come thence and bide in such place where they may with their honor be.

“Now, then, if she refuse in the deliverance of him to follow the counsel of them whose wisdom she knoweth, whose troth she well trusteth—it is easy to perceive that frowardness letteth her, and not fear. But go to, suppose that she fear—as who may let her to fear her own shadow? The more she feareth to deliver him, the more ought we fear to leave him in her hands. For if she cast such fond doubts that she fear his hurt—then will she fear that he shall be fetched thence. [cf. Latin 29/18-22]

For she will soon think
that if

men were set (which God forbid) upon so great a mischief, the sanctuary would little let them.

Which good men might, as methinketh, without sin somewhat less regard than they do.

“Now, then, if she doubt lest he might be fetched from her, is it not likely enough that she shall send him somewhere out of the realm? Verily, I look for none other. And I doubt not but she now as sore mindeth it as we the let thereof. And if she might happen to bring that to pass (as it were no great mastery, we letting her alone), all the world would say that we were a wise sort of councillors about a king, that let his brother be cast away under our noses! And therefore—I assure you faithfully—for my mind, I will rather maugre her mind fetch him away

1 would God: I wish to God  shrewd wit: bad sense  2 wiser: more sensible
3 faithful mind: good faith  nothing doubteth: has no doubt whatever
3 verily: truly  4–5 sorry . . . herself: sorry to see him harmed as she herself would
5 from . . . there: be away from her if she stays there (in the sanctuary)
6 content: willing  7 thence: out of there  10 troth: uprightness
11 frowardness letteth her: it is perversity that is holding her back
12 go . . . fear: come on, let’s suppose that she is afraid
12 as . . . her: since who can disallow her
15 cast: conceive, entertain  fond: foolish  doubts: fears, suspicions
15 hurt: being harmed  16 thence: out of there
17 mischief: wrongdoing  let: deter  23 might, as methinketh: could, in my opinion
22 somewhat less regard: have somewhat less regard for
22 doubt lest: fear that  27 look for none other: expect nothing else
28 sore mindeth: earnestly intends  let: prevention
29 as . . . mastery: as would be no great feat
30–31 were . . . sort: were some sensible bunch  about: attending upon
31 cast: driven  32 faithfully: sincerely
33 maugre her mind: notwithstanding her wishes
than leave him there till her frowardness or fond fear convey him
away. And yet will I break no sanctuary therefor. For verily,

since the privileges of that place and others like have been of long
continued, I am not he that would be about to break them. [cf. Latin 30/4] And

in good faith—if they were now to begin, I would not be he that
should be about to make them. Yet

Of sanctuaries will I not say nay but that it is a
deed of piety that such men as the sea or their evil debtors
have brought in poverty should have [cf. Latin 30/8] some place of liberty,
to keep their bodies out of the danger of their cruel creditors.
And also, if the crown happen (as it hath done) to come in
question, [Latin 30/9-10, 11-12] while either party taketh other as traitors, I will
well there be some places of refuge for both.

But as for

thieves, of which these places be full, and which never [cf. Latin 30/14] fall from the
craft after they once fall thereto, it is pity the sanctuary should
serve them. And much more manquellers, whom God bade
take from the altar and kill them, if their murder were willful.
And where it is otherwise, there need we not the sanctuaries that
God appointed in the Old Law. For if either necessity, his own
defense, or misfortune draw him to that deed, a pardon serveth,
which either the law granteth of course or the king of pity
may.

“Then look me now how few sanctuary men there be whom
any favorable necessity compelled to go thither. And then see,
on the other side, what a sort there be commonly therein, of them
whom [cf. Latin 30/22] willful un thriftiness hath brought to naught.”

“What a rabble of thieves, murderers, and malicious heinous Traitors!

[Latin 30/24-25]. And that in two places especially: the one [cf. Latin 30/26] at the elbow
of the city, the other in the very bowels. I dare well avow it:

weigh the good that they do with the hurt that cometh of them,

1 frowardness . . . fear: perversity or silly fear  convict: smuggle
2 therefor: for it; i.e., in so doing  3 others like: suchlike others
3 of long: from a long time ago  4, 6 about: setting out  7 say nay but: deny
8 the sea: i.e., shipwreck  evil: defaulting; deadbeat
9 in: into  11 hath done: i.e., has happened before  into: into
12 while: during which time  taketh . . . as: is taking the other to be
12–13 will well: am quite willing that
15–16 fall . . . thereto: get out of that (shady) profession once they get into it
16 pity: a shame that
18 murder: homicide  willful: deliberate
22 of course: in due course  of pity: out of mercy  24 look me: consider for me
25 favorable: approvable; legitimate  26 a sort: an assortment
27 willful un thriftiness: deliberate dissoluteness
28–29 heinous traitors: perpetrators of high treason
30 avow: vouch for  31 hurt: harm
and ye shall find it [cf. Latin 31/2-3] much better to lack both than have both. And this I say although they were not abused as they now be, and so long have been that I fear me ever they will be, while men be afraid to set their hands to the amendment—as though God and Saint Peter were the patrons of ungracious living!

The abuse of sanctuaries

“Now [cf. Latin 31/10-11] unthrifts riot and run in debt upon the boldness of these places; yea, and rich men run thither with poor men’s goods; there they build, there they spend and bid their creditors go whistle them. Men’s wives run thither with their husbands’ plate and say they dare not abide with their husbands for beating ^[Latin 31/14]. Thieves bring thither their stolen goods, and there live thereon. There devise they new robberies, nightly they steal out, they rob and reive and kill, and come in again as though those places gave them not only a safeguard ^[Latin 31/18] for the harm they have done, but a license also to do more. Howbeit, much of this mischief, if wise men would set their hands to, it might be amended, [cf. Latin 31/20] with great thank of God and no breach of the privilege.

The residue, since so long ago I wot ne’er what pope and what prince more piteous than politic hath granted it, and other men since, of a certain religious fear, have not broken it, let us take a pain therewith and let it [cf. Latin 31/23] in God’s name stand in force as far forth as reason will. Which is not fully so far forth as may serve to let us of the fetching forth of this nobleman, to his honor and wealth, out of that place in which he neither is nor can be a sanctuary man.

“A sanctuary serveth always to defend the body of that man that standeth in danger abroad, not of great hurt only, but also of lawful hurt. For against unlawful harms, [cf. Latin 32/1] never pope nor
king intended to privilege any one place. For that privilege hath every place. Knoweth any man any place wherein it is lawful one man to do another wrong? That no man unlawfully take hurt, that liberty the king, the law, and very nature forbiddeth in every place, and maketh, to that regard, for every man every place a sanctuary. But where a man is by lawful means in peril—there needeth he the tuition of some special privilege; which is the [cf. Latin 32/5] only ground and cause of all sanctuaries. From which necessity this noble prince is far, whose love to his king, nature and kindred proveth; whose innocence, to all the world his tender youth proveth. And so sanctuary, as for him, neither none he needeth nor also none can have. Men come not to sanctuary as they come to baptism, to require it by their godfathers; he must ask it himself that must have it. And reason, since no man hath cause to have it but whose conscience of his own fault maketh him fain need to require it. What will, then, hath yonder babe?

^[Latin 32/15-16] Which, and if he had discretion to require it if need were, I dare say would now be right angry with them that keep him there. And I would think ^[Latin 32/18] without any scruple of conscience, without any breach of privilege, to be somewhat more homely with them that be there sanctuary men indeed. For if one go to sanctuary with another man’s goods, why should not the king, leaving his body at liberty, satisfy the party of his goods even within the sanctuary? For neither king nor pope can give any place such a privilege that it shall discharge a man of his debts, being able to pay."

And with that, divers of the clergy that were present, whether they said it for his pleasure or as they thought, agreed plainly that by the law of God and of the Church, the goods of a sanctuary man should be delivered in payment of his debts, and stolen goods to the owner, and only liberty reserved him to get his living with the labor of his hands. “Verily,” quoth the Duke, “I think you say very truth. And what if a man’s wife will take sanctuary because she list to run from her husband? I would ween if she can allege none

3 That: In order that 4 that liberty: i.e., the liberty to do others wrong 
4–5 very nature: nature itself 5 to that regard: in that respect 7 tuition: protection 
10, 11 proveth: make evident 11 tender youth: young age 
11–12 neither . . . have: he not only does not need any, but also cannot have any 13 require it by their godfathers: request it via their godparents 
14 reason: that stands to reason 15 it: i.e., sanctuary 
15 whose . . . fain: he whose consciousness of his own guilt makes him gladly 
16 will: desire (for it) 17 if: even if 
18 had discretion: was of age 21 homely: unceremonious; direct 
24 even: right there 31 get: earn 32 you . . . truth: what you say is very true 
33–34 list to run: wants to get away ween: think
other cause, he may lawfully, without any displeasure to Saint Peter, take her out of Saint Peter’s church by the arm. And if nobody may be taken out of sanctuary that saith he will bide there—then if a child will take sanctuary because he feareth to go to school, his master must let him alone. And as simple as that example is, yet is there less reason in our case than in that. For therein, though it be a childish fear, yet is there at the leastwise some fear. And herein is there none at all. And verily I have often heard of sanctuary men, but I never heard erst of sanctuary children.

And therefore, as for the conclusion of my mind: Whoso may have deserved to need it, if they think it for their surety, let them keep it. But he can be no sanctuary man that neither hath wisdom to desire it nor malice to deserve it, whose life or liberty can by no lawful process stand in jeopardy.

And he that taketh one out of sanctuary to do him good, I say plainly that he breaketh no sanctuary.”

When the Duke had done, the temporal men whole, and good part of the spiritual also, thinking none hurt earthly meant toward the young babe, condescended in effect that if he were not delivered, he should be fetched. [cf. Latin 33/22] Howbeit, they thought it all best, in the voiding of all manner of rumor, that the Lord Cardinal should first essay to get him with her good will. And thereupon all the Council came unto the Star Chamber at Westminster. And the Lord Cardinal, leaving the Protector with the Council in the Star Chamber, departed into the sanctuary to the Queen, with divers other lords with him—were it for the respect of his honor, or that she should by presence of so many perceive that this errand was not one man’s mind, or were it for that the Protector intended not in this matter to trust any one man alone, or else

1 displeasure: offense 3 will bide: wants to stay 4 will: wants to
5 master: teacher  simple: silly 6 reason: sense
7 one: someone
9 kept: necessary for their safety
11 wisdom to desire it: the requisite maturity to request it
13 malice to deserve it: the evilness to earn a claim to it (by committing a crime)
14 process: proceeding 18 one: someone
20 done: finished speaking  the temporal men whole: all of the laymen
20–21 good . . . spiritual: a good number of the clergymen
21 none . . . earthly: no harm whatsoever
22 condescended in effect: did basically concur
23 delivered: handed over  the . . . best: they all thought it best
24 voiding: dissipating  rumor: uproar
25 essay: endeavor  good will: consent 31 errand: mission  mind: idea
that if she finally were determined to keep him, some of that company had haply secret instruction incontinent, maugre her mind, to take him, and to leave her no respite to convey him; which she was likely to mind after this matter broken to her, if her time would in any wise serve her.

When the Queen and these lords were come together in presence, the Lord Cardinal showed unto her that it was thought unto the Protector and unto the whole Council that her keeping of the King’s brother in that place was the thing which highly sounded, not only to the great rumor of the people, and their obloquy, but also to the importable grief and displeasure of the King’s royal majesty. To whose grace it were as singular comfort to have his natural brother in company as it was their both dishonor, and all theirs and hers also, to suffer him in sanctuary—as though the one brother stood in danger and peril of the other! And he showed her that the Council therefore had sent him unto her to require her the delivery of him, that he might be brought unto the King’s presence—at his liberty, out of that place which they reckoned as a prison, and there should he be demeaned according to his estate. And she in this doing should both do great good to the realm, pleasure to the Council, and profit to herself, succor to her friends that were in distress, and over that (which he wist well she specially tendered), not only great comfort and honor to the King but also to the young duke himself, whose both great wealth it were to be together, as well for many greater causes as also for their both disport and recreation; which thing the lord esteemed not slight, though it seem light, well pondering that their youth without recreation and play cannot endure, nor any stranger for the convenience of their both ages and estates so meet in that point for any of them as either of them for other.

The Queen’s answer

“My lord,” quoth the Queen, “I say not nay but that it were very convenient...
that this gentleman whom ye require were in the company of
the King, his brother. And in good faith, methinketh it were
as great commodity to them both as, for yet a while, to be in
the custody of their mother—the tender age considered of the elder
of them both, but especially the younger, which besides his infancy, that
also needeth good looking to, hath a while been so sore diseased with
sickness, and is so newly rather a little amended than well recovered,
that I dare put no person earthly in trust with his keeping but myself
only, considering that there is, as physicians say,

*Latin 35/9-10* and as we also find,

double the peril in the recidivation that was in the first sickness,
with which disease nature, being forlabored, forwearied, and weakened,
waxeth the less able to bear out a new surfeit. And albeit there
might be found others that would haply do their best unto
him, yet is there none that either knoweth better how to order him
than I that so long have kept him, or is more tenderly like to cherish
him than his own mother that bore him.” “No man denieth, good
madam,” quoth the Cardinal, “but that Your Grace were of all folk
most necessary about your children—and so would all the Council
not only be content, but also glad that ye were, if it might stand
with your pleasure to be in such place as might stand with their
honor. But if you appoint yourself to tarry here, then think they
yet more convenient that the Duke of York were with the King,
honorially, at his liberty, to the comfort of them both, than
here as a sanctuary man to their both dishonor and obloquy; since there is
not always so great necessity to have the child be with the mother
but that occasion may sometime be such that it should be more
expedient to keep him elsewhere. Which in this well appeareth: that
at such time as your dearest son then Prince and now King should,
for his honor and good order of the country, keep household in
Wales, far out of your company—Your Grace was well content therewith
yourself.” “Not very well content,” quoth the Queen. “And yet
the case is not like; for the one was then in health, and the other is
now sick. In which case I marvel greatly that my Lord Protector
is so desirous to have him in his keeping, where if the child in his

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1 gentleman: nobleman  require: ask for  2 in good faith: in all honesty
2 were: would be  3 commodity: a benefit
5 infancy: youngness  6–7 sore . . . sickness: badly afflicted with illness
8 earthly: on earth
11 recidivation: relapse  sickness: bout of illness
12 disease: illness  forlabored, forwearied: already exerted and worn out
13 waxeth: becomes  bear out: weather  surfeit: bout  15 order: care for
19 about: to have around  20 not . . . glad: not just willing but glad
20, 21 stand: accord  22 appoint yourself: decide  tarry: remain
22–23 think . . . convenient: they think it nevertheless more appropriate
25 their . . . obloquy: the dishonor and disgrace of them both
27 occasion: the situation  sometime: once in a while  should: would
28 expedient: advisable  Which . . . appeareth: Which is made quite evident by this
29 should: had to  32 yet: furthermore  34 case: condition
sickness miscarried by nature, yet might he run into slander and suspicion of fraud.

^[Latin 36/5-17]

And where they call it a thing so sorely against my child’s honor, and theirs also, that he bideth in this place, it is all their honors there to suffer him bide where no man doubteth he shall be best kept. And that is here, while I am here, which as yet intend not to come forth and jeopard myself after others of my friends—which would God were rather here in surety with me than I were there in jeopardy with them.” “Why, madam,” quoth another lord, “know you anything why they should be in jeopardy?” “Nay, verily, sir,” quoth she. “Nor why they should be in prison, neither—as they now be! But it is, I trow, no great marvel though I fear lest those that have not letted to put them in [cf. Latin 36/30-31] duress without color will let as little to procure their destruction without cause.”

The Cardinal made a countenance to the other lord that he should harp no more upon that string. And then said he to the Queen that he nothing doubted but that those lords of her honorable kin which as yet remained under arrest should, upon

1 miscarried by nature: died of natural causes  
slander: disrepute, opprobrium  
2 fraud: foul play  
19 where: whereas  
sore: terribly  
20 bideth: stays  
21 all . . . bide: to the honor of them all to let him stay in that place  
22 while: as long as  
23 which: who  
23–24 jeopardy . . . friends: put myself in danger, like some relatives of mine  
24 which . . . God: who I wish to God  
surety: safety  
25 anything: any reason  
27 Nay, verily: No indeed  
28 I trow: I’m sure  
28 marvel: wonder  
29 though . . . letted: if I fear that those who have not forborne  
30 without color: without any show of reason  
32 made a countenance: gestured; made a sign  
34 nothing doubted but: had no doubt
the matter examined, do well enough. And as toward her noble
person, neither was nor could be any manner jeopardy. “Whereby
should I trust that?” quoth the Queen. “In that I am guiltless? As though
they were guilty! In that I am with their enemies better beloved than they?—
when they hate them for my sake! In that I am so near of kin to
the King? And how far be they off?—if that would help, 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 son, I mind that
he shall be where I am [cf. Latin 37/8-9] till I see further. For I assure you, for
that I see some men so greedy without any substantial cause to
have him, this maketh me much the more farther to deliver him.”

“Truly, madam,” quoth he, “and the farther that you be to deliver him,
the farther be other men to suffer you to keep him, lest your
[cf. Latin 37/13-15] causeless fear might cause you further to convey him. And many be
there that think that he can have no privilege in this place which
neither can have will to ask it nor malice to deserve it. And therefore
they reckon no privilege broken though they fetch him out. Which,
if ye finally refuse to deliver him. [*Latin 37/20*] I verily think they will, so much
dread hath my lord his uncle, for the tender love he beareth him,
lest Your Grace [*Latin 37/22*] should hap to send him
away.” “Ah, sir,” quoth the Queen, “hath the
Protector so tender zeal to him that he feareth nothing but lest he
should escape him? Thinketh he that I would send him hence
which neither is in the plight to send out—

[*Latin 37/ 25-29*]

and in what place
could I reckon him sure, if he be not sure in this, the sanctuary
whereof was there never tyrant yet so devilish that durst presume
to break? And I trust [cf. Latin 38/1-2] God as strong now to withstand his adversaries as ever he was. But my son can ‘deserve’ no sanctuary, and therefore he cannot have it? Forsooth, he hath found a goodly gloss by which that place that may defend a thief may not save an innocent! But ‘he is in no jeopardy,’ ‘nor hath no need thereof.’ Would God he had not! ^[Latin 38/6-7]

Troweth the Protector (I pray God he may prove a protector!)—troweth he that I perceive not whereunto his painted process draweth? ‘It is not honorable that the Duke bide here’;

^[Latin 38/9-11] ‘it were comfortable for them both that he were with his brother, because the King lacketh a playfellow’—be ye sure! I pray God send them both better playfellows than him that maketh so high a matter upon such a trifling pretext; as though there could none be found to play with the King but if his brother—that hath no lust to play, for sickness—come out of sanctuary, out of his safeguard, to play with him. As though princes as young as they be could not play but with their peers, or children could not play but with their kindred—with whom, for the more part, they agree much worse than with strangers. But the child ‘cannot require the privilege.’ Who told him so? He shall hear him ask it, an he will. Howbeit, this is a gay matter. Suppose he could not ask it; suppose he would not ask it; suppose he would ask to go out. If I say he shall not—if I ask the privilege but for myself!—I say he that against my will taketh out him, breaketh the sanctuary. Serveth this liberty for my person only, or for my goods too? Ye may not hence take my horse from me—and may you take my child from me? He is also my ward; for, as my learned counsel showeth me, since he hath nothing by descent held by knight’s service, the law maketh his mother his guardian. Then may no man, I suppose, take my ward from me out of

1 trust: believe 3 goodly gloss: splendid rationale
8 Troweth the Protector: Does the Protector think
9–10 whereunto . . . draweth: where his glib argument leads to
11 were: would be 12 comfortable: comforting
13 playfellow: playmate  be ye sure!: oh sure!
14–15 maketh . . . pretext: i.e., makes such a mountain out of such a molehill
15 none: no one 16 lust: desire  for: on account of
17 safeguard: protective custody 20 for . . . part: more often than not
18 agree . . . worse: get along much less well
20 strangers: people outside the family 21 require: request  so: that
22 an he will: if he wants  gay matter: specious issue 26 liberty: right
27 hence: out of here 29 showeth: tells
29–30 hath . . . service: i.e., has not inherited even by way of a knight’s service anything endowing him with independence
sanctuary without the breach of the sanctuary. And if my privilege could not serve him, nor he ask it for himself, yet since the law committeth to me the custody of him, I may require it for him—except the law give a child a guardian only for his [cf. Latin 39/6-7] goods and his

lands, discharging him of the care and safekeeping of his body, for which only both lands and goods

This that is here between this mark ‡ and this mark* was not written by M. More in this history written by him in English, but is translated out of this history which he wrote in Latin.

king, was born and kept in his cradle and preserved to a more prosperous fortune, which I pray God long to continue. And as all you know, this is not the first time that I have taken sanctuary; for when my lord my husband was banished and thrust out of his kingdom, I fled hither, being great with child, and here I bore the Prince. And when my lord my husband returned safe again and had the victory, then went I hence to welcome him home, and from hence I brought my babe the Prince unto his father, when he first took him in his arms. And I pray God that my son’s palace may be as great safeguard to him now reigning, as this place was sometime to the king’s enemy. [cf. Latin 39/19] In which place I intend to keep his brother, since [etc.].”*

“Wherefore, here intend I to keep him, since man’s law serveth the guardian to keep the infant, the law of nature will the mother keep her child, God’s law privilegeth the sanctuary, and the sanctuary my son—since I fear to put him in the Protector’s hands, that hath his brother already, and were, if both failed, inheritor to the crown. The cause of my fear hath no man to do to examine. ^[Latin 39/24] And yet fear I no further than the law feareth, which, as learned men tell me, forbiddeth every man the custody of them by whose death he may inherit less land than a kingdom! ^[Latin 39/27 – 40/2]

3 require: request 4 except: unless
5 discharging . . . care: making him (the guardian) not responsible for the care
6 only: alone 7 examples: precedents 15 all you: you all
17 hither: here 19 hence: away from here 20 hence: here
23 sometime: at one time  the king’s enemy: i.e., my son when the then-reigning king regarded him as an enemy
25 serveth: allows 26 infant: child not yet of age 26 will: demands that
28 the . . . that: the hands of the Protector, who
29 were: would be  both: i.e., both brothers  failed: perished
30 hath . . . do: is no one’s business 33 less: i.e., far less
I can no more, but whosoever he be that breaketh this holy sanctuary, [cf. Latin 40/3] I pray God shortly send him need of sanctuary when he may not come to it.

\^[Latin 40/4-5]

For taken out of sanctuary would I not my mortal enemy were!”

The Lord Cardinal, perceiving that \^[Latin 40/7] the Queen waxed ever the longer, the farther off, and also that she began to kindle and chafe and speak sore, biting words against the Protector, and such as he neither believed and was also loath to hear, he said unto her, for a final conclusion, that he would no longer dispute the matter. But if she were content to deliver the [cf. Latin 40/11] Duke to him and to the other lords there present, [cf. Latin 40/12,13,17] he durst lay his own body and soul both in pledge, not only for his surety but also for his estate. And if she would give them a resolute answer to the contrary, he would forthwith depart therewith, and shift whoso would with this business afterward; for he never intended more to move her in that matter, in which she thought that he and all others also, save herself, lacked either wit or troth. Wit, if they were so dull that they could nothing perceive what the Protector intended; troth, if they should procure her son to be delivered into his hands in whom they should perceive toward the child any evil intended.

The Queen with these words stood a good while in a great study. And forasmuch her seemed the Cardinal more ready to depart than some of the remnant, and the Protector himself ready at hand, so that she verily thought she could not keep him there, but that he should incontinent be taken thence; and to convey him elsewhere, neither had she time to serve her nor place determined, nor persons appointed—althing unready, this message came on her so suddenly,

1 I . . . but: That is all I can say, except
8–9 waxed . . . off: i.e., the longer she talked, the less disposed she became to handing over her son
9 kindle and chafe: become impassioned and irate 10 sore: harsh
11 neither . . . hear: not only did not believe, but also did not want to hear
12 dispute: discuss 13 content to deliver: willing to hand over
15 surety: safety estate: high rank (as brother to the King)
17 shift . . . afterward: let deal with this business afterward whoever wanted to
18 more . . . matter: to make any further appeal to her concerning that matter
19 wit: intelligence 20 troth: uprightness nothing: not at all
21 procure: contrive for 22 his hands: the hands of one
24 a great study: a state of deep, anxious thought
25 her seemed the Cardinal: as the Cardinal seemed to her 26 remnant: others
28 incontinent . . . thence: immediately be taken out of there 29 convey: smuggle
30 allthing: everything message: group of envoys
nothing less looking for than to have him fetched out of sanctuary, which
she thought to be now beset in such places about that he could not
be conveyed out untaken—[^Latin 41/3],[^Latin 41/4-6]
and partly, [cf. Latin 41/6] as she thought it might fortune
her fear to be false, so well she wist it was either needless or bootless: [cf. Latin 41/9-11]
wherefore, if she should needs go from him, she deemed it best to deliver
him. And over that, of the Cardinal’s faith she nothing doubted, nor of
some other lords’, neither, whom she there saw, which as she feared
lest they might be deceived, so was she well assured they would
not be corrupted. Then thought she it should yet make them the more
warily to look to him, and the more circumspectly to see to his surety,
if she with her own hands betook him to them of trust. And at the
last [cf. Latin 41/14] she took the young duke by the hand, and said unto the lords:
“My lord,” quoth she, “and all my lords, I neither am so unwise to mistrust
your wits nor so suspicious to mistrust your troths. Of which
thing I purpose to make you such a proof as, if either of both lacked
in you, might turn both me to great sorrow, the realm to much
harm, and you to great reproach. For lo, here is,” quoth she, [cf. Latin 41/19-22] “this
gentleman,

whom I doubt not but I could here keep safe if I would,
whatever any man say. And I doubt not also but there be some
abroad so deadly enemies unto my blood that if they wist where any
of it lay in their own body, they would let it out. We have also had
The desire of a kingdom experience [cf. Latin 41/25-26] that the desire of a kingdom
knoweth no kindred. The brother hath been
the brother’s bane.

And may the nephews be sure of their uncle?
Each of these children is other’s defense while they be asunder, and
each of their lives lieth in the other’s body. Keep one safe and both
be sure; and nothing for them both more perilous than to be
both in one place. For what wise merchant adventureth all his
goods in one ship? All this notwithstanding, here I deliver him, and
his brother in him, to keep, into your hands, of whom I shall ask

1 nothing . . . for: i.e., she having nothing less expected
2 beset . . . about: i.e., so strategically surrounded
4–5 as . . . false: just as she thought her fear might turn out to be groundless
5 so . . . bootless: so she well knew it was either needless or useless
5 should . . . him: was going to have to part with him regardless
5–6 deliver him: hand him over
7 over that: moreover faith: loyalty nothing doubted: had no doubt at all
9 lest: that 10 yet: also 11 warily . . . him: carefully to watch out for him
11 surety: safety 12 of: out of 14 so unwise to mistrust: so unwise as to doubt
15 wits: intelligence troths: uprightness 16 lacked: were lacking
19 gentleman: nobleman 20 but: that would: wanted to
21–22 some . . . so: out there some such wist: knew 27 may: can
28 other’s . . . asunder: the other’s defense as long as they are separated
30 sure: safe, secure 31 adventureth: takes the risk of putting
33 your hands: i.e., the hands of you men
33 shall ask: i.e., shall one day ask the return of
them both, before God and the world. Faithful ye be—that wot I well; and I know well you be wise. Power and strength to keep him if ye list, neither lack ye of yourselves nor can lack help in this cause.

\textit{And if ye cannot elsewhere, then may you leave him here.} But only one thing I beseech you, for the trust that his father put in you ever, and for the trust that I put in you now: that as far as ye think that I fear too much, be you well ware that you fear not as far too little.” And therewith she said unto the child, “Farewell, my own sweet son; [cf. Latin 42/8-9]. \textit{God send you good keeping} Let me kiss you once yet ere you go, for God knoweth when we shall kiss together again.” And therewith she kissed him and [cf. Latin 42/11] \textit{blessed him}, turned her back and wept, and went her way, leaving the child weeping as fast. When the Lord Cardinal and these other lords with him had received this young duke, they brought him into the \textit{Star Chamber} [cf. Latin 42/13], where the Protector \[^{\text{Latin 42/14}}\]
took him in his arms and kissed him, with these words: “Now, welcome, my lord, even with all my very heart.” \textit{And he said, in that, of likelihood as he thought.}

Thereupon forthwith they brought him to the King his brother, unto the bishop’s palace at Paul’s, and from thence through the city honorably \[^{\text{Latin 42/18-20}}\]
to the Tower, out of which after that day they never came abroad.

\[^{\text{Latin 42/14}}\]When the Protector had both the children in his hands, he opened himself more boldly, both to certain other men and also chiefly to the Duke of Buckingham—although I know that many thought that this duke was privy to all the Protector’s counsel even from the beginning, and some of the Protector’s friends said that the Duke was the first mover of the Protector to this matter, sending a privy messenger

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1. before . . . world: in front of God and everybody  
2. list: please; choose to  
3. ever: always  
4. well ware: very watchful  
5. keeping: looking after  
6. once yet: one more time  
7. kiss together: kiss each other  
8. weeping as fast: crying as hard  
9. even: literally  
10. very heart: heart itself / real, actual heart  
11. of likelihood: probably  
12. the . . . brother: his brother the King  
13. Paul’s: St. Paul’s Cathedral  
14. thence: there  
15. honorably: in an honorific fashion  
16. opened: revealed, disclosed  
17. privy . . . beginning: in on all the Protector’s secrets right from the start  
18. mover: person to incite  
19. matter: business  
20. privy: personal
unto him straight after King Edward’s death. But others again, which knew better the subtle wit of the Protector, deny that he ever opened his enterprise to the Duke until he had brought to pass the things before rehearsed. But when he had imprisoned the Queen’s kinsfolk, and gotten both her sons into his own hands, then he opened the rest of his purpose with less fear to them whom he thought meet for the matter, and especially to the Duke—who being won to his purpose, he thought his strength more than half increased. The matter was broken unto the Duke by subtle folks, and such as were their craftsmasters in the handling of such wicked devices, who declared unto him that the young king was offended with him for his kinsfolk’s sakes, and that if he were ever able, he would revenge them. Who would prick him forward thereunto if they escaped (for they would remember their imprisonment); or else, if they were put to death, without doubt the young king would be careful for their deaths whose imprisonment was grievous unto him. And that with repenting the Duke should nothing avail, for there was no way left to redeem his offense by benefits, but he should sooner destroy himself than save the King, who with his brother and his kinsfolk he saw in such places imprisoned as the Protector might with a beck destroy them all; and that it were no doubt but he would do it indeed if there were any new enterprise attempted. And that it was likely that as the Protector had provided privy guard for himself, so had he spies for the Duke, and trains to catch him if he should be against him—and that, peradventure, from them whom he least suspected. For the state of things and the dispositions of men were then such that a man could not well tell whom he might trust or whom he might fear. These things and suchlike, being beaten into the Duke’s mind, brought him to that point that, whereas he had repented the way that he had entered, yet would he go forth in the same; and since he had once begun, he would stoutly go through. And therefore to this wicked enterprise, which he believed could not be voided, he bent himself, and went through, and determined that since the common mischief could not be amended, he would turn it as much as he might to his own commodity.

1 straight: right 2 subtle: crafty, devious 3 wit: mind 4 before rehearsed: previously related 5 opened: revealed 6 purpose: plan 7 meet: suitable 8 subtle: cunning; insidiously sly 9 devices: schemes 10 revenge: avenge 11 pricked: spur, drive 12 remember: i.e., not forgive and forget 13 careful for: grief-stricken over 14 their deaths: the deaths of those 15 with . . . avail: i.e., repenting would not help the Duke at all 16 a beck: a gesture indicating a command 17 privy guard: bodyguards 18 trains: traps 19 that . . . from: i.e., that entrapment perhaps coming from 20 well: really 21 might: could 22 go through: i.e., go through with it 23 voided: withdrawn from 24 bent: yielded 25 through: i.e., through with it 26 determined: decided 27 mischief: detriment 28 amended: helped 29 where: whereas 30 commodities: advantage
Then it was agreed that the Protector should have the Duke’s aid to make him king, and that the Protector’s only lawful son should marry the Duke’s daughter, and that the Protector should grant him the quiet possession of the earldom of Hereford, which he claimed as his inheritance, and could never obtain it in King Edward’s time. Besides these requests of the Duke, the Protector of his own mind promised him a great quantity of the King’s treasure and of his household stuff. And when they were thus at a point between themselves, they went about to prepare for the coronation of the young king—as they would have it seem. And that they might turn both the eyes and minds of men from perceiving of their drifts otherwhere, the lords, being sent for from all parts of the realm, came thick to that solemnity. But the Protector and the Duke, after that that they had set the Lord [cf. Latin 44/12] Cardinal, the Archbishop of York (then Lord Chancellor), the Bishop of Ely, the Lord Stanley, and the Lord Hastings (then Lord Chamberlain), with many other noblemen,* to commune and devise about the ^[Latin 44/14-15] coronation in one place, as fast were they in another place contriving the contrary, and to make the Protector king. To which council albeit there were adhibited very few, and they very secret, yet began there, here and there about, some manner 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, men’s hearts of a secret instinct of nature misgiveth them (as the sea without wind swelleth of itself sometimes before a tempest), or were it that some one man, haply [cf. Latin 44/23] somewhat perceiving, filled many men with suspicion though he showed few men what he knew. Howbeit, somewhat the dealing itself made men to muse on the matter, though the council were close. For little and little all folk withdrew from the Tower and drew to Crosby’s Place in Bishopsgate Street, where the Protector kept his household. The Protector had the resort, the King in manner

4 quiet: not to be interfered with; uncontestable
6 of his own mind: on his own initiative
8 at a point: agreed
10 they: i.e., the lords referred to in lines 13–15
11 their drifts: the schemes of the Protector and the Duke
15 after that that: after
17 Bishop of Ely: John Morton  Lord Stanley: Thomas Stanley
19 commune and devise: confer and make plans
21 adhibited: admitted
22 secret: close-mouthed
24 wist . . . wherefore: knew what they feared nor why they felt afraid
25 secret: mysterious
26 misgiveth them: give them a foreboding
26 of itself: on its own
27 tempest: storm
27–28 haply somewhat perceiving: perhaps perceiving something
29 showed: told
30 muse on: murmur about
31 little and little: little by little
33 resort: coming of people to see him
desolate. While some for their business made suit to them that had
the doing, some were by their friends secretly warned that it might
haply turn them to no good to be too much attendant about
the King without the Protector’s appointment—which removed also
divers of the Prince’s old servants from him and set new about him.
Thus many things coming together, partly by chance, partly of
purpose, caused, at length, not common people only, [cf. Latin 45/7] that wave with
the wind, but wise men also and some lords eke, to mark the matter
and muse thereon—^[Latin 45/9]
so far forth that the Lord Stanley (that was after Earl
of Derby)^[Latin45/10], wisely mistrusted it, and said unto the Lord Hastings
^[Latin 45/11-12] that he
much disliked these two several councils. “For while we,” quoth he,
“talk of one ^[Latin 45/13-15] matter in the one place, little wot we whereof they talk
in the other place.” “My lord,” quoth the Lord Hastings, “on my life, never
doubt you. For while one man is there which is never thence, never
can there be thing once minded that should sound amiss toward
me but it should be in mine ears ere it were well out of their
mouths.” This meant he by Catesby, which
he very familiarly used, and in his most weighty matters put no
man in so special trust, reckoning himself to no man so lief, since
he well wist there was no man to him so much beholden as was
this Catesby, ^[Latin 45/23-24]
which was a man well learned in the laws of this
land, and, [cf. Latin 45/25-27] by the special favor of the Lord Chamberlain, in good
authority, and much rule bore in all the county of Leicester, where the
Lord Chamberlain’s power chiefly lay. But surely great pity was it
that he had not had either more troth or less wit. For his
dissimulation only kept all that mischief up in whom if the
Lord Hastings had not put so special trust, the Lord Stanley and he
had departed, with divers other lords, [cf. Latin 46/1-2] and broken all the dance, for many ill signs that he saw— [cf. Latin 46/4-7] which he now construed all to the best. So surely thought he that there could be none harm toward him in that council intended where Catesby was.

And of truth, the Protector and the Duke of Buckingham made very good semblance unto the Lord Hastings, and kept him much in company. And undoubtedly the Protector loved him well, [cf. Latin 46/9-10] and loath was to have lost him, saving for fear lest his life should have quailed their purpose. For which cause he moved Catesby to prove, with some words cast out afar off, whether he could think it possible to win the Lord Hastings into their part. But Catesby, whether he essayed him or essayed him not, reported unto them that [cf. Latin 46/12] he found him so fast, and heard him speak so terrible words, that he durst no further break. And of truth, the Lord Chamberlain [cf. Latin 46/14] of very trust showed unto Catesby the mistrust that others began to have in the matter. And therefore he, fearing lest their motions might with the Lord Hastings diminish his credence, whereunto only all the matter leaned, [cf. Latin 46/17-18] procured the Protector hastily to rid him.

And much the rather for that he trusted by his death to obtain much of the rule that the Lord Hastings bore in his country [Latin 46/19-20]—the only desire whereof was the allective that induced him to be partner and one special contriver of all this horrible treason.

Whereupon, soon after—that is to wit, on the Friday the thirteenth day of June—many lords assembled in the Tower and there sat in council devising the honorable solemnity of the King's coronation, of which the time appointed then so near approached that the pageants and subtleties were in making day and night at Westminster, and much

1 had: would have  divers: several  broken . . . dance: ended the whole game
2 for . . . signs: on account of many bad signs
3–4 there . . . intended: no harming of him could be planned in any council
7 of truth: indeed  8 very good semblance: a very good show
10 loved him well: liked him a lot
11 life: staying alive  quailed their purpose: killed their plan
12 moved: urged  prove: find out by testing
12–13 with . . . off: i.e., with some very vague, indirect statements
14 into their part: over to their side  essayed him: put him to the test
15 fast: steadfast; unmovable
16 so terrible: such frightening  durst . . . break: dared not reveal to him anything further
17–18 showed . . . in: told Catesby about the suspicions that others were beginning to have about 19 motions: ideas; impressions
19–20 with . . . credence: lessen the confidence the Lord Hastings had in him
20 whereunto . . . leaned: on which alone the whole thing depended  procured: got
21 rid: do away with  22 the rather: the more readily  for that: because
24 country: i.e., part of the country  the only desire: solely the desire
25 allective: allurement, enticement  partner: an accomplice (in)
29 devising: planning
31–32 pageants and subtleties: stage props and table decorations

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victual killed therefor that afterward was cast away. These lords so sitting together communing of this matter, the Protector came in among them—first about nine of the clock, saluting them courteously and excusing himself that he had been from them so long, saying merrily that he had been asleep that day. And after a little talking with them, he said unto the Bishop of Ely, “My lord, you have very good strawberries at your garden in Holborn; I require you, let us have a mess of them.” “Gladly, my lord,” quoth he. “Would God I had some better thing as ready to your pleasure as that.” And therewith, in all the haste, he sent his servant for a mess of strawberries. The Protector set the lords fast in communing, and thereupon, praying them to spare him for a little while, departed thence. ^[Latin 47/13-15]

And soon after one hour, between ten and eleven, he returned into the chamber among them, all changed, with a wonderfully sour, angry countenance, knitting the brows, frowning and frothing and gnawing on his lips, and so sat him down in his place, all the lords much dismayed and sore marveling of this manner of sudden change, and what thing should him ail. Then, when he had sat still a while, [cf. Latin 47/20-22] thus he began: “What were they worthy to have, that compass and imagine the destruction of me—being so near of blood unto the King, and Protector of his royal person and his realm?” At this question all the lords sat sore astonished, musing much by whom this question should be meant, of which every man wist himself clear. Then the Lord Chamberlain, as he that for the love between them thought he might be boldest with him, answered and said that they were worthy to be punished as heinous traitors, whatsoever they were. And all the others affirmed the same. “That is,” quoth he, “yonder sorceress—my brother’s wife!—and others with her,” meaning the Queen. At these words many of the other lords were greatly abashed, that favored her. But the Lord Hastings ^[Latin 47/32], was in his mind better content that it was moved by her than by any other whom he loved better—albeit his heart somewhat

1 victual killed therefor: game killed for the occasion  cast: thrown
2 communing of: conferring about  3 saluting: greeting  4 from: away from
4 merrily: facetiously  7 require: ask of  a mess: a dish  8 would God: I only wish
9 ready . . . pleasure: available for you to enjoy  in all the haste: posthaste
10–11 set . . . communing: really got the lords talking
11 praying: begging  spare: excuse  16 a wonderfully: an exceedingly
17 frothing: foaming at the mouth  18 sore marveling of: anxiously wondering at
19 what . . . all: (wondering) what could be the matter with him
21–22 what . . . have: what would they have coming to them; what would they deserve to have happen to them
22 compass and imagine: plot and plan  24 sore: terribly
24–25 musing . . . meant: trying hard to figure out whom he could mean by this question
25 wist . . . clear: knew himself to be in the clear
26–27 as . . . boldest: i.e., thinking that, because of the affection between him and Richard, he was the one who had least to fear in speaking to him
27 were worthy: would deserve  28 heinous traitors: persons guilty of high treason
31 abashed: disconcerted, upset
32–33 better . . . better: more willing that the charge be made against her than against some other person he liked better
grudged that he was not before made of counsel in this matter,

\[ ^{\text{Latin 48/2-3}} \text{as he was} \]

of the taking of her kindred and of their putting to death, which were by his assent before devised to be beheaded at Pomfret this selfsame day, in which he was not aware that it was by others \[ ^{\text{Latin 48/7}} \text{devised that} \]

himself should the same day be beheaded at London. Then said the Protector, “Ye shall all see in what wise that sorceress and that other witch of her counsel, Shore’s wife, with their affinity, have by their sorcery and witchcraft wasted my body.” And therewith he plucked up his doublet sleeve to his elbow upon his left arm, where he showed a wearish, withered arm and small—as it was never other. And thereupon every man’s mind sore misgave them, well perceiving that this matter was but a quarrel \[ ^{\text{Latin 48/14}} \] .

For well they wist that the Queen was too wise to go about any such folly; and also, if she would, yet would she of all folk least make Shore’s wife of counsel, whom of all women she most hated, as that concubine whom the King, her husband, had most loved. \[ ^{\text{cf. Latin 48/13-14}} \] And also, no man was there present but well knew that his harm was ever such since his birth. Nevertheless, the Lord Chamberlain (\textit{which from the death of King Edward kept Shore’s wife—on whom he somewhat doted in the King’s life, saving, as it is said, he that while forbore her of reverence toward his King, or else of a certain kind of fidelity to his friend}) answered and said, “Certainly, my lord, if they have so heinously done, they be worthy heinous punishment. “What?” quoth the Protector. “Thou servest me, I ween, with ‘if’s and with ‘and’s! I tell thee, they have so done; and that I will make good on thy body, traitor!” And therewith, as in a great anger, he clapped his fist upon the board, a great rap. At which token given, one cried “Treason!” without the chamber. Therewith, a door clapped, and in came there rushing men in harness, as many as the chamber might hold. And anon the Protector said to the Lord Hastings, “I arrest thee, traitor!” “What? Me, my lord?” quoth he. “Yea, thee,

\begin{itemize}
  \item grudged: resented it \item before: previously \item made . . . in: let in on \item taking: arresting \item their . . . death: the executing of them \item which: who \item devised: who were with his concurrence previously planned \item himself: he himself \item affinity: allies \item wasted: maimed \item wearish: shriveled \item quarrel: pretext \item wise: sensible \item folly: foolishness \item harm: affliction (and also a play on “arm”) \item saving: except that \item while: throughout that time \item of: out of \item if . . . punishment: i.e., if they have committed capital treason, they deserve capital punishment \item ween: believe \item make good: avenge \item as if \item upon the board: on the table \item token: signal \item one: someone \item without: outside \item chamber: room \item might: could \item clapped: slammed \item harness: armor \item might: could \item anon: at once
\end{itemize}
The Lord Stanley wounded traitor!” quoth the Protector. And another let fly at the Lord Stanley, which shrank at the stroke and fell under the table, or else his head had been cleft to the teeth; for as shortly as he shrank, yet ran the blood about his ears.

^[Latin 49/ 5-8]

Then were they all quickly bestowed in diverse chambers—except the Lord Chamberlain, whom the Protector bade speed and shrive him apace; “for by St. Paul,” quoth he, “I will not to dinner till I see thy head off.” It booted him not to ask why, but heavily he took a priest at adventure and made a short shrift, for a longer would not be suffered, the Protector made so much haste to dinner—which he might not go to till this were done, for saving of his oath.

^[Latin 49/18-20]

The Lord Chamberlain beheaded So was he brought forth into the green beside the chapel within the Tower, and his head laid down upon a long log of timber and there stricken off, and afterward his body, with the head, interred at Windsor, beside the body of King Edward; whose both souls our Lord pardon. A marvelous case is it to hear, either the warnings of that he should have avoided, or the tokens of that he could not avoid.

^[Latin 49/27-29]

For the

1 another: someone else
3 had been: would have been
4 cleft: split
5 shortly: quickly
10–11 bestowed . . . put in different rooms
12 bade . . . apace: told to hurry off and make a quick confession
13 not to: not go to. (This may be an allusion to Acts 23:12.) booted: availed
14 heavily: with a heavy heart
15 suffered: allowed, tolerated
16 might: could
20 green: grassy area
25, 26 that: that which
26 tokens: portents
30 self night next: very last night
31 in all the haste: in a big hurry
32 utterly: absolutely

bide: stay
he had so fearful a dream

The Lord Stanley's dream

in which him thought that a
boar with his tusks so razed them both by the heads that the blood ran about both their shoulders. And forasmuch as the Protector
gave the boar for his cognizance, this dream made so fearful an
impression in his heart that he was thoroughly determined no longer to
tarry, but had his horse ready, if the Lord Hastings would go with him, to ride so far yet the
same night that they should be out of danger ere day.

“Ay, good lord,” quoth the Lord Hastings to this messenger, “leaneth my lord
thy master so much to such trifles, and hath such faith in dreams which
either his own fear fantasieth or do rise in the night’s rest by reason of his
day thoughts? Tell him it is plain witchcraft to believe in such
dreams! Which if they were tokens of things to come, why thinketh he
not that we might be as likely to make them true by our going, if we
were caught and brought back (as friends fail fleeers)? For then had the
boar a cause likely to raze us with his tusks, as folk that fled for some
falsehood. Wherefore either is there no peril—nor none there is, indeed—or
if any be, it is rather in going than biding. And if we should needs cost
fall in peril one way or other, yet had I liefer that men should see it were
by other men’s falsehood than think it were either our own fault or
faint heart. And therefore go to thy master, man, and commend me to
him, and pray him be merry and have no fear; for I assure him I am as
sure of the man that he wotteth of as I am of own hand.”

“God send grace, sir,” quoth the messenger, and went his way.

Certain is it also that in the riding toward the Tower, the same morning in which he was beheaded,
his horse twice or thrice stumbled with him almost to the falling; which thing albeit each man wot well daily happeneth to them to whom no
such mischance is toward, yet hath it been of an old rite and custom
observed as a token oftentimes notably foregoing some great misfortune.
Now this that followeth was no warning, but an enemious scorn.

3 him thought: it seemed to him
4 razed: slashed
5 both their shoulders: the shoulders of them both
6 cognizance: coat of arms; insignia
8 tarry: stick around
10–11 leaneth . . . so much to: puts . . . such stock in
12 fantasie: concocts
14 tokens: portents
16 as: since
17 for: because of (having committed)
18 falsehood: act of treachery
19 biding: staying
20 other: the other had I liefer: I would rather
21 falsehood: treachery
22–23 either . . . heart: i.e., because of either our own guilt or our own fearfulness
23 pray . . . merry: implore him to cheer up
24 wotteth of: has in mind
29 each . . . happeneth: everyone well knows happens all the time
30 mischance: misfortune
31 a token: a sign; an omen

The same morning, ere he were up, came a knight unto him, as it were of courtesy to accompany him to the Council, but of truth sent by the Protector to hasten him thitherward, with whom he was of secret confederacy in that purpose—a mean man at that time, and now of great authority. This knight, when it happed the Lord Chamberlain by the way to stay his horse and commune a while with a priest whom he met in the Tower street, broke his tale and said merrily to him, “What, my lord! I pray you come on! Whereto talk you so long with that priest? You have no need of a priest yet”—and therewith he laughed upon him, as though he would say, “Ye shall have soon.” But so little wist the other what he meant, and so little mistrusted, that he was never merrier nor never so full of good hope in his life—which self thing is often seen a sign of change. But I shall rather let anything pass me than the vain surety of man’s mind so near his death. Upon the very Tower wharf, so near the place where his head was off so soon after, there met he with one Hastings, a pursuivant of his own name. And of their meeting in that place, he was put in remembrance of another time in which it had happened them before to meet in like manner together in the same place. At which other time the Lord Chamberlain had been accused unto King Edward by the Lord Rivers, the Queen’s brother, in such wise that he was for the while (but it lasted not long) far fallen into the King’s indignation, and stood in great fear of himself.

And forasmuch as he now met this pursuivant in the same place, that jeopardy so well past, it gave him great pleasure to talk with him thereof with whom he had before talked thereof...

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1 as it were: supposedly 2 of truth: actually 3 hasten him thitherward: speedily send him to the Protector 4 mean: low-ranking 5–6 it . . . way: the Lord Chamberlain happened along the way 6 commune: chat 7 broke his tale: cut into his conversation merrily: cheerily 8 whereto: why 9 upon: at 10 would: wanted to wist: knew 11 so little mistrusted: was so unsuspecting merrier: happier 12 self: very 13 pass me: go uncommented upon 14 vain: cocky / unwarranted 15 surety: assurance 16 pursuivant: royal messenger 16 of . . . name: having the same name he had; i.e., Hastings of: by 23 of: for 28 met: came across 29 past: over with 30 with . . . with: about it with the person with
in the same place while he was therein. And therefore he said, “Ah, Hastings, art thou remembered when I met thee here once with a heavy heart?” “Yea, my lord,” quoth he, “that remember I well; and thanked be God they got no good, nor ye none harm, thereby.” “Thou wouldst say so,” quoth he, “if thou knewest as much as I know, which few know else as yet, and more shall shortly.” That meant he by the lords of the Queen’s kindred that were taken before and should that day be beheaded at Pomfret—which he well wist, but nothing aware that the axe hung over his own head. “In faith, man,” quoth he, “I was never so sorry, nor never 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 enemies in the danger (as thou mayest hap to hear more hereafter) and I never in my life so merry, nor never in so great surety.” O good God, the blindness of our mortal nature! When he most feared, he was in good surety; when he reckoned himself surest, he lost his life, and that within two hours after. Thus ended this honorable man—a good knight and a gentle, of great authority with his prince; of living somewhat dissolute; plain and open to his enemy and secret to his friend; easy to beguile, as he that of good heart and courage forestudied no perils; a loving man, and passing well beloved; very faithful, and trusty enough, trusting too much.

Now flew the fame of this lord’s death swiftly through the city, and so forth farther about, like a wind in every man’s ear. But the Protector immediately after dinner, intending to set some color upon the matter, sent in all the haste for many substantial men out of the city into the Tower; and at their coming, himself, with the Duke of Buckingham, stood harnessed in old, ill-faring brigandines, such as no man should ween that they would vouchsafe to have put upon their backs except that some sudden necessity had constrained them. And then the Protector showed them that the Lord Chamberlain and others of

1 therein: i.e., in that jeopardy
2 art thou remembered: do you remember  met: ran into
4–5 Thou . . . so: i.e., You would all the more want to say that
5 few know else: few others know  6 That . . . by: By that he meant
6–8 the lords . . . Pomfret: i.e., the group including Lord Rivers, the cause of the previous jeopardy  7 taken: imprisoned
8 wist: knew  nothing aware: had no idea  9 In faith: Truly  sorry: miserable
11 lo: look  12 merry: happy  13 surety: safety  14 in good surety: safe enough
17 gentle: noble (one)  19 authority: influence
19–20 plain and open to: straightforward and unreserved with
20 secret: uncommunicative  as he that: being one who
21 courage: disposition forestudied: anticipated  passing: exceedingly
22 faithful: loyal trusty: trustful / trustworthy  23 fame: word
25–26 set . . . matter: make the thing somehow seem justified
26 in all the haste: posthaste  substantial: respectable; of influence in society
27 himself: he himself
28 harnessed . . . brigandines: suited up in old, dilapidated pieces of armor
29 ween: suppose vouchsafe: deign  31 showed: told
his conspiracy had contrived to have suddenly destroyed him and the Duke there, the same day, in the Council. And what they intended further was as yet not well known. Of which their treason he never had knowledge before ten of the clock that same forenoon; [cf. Latin 52/27-8] which sudden fear drove them to put on for their defense such harness as came next to hand; and so had God helped them that the mischief turned upon them that would have done it. And this he required them to report.

Every man answered him fair, as though no man mistrusted the matter which of truth no man believed. Yet for the further appeasing of the people’s mind, he sent immediately after dinner, in all the haste, one herald of arms with a proclamation to be made through the city in the King’s name, containing that the Lord Hastings with divers others of his traitorous purpose had before conspired the same day to have slain the Lord Protector and the Duke of Buckingham sitting in the Council, and after to have taken upon them to rule the King and the realm at their pleasure, and thereby to pillage and despoil whom they list, uncontrolled. And much matter was there in the proclamation devised to the slander of the Lord Chamberlain, as that he was an evil counselor to the King’s father, enticing him to many things highly redounding to the diminishing of his honor and to the universal hurt of his realm, by his evil company, sinister procuring, and ungracious example, as well in many other things as in the vicious living and inordinate abuse of his body, both with many others and also specially with Shore’s wife, who was one also of his most secret counsel of this heinous treason, with whom he lay nightly, and namely the night last past, next before his death; so that it was the less marvel if ungracious living brought him to an unhappy ending—which he was now put unto by the most dread commandment of the King’s Highness and of his honorable and faithful Council, both for his demerits, being so openly taken in his falsely conceived treason, and also lest the delaying of his execution might have encouraged other mischievous persons, partners of his conspiracy, to gather and assemble themselves together in making some
great commotion for his deliverance; whose hope now being by his well-deserved death politicly repressed,[cf. Latin 54/2] all the realm should by God’s grace rest in good quiet and peace. Now was this proclamation made within two hours after that he was beheaded, and it was so curiously indited, and so fair written in parchment, in so well a set hand, and therewith of itself so long a process, that every child might well perceive that it was prepared before. For all the time between his death and the proclaiming could scant have sufficed unto the bare writing alone, all had it been but in paper and scribbled forth in haste, at adventure. So that upon the proclaiming thereof, one that was schoolmaster of Paul’s, of chance standing by, and comparing the shortness of the time with the length of the matter, said unto them that stood about him, “Here is a gay, goodly cast, foul cast away for haste.” And a merchant answered him that it was written by prophecy. Now then, by and by, as it were for anger, not for covetousness, the Protector sent into the house of Shore’s wife (for her husband dwelled not above the value of two or three thousand marks)—and sent her body to prison. And when he had a while laid unto her, for the manner sake, that she went about to bewitch him and that she was of counsel with the Lord Chamberlain to destroy him—in conclusion, when that no color could fasten upon these matters, then he laid heinously to her charge the thing that herself could not deny, that all the world wist was true, and that nevertheless every man laughed at to hear it then so suddenly so highly taken: that she was naught of her body. And for this cause—as a goodly, continent prince, clean and faultless of himself, sent out of heaven into this vicious world for the amendment of men’s manners—he caused [cf. Latin 54/27-30] the bishop of London to put her to open penance: going before the cross in procession upon a Sunday, with a taper in her hand.

In which she went in countenance and pace demure, so womanly, and albeit she was out of all array save her kirtle only, yet went she so fair and lovely, namely while the wondering of the people cast a comely rud in her cheeks

2 politicy: prudently 4 curiously indited: carefully worded; skillfully composed 4 after that: after 5 fair: neatly in: on so . . . hand: such a good ceremonious handwriting 5–6 therewith . . . process: moreover, in itself such a long discourse might: could 7 before: i.e., before the beheading scant: hardly 8 bare: mere all . . . paper: even if it had been just on paper 9 forth . . . adventure: out in a hurry, recklessly 10 one . . . Paul’s: i.e., a teacher at the school at St. Paul’s Cathedral 11 matter: thing 12 gay . . . cast: brilliant, splendid ruse foul . . . for: shamefully ruined by 13–14 by and by: immediately (after the reading of the proclamation) as: as though 17 two . . . marks: i.e., about £1,500–2,000; a considerable sum in those days 18 laid unto: charged against 18 for . . . sake: for the sake of legal protocol 20–21 no . . . matters: these things could not be made believable 21 laid . . . charge: charged against her as a high crime 22 herself: she herself all . . . wist: everyone in the world knew 23 highly: gravely 24 naught . . . body: sexually immoral goodly: admirable 25 continent: chaste clean . . . himself: himself pure and spotless 26 vicious: vice-ridden; immoral manners: ways 26–27 caused the bishop . . . to put: had the bishop . . . put open: public 27 the cross: i.e., the large cross outside St. Paul’s Cathedral 28 taper: candle 30–31 were . . . only: had nothing on but her undergown namely: especially 32 while: when wondering: i.e., stares and whisperings rud: redness
(of which she before had most miss), that her great shame won her much praise among those that were more amorous of her body than curious of her soul. And many good folk, also, that hated her living and glad were to see sin corrected, yet pitied they more her penance than rejoiced therein, when they considered that the Protector procured it of a corrupt intent than any virtuous affection. This woman was born in London, worshipfully friended, honestly brought up, and very well married, saving somewhat too soon; her husband an honest citizen, young and goodly and of good substance. But forasmuch as they were coupled ere she were well ripe, she not very fervently loved for whom she never longed. Which was haply the thing that the more easily made her incline unto the King’s appetite when he required her. Howbeit, the respect of his royalty—^[Latin 55/13-14] the hope of gay apparel, ease, pleasure, and other wanton wealth—was able soon to pierce a soft, tender heart. But when the King had abused her, anon her husband (as he was an honest man and one that could his good—not presuming to touch a King’s concubine), left her up to him altogether. ^[Latin 55/19-20]. When the King died, the Lord Chamberlain took her; which in the King’s days, albeit he was sore enamored upon her, yet he forbore her, either for reverence or for a certain friendly faithfulness. Proper she was and fair—^[Latin 55/22-23] nothing in her body that you would have changed, but if you would have wished her somewhat higher. ^[Latin 55/25]. Thus say they that knew her in her youth, albeit some that now see her (for yet she liveth) deem her never to have been well-visaged. Whose judgment seemeth me somewhat like as though men should guess the beauty of one long before departed, by her scalp taken out of the charnel house. For now is she old, lean, withered, and dried up, nothing left but riveled skin and hard bone. And yet, being even such, whoso well advise her visage might guess and devise which parts how

1 miss: lack  2 curious: solicitous  3 living: way of life  4 corrected: punished
5 procured it: brought it about  7 affection: motivation
8 worshipfully friended: befriended by persons in high places  honestly: respectably
9 honest: respectable  10 goodly: handsome  12 of good substance: well-to-do
11 well ripe: fully mature  13 incline unto: give in to
14 Howbeit: But be that as it may  15 respect: consideration
16 gay apparel: fancy clothes  17 gay: impressionable
18 upon: of  19 soft: impressionable  20 tender: immature
21 which: who  22 sore: very much  23 friendly faithfulness: i.e., fidelity to the King, based on friendship with him
24 higher: taller  25 but if: unless
26 higher: taller  27 yet . . . liveth: she is still living  28 to . . . well-visaged: to have had a pretty face
29 scalpel: skull  30 the charnel house: a building in which skulls and bones are piled up
31 riveled: wrinkled  32 whoso . . . visage: anyone who takes a good look at her face
32 devise: imagine
filled would make it a fair face. [cf. Latin 56/1-2] Yet delighted not men so much in her beauty as in her pleasant behavior. For a proper wit had she, and could both read well and write; merry in company, ready and quick of answer, neither mute nor full of babble, sometimes taunting—without displeasure and

Yet delighted not men so much in her beauty as in her pleasant behavior. For a proper wit had she, and could both read well and write; merry in company, ready and quick of answer, neither mute nor full of babble, sometimes taunting—without displeasure and

The King would say that he had three concubines which in three diverse properties diversely excelled: one the merriest, another the wiliest, the third the [cf. Latin 56/9] holiest harlot in his realm—as one whom no man could get out of the church lightly to any place but it were to his bed. [cf. Latin 56/10-11] The other two were somewhat greater personages, and nevertheless of their humility content to be nameless and to forbear the praise of those properties. But the merriest was this Shore’s wife, in whom the King therefore took special pleasure. For many he had, but her he loved; whose favor, to say the truth (for sin it were to belie the devil), she never abused to any man’s hurt, but to many a man’s comfort and relief. Where the King took displeasure, she would mitigate and appease his mind; where men were out of favor, she would bring them in his grace. For many that had highly offended, she obtained pardon. Of great forfeitures she got men remission. And finally, in many weighty suits she stood many men in great stead, either for none or very small rewards, and those rather gay than rich—either for that she was content with the deed itself well done, or for that she delighted to be sued unto and to show what she was able to do with the King, or for that wanton women and wealthy be not always covetous.

I doubt not some shall think this woman too slight a thing to be written of and set among the remembrances of great matters—which they shall especially think that haply shall esteem her only by that they now see her. But meseemeth the chance so much the more worthy to be remembered in how much she is now in the more beggarly condition, unfriended and worn out of acquaintance, after good substance, after as great favor with the prince,

1 fair: lovely  2 pleasant: pleasing  proper wit: fine mind  
3 merry in company: enjoyable to have around  4 displeasure: being offensive  
5 disport: being entertaining  6 which: who  7 merriest: most fun  
9 get . . . lightly: easily get out of the church  but: unless  
11 be nameless: go unnamed  12 properties: traits; characteristics  
14–15 sin . . . devil: it would be a sin to lie even about the devil  
15 abused: took advantage of; exploited  16 mitigate: mollify  
19 forfeitures: fines imposed as penalties for crimes  
20 suits: supplications, appeals (to the King)  
21 gay: showy; superficially attractive  rich: of monetary value  
22 sued: petitioned  24 wanton: loose  covetous: greedy  
29 that haply: who perhaps  esteem . . . that: assess her only by how  
29–30 meseemeth the chance: to me the case seems  
31–32 worn . . . acquaintance: left, by the passage of time, unknown  
32 substance: financial standing
after as great suit and seeking-to with all those that those days had business to
speed, as many other men were, in their times, which be now famous
only by the infamy of their ill deeds. [cf. Latin 57/6] Her doings were not much less,
although they be much less remembered because they were not so evil.

For men use, if they have an evil turn, to write it in marble; and whoso
doeth us a good turn, we write it in dust—which is not worst proved
by her,

^[Latin 57/7-10]

for at this day she beggeth of many at this day living, that
at this day had begged if she had not been.

Now ^[Latin 57/14] was it so devised by the Protector

and his council that the self day in which the
Lord Chamberlain was beheaded in the
Tower of London, and about the selfsame hour, was there (not without
his assent) beheaded at Pomfret the foreremembered lords and
knights ^[Latin 57/15] that were taken from the King at Northampton and Stony
Stratford. Which thing was done in the presence and by the order
of Sir Richard Radcliff, knight, whose
counsel and in the execution of such lawless enterprises, as a man that had
been long secret with him, having experience of the world and a shrewd wit,
short and rude in speech, rough and boisterous of behavior, bold in
mischief, as far from pity as from all fear of God. This knight—bringing
them out of the prison to the scaffold, and showing to the people about that
they were traitors (not suffering them to speak and declare their innocence,
lest their words might have inclined men to pity them and to
hate the Protector and his party)—caused them hastily, without judgment,
process, or manner of order, to be beheaded, and without other earthly guilt
but only that they were good men, too true to the King and too nigh to the
Queen. Now, when the Lord Chamberlain and these other lords and
knights were thus beheaded and rid out of the way, then thought the
Protector that—while men mused what the matter meant, while the lords of
the realm [cf. Latin 58/4] were about him, out of their own strengths, while no man
wist what to think nor whom to trust, ere ever they should have
space to dispute and digest the matter and make parties—it were best hastily
to pursue his purpose and put himself in possession of the crown, ere men
could have time to devise any ways to resist. But now was all the study
by what means this matter, being of itself so heinous, might be first
broken to the people in such wise that it might be well taken. To this
counsel [cf. Latin 58/12-13] they took divers, such as they thought meet to be trusted,
likely to be induced to that part, and able to stand them in stead—either by

Edmund Shaa, Mayor of London power or policy. Among whom they made
Mayor of London, which upon trust of his own advancement
division: strongholds
(whence he was, of a proud heart, highly desirous) should [cf. Latin 58/16] frame
the city to their appetite. Of spiritual men, they took such as had
wit and were in authority among the people for opinion of their

Doctor Shaa, Friar Penker learning, and had no scrupulous conscience.
Among these had they John Shaa—cleric, brother to the Mayor—and Friar Penker, Provincial of the Augustinian
friars; both doctors of divinity, both great preachers, both of more
learning than virtue, of more fame than learning. For they were
before greatly esteemed among the people; but after that, never. Of these
two, the one had a sermon in praise of the Protector before the

57/30—58/1 caused . . . beheaded: hastily had them beheaded, without a conviction or a
trial or any kind of established procedure
1 other earthly guilt: i.e., their having been guilty of anything else whatsoever
2 nigh: close  4 rid: gotten
5 mused . . . meant: i.e., were trying to figure out what was going on
6 strengths: strongholds    7 wist: knew
8 space: time dispute: discuss make parties: form alliances
9 purpose: goal 10 was all the study: the whole question was
11 matter: thing heinous: highly criminal 12 wise: a way
13 counsel: deliberation divers: several (men) meet: fit
14 induced . . . part: won over to that side stand them in stead: be of benefit to them
15 power: military force policy: political savvy
16—16 made of counsel: took into confidence 17 which: who
18—19 frame . . . appetite: bring the city into line with what they wanted
19 spiritual men: members of the clergy
20 wit: intelligence were in authority: had influence
20–21 for . . . learning: i.e., because of how erudite the people thought they were
22 John: actually, Ralph cleric: diocesan priest
23 Penker: Thomas Penker Provincial: superior of the local province
24 doctors of divinity: theologians 25 fame: renown 27 had: gave
coronation, the other after; both so full of tedious flattery that no man’s ears could abide them. Penker in his sermon so lost his voice that he was fain to leave off and come down in the midst.

Doctor Shaa by his sermon lost his honesty and soon after his life, for very shame of the world, into which he durst never after come abroad. But the friar forced for no shame, and so it harmed him the less. Howbeit, some doubt, and many think, that Penker was not of counsel of the matter before the coronation, but, after the common manner, fell to flattery after—namely since his sermon was not incontinent upon it, but at St. Mary’s Hospital at the Easter after. But certain is it that Doctor Shaa was of counsel in the beginning, so far forth that they determined that he should first break the matter, in a sermon at Paul’s Cross, in which he should by the authority of his preaching incline the people to the Protector’s ghostly purpose. But now was all the labor and study in the devise of some convenient pretext for which the people should be content to depose the Prince and accept the Protector for king. In which, divers things they devised. But the chief thing and the weighty of all that invention rested in this: that they should allege bastardy, either in King Edward himself or in his children, or both, so that he should seem disabled to inherit the crown by the Duke of York, and the Prince by him.

To lay bastardy in King Edward sounded openly to the rebuke of the Protector’s own mother, which was mother to them both; for in that point could be none other color but to pretend that his own mother was an adulteress—which, notwithstanding, to further this purpose he letted not. But nevertheless he would that point should be less, and more favorably, handled—not even fully plain and directly, but that the matter should be touched aslope, craftily, as though men spared in that point to speak all the truth, for fear of his displeasure. But the other point, concerning the bastardy that they devised to surmise in King Edward’s child—that would he should be openly declared, and enforced to the uttermost. [cf. Latin 60/1-2] The color and pretext whereof cannot be well...
perceived but if we first repeat you some things long before done, about King Edward’s marriage. After that King Edward IV had deposed King Henry VI and was in peaceable possession of the realm, determining himself to marry (as it was requisite both for himself and for the realm), he sent over in embassage the Earl of Warwick,  

*with other noblemen in his company,* unto Spain, to entreat and conclude a marriage between King Edward and the king’s daughter of Spain. In which thing the Earl of Warwick found the parties so toward and willing that he speedily, according to his instructions, without any difficulty, brought the matter to very good conclusion. Now happed it that in the mean season there came, to make a suit by petition to the King, Dame Elizabeth Grey (which was after his queen), at that time a widow  

*which was after his queen,*—born of noble blood, especially by her mother, *which was Duchess of Bedford ere she married the Lord Woodville, her father.* Howbeit, this Dame Elizabeth, herself being in service with Queen Margaret, wife unto King Henry VI, was married unto one John Grey, a squire  

*which was after his queen,* made humble suit unto the King in his embassage about the foreremembered marriage,  

[cf. Latin 60/24] this poor lady made humble suit unto the King  

*which was after his queen,* that she might be restored unto such small lands as her late husband had given her in jointure.

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1 *but if: unless repeat: relate to about: concerning After that: After*
2 *determining himself: making up his mind as: since requisite: needful*
3 *in embassage: as an ambassador*
4 5–6 the Earl of Warwick: i.e., Richard Neville, a cousin of Edward’s
5 *entreat: negotiate 8–9 the . . . Spain: the daughter of the king of Spain*
6 *toward: cooperative 11 any difficulty: a hitch*
7 12 mean season: meantime a suit: an appeal 14 which was after: who was later
8 *which: who 16 ere: before her: i.e., Elizabeth’s*
9 18 was: i.e., had been; was formerly 21 the field: i.e., the field of the battle
10 22 Shrove Tuesday: the day before Ash Wednesday
11 24 in his embassage: on his ambassadorial mission
12 25 foreremembered: aforementioned 30 restored unto: given back
13 31 in jointure: i.e., as community property to be hers in the event of his death. (These lands had been confiscated by Edward because of John Grey’s having sided with Henry against him.)
Whom when the King beheld and heard
her speak—as she was both fair, of a good favor, moderate of stature,
well made, and very wise—he not only pitied her but also waxed enamored
on her: ^[Latin 61/8-9]. And taking her afterward secretly aside, began to enter
in talking more familiarly.

Whose appetite when she perceived, she
virtuously denied him.
But that did she so wisely, and with so good manner,
and words so well set, that she rather kindled his desire than quenched
it. And finally, after many a meeting, much wooing, and many great
promises, [cf. Latin 61/18-20] she well espied the King’s affection toward her so greatly
increased that she durst somewhat the more boldly say her mind,
as to him whose heart she perceived
more firmly set than to fall off for a
word, ^[Latin 61/19-20]. And in conclusion she showed him plainly that as she wist herself
too simple to be his wife, so thought she herself too good to be his
concubine. The King, much marveling of her constancy, as he that had
not been wont elsewhere to be so stiffly said nay, so much
esteemed her continence and chastity ^[Latin 61/27] that he set her virtue in the
stead of possession and riches. And thus taking counsel of his desire,
determined in all possible haste to marry her. And after he was thus
appointed, and had between them twain ensured her,

then asked he
counsel of his other friends, and that in such manner as they might easily
perceive it booted not greatly to say nay.

The King’s mother
Notwithstanding, the Duchess of York, his

6 fair: beautiful     of a good favor: charming     stature: height
7 well made: possessed of a good figure     pitied: took pity on
7–8 waxed . . . on: grew enamored of
15 Whose . . . perceived: When she realized what he wanted
16 with . . . manner: with such tactfulness
17 set: chosen and phrased     affection toward: feelings for
21 durst: dared     say: speak
23 in . . . plainly: finally she told him straight out     wist: knew
24 simple: low-born
25 of her constancy: at her firmness     as he that: he being one who
26 so . . . nay: so inflexibly said no to
30 appointed: decided     them twain: the two of them     ensured: become engaged to
34 booted . . . nay: would not do much good to say no
mother, was so sore moved therewith that she dissuaded the marriage [cf. Latin 62/1] as much as she possibly might, alleging that it was his honor, profit, and surety also, to marry in a noble progeny out of his realm—whereupon depended great strength to his estate by the affinity, and great possibility of increase of his possessions—[cf. Latin 62/27-33] and that he could not well otherwise do, standing that the Earl of Warwick had so far moved already; which were not likely to take it well if all his voyage were in such wise frustrated and his appointments deluded. And she said also that it was not princely to marry his own subject, no great occasion leading thereunto, no possessions or other commodities depending thereupon, but only ^[Latin 62/13] as it were a rich man that would marry his maid, only for a little wanton dotage upon her person. In which marriage many more commend the maiden’s fortune than the master’s wisdom. And yet therein, she said, was more honesty, than honor in this marriage, forasmuch as there is between no merchant and his own maid so great difference as between the king and this widow. In whose person, albeit there was nothing to be disliked, yet was there, she said, “nothing so excellent but that it might be found in divers others that were more meet,” quoth she, “for your estate, and maidens also; ^[Latin 62/19-24]

whereas the only widowhood of Elizabeth Grey, though she were in all other things convenient for you, should yet suffice, as meseemeth, to refrain you from her marriage, since it is an unsitting thing—and a very blemish, and high disparagement—to the sacred majesty of a prince, that ought as nigh to approach priesthood in cleanness as he doth in dignity, to be defouled with bigamy in his first marriage.” ^[Latin 62/27-33: placed earlier in English, at 62/5-8]

1 sore moved: extremely perturbed dissuaded: discouraged
2 might: could alleging: arguing
2–3 was . . . out: i.e., would increase his honor, wealth, and security as well, to marry into a royal lineage outside
3 great . . . estate: a great strengthening of his position
4 affinity: relationship with the in-laws
5 standing: considering so far moved: gotten so far with his negotiations
6 which were: who was all his voyage: his whole undertaking wise: a way
7 frustrated: brought to nothing appointments deluded: arrangements made a mockery of
8 occasion: circumstance; consideration commodities: advantages
9 as it were: as if it were wanton . . . person: lascivious doting upon her body
10 the master’s: i.e., her employer’s
11 therein: i.e., in the marriage between the rich man and his maid
12 more . . . honor: more respectability than there was honor
13 In . . . person: In whom as a person disliked: disapproved of
14 that were: who would be
15 meet: appropriate estate: position; rank maidens: virgins the only: just the
16 though: even if convenient: suitable meseemeth: it seems to me
17 25–26 refrain . . . marriage: keep you from marrying her unsitting: unbecoming
18 27–28 high disparagement: serious degradation cleanness: chastity defouled: polluted
19 bigamy: marriage involving a widowed person. (A man who had been married twice could not become a priest.)
The King’s answer to his mother

The King, when his mother had said, made her answer, part in earnest, part in play, merrily, as he that wist himself out of her rule. And albeit he would gladly that she should take it well, yet was at a point in his own mind took she it well or otherwise. Howbeit, somewhat to satisfy her, he said that albeit marriage, being a spiritual thing, ought [cf. Latin 63/5] rather to be made for the respect of God, where his grace inclineth the parties to love together, as he trusted it was in his, than for the regard of any temporal advantage—yet nevertheless him seemed that this marriage [cf. Latin 63/7-9] even worldly considered was not unprofitable. For he reckoned the amity of no earthly nation so necessary for him as the friendship of his own; which he thought likely to bear him so much the more hearty favor in that he disdained not to marry with one of his own land. And yet if outward alliance were thought so requisite, ^[Latin 63/13-14]

he would find the means to enter thereinto much better by others of his kin, where all the parties could be contented, than to marry himself whom he should haply never love, ^[Latin 63/17] and for the possibility of more possessions lose the fruit and pleasure of this that he had already [cf. Latin 63/20-21] For small pleasure taketh a man of all that ever he hath beside, if he be wived against his appetite.

[cf. Latin 63/21-24: placed later in English, at 64/3-6].

“And I doubt not,” quoth he, “but there be, as ye say, others that be in every point comparable with her ^[Latin 63/26]. And therefore I let not them that like them to wed them. No more is it reason that it mislike any man that I marry where it liketh me. And I am sure that my cousin of Warwick ^[Latin 63/29-30]

neither loveth me so little to grudge at that I love, nor is so unreasonable to look that I should in choice of a wife rather be ruled by his eye than by mine own—as though I were a ward that were bound to

1 said: finished speaking  1–2 made her answer: gave her an answer
3 merrily: facetiously  wist: knew  out of her rule: no longer under her authority
3–4 would . . . should: would gladly have her  was . . . mind: (he) had his mind made up
6–7 for . . . God: with consideration to God  love together: love each other
9 him seemed: to him it seemed  worldly considered: considered from a worldly perspective
10 no . . . nation: no nation on earth  13 marry . . . of: marry someone from  yet: even
13 outward alliance: union (through marriage) with some foreign entity
14 requisite: needful  17 by . . . kin: by way of relatives of his (marrying foreigners)
17 contended: made happy  18 whom: someone whom  haply: perhaps
19 fruit: benefit  20 beside: otherwise  21 appetite: inclination
26–27 I . . . them: i.e., those who like them can marry them, I not standing in their way
27 reason: reasonable  28 dislike: displease  it . . . me: I so please
31 to . . . love: as to resent that I am in love  32 to look: as to expect
marry by the appointment of a guardian! I would not be a king with that
c Condition—[cf. Latin 64/1] to forbear mine own liberty in choice of my own marriage.
[cf. Latin 63/21-24] As for possibility of more inheritance by new affinity in strange
lands, is often the occasion of more trouble than profit. And we have
already title by that means to so much as sufficeth to get and keep well in
one man’s days.

> [Latin 64/6-10]

That she is a widow and hath already children—by God’s
blessed Lady, I am a bachelor and have some too! And so each of us hath
a proof that neither of us is likely to be barren. >[Latin 64/13-14]
And therefore, madam, I pray
you be content;

> [Latin 64/15-17] I trust in God she shall bring forth a young prince that
shall please you. [cf. Latin 64/6-10: placed later in English]: And as for the bigamy, let the
bishop hardly lay it in my way when I come to take Orders. For I understand it is forbidden
a priest, but I never wist it yet that it was forbidden a prince.” The
Duchess with these words nothing appeased, and seeing the King so set
thereon that she could not pull him back, [cf. Latin 64/22-23] so highly she disdained
it that, under pretext of her duty to Godward, she devised
to disturb this marriage, and rather to help that he should marry one
Dame Elizabeth Lucy, whom the King had
also, not long before, gotten with child.

> [Latin 64/26-27]

Wherefore the King’s mother objected openly against his marriage,
as it were in discharge of her conscience, that the King was sure
to Dame Elizabeth Lucy, and her 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, [cf. Latin 64/30-31] proceed to the solemnization
of this wedding till these same were clearly purged and the truth
well and openly testified. Whereupon Dame Elizabeth Lucy was sent for.
And albeit that she was by the King’s mother and many others put in good

1 appointment: arrangement  2 forbear: give up
3–4 by new affinity: via the acquiring of new in-laws in foreign lands
4 is . . . profit: that often causes more trouble than it’s worth
12–13 pray . . . content: ask you to be happy
17 hardly: by all means  18 take Orders: receive Holy Orders
19 I . . . yet: I never yet heard  20 nothing: not at all
21 disdained: was offended by  22 to Godward: toward God  devised: schemed
23 disturb: block  27 objected . . . against: openly put up as an objection to
25 also: i.e., in addition to all the other women who had proved he was unlikely to be barren
27 objected . . . marriage: publicly put forward as an objection to his marriage
28 as . . . conscience: as if to get it off her conscience  sure: betrothed; solemnly promised
29 before: in the eyes of  30 words: statements (of hers)  31 durst: dared
32 these same: i.e., words; statements  purged: proved unfounded
33 testified: attested
comfort to affirm that she was ensured unto the King, yet when she was solemnly sworn to say the truth, she confessed that they were never ensured. Howbeit, she said His Grace spoke so loving words unto her that she verily hoped he would have married her. [cf. Latin 65/4-5] And that if it had not been for such kind words, she would never have shown such kindness to him, to let him so kindly get her with child. This examination solemnly taken, when it was clearly perceived that there was none impediment, the King with great feast and honorable solemnity married Dame Elizabeth Grey, and her crowned queen that was his enemy’s wife and many times had prayed full heartily for his loss. In which God loved her better than to grant her her boon.

But when the Earl of Warwick understood of this marriage, he took it so highly that his embassage was deluded that for very anger and disdain he at his return assembled a great puissance against the King. [cf. Latin 65/14] and came so fast upon him, ere he could be able to resist, that he was fain to void the realm and flee into Holland for succor.

[cf. Latin 65/23-24: placed earlier in English]: Where he remained for the space of two years, leaving his new wife in Westminster, in sanctuary, where she was delivered of Edward, the prince of whom we before have spoken. In which meantime the Earl of Warwick took out of prison and set up again King Henry VI, which was before by King Edward deposed—and that muchwhat by the power of the Earl of Warwick, which was a wise man and a courageous warrior, and of such strength, what for his lands, his alliance, and favor with all the people, that he made kings and put down kings almost at his pleasure, and not impossible to have attained it himself, if he had not reckoned it a greater thing to make a
king than to be a king. [cf. Latin 65/22] But nothing lasteth always; for in conclusion
King Edward returned, and, with much less number than he had, at
Barnet [cf. Latin 66/4-5] on the Easter Day field slew the Earl
of Warwick with many other great estates of
that party, and so stably attained the crown again that he peaceably
enjoyed it until his dying day, and in such plight left it that it could
not be lost—but by the discord of his very friends, or falsehood of his
feigned friends.

I have rehearsed this business about this marriage somewhat the more
at length because it might thereby the better appear [cf. Latin 66/11-12] upon how slippery a
ground the Protector built his color by which he pretended King
Edward’s children to be bastards. But that invention, simple as it
was, it liked [cf. Latin 66/13] them to whom it sufficed to have somewhat to say, while
they were sure to be compelled to no larger proof than themselves list
to make. Now then, as I began to show you, it was by the Protector and
Doctor Shaa’s sermon
his council concluded that this Doctor
Shaa should in a sermon at Paul’s Cross
signify to the people that neither King Edward himself nor the
Duke of Clarence were lawfully begotten, nor were not the
very children of the Duke of York, but begotten unlawfully by other
persons by the adultery of the Duchess, their mother. And that, also, Dame
Elizabeth Lucy was verily the wife of King Edward, and so the Prince
and all his children bastards that were begotten upon the Queen,
^[Latin 66/24].

According to this device, Doctor Shaa the Sunday after at Paul’s
Cross, in a great audience (as always assembled great number to his
preaching), he took for his theme [= Latin] “Spuria vitulamina non agent
radices altas,” that is to say, “Bastard slips shall never take deep root.” Thereupon
when he had shown the great grace that God giveth and secretly
infoundeth in right generation after the laws of matrimony, then
declared he that commonly those children lacked that grace, and for the
punishment of their parents were for the more part unhappy, which
were begotten in bastardy, and especially in adultery. Of which though
some, [cf. Latin 66/34-67/1] by the ignorance of the world and the truth hid from
knowledge

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1 always: forever 2 he: i.e., the Earl 4 estates: high-ranking men
6 plight: condition 7 but: except very: true falsehood: treachery
9 rehearsed: related 10 because: so that
11 color: pretext by on pretended: alleged
12 invention: fabrication simple: ridiculous
13 liked them: suited those somewhat: something while: when
14–15 no . . . make: make no more of a proof than they themselves wished to
15 began . . . you: started to tell you
17 Paul’s Cross: a pulpit (with a large cross on top) outside St. Paul’s Cathedral
18 signify: declare 20 very: true; biological
23 all . . . Queen: i.e., all the other children that Edward had by the Queen were bastards
25 According . . . device: Going along with this scheme after: i.e., after the execution
of Lord Chamberlain Hastings 26 great number: a great number of people
28 “Bastard . . . root”: See Wisdom 4:3. slips: offspring
29 shown: set forth; expounded secretly: in some mysterious way
30 infoundeth: infuses after: according to
32 for . . . part: in the majority of cases unhappy: unfortunate
33 which: whom 34 hid: being hidden
inherited for the season other men’s lands, yet God always so provideth that it continueth not in their blood long, but, the truth coming to light, the rightful inheritors be restored ^[Latin 67/3] and the bastard slip pulled up ere it can be rooted deep. And when he had laid for the proof and confirmation of this sentence certain examples 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 York, calling him “father to the Lord Protector,” and declared the title of his heirs unto the crown, to whom it was, after the death of King Henry VI, entailed [cf. Latin 67/8] by authority of Parliament. Then showed he that his very right heir, of his body lawfully begotten, was only the Lord Protector. For he declared then that King Edward was never lawfully married unto the Queen, but was before God husband unto Dame Elizabeth Lucy, ^[Latin 67/14-23]

and so his children bastards.

And besides that, neither King Edward himself nor the Duke of Clarence among those that were secret in the household were reckoned very surely for the children of the noble duke, as those that [cf. Latin 67/25] by their favors more resembled other known men than him—from whose virtuous conditions he said also that King Edward was far off. But the Lord Protector, he said, “that very noble prince, that special pattern of knightly prowess, as well in all princely behavior as in the lineaments and favor of his visage” represented “the very face of the noble duke his father.” “This is,” quoth he, “the father’s own figure; this is his own countenance, the very print of his visage, the sure, undoubted image, the plain, express likeness of that noble duke.” Now was it before devised that in the speaking of these words

1 the season: i.e., the time in which the truth about their paternity was not known
5 laid: submitted 6 proof: bearing out sentence: scriptural text
6–7 out of: from histories: accounts 8 descend into: home in on
9 declared: explained his: i.e., Edward’s title: entitlement
11 showed: announced his: i.e., Edward’s
12 very right: true rightful only: solely
13 declared: explained 14 before: in the eyes of
23–24 that . . . household: i.e., those in the household who were in the know
25 as . . . resembled: i.e., since they looked more like
26 known: well-known conditions: dispositions; mentalities
28 descend into: home in on
29 lineaments: features favor: attractiveness visage: face represented: manifested
33 before devised: previously planned
the Protector should have come in among the people to the sermonward, to the end that those words meeting with his presence might have been taken among the hearers as though [cf. Latin 68/2] the Holy Ghost had put them in the preacher’s mouth, and should have moved the people even there to cry “King Richard! King Richard!”—that it might have been after said that he was specially chosen by God and, in manner, by miracle. But this device [cf. Latin 68/6] quailed, either by the Protector’s negligence or the preacher’s overmuch diligence. For while the Protector found by the way tarrying lest he should prevent those words, and the Doctor, fearing that he should come ere his sermon could come to those words, hastened his matter thereto—he was come to them and past them and entered into other matters ere the Protector came. Whom when he beheld coming, he suddenly left the matter with which he was in hand and, without any deduction thereunto, out of all order and out of all frame, began to repeat those words again: “This is the very noble prince, the special pattern of knightly prowess, which as well in all princely behavior as in the lineaments and favor of his visage representeth the very face of the noble duke of York his father. This is the father’s own figure, this his own countenance, the very print of his visage, the sure, undoubted image, the plain, express likeness of the noble duke, whose remembrance can never die while he liveth.” While these words were in speaking, the Protector, accompanied with the Duke of Buckingham, went through the people into the place where the doctors commonly stand, in the upper story, where he stood to hearken the sermon. But the people were so far from crying “King Richard!” that they stood as they had been turned into stones, for wonder of this shameful sermon. After which once ended, the preacher got him home and never after durst look out, for shame, but kept him out of sight, like an owl. And when he once asked one that had been his old friend what the people talked of him, all were it that his own conscience well showed him that they talked no good, yet when the other answered him that there was in every man’s mouth spoken of him much shame, it so struck him to the heart that, within few days after, he withered and consumed away.

^[Latin 69/34-69/1]
Then [cf. Latin 69/1-2] on the Tuesday following this sermon, there came unto the Guildhall in London ^[Latin 69/4-5], the Duke of Buckingham, accompanied with divers lords and knights, more than haply knew the message that they brought. And there—in the east end of the hall (where the Mayor keepeth the hustings), the Mayor and all the aldermen being assembled about him, all the commons of the city gathered before them—after silence commanded (upon great pain) in the Protector's name, the Duke stood up, and (as he was neither unlearned and of nature marvelously well-spoken) he said unto the people, with a clear and a loud voice, in this manner of wise:

The Duke of Buckingham's oration

"Friends, for the zeal and hearty favor that we bear you, we are come to break unto you of a matter right great and weighty, and no less weighty than pleasing unto God and profitable to all the realm; nor to no part of the realm more profitable than to you, the citizens of this noble city. For why? That thing that we wot well ye have long time lacked and sorely longed for, that ye would have given great good for, that ye would have gone far to fetch—that thing we be come hither to bring you, without your labor, pain, cost, adventure, or jeopardy. What thing is that? Certes, the surety of your own bodies, the quiet of your wives and your daughters, the safeguard of your goods—of all which things in times past ye stood evermore in doubt. For who was there of you all that would reckon himself lord of his own goods, among so many grins and traps as was set therefor, among so much pilling and polling, among so many taxes and tallages, of which there was never end and oftentimes no need—or if any were, it rather grew of riot and unreasonable waste than any necessary or honorable charge. So that there was daily pilled, from good men and honest, great substance of goods to be lashed out among unthrifts, so far forth that fifteenths sufficed not—nor any usual names of known taxes—but under an easy name of 'benevolence and good will,' the commissioners so much of every
man took as no man would of his good will have given. As though the
name of ‘benevolence’ had signified that every man should pay, not
what himself of his good will list to grant, but what the King of his
good will list to take! Which never asked little, [cf. Latin 70/5-11] but everything
was hawsed above the measure: amercements turned into fines, fines into
ransoms, small trespass to misprision, misprision into treason.

5

Whereof, I think, no man looketh that we should remember you of examples by
name—as though Burdet were forgotten,
that was for a word spoken in haste ^[Latin 70/13-14] cruelly
beheaded, by the misconstruing of the laws of this realm for the
prince’s pleasure; with no less honor to
Markham, then Chief Justice, that left his
office rather than he would assent to that judgment, than to the
dishonesty of those that, either for fear or flattery, gave that judgment.
20

alderman and mayor of this noble city!

[^Latin 70/20-22] Who is of you either so negligent that he knoweth not, or so forgetful that he
remembereth not, or so hard-hearted that he pitieth not, that worshipful
man’s loss—what speak we of loss? [cf. Latin 70/24-26] his utter spoil, and undeserved
destruction—only for that it happed those to favor him whom the
prince favored not! We need not, I suppose, to rehearse of these any more
by name, since there be, I doubt not, many here present that either in
themselves or their nigh friends have known as well their goods as
their persons greatly endangered, ^[Latin 70/29] either by feigned quarrels or small

2 name of: term signified: meant 3 himself: he himself 3, 4 list: chose
4 Which: Who 5 hawsed: hoisted measure: limit
5 amercements: discretionary penalties (generally lighter than fixed fines)
6 ransoms: fees for pardons small trespass: misdemeanor
6 misprision: an offense similar to treason, but not punishable by death
12 looketh: expects remember you of: call to your mind
14, 17, 19, 29 that: who 18–19 to the dishonesty of: dishonor to
21, 25 worshipful: honorable 23–24 Who is of you: Who among you is
26 what: why spoil: despoliation
27 it . . . whom: i.e., he happened to be favored by people whom
28 rehearse . . . more: mention any more of these 30 nigh: close
31 feigned quarrels: trumped-up charges
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matters aggrieved with heinous names. And also there was no crime so
great, of which there could lack a pretext. For since the King, preventing
the time of his inheritance, attained the crown by battle, it sufficed
in a rich man for a pretext of treason to have been of kindred or alliance,

*Open war*

[cf. Latin 71/9; placed later in English at 71/24] besides

the common adventure of open war, which

albeit that it is ever the well and occasion of much mischief, [cf. Latin 71/11-14] yet is it

*never so mischievous as where any people fall at distance among themselves,*

nor in *none earthly nation so deadly and so pestilent as when it happeneth among us,* and among us *never so long-continued dissension,*

*neither your goods in surety,* and yet they

*brought your bodies in jeopardy*—

*besides the common adventure of open war, which*

in whose time and by whose occasion, what about *the getting of the garland,* keeping it, losing and winning again, it hath cost more English

blood than hath twice the winning of France. [cf. Latin 71/13-14]

*In which inward war among ourselves hath been so great effusion of the ancient noble blood of this realm that scarcely the half remaineth,* to the great enfeebling

of this noble land, besides many a good town ransacked and despoiled

by them that have been going to the field or coming from thence. [cf. Latin 71/9]

And peace long after *not much surer than war,* [cf. Latin 71/24-25]

*So that no time was there in which rich men for their money, and great men for their lands,*

*or some others for some fear or some displeasure, were not out of peril.*

For whom trusted he that mistrusted his own brother? Whom spared he

that killed his own brother? Or who could perfectly love him, if his own

brother could not? *What manner of folk he most favored, we shall,*

*for his honor, spare to speak of.* Howbeit, this wot you well all: *that whose was best bore always least rule,* and more suit was in his days

unto Shore’s wife, a vile and abominable strumpet, than to all the lords in England—except unto those that made her her proctor—

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1 agrieved: aggravated  heinous names: i.e., names of more serious offenses
2 crime: charge 2 of: for  since: ever since  preventing: jumping the gun on
4 of treason: i.e., upon which to accuse him of treason  alliance: connection by marriage
5 near: close  leger: slight
7–8 were . . . jeopardy: i.e., not only were your goods not safe, but they even put you in
physical danger 9 adventure: peril 10 well: wellspring  mischievous: harm
11 mischievous: harmful at distance: into alienation
12 none . . . nation: no (other) nation on earth
14 in the season: for the duration 15 the . . . is: the days of the deceased king
16 by whose occasion: on account of whose actions 17 garland: i.e., crown
18 inward: internal 20 effusion: shedding 22 spoiled: plundered
23 field: battlefield  from thence: (back) from there
24 long after: for a long time after  not . . . surer: i.e., not affording much more security
25, 26 for: on account of  26 out of: made of; i.e., in extreme
27–29 he . . . his . . . him: i.e., Edward(’s) brother: i.e., George, Duke of Clarence
30 for his honor: out of respect for him  this . . . all: this you all well know
31 whose: whoever  more suit was: i.e., more resort for the making of appeals was made
33 proctor: advocate
which simple woman was well-named and honest till the King for his
wanton lust and sinful affection bereft her from her husband, a right
honest, substantial young man among you. And in that point—which in
good faith I am sorry to speak of, saving that it is in vain to keep in
counsel that thing that all men know—the King’s greedy appetite was
insatiable, and [cf. Latin 72/6] everywhere over all the realm intolerable. For no
woman was there anywhere, young or old, rich or poor, whom he set
his eye upon, in whom he anything liked, either person or favor,
speech, pace, or countenance, but without any fear of God or respect of
his honor, murmur or grudge of the world, he would importantly
pursue his appetite and have her; to the great destruction of
many a good woman, and great dolor to their husband and their
other friends which, being honest people of themselves, so much
regard the cleanness of their house, the chastity of their wives and their
children, that them were liefer to lose all that they have beside than
to have such a villainy done them. And, all were it that with this and
other importable dealing the realm was in every part annoyed, yet
especially ye here, the citizens of this noble city—as well for that among
you is most plenty of all such things as minister matter to such
injuries as for that you were nearest at hand, [cf. Latin 72/19-20] since that near hereabout
was commonly his most abiding. And yet be ye the people whom
he had as singular cause well and kindly to treat as any part of
London, the King's special chamber
his realm—not only for that the prince by
this noble city (as his special chamber and
the specially well-renowned city of his
realm) much honorable fame receiveth among all other nations, but
also for that ye, not without your great cost and sundry perils and
jeopardies in all his wars, bore ever your special favor to his party.
Which—your kind minds borne to the house of York—since he hath
nothing worthily acquitted,[cf.Lat.72/27]there is of that house that now, by God's grace,
better shall; which thing to show you is the whole sum and effect of
this our present errand. ^[Latin 72/28-29]
It shall not, I wot well, need that I rehearse you

1 simple: ordinary, undistinguished was . . . honest: had a good name and was honorable
2 wanton: uncontrolled affection: passion bereft: stole
3 honest: honorable substantial: well-to-do 3–4 in good faith: in all sincerity
counsel: confidence appetite: desire, lust 8 person: figure favor: facial looks
9 speech: manner of speaking pace: walk countenance: demeanor
9–10 respect . . . world: i.e., concern for his good name, or about everyone’s criticizing
and resenting him
11 his appetite: the object of his desire 12 dolor: sorrow
13 friends: loved ones being . . . themselves: themselves being upstanding people
14 house: household; family
15 them were liefer: to them it would be preferable beside: otherwise
16 villainy: dishonor 17 importable dealing: intolerable behavior annoyed: injured
19 minister matter to: furnish occasion for
20–21 near . . . abiding: he usually stayed mostly around here
22 well and: good and; very 24 chamber: place of royal residence
29 kind minds: sympathies; allegiances
30 nothing: not at all acquitted: requited that now: someone who now
31 show: make known to 32 errand: mission
33 wot well: well realize need: be necessary rehearse: relate to
again that ye have already heard of [cf. Latin 73/1] him that can better tell it, and of whom, I am sure, ye will better believe it. And reason is that it so be.

I am not so proud to look therefor—that ye should reckon my words of as great authority as the preacher’s of the word of God, namely a man so cunning and so wise that no man better wotteth what he should say, and thereto so good and virtuous that he would not say the thing which he wist he should not say, in the pulpit namely, into which none honest man cometh to lie. Which honorable preacher, ye well remember, substantially declared unto you, at Paul’s Cross on Sunday last past, the right and title that the most excellent prince Richard, Duke of Gloucester, now Protector of this realm, hath unto the crown and kingdom of the same. *[Latin 73/10-12].

For as that worshipful man groundly made open unto you, the children of King Edward IV were never lawfully begotten, forasmuch as the King (living his very wife, Dame Elizabeth Lucy) was never lawfully married unto the Queen, their mother—whose blood, saving that he set his voluptuous pleasure before his honor, was full unmeet to be matched with his, and the mingling of whose bloods together hath been the effusion of great part of the noble blood of this realm. Whereby it may well seem that marriage not well made, of which there is so much mischief grown. For lack of which lawful coupling, and also of other things (which the said worshipful doctor rather signified than fully explained, and which things shall not be spoken for me, as the thing wherein every man forbeareth to say that he knoweth, in avoiding displeasure of my noble Lord Protector, bearing, as nature requireth, a filial reverence to the Duchess, his mother);

for these causes, I say, before remembered—that is to wit, for lack of other issue lawfully coming of the late noble prince Richard, Duke of York, to whose royal blood the crown of England and of France is by the high authority of Parliament entailed—the right and title of the same is, by the just course of inheritance, according
to the common law of this land, devolved and come unto the most excellent prince the Lord Protector, as to the very lawfully begotten son of the foreremembered noble duke of York. Which thing well considered, and the great knightly prowess pondered, with manifold virtues which in his noble person singularly abound, the nobles and commons also of this realm ([cf. Latin 74/4] and especially of the north parts), not willing any bastard blood to have the rule of the land, nor the abusions before in the same used any longer to continue, have condescended and fully determined to make humble petition unto the most puissant prince the Lord Protector that it may like His Grace, at our humble request, to take upon him the guiding and governance of this realm, to the wealth and increase of the same, according to his very right and just title. Which thing, I wot it well, he will be loath to take upon him, as he whose wisdom well perceiveth the labor and study both of mind and of body that shall come therewith to whosoever so well occupy that room as I dare say he will if he take it. Which room, I warn you well, is no child’s office. And that the great wise man well perceived when he said, ‘Vae regno cuius rex puer est’ (‘Woe is that realm that hath a child to their king’). Wherefore, so much the more cause have we to thank God that this noble personage, which is so righteously entitled thereunto, is of so sad age, and thereto of so great wisdom joined with so great experience; which albeit he will be loath, as I have said, to take it upon him, yet shall he to our petition in that behalf the more graciously incline if ye, the worshipful citizens of this the chief city of this realm, join with us, the nobles, in our said request. Which [cf. Latin 74/27] for your own weal we doubt not but ye will; and nevertheless I heartily pray you so to do, whereby you shall do great profit to all this realm beside, in choosing them so good a king, and unto yourselves special commodity, [cf. Latin 74/33] to whom His Majesty shall ever after bear so much the more tender favor, in how much he shall perceive you the more prone and benevolently minded toward his election. Wherein, dear friends, what mind you have, we require you plainly to show us.” When the Duke
had said—and looked that the people, whom he hoped the Mayor had framed before, should after this proposition made have cried “King Richard! King Richard!”—^[Latin 75/3] all was hushed and mute, and not one word answered thereunto. [cf. Latin 75/4] Wherewith the Duke was marvelously abashed, and taking the Mayor nearer to him, with others that were about him privy to that matter, said unto them softly, “What meaneth this, that these people be so still?” “Sir,” quoth the Mayor, “percace they perceive you not well.” “That shall we amend,” quoth he, “if that will help.” And by and by, somewhat louder, he rehearsed them the same matter again in other order and other words, so well and ornately, and nevertheless so evidently and plainly, with voice, gesture, and countenance so comely and so convenient, that every man much marveled that heard him, and thought that they never had in their lives heard so evil a tale so well told. But, were it for wonder or fear, or that each looked that other should speak first, not one word was there answered of all the people that stood before, [cf. Latin 75/29] but all was as still as the midnight—^[Latin 75/21-23] not so much as rounding among them, by which they might seem to commune what was best to do. When the Mayor saw this, he with other partners of that counsel drew about the Duke and said that the people had not been accustomed there to be spoken unto “but by the Recorder, which is the mouth of the city; and haply to him they will answer.” ^[Latin 75/19-21]. With that, the Recorder, ^[Latin 75/ 21-23] Fitzwilliam, a sad man called [cf. Latin 75/23] and an honest, which was so newly come into he never had spoken to the people before—and loath was with that matter to begin—notwithstanding, thereunto commanded by the Mayor, made rehearsal to the commons of that the Duke had twice rehearsed them himself. But the Recorder so tempered his tale that he showed everything as the Duke’s words and no part his own. But all this nothing no change made in the people, which always, after one, stood as they had been men amazed. Whereupon the Duke ^[Latin 75/31-32] rounded unto the

1 said: finished speaking  looked: expected  2 framed: brought into line 4–5 marvelously abashed: extremely disconcerted 5–6 that . . . matter: others around him who were in on that affair 7 percace: perhaps  8 perceive . . . well: don’t quite understand you  amend: remedy 9 by and by: immediately  9–10 rehearsed . . . matter: told them the same things 10 other order: a different order  well and ornately: very elaborately  11 evidently: clearly 11 countenance: look on his face  12 comely: decorous  convenient: fitting 14 wonder: astonishment  14–15 each . . . should: each expected someone else to 16 of all: i.e., by any of  before: i.e., in front of the Duke 17 rounding: whispering  18 commune: be conferring as to 19 partners . . . counsel: accomplices in that scheme  21 which: who  mouth: spokesman 21 haply: perhaps  24 called: named  sad: sober; dignified  25 honest: honorable 28 rehearsal: report  commons: commoners that: that which 29 rehearsed them: reported to them  tempered: managed  tale: telling 30 showed: presented 31 nothing no change made: made no change whatsoever  after: as  32 as: as if 32 amazed: stunned (as by a blow on the head)  33 rounded unto: turned around to
Mayor and said, “This is a marvelous obstinate silence”; and therewith
he turned unto the people again, with these words: [cf. Latin 76/1] “Dear friends, we
come to move you to that thing—which peradventure we not so greatly
needed but that the lords of this realm and the commons of other
parts might have sufficed, saving that we such love bear you, and
so much set by you, that we would not gladly do without you
that thing—in which to be partners is your weal and honor; which, as
it seemeth, either you see not or weigh not. Wherefore we require you give
us answer one or other: whether you be minded as all the nobles of
the realm be—to have [cf. Latin 76/9] this noble prince, now Protector, to be your
king—or not.”

^[Latin 76/11-12]

At these words the people began to whisper among
themselves secretly, that the voice was neither loud nor distinct, but,
as it were, the sound of a swarm of bees; [cf. Latin 76/15-23] till at the last, in the nether
end of the hall, a bushment of the Duke’s servants and Nashfield’s,
and others belonging to the Protector, with some apprentices and lads
that thrust into the hall among the press. *[Latin 76/22-23] began suddenly at men’s
backs to cry out as loud as their throats would give, “King
Richard! King Richard!”—and threw up their caps in token of
joy. And they that stood before cast back their heads, marveling
thereof; but nothing they said.

And when the Duke and the Mayor

^[Latin 76/23-24]

saw this manner, they wisely turned it to their purpose and said it
was a goodly cry and a joyful to hear, every man with one voice, no
man saying nay. “Wherefore, friends,” quoth the Duke, “since that we
perceive it is all your whole minds to have this noble man for your
king, whereof we shall make His Grace so effectual report that we
doubt not but it shall redound unto your great weal and commodity,
we require ye that ye tomorrow go with us, and we with you,
unto his noble Grace, to make our humble request unto him in manner
before remembered.” And therewith the lords came down, [cf. Latin 77/1] and the company dissolved and departed, the more part all sad, some with glad semblance that were not very merry; and some of those that came thither with the Duke, not able to dissemble their sorrow, were fain at his back to turn their face to the wall while the dolor of their heart burst out at their eyes.

Then on the morrow after, the Mayor with all the aldermen and chief commoners of the city, in their best manner appareled, assembling themselves together, resorted unto Baynard’s Castle, where the Protector lay. To which place repaired also, according to their appointment, the Duke of Buckingham, with divers noblemen with him, besides many knights and other gentlemen. And thereupon the Duke sent word unto the Lord Protector of the being there of a great and honorable company, [cf. Lat.77/15-17: abbrev.] to move a great matter unto His Grace. Whereupon the Protector made difficulty to come out unto them but if he first knew some part of their errand; as though he doubted and partly distrusted the coming of such number unto him so suddenly, without any warning or knowledge whether they came for good or harm. Then the Duke, when he had showed this unto the Mayor and others, that they might thereby see how little the Protector looked for this matter, they sent unto him by the messenger such loving message again, and therewith so humbly besought him to vouchsafe that they might resort to his presence to propose their intent, of which they would unto none other person any part disclose, that at the last he came forth of his chamber—and yet not down unto them, but stood above in a gallery over them where they might see him and speak to him; as though he would not yet come too near them till he wist what they meant. And thereupon ^[Latin 77/27-28] the Duke of Buckingham ^[Latin 77/28] first made humble petition unto him, on the behalf of them all, that His Grace would pardon them and license them to propose unto His Grace the intent of their coming without his...
displeasure—without which pardon obtained they durst not be
bold to move him of that matter. In which albeit they meant as much
honor to [cf. Latin 78/3] His Grace as wealth to all the realm beside, yet were they not
sure how His Grace would take it—whom they would in no wise
offend. Then the Protector, as he was very genteel of himself and
also longed sore to wit what they meant, gave him leave to propose
what him liked, verily trusting, for the good mind that he bore them
all, none of them anything would intend unto himward [cf. Latin 78/9] wherewith
he ought to be aggrieved. When the Duke had this leave and pardon to
speak, then waxed he bold to show him their intent and purpose,
[cf. Latin 78/11-22] with all the causes moving them thereunto, as ye before have heard,
and finally to beseech His Grace that it would like him, of his accustomed
goodness and zeal unto the realm, now with his eye of pity
to behold the long-continued distress and decay of the same and to set
his gracious hands
to the redress and amendment thereof, by taking
upon him the crown and governance of this realm,

according to
his right and title lawfully descended unto him, and to the laud of
God, profit of the land, and unto His Grace so much the more honor
and less pain in that that never prince reigned upon any people
that were so glad to live under his obeisance as the people of this
realm under his. When the Protector had heard the proposition, [cf. Latin 78/23] he
looked very strangely thereat, and answered that all were it that he
partly knew the things by them alleged to be true, yet such entire
love he bore unto [cf. Latin 78/25] King Edward and his children, that so much more
regarded his honor in other realms about than the crown of any
one, of which he was never desirous, that he could not find in his
heart in this point to incline to their desire. For in all other
nations, where the truth were not well known, it should peradventure
be thought that [Latin 78/29-30], it were his own ambitious mind and device to
depose the Prince and take himself the crown. With which infamy he
would not have his honor stained for any crown; in which he
had ever perceived much more labor and pain than pleasure to

1 displeasure: taking offense  pardon: forbearance
1–2 durst . . . matter: dared not venture to make to him that proposition
3 wealth: well-being  the realm beside: the rest of the realm
4 would in no wise: in no way wished to  5 as: as if  of himself: by nature
6 longed . . . meant: was very eager to hear what they had in mind propose: set forth
7 what him liked: whatever he pleased  for . . . mind: on account of the good will
8 anything . . . himward: would have any intention toward him
10 waxed . . . show: he took a confident tone and proceeded to tell
12 like: please  accustomed: customary; wonted  13 zeal: fervent devotion
14 decay: decline  22 pain: trouble  in . . . upon: in that never a prince reigned over
23 obeisance: rule  25 strangely thereat: unfavorable to it  all . . . that: although
26 partly . . . true: knew that some of the things they were alleging were true
27 that: i.e., he who  28 regarded his honor: cared about his good name
28 about: here and there  30 incline . . . desire: accede to their request
31 peradventure: perhaps  32 mind and device: desire and idea
him that so would so use it as he that would not were not worthy to have it. Notwithstanding, he not only pardoned them the motion that they made him, but also thanked them for the love and hearty favor they bore him, praying them for his sake to give and bear the same to the Prince, under whom he was and would be content to live; and with his labor and counsel, as far as should like the King to use him, he would do his uttermost devoir to set the realm in good state. Which was already in this little while of his protectorship (the praise given to God) well begun, in that the malice of such as were before occasion of the contrary, and of new intended to be, were now, partly by good policy, partly more by God’s special providence than man’s provision, repressed. Upon this answer given, the Duke, by the Protector’s license, a little rounded as well with other noblemen about him as with the Mayor and Recorder of London. And after that, upon like pardon desired and obtained, [cf. Latin 79/17-20] he showed aloud unto the Protector that for a final conclusion, that the realm was appointed King Edward’s line should not any longer reign upon them—both for that they had so far gone that it was now no surety to retreat, as for that they thought it for the weal universal to take that way although they had not yet begun it. Wherefore if it would like His Grace to take the crown upon him, they would humbly beseech him thereunto. If he would give them a resolute answer to the contrary, which they would be loath to hear, then must they needs seek and should not fail to find some other nobleman that would. These words much moved the Protector, which else, as every man may wit, would never of likelihood have inclined thereunto. [cf. Latin 79/27-28] But when he saw there was none other way but that either he must take it or else he and his both go from it, he said unto the lords and commons: “Since we perceive well that all the realm is so set (whereof we be very sorry) that they will not suffer, in any wise, [cf. Latin 79/29] King Edward’s line to govern them, [cf. Latin 79/30] whom no man earthly can govern against their wills; and we well also perceive that no man is there to whom the crown can by so just title appertain as to ourself, as

1–2 so . . . it: so much would in such a way use it as whoever would not do so would not deserve to have it motion: proposition
3 hearty: heartfelt; sincere 4 praying: imploring 6 like: please
7 use: make use of uttermost devoir: absolute best 9 before: previously
12–13 by . . . license: with the Protector’s permission
13 a little rounded: privately conferred a little
15 desired: requested showed: stated
16 appointed: agreed that 18 it . . . surety: it would now not be safe
19 thought it: i.e., thought it would be weal universal: common good way: road
20 although: even if begun it: set out on it like: please 22 thereunto: i.e., to do so
23 loath: most unhappy 25 which else: who otherwise
26 wit: be certain of likelihood: in all probability inclined: yielded
29 commons: commoners set: determined 30 suffer: allow
30 in any wise: no matter what 31 earthly: in the world 33 appertain: belong
very right heir, **lawfully begotten of the body of our most dear father, Richard, late Duke of York**; to which title is now joined your election, the nobles and commons of this realm, which we of all titles possible take for most effectual: we be content, and agree favorably to incline to your petition and request, and, according to the same, ^[Latin 80/5-8] here we take upon us the royal estate, preeminence, and kingdom of the two noble realms England and France—the one from this day forward by us and our heirs to rule, govern, and defend; the other, **by God's grace and your good help**, to get again and subdue, and establish forever in due obedience unto this [cf. Latin 80/10] **realm of England,** ^[Latin 80/11-13]

^[cf. Latin 80/13-15] the advancement whereof we never ask of God longer to live than we intend to procure.” With this there was a great shout crying “King Richard! King Richard!” And then the lords went up to the King (for so was he from that time called), and the people departed, talking diversely of the matter, every man as his fantasy gave him. But much they talked and marveled of the manner of this dealing, that the matter was on both parts made so strange, as though neither had ever communed with other thereof before, when that themselves well wist there was no man so dull that heard them but he perceived well enough that all the matter was made between them. Howbeit, some excused that again and said, “All must be done in good order, though. **And men must sometimes for the manner sake not be acknown what they know.** For at the consecration of a bishop, every man wotteth well, by the paying for his bulls, that he purposeth to be one, and though he pay for nothing else. And yet must he be twice asked whether he will be bishop or no, and he must twice say nay, and at the third time take it as compelled thereunto—by his own will. And

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1 very right: true rightful
2 your election: the choice made by you  commons: commoners
3 effectual: binding  4 favorably: graciously  incline: accede
5 according to: in accord with
6–7 according to: in accord with
8 royal estate: monarchical rank  preeminence: pride of place; supremacy
9 kingdom: kingship; sovereignty
10 get . . . subdue: get back and bring into subjection
11 never . . . than: ask that God let us live no longer than  procure: strive for
12 of the matter: about all this  as . . . him: according to his own impressions
13 marveled . . . dealing: marveled at the way this exchange took place
14 matter: thing  parts: sides  so strange: to seem so out-of-the-blue
15 communed . . . thereof: discussed it with the other
16 when . . . themselves: when they themselves  23 wist: knew
17 all . . . made: the whole thing was set up
18 excused that again: in reply made excuses for that  order: form
19 for . . . sake: for the sake of protocol  be acknown: not acknowledge
20 by . . . bulls: i.e., by the fact that the candidate pays for the papal documents authorizing his being made a bishop  purposeth: intends
21 28–29 and though: even if  31 as: as if
in a stage play all the people know right well that he that playeth the soudan is percase a souter. Yet if one should can so little good to show out of season what acquaintance he hath with him, and call him by his own name while he standeth in his majesty, one of his tormentors might hap to break his head—and worthy, for marring of the play.” And so they said that these matters “be kings’ games—as it were, stage plays—and for the more part played upon scaffolds. In which poor men be but the lookers-on. And they that wise be, will meddle no farther. For they that sometimes step up and play with them, when they cannot play their parts, they disorder the play and do themselves no good.”

The next day the Protector, with a great train, went to Westminster Hall, ^[Latin 81/11-14] and there, when he had placed himself in the Court of the King’s Bench, ^[Latin 81/14-16] declared to the audience that he would take upon him the crown in that place—there where the king himself sitteth and administreth the law—because he considered that it was the chiefest duty of a king to administer the laws. Then, with as pleasant an oration as he could, he went about to win unto him the nobles, the merchants, the artificers, and, in conclusion, all kind of men—but specially the lawyers of this realm. And finally—to the intent that no man should hate him for fear, and that his deceitful clemency might get him the good will of the people—when he had declared the discommodity of discord and the commodities of concord [cf. Latin 81/24-25] and unity, he made an open proclamation that he did put out of his mind all enmities, and that he there did openly pardon all offenses committed against him. And to the intent that he might show a proof thereof, he commanded that one Fogge, whom he had long deadly hated, should be brought then before him. Who being brought out of the sanctuary by (for thither had he fled, for fear of him), in the sight

1 right: perfectly 2 soudan . . . souter: sultan is perhaps a shoemaker 3 show . . . season: reveal at a wrong time 4–5 his tormentors: the sultan’s executioners hap: happen 5–6 worthy . . . play: i.e., he would deserve it, for ruining the play 6 matters: things 7 more: most scaffolds: stages for plays / platforms for executions 8 lookers-on: spectators meddle: involve themselves 9 disorder: mess up good: favor 10 declared: explained 11 great train: large retinue 12 pleasant: pleasing; agreeable 13 artificers: craftsmen all: every 14 declared: pointed out 15 commodities: advantages by: nearby thither: to there
of the people he took him by the hand. Which thing the common people rejoiced at and praised, but wise men took it for a vanity. In his return homeward, whomsoever he met he saluted. For a mind that knoweth itself guilty is in a manner dejected to a servile flattery.

^[Latin 82/2-4]

When he had begun his reign the twenty-sixth day of June (after this mockish “election”), then was he crowned the sixth day of July. And that solemnity was furnished for the most part with the selfsame provision that was appointed for the coronation of his nephew.*

Now fell there mischiefs thick. And as the thing evil-gotten is never well kept, through all the time of his reign never ceased there cruel death and slaughter, till his own destruction ended it. But as he finished his time with the best death and the most righteous (that is to wit, his own), so began he with the most piteous and wicked: I mean the lamentable murder of his innocent nephews, the young king and his tender brother. Whose death and final infortune hath nevertheless so far come in question that some remain yet in doubt whether they were in his days destroyed or no. Not for that only that Perkin Warbeck, by many folks’ malice and more folks’ folly so long space abusing the world, was as well with princes as the poorer people reputed and taken for the younger of those two, but for that also that all things were in late days so covertly demeaned, one thing pretended and another meant, that there was nothing so plainly and openly proved but that yet, Close dealing is ever suspected, for the common custom of close and covert dealing, men had it ever inwardly suspect, as many well-counterfeited jewels make the true mistrusted. Howbeit, concerning that opinion, with the occasions moving either part, we shall have place more at large to treat if we hereafter happen

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2 a vanity: an empty show  
3 saluted: greeted  
4 in a manner: in some way  
9 mockish: sham  
10 election: choosing  
11 appointed: earmarked; supposed to be  
13 fell . . . thick: misfortunes came fast and furious  
14 evil-gotten: ill-gotten  
15 never ceased there: there never ceased  
16 righteous: rightful  
17 piteous: deplorable  
18 tender: constitutionally delicate  
19 infortune: misfortune  
21–22 Not . . . Perkin: Not only because Perkin  
23 folly: foolishness  
24 so . . . abusing: for so long a time deluding  
25–26 for . . . demeaned: also because in recent days everything was so slyly handled  
26 pretended: asserted  
27 for: because of  
28 close: clandestine  
29 had . . . suspect: always inwardly held it suspect  
30 true: genuine  
31 that opinion: i.e., the opinion that at least one of the boys did not die during Richard’s lifetime  
32 have . . . treat: an opportunity to discuss all that at greater length
to write the time of the late noble prince of famous memory King Henry VII, or perchase that history of Perkin in any compendious process by itself. But in the meantime, for this present matter, I shall rehearse you the dolorous end of those babes, not after every way that I have heard, but after that way that I have so heard by such men and such means as methinketh it were hard but it should be true. King Richard, after his coronation, taking his way to Gloucester to visit in his new honor the town of which he bore the name of his old, devised, as he rode, to fulfill that thing which he before had intended. And forasmuch as his mind gave him that, his nephews living, men would not reckon that he could have right to the realm, he thought therefore without delay to rid them—as though the killing of his kinsmen could amend his cause and make him a kindly king. Whereupon he sent one John Green, whom he specially trusted, unto Sir Robert Brackenbury, Constable of the Tower, with a letter (and credence also) that the same Sir Robert should in any wise put the two children to death. This John Green did his errand unto Brackenbury (kneeling before our Lady in the Tower!), who plainly answered that he would never put them to death, to die therefor; with which answer John Green returning, recounted the same to King Richard at Warwick, yet in his way. Wherewith he took such displeasure and thought, that the same night he said unto a secret page of his, “Ah, whom shall a man trust? Those that I have brought up myself, those that I had went would most surely serve me—even those fail me and at my commandment will do nothing for me.” “Sir,” quoth his page, “there lieth one on your pallet without, that, I dare well say, to do Your Grace pleasure the thing were right hard that he would refuse”—meaning this by Sir James Tyrell, which was a man of right goodly personage, and for
nature’s gifts, worthy to have served a much better prince, 
if he had well served God and by grace obtained as much troth and 
good will as he had strength and wit. The man had a high heart 
and sore longed upward, not rising yet so fast as he had hoped, being 
hindered and kept under by the means of Sir Richard Radcliff and 
Sir William Catesby, which, longing for no 
more partners of the prince’s favor—and 
namely not for him, whose pride, they wist, would bear no peer—kept 
him by secret drifts out of all secret trust. Which thing this 
page well had marked and known. Wherefore, this occasion offered, 
of very special friendship he took his time to put him forward and by 
such wise do him good that all the enemies he had except the devil 
could never have done him so much hurt. For upon this page’s 
words, King Richard arose (for this communication had he sitting at 
the draught—a convenient carpet for such a council) and came out 
into the pallet chamber, on which he found in bed Sir James and Sir 
Thomas Tyrell—of person like, and brethren of blood, but nothing of 
kin in conditions. Then said the King merrily to them, “What, sirs? Be ye 
in bed so soon?” and calling up Sir James, broke to him secretly his 
mind in this mischievous matter; in which he found him nothing 
strange. Wherefore, on the morrow, he sent him to Brackenbury with a 
letter by which he was commanded to deliver Sir James all the keys 
of the Tower for one night, to the end he might there “accomplish the 
King’s pleasure” in such thing as he had “given him commandment.” 
After which letter delivered and the keys received, Sir James 
appointed the night next ensuing to destroy them, devising before 
and preparing the means. The Prince, as soon as the Protector left 
that name and took himself as king, had it showed unto him that he 
should not reign, but his uncle should have the crown. At which 

2 troth: integrity  3 wit: intelligence  high: haughty  
6 which: who  7 partners of: sharers in  8 namely: especially  wist: realized  
8 bear no peer: i.e., make him intolerant of having equals  
9 drifts: schemes  10 marked and known: observed and recognized  
11 time: opportunity  12 wise: a way  14 communication: conference  
15 draught: toilet  a convenient carpet: an appropriate setting  
16 pallet chamber: waiting room  on which: upon which; when  
17 of . . . like: of like build  brethren of blood: biological brothers  
17–18 nothing of kin: not at all akin  conditions: character traits  
19 calling up: summoning  
19–20 broke . . . matter: secretly made known to him his wishes concerning this evil business  
20 nothing: not at all  21 strange: uncomplying  22 deliver: hand over to  
26 appointed . . . them: decided to kill them during the night of the next day  
26 devising before: planning ahead  27 left: dropped  28 name: designation  
28 showed: announced  29 should: would
word the Prince, sore abashed, began to sigh and said, “Alas! I would
my uncle would let me have my life yet, though I lose my kingdom.”
Then he that told him the tale used him with good words, and put him
in the best comfort he could. But forthwith was the Prince and his
brother both shut up, and all others removed from them—only one
(called “Black Will,” or “William Slaughter”) except, set to serve them and
see them sure. After which time the Prince never tied his points, nor
aught rought of himself, but with that young babe his brother
 lingered in thought and heaviness till this traitorous death delivered
them of that wretchedness. For Sir James Tyrell devised that they should
be murdered in their beds. To the execution whereof, he appointed

*Miles Forest*  
Miles Forest, one of the four that kept
them—a fellow fleshed in murder beforetime.

*John Dighton*  
To him he joined one John Dighton,
his own horsekeeper; a big, broad, square, strong knave. Then, all the others
being removed from them, this Miles Forest and John Dighton
about midnight, the seely children lying in their beds, came into
the chamber and suddenly lapped them up among the clothes—so bewrapped
them and entangled them, keeping down by force the featherbed
and pillows hard unto their mouths, that within a while, smothered and
stifled, their breath failing, they gave up to God their innocent souls
into the joys of heaven, leaving to the tormentors their bodies dead in
the bed. Which after that the wretches
perceived—first by the struggling with the
pains of death, and after, long lying still—
to be thoroughly dead, they laid their bodies naked out upon the
bed, and fetched Sir James to see them. Which, upon the sight of them,
caused those murderers to bury them at the stair-foot, meetly
deep in the ground, under a great heap of stones. Then rode Sir James
sore abashed: very distraught
1–2 I . . . though: I wish my uncle would at least let me live, even if
3 told . . . tale: gave him the news  used . . . words: spoke kindly to him
3–4 put . . . could: encouraged him as best he could  5 shut: locked
7 see them sure: see to it that they stayed locked up
7 points: laces for attaching hose to doublet  8 aught rought: took any care
9 thought and heaviness: anxiety and despondency  11 execution: carrying out
13 fellow: lowlife  fleshed: experienced  15 knave: scoundrel
17 seely: poor, helpless
18 chamber: bedroom  lapped . . . clothes: bound them up in the bedclothes
19 featherbed: mattress  22 tormentors: executioners  23 after that: after
27 Which: Who  28 caused . . . bury: had those murderers bury
28 at the stair-foot: by the foot of the staircase  meetly: fairly
in great haste to King Richard, and showed him all the manner of the murder, who gave him great thanks and, as some say, there made him knight. But he allowed not, as I have heard, that burying in so vile a corner, saying that he would have them buried in a better place because they were a king’s sons. (Lo the honorable courage of a king!) Whereupon they say that a priest of Sir Robert Brackenbury took up the bodies again and secretly interred them in such place as, by the occasion of his death which only knew it, could never since come to light. Very truth is it, and well known, that at such time as Sir James Tyrell was in the Tower for treason committed against the most famous prince King Henry VII, both Dighton and he were examined, and confessed the murder in manner above-written; but whither the bodies were removed, they could nothing tell. And thus, as I have learned of them that much knew and little cause had to lie, were these two noble princes—these innocent, tender children, born of most royal blood, brought up in great wealth, likely long to live to reign and rule in the realm—by traitorous tyranny taken, deprived of their estate, shortly shut up in prison, and privily slain and murdered, their bodies cast God wot where, by the cruel ambition of their unnatural uncle and his dispiteous tormentors. Which things on every part well pondered, God never gave this world a more notable example neither in what unsurety standeth this-worldly weal, or what mischief worketh the proud enterprise of a high heart, or, finally, what wretched end ensueth such dispiteous cruelty. For first to

1–2 showed . . . murder: told him all about how the murdering took place
3 allowed: approved; sanctioned  vile: common; insignificant
5 Lo: Behold courage: heart; spirit
6 a . . . Brackenbury: i.e., one of the Tower chaplains
8 by . . . it: by reason of the death of the only one who knew it (i.e., the priest)
11 famous: renowned 12 examined: interrogated
12 confessed . . . above-written: i.e., confessed to having murdered the boys in the above-written manner
13 whither: to where  could nothing tell: had no idea
14 of them that: from those who 15 tender: precious 16 wealth: prosperity
17 tyranny: usurpation taken: taken captive 18 estate: position shortly: abruptly
18 shut: locked privily: secretly 19 wot: knows
20 unnatural: heartless; cold-blooded dispiteous tormentors: merciless executioners
22 neither: i.e., neither of in . . . weal: of how precarious this-worldly prosperity is
23 mischief: evil; destruction enterprise: daring spirit high: haughty
24 ensueth: follows dispiteous: merciless
begin with the ministers: Miles Forest at St. Martin’s piecemeal rotted away. Dighton, indeed, yet walketh alive—in good possibility to be hanged ere he die. But Sir James Tyrell died at Tower Hill, beheaded for treason. King Richard himself, as ye shall hereafter hear, slain in the field, hacked and hewed of his enemies’ hands, harried on horseback dead, his hair in despite torn and tugged like a cur dog. And the mischief that he took, within less than three years of the mischief that he did; and yet all the meantime spent in much pain and trouble outward, much fear, anguish, and sorrow within. For I have heard by credible report, of such as were secret with his chamberers, that after this abominable deed done he never had quiet in his mind, he never thought himself sure. Where he went abroad, his eyes whirled about, his body privily fenced, his hand ever on his dagger, his countenance and manner like one always ready to strike again. He took ill rest a-nights, lay long waking and musing, sore wearied with care and watch, rather slumbered than slept, troubled with fearful dreams, suddenly sometimes start up, leap out of his bed, and run about the chamber—so was his restless heart continually tossed and tumbled with the tedious impression and stormy remembrance of his abominable deed. Now had he outward no long time in rest. For hereupon soon after began the conspiracy—or, rather, good confederation—between the Duke of Buckingham and many other gentlemen against him. The occasion whereupon the King and the Duke fell out is

1 St. Martin’s: a sanctuary 1–2 piecemeal . . . away: gradually wasted away 5 in the field: on the battlefield 6 despite: contempt 7–8 the . . . did: i.e., this evil that he suffered took place less than three years after that evil that he committed 8 yet . . . meantime: even all the time in between was 10 secret . . . chamberers: in the confidence of his valets 12 sure: safe 13 Where . . . abroad: Wherever he went out 14 privily fenced: secretly shielded (i.e., by light armor worn under his clothing) 16 again: back 17 care and watch: worry and vigilance 18 slumbered: dozed 19 about the chamber: around in the bedroom 20 tedious impression: troublesome aftereffect 21 outward: externally 22 rest: peace 24 gentlemen: upper-class men
of diverse folk diverse-wise pretended. This duke—as I have for certain been informed—as soon as the Duke of Gloucester, upon the death of King Edward, came to York and there had solemn funeral service for King Edward, sent thither, in the most secret wise he could, one Persale, his trusty servant, who came to John Ward, a chamberer of like secret trust with the Duke of Gloucester, desiring that in the most close and covert manner he might be admitted to the presence and speech of his master. And the Duke of Gloucester, advertised of his desire, caused him in the dead of the night, after all other folk voided, to be brought unto him in his secret chamber, where Persale, after his master’s recommendation, showed him that he had secretly sent him to show him that in this new world he would take such part as he would, and wait upon him with a thousand good fellows if need were. The messenger, sent back with thanks and some secret instruction of the Protector’s mind, yet met him again, with farther message from the duke his master, within few days after, at Nottingham—whither the Protector, from York, with many gentlemen of the north country (to the number of six hundred horses), was come on his way to Londonward. And after secret meeting and communication had, eftsoons departed.

1 of: by pretended: put forward; asserted 4 thither: there wise: way
5 Persale: probably Sir Humphrey Percival chamberer: valet
6 desiring: requesting 7 close: secret
7–8 admitted . . . master: i.e., allowed to see and speak with Richard
8 advertised: notified desire: request voided: were gone
9–10 caused him . . . brought: had him . . . brought secret chamber: bedroom
10–11 after . . . recommendation: i.e., after conveying Buckingham’s regards
11 showed: told he: i.e., Buckingham 12 show him: let him know
12–13 such . . . would: i.e., whatever part Richard should want him to
13 good fellows: reliable companions
14–15 instruction . . . mind: information of what the Protector had in mind
15 yet . . . again: met him (Richard) yet again
15–16 the duke his master: i.e., Buckingham
16 whither: to where gentlemen: members of the landed gentry
18 horses: horsemen; cavalry to Londonward: toward London
19 eftsoons: (the messenger) for a second time
Whereupon at Northampton the Duke met with the Protector himself, with 300 horses, and from thence still continued with, partner of all his devices, till that after his coronation they departed, as it seemed, very great friends, at Gloucester. From whence as soon as the Duke came home, he so lightly turned from him and so highly conspired against him that a man would marvel whereof that change grew. And surely the occasion of their variance is of diverse men diversely reported. Some have I heard say that the Duke, a little before the coronation, among other things required of the Protector the Duke of Hereford’s lands, to which he pretended himself just inheritor. And forasmuch as the title which he claimed by inheritance was somewhat interlaced with the title to the crown by the line of King Henry before deprived, the Protector conceived such indignation that he rejected the Duke’s request with many spiteful and minatory words, which so wounded his heart with hatred and mistrust that he never after could endure to look aright on King Richard, but ever feared his own life, so far forth that when the Protector rode through London toward his coronation, he feigned himself sick, because he would not ride with him. And the other, taking it in evil part, sent him word to rise and come ride or he would make him be carried. Whereupon he rode on (with evil will), and that notwithstanding, on the morrow rose from the feast feigning himself sick; and King Richard said it was done in hatred and despite of him. And they say that ever after, continually, each of them lived in such hatred and distrust of other that the Duke verily looked to have been murdered

1 the Duke: i.e., of Buckingham
2 from . . . with: from then on stayed constantly with (him)
3 partner . . . devices: accomplice in all his schemes
4 departed: parted
5 lightly: quickly
6 marvel . . . grew: wonder what brought about that change
7 surely: indeed
8 occasion: cause
9 required: requested
10 pretended . . . inheritor: claimed to be the rightful heir
11 interlaced: intertwined
12 King . . . deprived: the previously deposed King Henry (VI)
13 minatory: menacing
14 feared . . . life: feared for his life
15 look . . . Richard: look King Richard in the face
16 feared . . . life: feared for his life
17 he: i.e., the Duke
18 would not: did not want to
19 rise: get up
20 evil: ill
21 rise: get up
22 despite: contempt
23 other: the other
24 looked: expected
at Gloucester. (From which, nevertheless, he in fair manner departed.) But surely some right secret at the days deny this; and many right wise men think it unlikely (the deep dissimulating nature of those both men considered, and what need in that green world the Protector had of the Duke, and in what peril the Duke stood if he fell once in suspicion of the tyrant) that either the Protector would give the Duke occasion of displeasure, or the Duke the Protector occasion of mistrust. And utterly men think that if King Richard had any such opinion conceived, he would never have suffered him to escape his hands. Very truth it is, the Duke was a high-minded man, and evil could bear the glory of another; so that I have heard, of some that said they saw it, that the Duke, at such time as the crown was first set upon the Protector’s head, his eye could not abide the sight thereof, but wried his head another way. But men say that he was of truth not well at ease, and that both to King Richard well known and not ill taken, nor any demand of the Duke’s uncourteously rejected, but he, both with great gifts and high behests, in most loving and trusty manner departed at Gloucester. But soon after his coming home to Brecknock, having there in his custody (by the commandment of King Richard) Doctor Morton, Bishop of Ely (who, as ye before heard, was taken in the council at the Tower), waxed with him familiar. Whose wisdom abused his pride to his own deliverance and the Duke’s destruction. The Bishop was a man of great natural wit, very well learned, and honorable in behavior, lacking no wise ways to win favor. He had been fast upon the part of King Henry while that part was in wealth, and nevertheless left it not nor forsook it in woe, but fled the realm with the Queen and the Prince while King Edward had the King in prison—never
 came home but to the field. After which lost and that party utterly subdued, the other, for his fast faith and wisdom, not only was content to receive him, but also wooed him to come, and had him from thenceforth both in secret trust and very special favor. Which he nothing deceived. For he—being, as ye have heard, after King Edward’s death first taken by the tyrant for his troth to the King—found the means to set this duke in his top: joined gentlemen together in aid of King Henry, devising first the marriage between him and King Edward’s daughter—by which his faith declared, and good service, to both his masters at once, with infinite benefit to the realm by the conjunction of those two bloods in one, whose several titles had long inquieted the land—he fled the realm, went to Rome, never minding more to meddle with the world, till the noble prince King Henry VII got him home again, made him Archbishop of Canterbury and Chancellor of England, whereunto the Pope joined the honor of Cardinal. Thus living many days in as much honor as one man might well wish, ended them so godly that his death, with God’s mercy, well changed his life. This man, therefore, as I was about to tell you, by the long and often alternate proof as well of prosperity as adverse fortune, had gotten by great experience (the very mother and mistress of wisdom) a deep insight in politic worldly drifts. Whereby perceiving now this duke glad to common with him, fed him with fair words and many pleasant praises; and, perceiving by the process of their communications the Duke’s pride now and then balk out a little braid of envy toward the glory of the King, and thereby feeling him easy to fall out if the matter were well handled, he craftily sought the ways to prick him forward—taking always the occasion of

1 field: battle  After which lost: i.e., After which battle was lost
1 that: i.e., Henry’s subdued: vanquished
2 the other: i.e., Edward’s for: on account of
2 his fast faith: i.e., the Bishop’s firmness of loyalty
2–3 content to receive: willing to take had . . . thenceforth: from then on held him
4–5 nothing deceived: did not at all violate
6 taken: taken captive tyrant: usurper (Richard) for his troth: because of his loyalty
6 the King: i.e., Edward 6–7 set . . . top: take down this duke
7 gentlemen: upper-class men 7–8 King Henry/him: i.e., Henry VII
8 daughter: i.e., Elizabeth of York (the eldest daughter of Edward IV)
9 his . . . service: i.e., showed his loyalty and gave good service 10 infinite: incalculable
11 bloods: bloodlines several: separate (and clashing) inquieted: disturbed the peace of
12–13 never . . . world: intending never to have any more involvement with worldly affairs
16 wish: wish for 17 well . . . life: changed his life for the better
18 alternate: alternating proof: undergoing 20 politic: skillfully contrived
21 drifts: schemes Whereby: i.e., By which insight common: associate fed: i.e., he fed
22 fair: flattering pleasant: gratifying
22–23 perceiving . . . communications: seeing in the course of their conversations
24 balk out: let escape braid: flare the King: i.e., Richard
25 easy: ready fall out: i.e., fall out with Richard
26 prick him forward: spur him on
his coming, and so keeping himself close within his bounds that he rather seemed him to follow him than to lead him. For when the Duke first began to praise and boast the King and show how much profit the realm should take by his reign, my lord Morton answered, “Surely, my lord, folly were it for me to lie; for if I would swear the contrary, Your Lordship would not, I ween, believe but that if the world would have gone as I would have wished, King Henry’s son had had the crown, and not King Edward. But after that God had ordered him to lose it, and King Edward to reign—I was never so mad that I would with a dead man strive against the quick. So was I to King Edward faithful chaplain, and glad would have been that his child had succeeded him. Howbeit, if the secret judgment of God have otherwise provided, I purpose not to spurn against a prick nor labor to set up that God pulleth down. And as for the late Protector and now King . . .” And even there he left, saying that he had already meddled too much with the world, and would from that day meddle with his book and his beads and no farther. Then longed the Duke sore to hear what he would have said (because he ended with the “King,” and there so suddenly stopped), and exhorted him so, familiarly between the twain, to be bold to say whatsoever he thought: whereof he faithfully promised there should never come hurt, and peradventure more good than he would ween, and that himself intended to use his faithful, secret advice and counsel—which he said was the only cause for which he procured of the King to have him in his custody, where he might reckon himself at home, and else had he been put in the hands of them with whom he should not have found the like favor. The Bishop right humbly thanked him, and said, “In good faith, my lord, I love not much to talk much of princes, as thing not all out of peril, though the word be without fault—forasmuch as it shall not be taken as the party meant it,
but as it pleaseth the prince to construe it. And ever I think on Aesop’s tale, that when the lion had proclaimed that on pain of death there should none horned beast abide in that wood, one that had in his forehead a bunch of flesh fled away a great pace. The fox, that saw him run so fast, asked him whither he made all that haste; and he answered, ‘In faith, I neither wot nor reck, so I were once hence, because of this proclamation made of horned beasts.’ ‘What, fool?’ quoth the fox. ‘Thou mayest abide well enough—the lion meant not by thee. For it is none horn that is in thine head.’ ‘No, marry,’ quoth he, ‘that wot I well enough. But what an he call it a horn—where am I then?’” The Duke laughed merrily at the tale, and said, “My lord, I warrant you, neither the lion nor the boar shall pick any matter at anything here spoken, for it shall never come near their ear.” “In good faith, sir,” said the Bishop, “if it did, the thing that I was about to say, taken as well as before God I meant it, could deserve but thank. And yet taken as I ween it would, might happen to turn me to little good and you to less.” Then longed the Duke yet much more to wit what it was. Whereupon the Bishop said, “In good faith, my lord, as for the late Protector, since he is now king in possession, I purpose not to dispute his title. But for the weal of this realm whereof His Grace hath now the governance, and whereof I am myself one poor member, I was about to wish that to those good abilities whereof he hath already right many (little needing my praise), it might yet have pleased God, for the better store, to have given him some of such other excellent virtues meet for the rule of a realm, as our Lord hath planted in the person of Your Grace.”

1 ever . . . on: I always think about 3 in his: on his
4 bunch: growth  a great pace: very speedily
5 whither . . . haste: where he was going to in such a hurry
6 In faith: Honestly  wot nor reck: know nor care
6 so . . . hence: as long as I can just be out of here 7 of: about
7–8 Thou . . . enough: You can plenty well stay
8 meant . . . thee: didn’t mean you
9 in: on  marry: of course  that . . . enough: that I know plenty well
10 an: if 11 the . . . boar: i.e., Richard (whose emblems were the lion and the boar)
12 pick . . . at: pick any bone with 13, 17 In good faith: In all honesty
15 but thank: nothing but credit  ween: believe  would: i.e., would be
15 might: i.e., it might 16 turn . . . less: be little to my benefit and less to yours
17 wit: know 18 late: former 18–19 purpose not: do not intend
19 weal: good 21 to: in addition to 23 store: provision 24 meet: suitable