

# THE HISTORY OF KING KING RICHARD THE THIRD

by

Master Thomas More  
Undersheriff of London  
c. 1513

Page and line numbers correspond to  
*The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*  
(Yale University Press), volume 2.

This is the version that Shakespeare would have  
read in Holinshed's *Chronicles*; it is based on  
the 1557 *Works of Sir Thomas More*.

Spelling and punctuation modernized, and notes added,  
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*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.***

7 *of his own hand*: handwritten by him      8 *by*: according to

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,  
 5 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  
 10 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  
 15 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  
 20 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  
 25 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;  
 30 among themselves, the commons in good peace. The lords whom he knew at variance, himself *in his deathbed*

1 *by*: on account of    *mischief*: evildoing  
 4 *grudge*: resentment    *King . . . Sixth*: the sake of King Henry VI  
 5 *in effect*: virtually    *in that that*: inasmuch as    6 *were . . . in*: had died within the  
 7 *mean season*: meantime    9 *strange*: stinting    *a goodly personage*: tall  
 11 *politic*: prudent    *nothing abashed*: not at all flustered  
 12 *of visage lovely*: handsome  
 14 *no . . . adventurous*: i.e., no more venturesome than it was wise for him to be  
 15 *whoso*: whoever (will)    16 *voided*: withdrew; retreated  
 17 *clean-made*: well-proportioned    18 *howbeit*: however  
 19 *of*: in his    22 *hardly*: not easily  
 23 *neither could*: i.e., not only could not    24 *and was*: i.e., but also his was  
 24 *over*: besides    25 *well left*: practically ceased altogether  
 26 *in . . . estate*: in a peaceful and prosperous state  
 27 *outward enemies*: i.e., enemies outside the realm    *in hand*: going on  
 27 *toward*: impending    28 *looked for*: anticipated    30 *commons*: commoners  
 31 *knew at variance*: knew to be at odds with one another    *himself in*: he himself on

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  
 5           *Tribute*           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  
 10 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  
 15 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 <sup>^[Latin 5/13],</sup>  
 but so friendly and so familiar cheer, and sent venison from thence  
 so freely into the city, that <sup>^[Latin 5/15]</sup> no one thing in many days before  
 got him either more hearts or more hearty favor among the  
 20 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  
 25 (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   11 *port*: bearing

11–12 *debonair* . . . *beginning*: i.e., the gracious way they behaved when they started out

15 *errand*: purpose   16 *be merry*: have a good time

16–17 *made* . . . *cheer*: gave them not such formal, but such friendly and down-home

hospitality   *thence*: there   21 *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  
 5 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 ministreth in effect all the whole matter whereof this book shall  
 10 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,* Richard, Duke of York, a noble man  
*Duke of York* and a mighty, began not by war, but  
 15 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  
 20 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  
 25 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  
*Edward* his father's death, deprived King Henry

5/29—6/1 *him . . . which*: to their destruction him who

1 *kind*: nature; humanity *kindness*: kinship; natural affection arising from this

5 *bands*: bonds

7 *unnaturally*: cold-bloodedly *not . . . dignity*: of not only their high position

8 *demeanor*: conduct

9 *ministreth . . . matter*: supplies practically the whole entire subject matter

10 *convenient*: appropriate 12 *mischief*: wickedness

13 *noble*: illustrious; distinguished by intelligence and exploits

17 *blood*: i.e., bloodline *he*: i.e., King Henry

18 *goodly*: splendid *prince*: i.e., son who had been the heir apparent to the throne

20 *issue male*: male descendants

20 *in remainder*: to take effect upon the ending of the current reign

21 *not . . . tarry*: not submitting to waiting that long

22 *debate*: strife 23 *prevent*: prematurely bring about

24 *Harry*: A nickname form of "Henry"

26 *states of*: noblemen by 26–27 *great . . . stomach*: proud and haughty of disposition

28 *impatient of partners*: i.e., unwilling to share the limelight 29 *deprived*: deposed

*George, Duke of Clarence* 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  
 5 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  
 10 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,**  
 ^**[Latin 7/9-11]**  
 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,  
 15 piteously bewailed and sorrowfully repented.

*The description of Richard the Third* Richard, **the third son**, of whom we now treat, was in wit and courage equal with either of them, in body and  
 20 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  
 25 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  
 30 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  
 5 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;  
 10 despiteous and cruel, not for evil will always, but offer 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  
 15 *The death of Henry VI* 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  
 20 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)  
 25 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    *in default*: for lack  
 3 *hardiness*: fortitude    *politic order*: prudent management of affairs  
 3-4 *free* . . . *dispense*: he was said to be free-spending  
 4 *above* . . . *liberal*: generous beyond his means  
 4-5 *for* . . . *to*: i.e., to pay for which gifts and friendships, he had to  
 7 *close*: closemouthed    *secret*: secretive    *dissimuler*: dissembler  
 7 *lowly*: humble, unassuming    *countenance*: demeanor  
 9 *letting*: hesitating    *thought*: planned  
 10 *dispiteous*: merciless    *evil will*: ill will    *offer*: more often  
 11 *surety* . . . *estate*: safeguarding or advancing of his position  
 12 *muchwhat indifferent*: pretty much all the same (to him)  
 12 *where* . . . *grew*: where he stood to gain  
 13 *withstood his purpose*: stood in his way    16 *constantly*: steadfastly  
 19 *the King*: i.e., Edward IV    *which*: who    20 *appointed*: assigned  
 21 *office*: job    *some*: someone    22 *ween*: believe    *drift*: scheming  
 22 *conveyed*: carried on    23 *of Clarence*: i.e., George, Duke of Clarence  
 24 *resisted openly*: outwardly opposed    *howbeit*: though  
 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    *evil* . . . *should*: poor eating habits would



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  
 5 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,  
 10 [**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  
 15 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**]

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  
 25 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*: had 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  
5 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.

10 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  
15 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**  
20 **and good** counsel of their friends

^[Latin 10/20]

(of which either party should counsel for their own  
commodity, and rather by pleasant advice to win themselves  
25 favor than by profitable advertisement to do the children good)—  
^[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*  
 5 *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  
 10 with pillows, as it is reported on this wise said unto them: "My  
     *The oration of the King* lords, my dear kinsmen and allies, in  
     *in his deathbed* 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  
 15 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  
 20 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*  
 25 *that the other maketh* and for hatred of each of other's person  
 impugne 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  
 30 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    5-6 *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    9-10 *underset with*: propped up by  
 10 *as . . . them*: reportedly said to them words to this effect    11 *allies*: in-laws  
 13 *By which*: By reason of which (plight)    *while*: amount of time    *look*: expect  
 14 *case*: situation    16 *that*: which    17 *variance*: odds    *hap*: happen  
 17 *fall . . . discretion*: be drawn themselves into war before their say-so  
 19 *surety*: safeguard    20 *all you*: you all    *each . . . other*: you hate one another  
 21 *faithfulness*: loyalty    *haply*: perhaps    22 *maintained*: ruled    *slippery*: unstable  
 23 *but*: unless    24 *agree not*: do not get along    25 *that*: what  
 25 *each of other's*: each other's    29 *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  
 5 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  
 10 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*  
 15 *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  
 20 find we so deadly debate as among them which by  
 nature and law most ought to agree together. Such a pestilent  
 [cf. Latin 12/28] *serpent* is ambition and desire of vainglory  
 and sovereignty, which among  
*Ambition.*  
 [cf. Latin 12/29] *states* where he once entereth creepeth forth so far till with  
 25 division and variance he [cf. Latin 12/30] *turneth all to mischief*—first longing  
 to be next the best, afterward equal with the best, and at last  
 chief and above the best; of which immoderate appetite of  
 worship, *and thereby of debate and dissension*, [cf. Latin 13/2-3] *what loss, what*

1 *but if*: unless

3 *ever . . . naught*: always, in the long run, evil schemes come to nothing

4 *prosper*: succeed; win out    *variance*: conflict

6 *misconstruction*: misconstruing    *worse*: less good    *displeasure*: wrong; injury

7 *affection . . . aggrieveth*: feelings or malicious tongues magnify    *wot I*: I know

10 *wot . . . whether*: don't know that

11 *than . . . going*: than those of one who is about to go    12 *of*: about    *desire*: ask

13 *allies*: in-laws

13–14 *each . . . affinity*: i.e., each of you is related to every other, either by blood or by  
 marriage    *kindred*: kinship

15 *affinity*: relation by marriage    16 *would . . . did*: God would have them bear

17 *respect*: consideration    *fleshly consanguinity*: being of the same blood biologically

18 *love together*: love one another    *worse*: less well    *self*: very same

20 *debate*: strife    *them which*: those who    21 *agree together*: live in harmony

24 *states*: noblemen    25 *division*: discord    *variance*: conflict    *mischief*: harm

26 *next the best*: second best    27 *appetite*: desire

28 *worship*: prestige, renown    *debate*: strife

*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*  
 5 *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  
 10 (*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  
 15 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  
 20 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  
 25 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  
 30 *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 <sup>^[Latin 14/1]</sup>—which at the time of his decease kept his household at Ludlow, in Wales <sup>^[Latin 14/2-3]</sup>:

Which country [cf. Latin 14/3-4] *being far off from the law and recourse to justice*, was begun to be far  
 5 out of good will and waxen wild, robbers and reivers walking at liberty, uncorrected. And [cf. Latin 14/6] *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  
 10 prince, at his sending thither, was there appointed Sir Anthony Woodville (Lord Rivers and brother unto the Queen)—a right honorable man, <sup>^[Latin 14/9]</sup> as valiant of hand as politic in counsel. Adjoined were there unto him others of the same party; and in effect everyone as he  
 15 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, [cf. Latin 14/14] *the Duke of Gloucester* turned unto their destruction, and upon that ground set the foundation of all his *unhappy* building. For whomsoever he  
 20 perceived either at variance with them or bearing himself their favor, he broke unto them, some by mouth, some by writing and [cf. Latin 14/16] *secret* messengers, that it neither was reason nor in any wise to be suffered that the young king, their master and kinsman, <sup>^[Latin 14/17]</sup>, should be in the hands and custody of his mother’s kindred, sequestered in manner  
 25 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  
 30 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<sup>1</sup>[**Latin 15/2-3**]. Ye  
 remember, I trow, King Edward himself, albeit he was a man of  
 5 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  
 10 some folks' friendship had not held better place with the King than  
 any respect of kindred, they might peradventure easily have betrayed  
 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*  
 15 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,  
 20 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  
 25 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  
 30 and of great power, the one by long succession from his ancestry,  
 the other by his office and the King's favor <sup>2</sup>[**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

1 *our . . . evil-willers*: those we well know by experience to wish us ill

2 *grow . . . authority*: gain too much influence

3 *namely*: especially    *light of belief*: credulous, gullible    4 *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    7 *with the commodity*: to the benefit

8–9 *sorer . . . woe*: i.e., more craved in pursuit of their happiness or our affliction

9 *were . . . ween*: would be hard, I think,    10 *held better place*: carried more weight

11 *respect of kindred*: consideration of kinship    *peradventure*: perhaps

11 *betrayed*: ensnared    12 *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    19 *anything the less*: the least bit less

19 *for . . . atonement*: on account of the recently made reconciliation

20 *had more place*: was more operative    21 *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    32 *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*  
 5 *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  
 10 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  
 15 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  
 20 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  
 25 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  
 30 *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 <sup>^</sup>[Latin 17/2] and unto her brother <sup>^</sup>[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*  
 5 *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*  
 10 *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,

20 <sup>^</sup>[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  
 25 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  
 30 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*  
 5 *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  
 10 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  
 15 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  
 20 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  
 25 *The Lord Rivers put* him and put him in ward, and, that  
       *in ward* 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  
 30 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 misliked*: 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, ^[Latin 18/24–19/1]*

5 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

*The Lord Grey* they picked a quarrel to the Lord Richard Grey, the King's other brother by his

10 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 <sup>^[Latin 19/10]</sup> the Lord Marquis

15 had entered into the Tower of London and thence taken out the King's treasure, and <sup>[cf. Latin 19/12-13]</sup> *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;* <sup>[cf. Latin 19/14-15]</sup> *saving that somewhat they must say.* Unto which words the King <sup>^[Latin 19/15]</sup> answered "What my brother

20 Marquis hath done, <sup>^[Latin 19/16-17]</sup> 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 <sup>^[Latin 19/19-20].</sup>" "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

25 presence. <sup>^[Latin 19/23- 26]</sup>

and brought the King *and all* back unto Northampton,

30 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    14 *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  
 5 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  
 10 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  
 to prison, and afterward all to Pomfret,  
 where they were in conclusion beheaded.  
 15 *The death of the Lord Rivers and others*  
***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  
 [cf. Latin 20/16-18] *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  
 20 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.

^[Latin 20/22-25]

25 With which  
 tidings the Queen in great flight and heaviness, bewailing her child's ruin,  
 her friends' mischance, and her own infortune, damning 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  
 30 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  
 2 *booted not*: did no good  
 4 *praying*: imploring    6 *bear it*: i.e., take the dish    7 *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    16 *governance*: right to govern / supervision  
 17 *anon*: at once    19 *sorest wise*: harshest way  
 20 *taken*: captured    *friends*: supporters  
 21 *wist whither*: knew where    *wot*: knew  
 26 *flight*: agitation    *heaviness*: heavyheartedness  
 27 *mischance*: mishap    *infortune*: misfortune  
 28 *dissuaded*: advised against    *power*: armed forces    30 *lay*: resided

*The Queen taketh sanctuary.* into the sanctuary <sup>^</sup>[Latin 21/1-2], lodging herself  
and<sup>^</sup>[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 <sup>^</sup>[Latin 21/4] the Lord Chamberlain unto the Archbishop of York  
5 ([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  
10 heard that these dukes were gone back with the King's Grace *from*  
*Stony Stratford unto Northampton*, <sup>^</sup>[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  
15 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 <sup>^</sup>[Latin 21/16 placed earlier in English at  
21/5] and came, yet before day, unto the Queen. About whom he found much  
20 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  
25 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*  
30 *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*

and that he was put in good hope and  
out of fear by the message sent him from the Lord Chamberlain.

5 “Ah, woe worth him,” quoth she, “for he is <sup>^[Latin 22/4]</sup> 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 <sup>^[Latin 22/9]</sup>  
here is the Great Seal, which in like wise as that noble prince your  
10 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,  
15 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.*  
[cf. Latin 22/22] *And some lords, knights, and gentlemen* [cf. Latin 22/17-19] either for  
20 favor of the Queen or for fear of themselves, assembled in sundry companies  
and went, flockmeal, in harness

<sup>^[Latin 22/19-21];</sup>

25 [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  
30 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

21/30—22/1 *nothing . . . for*: not nearly as serious as she was taking it to be

4 *worth*: betide

6–7 *if . . . son*: if they crown as king anyone other than the son of yours

8 *morrow*: next day    11 *behoof*: benefit    *betook*: handed over to

13 *might*: could from    *chamber*: bedroom    17 *places about*: surrounding places

18 *divining*: speculating    *dealing*: behavior    19 *gentlemen*: members of the gentry

20 *of*: for    21 *flockmeal in harness*: by troops, in armor    25 *demeanor*: action

25 *specially*: specifically    26 *disturbance of*: interfering with

27 *by and by*: soon after    28 *toward*: with a view to

29 *lightness*: impulsiveness; unthinkingness

31 *nothing pertained*: did not at all belong    *especial commandment*: explicit order

it with him after the customable manner. And at this meeting  
the Lord  
Hastings, <sup>^</sup>[Latin 23/4-5] whose troth toward the King no man doubted *nor*  
*needed to doubt*, persuaded the lords to believe that the [cf. Latin 23/6-8] *Duke of*  
5 *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,*

10 *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. Latin 23/8] *not by the dukes*  
*only, but also by all the other lords of the King's Council*  
*indifferently examined* <sup>^</sup>[Latin 23/9-10] and by other discretions ordered, and  
15 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  
20 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  
25 persuasions *of the Lord Hastings (whereof part himself*  
*believed, of part he wist the contrary)*, these commotions were  
somewhat appeased, but especially by that *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*  
30 *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  
 5 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  
 10 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  
 15 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  
 20 *Hornsea*, and riding from thence, accompanied him into the  
     *The King's coming to* city, which he entered the fourth day  
     *London* 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,  
 25 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  
     *The Protector made* thought most meet, to be Protector  
     of the King and his realm; so that, were  
 30 it destiny or were it folly, the lamb was betaken to the wolf to

1 *other . . . blood*: members of the nobility      2 *demean*: handle, control

3 *colorable*: ostensible

5-6 *among . . . harnesses*: among which things it was no wonder that there were suits of armor      7 *cast*: thrown      *showed*: announced      9 *privily*: secretly

10 *device*: ploy      11 *well perceiving*: i.e., they well realizing

14 *much part*: a great number      15 *it were alms*: it would be a good deed

16 *Shaa*: The name is pronounced (and sometimes spelled) "Shaw."

19 *horse . . . violet*: citizens in violet, riding on horses

20 *Hornsea*: what is now called Harringay Park

23 *bore . . . sight*: bore himself in the public view

24 *all semblance*: every appearance      *lowliness*: humility

25 *obloquy*: disrepute, infamy      *late*: recently      26 *in so*: into such

28 *meet*: fit      30 *folly*: lack of good sense      *betaken*: handed over



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 reprov'd, and the seal  
 taken from him and delivered to Doctor  
 5           *The Bishop of*           Russell, Bishop of Lincoln, a wise  
               *Lincoln made Lord*       man and a good, and of much experience,  
               *Chancellor*

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*

10 *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  
 15 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

*The Protector's*           next meeting of the lords at the  
               *oration*                    Council he proposed unto them that

20 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;

25        <sup>^</sup>[*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---<sup>^</sup> [*Latin 26/1-3*] as though *they* were not to  
 30 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*. . . *reprov'd*: 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   *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

5

“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  
 10 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),  
 15 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  
 20 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.

25

“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  
 30 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

30 *Lord Cardinal*: Thomas Bourchier, Archbishop of Canterbury      32 *pain*: trouble

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*  
 5 *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  
 10 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  
 15 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  
 20 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*  
 25 *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 spirituality 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  
 30 should turn to the great grudge of all men, and high displeasure  
 of God, if the privilege of that holy place should now  
 Sanctuary be broken! Which had so many  
 years been kept, which both kings

- 1 *wealth*: well-being      3 *considered*: considering  
 4 *slanderous . . . going*: scandalous rumor and calumny now spreading  
 5 *hurts*: harms    *rest*: peace    6 *grow . . . realm*: come to the whole realm  
 6 *percase*: by any chance    7 *precisely*: literally  
 8 *faithful*: sound, trustworthy    *advertisement*: advice  
 9 *reason*: argument, reasoning    *content*: satisfy  
 12 *all the world*: everyone in the world    *honorably*: respectfully  
 14 *frowardness*: perversity, contrariness    *folly*: lack of good sense  
 15 *except*: unless    18 *advices*: judgments    19 *said*: finished speaking  
 20 *motion*: proposal    21 *cease . . . murmur*: put a stop to a lot of the murmuring  
 22 *means*: intermediaries    23 *deliver him*: hand him over    *York*: actually, Canterbury  
 24 *convenient*: suitable    24–25 *took . . . her*: volunteered to appeal to her  
 25 *uttermost devoir*: absolute best  
 26–27 *be . . . him*: in no way be persuaded to hand him over willingly  
 27–28 *such . . . present*: the other clergymen who were present  
 28 *in any wise*: by any means    30 *turn to*: bring about    *grudge*: anger and resentment

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  
 5 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  
 10 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  
 15 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  
 20 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  
 25 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*  
 30 *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    *enterprise*: 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  
 22 *mischief*: wrongdoing    *let*: deter    23 *might, as methinketh*: could, in my opinion  
 22 *somewhat less regard*: have somewhat less regard for  
 25 *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



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 afeard to set their hands to the amendment—as*  
 5 *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*  
*lebt* upon the boldness of these  
 places; yea, and rich men run thither with poor men’s  
 10 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,  
 15 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*.  
 20 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  
 25 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  
 30 of *lawful* hurt. For against unlawful harms, [cf. Latin 32/1] *never pope nor*

2 *say . . . they*: would say even if sanctuaries  
 2 *abused*: taken undue advantage of      3 *I . . . they*: I’m afraid they always  
 3 *while*: as long as      4 *afeard*: afraid      5 *ungracious*: wicked, ungodly  
 7 *unthrifts*: spendthrifts      *riot*: carouse  
 8 *boldness*: i.e., assurance that they can always run to      *thither*: there  
 11 *whistle them*: do what they will  
 12 *plate*: gold and silver coins and objects      *abide*: stay  
 12–13 *for beating*: because the husbands beat them  
 15 *reive*: raid      *come in again*: come back in      18 *mischief*: evil  
 19 *thank of*: credit from      20 *wot ne’er*: have no idea  
 21 *piteous*: pious      *politic*: prudent  
 23 *take . . . therewith*: put up with it  
 24 *reason will*: reason will allow      *fully*: quite      25 *let us of*: deter us from  
 26 *wealth*: well-being      29 *abroad*: out in the open; on the outside

*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  
 5 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,  
 10 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  
 15 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]  
 20 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*  
 25 *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  
 30 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 *and if*: even if

18 *had discretion*: was of age      *require*: request      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—  
 5 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.  
 10 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.

15

## ^[Latin 33/12-15]

And he that taketh one out of sanctuary to do him good, ^[Latin 33/16-17] I say plainly that he breaketh no sanctuary.”

20 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*  
 25 *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,  
 30 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    9 *erst*: before  
 11 *deserved to need it*: incurred a need for it (by committing some crime)  
 11 *for their surety*: i.e., necessary for their safety  
 13 *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    *they . . . best*: they all thought it best  
 24 *voiding*: dissipating    *rumor*: uproar  
 25 *essay*: endeavor    *good will*: consent    31 *errand*: mission    *mind*: idea

that <sup>2</sup>[Latin 34/1] 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 <sup>10</sup> [Latin 34/10-11] brother in that place was the thing which highly sounded, not only to the great rumor of the people, and their obloquy, <sup>11</sup> [Latin 34/13-14], *but also to the importable grief and displeasure of the King's royal majesty.* [cf. Latin 34/14-16] *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 <sup>15</sup> [Latin 34/17] Council therefore had sent him unto her [cf. Latin 34/18-21] *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* <sup>20</sup> *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 <sup>25</sup> 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* <sup>30</sup> *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

- 2 *incontinent* . . . *mind*: immediately, regardless of her wishes  
 3 *respite* . . . *him*: opportunity to smuggle him out of the country  
 4 *mind* . . . *matter*: intend once this thing was      5 *wise*: way  
 7 *presence*: royal assembly    *showed unto*: told      8 *unto*: by  
 10 *sounded (to)*: redounded to; was responsible for    *rumor of*: uproar among  
 10–11 *their obloquy*: i.e., the bad repute of the Council  
 11 *importable* . . . *displeasure*: unbearable sorrow and unhappiness      12 *were*: would be  
 13–14 *their* . . . *also*: a dishonor to them both, and to all the Council members and also her  
 14 *suffer him*: allow him to be      16 *showed*: told  
 17 *require*: request of    *delivery*: handing over  
 19 *reckoned*: regarded    *demeaned*: treated      20 *estate*: position; rank  
 22 *friends* . . . *distress*: relatives who were in trouble (Rivers, Grey, and Vaughn)  
 23 *wist well*: well knew    *tendered*: cared about  
 24–25 *whose* . . . *were*: for both of whom it would be very good for them  
 26 *their* . . . *recreation*: the fun and recreation of them both    *lord*: i.e., the Cardinal  
 27 *though*: even if    *light*: unimportant    *pondering*: taking into consideration  
 28 *any stranger*: anyone outside the family  
 29 *convenience of*: suitability to    *their* . . . *estates*: the ages and ranks of them both  
 29 *meet*: appropriate      30 *any*: either    *either of them for other*: each of them for the other  
 31–32 *say not nay but*: do not deny    *were*: would be    *convenient*: appropriate

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  
 5 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,  
 10                                    <sup>^</sup>[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  
 15 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  
 20 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,  
 honorably, at his liberty, to the comfort of them both, than [cf. Latin 35/27-28] *here as a*  
 25 *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,  
 30 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  
 35 is so desirous to have him in his keeping, where if the child in his

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]

5

10

15

And where they call it a thing so sorely against  
 20 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  
 25 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*  
 30 *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  
 35 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 *jeopard . . . 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



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  
 5 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  
 10 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  
 15 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  
 20 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  
 25 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  
 30 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 glitzy 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  
 20 *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*

5 *lands*, discharging him of the cure 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  
 10 him in English, but is translated out of this history  
 which he wrote in Latin. serve. † [= Latin 39/7-18] **And if examples be sufficient to obtain privilege for my child, I need not far to seek. For in this place in which we now be (and which is now in question whether my child may take benefit of it), mine other son, now**

king, was born and kept in his cradle and preserved to a more prosperous fortune, which I pray God long to continue. And as

15 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

20 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.].”\*

25 “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.

30 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.

5

^[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  
 10 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  
 15 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  
 20 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.  
 25 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  
 30 appointed—allthing 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      *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— <sup>^[Latin 41/3], ^[Latin 41/4-6]</sup>

- and partly, [cf. Latin 41/6] *as she thought it might fortune*  
 5 *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  
 10 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  
 15 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*,  
 20 whom I doubt not but I could here keep safe if I would,  
*whatsoever 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*  
 25 *knoweth no kindred*. The brother hath been  
 the brother's bane. <sup>^[Latin 41/26-27]</sup>  
 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  
 30 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.

**And if ye cannot elsewhere, then may you leave him here.** But only

5 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]. **God send you good keeping** Let me kiss you once yet ere  
10 you go, for God knoweth when we shall kiss together again.” And  
therewith she kissed him and [cf. Latin 42/11] **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 Star Chamber** [cf. Latin 42/13], where the Protector  
^[Latin 42/ 14]

took him in his arms and kissed him, with these words: “Now, welcome,  
*O dissimulation!* my lord, even with all my very heart.” **And he  
said, in that, of likelihood as he thought.**

Thereupon forthwith they brought him to the King his brother,  
20 unto the bishop’s palace at Paul’s, and from thence through the city  
honorably ^[Latin 42/18-20]

into the Tower, out of which after that day they never came abroad.

<p>25 <i>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 30 wrote in Latin</i></p>	<p>‡<b>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</b></p>
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1 *before . . . world*: in front of God and everybody    *wot I well*: I well know

2 *list*: please; choose to    5 *ever*: always    7 *well ware*: very watchful

9 *keeping*: looking after    *once yet*: one more time

10 *kiss together*: kiss each other    12 *weeping as fast*: crying as hard

17 *even*: literally    *very heart*: heart itself / real, actual heart

18 *of likelihood*: probably    19 *the . . . brother*: his brother the King

20 *Paul’s*: St. Paul’s Cathedral    21 *thence*: there

22 *honorably*: in an honorific fashion    25 *opened*: revealed, disclosed

29–30 *privy . . . beginning*: in on all the Protector’s secrets right from the start

32 *mover*: person to incite    *matter*: business    *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  
 5 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,  
 10 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  
 15 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  
 20 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  
 25 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, where he had repented  
 30 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  
 35 he might to his own commodity.

1 *straight*: right    2 *subtle*: crafty, devious    *wit*: mind    3 *opened*: revealed  
 4 *before rehearsed*: previously related    6 *opened*: revealed    *purpose*: plan  
 7 *meet*: suitable    9 *subtle*: cunning; insidiously sly    11 *devices*: schemes  
 13 *revenge*: avenge    *prick*: spur, drive    14 *remember*: i.e., not forgive and forget  
 15 *careful for*: grief-stricken over    15–16 *their deaths*: the deaths of those  
 16–17 *with . . . avail*: i.e., repenting would not help the Duke at all  
 20 *a beck*: a gesture indicating a command    23 *privy guard*: bodyguards  
 24 *trains*: traps    25 *that . . . from*: i.e., that entrapment perhaps coming from  
 27 *well*: really    *might*: could    28 *might*: should  
 29 *where*: whereas    31 *go through*: i.e., go through with it  
 32 *voided*: withdrawn from    33 *bent*: yielded    *through*: i.e., through with it  
 33 *determined*: decided    34 *mischief*: detriment    *amended*: helped  
 35 *might*: could    *commodity*: advantage



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*  
 5 *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]  
 10 so far forth that the *Lord Stanley (that was after* Earl of Derby) ^[Latin 45/10], wisely mistrusted it, and said unto the Lord Hastings ^[Latin 45/11-12] that he much misliked 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  
 15 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  
 20 *Catesby* mouths.” This meant he by Catesby, which was of his near, secret counsel and whom 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]  
 25 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  
 30 dissimulation only kept all that mischief up in whom if the Lord Hastings had not put so special trust, the Lord Stanley and he

44/33—45/1 *in manner desolate*: virtually isolated

1–2 *for . . . doing*: i.e., were simply taking their business directly to the people who could take care of it

3–4 *haply . . . which*: perhaps not be good for them to be around the King too much without authorization from the Protector—who 5 *divers*: several

6 *Thus many things*: Many things thus 6–7 *of purpose*: by intent

8 *eke*: too 8 *mark*: take note of 9 *muse thereon*: murmur about it

10 *that*: who 10 *after*: later; afterward 11 *mistrusted it*: was suspicious of it

13 *misliked*: disliked 13 *several*: separate

14 *little . . . talk*: little do we know what they are talking about 15–16 *doubt you*: fear

16 *while*: as long as 16 *which . . . thence*: who is never away from there

17 *thing*: a thing 17 *minded*: contemplated 17 *toward*: to

19 *This . . . Catesby*: i.e., By this “one man” he meant (William) Catesby 19 *which*: who

20 *was . . . counsel*: was deeply in his confidence

21 *very familiarly used*: was very friendly with 21 *lief*: dear

26 *Lord Chamberlain*: i.e., Lord Hastings 26 *in good*: having a lot of

27 *in all*: throughout 27 *troth*: honesty; trustworthiness 27 *wit*: intelligence

29–30 *his . . . up*: all that evildoing was kept going solely by the dissimulation of him

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.*

5

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  
 15 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  
 20 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  
 25 alleective that induced him to be partner and one special contriver of all this horrible treason.

*The council in the  
Tower*

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*

30

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 *alleective*: allurements, enticement    *partner*: an accomplice (in)

29 *devising*: planning

31–32 *pageants and subtleties*: stage props and table decorations

*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* 5 *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 10 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. <sup>^</sup>[Latin 47/13-15]

And soon *after one hour, between ten* 15 *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 20 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 <sup>^</sup>[Latin 47/24-25], musing much by whom 25 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 30 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 <sup>^</sup>[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 *communings 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 . . . communings*: 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 . . . ail*: (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,  
 ^[Latin 48/2-3] 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  
 5 day, in which he was not aware that it was by others ^[Latin 48/7] 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  
 10 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 ^[Latin 48/14].

For well they wist that the Queen was too wise to go about  
 15 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. [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 (*which from the death of*  
 20 *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  
 25 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  
 30 chamber might hold. And anon the Protector said to the Lord  
 Hastings, “I arrest thee, traitor!” “What? *Me*, my lord?” quoth he. “Yea, *thee*,

1 *grudged*: resented it    *before*: previously    *made . . . in*: let in on  
 3 *taking*: arresting    *their . . . death*: the executing of them    *which*: who  
 3–4 *which . . . devised*: who were with his concurrence previously planned  
 6 *himself*: he himself    8 *affinity*: allies    9 *wasted*: maimed    10 *wearish*: shriveled  
 11–12 *sore . . . them*: was filled with foreboding  
 13 *quarrel*: pretext    14 *wise*: sensible    15 *folly*: foolishness  
 18 *harm*: affliction (and also a play on “arm”)  
 21 *saving*: except that    *that while*: throughout that time    *of*: out of  
 23–24 *if . . . punishment*: i.e., if they have committed capital treason, they deserve capital  
 punishment  
 25 *ween*: believe    26 *make good*: avenge    *as*: as if    27, 29 *clapped*: slammed  
 27 *upon the board*: on the table    28 *token*: signal    *one*: someone    *without*: outside  
 28 *chamber*: room    *might*: could    29 *clapped*: slammed    *harness*: armor  
 30 *might*: could    *anon*: at once



*The Lord Stanley wounded* aitor!” quod the Protector. And another <sup>^[Latin 48/31-49/1]</sup>  
 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  
 5 blood about his ears.

<sup>^[Latin 49/ 5-8]</sup>

10 Then were they all <sup>^[Latin 49/9-10]</sup> 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  
 15 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.

<sup>^[Latin 49/18-20]</sup>

20 *The Lord Chamberlain* So was he brought forth into the green  
*beheaded* beside the chapel within the Tower, and his  
 head laid down upon a long log of timber <sup>^[Latin 49/21-22]</sup> 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.*  
 25 A marvelous case is it to hear <sup>^[Latin 49/25-26]</sup>, either the warnings of that he  
 should have avoided, or the tokens of that he could not avoid.  
<sup>^[Latin 49/27-29]</sup>

30 For the  
 self night next before his death, the Lord Stanley sent a trusty secret  
 messenger unto him at midnight in all the haste, requiring him to rise  
 and ride away with him, for he was disposed utterly no longer to bide—

- 1 *another*: someone else    3 *had been*: would have been  
 4 *cleft*: split    *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    *at adventure*: at random    *shrift*: confession  
 15 *suffered*: allowed, tolerated    16 *might*: could    *saving*: keeping  
 20 *green*: grassy area    *within*: in  
 25, 26 *that*: that which    26 *tokens*: portents  
 30 *self night next*: very last night    *his death*: the death of Lord Hastings  
 30 *trusty*: trustworthy    *trusty*: trustworthy    *secret*: personal  
 31 *in all the haste*: in a big hurry    *requiring*: asking    *rise*: get up  
 32 *utterly*: absolutely    *bide*: stay

he had so fearful a dream <sup>^[Latin 50/1-3]</sup>

*The Lord Stanley's  
dream*

in which him thought that a  
boar with his tusks so razed them both <sup>^[Latin 50/4]</sup> by the heads that the blood  
5 ran about **[cf. Latin 50/5] 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.  
10 “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 **[cf. Latin 50/11] 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  
15 not that we might be as likely to make them true by our going, if we  
were caught and brought back (as friends fail fleers)? For then had the  
boar a cause likely to raze us with his tusks, as folk that fled **[cf. Latin 50/16] for some  
falsehood**. Wherefore either is there no peril—nor none there is, indeed—or  
if any be, it is rather in going than bidding. And if we should needs cost  
20 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.” **[cf. Latin 50/22] “God send  
25 grace, sir,”** quoth the messenger, and went his way. <sup>^[Latin 50/23-25]</sup>  
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  
30 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 enemieous scorn.

3 *him thought*: it seemed to him      4 *razed*: slashed      *by the heads*: in the head  
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 *fantasieth*: concocts  
14 *tokens*: portents      16 *as*: since      *friends fail fleers*: fleers lack friends  
16–17 *had . . . likely*: the boar would have probable cause  
17 *for*: because of (having committed)      18 *falsehood*: act of treachery  
19 *biding*: staying      *needs cost*: of necessity  
20 *other*: the other      *had I liefer*: I would rather      21 *falsehood*: treachery  
21–22 *either . . . heart*: i.e., because of either our own guilt or our own fearfulness  
22–23 *commend me to him*: give him my regards  
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      *toward*: on its way      *rite*: practice  
31 *a token*: a sign; an omen      32 *enemieous*: inimical

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  
 5 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  
 10 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 [cf. Latin 51/14] *wharf*, so near the  
 15 place where his head was off so soon after, there met he with [cf. Latin 52/1-2] 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 ^[Latin 51/18-19]. At which  
 20 other time the Lord Chamberlain had been accused unto King Edward  
 by the Lord Rivers, the Queen’s brother, ^[Latin 51/20-21]  
 in such wise that he was for the while [cf. Latin 51/22-25]  
*(but it lasted not long) far fallen into the King’s indignation*, and stood  
 in great fear of himself.

25

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

- 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    *met in*: ran into on  
 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    *seen a sign*: seen as a portent  
 13 *pass me*: go uncommented upon    *vain*: cocky / unwarranted    *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, <sup>^</sup>[Latin 52/15-16] 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 **[cf. Latin 52/24-25] many substantial men** out of the city into the Tower; and at their coming, himself, with the Duke of Buckingham, **[cf. Latin 53/1-3: placed later in Latin] 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. **[cf. Latin 52/23,25,27]** 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*  
 5 *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.*

^[Latin 53/3-7] Every man  
 answered him fair, as though no man mistrusted the matter which of  
 10 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  
 The Protector's proclamation city in the King's name, ^[Latin 53/11-13]  
 containing that the

15 *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*  
 20 *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*  
 25 *living and inordinate abusion of his body, both with many others and also specially with Shore's wife, which 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*  
 30 *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 ^[Latin 53/31-2] 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

52/31—53/1: *of his conspiracy*: who were conspiring with him *contrived*: plotted  
 3 *their treason*: treason of theirs *never had*: had had no 5 *harness*: armor  
 5–6 *came . . . hand*: was most readily available *mischief*: harm 7 *required*: asked  
 9 *fair*: politely *mistrusted the matter*: doubted the thing 9–10 *of truth*: actually  
 11 *in . . . haste*: posthaste 15 *divers*: several *purpose*: intent  
 18 *at their pleasure*: as they pleased  
 19 *whom they list*: whomever they wanted to *uncontrolled*: unchecked; unrestrained  
 20 *slander*: discrediting 21 *evil*: bad  
 23 *hurt*: harm *evil*: bad *sinister procuring*: making of evil arrangements  
 24 *ungracious*: ungodly; wicked *vicious*: vice-ridden; immoral  
 25 *inordinate abusion*: unrestrained wrong usage 26 *specially*: specifically *which*: who  
 26–27 *one . . . treason*: also one of the people most deeply in his confidence concerning  
 this high treason 27 *namely*: notably 28 *next*: right *marvel*: wonder  
 28 *ungracious*: ungodly 29 *unhappy*: unfortunate 30 *dread*: august  
 31 *faithful*: loyal *demerits*: offenses 32 *taken*: caught *falsely*: treacherously  
 33 *mischievous*: pernicious; troublemaking *partners of*: accomplices in

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  
 5 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,***  
 10 ***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  
 15 *Shore's wife* Shore's wife (***for her husband dwelled not with her***), and despoiled her of all that ever she had—***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  
 20 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,***  
 25 ***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  
 30 in countenance and pace demure, so womanly, and albeit she were 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 *politicly*: 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

5 rejoiced therein, when they considered that the Protector procured it more of a corrupt intent than any virtuous affection. This woman was born in

*The description of Shore's wife* London, worshipfully friended, honestly brought up, and very well married, saving somewhat too soon; her husband an honest citizen,

10 young and goodly and of good substance. But forasmuch as [cf. **Latin 55/11**] *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]**

15 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]**.

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

25 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*

30 *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    *of good substance*: well-to-do  
11 *well ripe*: fully mature    *for whom*: him for whom    12 *haply*: perhaps  
13 *incline unto*: give in to    *appetite*: desire    *required*: asked for  
13 *Howbeit*: But be that as it may    14 *respect*: consideration  
15 *gay apparel*: fancy clothes    *ease*: a comfortable life  
16 *wanton wealth*: extravagances    *soft*: impressionable    *tender*: immature  
17 *abused*: violated; defiled    *anon*: immediately    *honest*: respectable  
18 *could his good*: knew what was good for him    21 *which*: who    22 *sore*: very much  
22 *upon*: of    23 *friendly faithfulness*: i.e., fidelity to the King, based on friendship with him  
23 *proper*: elegant    *fair*: beautiful    25 *but if*: unless    26 *higher*: taller  
27 *yet . . . liveth*: she is still living    *to . . . well-visaged*: to have had a pretty face  
29 *scalp*: 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*

5           *King Edward's three*           *not without disport.* The King <sup>^</sup>[Latin 56/6] would say  
                   *concubines*                           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

10 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

15 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

20 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.*

25                           <sup>^</sup>[Latin 56/24-26]                           *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*

30 *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, albeit they be much less remembered because they were not so evil.*

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

^[Latin 57/7-10]

10

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

15 *The Lord Rivers and others beheaded* 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

20 Stratford. Which thing was done in the presence and by the order of Sir Richard Radcliff, knight, whose *Sir Richard Radcliff* service the Protector especially used in the 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, 25 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 30 hate the Protector and his party)—caused them hastily, without judgment,

1 *suit and seeking-to*: resort and looking-to

2 *speed*: expedite *men*: people *which*: who *famous*: i.e., rendered famous

3 *less*: i.e., less noteworthy 4 *so evil*: as bad

5 *men*: people *use*: are wont; are prone *evil*: ill

13 *had begged*: would have been begging *not been*: never lived 15 *self*: very same

18 *his*: i.e., the Lord Chamberlain's *foreremembered*: aforementioned

23 *counsel*: planning

24 *been . . . him*: long enjoyed his confidence *shrewd wit*: devious mind

25 *short*: abrupt *rude*: crude 26 *mischief*: evildoing

27 *showing*: announcing *about*: i.e., who were standing around 28 *suffering*: allowing

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

15 *Edmund Shaa, Mayor of London* power or policy. Among whom they made of counsel Edmund Shaa, knight, then Mayor of London, which upon trust of his own advancement (whereof 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

20 wit and were in authority among the people for opinion of their 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

25 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

15–16 *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.

5 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*** 10 ***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 15 ***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 ***^[Latin 59/17-18]***. 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 20 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. ***^[Latin 59/21-23]***

To lay bastardy in King Edward sounded openly to the 25 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, 30 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

3 *was fain to*: had to *come . . . midst*: i.e., come down from the pulpit in the middle of the sermon 5 *honesty*: respectability *shame of*: embarrassment in the face of 6 *durst . . . abroad*: never afterward dared come out 7 *forced . . . shame*: had no concern about shame *doubt*: suspect 8 *of counsel of the matter*: in on the affair 9 *after . . . manner*: in the typical way *namely*: especially 10 *was . . . upon*: was given not immediately after (the coronation) 11–12 *of . . . beginning*: in on it from the start 13 *first*: i.e., be the first to *Paul's Cross*: an open-air pulpit (with a large cross on top), on the grounds of St. Paul's Cathedral 14 *authority*: influence *incline*: bend 15 *ghostly*: holy / shadowy *labor and study*: struggle and striving 15 *devise*: devising 16 *convenient*: suitable *pretext for*: alleged ground upon *content*: willing 17–18 *In . . . devised*: i.e., In which effort, they came up with several things 18–19 *chief . . . rested*: chief and momentous thing in that whole contrivance consisted 21 *disabled*: disqualified 21, 22 *by*: from 24 *lay*: allege 24–25 *sounded . . . rebuke*: obviously involved a shaming 26 *color*: show of reason 26 *pretend*: claim 28 *letted not*: did not forbear to do *would . . . should*: wished that that point 29 *even*: quite 30 *touched aslope*: discussed obliquely *craftily*: artfully 31 *all the*: the whole *his displeasure*: offending him 32 *devised*: planned *surmise*: allege 33–34 *would . . . uttermost*: he wanted stated openly, and stressed to the utmost 34 *color*: plausibility

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**  
 5 **himself and for the realm)**, he sent over in embassy the Earl of  
 Warwick, <sup>^[Latin 60/6-7]</sup>  
     **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**  
 10 **parties so toward and willing that he speedily, according to his instructions,**  
**without any difficulty, brought the matter to very good conclusion.** Now  
 happened it that in the mean season there came, to make a suit by  
     petition to the King, Dame Elizabeth Grey  
     Dame Elizabeth Grey (which was after his queen), at that time  
 15 a widow <sup>^[Latin 60/14]</sup>—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 <sup>^[Latin 60/17-19]</sup>  
 20 whom King Henry made knight upon the field **that**  
**he had on Shrove Tuesday at St. Albans** against King Edward. And  
 little while enjoyed he that knighthood, for he was at the same field slain.  
**After which done, and the Earl of Warwick being in his embassy about**  
 25 **the foreremembered marriage,**  
     [cf. Latin 60/24] this **poor lady**  
     <sup>^[Latin 60/24-29]</sup> made humble suit unto  
 the King <sup>^[Latin 60/29-30]</sup>  
 30 that she might be restored unto such small lands as her late  
 husband had given her in jointure.

1 *but if*: unless    *repeat*: relate to    2 *about*: concerning    *After that*: After  
 4 *determining himself*: making up his mind    *as*: since    *requisite*: needful  
 5 *in embassy*: as an ambassador  
 5–6 *the Earl of Warwick*: i.e., Richard Neville, a cousin of Edward's  
 8 *entreat*: negotiate    8–9 *the . . . Spain*: the daughter of the king of Spain  
 10 *toward*: cooperative    11 *any difficulty*: a hitch  
 12 *mean season*: meantime    *a suit*: an appeal    14 *which was after*: who was later  
 15 *which*: who    16 *ere*: before    *her*: i.e., Elizabeth's  
 18 *was*: i.e., had been; was formerly    21 *the field*: i.e., the field of the battle  
 22 *Shrove Tuesday*: the day before Ash Wednesday  
 24 *in his embassy*: on his ambassadorial mission  
 25 *foreremembered*: aforementioned    30 *restored unto*: given back  
 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.)

^[Latin 61/1-5]

5 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*  
10 *in talking more familiarly.*

^[Latin 61/10-15]

15 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*  
20 *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  
25 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  
30 appointed, *and had between them twain ensured her,*

^[Latin 61/29-31]

then asked he  
counsel of his other friends, and that in such manner as they might easily  
perceive it booteth not greatly to say nay.  
35 *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  
4 *great . . . estate*: a great strengthening of his position  
4 *affinity*: relationship with the in-laws  
6 *standing*: considering    *so far moved*: gotten so far with his negotiations  
7 *which were*: who was    *all his voyage*: his whole undertaking    8 *wise*: a way  
8 *frustrated*: brought to nothing    *appointments deluded*: arrangements made a mockery of  
9 *occasion*: circumstance; consideration    10 *commodities*: advantages  
11 *as it were*: as if it were    12 *wanton . . . person*: lascivious doting upon her body  
13 *the master's*: i.e., her employer's  
14 *therein*: i.e., in the marriage between the rich man and his maid  
14 *more . . . honor*: more respectability than there was honor  
16 *In . . . person*: In whom as a person    17 *disliked*: disapproved of  
18 *that were*: who would be  
19 *meet*: appropriate    *estate*: position; rank    *maidens*: virgins    23 *the only*: just the  
24 *though*: even if    25 *convenient*: suitable    *meseemeth*: it seems to me  
25-26 *refrain . . . marriage*: keep you from marrying her    *unsitting*: unbecoming  
27-28 *high disparagement*: serious degradation    *cleanness*: chastity    *defouled*: polluted  
29 *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 *contented*: 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 *mislike*: 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 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 [cf. Latin 64/22-23] *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 Elizabeth Lucy 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 *hardily*: 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*  
 5 *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  
 10 *The King's marriage* 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 embassy was deluded that for very anger and  
 15 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*  
*The King fled* *he was fain to void the realm and flee into*  
*Holland for succor.*

20

[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

*The Prince born.* sanctuary, where she was delivered of  
 25 *King Henry VI set up.* Edward, the prince of whom we before  
have spoken. In which meantime the Earl of  
*Of the Earl of Warwick* 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  
 30 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

64/4—65/1 *put . . . comfort*: strongly encouraged

1, 3 *ensured*: betrothed; engaged 2 *confessed*: admitted *so*: such

6 *so kindly*: with such kindness / in such a natural way; i.e., without benefit of matrimony

8 *feast*: festivity 9–10 *her . . . was*: crowned as queen her who had been

12 *boon*: wish 13 *understood*: learned

13–14 *took . . . deluded*: took such offense at having his mission made a mockery of

15 *disdain*: indignation *puissance*: military force

17 *was . . . void*: was forced to vacate 18 *succor*: aid

27–28 *set up again*: reinstated; put back on the throne *which*: who

29 *muchwhat*: to a great extent *which*: who 30 *wise*: astute

31 *alliance*: connections 32 *put down*: dethroned *at his pleasure*: at will

32 *not . . . have*: it is not beyond the realm of possibility that he could have

33 *attained it*: i.e., attained kingship

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

*The Earl of  
Warwick slain*

Barnet [cf. Latin 66/4-5] *on the Easter Day field slew the Earl of Warwick with many other great estates of*

5 *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*

10 *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

15 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*

20 *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].

25 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

30 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*

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 <sup>^[Latin 67/3]</sup>

and the bastard slip

5 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  
 10 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  
 15 Elizabeth Lucy,

<sup>^[Latin 67/14-23]</sup>

*and so his children bastards.*

20

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  
 25 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  
 30 "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]

- 1 *the people to the sermonward*: i.e., the people listening to the sermon  
 2 *meeting . . . presence*: coinciding with his showing up  
 4–5 *even there*: i.e., right then and there    *after*: later    6 *in manner*: as it were  
 7 *this . . . quailed*: this scheme fell through  
 8 *by . . . tarrying*: en route some delay tactics    9 *prevent*: i.e., arrive ahead of  
 10–11 *hastened . . . thereto*: speeded up his preliminary material    *matterz*: subjects  
 13 *left . . . hand*: dropped the subject he was on    *deduction*: lead-in  
 14 *order*: sequence    *frame*: context  
 15 *pattern*: Here, in the original, "pattern" is spelled "patron" (as it often was).  
 20 *remembrance*: memory    21 *while he liveth*: i.e., as long as this son of his is alive  
 21 *in speaking*: being spoken    22 *with*: by    *people*: crowd  
 23 *doctors*: learned priests    24 *hearken*: listen to    25 *as*: as if  
 26 *wonder of*: amazement at    28 *durst*: dared    *him*: himself  
 29 *one that*: someone who    30 *his old friend*: an old friend of his  
 30 *talked of*: were saying about    *all . . . that*: even though  
 31 *well . . . good*: clearly told him they weren't saying anything good  
 33 *shame*: denunciation    34 *consumed*: wasted

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*  
 5 *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  
 10 *unto the people, with a clear and a loud voice*, in this manner of wise:  
 [cf. Latin 69/11-12] “*Friends*, for the zeal and hearty favor  
 that we bear you, we be come to break  
 unto you of a matter right great and  
 weighty, and no less weighty than *pleasing unto God and* profitable to  
 15 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,  
 20 pain, cost, adventure, or jeopardy. What thing is that? Certes, the  
 surety of your own bodies, the [cf. Latin 69/18] *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  
 25 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 [cf. Latin 69/23-24] *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  
 30 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

5 *keepeth the hustings*: i.e., holds the hearings on civil and domestic matters

6 *commons*: commoners 7–8 *upon great pain*: i.e., upon threats of great punishment  
 for failing to be silent

9 *neither . . . nature*: not only not uneducated, but also by nature

9–10 *in this manner of wise*: words to this effect

11 *zeal*: fervent devotion *heartly*: heartfelt 12 *be*: are

12–13 *break . . . matter*: speak to you about something 16 *why*: what reason

16 *wot well*: well realize 8 *great good*: a great deal 19 *be . . . hither*: are come here

19–20 *labor . . . jeopardy*: (having to undergo any) labor, trouble, risk, or peril *Certes*: Indeed

20–21 *the . . . bodies*: your own physical safety 21 *quiet*: security; lack of disturbance

22 *of all*: for all 23 *evermore in doubt*: always in fear 24 *reckon*: think; consider

25 *grins*: snares *therefor*: for them 26 *pilling and polling*: fleecing and extortion

26 *tallages*: levies 28 *riot*: extravagance *waste*: consumption

28 *honorable charge*: legitimate expense 29 *pilled*: extorted *honest*: respectable

29 *great substance*: a great amount 30 *lashed out*: squandered *unthrifts*: profligates

30 *fifteenths*: taxes on personal property, equivalent to one-fifteenth of it 31 *easy*: innocuous

32 *benevolence . . . good will*: Edward was the first to levy what he termed “benevolences” and  
 “good will” offerings: taxes imposed arbitrarily, without approval by Parliament.

32 *of every*: from 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.**

10

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

^[Latin 70/16-19]

What? Cook, your own worshipful neighbor—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

30

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

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,  
 5 near familiarity or leger acquaintance, with any of those that were at any time the King's enemies; which was, at one time and other, more than half the realm. Thus were neither your goods in surety, and yet they brought your bodies in jeopardy—  
*Open war* [cf. Latin 71/9: placed later in English at 71/24] besides the common adventure of open war, which  
 10 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, nor so many battles in the season, nor so cruel and so deadly*  
 15 *fought, as was in the king's days that dead is, God forgive it his soul.* 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*  
 20 *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*  
 25 *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,*  
 30 *for his honor, spare to speak of.* Howbeit, this wot you well all: *that whoso 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 their proctor—

1 *aggrieved*: aggravated    *heinous names*: i.e., names of more serious offenses  
 1 *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    *mischief*: 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 *whoso*: 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  
 5 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  
 10 his honor, murmur or grudge of the world, he would importunately  
 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  
 15 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  
 20 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  
 his realm—not only for that the prince by  
 this noble city (as his special chamber and  
 25 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  
 30 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  
 5 *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  
 5 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*  
 10 *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. <sup>^</sup>[**Latin 73/10-12**].

*For as that worshipful man groundly*

15 *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*  
 20 *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  
 25 things shall not be spoken for me, as the thing wherein every man forbearth 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);  
 30 *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*

1 *that . . . that*: what you have already heard from him who (i.e., Doctor Shaa)  
 2 *of*: from     *reason is*: it stands to reason  
 3 *to look therefor*: as to expect this     4 *the preacher’s*: those of the preacher  
 4, 7 *namely*: especially     5 *cunning*: learned     *wotteth*: knows  
 6 *thereto*: moreover     7 *wist*: knew     *namely*: especially     8 *honest*: honorable  
 9 *substantially declared*: thoroughly explained  
 14 *worshipful*: estimable     *groundly*: soundly     15 *open*: evident  
 16–17 *living . . . Lucy*: his true wife, Dame Elizabeth Lucy, still living  
 18 *voluptuous*: sensual     19 *full unmeet*: quite unfit  
 20 *hath . . . effusion*: has caused the shedding  
 22 *there . . . grown*: so much harm has come  
 24 *worshipful*: esteemed     *signified*: intimated  
 25 *shall . . . me*: shall go unspoken for my part  
 26 *that*: what     *in . . . of*: so as to avoid offending     27 *bearing*: i.e., he bearing  
 29 *before remembered*: previously mentioned     30 *issue*: progeny; offspring

*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, **^[Latin 74/29-31]**

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

2 *very*: true    3 *foreremembered*: aforementioned    5 *commons*: commoners  
 7 *abusions . . . used*: abusive behavior formerly carried on in the same land  
 8 *condescended*: come to agreement    9 *puissant*: mighty    10 *like*: please  
 11 *wealth*: prosperity    *increase*: aggrandizement    12 *wot it well*: well realize  
 13 *loath*: reluctant    *as . . . perceiveth*: he being so wise as to perceive well  
 13–14 *labor and study*: trouble and stress    15, 16 *room*: office  
 16–17 *the great wise man*: i.e., Solomon; see Ecclesiastes 10:16.  
 18 *to*: for    20 *righteously*: rightfully    *so sad*: such a ripe  
 21 *thereto*: furthermore    24 *worshipful*: estimable    25 *weal*: good  
 26 *pray*: entreat    29 *all . . . beside*: all the rest of this realm  
 30 *commodity*: benefit    32 *prone*: disposed; inclined  
 33 *his election*: the choosing of him    34 *mind*: view    *require*: ask    *show*: tell

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!”—<sup>^</sup>[Latin 75/3] all was hushed and mute, and not one word answered thereunto. [cf. Latin 75/4] *Wherewith the Duke was marvelously*  
5 *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, “percase 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  
10 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  
15 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—  
*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  
20 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.” <sup>^</sup>[Latin 75/19-21]. With that, the Recorder,  
<sup>^</sup>[Latin 75/ 21-23]  
called [cf. Latin 75/23] *Fitzwilliam*, a sad man  
25 *Fitzwilliam,* and an honest, which was so newly come into *Recorder* 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  
30 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  
<sup>^</sup>[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 *percase*: 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*

25 ^ [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

- 1 *marvelous*: terribly    *obstinate*: persistent    2 *unto . . . again*: back around to the people  
 3 *move you*: bring you around    4 *needed*: i.e., needed to do    *commons*: commoners  
 5 *parts*: i.e., parts of it    6 *so . . . by*: have so much regard for  
 7 *partners*: collaborators    *is your weal*: is to your good  
 8 *weigh*: ponder    *require*: ask that    9 *answer . . . other*: an answer one way or the other  
 14 *secretly*: privately    *that*: in such a way that    *voice*: sound of their talking  
 15 *nether*: lower    16 *a bushment*: a secretly planted group  
 16 *Nashfield*: probably John Nesfield, of London  
 18 *thrust*: forcibly made their way    *among the press*: amidst the crowd  
 20 *token*: evidence    21 *before*: in front    *cast . . . heads*: turned their heads around  
 21–22 *marveling thereof*: wondering about that    26 *manner*: behavior  
 27 *goodly*: splendid    *cry*: shout    29 *all . . . minds*: your unanimous wish  
 30 *so effectual*: such an enthusiastic  
 31 *weal and commodity*: good and advantage    32 *require*: ask

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 <sup>^</sup>[Latin 77/27-28] the Duke of Buckingham <sup>^</sup>[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

76/33—77/1 in . . . remembered: in the aforementioned manner

2 dissolved: dispersed more part: majority all sad: i.e., both feeling and looking sad

2–3 some . . . merry: some looking glad who were not very happy

4 thither: there dissemble: disguise, hide

4–5 were . . . turn: found it necessary to get themselves behind him and turn

5 at his back to: to get behind him and dolor: sorrow; grief

7 morrow after: next day 10 resorted unto: made their way to

11 lay: was staying repaired: betook himself appointment: arrangement

13 gentlemen: men of the gentry 14 great: large

15 company: assemblage move . . . matter: make an important proposition

16 made difficulty: conveyed that he would not want

17 but if: unless errand: mission; reason for coming doubted: feared

20 showed this: made this known 22 looked . . . matter: was expecting this thing

23 again: in reply besought: begged 24 vouchsafe: grant resort to: come into

24–25 propose their intent: put forward what it was that they wanted

25 they . . . disclose: they did not wish to disclose any part to anyone else

26 at the last: finally of his chamber: from his room

28 would not yet: still did not want to 29 wist . . . meant: knew what they had in mind

31 pardon: bear with license: permit 32 propose: bring forward intent: purpose

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  
 5 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  
 10 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,*  
 15 *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*  
 20 *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  
 25 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  
 30 (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, <sup>^</sup>[Latin 80/5-8]

5           *The Protector taketh upon him to be king.*           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*, <sup>^</sup>[Latin 80/11-13]

15 [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. 20 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 25 excused that again and said, “All must be done in good order, though. *And men must sometimes for the manner sake not be acknow 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 30 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

1 *very right*: true rightful

3 *your election*: the choice made by you   *commons*: commoners

4 *effectual*: binding   5 *favorably*: graciously   *incline*: accede

6–7 *according to*: in accord with

8 *royal estate*: monarchical rank   *preeminence*: pride of place; supremacy

9 *kingdom*: kingship; sovereignty

11 *get . . . subdue*: get back and bring into subjection

15–16 *never . . . than*: ask that God let us live no longer than   *procure*: strive for

19 *of the matter*: about all this   *as . . . him*: according to his own impressions

20 *marveled . . . dealing*: marveled at the way this exchange took place

21 *matter*: thing   *parts*: sides   *so strange*: to seem so out-of-the-blue

22 *communed . . . thereof*: discussed it with the other

22 *when . . . themselves*: when they themselves   23 *wist*: knew

24 *all . . . made*: the whole thing was set up

25 *excused that again*: in reply made excuses for that   *order*: form

26 *for . . . sake*: for the sake of protocol   *be acknow*: not acknowledge

28 *by . . . bulls*: i.e., by the fact that the candidate pays for the papal documents authorizing his being made a bishop   *purposeth*: intends

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 percuse 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.”

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.

 ‡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  
 2 *can . . . to*: have so little sense as to      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  
 10 *disorder*: mess up      *good*: favor      12 *great train*: large retinue  
 19 *declared*: explained      22 *pleasant*: pleasing; agreeable  
 24 *artificers*: craftsmen      *all*: every      27 *declared*: pointed out  
 28 *discommodity*: unprofitability      *commodities*: advantages  
 34 *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  
 5 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*  
 10 *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  
 15 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  
 20 so far come in question that some remain yet in doubt whether they  
 were in his days destroyed or no. Not for  
     *Perkin Warbeck* 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  
 25 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* for the common custom of close and covert  
     *ever suspected.* dealing, men had it ever inwardly suspect,  
 30 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

2 *a vanity*: an empty show      3 *saluted*: greeted  
 4 *in a manner*: in some way      *dejected*: abased  
 9 *mockish*: sham      *election*: choosing      11 *appointed*: earmarked; supposed to be  
 13 *fell . . . thick*: misfortunes came fast and furious      *evil-gotten*: ill-gotten  
 14 *never ceased there*: there never ceased      16 *righteous*: rightful  
 17 *piteous*: deplorable      19 *tender*: constitutionally delicate      *infortune*: misfortune  
 21–22 *Not . . . Perkin*: Not only because Perkin  
 23 *folly*: foolishness      *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      28 *for*: because of      *custom*: practice      *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      *occasions . . . part*: circumstances persuading either side  
 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 percase 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  
5 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  
10 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  
15 *John Green* him a kindly king. Whereupon he sent  
one John Green, whom he specially trusted,  
*Robert Brackenbury,* unto Sir Robert Brackenbury, Constable of  
*Constable of the Tower* the Tower, with a letter (and credence also)  
that the same Sir Robert should in any wise put the two children to  
20 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  
25 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  
30 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

2 *percase*: perhaps    *history*: story    2–3 *any . . . process*: some succinct little work  
4 *rehearse*: relate to    *dolorous*: sad; heartbreaking    5 *after*: in accord with  
6 *by . . . means*: from such men and by such means  
5–6 *it . . . true*: i.e., it would be hard for it not to be true    7 *taking*: making  
8 *honor*: position of honor    9 *of his old*: in his previous one (Duke of Gloucester)  
9 *devised*: made plans    *fulfill*: carry out    10 *intended*: decided upon  
10–11 *his . . . him*: it did occur to him    12 *thought*: planned    *rid*: do away with  
14 *kindly*: legitimate / humane  
17 *credence*: a document furnishing credentials    18 *in any wise*: by whatever means  
19 *did his errand*: delivered his message  
20 *our Lady*: the statue of the Blessed Virgin at the Tower (just outside it)  
20 *plainly*: bluntly    21 *to die therefor*: even if he had to die for not doing it  
22 *recounted*: i.e., he relayed  
23 *yet . . . way*: i.e., Richard still being on his way to Gloucester  
23 *displeasure and thought*: offense and vexation    24 *secret*: personal  
25 *brought up*: elevated; moved up in the world    26 *went*: expected    *surely*: reliably  
28 *pallet*: makeshift bed    *without*: outside (in the waiting room)  
29 *were . . . hard*: would be really hard to think of    30 *this by*: by this    *which*: who  
31 *man . . . personage*: quite impressive-looking man

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  
 5 hindered and kept under by the means of Sir Richard Radcliff and  
     *Authority loveth no* Sir William Catesby, which, longing for no  
     *partners.* 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  
 10 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  
 15 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  
 20 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.”  
 25 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  
 5 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  
 10 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  
                   *John Dighton*                  them—a fellow fleshed in murder beforetime.  
   To him he joined one John Dighton,  
 15 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  
 20 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  
                   *The young king and his*                  perceived—first by the struggling with the  
                   *brother murdered*                  pains of death, and after, long lying still—  
 25 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

1 *sore abashed*: very distraught

1–2 *I . . . thought*: 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  
 5 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  
 10 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,  
 15 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  
 20 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,  
 5 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  
 10 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.  
                   *The out and inward*                   Where he went abroad, his eyes whirled  
                   *troubles of tyrants*                   about, his body privily fenced, his hand  
 15 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  
 20 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    *of*: by    *harried*: dragged around

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    *musings*: ruminating

17 *care and watch*: worry and vigilance    *slumbered*: dozed

19 *about the chamber*: around in the bedroom

20 *tedious impression*: troublesome aftereffect      21 *outward*: externally    *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  
 5 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,  
 10 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  
 15 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    9 *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    17 *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  
 5 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  
 10 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  
 15 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  
 20 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)

2 *partner . . . devices*: accomplice in all his schemes

3 *departed*: parted    5 *lightly*: quickly    *from*: on    *highly*: seriously

6 *marvel . . . grew*: wonder what brought about that change    *surely*: indeed

6 *occasion*: cause    7 *variance*: falling-out    *of*: by    9 *required*: requested

10 *pretended . . . inheritor*: claimed to be the rightful heir    11 *interlaced*: intertwined

12 *King . . . deprived*: the previously deposed King Henry (VI)

14 *minatory*: menacing    15–16 *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    18–19 *taking . . . part*: taking it badly; taking offense at it

19 *rise*: get up    20 *evil*: ill

22 *despite*: contempt    24 *other*: the other    *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

1 *in fair manner*: in a good way; i.e., intact

2 *surely*: indeed    *right . . . days*: who were very much in the know at that time

2 *right wise*: very astute    4 *green*: new, uncultivated    6 *tyrant*: usurper

7 *or . . . Protector*: i.e., or the Duke would give the Protector    *utterly*: really

9 *suffered*: allowed    10 *high-minded*: haughty    *evil*: ill

11 *of some that*: from some who    13 *wried*: turned

14 *he . . . ease*: was truly not feeling well

14–15 *that . . . taken*: that this was both well known to King Richard and not taken badly by him

15 *demand*: request    16 *he*: i.e., the Duke    *high behests*: great promises

17 *trusty*: confident    *departed*: parted (from Richard)    20 *taken*: taken captive

20 *waxed . . . familiar*: (he) became friendly with him    21 *abused*: exploited

22 *wit*: intelligence    23 *honorable*: respectable

24 *fast . . . part*: steadfastly on the side    *while*: as long as    *wealth*: prosperity; i.e., power

26 *the King*: i.e., Henry

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  
 5 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  
 10 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,  
 15 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  
 20 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  
 25 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  
 5 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  
 10 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  
 15 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  
 20 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  
 25 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,

1 *so . . . close*: keeping himself so well

2 *seemed him*: seemed to the Duke    *follow him*: take his lead

3 *boast*: extol    *show*: talk about    4–5 *folly were it*: it would be a madness

5 *if I would*: even if I were to    6 *I ween*: I’m sure    *but*: other than

7 *had had*: would have had

8–9 *after . . . reign*: once God had ordained that he lose it, and that King Edward reign

9 *mad*: crazy    10 *quick*: living    12 *secret*: inscrutable

13 *purpose not*: do not intend    *spurn . . . prick*: kick against the goad    *labor*: strive

13 *set up*: elevate    *that*: what

14 *late*: former    *even*: right    15 *left*: left off    *meddled*: concerned himself

16 *book*: breviary    *beads*: rosary    17 *no farther*: nothing more

19 *so*: thus    *familiarly . . . twain*: i.e., just between the two of them, as friends

19 *be . . . say*: come out and say    20 *faithfully*: sincerely

21 *never . . . harm*: no harm ever    *peradventure*: perhaps    *ween*: imagine

22 *himself*: he himself    *faithful*: trustworthy    *secret*: confidential

23–24 *procured . . . have*: got the King to let him have

24 *might reckon*: could consider    25 *else . . . been*: otherwise he would have been

27 *In good faith*: In all honesty    *I . . . much*: I don’t much like

28 *thing . . . peril*: i.e., that being something never entirely safe

28–29 *though . . . fault*: i.e., even if there is nothing wrong in what is said

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  
 5 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  
 10 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  
 15 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  
 20 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  
 25 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